School board elections in north east England: a study in urban politics

Redman, John Alexander

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SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS IN NORTH EAST ENGLAND:  
A STUDY IN URBAN POLITICS

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This thesis endeavours to explore the relationship between School Board elections and other strands of urban politics. The place of School Boards alongside Town Councils and Boards of Guardians, and their respective importance, is discussed. How widened political opportunities, especially for women and the working classes, were opened up by the 1870 Education Act, and the effect of this on the future political scene through women's suffrage, Trades Unionism and the developing Labour Party is developed. Urban and rural School Boards differed, and this is illustrated as well as how this affected educational development in different areas. Many educational innovations were introduced by School Boards and their influence on Central Government is shown. The fact that some School Boards went too far too fast contributed to their demise in 1902, but there was a lot of opposition to the 1902 Education Act from Board supporters because of the curtailment of educational and political opportunities for the working classes.

School Board election issues, economics, compulsory education and religious education, are considered. The overriding issue was religion, and this gave rise to the sectarianism at School Board elections. The religious battle was fought first through national politics and then through local politics. An ironical outcome of this locally was the development of a degree of religious toleration and understanding. Understanding also arose from the intermingling
of classes and sexes at School Board elections and on Boards themselves. The future of society was greatly affected by this. All types of people, rich and poor, stood for School Boards, showing the importance placed on education. However, the enthusiasm of working class parents, highlighted by their participation in or opposition to School Boards, as well as the reasons for this is also discussed. To show that Board School education was not all that was available for working class children, other educational agencies are looked at. Their importance and the effect of School Boards upon them are also followed up. One aspect of this, the rivalry between Voluntary and Board Schools, is seen throughout the period, and this played a part in influencing the events of 1902.

The local element of School Board elections is considered by looking more closely at Durham, Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow, and Darlington. The differences between these three Boards also helps to illustrate the differences between School Boards in general. The political opportunities made available in North East England by the 1870 Education Act and how the area was affected are thus seen.
Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the patience and understanding of my wife, Ruth, so I should like to dedicate it to her. At the same time there are many other people whom I must thank for their interest, knowledge, advice and help. Mr. Raymond Pallister, of New College Durham, who first put the germ of an idea forward, along with his colleagues, Mr. Desmond Dalton and Dr. Stephen Newton, who offered scraps of information during germination and growth, each deserve thanks. The staffs of Durham University Library, Palace Green; Durham University Library, Education Section; Durham City Public Library; Darlington Public Library; South Shields Public Library, and Newcastle Public Library have all been very helpful, as have the archivists at Durham County Record Office and Tyne and Wear Record Office. Mr. Raymond Kitching, of Durham University School of Education, produced the illustrations most ably for me. My thanks also go to Kathy Gordon, of Durham University School of Education, who has proved to be an excellent typist, always quick to return the finished product. Finally, Professor Gordon Batho, who offered constructive criticism and constant encouragement, deserves thanks for his stamina over the years taken to reach completion.
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THE WORKING-MEN AND THE SCHOOL BOARD.

To the Working-Men who are Ratepayers in the Borough of Darlington.

FELLOW TOWNSMEN,—

The Working-men's Committee, which was appointed at the Meeting held in the Railway Institute, North Road, on December 20th, 1870, to promote the return of suitable candidates to represent you at the School Board, were empowered to add to their numbers.

We therefore appeal to the working-men who were not represented at the recent Meetings, and who are ratepayers and entitled to vote for candidates for the Board, to unite with their fellow workmen in increasing the number of members of Committee to ensure the representation of every workshop and manufactury in the town.

The Committee do not wish to assume or claim a privilege which belongs to the ratepayers of Darlington. They would much rather that a town meeting had been, or may yet be called, over which the mayor shall preside, and that all parties should agree to accept the candidate who may be nominated, in the event of receiving the largest number of votes at such meeting; but as the various parties in the town, who have nominated candidates, appear unwilling to hazard the appointment of a Public Meeting, and so the parties, who have nominated candidates, have ignored the working-men who are not allied with them, we are compelled to seek your co-operation in giving us to make a suitable choice of a working-man, or of one who is identified with yours represent you on the School Board. Remember this is essentially a working-man's question. It is the children of working-men who suffer under the direction and influence of the School Board. It is the working-men who will be called on by the tax collector for their share of the educational rate. It is therefore of vital importance that you should be represented by an independent candidate, who will at all times protect your children against the intermeddling policy of those who would skink the act to promote sectarian interest.

In appealing to you for your co-operation, we ask you to follow the example of the working-men of other towns, who have nominated and elected men of their own order to represent them. Surely the working-men of Darlington will not allow this opportunity once without proving by word and act that they possess the spirit of independence, and are determined to use it for the protection of their rights and privileges.

We are, on behalf of the Working-men's Committee,

MATTHEW STELLING, Secretary.
JOHN KANE, Chairman.

N.B.—THE COMMITTEE WILL MEET EVERY NIGHT FROM 7 TO 8 O'CLOCK, AT No. NORTHGATE.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
Prior to 1870 voluntary bodies provided education for the poor with little or no State help. Criticisms of this loose voluntary system of education had gradually been growing, along with demands for a State system of education. State intervention first came after the 1832 Reform Act, when the reformed House passed a Government Grant to Education of £20,000 on 17th August, 1833. This grant, however, was only to be paid when at least half the total cost of the building had been raised by private subscription. In giving grants preference was to be shown to large towns, and as there was as yet no Government Department to control the expenditure the money was divided equally between the two principal voluntary societies. These were the Anglican National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, founded in 1811, and the undenominational British and Foreign Schools Society, founded in 1814. The grant system was supplemented by an inspectorate which enquired into the activities and conditions of the State-aided schools. Then in 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council for Education was established, providing for the first time a Government Department responsible for education. Enquiries into children's employment, notably those of 1842, 1844 and 1862 demonstrated how rare was an efficient education among working-class children and the size and complexity of the educational
problem was further highlighted by the Newcastle Commission of 1861. Inside Parliament there were several abortive Education Bills reflecting public interest in education, while outside bodies such as the National Education League and the National Education Union were formed to forward the cause of public education. The 1867 Reform Act aroused hope for educational progress as parliamentary reform and education had been associated throughout the century. However, the dominant political event was not the Reform Act, but the election of a Liberal Government with a large majority in 1868. This Government had the power to deal with the many varied educational issues of 1870 which it attempted to do through the passing of an Elementary Education Act.

To understand this Act and its implications the issues that surrounded its passage must be considered. The main issue was that of religion, but there were also economic, social, political and educational issues at stake. Progressive Factory Acts and the changing needs of employers because of scientific progress had led to a decreasing need for child labour. This coupled with a growing population and the movement of people from rural areas to the cities created a problem of children who neither worked nor went to school. Because of poverty, and often because of the indifference of their parents these children were among the educationally destitute. The Education Grant of 1833 encouraged the building of schools in comparatively prosperous areas where the money necessary to qualify for a grant could be raised, while
the poorer and more necessitous areas were neglected. More direct State intervention in education was needed to deal with these neglected areas. With a rapidly growing urban population education was fast becoming an important social question. Children literally on the streets without any occupation or discipline presented a danger to law and order. There was a growing case for large scale educational provision to counteract this threat. Convincing Churchmen saw, rightly as the future showed, that a continuing increase in child population would jeopardise the capacity of the Church to maintain a proper supply of schools. This failure of the voluntary system to provide enough schools in the right areas was one of the reasons for the 1870 Education Act.

Another economic influence was the realisation that economic competition from abroad was growing, and people like Matthew Arnold saw education as one way of combating this. Industrial changes, especially mechanisation, produced new skilled trades and an increasing demand for semi-skilled workmen. Better provision of education was necessary to meet this. Skilled tradesmen of the working-classes wanted better educational opportunities for their children and added their voices to the agitation for more educational provision. By the late 1860s Parliament was increasingly prepared for a degree of political and educational reform, although the extent of this was not agreed upon. The 1867 Reform Bill was prevented from going the way of the 1852, 1854, 1859, 1860 and 1866 Bills and Baines' annual reform motion by the determination of Disraeli. In the same way Forster's obstinacy ensured that the
1870 Education Bill passed rather than met the fate of those of 1851, 1852, 1853, 1855, 1857, 1867, 1868 and Russell's reforming resolutions of 1857 and 1867. However, the Education Act was not just a natural consequence of political reform, rather it was the consequence of a new Liberal Government with a large majority. The Liberals were more radical about education than the cautious Conservatives. The new Government also took some cognisance of working-class and National Education League pressure, but this was not a decisive factor because Parliament, though not impervious to external pressures, was comparatively insulated. The 1870 Education Act was the outcome of Parliamentary expediency, being helped greatly by divisions within Gladstone's Cabinet and firmly steered through Parliament by Forster. After its implementation the members of the National Education League continued the fight for their full programme, showing how little of the Act was theirs.

The 1867 Reform Act raised hopes that the reformed Parliament would tackle the educational question as the links between reform and education were as old as the century. However, it must be remembered that there was no general feeling that the floodgates of reform had been opened, and Lowe's fear of the masses,

"I believe it will be absolutely necessary that you should prevail upon our future masters to learn their letters ... From the moment that you intrust the masses with power their education becomes an absolute necessity,"1

was not widely shared. The limited immediate benefits of the Reform Act were realised by the working-classes themselves, for in 1867 they lacked the means of utilising their voting power because no machinery existed for this.

'At present there exists no organisation for raising funds for the payment of working class Members of Parliament; and from this and other reasons it is highly probable that for some years to come the idea of returning working men to Parliament will remain an idea. Working men will have to look outside their own class for their special representatives ... In the first instance the new masters will probably fail to make any appreciable alteration in the composition of the House of Commons.'

Educational problems would be tackled by the Government in the same way as it would deal with the problems of Ireland, the poor, the Trades Unions, land and so on. The priorities given to these would depend upon the Government's make-up.

The Conservatives showed no more enthusiasm for sweeping educational reforms after 1867 than before. Their main preoccupation with education was not to be forestalled by the Liberals. The Duke of Marlborough, Lord President of the Committee of Council, and Robert Montagu, its Vice President, did actually draw up plans for educational change. Their main purpose was to unify the central authority for English education, enhance its status and give it a more constructive role. In a memorandum on the Education Department in November 1867 Montagu criticised three areas:

'The Committee of Council had no control over the administration of educational endowments; the Committee was ill-fitted to discharge even current responsibilities, far less was it capable of supplying those deficiencies in educational provision generally acknowledged to exist; the nature of the political control exercised over the Education Department was unsatisfactory. It was time for a different kind of executive authority and Montagu wanted a permanent Board or Council of Education to act under and be subject to the complete control of the Lord President.'

Reasons and plans were submitted to support the above, and with Derby's help the legislation was prepared. The Cabinet agreed that an Education Minister dealing with all aspects of legislation was needed, but baulked at the controversial issues of conscience clauses, rating and Boards of management. Montagu warned that,

"any Bill short of being comprehensive will only appear to be an effort to 'prop' up a bad system. There is no use in increasing either the number of schools, teachers or schoolchildren, while the central authority is known to be unable to control them."

Marlborough presented the Conservative measure to the Lords, but the plan that could have perhaps been the foundation of a national system of education came to nought. The Conservatives who opposed rate-aid delayed the Bill, then in May it was withdrawn because of changing political fortunes. By the autumn there was a new Liberal

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Government so education was now to be dealt with by the Liberals. Forster, entrusted with the task by Gladstone, had been a member of the Schools Inquiry Commission. Its report of December 1867 had recommended an autonomous body, independent of Parliament and beyond direct ministerial control, for education. Forster's Bill followed this view so a Secretary of State for Education, who would have raised the status of the Department and brought cohesion to education's central control, had to wait for over seventy more years.

Like the Conservatives the Liberals had no set educational policy. Attempts at educational legislation depended very much upon the efforts of a small number of dedicated and enthusiastic individuals, notably H.A. Bruce the sponsor of the Education Bills of 1867 and 1868. His impulse was the present reality of educational destitution rather than parliamentary reform and its possible consequences. This was also Forster's attitude when he began drafting plans for the reform of elementary education in England and Wales in the autumn of 1869. The remedy for educational problems was still obscure, there being no consensus in Parliament and the country, except perhaps on the need for action of some sort. Forster's scheme came to incorporate ideas from various areas; Bruce and Robert Lowe, who were educationally poles apart, both influenced the final Act. So Parliamentary Reform alone did not bring about the Act, rather it was the obvious need for some sort of action together with the 1868 election by which Gladstone was swept into power through an alliance of Liberals and the Reform
League. He was at the head of a convergence of Parliamentary and popular Liberalism, which by the nature of its victory was committed to reform. Behind it was the spur of working-class pressure as well as radical pressure from the National Education League. The working-class were not, however, very influential as they were in a position of having to stress their moderation at a time when the Trade Union movement was fighting for its very existence. The so-called 'Sheffield outrages' had led to inflammatory attacks on trade unions by people like Lowe,

"They are illegal and ought to continue illegal in any well-governed country."5

Working-class leaders were on the defensive immediately after 1867 so they exerted their pressure through the more respectable National Education League. Whereas the Reform League had been essentially a working-class organisation with middle-class allies, the National Education League was a middle-class organisation with working-class allies. The National Education League no more achieved all its objects than did the Reform League, and the former continued its activities after 1870. The fight for its full programme was continued through the subsequent School Board elections.

Opposition from the National Education League was a contributory cause to the Liberal defeat in 1874, and it was a Conservative,

Lord Sandon, who began tightening up on attendance, one of the National Education League's main platforms. The Education Acts, 1870, 1876 (Sandon) and 1880 (Mundella) of this period were an important part of the great change from Benthamism to what Dicey called "collectivism". The State was beginning to use legislation to benefit the poor, even at some sacrifice to individual freedom.

A hint of the Welfare State may be seen, and,

'the decade of 1865 to 1875, beginning with the death of Palmerston and roughly coinciding with the first truly Liberal Ministry of the Century, may justly be regarded as a watershed.'6

Chamberlain himself called it socialism when speaking at Warrington in 1885,

"Now that we have a government of the people, by the people, we will go on to make it a government for the people ... I shall be told tomorrow that this is Socialism ... Of course it is Socialism. The Poor Law is Socialism; the Education Act is Socialism; and every kindly act of legislation by which the community has sought to discharge its responsibilities and its obligations to the poor is Socialism, but it is none the worse for that."7

The idea of self-help was gradually being replaced with that of protective legislation. The Factory Acts were the first of a series of laws in which the State began to act paternally. The Education Acts fit very well into this series as a monument to the increasing predominance of collectivism.


Educational activity makes the transition to collectivism easy, as after providing universal education the State could then assume responsibility for health, working conditions, housing and other social matters. School Boards contributed to this process by introducing things like penny-dinners. The Reform Act held great significance for the future of collectivism, and of equal significance was the manner of its passing. This not only promoted an alliance between the Liberals and the Labour aristocracy, but also provided in the Liberal Party an instrument powerful enough to carry out a programme of collectivist reform. When Gladstone was swept into power his party, by the very nature of its victory, was committed to social reform, part of which was a reaction in favour of a more efficient system of national education. This was not a new phenomenon, but was now a much stronger possibility.

One reason advanced for educational reform was the idea, most forcefully advocated by Lowe, of the need for political education. He wished to preserve the existing class divisions and hoped that education would be able to repair the breach in the class system which he believed parliamentary reform had created. He argued that the working-class franchise would lead to mob-rule and the degradation of politics into vote-catching. The Conservatives, likewise, had regarded the 1832 Reform Act as the destruction of the constitution, yet within twenty years it was seen as quite a modest measure. Between 1866 and 1868 there was a repetition in a lower key of the struggle over the First Reform Bill.

The Conservatives now claimed that any further extension of the franchise would lead directly to democracy and all the evils
of the American political system. Even on the radical side people like John Bright were convinced that the franchise must be extended very gingerly lest the honest working man be drenched by the dregs of the community. This explains why Lowe was so concerned after 1867 that "our future masters" should "learn their letters"; he was afraid of the power of the working-classes. However, his fears were exaggerated as the working-classes had little power because of their lack of organisation. The orthodox Liberal idea of national and local self-government as a means of promoting civic virtue,

"Local Self-Government affords the only true Education ... Both as to thought and action the faculties of man will have this as their best school; thought in as much as full and free discussion is the best insurance for the activity and development of thought; action in as much as what is best and most advantageous for all will be the object of constant endeavour," was a long time in coming. The political parties gradually organised the new electors, harnessing the energies of those that were active. This helped in the breaking down of that confrontation between the social classes which was the horror of many Victorians. The mingling of classes was one of the prominent features of School Board elections and meetings. Through them democracy actually became a reality, extending downwards from Parliament to Parish to School Board.

Fears of working-class power and class confrontation were far from the ideals of the National Education League. Education was a way of opening the doors of opportunity for all, but unfortunately issues like those of cost and control brought out the worse side of the parties involved.

"Let me say that the members of the League were not anxious to make this question one of political warfare. It would have been a pleasure to them if for once in the history of this country a great work, having for its object the benefit of the multitude, had been suffered to proceed on its way undisturbed by the bitterness of party conflicts. But, sir, this has not been permitted. Our old enemies, the enemies of free trade, of religion, of popular government - the old obstructionist party - ever on the watch for an opportunity to impede - has risen up against us to prevent, if possible, the accomplishment of our object. Though we did not seek it - though we would gladly have avoided it - we accept the situation which has been forced upon us, if not without regret, at any rate without despair ... We are charged with seeking to revolutionise the country. We hope so. There is nothing we desire more than to effect a revolution; but it will be a bloodless one - one which will put into the hands of the people no weapons but those of peace and industry, one which will break down no barriers except those which impede the way to a higher civilization."  

This battle was first fought over the Elementary Education Act of 1870, and then continued at the elections for School Boards.

Because of the problem of the supply of school accommodation in 1870 there were disputes over the means by which a larger proportion of a growing population should receive education, and even more over who was to build and maintain the necessary schools.

The 1870 Act was an extension of State involvement, begun tentatively in 1833, and put the initiative of education with the State. This extension of public control led to controversy. The Government's aims were to cover the country with good schools and to persuade parents to send their children to these schools. This was to be done by voluntary means where possible, with statutory powers only being used where voluntary efforts had manifestly failed. The voluntary system was proving incapable of catching up with the provision of places to match the needs.

"Voluntary local agency has failed, therefore our hope is to invoke the help of municipal organisation." 10

However, complete abolition of the voluntary system was ruled out because of the expense this would involve, so the overt design of the Act - "filling the gaps" - was conceded by most of those concerned.

"Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours." 11

Thus, spoke Forster, but there was opposition to this idea, not least from the National Education League.


"We are not here to patch up existing systems, but to lay a broad system ... A national system must be laid in simplicity and it must be paid for by the rates ... The primary education of this nation does not belong to the Church in any sense - it belongs to the whole nation. It belongs to the government and ought to be done by the government."12

This idea of rate-aided schools was one of the stumbling blocks in 1870. There was a vigorous minority who pursued the cause of rating for education, but it never gained wide appeal. Its three sources of support were those who wanted to limit national taxation; a minority of dissenters who saw local control over education as a means of blocking the influence of the Church and State, and doctrinaire radicals, like John Stuart Mill, who simply believed in the social and formative value of local democracy. Chamberlain and others tried to weld the three into a political weapon, but this radicalism was impaired by the fact that existing voluntary schools could not be done away with. These would not accept rate-aid if it meant interference with control, while at the same time the Nonconformists would not countenance paying for religious instruction out of the rates. Managers of voluntary schools, backed by the Church and supported by large sections of influential opinion, knew that their schools had to be used as outright expropriation was never even considered as practical politics. As for rate-aid, this was not refused if

it could be acquired on their own terms. The managers were less concerned with the principle of a local grant than they were with the conditions attached. Churchmen generally preferred an incomplete system of schools to the possible opening of the floodgates of paganism. They realised that rate-aided schools would be hard to compete with, and looked upon the main function of the rates as the provision of extra income for the improvement of existing denominational schools. Only where the voluntary system had palpably failed should the rates be used for building new schools, and this should be a minor function.

Some Conservatives, like Pakington, were more in line with the Liberals and saw the need for an educational rate. This gradually began to be conceded by others, with staunch defenders of the status quo, like Stafford, Northcote and Spencer Walpole, coming to countenance educational rating. It was incorporated in Marlborough's abortive Bill of 1868. The National Education League pressed for voluntary schools accepting rate-aid to be managed by local education committees, with the voluntary managers being retained if they accepted the conditions laid down by these committees. Nonconformists would only support Forster's Bill if rate-aided schools were unsectarian. This was an impossible condition as the supporters of the voluntary schools were a well entrenched counter force, and the Government had to earn the goodwill of the managers rather than alarm them. Forster, in framing his Bill, did take the monumental step of deciding to involve local responsibility and finance instead of instituting a
centralised system. There was no system of universal local
government, the only bodies being poor law unions, parish vestries
and borough councils in different areas. It, therefore, had to be
decided who would control education. The original Bill proposed
that School Boards be chosen by vestries and borough councils,
but this was amended to direct election by the rate-payers. This
was quite a radical move, but anti-radical opposition was somewhat
mollified by the fact that at the discretion of the School Board
voluntary schools could receive a rate supplement to their income.
This would be available to all voluntary schools in one district
on the same conditions, and these conditions had to be Government
approved. As the voluntary schools were at liberty to decline if
they wished, money could go to them without impairing the rights
of the managers. Believing that many of the future School Boards
would come under Church influence and that Radical measures could
be far worse the Conservatives supported Forster's Bill.

They were also pleased with the limitation that School Boards
should only be set up in areas where voluntary bodies had been
objectively shown to have failed and had no reasonable chance of
success, or where there was a strong demand for a School Board from
the local inhabitants. This led to controversy in certain areas,
and almost half of the School Boards in the country had to be
forced on reluctant localities. Finance and religion were the
reasons for this. Although in many cases the urban situation was
terrible, there was never an upsurge of demand for local powers.
Rating had never been popular and the greatest need for elementary
schools was in the boroughs where the rates were the heaviest. Urban rate-payers were already faced with poor rates, borough rates, lighting and watching rates, general district rates, burial rates, water rates, rates levied by Improvement Commissioners and, in some cases, Church rates. On top of this an educational rate would be an extra burden. The counter argument to this was that to levy an educational rate would effectively reduce the rates by forestalling crime and pauperism, both of which were costly to the community. Those opposing rates argued that education was different to other local government functions in that the latter had been created from the outset by collective municipal action in the absence of any other satisfactory means of supplying and controlling them, whereas with the former a system of privately provided but publicly supervised elementary schools already existed. This was theoretically capable of extension, as was shown by the addition of one million places in voluntary schools between 1871 and 1876 in face of the School Board threat. Besides this voluntary bodies themselves resented the imputation that they were not locally concerned. Their schools were tangible monuments to their identification with the community.

Rating was inextricably mixed up with the religious controversy engendered by Forster's Bill. As it proposed giving School Boards the power either of providing schools themselves or of assisting existing schools, Dissenters might find themselves paying for a Church school and having to send their children there,
while Roman Catholics might have to pay for and send their children to a Protestant school. Moreover school rates would create sectarian strife at School Board elections, with the various denominations seeking to gain ascendency so that they could control the use of the rates for their own particular and perhaps sectarian ends. George Dixon, a National Education League member and Member of Parliament for Birmingham, proposed an amendment to remove decisions over the religious question from School Boards by making all rate-aided schools unsectarian, and by insisting that in other schools religious teaching should be given separately at a specific time so that children could be withdrawn from it. Lowe also proposed that rate-aid should be restricted to secular instruction, but against bitter Non-conformist opposition Forster rejected this. He was prepared to permit rate-payers to pay for secular education in denominational schools. Gladstone went even further when, at the behest of the Church, he proposed to incorporate into the Bill compulsory rate-aid for denominational schools. Lowe threatened to resign as he was against the mixing up of rating in any way with denominational schools. He suggested that money for these schools should come out of General Exchequer funds rather than the rates, and the rest of the Cabinet agreed to this proposal from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thus the division between rate-supported secular schools and grant-aided denominational schools, the 'dual system', was established.
Some of the heat was removed from the religious quarrels by this move, but during the wrangling over Clause 22 of the Bill another controversial clause had escaped notice. Clause 25 of the Bill allowed School Boards to pay the fees of poor children to attend voluntary schools, and this loophole was later used to avoid setting up Board Schools. Edward Miall, a leading Non-conformist, condemned Clause 25 as it forced,

"School Boards to fill up inefficient sectarian schools by compulsion at public expense,"¹³

and demanded its repeal because,

"only the Church of England and Roman Catholics will benefit."¹⁴

Much sectarian strife at School Board elections was a consequence of Clause 25, because it was seen that once an election was over the religious affiliation of the majority would probably determine how the Clause would be used. Churchmen fought to get onto Boards so as to secure fair play for voluntary schools, while Nonconformists fought equally hard for representation to prevent Church domination. Until 1876, when responsibility for aiding poor children was transferred to the Poor Law Guardians, controversy over Clause 25 divided Churchmen and Nonconformists in many places, being an issue in bye-elections for Parliament in the early 1870s, in the General Election of 1874, and in many School Board elections. Clauses 22

and 25 were part of the key question of religion which divided the Conservatives and the Liberals, hindered the passage of the 1870 Act and became a feature of many School Board elections once the Act was passed.

Although the Conservatives' educational policy was hesitant and inchoate it did have a central theme, and this was opposition to anything that may undermine the denominational basis of education. Some individuals, like Sir John Pakington, advocated drastic remedies for educational destitution, but for the Party as a whole the preservation of the voluntary system was the main priority, as they saw no reason why the control of education should be taken out of the hands of those who had for so long been providing it. The National Education Union, based at Manchester, expressed the Conservative educational platform, recommending the denominational principle with a conscience clause, the payment of school fees out of public funds in necessitous cases only, and compulsory education through the better application of the Factory Acts. This was how the main questions of religious instruction, a conscience clause, compulsion, rating and educational control were to be dealt with, and in order not to be forestalled by the Liberals an Education Bill, which would have protected Church and Conservative interests, was drawn up by Marlborough in 1868. Adverse circumstances led to its withdrawal, so when the Liberals gained power the Conservatives were faced with the prospect of gaining as many concessions from them as possible.
There was no consensus within the Liberal party over education either. The 1870 Education Bill was a melange of ideas taken from Marlborough, Pakington, Bruce, Lowe and Forster himself. It engendered opposition from various quarters, the Radicals being particularly vehement in their attacks. Radical views were summed up at meetings and in handbills after 1869 by the Birmingham based National Education League, which was in direct opposition to the National Education Union,

NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE,
CENTRAL OFFICE,
17 ANN STREET, BIRMINGHAM

GEORGE DIXON, M.P.,
Chairman of Council

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN,
Chairman of Executive Committee

JOHN JAFFRAY, J.P.,
Treasurer

JESSE COLLINGS,
Honorary Secretary

WILLIAM HARRIS,
Chairman of Finance Committee

Chairman of Publishing Committee

R.F. MARTINEAU,
Chairman of Branches Committee

REV. C. CLARKE, F.L.S.,
Chairman of Statistics Committee

FRANCIS ADAMS,
Secretary

OBJECT

The establishment of a system which shall secure the Education of every Child in the Country.
MEANS

1. Local Authorities shall be compelled by law to see that sufficient school accommodation is provided for every Child in their district.

2. The cost of founding and maintaining such schools as may be required shall be provided by Local Rates, supplemented by Government Grants.

3. All Schools aided by Local Rates shall be under the management of Local Authorities and subject to Government Inspection.

4. All Schools aided by Local Rates shall be unsectarian.

5. To all Schools aided by Local Rates admission shall be free.

6. School Accommodation being provided, the State or Local Authorities shall have the power to compel the attendance of children of suitable age not otherwise receiving education.¹⁵

The logical conclusion of the Nonconformist principle required the absolute exclusion of religion from State schools, something later done by one or two Nonconformist dominated School Boards, like Birmingham. Secular State education in partnership with voluntary religious education was the Nonconformist panacea of the National Education League, but the Churches opposed this on the grounds that all education should be moral education, morals came from religion, so religion was an essential part of elementary education. The Voluntaryist Baines articulated this through the National Education League.

Union, but many of his former allies followed the League, first to unsectarian then to secular education as the only solution consistent with freedom. In framing his Bill Forster tried to find a means of supplementing the voluntary schools, to which the State, the Established Church, the Nonconformists, the Secularists and the Voluntaryists would agree. Aided by Lowe he managed to gain enough support from different parts of Parliament to ensure the passing of the 1870 Act, but this only removed the conflict over the religious questions from the national to the local arena.

The prolonged controversy over the religious complexion of State schools arose mainly as a result of the decision to establish School Boards with rating powers. These public local agencies with powers to use local taxation, hitherto a prerogative of private and voluntary enterprise, was a major innovation and the religious implications of this had to be sorted out. School Boards as managers could have the same rights as voluntary school managers to determine the type of religion taught in their schools. This religious teaching could be undenominational. On the other hand religious teaching could be banned altogether. The prospect of 'Godless educational institutions' greatly worried denominationists. The Cowper-Temple Clause helped to quieten this conflict. Under Nonconformist pressure the Liberal Government accepted this clause that said in rate-founded schools 'no catechism or religious formulary that is distinctive of any particular denomination' should be taught. There was also a timetable conscience clause and
the Conservatives accepted these. In fact many saw the Act as a tolerable compromise and Hardy, one of the staunchest of Anglicans, wrote contentedly, "The Union triumphs over the League". The 1870 Act left the existing system substantially intact and gave denominationalists, through the six month period of grace for filling gaps, time for reinforcement. Where School Boards were established, they might, if Anglican dominated, support any religious teaching out of the rates, both by prescribing it in their new, rate-provided schools, and by giving rate assistance to existing Anglican schools.

No wonder the National Education League was dissatisfied. Dale refused to acknowledge the Parliamentary decision of 1870, "not even at the bidding of a Liberal Ministry will we consent to any proposal which under the cover of an educational measure empowers one religious denomination to levy a rate for teaching its creed and maintaining its worship."16

The 1870 Act gave Nonconformists two political options, both of which they adopted. They fought elections on educational grounds to try to force the Liberal Party to change its views; in Manchester in 1872, for instance, no support was given to the Liberal who advocated educational grants and Clause 25. Nonconformist opposition also contributed to the Liberal defeat in the 1874 General Election.

The main weight of the secular education attack came at School Board elections and through the School Boards themselves.

'It was recognised that School Boards were quintessential political institutions ... They had the power to implement certain policies so were political.'

Dixon saw this in his retort to claims that the National Education League's principles had been vanquished,

"we have secured in the Education Act of 1870 a lever by the wise use of which their adoption has become merely a question of time.""}

As well as this,

'School Boards were politicised by issues of educational policy and beyond education lay a more general commitment to popular participation and control.'

Both Nonconformists and Conservatives were aware of this and in the ensuing elections both sides tried to amass their forces to gain control of School Boards so as to implement their particular policies. The 1870 Act had limited immediate benefits, but had very far reaching implications.

The creation of ad hoc School Boards followed the precedents of bodies such as the Boards of Guardians and the Highways Boards.


18 Asa Briggs (Ed.), History of the Elementary School Contest, by Francis Adams (Brighton 1972), p. XVII.

Apart from 220 municipal boroughs there was no system of local government, and boroughs were slow to gain a reputation for good administration. Local government was not widely trusted in the nineteenth century and Forster had to tread warily because State intervention in social welfare was still young and widely resented. Until the implementation of School Boards the hold of public bodies owing their position to a democratic franchise was remarkably light. School Boards were bodies whose sole purpose, in the absence of a system of local government administration, was to cater for existing deficiencies in elementary education. They were democratic in constitution, having a wide franchise which permitted both men and women to vote and stand for election.

L.A. Selby Bigge, one of Morant's successors, said of them,

"The idea that there was a public duty, local or central, to provide and finance a comprehensive system of education was undeveloped. Locally the zeal and initiative of the great School Boards and municipalities reflected and stimulated a growing national consciousness of the value of education to the community. They pushed the central authority and were not merely pushed by it. They created a local public spirit in education, and they gradually prepared the country for formal recognition of a public system of education and of the joint and reciprocal responsibility of central and local authorities for its maintenance and development."20

School Boards had wide permissive powers and this displeased the Radicals as there was no universal compulsion or free education. They had to continue the fight for this on the School Boards.

Some Boards, especially the larger ones, made the most of their permissive powers. Curricula were widened, free and compulsory education introduced prior to Government Statute, and Higher Grade Schools and Evening Schools were established. Against this must be weighed the fact that the Education Department had to compel 1,100 out of 2,545 areas to form School Boards, and that some of these, when formed, were far from democratic. Small, rural School Boards could be run by the local vicar with reactionary policies acting as a brake on education. On the other hand School Boards did give influential people first hand knowledge of social problems thus fostering greater social awareness. At School Board elections candidates and voters from all kinds of backgrounds came face to face with the facts of education. School Board members had to work with and treat with respect all sorts of people they had previously shunned. This helped the development, albeit gradually, of toleration and co-operation which led to educational progress in many areas. Some of the best and most distinctive features of local authority administration have their origin in the creative imagination of the large School Boards. Boards had to survey existing provision, acquire sites and buildings, build, equip and staff schools and persuade parents to send their children to school regularly. Hardworking Board members initially undertook many or all of these duties, then gradually instituted positions such as Attendance Officers, today's Educational Welfare Officer, to take over. Within twenty years elementary education became
universally compulsory and virtually free, School Boards having filled the gaps as intended, and by 1900 many of the Boards were reaching into the secondary stage with their Higher Grade Schools.

During this time School Board elections provided an indispensable vehicle for developing techniques of organising the mass electorate which developed as a result of successive extensions of the franchise. In providing a system of participatory democracy they contributed a great deal to the development of the democratic process. The vagaries of the cumulative voting system, a curious feature of School Board elections giving each voter a number of votes equal to the number of the members of the School Board to be elected, all of which could be given to one candidate, or distributed among the candidates, promoted the development of the party 'caucus' and strong party organisation. Cumulative voting was introduced to protect minorities and was initially welcomed by all sides, but it became a continual source of discord and complaint, leading to many School Board elections becoming extensions of political and religious conflicts.

'Electoral chicanery was accompanied by a revival of sectarian quarrels in their most objectionable form. No parliamentary or local contests had for generations previously been known to provoke the same amount of bitterness and division between parties.'

The evolution of the Birmingham caucus was a direct response to the cumulative voting system because in the first Birmingham School

Board election the National Education League had been defeated by the Denominationalists, who then tried to implement Clause 25. After this the Nonconformists organised and gained control of the School Board and were able to enforce an ultra-secularist programme. In many areas opposing sides used political organisation to take advantage of the cumulative vote and this became a feature of School Board elections. Control of School Boards was important for educational, religious and political reasons.

Education did not suddenly become a political issue, it had been for some time. It was certainly regarded as such in the great cities of Victorian England where education involved the exercise of the community's power in pursuit of a policy objective. As a political issue education penetrated the different layers of the urban political system. That School Boards were overtly political was admitted privately by Sandon who was anxious that pernicious urban influences should not spread to the countryside.

"School Boards (or some such agency) were, I believe, necessary for the large towns, and are productive of no political evil; but in the smaller country towns and villages ... I am convinced they will produce very serious political results. They will become the favourite platforms of the Dissenting preacher and local agitator, and will provide for our rural populations, by means of their triennial elections and Board meetings, exactly the training in political agitation and the opportunity for political organisation which the politicians of the Birmingham League desire, and which will be mischievous to the State."^22

This certainly became a reality in some areas, and like the town councils before them, Attwood's training grounds for political agitation, School Boards came to symbolise the political difference between urban and rural society. The differences can be seen by looking at School Board elections in urban and rural areas. The main issues of religion and finance were the same, but the ways these were expressed at elections often differed in the forcefulness, or lack of it, in their advocacy. Urban areas found it far more difficult to compromise and avoid a contest, but had less difficulty in finding candidates. School Boards throughout the country were served by many diverse people from the humblest worker to peers of the realm. Both women and working men were able to learn about politics from elections to School Boards. Once elected these diverse people had to implement the provisions of the 1870 Act and this eventually led to toleration and understanding as more and more people became actively involved in education. Forster tried to minimise controversy over matters like religious education and compulsion by leaving decisions on them to School Boards. However, this just transferred the problem to local areas. At the same time definitions of the child and of elementary education were omitted from his Act, giving those elected a great deal of power. School Board elections thus gave Denominationalists and Nonconformists a means by which they could control and develop education their own particular way, gave political opportunities to women and the working-classes, while at the same time focusing widespread interest and attention on education for the first time.
CHAPTER 2

FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS

IN DURHAM AND THE NORTH EAST
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IN DURHAM AND THE NORTH EAST

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Defoe described Durham County as a "backward area" whose inhabitants were closer to barbarism than their Southern compatriots. In the midst of this so-called backwardness there was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries one great area of modernity - the coal industry. The influence of the coal industry was immense, and mining permeated the lives of the majority of the inhabitants of Durham County in some way, and the same can be said for much of the North East. Religious and political allegiances were quite markedly influenced by the mining traditions, miners tending to be Nonconformist in religion and Liberal in politics. Class, in the sense of a group contending over the structure of political authority, was the general ground of popular political orientation. This strong mining influence can be seen in the results of the elections to the School Boards of many North Eastern pit villages. Bearpark affords a good example of this. The first School Board election to the Parish of Elvet and St. Oswald, Extra Municipal, i.e. Bearpark School Board, took place on 13th July, 1875, and the Durham County Advertiser printed the results three days later.

'Mr. Dodd, colliery manager, Bearpark (Church) 268.
Mr. Shadforth, auctioneer, North Road, Durham (Unsectarian) 229.
Mr. Russell, colliery manager, Shincliffe (Unsectarian) 194.
Mr. J. Dakers, colliery viewer, Old Durham (Church) 111.
'Mr. P.S. Wilkinson, gentleman, Mount Oswald, Durham (Church) 79.
Not elected, Mr. Hodgson Fowler, architect, North Bailey, Durham (Church) 24.'

So, three out of the five successful candidates had connections with the mine, and, as well as this indirect influence, there seems to have been some direct pressure put on the voters at this election.

'On arriving there (Shincliffe) what struck me was that the polling booth was the pay office of the colliery, or, in other words the office of one of the candidates ... It appears that Mr. Russell, one of the candidates, was cashier at the colliery where the polling booth was held, and he and Mr. Shadforth, another of the candidates, were to be seen going in every direction canvassing votes ... There was an overman at the door of the booth to say "now Jack or Tom it is four and five you are to vote for" ... numbers four and five on the ballot sheet were Messrs Russell and Shadforth, and their names were printed larger than those of the other candidates. This makes a farce of the Ballot Act.

Yours Etc.,
FAIR PLAY.'

During the course of its existence the membership of Bearpark School Board changed several times, but it always reflected the fact that Bearpark was a mining village. Mr. Benjamin Dodd, a mining engineer, served on the Board throughout its existence from 1875 until 1904. Indeed from 9th December, 1897, until the triennial election in July 1899 the whole of the five man Board had connections with the mine. The election of 28th July, 1896, gave the following results,

1 Durham County Advertiser, 16.VII.1875.
2 Advertiser, 16.VII.1875.
On 9th December 1897 the following entry was recorded in the minutes book,

'James Atkinson, miner, (was) elected onto the Board in place of Henry Roberts disqualified by absence.'

The last elected Board for Bearpark consisted of three miners, a mining engineer and a farmer, showing the continuing influence of the mine and the growing strength of the working men. One reason for this, of course, was that in small districts like Bearpark the majority of the candidates willing to stand would have colliery connections.

What is interesting is the change over the period from the dominance of management in 1875 to the dominance of the workers in 1902. The opportunities afforded by School Board elections were quickly realised in the North East, as elsewhere. A 'Working Man' from Hartlepool wished to,

'draw attention to my fellow working men to the formation of School Boards, hoping they will take an active part in electing those who have laboured to secure for us the rights we now possess ... I would draw attention to the fact of working men being eligible as candidates on the School Boards,

3 School Board for Elvet and St. Oswald's (Ex. mun.), County of Durham, Minutes Book, 28.VII.1896.
4 School Board for Elvet and St. Oswald's (Ex. mun.), County of Durham, Minutes Book, 9.XII.1897.
'and I hope to see an intelligent working man on most of the Boards, as no one knows our wants, and no class will benefit more, than ourselves.'

However, the prospect of working class power did not please everyone. Pre-election meetings in Framwellgate Moor led to this criticism from James Gavan, himself a Union member,

'As soon as it became known to the pitmen that they possessed elective powers they made strenuous, though not very praiseworthy, efforts to seat their favourite candidates. Union meetings were convoked ... (and) sensible men who did attend were scarcely allowed to open their mouths. Such were the Liberal principles displayed by what one of your correspondents has very appropriately termed the "brainless rabble" of Framwellgate Moor. "We dinna want a Churchman", "Aa's not gan to vote for a Tawry", were interruptions frequently thrown in at the meetings by addle-pated ninnies, who knew no more about politics than they did of "Euclid's Data".'

Like Bearpark, Framwellgate Moor reflected the mining influence in its composition, and had its share of workers as members. The majority of the candidates for elections had mining connections, and generally three out of five members on each of the Boards came from these. The 1890 Board consisted of a miner, a cokeman, a mining engineer, a grocer and a farmer; in 1896 a miner, an overman, a colliery manager, a Clerk in Holy Orders and a farmer made up the Board; while a cokeman, a brakeman, a colliery manager, a Clerk in Holy Orders and a butcher were elected in 1902, and a colliery official and two miners were defeated.
An appreciation of the extent to which coal-mining dominated Durham County and the North East helps to explain School Board districts, the type of candidates put forward for election, and the success or lack of success of these candidates. At the opening of the eighteenth century the economy of the North East was far from backward. Crowley's lead works at Winlaton, the glassworks on the Tyne and Wear, the stockings and linen industry of the Tees and the growing productivity of the coalfields, greatly helped by the Newcomen engines for pumping water from the deeper seams and the development of the waggon way for overland transport, all point to this. Between 1730 and 1800 total shipments of coal from the Tyne and Wear doubled, while lead production rose sixfold. The lead industry of Weardale, Teesdale, Allendale and Alston was a very important element in the country's economy, and there was a favourable balance of merchandise trade in the North East. The expansion of production in agriculture, achieved by better management, better quality of seed, better animals and greater inputs of labour and capital, was no less impressive. Agricultural productivity rose between five and seven times during the eighteenth century; and then,

'Into this far from quiet economy of the eighteenth century two interrelated inventions burst and shattered the inhibitions of this earlier period. The railway, itself a product of the North East coalfield, and later the steam-driven iron or steel ship, between them transformed the world economy, and in that transformation County Durham had a disproportionate role.'

The patenting, by Trevethick in 1802, of a locomotive for drawing coal, followed by the famous locomotives of Blenkinsop and Stephenson, led to the rapid and extensive development of the Durham coalfield. At one and the same time the railway arose as a consumer and effective transporter of coal, virtually to wherever men wanted to take it. By 1840 Durham was covered with a network of tramways carrying coal from all over the County to Staithes on the North East coast. There were 129 collieries in Northumberland and Durham in 1846 compared with 59 in 1828. The demands of steam and the new gas industry created an incentive for this rapid expansion. The scramble to open up the coalfield was almost like a goldrush. New collieries were opened and at the same time more powerful pumping machinery and the miners' safety lamp gave new life at a greater depth to many existing collieries. Too rapid an expansion in the supply of coal began to create problems by the 1850s, but then a rapid and combined growth of the shipbuilding and the iron and steel industries provided the solution to these in the second half of the nineteenth century.

"For fifty or more years nature and man's ingenuity combined to give County Durham and the other banks of its boundary rivers, the Tyne and the Tees, almost unrivalled advantages of economic location."  

There was no shortage of skilled labour to inhibit this economic growth. Between 1841 and 1881 the population of Durham and Newcastle rose by over 180 per cent. At times the growth rate

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was double the national average. For example in the decade from 1861 to 1871 national population growth was 13.2 per cent while that of the North East was 26.5 per cent. Almost a third of the population of Northumberland and Durham between 1851 and 1881 were immigrants. Many of these, especially the Irish Catholics, made up the minorities which affected School Board election results. High wages acted as the magnet which drew people to the North East. Iron and steel workers, shipyard tradesmen and coalminers earned more than all in comparative employment in other countries except for America. This expansion and prosperity was not without its problems. Technical problems had to be overcome to maintain productivity, but social problems had little or no effect on productivity so were generally neglected. Shifting populations, instability, poor housing, short life expectancy were among the problems faced by the miners of the North East in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and high wages could not always compensate for these. Drinking was quite common, morals often low and the standard of education poor. One of the reasons for this latter fact was the employment of boys in the mines.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the presence of children in mines was consolidated and they became accepted as a natural, and even essential, part of the labour force. In Northumberland and Durham women and girls, however, were rarely employed. The 1860 Mines Regulations and Inspection Act led to the gradual disappearance of boys under twelve years old from most pits, but, because of their own inefficiency and the weakness of the Act's
educational clauses, schools did not benefit. In 1872 the Mines Regulations Act was passed stating that no women, and no girls or boys under ten years old were to be employed underground. This Act's educational clauses were stronger than those of 1860, reflecting the growing awareness and concern which had led to the 1870 Education Act. Boys between ten and twelve years old could not be employed except in a mine which the Secretary of State, by reason of the thinness of the seams of such a mine, considered such employment necessary. This was allowed on the following conditions: for not more than six days in any one week; in any case for not more than ten hours in any one day, or otherwise in accordance with the regulations contained in the remainder of the Act. Boys between ten and twelve years old were required to attend school for at least twenty hours in every two weeks. This time was to be made up so that it did not exceed three hours in any one session, five hours in any one day and twelve hours in any one week. Sundays and any time before 8 a.m. or after 6 p.m. could not be included. Non-attendance could be excused for certified sickness, school holidays and for any time during which there was no school which the boy could attend within two miles of his home or the mine in which he worked. Parents had to ensure that their sons attended school in accordance with the regulations of the Act.

So the onus of ensuring attendance of children at school was being put on the parents. At the same time the parents were being given the chance to have a say in this education through School
Board elections. Thus, Durham pit-boys were being given a better chance of going to school regularly. Where School Boards were formed boys could find themselves at school until the age of thirteen, or until they gained a certificate of exemption. In areas with no School Boards at least the available schools tried to become more attractive and efficient in the face of Board competition. Progress could now be made in the educational field, and parents cured of the idea that schools were a waste of time. The custom of early employment was deeply entrenched in the mining areas of the North East and parents had an overwhelming consideration of the money their children could earn. Gradually, however, as they had more to do with education through voting at School Board elections, standing as candidates and serving on Boards, the parents began to learn the benefits that could be gained from education. Prior to this the attitude of the miners, that of the owners, and even that of the children themselves militated against the provision of education. This lack of educational enthusiasm was partly due to the nature of the schools and the people connected with them. The generally low standards made pitmen regard attendance at school as a waste of time and money. The children themselves often wished to be rid of the restrictions of schools and have the independence their few shillings a week brought them. Only too late did they realise that school was better than the pit.
"I asked to go into the pit in order to get away from school. I would go to school now if I could be allowed." 9

There was also the strong outside influence of the owners and managers who were generally not interested in, and sometimes actively against, education. It was easier to dictate terms to pitmen who lacked organisation and leadership, qualities that often came with education. Some owners like Lord Ravensworth, the Earl of Wharncliffe and Mr. J. Bowes did try to establish schools for the children of their colliers, but not with a great deal of success. The Established Church, bastion of voluntary education had experience in providing schools, but largely failed in mining areas through lack of contact. The large and rapidly growing parishes of the area became difficult to supervise by one incumbent. The Churches for the rural population were often far away from the new pit villages and time and money were needed to build new Churches. The Dissenters, on the other hand, had some success in the North East, the Methodists being particularly influential in mining areas. Meeting houses could be easily established in the new pit villages and the preachers had close contact with the community and spoke the same language. With little money for day schools the Methodists relied upon Sunday Schools to propagate their beliefs, but these free Sunday Schools

often became an excuse for miners not to send their children to any existing day schools, as reading and writing was taught along with religious instruction.

Closely interlinked with the rise of the Dissenting Chapels was the rise of Trade Unionism between 1821 and 1850. The Chapel could train men to preach the Gospel, but this training was equally useful for addressing Trade Union meetings. Listening to their local preacher or Union leader the miners began to see the benefits afforded by education. When the chance came after 1870 to vote for the kind of education they wanted, many miners supported the Dissenters who had come to them and helped them, and voted against the Church which had neglected many of the pit villages. The Unsectarian Dissenters had good representation and often a majority on School Boards in mining areas such as Bearpark, Cornforth and Framwellgate Moor. The Dissenting populations in areas other than mining in the North East also supported the Liberal Unsectarian candidates. Most of Darlington's School Boards were dominated by the Unsectarians because of the large proportion of Quakers living there. Out of the eleven Boards at South Shields the Unsectarians dominated nine. However, other areas in the North East with smaller dissenting populations, or with a well organised Church Party had School Boards where the majority of members were Denominationalists. Durham City, with its Cathedral and Churches, had only three contested School Board elections and the already entrenched Denominationalists won all of these. Gateshead affords another example of an area ruled by Denominationalists. Twenty-
three different clergymen served on its eleven Boards, there being never less than two, and on two occasions seven. Some Boards, like Jarrow, changed hands several times during their existence, sometimes because of better organisation by the opposition and other times because the voters were not satisfied with the Board's educational policy over the last three years.

Another aspect of mining which affected School Boards in Durham especially, was the increased willingness of colliery owners to provide education after 1870. As a result certain areas had no need for a School Board. In County Durham industrial and social conditions created some variations from national progress.

'These variations were: (1) despite poor provision in 1870, Durham came to have considerably less Board School places in proportion to Voluntary School places than was average for England and Wales. This was due to greater Voluntary effort and the policy of colliery owners to avoid the formation of Boards where possible by building their own schools or subscribing to religious bodies to help build denominational schools. (2) The migratory nature of the inhabitants, together with the poor provision in 1870 and the more rapid growth of population than average, resulted in a greater percentage increase between 1870 and 1902, i.e. 380 per cent to the national average of 260 per cent, so it was harder to fill the gaps. (3) The smallest Board was in an area of 1,500 inhabitants compared to many in places of under 1,000 people in England and Wales. This was due mainly to the colliery owners, and to the fact that, the area being well populated, districts could be united and still form a compact unit. (4) A reluctance about compulsion was present. The standards for exemption were low. There was also no prosperous artisan class. (5) The average attendance at first low when compared with that of England and Wales soon outstripped it - 1871 22 per cent (26 per
'cent Nationally); 1881 65 per cent (55 per cent Nationally); 1901 83 per cent (75 per cent Nationally).'

This latter figure reflects the growth of appreciation by the adult population of the benefits of education for their children. In 1902 colliery owners were either providing, or sharing the provision of, the necessary schools in thirteen districts in the Durham area. In other districts they contributed largely to the financing of schools built by religious bodies, such as Sacriston Wesleyan School. Only in those districts where there was no colliery of significance, such as Croxdale, or where there was some dispute between rival owners, such as Bearpark, or where the pit was not in a thriving condition, such as Thornley, or where the district included centres of population apart from the mine that were not catered for by Voluntary agencies, such as Cassop, were Boards in fact formed.

'It appears that the general policy of the owners was to meet the requirements of the 1870 Act where other Voluntary bodies were unlikely to do so.'

Whether this was done for reasons of philanthropy, or to give them some form of control over the education of their workers is a matter for conjecture. As early as the 1840s Northumberland and Durham had been generally well provided with schools. The Earl of


Durham and the Marquis of Londonderry were among those who provided colliery villages with schools, while Consett Iron Company was especially thorough in providing education for its employees' children. However, there was very little compulsion for the children to attend. If all owners had acted like the Duke of Buccleuch, who introduced virtual compulsory education at Dalkeith Colliery, one of the main purposes of the Mines Regulations Acts of 1860 and 1872, and the Education Act of 1870, the education of all children, would have been achieved. Compulsory education on a national scale only came, along with the School Boards, as an ultimate consequence of the 1870 Act, and in the framing of School Board bye-laws the voters had an indirect voice.

Connected with coal mining were other industrial influences in the North East and these should be taken into consideration when looking at School Board elections. Men like John Buddle, Nicholas Wood and the Marquis of Londonderry soon realised the almost limitless possibilities opened up by the coming of the railways.

'Seaham Harbour, Hartlepool, Port Clarence and Middlesbrough remain as monuments to such men's determination that with railways providing the arteries along which the lifeblood of coal could flow, nothing was impossible.'

In some areas the electors for School Boards consisted of a fairly buoyant and prosperous new population. Their prosperity was helped

by leaders such as Charles Mark Palmer, the founder of Jarrow. Within fifteen years Palmer brought together under his control the coal mines of North West Durham capable of producing the highest quality of coke, ironstone mines in North Yorkshire, furnaces and rolling mills where the iron ore could be converted into sheets to build, in his own shipyards, the ships to carry the ore and coal, and all this before he was forty. Palmer's influence and that of the shipyards can be seen in the elections to Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School Board. There was always a strong working-class element on the Board reflecting the kind of district that it served. In 1886,

'A meeting of the representatives for Boilermakers, Shipbuilders, Joiners, Engineers, Miners and Radical Associations resolved to run six labour candidates at the coming election.'13

Jarrow's size and economic resources meant that the Board was able to do much to advance the educational opportunities available to its inhabitants. The right to be involved in the decision making on education was always keenly contested at Jarrow throughout the period. This was not always the case elsewhere.

The interest of the ratepayers varied. It was generally high in the first elections, but lower as time went on, unless there was some important controversy which caught the voters' interest. Darlington, for example, had a ninety per cent turnout for its first election, fifty eight per cent for its second and

13 Jarrow Express and Tyneside Advertiser, 12.II.1886.
under fifty per cent for its third. However, when there was a matter of principle at stake a large turnout could be expected. In 1887 at Middleton St. George 177 out of 198 ratepayers voted. This was because the election was,

'the climax of the Church Party's sometimes violent opposition to the School Board Party's action over the previous three years, when they won control of the Board.'14

In Norton's election of 1875, when the Unsectarians managed to wrest control of the Board from the Denominationalists and the unpopular vicar was rejected along with all but one of the old School Board members,

'there was an active election which created more stir than the Parliamentary election.'15

Industrial and economic expansion brought with it rapid increases in population and this had its effect on School Board elections in the area. Ratcliffe puts forward the view that districts with the greatest population increases tended to have School Boards partly because of the resulting difficulty of providing sufficient school accommodation, but mainly because they supported Liberal Dissenting policies, being industrial towns, and so were keen to extend education.16

14 Darlington and Stockton Times, 18.X.87.
Districts with smaller population increases did find it easier to absorb the extra school population. However, it must be pointed out that this is not the whole story. Smaller areas were less able to finance School Boards so were consequently less willing to elect them, and were also more easily persuaded by the local squires and vicars to support existing Church Schools and oppose School Boards. Districts with large populations and those which grew quickly could see how useful a School Board could be for them and were therefore much quicker at setting up School Boards than those districts of smaller size. Stockton and Middlesbrough School Boards were elected on 29th November, 1870, four days after Manchester, the first elected Board in the country. Darlington and Jarrow followed quickly, being elected early in 1871. All of these show a marked increase in population over the School Board period, 1871 to 1901:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Population Increase</th>
<th>Percentage Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darlington 28,722</td>
<td>182%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarrow 31,351</td>
<td>128%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesbrough 81,325</td>
<td>417%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockton 37,991</td>
<td>282%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Billingham, Cowpen Bewley, Middleton St. George, Norton and Whitton all had large population increases and all formed School Boards. These growing populations would want some say in the education to be provided for their children, and School Boards were necessary to achieve this. There are, of course, exceptions in the area.
Witton le Wear, a small rural area with a population of 2,329, had one of the first Boards to be formed in the area (1871), while Durham City, whose population only rose by 18 per cent, was also amongst the first to form a Board in March 1871.

Population not only affected the formation of School Boards, but also affected the frequency of contested elections. Small rural Boards always found it easier to compromise and avoid a contest and thus the consequent expense. Norton and Whitton, for example, managed to avoid contesting four out of eleven possible elections, while Wolviston managed to avoid six out of ten. Compromise was also sometimes possible in a City such as Durham with a reasonably stable and compact population, and only three of its elections were contested. In growing industrial towns and cities with diverse populations consisting of all kinds of religious and political hues, compromise was usually impossible. Middlesbrough and Stockton managed to avoid one contest out of eleven, Darlington and South Shields two out of eleven, Gateshead three out of eleven, but at Jarrow compromise was found to be impossible and all eleven elections were contested. This failure to reach a compromise was probably a good thing as it gave the ratepayers a free choice of policies, the contest being a fundamental principle of the School Board system. The composition of the population of School Board districts also had an effect on the results of School Board elections. The 1870 Education Act was so designed as to give great protection to minority groups. This was ensured by the cumulative voting system. Each elector
had as many votes as there were members of the School Board, and he could divide these amongst the candidates as he chose, or give them all to one candidate (known as plumping). Roman Catholics as a group benefited greatly from this, as the priests were able to organise their close-knit congregations into plumping for the Roman Catholic candidate or candidates.

There are numerous examples of Roman Catholics heading the poll in North Eastern School Board elections. In 1870 the Catholic candidate, Riley, topped the poll at Gateshead; at Stockton in 1873 the Roman Catholic Carlile came top; in 1874 Coll topped the poll at Darlington, and three years later another Roman Catholic, Turnerelli, was top. Most large Boards, and some smaller ones, in areas with a Roman Catholic minority had at least one Catholic as a member, and sometimes more. At Darlington in 1883 the Church Party made a determined effort to gain control of the Board, so the Catholics decided to try to increase their own representation. They were successful, the composition of the new Board being four Churchmen, two Roman Catholics and five Unsectarians, giving the Denominationists a six to five majority. Their success was denounced by the *Northern Echo* as an 'unholy union', especially as some Church people had voted for the Catholics. The Church and the Catholics had united to protect their own vested interests making School Board supporters fear that the Denominationists would curtail Board activities, favour Voluntary Schools and try to influence the children's religion through the schools. In 1876 Mr. E. Gilkes had said at Middlesbrough,
"although I am a Quaker I do not intend to make all children Quakers, but if the Church Party gains control of the School Board they will try to make all children Anglican."  

The Denominationalists were fighting a defensive action against School Boards because of the economic rivalry posed by Board Schools, which were, in the eyes of Church supporters, 'Godless institutions'. Sometimes there was ample justification for the Denominationalists' action. In 1878 the Thornley School Board opposed grant aid for St. Goderic's Roman Catholic School. As a result grant aid did not come until 1882, but even though the Board reduced the fees at its own schools to attract children from St. Goderic's, it managed to survive. Direct opposition like this was not always the case, but it was common enough in Durham and the North East to justify this comment from the Echo,

'All this division of candidates into representatives of religious denominations is not in every instance the work of the candidates themselves, but is accomplished apparently by a natural process by their partisans amongst the various religious bodies to which they belong. It should, however, be constantly borne in mind that the duty of a member of a School Board is not to conserve the interests of any particular sect, but to carry out the provisions of the Education Act.'

The Denominationalists used the cumulative vote and good organisation to get elected to School Boards so as to maintain some control over areas where they could not afford to build or maintain their own schools. In many areas Roman Catholics constituted a large minority, Darlington and Jarrow being examples of this.

17 Echo, 18.XII.1876.
18 Echo, 4.I.1871.
They could never hope to control a School Board, but by putting candidates forward and turning out to vote they could be represented, and Cardinal Manning urged them to do just this. The Catholics' attitude was summed up by two of their candidates for Darlington's 1883 election,

"We hold that Board Schools were only intended by the legislature to aid the Voluntary Schools in the work of education, and not to enter into unfair competition with such schools to their destruction." 19

School Boards often accepted the principle of having minorities represented on them. Some even helped to maintain this representation. Heworth School Board was formed in 1875 and Father Kelly, the Catholic candidate, came first in the poll. In 1878 a second Catholic gained a place on the Board showing the strength and organisation of the Catholic minority. In 1883 Father Hayes, a Roman Catholic, resigned and the Board allowed his place to be filled by Mr. Bennett, a Catholic Layman, thus recognising the needs of the Catholic minority. Again in 1892, when Father Carroll died, the Catholics were allowed to replace him with Father Murphy.

County Durham and the North East had quite a large proportion of Roman Catholics. They tried to provide their own schools as much as possible, but often because of the high costs this was difficult. Encouraged by the Catholic Poor School Committee wherever efficient rooms and schoolmasters made it possible Catholics in County Durham opened schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MISSION</th>
<th>CATHOLIC POPULATION</th>
<th>SCHOOL ROOMS</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnard Castle</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>School apparatus deficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birtley</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Auckland</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>No school</td>
<td>Fifty children require education. School needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croxdale Hall</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sunday only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darlington</td>
<td>900-1,000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Infant school wanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esh Laude</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Support wanted for school mistress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Felling</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>No school</td>
<td>Schools wanted particularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gateshead</td>
<td>1,948</td>
<td></td>
<td>School held in Chapel and money wanted for girls' school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartlepool</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Industrial and night schools contemplated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houghton</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutton House</td>
<td></td>
<td>No school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stella</td>
<td>900</td>
<td></td>
<td>New schools about to be built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockton</td>
<td>800-900</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Shields and Jarrow</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Only half attend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunderland</td>
<td>No return</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thornley</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolsingham</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1847 and 1882 there was a 350 per cent growth in the Roman Catholic population of Durham and Northumberland. This goes some way towards explaining the Roman Catholic turnout and successes at School Board elections in the area. There were Catholic Schools. By 1870 there were 3,845 children in regular attendance at Catholic Schools in County Durham, and nineteen of these were inspected schools. During the 'period of grace', the first six months of 1870, eleven new Catholic Schools were opened, including one at Hebburn, one at Consett, one at Stanley, one at Seaham Harbour, one at Tudhoe and a third one at Darlington. Jarrow Roman Catholic School was the ninth largest mixed school in the County, with 160 over sevens in regular attendance. The financial burden was, of course, heavy so School Boards were used as a supplementary way of maintaining educational influence.

The Roman Catholic representative on the School Board was usually the parish priest, and, in fact, the clergy of all Denominations played an important part on many School Boards. As has already been seen, Gateshead, with its twenty-three different Ministers of Religion serving eleven Boards, is a good example of this. The protection of vested interests partly explains the clergy putting themselves forward for election to School Boards, but it must also be remembered that for so long the majority of education for the poor had been in their hands so they were amongst the few with experience of educational administration. In Durham and the North East, as was the case elsewhere, people from all walks of life stood as candidates for School Boards. Alfred Septimus Palmer,
brother of Sir Charles Palmer, Member of Parliament and founder of Jarrow, served Heworth School Board. His son Claud Bowes Palmer also became a member of this School Board. The Reverend R. Lacy, later created the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Middlesbrough, sat on the School Board. Middlesbrough Board was also fortunate in having the services of William Fallows, the 'Father of the Tees'; the services of three local ironmasters, E. Gilkes, Isaac Wilson (M.P.) and T.H. Bell, and the services of Edward Williams, President of the Middlesbrough branch of the National Education League. Bell, who was Vice President of this body, was later to be created a Baronet. In Darlington the three great Quaker families of Dale, Fry and Pease all contributed members to the School Board.

Initially the candidates were mainly from the middle-class, with few working-class candidates standing, though all, including women could stand. At the first Middlesbrough election of 1870, Isaac Haigh, a Church candidate, and Isaiah Eden, the National Education League candidate, both also stood as working-class candidates and were elected. John Kane, one of the leaders of the British Working-Class Movement in the nineteenth century, failed to be elected to the first Darlington School Board, but was successful at the second attempt in 1874. Later in the period, when town Boards had enlarged memberships and with the rise of Trade Unions, the working-class were better represented thanks to improved organisation and greater political consciousness. Generally at least one, and often several, of the members of the School Boards came from the working-class. Joseph Hopper became the first working-
class member of the Heworth School Board in 1881, and as the vast majority of the district's population was working-class, this was not before time. Hopper later served on the Board of Guardians and was instrumental in providing homes for aged miners, the Hopper Memorial Homes. John Simpson took over from Hopper as the working-class representative on Heworth School Board, serving from 1887 until the demise of the Board after 1902. He also served Gateshead Board of Guardians, became a magistrate and then the first representative of Felling Urban District Council. So School Boards provided a political and educational outlet for ordinary people and often became a practice ground for local and even national politics. Education came to the people as something closer and more alive through the medium of the School Board, and this led to educational advances.

Despite many years of reluctance to pull together and make Voluntary educational provision work, in many areas, once there was a School Board, the population seems to have supported their elected representatives. This was certainly true in the Allendale area of Northumberland, where by 1887 the School Board was in full control of all education.\textsuperscript{21} The work done by the first School Board for Tynemouth engendered a positive sense of identity,

\begin{quote}
'With no previous experience of educational administration, these nine men had begun the enormous task of putting the 1870 Act into practice. They
\end{quote}

'had worked with keen determination, unhindered by sectarian rivalry, to establish a working procedure, draft Bye-laws and organise temporary schools. They also began building two schools for 1,000 children.'

This sense of identity was handed on to succeeding Boards and thereafter few inhabitants of Tynemouth were unaffected by their work. In a small pit village like Bearpark or Framwellgate Moor all were affected by the workings of the School Board, not least by the rates it levied, so interest in the elections was important for economic as well as educational reasons. Generally the electors of an area wanted to ensure that they were receiving educational value for money, and this consideration is reflected in many North Eastern election addresses. The 1886 School Board election campaign at South Shields reflects this, with the Denominationalists opposing any increase in School Board expenditure, while supporting the Board in carrying out its functions under the Elementary Education Acts. The Unsectarians admitted that the Board's work had been expensive, but pointed out that a new school had been opened with places for over a thousand children. The result of the election was stalemate, four Unsectarians being elected to five Denominationalists, with two Independent members holding the balance. At Darlington in 1874 the Denominationalists tried to gain votes by promising,

'If you wish to ECONOMISE the School Board Rate, VOTE FOR THE CHURCH CANDIDATES. Bear in mind that

"the CHURCHMEN, WESLEYANS AND CATHOLICS SUPPORT THEIR OWN SCHOOLS WITHOUT ANY TAX ON THE RATEPAYERS ... It is very easy for the Unsectarian candidates - as they call themselves - to be "LIBERAL" in spending your money when they do not intend in future to support schools at their own expense ... Vote then only for those candidates ... who will try to prevent all needless and lavish expenditure of the ratepayers money."23

The appeal failed, and, although they polled more votes than the Unsectarians, the Denominationalists failed to gain control of the Board. It was not until 1883 that they managed to organise themselves well enough to win a majority, and after this the Unsectarians had to appeal to the ratepayers and refute the accusations of extravagance. By emphasising economy the candidates and voters for School Board elections in the North East were being no different than those in the rest of England and Wales. The main issues at School Board elections were religious education, compulsory education, efficiency and economy.

One innovation of School Board elections which was to have great significance for the future was the fact that women were eligible to vote and stand, so for the first time they were able to experience direct participation in local politics. Manchester, which held the first contested School Board election, set an example,

'the result of the first contested election for a School Board was made known at Manchester yesterday -

'Church 6; Wesleyans 2; Roman Catholics 2; Presbyterian 1; Secularists 2. The other two successful candidates are Miss Becker, who does not state her religious views, and Mr. Birch, described as a ragged school representative.'24

So Miss Becker led the way, and her example was followed in other areas, notably London, which elected Emily Davis and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson onto its first Board. However, throughout the period there were never large numbers of women elected onto School Boards. Out of the ninety-seven members who sat on Nottingham School Board only six were women; out of fifty-three members of six Leicester School Boards only three were women. Five women sat on Birmingham School Board, while just two served Hull. Of the eleven London School Boards the women members numbered respectively, 2, 2, 4, 10, 7, 3, 4, 3, 4, 8, 8. There was no united effort to secure many women members, perhaps because the women's fight for political freedom had not yet begun in a large way.

Durham and the North East was no different than the rest of the country. Throughout its life Gateshead School Board only had a total of three women members, one of whom had been headmistress of Redheugh Girls' Board School, and was a Board member for nine years. In the Teesside area only Stockton and Darlington School Boards had women members. Miss Findlay (1891-1894) and Mrs. Baker (1900-1904) served Stockton, and for Darlington there were Mrs. Pease (1883-1886), Miss Fry (1891-1900), Miss Lucas (1894-1897)

and Mrs. Marshall (1901-1902). Mrs. Pease, who became Darlington School Board's first woman member was the wife of Henry Pease, Member of Parliament, and he was also a Board member. Miss Fry, Darlington School Board's longest serving woman member, resigned in 1900 and was replaced 'not merely by another Unsectarian, but also by another woman, Mrs. Marshall'. The other seven Teesside School Boards, including the large Middlesbrough Board, had no women members. Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School Board and that of Durham City had none, as did most of the smaller Boards. Of course, as with anyone else, women who put themselves forward as candidates at School Board elections were not always successful.

'Among twenty-three candidates were two women, Mary Hodgson and Elizabeth Hilton, both Unsectarians, who had served the Board as teachers. Mr. Stevenson said that as two-thirds of the Board's teachers were women and half of the children in the schools were girls, their influence would be of immense value. Both ladies got about 3,000 votes, but neither got a seat.'25

Perhaps this was because the eligibility of women to sit on School Boards and to vote at School Board elections were major innovations of the 1870 Education Act,

'The admission of women to the electoral franchise, and the cumulative vote, constitute the novelties of the School Board elections in the country.'26

'Polling for forty-nine persons who are to compose the first London School Board began at eight o'clock


26 Echo, 1.XII.1870.
'yesterday morning, and appears to excite great interest. Before noon, several ladies had exercised their right to vote.'27

The innovation of allowing women to participate directly in local politics also brought forth the occasional gibe,

'A lady voter determined to return Reverend Hughes, who was not a candidate at the election, had written his name on the back of the ballot paper, saying that he should have been nominated.

Another lady was so afraid to open the ballot paper that she had returned it with the names written on the back.'28

So, although School Board elections were an introduction into politics for women, the effect in Durham and the North East was not greatly noticeable. Only a few School Board areas had women members, and those that did took a decade or more before electing them. Darlington seems to have been the only Board with more than one woman at a time, and then for only three years (Miss Fry and Miss Lucas 1894-1897). The other Boards that did elect women never elected more than one at any one time. It seems that the acceptance of women into politics, even at such a minor level, took time.

The main beneficiaries of the 1870 Education Act and the subsequent School Board elections were the working-class and their children, and this was as true in County Durham and the North East

27 Echo, 30.XI.1870.

as it was elsewhere. The 1870 Act was one of the first moves by the State in recognising a direct responsibility for the public provision of education. The Act was a very workable piece of compromise legislation which made free and compulsory education both possible. The Government's intention was to 'fill the gaps' by providing elementary education, where necessary, for the class of children ranging from the 'Street Arabs' to those of the 'respectable working-class'. The schools provided were to be self-contained and not preparatory to a Grammar School or any other form of education. The 1870 Education Act, however, made access to a higher than elementary education a more prominent issue. Having been left a great deal of scope by the Act, the people who were elected onto School Boards were able to use their powers to widen and expand the education available to the people served by the Board. Working-class School Board members were able to have a direct say in the education of their children, while through elections all interested parties were able to vote for the educational policies they supported. As a result the curriculum was gradually widened, and Higher Grade Schools, Organised Science Schools, Pupil Teacher Centres, Central Schools and Evening Schools were developed.

School Boards became the focus of new social pressures, of greater interest in democratic processes and a growing awareness of educational issues. The elections led to the people involved becoming more interested in education and to them recognising its value. This contributed to a change in thinking about social
policy which helped to make education become an integral part of social responsibility. The elections and composition of School Boards were thus of great social importance, helping to develop a new sense of educational purpose by enabling many different kinds of people to become actively involved with education. People of wealth and quality came forward for election, and political opportunities were given to workers and to women. This meant an intermingling of social classes and the sexes in political and educational activity which led to greater toleration and understanding. School Board elections brought many people, candidates and voters, from all kinds of backgrounds face to face with the facts of education, giving them a grasp of the issues involved,

'It appears that the persons who will henceforth undergo the strictest process of education are the members of the School Boards themselves ... Already there are several hundreds of gentlemen and a few ladies whose minds are now devoted to the subject of education.'

Toleration and co-operation were gradually fostered as those elected to School Boards met, worked with and treated with respect all sorts of people they had previously shunned. School Boards were representative social phenomena, being part of a growing organisation of public services with a balance between central and local government control, which became of increasing public interest. Educational advances, fostered by the rapidly increasing

voluntary and state provided education, and the opportunities afforded by Higher Grade Schools and the like, helped the now more politically aware population to verbalise their opinions and wishes. Through School Board elections the voters became more organised and active, and so were able to take a greater part in the wider field of urban politics. In County Durham and the North East this activity was reflected in the keen interest shown in the elections, and by people like John Simpson who after serving on a School Board went on to be a representative on the Urban District Council.
CHAPTER 3

SECTARIANISM AT SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS
CHAPTER 3

SECTARIANISM AT SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS

Sectarianism was an ever-present feature of School Board elections throughout the country. In certain areas it was more marked than others, especially in places like Birmingham with its large and vociferous Unsectarian Party. The 1870 Education Act allowed Voluntary Schools to remain, with the help of Government grants, side by side with Board Schools. The Act gave School Boards the power either to provide schools themselves or to assist existing schools. This meant that Unsectarians might find themselves paying for a Church School and sending their children there, or that Roman Catholics might have to pay for and send their children to a Protestant School. Moreover, school rates soon created sectarian strife at School Board elections with the various denominations seeking to gain ascendancy on the Boards. This was so that they could control the use of the rates for their own particular and perhaps sectarian ends. This had prompted George Dixon, a National Education League member and Member of Parliament for Birmingham, to propose an amendment to the Education Bill to remove decisions over the religious question from School Boards by making all rate-aided schools unsectarian, and by insisting that in other schools religious teaching should be given separately and at a specific time, so that children could be withdrawn from it. The resulting Cowper-Temple Clause stating that 'no catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of
any particular denomination' should be taught in State-financed schools, along with a timetable conscience clause, stilled some of the opposition within Parliament, but in practice it led to bitter fighting at School Board elections as the majority party on a Board could decide on the amount, if any, of religious instruction to be given in Board Schools. Another aspect of the Education Bill which caused controversy was Clause 22 which allowed rate-aid for Voluntary Schools. Unsectarians were bitterly opposed to this.

Lowe joined in the opposition to this Clause and advocated that money for Denominational Schools should come out of General Exchequer funds rather than the rates. As a result the so-called 'dual system' of Board and Voluntary Schools existing separately was established. This again removed some of the religious heat from the Education Bill, only to switch the battle lines from Parliament to the School Board elections, where the Church Party fought to protect Voluntary Schools from Board encroachments and the Nonconformists fought to extend the Board system at the expense of Voluntary provision. Meanwhile the furore in Parliament over Clause 22 had provided a smokescreen behind which another very controversial clause managed to escape notice. Clause 25 of the Bill allowed School Boards to pay the fees of poor children to attend schools, and in practice this often meant attendance at Voluntary Schools. This loophole was later used by Denomination-alists to avoid setting up Board Schools and became yet another reason for sectarian battles at School Board elections. It became
the duty of Churchmen to keep out School Boards where there were none, and where they existed to make them Church Boards in order to secure fair play for Voluntary Schools. Edward Miall, a leading Nonconformist, was quick to condemn Clause 25 as he realised that only Anglicans and Roman Catholics would benefit from forcing School Boards to fill up inefficient sectarian schools at public expense.¹ This was because after a School Board election was over the religious affiliation of the majority usually determined the Board's interpretation of Clause 25, thus affording Denomination- alists an opportunity to protect Voluntary Schools.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop Manning appreciated this so he exhorted his followers to,

"co-operate to the utmost of our powers and obtain a share in the treatment of the questions that may affect us. If they should offer to include our clergy in any Boards I think we ought to accept it."²

Merely fighting against the establishment of School Boards was not enough. The threat which Board Schools would pose to denominational education was a paramount reason for Catholic membership on the Boards themselves.

"Our withdrawal would diminish the check which hinders the more rapid and dangerous development of the secular system."³

Manning wished to work in unison with other denominations in order to resist the growth of secularism. It was not only the Roman Catholics who saw the sense in presenting a united front at School Board elections so as to secure their aims. Congregationalists, for example, wished to promote State education and secular instruction, ends which they would join with others to achieve, as this report illustrates.

"Congregational Union Meeting. November 1st, 1870. This committee is anxious that the friends of religious equality should unite to give the Act effect in the forms best fitted to secure the efficient instruction of the people, and recommends Congregationalists in all parts of the country - 1. To use their influence for the formation of School Boards in their several localities, when the use of such influence would not be manifestly unwise or futile; and 2. In cases where School Boards are about to be formed, to promote the election only of such candidates as seem to be moved by an honest zeal for the education of the people, and who will be prepared to put the law in operation in a strictly equitable spirit."

Alex Hanney, Secretary."  

The early elections to School Boards quickly put these opposing ideas into practice, setting the trend of keenly contested sectarian battles.

The first London School Board election was held on 29th November, 1870, and greatly stirred the interest of the City's large population. There were 145 candidates for 49 seats, and the Times commented,

"The great event of today for this country, whatever may be passing on the Continent of Europe, will be

the election of the first London School Board. No equally powerful body will exist in England outside Parliament, if power be measured by influence for good or evil over masses of human beings.\textsuperscript{5}

This was partly because of the size of London and its School Board, but also because it was seen that, to a large extent, School Boards throughout the country would take guidance from the decisions of London School Board. Thus, controversial questions such as the amount and type of religious instruction, pressed upon London School Board with particular gravity. It was a pity, therefore, that the initial election for this School Board was so clouded with religious issues.

'Never before had any municipal contest called forth so much excitement ... As the contest proceeded, those who most sincerely desired the success of the new policy noted with regret, and almost with despair, that the battle raged, as it had raged in Parliament, round the narrow question of the nature of the religious instruction which should be given in the schools of the Board, ignoring the broader educational problem which was submitted to the ratepayers of the land.'\textsuperscript{6}

Fortunately, however, the result was a Board of wide representation that was able to advance the cause of education, and at the same time come up with compromises on various controversial issues. These were often emulated by other Boards. 'What London does today, England does tomorrow', became true of certain aspects of School Board work.

\textsuperscript{5} The Times, 29XI.1870.

\textsuperscript{6} T.A. Spalding, The Work of the London School Board (London 1900) p. 27.
'The London School Board was remarkably representative of the varied schools of thought. Upon it were to be found politicians, two of whom subsequently attained to Cabinet rank; clergymen, two of whom afterwards rose to the Episcopal bench; and representatives of various dissenting bodies. Science and Literature were represented; men well-known for philanthropic work found seats on the Board, together with many who had earned a representation as educationalists. Ladies succeeded in gaining seats in two divisions.'

This diverse mixture had to sink their sectarian differences and get to work on the business of education.

The first Board Chairman for London was Lord Lawrence. He realised London's responsibility when he spoke of setting "an example to the whole of the Kingdom" by establishing "a sound and excellent system of education for the great masses of the people". The problem was that for many people the educational question meant the religious question as had been seen at the School Board election. For many years this problem had slowed down progress in education, as a satisfactory solution seemed impossible to find. There was a desire for children to receive religious instruction, but Nonconformists, as well as some Church supporters, opposed definite dogmatic teaching financed by the State. Compromise was the only answer. The Elementary Education Act of 1870, with its recognition of Denominational Schools as public elementary schools on the one hand, and its exclusion of Denominational teaching on the other, was itself of the nature of a compromise. It effectively

transferred the religious battle from the national to the local level. Within the limits of the Cowper-Temple Clause and the Timetable Conscience Clause religious instruction was to be decided at the discretion of the School Boards. Compromise was the only way to achieve any consensus. In London, after a great deal of protracted discussion, W.H. Smith's famous 'compromise within a compromise' was adopted on 8th March, 1871. This was copied by many School Boards elsewhere, and satisfied all parties in London until 1892, when Athelstan Riley sought the imposition of what amounted to a 'religious test' for teachers.

The years of relative peace on the religious instruction front in London came to a head in 1894 when London School Board's most fiercely contested election was fought. Smith's compromise, seconded by Samuel Morley,

'That in the schools provided by the Board the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacities of the children, provided always (1) that in such explanations and instruction the provisions of the Act in sections 7 and 14 be strictly observed, both in letter and in spirit, and that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination; (2) that in regard to any particular school the Board shall consider and determine, upon application by managers, parents or ratepayers of the district who may show special cause for exception of the school from the operation of this resolution in whole or in part,'

had been passed by thirty-eight votes to three. It effectively

removed religious instruction as an issue at London School Board elections, though Clause 25, compulsory attendance and Board competition with Voluntary Schools remained to rouse sectarian rivalry. By 1893 there had arisen a new generation of Board members who neither knew W.H. Smith and Samuel Morley, nor had any respect for compromise. Their leader was Athelstan Riley, a young man of High Anglican views, who was hostile to the School Board system. He started an able and vigorous campaign against London's religious instruction compromise, arguing that much of the Board's teaching was Unitarian in character, and proposing in 1892,

'\textit{that the Board's teachers should be informed that they should distinctly teach that Christ is God and give explanations of the Holy Trinity.}' This opened the floodgates of religious controversy, 'sweeping aside all the ordinary business of the Board like some ruthless and devastating avalanche.\textsuperscript{9}

There were immediate objections from the Unsectarian Party which argued that the Board should not prescribe, save in a negative way, the nature of the religious instruction in its schools. The only way to maintain the Compromise and secure effective teaching was by leaving the teachers a large measure of freedom.

This was not enough for Riley who wanted the Compromise to be interpreted in a 'Christian' sense, which of course meant in a dogmatic sense. He recommended that teachers be sent a circular requiring the teaching of the doctrine of the Trinity, and added,

\textsuperscript{9} Thomas Gautrey, \textit{School Board Memories} (London undated) p. 102.
Riley's proposal was carried by twenty-three votes to twenty-one, and any teacher who could not conscientiously teach on these lines might, on making application to the Board, be relieved of the duty of giving Scripture lessons. Thus, London teachers were brought into the most acute and personal controversy with the School Board by being asked to submit to what amounted to a religious test. Riley claimed that he did not wish to prevent the appointment of secularist teachers, but rather wished to prevent their giving religious instruction to Christian children. This statement did not satisfy the teachers and there was great opposition from both the National Union of Teachers and the Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association. Three thousand, one hundred and thirty teachers signed a memorial asking for the withdrawal of the new regulations and forty per-cent of the total work-force asked to be relieved of religious teaching. The Rileyites were in a quandary, for to withdraw the circular would stultify themselves, but they did not have the resources to reduce the teaching staff by forty per-cent during the first hour of each day.

The 1894 School Board election was fought on the circular issue and was the most religiously bitter of all London School

Board elections. Riley's pro-circular followers gained twenty-nine seats to the opposition's twenty-six, so that they had a small majority, but the problem of what to do about religious instruction remained. The circular was not withdrawn, but neither was it enforced, rather it was in a state of suspended animation. In the schools religious instruction was little altered. Riley was gradually eased off the School Management Committee by the now far stronger Unsectarian element on the School Board, while his strongest ally, the Reverend J.R. Diggle, was not re-elected to the Chair. Instead, for the first time, the Board exercised its power under the 1870 Education Act of electing an outsider as Chairman, Lord George Hamilton. There was a resultant split in the Denominationalist ranks into pro- and anti-Diggle factions, and at the 1897 Board election the Unsectarians were able to gain a majority for the first time in twelve years. At the same time Diggle lost his seat after eighteen years on the Board. This much changed new Board quietly withdrew the controversial circular without discussion and let the matter drop. The controversy reflected by the heated debates over religious instruction at London School Board meetings and at two elections brought the Board system prominently before the eyes of the general public. It gave the whole system very poor publicity as the controversy and the sectarian passions that it aroused were not in a small rural parish, but in the capital of the Empire. Religious instruction was such a small part, yet it managed to discredit the whole system. However, there were strong religious reasons behind the furore
between 1893 and 1897. The Anglican Church was giving expression to its growing concern, especially among High Churchmen, towards the spectre of widespread 'Godless education', particularly when set alongside the declining funds for Voluntary Schools and the concomitant decline of Church influence in urban areas. If the Church could no longer reach the nation's children through its own schools, then the best means must be made of the sources available, namely the Board Schools. Unsectarians immediately united against this attempt to reassert Church control. They wished to establish instead a truly comprehensive system of national education which would abolish, or at least diminish, religious and class distinctions. The clash of these two concepts resulted in the bitter sectarian controversy surrounding the London School Board election of 1894.11

Similar conflicts had been taking place elsewhere in the country, notably Birmingham, since the inception of the School Board system, but none drew quite as much adverse publicity as London. Sectarian rivalry in Birmingham, where the first School Board election of 28th November, 1870, was fought exclusively on religious lines, did attract quite a lot of attention. Birmingham was the birthplace of the National Education League, the clear-cut policy of which forced people to choose for or against Voluntary Schools. This resulted in many who had previously worked together in general educational and philanthropic zeal being divided locally.

into two antagonistic factions. On one side was the Established Church, in alliance with the State, firmly entrenched in its privileges and very strong materially. On the other side were the Dissenters who resented their disadvantages, such as exclusion from Oxford and Cambridge and having to pay Church rates. The former, often in alliance with the Roman Catholics, wished to maintain their control of education and prevent it falling into the hands of the Unsectarians. The latter were determined that education should not be controlled by the Denominationalists in general, and the Church of England in particular, and that local funds should not be used to support the teaching of any Church. Elementary education maintained by the rates should be purely secular. Two Denominationalists, Canon Wilkinson and Reverend F.S. Dale, tried to reach a compromise and avoid a contest in 1870, but the League refused as it confidently expected to win all fifteen seats on Birmingham's first School Board.

The Liberals put forward fifteen candidates and these were opposed by eight Conservatives and five Independents. The results were as follows,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ELECTED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend Canon O'Sullivan, Roman Catholic Priest Independent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.S. Lloyd, J.P., (Vice Chairman) Banker Conservative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend J.H. Burgess, D.D., Clerk in Holy Orders Conservative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend Canon Wilkinson, D.D., Clerk in Holy Orders Conservative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Gough, Victoraller Conservative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reverend F.S. Dale, M.A.</td>
<td>Clerk in Holy Orders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Dawson, M.A.</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Dixon, M.P.</td>
<td>Dissenting Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.W. Dale, M.A.</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Vince,</td>
<td>Dissenting Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.S. Hopkins,</td>
<td>Dissenting Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.L. Sargant, J.P., (Chairman)</td>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Chamberlain,</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.S. Wright,</td>
<td>Screw Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.J. Elkington,</td>
<td>Button Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Conservative</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOT ELECTED:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>George Braithwaite-Lloyd,</td>
<td>Gentleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Middlemore, J.P.</td>
<td>Saddle Currier and Patent Leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Wilkinson Holland,</td>
<td>Dissenting Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Baker,</td>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Collings,</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Alfred Cooper,</td>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry William Crosskey,</td>
<td>Dissenting Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sandford, B.D.,</td>
<td>Archdeacon of Coventry, Rector of Alvechurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Redford,</td>
<td>Clerk and Collector</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liberal</td>
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</tbody>
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So the composition of the Board was eight Conservatives, six Liberals and one Roman Catholic, giving the Denominationalists a strong majority. The election had been a great tactical error by the National Education League and the Liberals. They had polled 220,637 votes to the Conservatives' 153,703, a majority of 66,934. If they had not split the vote the Liberals could easily have gained a majority on the Board. Their nine unsuccessful candidates polled 124,209 votes. If these wasted votes had been divided between only six extra candidates each would have received 20,701 votes, nearly 1,000 more than Wilkinson who came fourth in the poll. More significant, however, is the fact that dividing the wasted vote between three candidates would have given them 41,403 votes each, 6,283 votes more than O'Sullivan who came top of the poll with 35,120 votes. Alternatively, if the total Liberal vote was divided between eight or even nine candidates, all would have received more votes than all but O'Sullivan and Lloyd of the successful candidates. Effectively then, if the Liberals had not split their supporters by fielding too many candidates they would have gained the majority.

Francis Adams denied it was a blunder, saying that if they had polled at full strength they would have elected all fifteen, just as the League had carried its three Parliamentary candidates in 1868. The cumulative voting system had greatly helped the Denominationalists. Designed to give expression to minority groups and their views, in Birmingham it in fact gave power to the minority. Notwithstanding Adams' protestations, the Liberals did not repeat the experiment of 1870. Instead they perfected their electoral organisation, never putting forward more candidates than necessary for a bare majority on the Board, and developed the much feared and hated 'caucus' which was to be so successful in coming elections. This first School Board election at Birmingham had been,

'accompanied by a revival of sectarian quarrels in their most objectionable form ... No parliamentary or local contests had for generations previously been known to provoke the same amount of bitterness and division between parties.'

Such bitterness and division were also to be the keynotes of the Board's activities over the next three years. Controversy aroused over the payment of school fees for the children of indigent parents highlights one of the issues which had been at stake at the election, as well as at many of the School Board elections which took place elsewhere. Debates over the use of Clause 25 became of far more than local importance. At a meeting on 1st February, 1871, F.S. Dale proposed that the Board should exercise its power to make Bye-laws under Section 74 of the Education Act, to enforce

attendance at public elementary schools on children of the appropriate age, and to remit or pay fees when the necessity arose under Sections 17 and 25 of the Act. The arguments which ensued over the latter part of this proposal were the first to concentrate attention on Clause 25, and the fact that School Boards were specifically empowered to use the rates to pay the fees of children to attend Denominational Schools was clearly illustrated.

This led to seething rage from Unsectarians throughout the country. Clause 25 had passed quietly while Clause 22, allowing assistance to existing schools out of the rates, was being fought over and eventually withdrawn. It was quickly appreciated that adoption of Dale's proposal would only have the effect of filling the Denominational Schools, since, as yet, no Board Schools existed. Furthermore it would increase Denominational School income through increased Government grants and fees, and far worse would turn Boards into relief agencies for Voluntary School managers. The justification for Clause 25 was that it would give the poor parent the right of choice between Voluntary and Board Schools, but this would only materialise as Board Schools were built. The debate within Birmingham School Board soon spread from the Board and filled the local press. The League and its Unsectarian allies agitated against the Denominationalist majority on the Board, but on 24th May, 1871, a Bye-law giving the Board the power to pay fees and to compel attendance was passed. Several other Boards adopted similar powers, notably Manchester, which showed its
intention not to build its own schools by not taking up the parallel power of remission of fees, Liverpool, Bolton and Bristol. The argument had not finished in Birmingham, however. The Board’s compulsory provisions were put into effect, but the ratepayers' feelings about Board funds being used to aid Voluntary Schools were illustrated by a threat of wholesale refusals to pay rates. This gave the Board second thoughts as to the wisdom of using its funds in this way, and in fact it never exercised its power to pay school fees out of the rates. Instead, to solve the practical difficulty, a Voluntary Fund was set up.

Nevertheless, the very existence of this power remained to irritate the Unsectarians and led to a continual dispute with the Town Council. The agitation engendered by the Birmingham School Board assumed national proportions, and in November 1871 at the Third Annual General Meeting of the National Education League, R.W. Dale demanded that,

"Every representative now sitting in Parliament for a Liberal constituency, every new candidate for Liberal suffrages, should be asked whether he is prepared to vote for a repeal of Clause 25 ... A refusal should be met with a clear and definite declaration that he cannot have our vote ... This may lead to a breaking up of the Liberal Party: when the Liberal Party is false to its noblest principles it is time that it should be broken up."

In an attempt to quell the storm the Education Department even published statistics to show how little money was actually involved.

Approximately £5,000 was paid out under Clause 25 in 1872, mostly in Manchester. However, it was not the money so much as the principle that was at stake. The crux of the matter was whether the country was prepared to accept sectarian schools supported by the rates. It seems that a large proportion of the population was not, for the agitation over this issue was one of the factors which contributed to the Liberal defeat in the General Election of 1874 and led to Gladstone's resignation as leader the following year.

Meanwhile in Birmingham the battle continued to rage. Chamberlain led the Town Council in seeking assurances that School Board precepts of money would not find their way into Voluntary Schools, and at first the Board acquiesced. On 2nd February, 1873, however, the School Board declined saying that the Council was not entitled to apply any conditions to the payment of the money. When the Council refused to pay the Board took legal action and retained the Attorney General. Through the Queen’s Bench he ordered the Town Council to pay, recognising, by implication, a Board's right to sue a defaulting Council as set out in Section 56 of the 1870 Education Act. Chamberlain held out for a little while longer, but in the end the Council had to pay. This was rubbing salt in the wound for Unsectarians everywhere, with the Church actively using Clause 25 as a device for using rates to help Denominational Schools in the home of the National Education League, and the latter being powerless to prevent this. Other areas faced the same problem. At the first School Board election for Sheffield the candidates put themselves forward as sectarians and in support of or against Voluntary Schools. Subsequently the second School Board election was,
PLATE III

Handbill exhorting Darlington ratepayers to vote for the Unsectarian candidates.

(Darlington Public Library)
TO THE RATEPAYERS
OF THE
BOROUGH OF DARLINGTON.

If you wish to stop the encroachments of Priestcraft, and have money's worth for what you pay,

VOTE FOR THE UNSECTARIAN CANDIDATES.

Bear in mind that the Churchmen, Wesleyans, and Catholics, do NOT support their own Schools without any aid from the taxes, for they obtain nearly Twelve Shillings a head on their Scholars from the taxes, and they were largely helped by the taxes to build their Schools.

Bear in mind that they also obtain fees from the parents of the children and that all they raise by subscriptions is a mere pittance.

Bear in mind that they ought to pay a great deal more than they do for the privilege of proselyting.

Bear in mind that denominational education throughout the country is a failure, and that very few of the children, when they have finished their course, can read, write, and sum decently.

The denominational Schools are wasting the money of the taxpayers, and what they chiefly care for is to propagate their own dogmas. A denominational school is simply a nursery of the Church to which that school belongs.

Vote then only for those candidates who do not wish to force you to pay for another man's religion, and who will not try to arrest the progress of the nation in intelligence.

Vote only for the Unsectarian Candidates.

A TRUE CONSERVATIVE.
fought on the grounds of Sectarianism against Unsectarianism. A meeting was held to select eight persons, that is a proposed majority of the new Board, who were in favour of unsectarian education, to be the "Undenominational Eight" against all-comers, for the sectarian groups themselves were against each other.'15

Even so, both the first two Sheffield School Boards were dominated by the Denominationalists, and the principle of compulsory attendance was adopted with the fees of poor children being paid, where necessary, by the Board. In April 1872 an official deputation from Nonconformists of Sheffield complained to the School Board about the right of indigent parents to demand for their children, at the expense of the ratepayers, sectarian teaching in sectarian schools over which the ratepayers had no control. This was effectively the beginning of a battle in Sheffield which varied in intensity for several years and was not finally settled until 1876. The Unsectarians were criticising what they deemed a violation of those principles of freedom from all State interference in matters of conscience for which they had struggled.

In Liverpool the Bye-law governing the payment of fees for poor children at existing Denominational Schools caused similar controversy. It was questioned by the ratepayers, fought over at elections and an Unsectarian group even petitioned Forster about it. He ruled that the School Board should pay or part pay the fees of anyone who could not afford to do so themselves. This helped to

push children into Voluntary Schools and increased their capitation grant from the Government. The Denominationalists of Manchester were able to organise themselves well enough to gain a majority on the School Board and thus use the rates to help Voluntary Schools. Manchester School Board paid more school fees for poor children at Voluntary Schools than the rest of the School Boards put together, proving that Unsectarian fears of rates being used to aid Voluntary Schools were justified. Salford was another Board which willingly paid the fees of poor children. The Denominationalists at Salford were better organised and more militant than the Unsectarians, in particular never over-reaching themselves by putting up too many candidates, always being content with a relatively small majority. At the first School Board election on 3rd December, 1870,

'twelve of the successful candidates stand solemnly pledged to foster and protect the denominational schools and to prevent ratepayers being forced to build out of the rates schools which are not needed, in which the centre of all human relationship and of all moral obligations should be studiously ignored by His creatures ... Only one Nonconformist remains to be the champion of irreligion in our schools.'16

The attack on Board Schools and their advocates was thus being mounted before plans for any building could have been advanced anywhere in the country.

In Salford this attack began under the Chairmanship of Herbert Birley, who was also the Chairman of Manchester School Board.

Clause 25 became the symbol of sectarian-secular controversy, those who supported it generally also supported the teaching of religion, another cause of sectarian strife at School Board elections. Baines claimed in Leeds that without this Clause there would be a denial of personal freedom to the poor who wanted their children to attend Denominational Schools. Unsectarians led by the National Education League fought hard against religious teaching being financed out of the rates because, even though the money involved was insignificant, the principle was great. Morley described the Clause as "the smallest ditch in which two great political parties ever fought".

The fight, however, was just as bitter within the Liberal Party itself, and that explains why in certain cases they were disappointed at School Board elections. With Sandon's Act in 1876 came a settlement which removed the responsibility respecting payment of fees for poor children from the School Boards to the Boards of Guardians. This was immediately condemned by Manchester School Board, but the majority of School Boards were pleased as it removed a controversy which had divided the Church and Nonconformists in many towns, had been an issue in bye-elections to Parliament, in the General Election of 1874 and in many School Board elections. After 1876 sectarianism continued to show itself in other forms at School Board elections, particularly with regard to the question of religious instruction, an issue seen at School Board contests from the start.

Birmingham, however, had not waited for Sandon's Act. Followers of the National Education League had organised carefully to gain a majority on the School Board and remove Clause 25 themselves. The
1873 School Board election was fought on the same issues as in 1870, the interpretation and implementation (or non-implementation) of Clause 25, and whether the Board Schools should give religious instruction or not, or, rather, whether they should continue to give it, as the Denominationalists had introduced it in the first schools established by the Board in 1873. The Unsectarians' programme had hardened during three years of constant wrangling on the Board and they advocated the complete exclusion of the Bible from Board Schools if they gained control of the Board. This they were determined to do after the fiasco of 1870, so they nominated eight candidates, assigned three to each ward and instructed each voter to give five votes to the candidate assigned to him. Personal preference and popularity of candidates was to be forgotten. To counter these tactics the Church put forward their eight candidates and organised them on a parish system of voting. The result was a resounding Liberal victory, their candidates each receiving a greater number of votes than any of their opponents, even more than the Reverend Canon O'Sullivan whose votes represented the 'plumping' of the whole Roman Catholic electorate. Chamberlain was jubilant as three weeks previously he had become Mayor of Birmingham and now he was elected Chairman of the School Board. He held both offices until he entered Parliament unopposed in 1876. The 1873 Birmingham School Board election was of national significance in view of the controversy within the Liberal Party over Clause 25. Although it took another three years before the issue was settled nationally, locally it was
quickly dealt with. On 30th December, 1873, the School Board discarded its power to pay the fees of poor children attending Voluntary Schools, while retaining its power to remit them in its own schools. At the same meeting the Board abolished religious instruction in its own schools, while allowing facilities for outside bodies to come in and give religious lessons. This extreme stand by the Birmingham School Board worried Churchmen throughout the country and led to unceasing efforts to prevent, wherever possible, the formation of 'Godless' Board Schools. However, not many School Boards followed Birmingham's extremism, most being content to follow the more moderate lead of London School Board.

Birmingham's Denominationalists did not give up the fight. At the third triennial election of 1876 the Church, being content with its five seats, compromised with the Unsectarians and there was no contest. This Board maintained its predecessor's policy on religious instruction, but the continued exclusion of the Bible from Board Schools gave the opposition a strong rallying cry, especially as it was known to be the only issue on which the Liberal majority was divided. By 1879 the Church Party felt strong enough to attempt to regain the majority on the Board and therefore nominated eight candidates. The Conservative Association offered to concede the election by withdrawing three candidates if the Liberals would restore Bible reading to Board Schools. At a meeting of the Liberal Association on 7th November, 1879, George Dixon urged rejection and by a small majority the offer was refused.
However, as the majority was so small a second meeting was convened, at which the leaders bowed to the strong feeling within the Party by deciding that Board members could vote as they felt on Bible reading. Three Church candidates withdrew, and, after an uncontested election, a resolution to introduce Bible reading without note or comment was passed by the Board on 4th December, 1879. Denominationalists were triumphant and the Birmingham Daily Gazette claimed that a stigma had been removed from the town. Again in 1882 the Church was content to maintain what it had, but in 1885 another attempt was made to gain religious concessions at the School Board election.

This School Board election was overshadowed by Parliamentary elections for which Dixon and Kenrick, both Board members, were standing in different wards. To avoid the distractions of a School Board election negotiations were entered into to try to reach a compromise. The Church Party offered to withdraw two of its eight nominees if Dixon would agree to the introduction of a mild form of religious instruction in Board Schools. Dixon refused outright to having the Bible read by the children with such grammatical, historical and geographical explanations as would be suitable to their age, and saying the Lord's Prayer in the mornings. Hoping to repeat the success of 1879, and believing it had the support of the Liberal rank and file, the Church Party then reduced the condition to a promise that the proposal would be put to the Liberal Association after the election. Dixon agreed and on 18th December, 1885, he recommended acceptance of the proposal at a meeting of the Liberal
Association. However, R.W. Dale spoke against and the great majority rejected it. Religious instruction continued to cloud ensuing Board elections, but it was not until 1900 that the Denominationalists managed to organise themselves well enough to make any headway. The Church Party fought under the leadership of Bishop Knox of Coventry, fielding seven candidates with the hope of electing them all and thereafter allying with Roman Catholic and Independent members to gain a majority on the vital issue. The question of religious instruction in Board Schools was the issue presented to the electorate. Church of England canvassing was organised as simply as possible, with each of seven Parliamentary divisions being assigned one candidate for whom voters in the district were to give all fifteen votes. The Unsectarians, under the leadership of MacCarthy, fought the election as Liberal Educationists, but for once were less well-organised than their opponents. For the first time since 1870 the Liberals failed to win an overall majority on the Board, the result being seven Liberal Educationists, six Church, one Roman Catholic and one Independent.

The religious question immediately came to the fore as through mismanagement Bishop Knox had not been elected, though his early co-option was inevitable. The Liberals wanted to get Kenrick elected as Chairman before this happened, as the Church would not have MacCarthy at any price. The Chairman's position was vital as he would have the casting vote on the religious instruction issue. It was known that the Roman Catholic would abstain and the Independent
Pentland would vote with the Church, so all would depend on the Chairman's casting vote. As a result the first meeting of the new Board aroused great interest and the public galleries were crowded for the first time since the Denominational Board of 1870 to 1873. Liberal hopes were quickly dashed as Pentland proposed Reverend Sowter, Church, as Chairman, this being carried by eight votes to seven, the Roman Catholic Reverend M.F. Glancey joining Pentland and the Church against the Liberals. Pentland was then elected Vice-Chairman. At the second Board meeting Bethune-Baker, Church, put in his resignation which took effect from 4th January, 1901. Against strong Liberal protests Knox was proposed to fill the vacancy and once the Bishop took his seat Sowter produced his bombshell. Because of preferment in London he regretted to announce his resignation from the Chair and the Board. Afterwards he maintained he knew nothing of his promotion when he was elected Chairman. On 22nd February, 1901, Bethune-Baker returned to the Board in place of Sowter, Knox was elected Chairman and the 1900 School Board election was finally completed. The system of religious instruction was then changed for the last time. Religious instruction by outside agencies continued, but in the mornings when there was no religious instruction the Board required an assembly to be held, at which a hymn would be sung and the Lord's Prayer repeated. After this classes were to have a short Scripture lesson. The same applied daily to any Board Schools not receiving religious instruction from outside. This was reviewed at the end of 1902 and found to be working satisfactorily with no dissent. So finally,
after twenty-seven years of battling, the Birmingham School Board again had religious instruction taught in its schools.

Religion had been the main issue dividing the protagonists at all of Birmingham's School Board elections. In fact it was so prominent that Taylor remarks in his thesis,

'The 1894 School Board election was unique. It was not fought exclusively on religion.'¹⁷

The extra interest of this election lay in the sensational success of William Ansell, an ex-Board School Headteacher, who gave expression to teachers' discontent over salaries, excessive inspection and the Board's inclination towards educational fads. Sectarianism, though, was still the dominant factor at the election, just as it was elsewhere. Lamentations about 'bitter sectarian strife' can be found accompanying School Board elections in many areas. The Mayor of Scarborough, for example, expressed the hope in December 1871 that the town's first School Board election would not show the same party feeling and sectarian bitterness as displayed in many other towns. However, because of the opposing views of those who stood for election a contest on the question of religious instruction was ensured. There were fears from Denominationalists that Board Schools would be able to compete unfairly with existing Voluntary Schools and pose a serious threat, because of the vast resources which the Board could furnish. Even so the Denominationalists issued a joint letter stressing the desirability

of avoiding both acrimony and the expense of conducting an election. They wished to avoid sectarian strife, and as far as Bible teaching was concerned the letter stated that this was essential, the Scriptures should be explained, but 'The Cowper-Temple Clause Should Be Rigorously Enforced'. At a public meeting of Unsectarians that followed the publication of this letter, sectarian acrimony came to the fore with accusations that the Denominationalists were merely trying to look after their own vested interests. There was a victory for the Unsectarians at the election and the new Board quickly furnished, equipped and staffed schools, appointed an Attendance Officer, and framed Bye-laws, including one on religious instruction. The atmosphere at this Board was relatively free of the acrimony seen at the election, and future Scarborough School Boards worked well together too.

Leicester's first School Board election in 1871 was fought on the same issue of the provision of religious instruction. Six Liberals, six Church candidates and one Roman Catholic were returned. Canon Vaughan, a 'Liberal Churchman with socialist leanings' was elected Chairman, and after much wrangling over the provision and composition of religious instruction he used his casting vote for a compromise like that of London.

'The Bible shall be read daily, and there shall be given therefrom such explanations and instructions in the principles of religion and morality as are suitable to the capacities of the children, provided always that in such explanations no attempt be made to attach children to, nor detach them from, any particular sect.'18

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Religious instruction again emerged at an 1872 School Board bye-election when the Liberal candidate, who was opposed to the appropriation for religious purposes of money raised by a public authority from all classes of the people, beat, by a large majority, the Church candidate, who was prepared to maintain the cause of religious instruction within the terms of the 1870 Education Act. These victories reflected the strength of the Unsectarians in Leicester, who were intent on providing an alternative system to the Voluntary Schools, free from any doctrinal colour, though at the same time concerned with religious and moral teaching. They gained a majority on all but two Boards, while Leicester Denominationalists, who saw the Board Schools as a threat and were anxious to protect Voluntary Schools, fought hard at elections, always gaining substantial representation but never a majority. The situation was aptly summed up at a Board meeting by the Roman Catholic Father Hawkins in 1896, who, having listened to 'pious cant about education', told members that it was ridiculous to pretend they had been elected for educational reasons when they were really there because they belonged to some political party or religious sect. In Leicester, towards the close of the School Board period, Unsectarians and Denominationalists united in the face of a common enemy, the Independents who proposed the introduction of systematic moral instruction. Unsectarians and Denominationalists preferred to keep what they had and no more.

Sectarianism also reared its ugly head during Luton School Board elections. The Vicar of Luton, Reverend O'Neill, had led
the Denominationalists in a long fight to prevent the establishment of a School Board. In 1871 a handbill entitled, 'Six Reasons Why You Should Not Vote For A School Board In Luton', was circulated.

1. Because it is a leap in the dark.
2. Because the Voluntary System is a complete success where it is adopted.
3. Because the School Board is an untried scheme.
4. Because when once you elect a School Board you cannot get rid of it.
5. Because we are already burdened enough with Taxation.
6. Because if you adopt that mode of working the Act you may be compelled not only to Educate, but Feed and Clothe the Children.

FELLOW RATEPAYERS ponder well over the six Reasons and then ask yourselves who are the chief promoters of the School Board Scheme? Why men who are seeking place and power, men who have neglected their own duties and now want to fasten the neglect on you.

No, Fellow Ratepayers, let us rather watch the working of the Board System in other Towns and Cities where it is really needed, and if there should be any portion of the Act worthy of being adopted, we can use it to Supplement but NOT TO SUPPLANT our present Voluntary System, which is the glory and boast of our land.

January 25th, 1871.\textsuperscript{19}

Through this and other forms of persuasion, such as public meetings, the Denominationalists persuaded Luton's electorate to vote against a School Board, and it was not until 1874, when school accommodation fell dramatically with the closing of a large Voluntary School, that a School Board became inevitable. Even then the Denominationalists fought to delay it even longer with appeals to the ratepayers to

\textsuperscript{19} John G. Dony, \textit{A History of Education in Luton} (Luton 1970) p. 21.
keep out the 'Godless School Board' and thus save the school rate. The election of 17th February, 1874, was fought on completely sectarian lines, the Prayer-Book Five (Denominationalists) being opposed by the Bible Five (Unsectarians). The latter were for Board Schools on the rates, while the former would resist as long as there was accommodation in Voluntary Schools. The Unsectarians won a majority of five seats to four, but at the first meeting of the School Board, after complaining about the conduct of the meeting, the Church representatives walked out. It took two and a half months to persuade them to attend meetings again, and then there was a compromise over religious instruction with the Board adopting a Bye-law similar to that of London. The next two elections were also fought on religious lines and in 1880 the Prayer-Book Five gained the ascendancy, and under O'Neill's Chairmanship introduced a religious instruction syllabus and clerical inspection. At the next election the Prayer-Book Five retained control, the most vocative opponent of religious instruction being the defeated Bible Five candidate. When, in 1886, the Bible Five won back control, they left religious instruction alone.

Loughborough's School Board elections were also clouded by the issue of religious instruction. For the first election of 1875 the Unsectarians took the initiative by seeking the cooperation of Archdeacon Henry Fearon, the most powerful and popular Anglican minister in the county. The aim was to form a Board by nomination thus saving money, and a meeting of interested ministers of different denominations agreed on a Board of three Nonconformists,
three Anglicans and one Roman Catholic. They also agreed on the inclusion of religious instruction in Board Schools, but not on its form. This clerical agreement was repudiated at a subsequent meeting of Unsectarians, the prevailing opinion being that as there was an Unsectarian majority in the town then it was only just that there should be an Unsectarian majority on the School Board. This led to what the *Leicester Journal* described as 'vigorous paper warfare', with letters, posters and manifestoes being circulated.

'The Church of England manifesto stated,

1. Parents should have the right to send their children to whatever school they please.

2. Scriptural teaching should be the form religious teaching should take in Board Schools, that is the Bible should be read and the teacher should be allowed to comment or make notes by way of explanation.

3. In the interests of economy, the Church Party would, if elected, use existing schools and not build new ones.

The Nonconformist reply said,

1. They did not wish to interfere with Church Schools so long as they were completely Voluntary supported.

2. If teachers, holding honest and earnest religious views, were allowed to make their own comments on the Bible, they would find it difficult not to be biased in favour of their own doctrinal beliefs - hence they advocated undenominational education, that is, the Bible to be read without the teacher giving an explanation.

3. Economy should be practised not by refusing to build necessary schools, but by seeing that Church Schools got nothing from public funds.'

The Unsectarians' superior organisation and more vigorous campaigning gave them a majority on the first Board. It comprised four Unsectarians, two Anglicans and one Roman Catholic. With one less candidate in the field, the Anglicans share of the vote could have given them a third seat.

When this Board's term of office was running out there was a fierce sectarian quarrel over the size of Cobden Street Board School which was to be the first to be built by the Board. The Unsectarians favoured 750 places, while the Anglicans wished for 550 because a smaller school would mean less pupils taken away from Voluntary Schools. The size of the school became a crucial issue at the 1878 election, which differed from the first in that the Denominationalists forced a contest, the Unsectarians being content with the status-quo. Determined to win, the Anglicans fielded only three candidates, who, if elected, would combine with the Roman Catholic to protect Denominational interests. The Anglicans' strategy was successful and as a result Cobden Street Board School was built to accommodate 550 children. Another result was that for three years the Board acted for Denominational interests. However, their actions were not extreme, so with similar Anglican and Non-conformist representation achieved and the Roman Catholic holding the balance, neither party was anxious to upset this and the following three elections were uncontested. The Board members worked fairly well together.

Sometimes this was the case from the beginning. Both main parties in Nottingham, for example, took a moderate line so political
and sectarian controversy never reached the pitch it did in some large towns and cities. This is not to say that the elections were not keenly contested, they usually were, but once the excitement of the election was over the two parties co-operated for the educational good. The Denominational dominated first Board drew up a scheme of religious instruction which was accepted by the Unsectarians without dispute, and the practice was adopted of having the religious work of Board Schools inspected in alternate years by Anglican and Dissenting clerics. Nottingham personalities helped to foster harmony. On the Unsectarian side Dr. J.B. Paton, principal of the Congregational College, exercised a powerful and moderating influence which was matched by that of Canon Morse, Vicar of Nottingham, among Denominationalists. They worked amicably together and almost managed to avoid a contest in 1871. Nottingham was also fortunate in that no Board members were engaged at national level in the religious question which so bedevilled education at this time. Many of Birmingham's problems stemmed from the fact that Chamberlain, Dixon, MacCarthy and others were involved in the national controversy over the religious provisions of the 1870 Education Act.

This early co-operation also seemed to be the case in the city of Liverpool when the School Board election was,

'lifted out of the mire of political and sectarian differences into the more sacred region of Christian duty.' 21

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Liverpool achieved the seemingly impossible by forming its School Board without a contest.

'The first School Board was actually established in Liverpool where, by a remarkable feat, the opposing parties had managed to reach a preliminary agreement on its composition.'22

There was a certain amount of consensus by the various parties in Liverpool on the vexed question of religious instruction. Joint meetings were held and it was decided that in order to save the expense of an election fought on unequal terms between religious organisations, fifteen nominees would be put forward to represent the Church of England (7), the Roman Catholics (4) and the Non-conformists (4). These were duly elected with a pledge to carry out the Liverpool platform, the cardinal point of which was that religious instruction should form the basis of education given in public elementary schools. Forster was ecstatic,

"By far the largest borough in England and Wales, with the single exception of this great metropolis - I mean Liverpool - with more than half a million inhabitants, has, to its honour, not only anticipated the necessity of having a Board, but has dispensed with the trouble of a contest by returning fifteen of its citizens who are so respected by the people that they have been elected without opposition."23

However, Forster was being unduly optimistic and before long the cracks papered over by the 1870 compromise began to show.

22 Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present Day (London 1963) p. 38.

Liverpool urban politics soon impinged upon School Board matters. In the municipal elections of 1871 J.J. Stitt, School Board member and Councillor for Exchange Ward, stood for re-election. Catholics rejected him as a Churchman and a Tory, accusing him of objectionable behaviour at the School Board and of being opposed to Roman Catholic interests. They supported his opponent instead. Despite this Stitt managed to retain his seat, but only after a political-religious struggle which had engendered fierce party passions and deep sectarian enmity. Then in 1872 a deeper crack appeared. The death of John Eden left a vacancy on the School Board and in February 1872, there was a Bye-election to fill this. There was a vigorous contest centring on the issue of concurrent endowment, with election meetings, Church sermons, advertisements, manifestoes and correspondence in the press. Opposing each other were L.R. Bailey, who upheld the Board policy of grants to Denominational Schools, believing this to be in line with the 1870 Education Act, and Reverend V.M. White, who opposed the iniquitous system of concurrent endowment out of ratepayers' money. The contest took on a semi-religious aspect, with slogans, such as 'Vote for Dr. White and the Bible', and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, Dr. Goss, preaching a sermon against him. White carried the seat. His election ended an arrangement entered into by ministers at the establishment of the School Board that only laymen should serve it. Dr. White scorned the view that ministers had no right to sit on the Board, and the fact that he was elected showed Liverpool's agreement and opened up the way for
the election of other clergymen. This election also illustrated that the euphoria over the uncontested 1870 election was premature, as a vast array of political, religious and personal interests that had been buried now came back to the surface. All but three of Liverpool's subsequent School Board elections were contested, giving the electorate the opportunity to air their views. School Boards had to be elected by such means as would harness that public interest which the 1870 Education Act had been framed for, with the Democratic process taking its course to make the best use of the Act. For Liverpool, the 1872 Bye-election spelled this out. In 1870 although all were not in agreement a compromise was reached, by 1872 more had changed their minds and when given the opportunity they demonstrated this.

As the School Board period wore on the fight at elections moved from one of religious instruction, fees and compulsion to one on the more fundamental issue, which had always been present, of Board versus Voluntary Schools. This had been foreseen by Denominationalists like Cardinal Manning in 1870 and became a reason for urging followers to fight for School Board seats.

'Through a Catholic presence Manning not only hoped to protect those Catholic children compelled to attend Board Schools, but also to nullify the anti-denomina-
tionalist and expansionist excess of certain Board members.' 24

Participation in triennial elections brought the facts of education before the Catholic public, thus producing a grasp of the issues

involved. Experience and awareness that was built up over consecutive School Board elections was a factor in the setting-up of the Cross Commission that was to go some way towards alleviating the plight of Roman Catholic and other Voluntary Schools. One of the principal factors behind the establishment of the Commission was the wholehearted Catholic effort in defence of denominational education during the 1885 General Election. The campaign of 1885 was like a fight to the death between the advocates of religious instruction and the protagonists of secularism. The Liberal proposal of free schools, amply outlined by Chamberlain in speeches at Warrington, 8th September, 1885, and Bradford, 1st October, 1885, aroused fears for the survival of the Voluntary sector, and was seen to presage that sector's total suppression or absorption. Denominationalists were fearful that by accepting further assistance to make their schools free, they would lose them altogether.

The free-school proposal thus led to a solid union of the Catholic and Protestant episcopate and all adherents of religious instruction in the country. This included Wesleyans who still had over 800 schools of their own and realised that if free education came in Board School competition would be too great for these. The Roman Catholics were the strongest in the battle to preserve Denominational Schools. In 1884 Bishop Herbert Vaughan, with Manning's blessing, had established the Voluntary School Association in his diocese of Salford. Its object was to secure a favourable system of elementary education,

'the best and fairest way of obtaining this desirable end is the encouragement and support of Voluntary Schools, side by side and on equal terms with Board
Schools, so that children of all classes shall receive a good secular education, without the violation of religious liberty or of the sacred rights of paternal authority.\textsuperscript{25}

The Association took an active interest in the registration of Catholic voters and in the cultivation and maintenance of the cumulative vote at School Board elections, so essential to securing Board representation to look after Roman Catholic interests in the face of increasing Board School competition. As Voluntary Schools gave precisely the same secular education as Board Schools, were subject like them to Government supervision and inspection, and were State approved public elementary schools, the Association claimed they should receive an equal amount of aid as Board Schools.

The Association complained that ratepayers who preferred the Voluntary System had to also support Board Schools, of which a large proportion could not conscientiously avail themselves, and pledged itself to work for the repeal of that clause of the 1870 Education Act which gave the Government power to refuse the annual grant to any Voluntary School on the grounds that it was not necessary. Along with other associations, clubs and literary societies which sprang up throughout England the Voluntary School Association worked to promote united Catholic action in educational matters. These groups furnished an unfailing supply of canvassers at election times and constituted centres from which local and national politicians could be lobbied or helped. Once on a School

Board Denominationalists were now, for the most part, driven to pursue reactionary policies. In Hull, for instance, they hampered the provision of school places by opposing new Board Schools and also opposed reduction of fees, Technical Education, Evening Schools and Higher Grade Schools. This was because they could not afford to do the same for their own children and schools. Dean O'Sullivan, Roman Catholic Board member who topped the 1889 poll, did not see why Higher Grade Scholars should have higher education without the Voluntary Schools being able to participate. Salford's 1885 School Board election created a lot of sectarian interest as the Roman Catholic Bishop had spoken out harshly against the irreligious Board Schools. With careful organisation and much canvassing the Catholics succeeded in getting both their candidates elected. The Anglicans had elected six out of seven nominees, so the Denominationalists had a majority on the Board and could look after Voluntary School interests. This trend continued in Salford with the Denominationalists increasing their representation to three Roman Catholics and seven Anglicans in 1888. In 1894, when there were strong signs of the impending break-down of the Voluntary System, the same composition was achieved at Salford, while Denominationalists also retained power in Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield and Bootle, and won Bradford and Leeds from School Board supporters. Hard work and organisation to gain representation was the only way to stave off the growing threat of Board competition. In Liverpool in 1885 Canon Lester, a Denominationalist and friend of Voluntary Schools, became School Board Chairman and worked for equal rights for both Voluntary and Board Schools.
As well as working locally, however, the Voluntary School Association and similar bodies, along with defenders of the Voluntary System, worked nationally to protect their mutual interests. In 1885 the major issue was elementary education in general and free-schools in particular. The Association aimed to gain what it could from the political parties and to keep out of office men like Chamberlain, Dilke and Mundella, who would gradually make the conditions of existence for Roman Catholic and other Christian Schools more and more difficult. A wish to negotiate the survival of these schools seemed to point to the Conservatives as the only ones willing to re-examine the 1870 Education Act, Salisbury hinting as much in a speech at Newport, 10th October, 1885. The Catholics prepared two test questions for all parliamentary candidates, advising supporters not to vote for anyone answering no.

'1. Will you place Denominational Schools on a perfect footing of equality with Board Schools?

2. Will you vote for a Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of the Act of 1870?'26

In political terms the election of 1885 was a stalemate, but the Catholics increased their parliamentary seats from 60 to 82, while the Conservatives and Nationalists gained a small majority over the Liberals. One of the immediate aims of the election campaign, the establishment of a Royal Commission to investigate the working of

the 1870 Education Act, was achieved, and Manning played an impor-
tant role on the Commission. Also, when the Free Education Act
came in 1891 it brought an increased Exchequer grant for Voluntary
Schools, so free education was no longer seen as such a serious
threat to their very survival.

It was not only the Catholics who extended their local educa-
tion activities to the national scene. Popular resentment of
clerical control of elementary education boiled over when after
the 1895 General Election the Conservative Government began
preparing legislation to help Voluntary Schools. It seemed likely
that denominational teaching would receive fresh aid at public
expense while Voluntary management would be entrenched against the
threat of public control. The Birmingham and Midland Education
League, a conscious revival of the National Education League, was
set up under George Dixon, Member of Parliament and Chairman of
Birmingham School Board. Along with similar bodies in Leeds,
Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire this began a vigorous propaganda
campaign in favour of universal School Boards and against clerical
control of education. The extent of popular opposition to the
Government's intention was shown through these bodies, and as with
the Roman Catholics in 1885, their strength lay in the members'
clear understanding of the issues at stake, gained through first-
hand experience of local School Board elections. Just before 1896
the Bill was withdrawn, and the ensuing Voluntary School Act of
1897 dealt merely with the financial difficulties of Denominational
Schools. Unsectarians believed that the rate-aid issue was at last
laid to rest. However, the 1902 Education Act not only abolished School Boards, something about which the Nonconformist Education Leagues protested vociferously, but also provided for rate-aid for Voluntary Schools, thus inaugurating a final campaign for educational redress lasting up to and beyond the 1906 General Election.

One reason for the demise of School Boards was that Parliament had never established any satisfactory relationship between them and Voluntary Schools. The 1870 Education Act had removed the religious problems from the national to the local level, but in many places this only led to sectarian bitterness. Any Government moves to help Voluntary Schools financially were seen as attacks on the School Boards, but Voluntary Schools could not possibly compete with Board Schools' limitless funds. Another reason for the replacement of School Boards was that they had no power to provide secondary education which by 1900 was an urgent necessity. In their zeal to overcome and circumvent this the Boards sowed the seeds of their own destruction. Much useful work had been done, however. School Boards were the first area authorities for education, and generally, as they were responsible for more than one school, they were less parochial than Voluntary management bodies. Small School Boards also had a greater potential for growth than Voluntary Schools. Boards could make comparisons and exchange ideas with each other, and became ideal places to learn about educational issues and practice politics. A seat on a large School Board like Birmingham could be a coveted honour, with opportunities for a fuller control of the future than even the City Council.
During their existence School Boards were characterised by sectarian strife both in the election of members and the implementation of certain policies. This rivalry was part of the transition which focused on the demand for religious equality to replace religious tolerance. The Board-Voluntary conflict was a restatement of old religious problems, with School Board elections contested on sectarian lines merely being an extension of the Parliamentary conflict over the 1870 Education Act, when every aspect of the Bill was looked at through the eyes of denominational and sectarian jealousy and fear. With religion so clouding the issue the scope and content of elementary education was not as seriously considered as it might have been. A definition of elementary education was superfluous as many Members of Parliament had in mind the education of poor children to thirteen or fourteen years of age only, and at the national level elementary education remained blinkered by sectarianism. Locally, however, in spite of sectarianism, it was the School Boards which brought about the advances in education which the 1870 Education Act had been unable to prescribe, but was too wise to preclude. As there was no definition of elementary education progressive Boards were able to extend and widen its scope. The child was not defined so the length of education could be extended. Directions as to the type of religious instruction, if any, were omitted and this issue blew hot and cold, though most Boards instituted Bible reading. Unfortunately much sectarian bitterness was engendered at School Board elections, along with Denominationalist rearguard actions to protect
their schools from Board competition and Unsectarian determination to prevent rates being used for religious instruction. Nevertheless, by the Education Act of 1902, Voluntary Schools were put on the rates after all.

Although an important aspect of School Board elections, sectarianism, while slowing down progress, did not prevent it. Forster himself was right in saying,

"The Act is a blow to sectarianism because the bringing together of men of all sects on the School Boards and the telling them that they must provide for the education of all children within their district would tend to do away with the sectarian spirit ... The Government might fairly look forward to a time when these bitter sectarian feelings would be done away with, and when by general assent spiritual instruction would be given along with secular instruction." 27

In many areas this gradually came about. A will to elect thoroughly efficient School Board members rather than to secure the triumph of a particular dogma was slowly fostered. Some areas made compacts to obtain an equally satisfactory representation of all parties, creeds and classes. Even in areas where sectarian rivalry continued to be rife at School Board elections, once the election was over members usually managed to work together for the good of education. As a result Boards were in the forefront of educational advance, often being far ahead of the Education Department. The idea that there was a public duty, local and central, to provide and finance a comprehensive system of education manifested itself.

The fervour and enterprise of the great School Boards reflected and stimulated this growing national consciousness of the value of education. They created a local public spirit in education and gradually prepared the country for the formal recognition of a public system of education. At the same time they continually pushed the central authority. By 1900, School Boards, especially those in large towns and cities, had instituted admirable systems of local education far wider in scope than envisaged in 1870. This was because of the interest shown by local people in education and its advance in the face of sectarian differences. However, the organisation of this education was chaotic with the responsibility divided between 2,568 School Boards and 14,238 Boards of Managers of Voluntary Schools. The 1902 Education Act replaced these with 330 Local Education Authorities, a development not all welcomed. P.H.J.H. Gosden said,

"It can be argued that education in this country could have been better served had its local administration been entrusted to such ad hoc bodies after 1902 instead of coming within the ambit of multi-purpose local government bodies."28

One of the reasons for this was that, regardless of sectarian problems, some of the best and most distinctive features of local education administration had their origin in the creative imagination of School Boards. This source of ideas was stemmed after 1902 because there were no more elections of local representatives exclusively for educational administration.

CHAPTER 4

SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS IN THE NORTH EAST
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The first School Board elections in North East England engendered a great deal of interest. This was partly due to concern over the educational issues at stake, most strongly felt by the Denominationalists. The 1870 Elementary Education Act had allowed Voluntary Schools to remain alongside the new phenomenon of Board Schools. Clergy of the Established Church and other voluntary bodies fought hard to exclude School Boards from many areas by erecting new schools to remedy deficiencies in educational facilities. Delaying tactics were used where possible, then later, wherever School Boards became inevitable, ministers of religion and Voluntaryists fought for representation on the Boards so as to afford their own schools some measure of protection. Representation also gave them a say in the interpretation of the controversial Section 25 of the Act which allowed local funds to be used for the education of the children of poor parents. This became an avenue through which local funds were channelled to Voluntary Schools, much to the anger of Nonconformists and Unsectarians. The 1870 Act also allowed the decision over the amount of religious instruction, if any, in Board Schools to be taken at local level. School Board representation gave both Denomination- alists and Unsectarians an opportunity to influence this. As a result, School Board elections became focal points reflecting the hostility between the Church and the Nonconformists, Denomination- alists and Unsectarians, Tories and Liberals. The election of
members to School Boards and the operation of these Boards provided one battleground for Nonconformists in their attempt to gain religious equality, while Denominationalists fought equally hard in order to protect their vested interests.

This sectarian rivalry and religious friction is evident in certain School Board contests in North East England. Denominationalists led by the Established Church, wherever possible, first adopted the tactic of trying to prevent or at least delay the formation of School Boards in some areas. This was achieved by bolstering Voluntary provision and by arguing that the Voluntary provision in an area was sufficient to obviate the need for a School Board. In small rural districts it was easier to prevent School Boards being set up because the influence of the Squire and the Parson could be brought to bear on the residents, backed up by the argument that it would be costly to the ratepayers. Hinderwell in North Yorkshire illustrates this.

'In this parish the Church Party are making strenuous efforts to prevent a School Board being formed, but it is said, that at the proper time, a sufficient number of ratepayers intend requesting a visit from one of the educational inspectors.'

This echoed the villager from Norton, near Stockton, who lamented,

"Alas in the rural parishes the old sectarian spirit reigns supreme ... School Boards are to be avoided in the hamlets. (By blocking the formation of a School Board) the Vicar makes national education in our rural parishes incompatible with the freedom of

1 Echo, 22.XI.1870.
conscience which it should be the first fruit of education to teach us how to value and guard and cherish. School or jail is the formula ... National School or nothing."^2

However, the fight against a School Board at Norton only managed to delay it by two years. In 1872 came the first School Board election and this was keenly contested along sectarian lines. Those elected were: James Harwood, Earthenware Manufacturer, Church; William Manners, Gentleman, Church; Reverend J. Ridley, Priest, Church; William Barrett, Ironmaster, Quaker, and Alfred Brady, Bank Manager, Quaker. The sixth candidate, who was unsuccessful, was William Fothergill, a Wesleyan. So at Norton the Church was the dominant party, thus being enabled to protect its own interests.

Three years later the Unsectarians managed to organise themselves well enough to wrest control of the School Board from the Denominationalists.

'The unpopular vicar was rejected along with all but one of the old School Board Members, and there was an active election, which created more stir than the Parliamentary election.'^3

Subsequently control changed hands several more times, sometimes with little or no sectarian bitterness, and on four occasions

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2 Echo, 13.X.1870.

Norton was able to form a School Board without contest. This sort of compromise was easier, and economically more desirable for the ratepayers, in small areas like Norton. Middleton St. George is another area illustrating the use of delaying tactics which led to initial School Board elections being keenly contested. Denomination-alists fought against a Board being set up, then once a Board was established they fought rearguard actions to protect the interests of Voluntary Schools as best they could. At the 1884 School Board election, for example, there was a fierce sectarian battle because the National School was in grave financial difficulties. The Liberal Unsectarian majority elected to the Board was keen to take over the National School, but the Denomination-alists opposed this and the conflict spread to the School Board meetings themselves. The trustees of the National School added fuel to the flames by saying they would only be willing to transfer their school to the Board if the Board membership changed. The Education Department was called in with the result that the School Board was told that it must supply the deficiencies in the area. Plans were therefore made for the erection of a new Board School. The Denomination-alists immediately adopted delaying tactics, culminating in the opening of a temporary school. Meanwhile the trustees of the National School had agreed to its transfer once the forthcoming School Board election was over. This was the climax to the Church Party's sometimes violent opposition to the School Board Party's actions over the previous three years. At the 1877 election 177 out of 198 ratepayers voted and the Denomination-alists won control of the School
Board. They were thus able to take over the National School under their own terms and to delay the erection of a Board School.

Enmity at Middleton St. George School Board elections gradually died down after this. In certain other areas, however, it was as rife as ever.

'The triennial elections of the Boards by ratepayers tended to exacerbate and perpetuate sectarian rivalry, the cumulative vote enabled candidates to be returned whose sole object was to obstruct the work of the Boards, the education provided was uneven throughout the country and there was often total neglect in rural areas.'

This religious and political rivalry was something which had been feared, and rightly so, during the passage of the 1870 Education Act. Newspaper comments illustrate this fear. The view of the Middlesbrough Exchange of 28th November, 1870, was,

'We hazard the prediction that the new system will become the stalking horse of political rancour and theological irritation.'

Its sister newspaper, the Northern Echo, called for a 'truce to strife', and advocated that everyone should try to get the best School Boards and the best schools possible. The Echo's method of achieving this was somewhat partisan, however.

'In some districts a severe contest may be anticipated. It cannot be expected that the Religionists and the Secularists, the Dissenters and the Churchmen,
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the advocates o f compulsion and t h e a n t i - c o m p u l s i o n i s t s
w i l l a l l a t once f o r g o t h e i r i n d i v i d u a l o p i n i o n s and
s i n k a l l those d i f f e r e n c e s which so n e a r l y wrecked t h e
Education B i l l ... We v e n t u r e the o p i n i o n t h a t g e n t l e men w i t h g r e a t f a m i l i a r i t y w i t h e d u c a t i o n a l q u e s t i o n s
are n o t so much r e q u i r e d f o r t h e b u s i n e s s of s c h o o l
management under the new A c t , as men who are t h o r o u g h l y
grounded i n L i b e r a l i s m ... and who would endeavour t o
c a r r y o u t t h e i n t e n t i o n s of Mr. F o r s t e r and h i s c o l l e a g u e s
... That d e s i g n w i l l a s s u r e d l y be f r u s t r a t e d i f School
Boards are p e r m i t t e d t o c o n s i s t o f Tory clergymen and
r e t i r e d schoolmasters ... N o t h i n g of a s e c t a r i a n n a t u r e
e i t h e r i n p o l i t i c s or r e l i g i o n should be a l l o w e d t o e n t e r
i n t o the question.'^
So, w h i l e on t h e one

hand s p e a k i n g o u t a g a i n s t b r i n g i n g p o l i t i c s

and

r e l i g i o n i n t o School Board e l e c t i o n s , on t h e o t h e r hand t h e Echo

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Education B i l l i n Parliament
once t h e B i l l became law.

had been t r a n s f e r r e d t o l o c a l

level

Though d e c r y i n g s e c t a r i a n i s m , t h e Echo

r e a l i s e d t h a t some P a r t y f e e l i n g i n t h e c h o i c e of School Board candi d a t e s was

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Educational

advance n o t power f o r p a r t i c u l a r p a r t i e s was

F o r s t e r had been a f t e r w i t h h i s B i l l .
of Parliament

what

He r e i t e r a t e d t h e i n t e n t i o n s

when condemning t h e Leeds L i b e r a l s f o r o r g a n i s i n g t h e

c i t y a l o n g p a r t y l i n e s d u r i n g t h e School Board e l e c t i o n o f 1882,
going against the s p i r i t of h i s Act.
"We do n o t want p a r t y l i n e s i n these e l e c t i o n s ; we want
everybody, whether he belongs t o a b i g p a r t y or a l i t t l e
one, t o t h e Church o f England or t o t h e s m a l l e s t D i s s e n t i n g s e c t , t o have h i s f a i r say i n t h e c h o i c e o f t h e
people who are t o manage the e d u c a t i o n of h i s c h i l d r e n ,

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Echo, 13.X.1870.

and


and I think you Liberals of Leeds have behaved very badly in upsetting the original intention of Parliament when it passed the Bill."

Unfortunately, because the Act had removed the religious question from the national to the local level, this was too often the case, especially in the early years of the School Board period. One of the main controversies at School Board elections was Religious Instruction and an Unsectarian meeting at Stockton in November 1870 brought out all the pent-up feelings concerned with this.

Three Dissenting Ministers, Allen, Malyen and Elliott, were for the total exclusion of the Bible, while other lay candidates supported the mere reading of the Bible in schools. The Anglican Reverend A. Pettit countered this in his sermon a fortnight before the School Board election. Preaching at St. Thomas' Church he strongly denounced the secularising tendency of the modern educational system of the Elementary Education Act. The Liberal press urged the Catholics not to ally with the Anglican Church.

'Why should Catholics consent to allow themselves to be made a cat's paw of the Tory Party is a mystery. Surely the Catholics ought to know to whom they are most indebted for the religious freedom they now enjoy! We should have thought they would have been content to leave the care of their children in the hands of the Liberal educationalists who would deal as fairly with one denomination as another.'

This advice was in vain. There had originally been seventeen candidates for seven seats, but by polling day this had dwindled to nine.


8 Echo, 26.XI.1870.
The Denominationalists, who were more united and organised than the Unsectarians, gained a majority with three Church candidates and one Roman Catholic being elected. Only three out of five Unsectarian candidates were successful, whereas if they had only fielded four candidates, all may have been elected with a careful distribution of the votes polled.

'The Dissenters, being divided into many sects, were naturally less capable of organisation than the Churchmen, while the Church and the Catholics, knowing better how to "hang together", have had very little difficulty in securing the return of the men they had put forward, and in many cases with thumping majorities.'

This was not always the case, for in certain areas like Birmingham and Darlington the Unsectarians were able to achieve good organisation. Generally, however, the closer-knit Churches found organisation easier, and this became more marked as the period wore on because of the spur engendered by the increasing number of Board Schools.

This eventually led to the Cross Commission and to demands for financial aid for Voluntary Schools. The School Board Party was able to show more unity in its opposition to help for Voluntary Schools from the rates, and this caused a certain amount of ill-feeling at School Board elections. Voluntary bodies feared that hostile Boards might abuse the power of the purse in order to win some measure of control over Denominational Schools. There was also the fear that Board Schools would be 'Godless institutions'.

9 Echo, 26.XI.1870.
'The establishment of rate-aided schools must be a shock to the religion of the country, because it will be proclaimed that religion is the only thing which is not to be thoroughly taught ... We maintain that not even a secular instruction can be good, which is not based upon, as well as accompanied with, religious truth.'

Middlesbrough Denominationalists felt justly worried, especially when election candidates like the Wesleyan Hunter argued against day school time being taken up with religious instruction, and proclaimed that this should be left to the home. This was during the first Middlesbrough School Board election of 29th November, 1870, and Denominationalists who could already see the writing on the wall fought hard to gain a majority on the Board. Unsectarians fought equally hard to prevent religious instruction on the rates. The result, however, was a tie for the two main parties with the Independents holding the balance. Six years later, at the third Middlesbrough School Board election, E. Gilkes, a Quaker candidate, stirred up sectarian bitterness by expressing the fear that if the Church party gained control of the Board it would attempt to make all children Anglican. In the event he was to be proved wrong. The early Middlesbrough School Boards, with an Unsectarian majority, worked harmoniously for education, even though there was strong sectarian rivalry at elections, and followed a policy of moderate Liberalism. In the last years of the nineteenth century the Conservatives in Middlesbrough grew stronger and by 1885 were able

to gain control of the School Board. This made little difference to the working of the Board, with the Denominationalists following similar policies to their Unsectarian predecessors.

School Board elections at Stanhope afford a good example of the issues which clouded the contests, to the detriment of educational progress. The establishment of a School Board was delayed by the Denominationalists for several years. Then, when the first election was held in March 1874, the H.M.I. for the district wrote to the Education Department of "the violent sectarian feeling" when this Board was first elected, and told of the "great hostility between them and the Reverend Canon Clayton, Manager of the large Church School". This hostility continued after the election. The School Board passed a resolution that, 'the Bible shall be read without note or comment by the Schoolmaster in the Board Schools'. The following year the two Church members of the Board tried to amend this to allow, 'such explanations and instruction in the principles of religion and morality as are suited to the capacities of the children', but were defeated. Canon Clayton, although not a member of the School Board, took up the cudgels on behalf of the Anglicans, and, in his Ninth Pastoral Address on the following Sunday, attacked this prohibition of religious instruction. He also lamented that his parishioners had to pay School Board rates for which they received no direct benefits, as well as being liable to the religious strife engendered by School Board elections.

"With the pockets of the ratepayers to fall back upon the Board will be sure to charge lower fees than we can afford to charge; and what is far worse, they will prohibit all Bible teaching in their schools...The
Bible is read and explained in the Board Schools of Gateshead, Newcastle and Darlington, why should not the same thing be done here? In some few places, like Birmingham, where infidels and secularists obtained a majority of votes the Bible is excluded. This is consistent ... But I cannot understand how it is that those men of Weardale, who profess to love the Bible, should yet wilfully deprive their own children of Bible teaching."12

He pointed out that all other reading books were explained, so why not the Bible, and went on to argue that Stanhope should be like Gateshead, Newcastle, Darlington, Hartlepool and London and repeal the "obnoxious resolution" on religious instruction.

He was backed up by the School Board Chronicle.

'Mischief is being done by the attempts of School Boards to carry out the once loudly enunciated scheme of "Bible reading without note or comment". If the members of Stanhope School Board had watched closely the progress of opinion and the results of experience on the religious education question since 1870, they would have seen that the notion of "Bible reading without note or comment" has been found to be quite untenable. It has been abandoned by every party and section, as an illogical and useless pretence of religious instruction, and any attempt to carry it out will only result in the raising of prejudice against the School Board system.'13

A forceful editorial in the Durham County Advertiser also gave Canon Clayton strong support for his stand. The fact that the Bible was to be merely read and not explained was stressed, with the Advertiser pointing out the absurdity of this and repeating that this course was not pursued towards any other book in which the children were instructed. No benefit, spiritual or intellectual, would be

12 Advertiser, 16.IV.1875.
13 School Board Chronicle, quoted in: Advertiser, 16.IV.1875.
gained by the children through mere parrot-like reading of the Bible without any intelligence of the meaning of what was read. Decrying the defeat of the attempt made at the School Board to rescind the religious instruction resolution, the Advertiser warned that the matter was of greater significance than might appear on the surface.

'As the BISHOP of London pointed out last week at the meeting of the London Diocesan Education Society, that is the great danger of the School Board system. The most important interests of religious education are confided to bodies whose election depends upon the caprice of a popular election, which may be influenced by the most unworthy personal, and party motives.'14

Believing that the conviction of the country was mainly in favour of religious education for children, the Advertiser, like many Denominationalists, was worried by examples of power passing from the people into hands of men whose real design was to destroy the beneficient system of Christian education built up by the zeal of the Church and rear upon its ruin a system of Godless, secular education. This would then lead on to disestablishment and national infidelity.

'The action of the Stanhope School Board is but a type of the crafty and dangerous policy which the secularists have determined on to effect this purpose, and yet men who profess to be religious are found sharers in their company.'15

This illustrates the fears of Denominationalists and shows the deep feelings that were aroused by the School Board elections, and at the

14 Advertiser, 16.IV.1875.

15 Advertiser, 16.IV.1875.
School Board meetings, when the subject of religion was raised. The protagonists at Stanhope did not let it rest there, however, and started preparing for the next triennial election.

The Church Party began something of a pamphlet war by circulating a handbill to the ratepayers of Stanhope, stating that Livingstone and Philipson, two Unsectarian School Board members, were,

'the representatives of the party who never gave a shilling for schools themselves, but have saddled the parish with a debt that will reach £8,000 or £10,000 ... (They) are advocates of GODLESS EDUCATION. The Resolution of the School Board prohibiting all explanation of the Bible stands in the name of DR. LIVINGSTONE ... No man with a sense of right and justice will vote for those who try to seize upon what does not belong to them, whose party, for selfish purposes, have burdened the parish with an enormous debt, and who have done their utmost to rob the poor man of his "dearest interests" by excluding all Bible teachings from the Weardale Schools.'16

Another handbill, written by a School Board member, quickly followed. This defended the Unsectarians and attacked Canon Clayton's Ninth Pastoral Address, as well as 'all priestly influence'.

'The object of this pastoral is in plain language an ILL-ADVISED AND SUICIDAL attempt to prejudice the minds of the people against the five undenominational members of the School Board. It ought to have been called "My Secular Pastoral Address and Electioneering Harangue". He states, "I think it my bounden duty to speak complainingly of certain members of Stanhope School Board, whose aim appears to be not so much to provide education for the people as to do all they can to oppose and injure

the Church of England". This is ill-founded ... The work of the members is to build up a structure that will bring a rich return in the increased intelligence and well-being of all future generations in Weardale, free forever, I trust, from all priestly influence and its attendant evils.'

During the life of the School Board elected after all this religious sniping the Denominationalists managed to gain a concession on religious instruction, albeit with a sting in the tail. On 20th February, 1880, the Unsectarians conceded that the resolution on religious teaching did not preclude the teachers from giving such explanation as might be necessary to enable the children to understand the passage when read. It was further resolved to send a copy of the minute to all Board teachers informing them of this, but at the same time reminding them that its main purpose was to prevent any denominational teaching or denominational comment.

This resulted in a period of relative peace, broken in 1895 by a final Denominationalist flurry. At the School Board election of that year the Denominationalists worked hard to elect Reverend W.R. Hartley. At the ensuing Board meeting he moved that,

'at each school thirty minutes be spent at the commencement of work every morning in teaching Scripture and devotional exercises, and that for this purpose each child be supplied with a Bible. That at each school Grace be said before dismissal in the morning and on re-assembling in the afternoon.'


18 Stanhope School Board Minutes Book, 20.II.1880.

19 Stanhope School Board Minutes Book, 26.IV.1895.
This could have stirred up a hornets' nest, but two long-serving Unsectarian Board members, Harrison and Wooler, moved an amendment that the Board was satisfied with the mode of teaching the Scriptures in operation up to the present. As a sop to the Denominationalists it was also suggested that each master be asked for any suggestions to improve the present method. The amendment was carried and the teachers circulated for their replies. These were returned by 24th May, 1895, and stated that no alteration in the present religious instruction was necessary. Thus ended a twenty year campaign for and against religious instruction.

As at Stanhope, the campaign that was fought over the control of South Shields School Board involved religious instruction, but it also embraced the wider issues of Voluntary Schools versus Board Schools and the interpretation of the controversial Clause 25, which allowed Boards to pay the fees of poor children to attend school.

'Clause 22 allowing rate-aid for Voluntary Schools was withdrawn due to Nonconformist opposition. In the heat of the debate over this measure another clause escaped notice. Clause 25 allowed School Boards to pay the fees of poor children going to Voluntary Schools. This loophole was used to avoid the setting up of Board Schools.'

It was not only the Denominationalists who used Clause 25 thus, others with an eye on the rates did likewise. In his address to the electors of South Shields during its first School Board election, Robert Thubron, Independent, stated,

"The Board must use its powers to make attendance compulsory. It must ensure that every school is fully utilised before ratepayers are asked to spend money on the erection of new buildings."21

Once elected the Board seemed willing to follow this plan. Regulations were drawn up stating that Board Schools would be managed as similarly as possible to Voluntary Schools in the area. This was to make it easier for the latter to transfer to the Board. On 16th December, 1871, these regulations were sent out to all the Voluntary Schools with a covering letter. The letter exhorted managers of these schools to transfer them to the Board so as to participate in the advantages, financial and otherwise, consequent with being part of the 'National System of Education'. It further promised that the Board would do its utmost to meet the wishes of schools' present managers and to have no material alteration of their present management. In this way South Shields hoped to take over the control of all public elementary schools in the borough, and gradually introduce a truly national system of education. It would also be a way of saving money as less schools would need to be built.

The Denominationalists, who pointed out the fact that they had for so long been the only providers of elementary education, opposed this policy as they wanted to protect their vested interests. In South Shields for a time the Denominationalists were successful in frustrating the policy of the School Board. In December 1873 the Union British School offered to transfer to the Board. The Board

agreed, but left the details and terms to its successor, as an
election was pending. The election was fought on the issue of
transference of Voluntary Schools to Board control. Dr. Joseph
Frain, an Unsectarian candidate, spoke in favour of Voluntary
Schools coming under the Board, it being in the interests of the
country and the borough to have a truly national system of educ­
ation. He pointed out that although the School Board's main duty
was to give secular instruction, the first Board had made provision
for Bible reading and a daily prayers service in deference to
local opinion. Thus he hoped to allay the fears of Denomination­
alists. However, this was not enough as what worried them was the
good example of the Birmingham Education League. Like South Shields' Unsectarians, the League wished to bring about the transference of
all public elementary schools to Board control and, what was worse,
compel children to attend these Board Schools which would give a
purely secular type of education. The Denominationalists of South
Shields strongly opposed this. Matthew Stainton, a Denominationalist
who became Vice Chairman of the subsequent School Board, stated
their policy of complete opposition to the Birmingham Education
League aims of making education compulsory and expelling all religion
from schools. At the election the Denominationalists gained control
of the School Board and rescinded the agreement allowing the Union
British School to transfer to Board control.

This Sectarian dominated Board also amended the Bye-law passed
in 1871 allowing remission of fees for poor children attending Board
Schools to read, 'poor children attending a Board School or any other
public elementary school'. Thus they were able to pay fees for children attending Voluntary Schools, something which had caused a furore at Birmingham and elsewhere. The policy of previous South Shields School Boards had been Bible reading with such explanations and instruction as suited the capacities of the children, and even this Denominationalist controlled Board strictly adhered to, 'no catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination'. However, this Board and the next did their utmost to foster the interests of Voluntary Schools at the expense of public education. As a result even ten years after the 1870 Education Act the Voluntary bodies in South Shields were still providing the majority of elementary school places in the borough. This successful delaying action could not go on forever and eventually, as with elsewhere, South Shields Voluntary Schools and Denominationalists had to succumb to the financial power at the disposal of the Board.

'Twenty five years after 1870 the Church had spent £25,000,000 on its schools, but could not compete with the Boards. Under Clause 21 of the Act Voluntary Schools could be transferred to Board control. By 1890 the Church of England had surrendered a thousand schools ... Throughout the period, from the inauguration of School Boards to the establishment of the Cross Commission the Voluntary Schools had to fight against increasing financial difficulties.'

Rate provided finance helped the Unsectarians of South Shields to break the hold of the Denominationalists on education in the borough.

In order to manage the elementary education of the borough and thus achieve their objective of a national system of education, the Unsectarians began a sustained campaign to gain control of the School Board. At the 1880 Board election six Denominationalists and five Unsectarians were returned. After a battle at Board meetings the Unsectarians finally managed to get a building programme begun. Boys and Girls Departments were built as additions to Baring Street Infants School. The 1883 election was then fought on the issue of providing yet more Board School accommodation. The Denominationalists spoke of the cost and emphasised the need for economy. J.C. Stephenson, Member of Parliament, countered by stating at a public meeting of Unsectarians that real economy would be to give the children a thorough and good education, in schools provided for them by the money of the people and managed by the people. This time the Unsectarians polled the majority of the votes and got six members elected against five Denominationalists. The School Board was thus enabled to adopt a progressive policy as opposed to that of its predecessors, which had tried all means to keep Board Schools down at the level of the Voluntary Schools to prevent the Board becoming too successful a rival. By 1885 the School Board was supplying twice the amount of school accommodation as the Voluntary Bodies. Of course the Board had the great advantage of recourse to the rates for any deficiency in school funds. It was for this reason that Denominationalist Board members tried to obstruct the growing power of the Board by delaying the building of new schools.
At the sixth School Board election the Denominationalists tried to win over the electorate by attacking the expenditure of the Unsectarian majority on the fifth Board. This had risen by £3,000 to £17,450. However, the Unsectarians justified this by pointing to the opening of a new school and over one thousand more children being educated. They exhorted their supporters to come and vote saying that the educational interests of South Shields would depend on the result of this election, not for three years only, but for many years to come. Four Unsectarians, five Denominationalists and two Independents were returned, the latter effectively holding the balance. Their outlook was progressive and they usually sided with the Unsectarians, and this Board inaugurated a nine-year period of great advance during which over five thousand school places were added. From 1895 until 1903 the School Board continued to consolidate the work already done by building even more schools, including a Higher Grade School. Elections no longer centred around religious instruction, compulsory attendance or school building, but were now concerned with the far more topical issue of rate-aid for Voluntary Schools.

The Cross Commission had highlighted the financial difficulties of Voluntary Schools, then the findings of the Bryce Commission of 1894 to 1895 led to the 1897 Voluntary Schools Act. This implemented a scheme whereby financial aid could be given to Voluntary Schools in a perilous position. This was beneficial to the education within the borough, but at the 1895 School Board election Stephenson again set out the views of the Unsectarians.
"School Boards should represent the people of the district and be free to control and direct the mode of instruction just as a body of parents would do. The School Board acting on behalf of parents should have the right to prescribe the type of religious instruction for the children ... The Sectarians really feared the Board's Schools becoming so efficient that they would completely oust the Voluntary Schools." 23

He was completely opposed to rate-aid for Voluntary Schools as he did not wish to see anything being done which would encourage their multiplication. The Denominationalists countered with the view that until 1870 the Voluntary Schools were the only means of providing education for the poor, and that for many years after they still provided much of that education. The 1870 Education Act was only to supplement - "fill up the gaps", Forster had said - Voluntary provision, not to supplant it. In 1895, they argued, Voluntary Bodies still supplied the majority of school places in the country. Reverend B. McClelland, a Denominationalist candidate, urged that Denominational Schools should at public expense be put on a footing of financial equality with the Board Schools. However, the Unsectarians gained a majority at the School Board election and, despite the agitation of Voluntary Bodies, sent a petition from the School Board to Parliament opposing rate-aid for Voluntary Schools. The Unsectarians continued to control the Board for the rest of its existence and in its latter years sectarian animosity seems to have abated. This was

due to some degree to the fact that although opposed to rate-aid for Voluntary Schools, the Board still showed a 'generous consideration' for them. On his resignation in 1902, having served the Board since 1895, Reverend Burton, Roman Catholic, was able to talk of the "kindness and consideration of fellow members" and "the absence of party feeling".

It is only a pity that this absence of party feeling had not manifested itself earlier, because then more energy could have been expended on education and more progress made at South Shields during the first half of the School Board period. Not all the School Boards in the North East were like Stanhope and South Shields, however. Some of the smaller ones, like Tudhoe, were able to carry on their work with little or no religious controversy. Of the larger Boards in the area Gateshead was something of an exception as far as religious strife was concerned.

'The only recorded sectarian divisions in the Board were in 1902, when the proposed reform (transfer of educational responsibilities to the local authority) was being debated.'

This does not mean that School Board elections at Gateshead were not keenly contested; they were, because the school-rate was a considerable burden. Robert Affleck, a Denominationalist candidate, raised this at the 1891 election, maintaining that the Board had built too many schools. Even so this Board, like the others before and after, seems to have been elected without too much religious

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bitterness. Although each School Board contained a large proportion of diverse ministers of religion, three or four on the first Boards, five out of eleven in 1891, seven of fifteen in 1897, they appear to have been able to work without too much sectarian rivalry or conflict. The Board of 1888 to 1891, for example, had a Nonconformist minister, Reverend A.F. Riley, as Chairman and an Anglican, Reverend Moore-Ede, as Vice Chairman. These two worked hand in hand for educational advance in Gateshead, without wasting time over religious differences, as they both believed it to be a crime to raise such a question at the Board. Party lines, if any, were very loosely drawn on Gateshead School Board.

The School Board for Gateshead, elected on 28th November, 1870, was one of the first, Manchester having been elected on 24th November, Liverpool on 25th November and Rochdale on 26th November. Accounts of the election in the Newcastle Daily Chronicle show that, like elsewhere, religious issues were at the forefront, but there seems to have been attempts at consensus and co-operation right from the start. This did not please everyone, and in the build-up to the first election the Unsectarian Reverend Street attacked Archdeacon Prest for standing on the same platform as the Roman Catholic Canon Consitt of Durham.

"The Reverend Canon Consitt was in strange company as he had not been accustomed to standing on the same platform as Mr. Archdeacon Prest. A few years ago nothing would have been deemed more improper than that so distinguished a member of the evangelical school should have been rubbing shoulders with the polemic representative of the Roman Catholic Church ... They form a stout combination to teach their religion out
of the national exchequer. That is why the National Education League opposes the Government's Education Bill.\textsuperscript{25}

School Board elections and subsequent Board meetings often led to previously unthinkable alliances. Sometimes there was a lot of sectarian rivalry and out and out antagonism, but another aspect of School Board elections and meetings was the gradual fostering of compromise and co-operation in order to forward the cause of education. This spirit of compromise came to Gateshead relatively early and, despite Street's attack, Archdeacon Prest seems to have genuinely tried to rise above party squabbles. The pro-School Board Party \textbf{Chronicle} hailed this Denominationalist's electoral address as an,

'amirable exemplification of the spirit which has in many towns made public men superior to the trammels and foregone conclusions of a narrow sectarianism ... Believing that he was taking the very best plan for attaching the bulk of the people to his Church he has preserved as his determined principle, in every step he has taken, the necessity for giving sound, useful, moral and intellectual training to as large a number as possible of the poorer children of his parish.'\textsuperscript{26}

Prest spoke out for impartial enforcement of the religious provisions of the 1870 Education Act, along with observation of the Conscience Clause. Another candidate, Edward Culley, spoke of his strong conviction of the moral values of a religious education. At the same time he conceded that in schools provided by the rates it was only just to limit the education to things on which people agreed.

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Newcastle Daily Chronicle}, 1.IV.1870.

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Chronicle}, 17.XI.1870.
Sensible views like this helped bring consensus to the School Boards of Gateshead, where the question of religious education in Board Schools was quickly and amicably dealt with. Bible reading with simple explanations was to be the policy. Perhaps this agreement was also helped by the preponderance of ministers of different religion who served the Board during its lifetime. Instead of arguing, they found they had to work together. Twenty-three different ministers served on the eleven Boards, so the only way to progress was to come to some form of consensus. Three Anglican, five Roman Catholic and fifteen Nonconformist ministers sat upon the Gateshead School Boards, and three of them, Archdeacon Prest (1873 to 1881), Reverend A.F. Riley (1891 to 1894) and Reverend W. Moore-Ede (1894 to 1903) made notable Chairmen, the latter going on to become the Vice-President of Durham County Education Committee. This was not an unusual situation and the clergy were also well represented on other large School Boards in Durham and the North East. Durham City, with its Cathedral and Churches, had at least three clergymen on each of its successive School Boards. Durham, like Gateshead, was also able to work with a fair degree of harmony, helped greatly by the fact that very little school building was necessary. South Shields was another area with an average of three clergymen on its Boards, with two of them serving as Chairmen. Nonetheless it took far longer for co-operation and agreement to be reached there, as school building became a contentious issue. Darlington, Stockton, Newcastle and Middlesbrough also had their share of clergymen on their School Boards. Reverend R. Lacy, who was to become the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Middlesbrough, was one of the ministers to serve its Board.
It was not only on large School Boards that the clergy made their influence felt. They also served on the smaller School Boards, because representation meant they were able to protect their vested interests. Stanney's survey of Durham County from 1870 to 1902 mentions the local vicar as a member of most of the Boards in the area. Thornley, for example, always had one clergyman on its School Board, and at one point, in 1884, it had four. This representation of the various Churches mirrored School Boards in the rest of the country and can be explained by the fact that prior to 1870 Voluntary Bodies had been the sole providers of elementary education for the poor, so naturally the clergy stood for election to protect their schools. Apart from this, the clergy, having been dealing with education for so long, were natural School Board candidates. Their lay brothers were also exhorted to stand for election to protect children compelled to attend Board Schools, and also to nullify the anti-Denominationalist and expansionist excess of certain Board members. This was especially true of the Roman Catholics, who used the cumulative vote to such telling effect.

"In October, 1870, the major Catholic papers began to stress the importance of active participation in the forthcoming elections and to put forward ingenious schemes for using the cumulative vote as effectively as possible ... Archbishop Manning stated, "The Boards may destroy our lesser schools at once by reporting them to be insufficient or inefficient. By opening relations with the Boards, as I have with the Privy

Council, I hope to save these. By standing aloof from the Boards we should be exposed to the danger of their hostility".28

The Roman Catholics achieved considerable success in the ensuing elections, heading the poll in cities like Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield, and gaining strong representation at London, Liverpool, Salford, Leeds and Bootle. In the North East they also did well. A Roman Catholic headed the poll at Durham's three contested elections. At the first four School Board elections for Darlington the Roman Catholic candidate polled the most votes, and in 1883 the Roman Catholics successfully increased their representation to two, a position they maintained for the rest of the period. On most of Jarrow's School Boards there were three Roman Catholic representatives, while that of 1876 had four. There was always Roman Catholic representation on large Boards like Middlesbrough, Stockton, South Shields and Gateshead, the latter being another example of a Board where at the first election a Catholic topped the poll. Roman Catholics also gained representation on smaller Boards, such as Framwellgate Moor, Cowpen Bewley and Thornley, the latter being of great importance because of the competition between St. Goderic's Roman Catholic School and the School Board. In areas such as Stanhope, where there were few Roman Catholics, there were no Roman Catholic Board members. Here, as elsewhere, it was the Anglicans who fought for representation to protect Voluntary Schools.

Some Unsectarians also contested elections to protect their own schools in the early days of School Boards, this being especially so with some Wesleyans. Generally, however, Unsectarians fought elections to prevent Denominationalists fostering religious education on the rates, to try to gain a national system of education and to spread free and compulsory education throughout the country. Many able people put themselves forward for election to School Boards in North East England, and not all for religious reasons. Some were purely philanthropic, others saw it as their duty, while yet others regarded it as an avenue to greater things. Wealthy and respected people stood for election side by side with people of humbler origins, reflecting the interest in education shown by all throughout the country. The local ironmasters served on Middlesbrough School Board, that of 1876 having five ironmasters on a nine-man Board. Six of this Board had also served as Mayor, and all but one were members of the Town Council, illustrating the link between School Boards and the wider spectrum of urban politics. In Darlington the three great Quaker families, Pease, Dale and Fry, gave their services to the Board along with their experience of civic affairs gained through their Town Council work. At Heworth, members of the Palmer family, great North Eastern industrialists, served on the School Board. The quality of the candidates showed how important education was felt to be, and throughout the North East some of the most important local residents served on the School Boards of their districts. At first School Board members were mainly middle-class, bankers, doctors, industrialists, solicitors, gentlemen, clergy and the like, as they had the requisite income
to be able to take time off for meetings. There were no property qualifications for School Board elections, so anyone was eligible to stand, giving the working-class their first chance to experience political power. However, initially there were relatively few working-class members, and these generally relied upon sponsorship. This was due in some cases to opposition to School Board education as it would mean less income coming in to the family if all children were compelled to attend. This was highlighted, as shall be seen, in the debates over a School Board for Durham. As well as wariness of School Boards prospective working-class candidates were deterred from standing by the timing of meetings, which they could not attend without losing money, and by the lack in their own education.

As the period progressed better education and the rise of the new unionism made the working-class more politically conscious. This, coupled with the fact that as time went by more places became available with the expansion of many urban School Boards, helped working-class candidates gain better representation. In many areas it was made easier for them to stand with Board meetings being arranged out of working hours. During the late 1880s, through the 1890s and into the early 1900s, both Stockton and Middlesbrough had at least two working-class members on each Board. Unlike the women of the area, whose lack of response to their eligibility for School Board election has already been discussed, working-men of Durham and the North East responded positively to the challenge. This reflected the rest of the country where men like Keir Hardie, Robert Smillie and Ben Turner were finding their way on to School Boards in
the late 1880s. School Board elections provided a means through which the working-class could help their children and themselves by having a direct say in education. Election to School Boards was a way to experience political power and could also sometimes become a road to advancement. For example, Joseph Hopper, working-class representative on Heworth School Board from 1881 to 1887, later served on the Board of Guardians where he helped to provide homes for aged miners, now known as 'Hopper Memorial Homes'. His replacement on the Board, John Simpson, served on the Board of Guardians, became a Magistrate and then the first representative of Felling Urban District Council. The ambition for advancement was occasionally criticised, as was the case with Mr. W.E. Welch of Framwellgate Moor, who was accused of standing for the School Board in 1875 strictly for his own advancement and with his eye on the Mayorality of Pity Me.

This, however, was the exception, with most people being elected for religious, political or educational reasons, rather than personal advancement. In most cases the character of the area of the School Board was reflected by its members. The mining influence in places like Framwellgate Moor and Bearpark was always very obvious. Another Board with great artisan representation was that of Whitton. Its 1895 Board, for example, was composed of the stationmaster, a signalman, a platelayer, an ironmaster and a priest, showing the great importance of the railway. The more rural area of Croxdale had the local vicar, a butcher and three farmers for its first School Board in 1875, while the second consisted of the local vicar, two miners and two farmers. Norton's
first Board of 1872 had an ironmaster, a pottery manufacturer, a bank manager, a gentleman and a priest; its last Board of 1902 was made up of a doctor, a manufacturer, a factory manager and two solicitors, both illustrations of its middle-class residents. The last School Board for South Shields is a typical example of the walks of life from which members were drawn throughout its existence. Elected in 1901, it consisted of a miner, a glass merchant, a tallow-chandler, a shipbuilder, a merchant tailor, a chartered accountant, a surgeon, an insurance agent, an agent, a butcher, a priest and two Clerks in Holy Orders.

The above serves as an illustration of the kinds of diverse people who, in the words of Mary Sturt, had "to make education work". In Durham County and the North East they managed to achieve this. During the School Board period from 1870 to 1904 most advances in educational provision and practice were initiated by independent School Boards, often in the face of opposition from the Education Department. The Boards initiated developments in education not prescribed in the 1870 Education Act, such was the success of Forster and his colleagues. The definition of the child, the definition of elementary education and the direction as to the type of religious instruction had all been deliberately omitted from the Act, so as not to constrain School Boards too tightly. The first two gave scope to extend the type and duration of education. Progressive Boards like Jarrow, South Shields and

Darlington widened the curriculum, and through Higher Grade Schools, Pupil Teacher Centres and Evening Classes lengthened school life. School Boards were also able to act on compulsory education and bring in free education far sooner than Parliament. The omission of directions for religious instruction merely transferred religious controversy from national to local level. Most elections centred around religious instruction and Board versus Voluntary Schools. Because the majority of School Boards in the area adopted Bible reading in their schools, it became an issue that blew hot and cold. The two parties were often divided by the eagerness of the Unsectarians to extend School Board activities on the one hand, and Denominationalist attempts to curtail School Boards' educational activities to favour Voluntary Schools on the other.

Denominationalists feared the power of the purse, so often stood for election expressly to ensure that the School Board was prevented from competing with local Voluntary Schools as much as possible. This could be achieved by limiting spending so that facilities in Board Schools were not conspicuously better than those in local Voluntary Schools, or, more important, by persuading the Board to waive its prior right to supply any deficiency that occurred if a Voluntary Body was able to step in. Denominationalist Board members were able to delay Board School building by demanding enquiries into the provision already in existence, by promising improvements in existing Voluntary Schools and by promises of extra Voluntary accommodation, a good example of this being Croxdale. Voluntary Schools could be protected by using statistics to prove that Board accommodation was unnecessary. This was attempted in
places like Stanhope and South Shields by Anglican School Board members. However, the Unsectarians were not blameless for the conflict at School Board elections, their actions putting the embattled Denominationalists further on the defensive. Nonconformist advocacy of replacement rather than supplementation of Voluntary Schools was the Denominationalists' greatest fear. In Thornley this was put into practice by building a Board School in direct competition with an existing Roman Catholic School, and with the stated object of persuading children away from the latter school. The Roman Catholics complained, but to no avail, and their school only just managed to survive. At South Shields the avowed aim of the School Board was to take over all Voluntary Schools. This was because,

'Nonconformists favoured Board Schools as a way to get religious equality and their support for them continued beyond 1902. Sir William Harcourt applauded School Boards not only for improving education, but also as representing a landmark in religious equality.' 30

This educational progress and religious equality came more slowly to small rural areas like Middleton St. George, Norton and Croxdale, as it was always easier to control small School Boards, so consequently Denominationalists were better able to protect their interests. In the larger, more urbanised areas the Denominationalists could delay and hamper Unsectarian progressive policies, but not indefinitely, as was the case in places like South Shields, Stockton and

Jarrow. However, there was not always conflict, and Gateshead is a good example from North East England of a School Board where cooperation and compromise led to great educational advance. This after all is what School Board elections and School Boards were intended for.
CHAPTER 5

THE TYPES OF CANDIDATES IN THE NORTH EAST
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The enfranchisement of the artisan class in 1867 brought with it a change in attitude to education, especially in the minds of influential individuals such as Robert Lowe. Education was a political issue which penetrated all the layers of the urban political system, being part of the traditional battle between freedom and privilege. The healthy working of a political democracy in post-1867 England required an essential minimum of education. The 1870 Elementary Education Act introduced the principle of an elected authority to provide this. School Boards were bodies whose sole purpose, in the absence of a widespread system of local government administration, was to supply existing deficiencies in elementary education. They were extremely democratic in constitution, having a wide franchise which permitted both men and women to stand for election, without any minimum property qualification. The creation of ad hoc School Boards followed the precedents of Boards of Guardians, Highways Boards, Boards of Health and Burial Boards. Thus essential public services, relief of destitution, provision of roads, provision of sanitation, provision for burial and the provision of elementary education, were each administered by a special body elected for a single purpose. In Boroughs they were separate from the Town Councils, partly because local government was still not trusted and partly because Boroughs were slow to gain a reputation for good administration.
Because they had the power to implement certain policies, School Boards were overtly political bodies. The issues involved in educational policy politicized School Boards, and beyond education lay a more general commitment to popular control. Social awareness was increased through School Boards by bringing influential people face to face with current problems, but an unfortunate aspect of the system was that small rural School Boards were often reactionary and acted as a brake on education. Like Town Councils before them, School Boards came to symbolize the political differences between urban and rural society. Non-conformists and Liberals realised that School Boards could be a means by which the adoption of the National Education League principles would become simply a question of time. The Established Church, the Tories and the Roman Catholics used School Boards in most instances to protect their own vested interests in education, while at the same time to prevent, or at least delay, the encroachment of 'Godless secular education'. This was easier to achieve in smaller rural areas where the squire and parson held sway. In large urban districts more defensive delaying tactics had to be adopted. School Boards were innovative in giving the newly enfranchised artisans and their poorer fellows more chance to participate directly in politics, and also in opening the political door for women. By looking at the composition of some urban and rural School Boards in North East England, ways in which the opportunities afforded by the 1870 Education Act were put into practice can be seen. At the same time some of the important personalities who served these School Boards can be examined.
The quality of the candidates who stood for election shows how important education was thought to be by the people in the area. Some of the North East's most important and influential residents stood for election to School Boards and served them well. Initially, as in most other areas, the middle-class, who had both the time and the money to attend meetings, dominated the School Boards of the North East. There were few workers on the early School Boards of the area, and even then these were usually sponsored by some other body.

'At Middlesbrough's first election one Churchman, Isaac Haigh, and one National Education League candidate, Isaiah Eadon, also stood as working-class candidates, and were both elected. John Kane, founder and leader of the iron and steel workers' union, stood unsuccessfully in Darlington's first election. He was successful three years later.'1

As the period progressed, with the growth in size of some School Boards, especially urban ones, along with the rise of unionism which made the working-classes more politically conscious, more workers were to be found on School Boards. This was stimulated by a growing awareness of the benefits of education, itself enhanced by the education provided by the Boards themselves. In the North East working-class representation on School Boards certainly increased as the period progressed. The process was further helped by those employers who allowed some time off to attend Board meetings, and by those Boards which held their meetings outside of

working hours. Middlesbrough and Stockton are two examples of Boards which increased their working-class representation in the late 1880s.

This reflected the rest of the country. Keir Hardie was a miners' candidate for Auchinleck, Robert Smillie was the miners' candidate for Larkhall, while Ben Turner stood as a Labour candidate for Batley. In 1894 came the first Independent Labour Party candidates. Joseph Nuttall stood for Salford, and David Millar, backed by the Birmingham Trades Council, stood for that city, both on I.L.P. platforms. Millar came top of the poll, taking many votes from the famous 'Liberal Eight' who had dominated Birmingham School Board for so long. The Labour Annual for 1897 printed a list of fifty-seven socialist School Board members and in 1899 the I.L.P. officially claimed seventy-one. John Burns went so far as to claim in the Commons in 1896 that there were five to six hundred working-men on School Boards. This was merely a guess, but it does point to a fair number being on School Boards. Working-class candidates tended to ally with the Unsectarians, whom they regarded as progressive towards education. At the same time these candidates sought the backing of labour organisations, which often provided a certain amount of 'respectability', as well as organisation and finance. North Eastern examples of this were the aforementioned John Kane, who stood at Darlington in 1871 and 1874 with Trades Council backing, and R. Bainbridge of Stockton Trades Council who stood in 1873.
Working-class candidates stood at elections for various reasons. Two working-men stood at Gateshead's first School Board election in 1870 on a platform of opposition to Denominationalist electioneering. At a meeting of working-men,

'Mr. Thomas Rule and Mr. John Smith, workingmen candidates, spoke on the necessity of having workers on the Board to look after their interests and keep out the sectarians. They must use the power placed in the hands of workingmen. Thomas Rule spoke of the beginning of a new era in the education of working-men's children. Workingmen now have the power in their hands which they ought to use to get their sons a better education. John Smith added that no School Board will be complete without workingmen.'

At the meeting the 1870 Education Act was explained by Councillor Tennant. A discussion as to the best means for securing the appointment of working-men on the School Board then followed. It was decided to nominate a number of suitable candidates and then hold a public meeting at which their respective claims could be discussed. From these would be selected the candidates to contest the election. All but the selected ones would then be requested to retire, in order that their election would be made certain. Hartlepool, Stockton and Framwellgate Moor were some of the other places in the area which held meetings for working-class candidates in order to obtain the best representation possible.

Forster himself had expressed the wish that the working-class be represented upon School Boards. He even outlined the possible means of achieving this.

2 Chronicle, 24.XI.1870 and 25.XI.1870.
A deputation from the Land and Labour League waited on Mr. Forster, yesterday, in reference to the elections of a School Board in London, under the Education Bill, and on the general question. Mr. Forster said he hoped the elections in London would be an example to the whole country, and that he would be disappointed if a fair proportion of working-men were not elected to the Boards. There would be absolutely no restriction as to the qualifications and they might be either men or women. If working-men would not stand on account of the expenses, a very small subscription among their supporters would recoup them for their loss. 3

This challenge was boldly taken up by workers in the North East, partly for the chance to enhance the education of their children, partly for the political opportunities afforded by School Board elections, and partly for the prestige involved. Coming so soon after the Second Reform Act, the 1870 Education Act gave the working-classes and women great opportunities to participate directly in politics. As well as voting they could stand as candidates, and in the smaller field of education they often had a better chance of success. In the area there seems to have been a certain reluctance on the part of women to stand. A few School Boards had women members, but only at Darlington did two serve simultaneously. The working-classes, on the other hand, were anything but reluctant.

There was a growing realisation amongst the working-classes of the value of education. The formation of School Boards with powers to pay the fees of necessitous children, together with the expansion of compulsory education ensured that a growing number of working-class children received an elementary education. The

3 Echo, 30.IX.1870.
parents of the children involved were given the opportunity to have a say in this education by voting at School Board elections, and even more so by actually serving on School Boards.

"In addition the formation of School Boards made it possible for a few working-class representatives, miners' leaders among them, to exercise some parochial control over educational policy. Indeed during these years a number of Yorkshire Miners' Association officials played an important part in the administration of School Boards in various regions of the Yorkshire coalfield. For example Benjamin Pickard, one-time secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association and president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, was a member of Wakefield School Board in the early 1880s; Frederick Hall, treasurer of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, was chairman of Rawmarsh School Board for nine years; William Parrott, first agent and secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, was the vice-chairman of Barnsley School Board, 1889-1892, and William Lunn, president of Rothwell Yorkshire Miners' Association, was a member of Rothwell School Board, 1895."4

As was sometimes the case, such School Board membership could also be a stepping-stone to higher things politically.

Benjamin Pickard was the Liberal Member of Parliament for Normanton from 1885 to 1904; Frederick Hall was Normanton's Liberal Member of Parliament from 1905 to 1908, and then served as Labour Member from 1908 until 1933; William Parrott represented Normanton as a Liberal-Labour Member of Parliament in 1904, and William Lunn was Rothwell's Labour Member of Parliament from 1918 to 1942. In the North East John Kane of Darlington is an obvious example of a working-class union leader who served on a School Board, and who also stood for Parliament, being unsuccessful in a bid for the seat

at Middlesbrough in the 1874 General Election. Another Darlington working-class School Board member, Edward Trow, also stood unsuccessfully for Parliament in 1885. Though unsuccessful, both men had gained enough political experience through School Board elections to have the courage to stand for election to Parliament. There were successes in the smaller field of urban politics for some of the working-class School Board members of the area. Hopper and Simpson of Heworth have already been mentioned. Oliver Haynes Duffell did well on Jarrow Town Council and was elected Mayor. Thomas Gibb, who served as Vice-Chairman of Jarrow School Board, is another example of a working-class Board member who also sat on the Town Council. Mr. W.E. Welch, who was on Framwellgate Moor School Board, also attempted to become Mayor of Pity Me. Not all working-class School Board members were after further political power, of course, they were simply interested in the education provided out of their rates for their children.

Examples of working-class School Board members can be found on many Boards of the area. South Shields had George Blakey, a waterman, on its 1898 Board, while for the final South Shields School Board of 1901, William Atkinson, a miner was elected. At Gateshead Francis Drummond served as a socialist School Board member from 1897 to 1903. Whitton School Board always had marked artisan representation, generally reflecting the influence of the railways. Bearpark's working-class members were usually miners, the Board of 1896 to 1899 having three miners and a checkweighman, serving alongside a mining engineer. Framwellgate Moor colliery was also well-represented on the School Board, the majority of members being from the mine, with
two usually being working-class members. This influence of the surrounding area on the composition of School Boards is something which is prominent in North East England, as elsewhere. Wolviston, for example, reflected its agricultural surroundings. The first School Board elected there had three farmers, one gentleman and a machinist as members, while the last consisted of two farmers, one gentleman, a machinist and a priest. Candidates, whatever their class, generally reflected the area they were standing for. Cassop School Board began life in 1876.

'Election Result:

White, Henry -------- Cassop Colliery ------ Viewer,
Ramsey, William ------- Tursdale Colliery ----- Colliery Agent,
Bell, Charles Ernest --- Old Elvet, Durham ---- Colliery Owner,
Thompson, Thomas Henry - Quarrington Vicarage - Clergyman,
Richardson, John ------- Cassop Hill ---------- Innkeeper.'

Then on 21st November, 1876,

'Resolved that Mr. W.C. Eaton of Cassop, Colliery Viewer, be appointed a member of this Board in the place of Mr. Henry White resigned.'

And, of course,

'School Board meetings (were) to be held in the Colliery Office at Tursdale.'\(^5\)

At first it was mainly the wealthier residents who could afford to be elected. In 1879 the innkeeper and colliery viewer were replaced by two farmers. However, even the wealthier members of Cassop's area seem to have been reluctant to stand.

\(^5\) Cassop School Board Minutes, 6.I.1876, 21.XI.1876 and 6.XI.1876.
'4th January, 1882.

Present Mr. John Oddy.

The Clerk produced the return of the triennial election of this Board from which it appeared that the following person had been duly elected.

Oddy, John New Cassop Butcher.

Resolved that Mr. Oddy be and he is herewith appointed Chairman of this Board.'

Under the provisions of Rule Six of the First Part of the Second Schedule of the 1870 Education Act, which dealt with School Board vacancies, four more members had to be elected for Cassop. Two nominees who had been on the first Board, Ramsay and Thompson, declined when asked, so George Beard, a fruiterer, and Thomas Castling, a farmer, were nominated instead. The other two places were taken by Charles Bell, the Colliery Owner from Durham who had served the first two Boards, and John Miller, a farmer.

The latter two, however, were reluctantly pressed into School Board service, and in 1884 both were disqualified from the Board because of their non-attendance at meetings for six months. Two farmers, Archibald Swan and William Raine, were found to fill the vacancies. This reluctance to serve on the small Cassop School Board is understandable in that the same people would be asked to stand again and again, and this involved both time and money. The situation was eased slightly when under the Poor Law Act of 1886 Cassop and Quarrington School Board districts were amalgamated in 1887. The Local Government Board ordered all property, seals etc. and the debts of Cassop to be transferred to Quarrington. The new
School Board of Cassop cum Quarrington now had the problem of finding suitable willing candidates to stand for election, but at least the increase in area meant there were more to choose from. Similar amalgamations of small School Boards occurred in places like Stanhope, with Wolsingham, and Croxdale, with Sunderland Bridge. The latter School Board faced very similar problems to Cassop. After the triennial election of 1878 there was the need for three more members. These vacancies were filled by Reverend Greatorix, who had violently opposed the formation of a School Board, Michael Dixon, a coke inspector, and Ralph Surtees, a miner. By December 1879, however, a new member was needed to fill the place of Thomas Dixon, one of the duly-elected members of 1878, who had not attended for six months. Again after the 1881 election the School Board Clerk had to write to Reverend Greatorix and two others asking them to fill the vacant seats. This highlights the problem of finding enough suitable and interested candidates in small School Board districts. People like John Oddy and Reverend Greatorix were called on to serve the Boards constantly.

Bearpark School Board also had to cast around for a fifth member after its triennial election of 1890. This was the exception rather than the rule for Bearpark, and for the most part there were more candidates than seats so its problems on this score were smaller than places like Cassop and Croxdale. This could be accounted for by the fact that Bearpark was closer to Durham, being an extra-municipal School Board for the parish of Elvet and St. Oswald's, thus having more people to call upon. Framwellgate Moor, which was inaugurated as a new School Board in the district of Durham in 1875,
had no problems in fielding candidates, even though it contained a little over four hundred voters. The nominations for 1875 were: Reverend R.H. Ridley, North Bailey, Clerk in Holy Orders, Church; Mr. William Durrell, Western Hill, Mining Engineer, Church; Reverend William Perrin, Framwellgate, Clergyman, Roman Catholic; Mr. John Binns, Western Hill, Paper Manufacturer, Unsectarian; Mr. W. Law Robertson, Western Hill, Newspaper Proprietor, Unsectarian; Mr. W.E. Welch, Claypath, Accountant, Unsectarian; Mr. Ralph Stothard, Carr House, Farmer, Church; Mr. Henry Gustard, Framwellgate, Colliery Manager, Church; and Mr. R. Rutherford, Hagg House, Farmer, Church. So there were nine candidates for five seats, and significantly only two actually came from Framwellgate. Again in 1901 there were eight candidates for the five seats on Framwellgate Moor's last Board.

The City of Durham produced many able and willing people to serve on School Boards. Some of these people served on more than one School Board. John Slack, a Durham bookseller, served Framwellgate School Board as well as Durham School Board, while John George Gradon, a builder, was a member of both Durham and Bearpark School Boards. These men were happy to do this and served well, but in the smaller areas men like the farmer Charles Bell were sometimes constrained to serve on two Boards. He was on both Cassop and Croxdale School Boards, but his non-attendance during the former's fourth Board highlights the difficulties that he faced. There was an unwillingness in many areas, especially small rural ones, to set up School Boards, and the lack of suitable candidates affected this. Of fifty-four School Boards formed in County Durham between 1870 and 1899 only twenty-three were formed voluntarily.
There were of course exceptions. The small district of Witton le Wear was one of the earliest to set up a School Board in the North East. Established in early 1871 it was the first rural School Board. Witton le Wear only had a population of 2,329, but by 1873 it had opened a school for 220 children. John Oddy, who sat on Cassop School Board, H.S. Stobart (Chairman), Captain Horne and Messrs. Raine and Anderson constituted this first Board. At Witton le Wear there were always enough candidates interested in education to stand for the School Board. Stanhope, though slower off the mark than Witton le Wear, its first Board not being elected until 26th March, 1874, also had no problems in attracting candidates. One of the members of Stanhope's first School Board was Dr. Thomas Livingstone, a leading Nonconformist of the area, who served the Board until his death in 1901. He was Vice Chairman from 1874 until 1877 and then Chairman until 1886, when he was ousted from this position by Reverend Shepperd. In 1889 Livingstone regained the Chair, which he then held until his death, after which,

'It was unanimously resolved that Dr. J.H. Livingstone be appointed a member of this Board in the place of the late Dr. Livingstone.'

This kind of 'nepotism' can be found on more than one North Eastern School Board. A prominent figure on the Heworth School Board was Alfred Septimus Palmer, brother of the founder of Palmer's Shipyards at Jarrow, Sir Charles Palmer, Member of Parliament. In 1899 Alfred's son, Claude Bowes Palmer, was on the Board.

7 Stanhope School Board Minutes, 9.VIII.1901.
This practice was not only found in families, but also spread into sects and parties. Again at Heworth, when the Roman Catholic priest Father Hayes resigned in 1883 the Board allowed a Roman Catholic layman, Patrick Bennett, to take his place, thus recognising the needs of the large Roman Catholic minority in the district. Later, in 1890, when the Roman Catholic Father Carroll died his replacement was Father Murphy, Roman Catholic. At Durham, in 1887, Canon Consitt's dying wish, that he be replaced by another Catholic, was acceded to. Another example found at Heworth was that of replacing one working-class member by another in 1887. When Miss Fry, the only female member of Darlington School Board, resigned in 1900 she was replaced, 'not merely by another Unsectarian, but also by another female, Mrs. Marshall'. Replacements of this sort were possible because when a sitting School Board member resigned, died or was rendered ineligible to serve by bankruptcy, committing a crime, or not attending meetings for six months without a reasonable excuse, and unless the next election was within a few months, the School Board itself was required to fill the vacancy. In most instances those on the Board were reluctant to upset the status-quo, so the lapsed member's successor was usually from the same party. The other principle sometimes used for the fair selection of a successor was to offer the place to the person who had been next on the poll at the last election. Thus, both animosity and the expense of a contest were avoided. Of course, this did not always happen and in some places, such as Liverpool, bye-elections were fought with bitter animosity.8

Many elections for School Boards in the North East were similarly hard-fought, sometimes for sectarian reasons and sometimes because of the prestige connected with election to a School Board. After the first Framwellgate Moor School Board election in 1875 'A Voice From Framwellgate Moor' wrote scathingly to the Advertiser,

"I always understood Mr. Welch's 'love of the cause' to be great indeed, and he himself to be as unassuming and unambitious in his aspirations as he is unassuming and unambitious in his appearance. Your readers, however, may disabuse their minds at once of this idea, for he has contested and won, Sir, and now is an M.S.B. (member of the School Board) and so momentarily elated was he with his success, that I understand a special plate, with the above initials, was on the point of being prepared for the front door." 9

The 'Voice' also complained about this elevation of a mere grocer's clerk to public office, accusing Welch of no longer being content to be a worker without acknowledgement, but aspiring to the Mayorality of Pity Me. At Thornley Philip Cooper deemed the title Member of the School Board just as highly, even though his attendance was somewhat lacking. This can be seen by the in-fighting over his eligibility to serve. Thornley School Board was first elected on 23rd November, 1875. By April 1877 the Vice Chairman, Philip Cooper, had attended only six out of twenty-three possible meetings, and none for the last six months. On 21st May, 1877, the School Board declared Cooper's seat vacant, appointed William Binks Vice Chairman and invited William Dakers to fill the vacant seat. The latter declined to "be made a convenience", and Cooper wrote to the

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9 Advertiser, 14.V.1875.
Education Department claiming that temporary illness had prevented his attendance. The Department were satisfied and wrote to the School Board declaring that Cooper's seat was not vacant. The School Board refused to accept this and there followed a long drawn out battle between the dominant Anglicans and Cooper's Roman Catholic supporters, with letters going back and forth between the Education Department and the School Board. The latter took legal advice on its position, but finally in September 1878, almost eighteen months after it had all begun, the Department threatened, 'surcharging all members of the Board in respect of monies illegally spent out of the rates', if Cooper's membership was not restored. However, because the Board's period of office was near its end the matter was quietly allowed to drop, so the majority party had succeeded in using delaying tactics to achieve its ends. Then fate stepped in to have the last word. At the 1878 election the Returning Officer, John Date, who had been accused by Cooper of failure to comply with the Ballot Act at the first election, on this occasion failed to publish the notice of the election at the appropriate time. In such situations retiring members who were willing to serve were deemed re-elected, and all five, including Cooper, were willing. Cooper went on to be Chairman of the third Board from 1881 to 1884 and served on the fifth from 1887 until 1889.

Because of the keenness with which many of the School Board seats were contested in the North East, there were occasional examples of malpractice. At the first School Board election for Bearpark the polling-booth was the office of Mr. Russell, one of the candidates.
He and a fellow candidate, Mr. Shadforth, were actively canvassing the voters, while at the same time one of Russell's employees was in the office advising electors for whom to vote. Needless to say Russell and Shadforth were both successful. Tactics like this from candidates and their supporters sometimes led to marked bitterness on polling days. One way to keep down the heat of polling day was for candidates to agree not to use cabs to take sympathetic voters to the polls. This arrangement broke down at Stockton in 1873, when, 'the two parties being so close, the struggle for control of the Board was fought as energetically as possible, and, no effort was spared to get people to the polls.'

Actions like these, where candidates, keen to gain a School Board seat, resorted to questionable methods, led to the Elementary Education Amendment Act of 1873. After the first Tynemouth School Board election two successful candidates and one unsuccessful candidate, T. Featherstone, R. Turnbull and A. Scott, were summoned for 'treating'. They had been seen drinking within the electoral district six days before the election, when they had bought drinks for electors. Councillor Scott and Reverend Featherstone were acquitted, but Mr. Turnbull was convicted. He seems to have been the scapegoat, as still others got away with similar conduct.

'A certain gentleman's voters were illegally conveyed to the polls in cabs and substantial improper influence was used. At Percy Main electors were supplied with beef steaks and whisky by one of the gentleman's agents who is now a member of the Board ... Another gentleman's

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10 Echo, 22.XI.1873.
agent at Chirton treated certain electors with beer when they came up to the poll.\textsuperscript{11}

Turnbull was disqualified from voting at School Board elections for six years, but was not disqualified from holding office. After the 1873 Amendment he was also disqualified from being a member of a School Board and from holding any municipal office for the same six years. So the punishment for corruption became disqualification from voting at School Board elections, from being a School Board member and from holding any municipal office for a period of years. The harshness of this shows the importance attached to School Board elections and membership.\textsuperscript{12}

Like most other areas, membership of School Boards in North East England was dominated by the middle-classes, especially in the early period. Certain names, like the Palmers of Heworth and the Frys of Darlington stand out. Edward Gilkes, T.H. Bell (later to become a Baronet) and Isaac Wilson, Member of Parliament, were three of the great ironmasters who served Middlesbrough School Board. They sat alongside the aforementioned Reverend Lacy, and William Fallows, 'the Father of the Tees' and a pioneer of Middlesbrough. Gateshead School Boards,

'attracted the ablest men in the town, and were fortunate in their succession of chairmen, notably in Archdeacon Prest (1873-1881) and Reverend Moore-Ede (1894-1903) ...'


Although each Board contained a large proportion of ministers of religion, five of eleven in 1891, seven of eleven in 1897, there appears to have been no serious sectarian conflict.  

Archdeacon Edward Prest was on Gateshead School Board from 1870 to 1886, being Vice-Chairman from 1870 to 1873 and Chairman from 1873 to 1881. He had been involved with the management of Barn Close National Schools since 1862, so had some experience of educational matters. The other notable minister, Reverend William Moore-Ede, served the Board from 1881 to 1903. From 1891 to 1894 he was Vice Chairman, and from 1894 until the demise of the Board in 1903 he was its Chairman. He went on to become the Vice Chairman of Durham County Education Committee. As well as Archdeacon Prest, several other members of Gateshead's first School Board were involved in school management and carried on their interest in education through election to the School Board. This was not unusual and members of Boards such as South Shields, Middlesbrough and Stockton were also school managers. Besides being remarkable for the number of clergymen who served on its School Board, Gateshead was one of the few North Eastern Boards to have lady members. Miss E.J. Connell, who had been the headmistress of Redheugh Girls' School in 1877, served as a Board member from 1885 to 1894. The other two were Mrs. H. Kempthorne, who was elected to replace Miss Connell in 1894, and Mrs. Mabel C. Green, who served the final Board from 1900 to 1903. Stockton, with two lady members, and Darlington, with four, were the only other Boards in the area to have female representation. There

was an attempt by the Unsectarians of South Shields to elect ex-teachers, Mary Hodgson and Elizabeth Hilton, in 1895, on the grounds that two-thirds of the Board's teachers were women and half the children girls. Although they each polled around 3,000 votes neither was elected.

South Shields School Board's first Chairman was Alderman John Williamson, a manager of several Voluntary Schools, and a benefactor to the town in other ways, especially with regard to the Ingham Infirmary in Westhoe Road. The Vice Chairman was another Alderman, Robert Imeary, an Unsectarian who believed that,

"cheap bread was a great blessing, but that the giving to every child of an intelligent education was giving it the key to all legitimate and fair prosperity."14

It was in the hands of people like this that elementary education prospered and progressed. Some of those who served on South Shields School Board did so for many years. James Nicholson was on the Board for seventeen years from 1880 to 1897, being Vice Chairman from 1883 to 1886 and Chairman from 1886 to 1895. Samuel Marley Peacock also served for seventeen years from 1886 to 1903, and was Vice Chairman from 1901 to 1903. The Chairman of this final Board had been a Board member from 1886 to 1895, and again from 1896 to 1903. The Returning Officer for South Shields' 1901 election was the Mayor, Councillor John Lawson, Junior, who himself had been a Board member from 1889 to 1898, serving as Vice Chairman from 1892 to 1895.

'The quality of the candidates shows how important education was felt to be. Some of the most important residents stood and served well ... Middlesbrough School Board was dominated by the great ironmasters, some of whom had helped found the town. The 1876 Board had five ironmasters, three clergymen and one gentleman; six had been mayors and all but one were members of the Town Council. Two of Middlesbrough School Board's three Chairmen were also Members of Parliament, and one a Baronet. In the 1880s the ironmasters moved to pleasanter rural areas and shopkeepers and professional men became the leaders of local politics. The composition of the Council and the School Board show this.'

Both South Shields and Middlesbrough again show the proximity between Town Councils and School Boards. Success in one often led to success in the other, experience on one helped in work on the other.

What also can be seen is a willingness to serve. Many wished to be 'public men', and so put themselves forward in the fields of local politics. When the ironmasters of Middlesbrough moved, their places were quickly taken up by others. The ironmasters, themselves, were able to find their way onto other School Boards. Cowpen Bewley for example, whose area included the Port Clarence Ironworks, had on its 1879 Board three ironmasters, an ironworks manager, a surveyor, a farmer and two priests. The first School Board for the village of Norton near Stockton, in 1872, was composed of an ironmaster, a pottery manufacturer, a bank manager, a gentleman and a priest. The School Boards of Durham, Jarrow and Darlington were also served by some of the ablest people in their respective districts. Durham had

Letters should be addressed—

"The Secretary,

Education Department,

Whitehall, London, S.W."

Education Department,

Whitehall, London, S.W.

22nd March 1876.

SIR,

I am directed to state for the information of your Board that the Returning Officer has notified to this Department that

[Names of members]

have been duly elected members of the School Board in pursuance of Their Lordships' Order of 24th February 1876.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant.

F.R. Sandford
its clergymen, solicitors, doctors and gentlemen, many of whom were also on the Town Council, as School Board members. Jarrow School Board shows the strong influence of the shipyards, with a number of shipbuilders, boilermakers and engineers being elected. Darlington School Board was well-served by its wealthy industrialist Quaker families, notably Pease, Dale and Fry. Darlington was the only one to have female representation, while Jarrow had the greatest working-class representation, though the other two did have notable working-class members. At Durham the School Board was Church dominated, that at Jarrow was dominated by the Denominationalists in alliance, and Darlington's was Quaker dominated. Jarrow School Board, through its large Nonconformist minority, was probably the most progressive of the three, while Durham had the least to do, being formed mainly to enforce attendance at existing schools. There were only three contested elections out of a possible eleven at Durham, Darlington managed to avoid a contest twice, but at Jarrow all the elections were contested. Durham found it easier to compromise with its smaller and less diverse population, and because all parties believed in Bible reading religious instruction did not become an emotive issue. In 1870 there were already enough schools to meet the needs of the City, so the only issue was compulsory education and this never became too contentious.

Only three of Durham's School Boards were contested, these being in 1877, 1883 and 1886. For the most part the Anglicans and the Unsectarians were content to have equal representation, with the Roman Catholics holding the balance. The first Durham School Board was formed on 15th March, 1871, without a contest. Prior to this
the various denominations in Durham, who wanted a say on the Board, had held meetings to discuss ways to achieve this. The Unsectarians put forward three candidates, the Anglicans four and the Roman Catholics one. An Independent Liberal, George Coward, was the ninth nominee. Religion, finance and compulsory education were the main issues, and as the respective candidates broadly agreed on these it was easy for the 'parties' to effect a compromise and have an uncontested election. Those duly elected were: Alderman Dr. William Boyd, Unsectarian; Reverend George Bulman, Church; Reverend Edward Consitt, Roman Catholic; Mr. George Coward, Independent; Reverend John Cundill, Church; Mr. George Gradon, Unsectarian; Reverend William Greenwell, Unsectarian; Mr. Edward Peele, Church, and Mr. John Shields, J.P., Church. Edward Peele, registrar and clerk to the Dean and Chapter of Durham since 1858, was elected Chairman of this first Durham Board. He was a man already experienced in local politics, having been on the Corporation from 1844 to 1859. He was later to serve again from 1874 to 1879, being elected Mayor for 1877 to 1878. However, on 14th February, 1873, poor health forced him to resign from the School Board. Incidentally, his son was Clerk of the School Board from its inception until his death in 1892. Alderman William Boyd, surgeon, was Vice Chairman of Durham's first School Board, and he too brought with him vast experience of public affairs. At the contested election of 1877 he lost his seat, but after an internal election in 1878 he was once more on the Board. However, pressure of work forced him to resign in July 1879, 'because his new duties as surgeon to Durham gaol clashed with the Board's meeting times'. This was little wonder as the Doctor was a very active man,
being a leader in almost every local movement of importance. He was 'a father of the City Corporation', to which he had been elected in 1849. He was re-elected triennially until 1859, when he was elected Alderman, an office he held until just before his death in 1897. He was Mayor from 1857 to 1858, 1860 to 1861 and 1888 to 1889, and in 1890 the Freedom of the City was bestowed upon him. Besides this he served on the Board of Guardians, was connected with Durham Mechanics Institute, serving as its president, and was also Director and Chairman of various local companies. It was Alderman Boyd who had carried the day in the Town Council debate over the formation of Durham's School Board, and once it was formed he gave it the benefit of his experience for seven years.

Of the other members of this first Board four were clergymen, which was little wonder in a city like Durham dominated by its Cathedral and churches. Three other Durham School Boards were to have four ministers of religion on them, while the other seven had three, showing the dominance of the clergy. Of these Reverend William Greenwell and Reverend Canon Edward Consitt served the longest, and were the most prominent. Reverend Greenwell served on the School Board throughout its existence, being the only person to do so. He was a minor canon of Durham Cathedral, an office he held from 1854 until 1908, ten years before his death. He became Cathedral Librarian in 1862 and from 1862 to 1917 was President of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham, being a distinguished antiquary in his own right. The Right Reverend Provost Consitt served the Board from 1871 until his death in 1887, being Chairman from 1877. He was one of the most influential Roman
Catholic dignitaries in North East England, holding the position of Vicar Capitular of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, next in line to the Bishop. Reverend Consitt was on the management of the Roman Catholic Schools in the area and was a leader of Durham's Catholics. He was elected Provost of the Cathedral Chapter in 1874 and then in 1876 the Pope conferred on him the title of Monsignor. As well as his educational experience Reverend Consitt served Durham Board of Guardians and was Roman Catholic Chaplain of Durham Jail. His influence can be seen by the fact that at the three contested School Board elections he headed the poll, receiving the 'plumped' Catholic vote as well as support from others. Again his influence showed when he was replaced on the Board by the Roman Catholic Reverend G.A. Jones, this being Consitt's dying wish,

"so that Roman Catholics were represented on the Board in accordance with the number of town children educated in their schools."16

The second longest serving School Board member at Durham was Christopher Rowlandson, who was a member from 1874 to 1904, being Vice Chairman from 1877 and taking over as Chairman on Consitt's death. Rowlandson was the sub-treasurer and chief land agent to the Dean and Chapter of Durham. He was for thirty-four years an officer of the volunteer movement, reaching the rank of Colonel and holding command of the Fourth Volunteer Battalion of the Durham Light Infantry for over ten years. Like other Board members he also served the Town Council, being Mayor from 1898 to 1899. He served

16 Advertiser, 16.IX.1887.
on the Board of Guardians, became an Alderman and was a City and County Justice of the Peace. For many years he was leader of the Conservative Party in Durham. After the demise of the School Board he continued his educational work through election to Durham County Council, of which he became an Alderman, and acted as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Another School Board member to continue in educational work after 1904 was John George Gradon. His father had served on the first two School Boards, been narrowly defeated at the election to the third, and was returned in 1880 to serve until his death in 1884. His place was soon taken by his son who served from 1889 until 1904. The younger Gradon was also on Bearpark School Board from 1881 to 1893. George Gradon was a local builder, and his son, John George, followed his father as a builder, contractor and valuer. He became a Justice of the Peace, was the first Chairman of Nevilles Cross Parish Council, was elected to the City Council in 1905 and became a member of the Education Committee.

So, Durham's School Board was mainly served by the professional middle-classes and the clergy. Many of these also sat on the Town Council, not a few had experience of school management and some continued their work in educational and urban politics after the end of the Board in 1904. There were working-class Board members, such as Launcelot Trotter, but, as will be seen in ensuing chapters, their influence at Durham was not very strong. This was in marked contrast to the School Board of Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow, which, because of its predominantly industrial area, had growing working-class representation throughout the period. Oliver Haynes Duffell, School Board member from 1877 to 1883, had moved to Jarrow in 1863.
to work in the ironworks, where he soon became a leader of the men. He acted on their behalf, along with John Kane of Darlington, during the 'great lock-out' of 1864, being instrumental in the break with the South which led to the reopening of the works. Later he was promoted foreman, and like Kane opted for conciliation rather than confrontation, regarding Unions as beneficial but strikes as 'economic insanity'. Duffell eventually moved into management, where his experience of industrial negotiation was of great use. This was also useful in his work on the School Board and on the Town Council. Duffell, a local Wesleyan preacher, had been introduced to public life through the Jarrow Ratepayers Association and rose to become Mayor in 1880.

Other working-class Board members who did well include Thomas Wallace, James Ratcliffe and Thomas Gibb. Gibb, a metal extractor, became the School Board's first working-class member in 1876. He served on four Boards until 1886 and was Vice Chairman from 1883 to 1886. Wallace, a sawyer, was the longest serving of the workers, being first elected in 1889 and serving until 1904, from where he went on to become first Chairman of Hebburn Urban District Council Education Committee. Ratcliffe, an engineer, was another working-class School Board member who became Vice Chairman. The 1883 School Board election had seen the working-class increase their representation from two to three members, and again in 1892 three working-class representatives were elected, two bearing the mark of 'respectability'.

'The first public utterance respecting the approaching School Board election was made last evening at the Trades' Council ... (It) decided to run two labour
candidates, and meantime has chosen MR. JAMES RATCLIFFE, a member of the present Board and MR. ANDREW MORRISON, a previous member, as their champions ... Labour candidates have been brought forward ere this, but coming from a recognised responsible body, like the Trades' Council, the candidates of such as representing labour should be more effectual than hitherto.'17

Ratcliffe and Morrison were both returned, along with Thomas Wallace, and this success led the Jarrow Guardian and Tyneside Reporter to go so far as to suggest the innovation of a working-class Chairman for the School Board. In the event two of the labour members proposed Reverend Matheson, but when he resigned in September 1892 and the Vice Chairman Thomas Robinson took over the Chair, James Ratcliffe was elected as the new Vice Chairman. Strong representation was important to the workers of Jarrow as, after all, it was their children's education that was at stake. As the period progressed this representation grew, especially after 1889 when Wallace and Matheson brought about a change in the time of Board meetings to make it easier for workers to attend.

Like elsewhere, Jarrow School Board had strong clerical representation. Over the different School Boards there were always at least three ministers of religion, with four Boards having four clerics. Six out of twelve School Boards were chaired by clergymen, four having ministers as Vice Chairmen. Charles Richard Jubilee Loxley, Rector of Jarrow, was a Board member from 1892 until 1904, being Vice Chairman from 1895 to 1898. In 1892 he expressed the reasons for Church interest.

17 The Jarrow Express and Tyneside Advertiser, 12.11.1892.
"I believe that schools should be made as efficient as possible, without needless extravagance, and at the same time that nothing should be done to injure the Voluntary Schools which have rendered such service to the cause of education."18

Jarrow Anglicans certainly worked to look after the interests of their Schools. Reverend G.A. Ormsby was another Rector of Jarrow to sit on the School Board, being Chairman of the controversial second Board. He later moved on to become Chaplain to the Duke of Manchester. His place was taken by Reverend William Hedley, the Vicar of Hebburn, who served as Vice Chairman from 1876 to 1877. Hedley, who was also a Town Councillor, failed to be re-elected in 1877, but was back in 1880 until his death in 1882. The Roman Catholics, too, were always strongly represented on Jarrow School Board, reflecting the large Roman Catholic minority of the area. Two Boards had two Roman Catholic members, nine had three and the 1876 Board had four, making them the largest party. However, this School Board, chaired by Reverend Corboy, tried to be fair and represent all, rather than just Roman Catholics. It is not surprising that the Denominationalists won eight out of the twelve School Board elections at Jarrow, as they were better organised than the Unsectarians and more willing to work together.

However, the large Unsectarian minority of Jarrow fought hard for seats on the School Board and, by winning a majority at certain times, were able to implement a progressive policy of education which was generally followed at Jarrow throughout the period. It was the Unsectarians who won the first Jarrow School Board election

18 The Jarrow Guardian and Tyneside Reporter, 4.III.1892.
in March 1871, and under the Chairmanship of William Henry Richardson set about dealing with the sheer educational poverty of the area. A building policy was begun and the expansion of accommodation, which made education possible for all the children of the district, commenced. It was also under Richardson's Chairmanship that a Higher Grade School was built against all opposition in 1886, thus making post-elementary education a possibility. Education was Richardson's life work, and he strove to make the elementary education given to the children of Jarrow and Hebburn the most thorough in the United Kingdom. Richardson chaired the School Board on four occasions between 1871 and 1892, and it was his stamp that helped to make Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow a progressive Board.

Richardson also served the Town and County Council, being elevated to Alderman of both. In 1889 he also became Vice Chairman of the County Education Committee. Other busy public men to serve the School Board included Councillors Hugh McGrorty, Dr. Michael Bradley, John O'Connor, George Dexter and Thomas Sheldon. Dexter and Sheldon were also both elected as Mayor. O'Connor went on to serve Jarrow Borough Council Education Committee in 1904, thus continuing his interest in education. As will be seen later he was not the only Jarrow School Board member to do this. Education was important to the people in Jarrow, and all types came forward for election to the School Board, not least the working-class. Jarrow, like Durham, however, had no women members on its School Board. It seems a pity as School Board elections certainly provided women with the opportunity to participate directly in urban politics. In Darlington this opportunity was grasped. Perhaps women stood and
were more successful at Darlington because of the influence of their families and a fostered sense of duty, as was the case with Mary Pease and Sophia Fry, or, as with Clara Lucas, in the cause of Women's Suffrage. Miss Clara Curtis Lucas, who was on the School Board from 1894 to 1897 and 1903 to 1904, was a pioneer of the women's movement in the area. Besides being a School Board member she was the only woman member of Darlington Town Council in its first seventy-five years. Her father had been active on Gateshead School Board so perhaps she took her example from him. Miss Sophia Matilda Fry, who served at the same time as Miss Lucas, was the Board's longest serving lady member, being on the Board from 1891 to 1900. The first lady School Board member at Darlington was elected in 1883. This was Mrs. Mary Pease, wife of the Board's first Chairman, Henry Pease.

The names of Fry, Pease and Dale dominated Darlington School Board, especially in its earlier years. This is not surprising as these large and wealthy Quaker families were very influential in the area and also gave their services to the Town Council. As well as having experience of urban politics they felt a sense of public duty, wishing to help the poor through the development of elementary education. These families provided the first two School Board Chairmen, Henry Pease and David Dale.

Of course it was not only these Quaker families which sat on the School Board. William Spafford, Principal of the British and Foreign School Society's Training College for Schoolmistresses, was on the Board for nine years. He then became a member of the North Riding of Yorkshire Education Committee. Another prominent Quaker Board member was William Coor Parker, who served from 1871 to 1889,
being Vice Chairman from 1874 to 1880 and Chairman for the next three years. Parker helped force the first Darlington School Board election to be contested by standing as an Independent, on the grounds of working-class antipathy towards the sects' proposed pact. As well as serving on the School Board, Parker gave his time as a Poor Law Guardian and on behalf of the Peace Temperance Social Society. Other Unsectarian groups were also represented on Darlington School Boards. George William Bartlett, a merchant, was a distinguished Baptist Board member, serving from 1886 to 1895. He was also on the Town Council, being Mayor from 1893 to 1894, and was elected to Durham County Council, where he Chaired the Education Committee, among others. John Morrell, a Congregationalist, was on the first two Darlington School Boards. He entered prominently into the life of the borough, serving the Board of Guardians and the Town Council and was Mayor from 1880 to 1881. These and other Unsectarians organised themselves and ensured that Darlington's large number of Nonconformists had a say in the education provided for their children. The first four Darlington School Boards had Unsectarian majorities, and it was through these that first the problem of school attendance was tackled and then in 1877 a school building programme was implemented.

It was not until 1883 that the Denominationalists were able to organise themselves well enough to gain control of the School Board, and they were able to maintain this for the rest of its life. By this time the policy of the Board was in motion so the Denominationalists could only use delaying tactics in order to protect the Voluntary Schools.
'The Unsectarians first election manifestos were influenced by the National Education League. They stated the need to expand School Board education. The Denominationalists, who were often highly organised, adopted a policy of economy and encouragement to Voluntary Schools.'

Anglicans and Roman Catholics were particularly concerned with defending their Schools from the growing threat of 'Godless secular education', so contested School Board seats. Many clerics served Darlington School Boards, seven having three ministers of religion as members, two having two ministers, the final Board having four, while that of 1883 only having one. This was Reverend William Rigby, the fourth Roman Catholic Priest to serve the Board, and he was elected Vice Chairman, a position he held until the last meeting of the Board on 28th January, 1904. He was Chaplain of St. Clare's Church, Darlington, from 1867 until his death in 1907. He took a deep interest in education and was greatly esteemed by his colleagues on the School Board. Two of these were Reverend Alfred Boot, Board member from 1892 to 1897, and Reverend Wilfred Gore-Browne, who served from 1893 to 1901. Both of these Anglicans went on to greater things after leaving Darlington. In 1900 Reverend Boot became the Chaplain to the High Sherriff of Northumberland. Reverend Gore-Browne left England in 1902 to be Rector of Pretoria, South Africa. He went on to become Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman.


20 Darlington School Board Minutes, 28.I.1904.
As well as holding the Vice Chairmanship from 1883 to 1904, the Denominationalists held the Chairmanship. Three Anglicans, Thomas Barron (1883-1893), John Thompson Hall (1893-1901) and Reverend F.W. Mortimer (1901-1904), served as Chairmen during this period. Of the three, Barron could be termed famous in that he was on the Town Council, served as Mayor, was an Alderman and went on to serve the County Education Committee, while Hall was quite infamous as he was indicted for fraud in 1901, and sentenced to five years penal servitude with hard labour. Darlington School Board also had one of the most famous representatives of the working-class as a member. This was John Kane, the Secretary of the National Amalgamated Malleable Ironworkers' Association of Great Britain, a position of commanding influence among the industrial population. Kane was successful in Union politics and his dealings with David Dale helped him to gain a seat on the School Board. At the first election,

'The working men's candidate was next to bottom. Mr. Kane learned something of politics from this experience. Three years later he joined an alliance of Nonconformists and Independents, which saw five of its candidates, including himself, successful.'

'Respectability', conferred by Dale's backing, helped Kane just as it helped working-class candidates in Jarrow. Like Durham and Jarrow, the interest fostered in education by School Board elections brought forward all types of candidates at Darlington. Many were experienced in local politics through Town Council work and many

21 See Appendix VIII.
had experience of education through connections with Voluntary Schools. For many, however, School Board elections were their first taste of local politics at first hand, and their first connection with educational management. These people at Durham, Jarrow and Darlington, and School Board members throughout North East England, were able to affect what went on locally as far as education was concerned by participating in this form of urban politics. The 1870 Education Act was a measure of State socialism which strengthened and fostered liberal-socialist ideals and opened up the political field to a larger group. Educational politics were instrumental in the development of wider political opportunities, and the importance placed upon this in the North East can be seen by the types of people who put themselves forward for election to School Boards. Influential middle-class families, leading clergymen, wealthy industrialists, working-class leaders, the occasional female, the rich and the poor all showed that they had reasons to take part in this process of widening opportunities through educational politics and education. By looking at the School Boards of Durham, Jarrow and Darlington in more detail, some of the ways in which they used their new found political power can be seen.
CHAPTER 6

THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN EDUCATION
DURING THE SCHOOL BOARD PERIOD
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Before looking at the School Boards of Durham, Jarrow and Darlington in more detail, something must be said about private schools as any study of the area would be incomplete without taking these into consideration. At the time of the passage of the 1870 Elementary Education Act, schools were provided throughout England and Wales in various ways. There were the voluntary agencies, principally the National Society and British and Foreign Schools Society, which provided education for many working-class children. Some schools were also provided by employers in factories etc., and in the North East most markedly by colliery owners. At the bottom of the spectrum there were Workhouse Schools, Ragged Schools, Industrial Schools and other charity schools for the outdoor paupers and destitute poor. At the same time there was a great deal of private education throughout the country, with the Great Public Schools at the very top. Below these were the Endowed Grammar Schools and Private Schools catering for the middle-classes, with some smaller Private Schools which were patronised by the lower middle-class and the upper strata of the working-class. Quite a large number of working-class children also took advantage of small private institutions in the form of Dame Schools, Private Adventure Schools and Common Day Schools.

After 1870 School Boards were set up to deal with deficiencies in education for the working-classes, and also to put some order
into the organisation of the different schools which already existed. Voluntaryists regarded School Boards as a threat, so fought against them and then subsequently for representation upon them. School Boards, in fact, represented a far greater threat to small private schools, continuing a process begun by Government grants.

'The impression is nearly universal that private adventure schools, particularly for boys and girls beyond infancy, have declined since the establishment of Government grants.'

This decline was accelerated by the introduction of rate-aided Board Schools and many small private schools disappeared in the face of this competition. At the same time School Boards gradually obviated the need for workhouse schools and ragged schools, a very beneficial effect. Small private schools and Voluntary Schools though fairly cheap were still too expensive for certain parents, even had they wished to send their children to them. Indoor paupers were the responsibility of the Poor Law Guardians, and the indoor pauper children were often educated in a school within a workhouse. In 1698 a workhouse school had been founded in London, then in 1723 came the General Act for the Relief of the Poor which resulted in a number of workhouses appearing and with them charity schools. In 1858 the Newcastle Commission listed 869 workhouse schools in England and Wales, with forty-nine in Yorkshire, eleven in Northumberland and ten in Durham.  

2 For complete list see, Newcastle (Vol. I) pp. 596-616.
had a workhouse, possibly with a school, while Durham City definitely had a workhouse school. On 20th August, 1869, there was an advertisement in the Durham Advertiser for,

'a schoolmistress for the Durham Union Workhouse School, Crossgate Avenue. The average number of children is 68, and the remuneration is £20 per year all found.'

A similar advertisement the following April showed that the workhouse schoolmistress did not last long, but nonetheless some of the very poor gained a rudimentary education in workhouse schools. Although Cumin spoke of the pathetic workhouse children doomed never to know the meaning of the word home, he also reported that,

"the knowledge possessed by the children is, if anything, superior to that possessed by the average of children of the same age. Regularity of attendance and length of time at school account for this."

Workhouse schools trained pauper children in the habits of usefulness, industry and virtue, and in the principles of Christian religion, but at the same time the children were instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic.

Ragged Schools were another source of education for the very poor, especially the outdoor paupers and itinerants not covered by the Workhouses. The first ragged school was set up in 1844 and the period between then and 1870 was one of steady growth.

3 Advertiser, 20.VIII.1869.
4 Newcastle (Vol. III) p. 38.
The twenty-five buildings of 1845 rose to one hundred and two by 1851, and one hundred and ninety-six by 1870. The average attendance at ragged day schools rose from 3,480 in 1848 to 23,052 in 1870, while that at ragged Sunday schools rose from 5,843 to 29,778. The 'ragged school movement' was an element in the strategy of Victorian Churches to meet the crisis precipitated by the pagan urban poor. Its roots were in the Sunday school system and its organisation reflected Scottish industrial schools. Small groups were established, often attached to churches or mission halls, and these attempted to relieve the worst necessities of a portion of the poorest children.

'Beyond the schools lay the multifarious activities of the local committees, each concerned to make the ragged school a mission station for the district. Ragged schools made a major and co-ordinated contribution to the education of the London poor.'

As with many things, what London began was soon taken up elsewhere. The ragged school movement spread rapidly in the provinces, and by 1852 forty towns had schools. Provincial ragged schools owed much to London models, but the London Ragged School Union eschewed the chance of nationwide development. Instead the metropolitan and provincial movements developed along different lines, with Liverpool and Manchester both forming their own Unions in 1852.

The earliest ragged schools had been set up for a distinct class, those unable or unwilling to attend ordinary schools.

However, the very nature of the ragged school movement makes it difficult accurately to prepare a schedule of schools and pupils. Many of the schools kept no records at all and many ragged children were 'migratory'. Besides this the impermanence of the early, and some later schools, makes assessment difficult. In his thesis D.H. Webster found records for schools in seventy areas outside London. These ranged from Dover to Bristol, Jersey to Swansea, and Bath to York. For the North East Webster only mentioned Alnwick and Newcastle, but there was a ragged school in Durham City in 1873, and there might have been others for which records are hard to find.

'Ragged School, Milburngate.

Gentleman's Committee:
Chairman - Reverend J. Cundill;
Mr. Stapylton, Mr. W. Henderson, Mr. T. Greenwell,
Reverend T. Chevallier, Reverend G.T. Fox, Mr.
Shields, Reverend H. Stoker.

Ladies' Committee:
Mrs. Bland, Mrs. Wharton, Mrs. Ferguson, Mrs.
Cundill, Mrs. R.N. Robson, Mrs. J. Shields,
Miss Brookbank.

OBJECTS: To relieve the public from juvenile vagrancy, mendicancy, and consequent depravity. To rescue as many children as possible from degradation and misery. To prepare them for a useful and respectable course of life. To try the power of kindness over the young and destitute, and thus to discharge a Christian duty towards a class which particularly requires attention and amelioration.'

It is interesting to note that Cundill and Shields were on the Committee, as both also served on Durham School Board. Their wives helped on the Ladies' Committee, though women never managed to


7 Durham Directory and Almanack (Durham 1873) p. 7.
serve on the School Board. In his report to the Newcastle Commission Mr. Foster wrote,

'The Durham Ragged School is an assemblage of extremely poor children under the care of a very young woman, who gives them some merely elementary instruction without fee, herself receiving a salary of £25.'

Ragged schools gained their finance from the local community as their most important principle was free schooling. They did not go the way of the British Society and others which undertook the education of the poor, but found school pence a useful addition to their funds. In spite of the strain on their resources ragged schools kept their admission entirely free. This, coupled with the fact that they received no government grant, meant that the money available for salaries was limited, so the schools were unable to employ well-qualified teachers. Even so, when ragged schools were inspected in connection with the 1870 Education Act many of their teachers were commended for their efficiency. The schools' main objective was to teach the children of the lowest poor to read the word of God and understand its simple truths. An offshoot of this was that the skills of the 3Rs were offered to groups of children who would have had no opportunity to gain them outside of these schools.

Between 1844 and 1874 ragged schools attempted to provide for children for whom no suitable school places existed. They were careful to cater for children destitute of any other means of instruction and to prevent inroads from any whose parents were able

8 Newcastle (Vol. II) p. 337.
to give them education at their own expense. When the Newcastle Commission contended that ragged schools failed to restrict their pupils to the destitute, the Ragged School Union repudiated this, pointing out that the rules of ragged schools usually excluded those receiving or entitled to receive support and education from the Poor Law Guardians. In effect ragged schools did sometimes take in some of these pupils. A great deal of useful work was done by the ragged school movement, which followed the tradition of the Philanthropic Society in its concentration on destitute and delinquent children. The educational work of the movement was temporary until the advent of a national system of education. Payment of fees for the necessitous poor to attend school, and the establishment of School Boards by the 1870 Education Act, obviated the need for ragged schools. After 1870 those which were having the most difficulty maintaining their activities under heavy financial strain quickly closed themselves. Surveys made by School Boards often showed this. The Durham Ragged School, there in 1870, had gone by 1874, so both this type of education and that available in workhouse schools disappeared with the advent of School Boards, the class these few schools in the North East catered for being in future looked after by the area's Boards. Ragged schools, however, were important in another way. Free education and compulsion were two of their principles taken up first by School Boards and then later by the State. Free schooling, the most important principle of the Ragged School Union, was covered by Clause 25 of the 1870 Education Act giving School Boards the power to pay fees in necessitous cases. This Clause unfortunately caused religious bitterness
at School Board elections and on some Boards themselves, as it meant that the rates could be used to pay for children attending Voluntary Schools. After 1891 free schooling for all became possible, though some School Boards had already anticipated Government action. The Ragged School Union also saw liaison with parents as important, for no system of education would do anything for the poorest classes without a 'system of whipping-in, by which the lowest poor would be excited to send their children to school'. Some form of compulsion was therefore necessary, and School Boards took this up through their Bye-laws, followed by the Government through Sandon's Act, 1876, and Mundella's Act, 1880. Thus the poorest children were catered for in the State system of education.

The main rivals to Board Schools were those Voluntary Schools under the auspices of the National and the British and Foreign Schools Societies. Another source of working-class education in the nineteenth century was in schools provided by large employers such as factory and colliery owners. The latter provided a large amount of education in Durham County before 1870, and continued to do so throughout the School Board period.

'In thirteen districts in the Durham area in 1902 the colliery owners were either providing, or sharing the provision of, necessary schools. In other districts they contributed largely to the financing of schools built by the religious bodies, such as Sacriston Wesleyan School.'

In Weardale, during the same period, there were a number of schools provided by the Lead Company. It is difficult to say whether the Voluntary bodies would have been able to provide enough school accommodation in certain districts without these schools, or whether more School Boards would have had to be formed. Colliery owners did in fact try to meet the requirements of the 1870 Education Act wherever other Voluntary bodies were unable or unlikely to do so. School Boards were formed mainly in districts like Croxdale with no colliery of significance. Otherwise at Bearpark, where there was a dispute between rival colliery owners, a Board became necessary because of lack of provision from the Voluntary bodies. In places like Thornley where the mine was not in a thriving condition, then the colliery owners themselves were unable or unwilling to build a school and a School Board was necessary if provision from the Voluntary bodies was lacking. Again, where a district included significant centres of population apart from the mine which were not catered for by the Voluntary bodies, such as Cassop, then a School Board became necessary.

In and around Durham, despite poor school provision in 1870, considerably less Board School places in proportion to Voluntary School places were built than was the average for England and Wales. Denominationalist efforts coupled with the policy of colliery owners to avoid the formation of School Boards wherever possible by building their own schools, or subscribing to religious bodies to help build Voluntary Schools effected this. The large

percentage increase in the population of the area because of rapid industrial progress created a growing need for school accommodation, and much of this was met voluntarily. At Kimblesworth, Moorsley and Stockley educational requirements were met solely by the colliery owners. Shincliffe had a National School helped by the colliery owners, as did Langley Park, while Cornsay's needs were satisfied by Cornsay Colliery School and New Cornsay St. Charles Roman Catholic School. Both Burnhope and Lanchester had colliery and parochial schools. Areas like Esh, Hamsteels, Lumley, Newhouse and Ushaw Moor were catered for by Voluntary Schools of various denominations. In the Witton Gilbert area a survey of 30th August, 1873, revealed that a school for 130 was required at Waldridge Colliery; a school for 138 was needed at Edmondsley; there was a deficiency of 30 places at Sacriston, and Twizell Colliery needed school places for 120. This deficiency of 418 places was completely met by voluntary effort. Waldridge Colliery School was improved and enlarged by the colliery owners so that H.M.I. Oakley was able to deem it efficient. A classroom was added by the Roman Catholics to their school at Sacriston to meet the need there, while the colliery owners at both Edmondsley and Twizell Collieries built schools to cater for their employees' children. The local vicar stated,

"but for the collieries, a School Board would have been necessary."11

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By providing schools the colliery owners were giving a service to their workers and this possibly helped to keep them from moving from pit to pit too often. Also, by preventing the formation of School Boards colliery owners were able to delay the encroachment of compulsory education which would take boys away from the pits. At the time of the Newcastle Commission fifteen per cent of collier boys in the Durham County and Auckland districts were under ten years of age. Even after the passage of the Mines Regulations Act of 1872 colliery owners could still use boys down the mines, because it took time to persuade parents of the value of education as opposed to the value of the money their sons could earn. Gradually, however, these parents came to see the worth of education, especially as to become a deputy, an overman or a viewer at the pit it was necessary to have a knowledge of the 3Rs. At the same time the colliery owners were more and more constrained by outside influences, so the necessary schools were built, and often by the colliery owners themselves. In 1871 average school attendance in Durham County was 22 per cent, compared with 26 per cent nationally. By 1881 it was 65 per cent, compared with 55 per cent, while by 1901 it had reached 83 per cent, compared with 75 per cent nationally. This rapid progress was helped by the stimulus of School Board competition. Growth in the number of Board Schools contributed to the growth of a better educated populace, while elections to School Boards gave parents a say in the education of their children. This resulted in demands

for better schools, with reform taking on a political as well as an educational aspect. Voluntary bodies and the colliery owners of the area improved their schools to make them more attractive in the face of Board School competition, and at the same time both tried to prevent the formation of School Boards or, failing this, fought for representation on the Boards. Because of this competition Voluntary Schools and schools provided by employers sometimes disappeared. For example the Iron Works School at Cornforth was taken over by the School Board after its formation in 1877, while at Haswell the Board took over the Colliery School in 1897. In places like South Shields, Cornforth and Framwellgate Moor Voluntary Schools which found things difficult after 1870 closed and were replaced or taken over by the School Boards. To a certain extent these schools, assisted as they were by government grants and voluntary subscriptions, could fight back, so many survived Board competition. Gradually a dual system of Voluntary Schools and Board Schools, co-existing side by side grew up.

However, at the time of the 1870 Education Act there was another source of education for the working-classes which did not have the same facilities for survival. Throughout nineteenth century England and Wales there were numerous private schools, some of which catered for the wealthier sections of the population, but also many which were patronised by the working-classes. This was because,

'The notion seems to prevail that a more select class of children attend the private schools, and the parents, on that account give private schools the preference. The feeling is still strong among work people against
taking advantage of what they commonly term a charity school ... Some disdain the public seminaries, preferring the inferior education at the higher price to "charity" schools.'13

The overriding object of parents in choosing a school was to gain instruction that would give their children a better chance in life. Demand for the provision of education came mainly from the better paid and more skilled workers, who saw education as a means of social mobility. Working-class leaders like Robert Applegarth, secretary of the Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Alexander MacDonald, instrumental in the formation of the Miners' National Union and its first secretary, and William Thorne, founder of the Gasworkers' Union (later the General and Municipal Workers' Union) were helped by education and believed strongly in its value. Their example showed others the possibilities. However, the 'independent labourers' tended to believe, like the middle-classes, that compulsion was for someone else's children, and this, together with the belief that education would preserve social order and reduce crime and pauperism, identified them with the middle-classes whose acceptance and membership some of them sought. Their advocacy of a limited programme of State interference was endorsed by the National Education Union, which wished to restrict the setting up of popularly elected boards as they would threaten Voluntary Schools. The National Education League's demand for unsectarian education involved ending the near monopoly of the Church of England in the education of the poor. Reform of

the nation's schools was a political as well as an educational
issue, as parents who gained the vote in 1867 would want the
schools in which their children were going to be educated brought
under popular control.\footnote{See, J.S. Hurt, \textit{Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes}
\textit{1860-1918} (London 1979) pp. 61 to 63.} School Boards were to give them some
control and to help to break the monopoly of the Church. Prior
to 1870 the working-classes had some control over their children's
education by sending them to private schools, where the threat
of withholding fees could be effective.

Small private schools, dame schools, private adventure
schools, common day schools and the like, were often the only
alternative to Church schools for many parents.

\footnote{E.G. West, \textit{Education and the Industrial Revolution} (London
1975) pp. 213 to 214.}

'In the 1860s there was a near universal system of
private fee-paying schools available, and many parents
using it. In 1870 it was thought necessary to comple­
ment the system with a few Government schools (Board
Schools), in those areas where there was proved insuf­
ficiency, in 1880 came compulsion, so it was thought
that 'free-schooling should be available to the maj­
ority of parents who were previously paying for it as
well as to the minority that the legislation was aimed
at.'\footnote{E.G. West, \textit{Education and the Industrial Revolution} (London
1975) pp. 213 to 214.}

Free schools, however, would necessitate full subsidisation and
this the School Boards could offer. Not so the private schools.
It was argued that private schools run for a profit should not be
aided as this would subsidise the profit-makers. This resulted in
Board Schools, originally set up to complement the voluntary and
private systems, threatening the former and gradually superseding the latter in the field of elementary education. Board Schools had an unfair advantage of recourse to the rates and this led to supporters of Voluntary Schools fighting defensive actions against the encroachment of School Boards, both at School Board elections and on the Boards themselves, making many elections bitter sectarian contests. As far as private schools were concerned, it led to the majority of those catering for working-class children either closing altogether, or moving up-market to those better able to afford the higher fees made necessary for the schools' fight for survival.

Private schools were deeply embedded in the structure of nineteenth century English society. Where there was no charity school a poor child's opportunities for education were severely limited. Sometimes the vicar or parish clerk might give some teaching in the church, but otherwise there was little else. This was where private enterprise stepped in and filled some of the gaps. Anyone might set up a school and try to live by charging fees. As a result the quality of the education varied greatly, so many historians have treated the small nineteenth century private schools, particularly dame schools, with some disdain, dismissing them after only a few pages. Simon, Curtis and others gave them only a few lines, while H.C. Barnard concluded,

'that on the whole dame schools were little more than baby-minding establishments and that the education which they gave was extremely rudimentary.'16

More recently dame schools have been defended by people like J.L. Field, and most notably by D.P. Leinster-Mackay. Their arguments run along the lines that although many dame schools were undoubtedly inefficient, there were also others which gave as good an education as, and sometimes a better education than, the public weekday schools. Besides this, the fact that most of the reports on private schools were written by advocates of a public system of education as provided by the State or Voluntary bodies could be construed as one-sided. Another reason advanced for care in making generalisations is that other sources of information regarding private schools are scanty, so not enough is known about the schools to make definitive judgements. There is also the argument that it is wrong to lump all the schools together under one heading.

On the other side of the coin historians like Dr. John Hurt still need to be convinced of the worth of small private schools.

'Although right-wing historians question the received view based on the Reports of the school inspectors and the surveys of statistical societies that the standards of these schools were deplorable, the would be revisionists have yet to make their case.'


There is certainly scope for a great deal more research to be carried out into private schools in general, and dame schools in particular. The latter sometimes represented the only means of elementary education in villages, and by offering a rudimentary education concerned with the beginnings of reading and spelling, with occasionally a little writing and counting being taught, they played a part in the beginnings of elementary education in England and Wales. It is difficult to evaluate the standard of education provided by dame schools, as few kept any records, and many of them were undoubtedly travesties of schools even by nineteenth century standards. Many dame schools were conducted in one room, and in many instances the dame did not devote her undivided attention to her charges. The Newcastle Commission criticised dame schools for being ill-ventilated, often filthy and unsuitable for education; the dames for being semi-literate or illiterate, and described the schools as no more than 'baby-minding institutions'. Not all contemporary criticism was adverse, however. Reverend John Allen, H.M.I., distinguished between two types of lower-class dame schools in Durham and Northumberland, describing the better as,

"those kept by persons fond of children, and of cleanly and orderly habits, and these, however scanty may be their means of imparting instruction (the mistresses confining themselves almost entirely to teaching a little reading and knitting or sewing) cannot altogether fail at attaining some of the highest ends of education, as far as regards the formation of character". He said the others, "presented a most melancholy aspect, because the rooms"
commonly used were living rooms which were filled with a very unwholesome atmosphere.\(^{19}\)

As with most types of schools good and bad examples could be found, this being the case in North East England as elsewhere. A.F. Foster, reporting on Durham, Auckland, Weardale, Penrith and Wigton, spoke of the best dame schools exhibiting "cheerful industry" amongst which some good would be doing, but the worst were,

"those in which 30 or 40 children are crowded into the kitchen of a collier's dwelling, and the mistress divides her attention between teaching them, nursing her own baby, and cooking for her husband and sons."\(^{20}\)

Patrick Cumin compared the infant schools of Bristol and Plymouth with their dame schools, and found the best of the latter able to hold their own with the former. Reverend Fraser added that dame schools had a useful function, especially where there was no infant school, and that many parents thought that their children were taught to read better and quicker in dame schools than in the lower classes of those schools provided by a public body.

In 1851 approximately one-third of the school children in England and Wales attended privately owned schools, about fifty per cent of which were dame schools. The size of private schools and the standard of education they provided varied greatly. In

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the North East they ranged from the three establishments kept by private individuals in the parish of Billingham in 1852, catering for a total of seventeen pupils, to the excellent Nesham Hall Academy at Houghton le Spring or Polam Hall at Darlington. A distinction should be drawn between dame schools, mainly used by working-class children of infant age; the private-venture schools, catering for older working-class children, and the variety of academies, seminaries and proprietary schools, which were sometimes the sole means of institutional education for children of the provincial bourgeoisie. Proprietary schools had been fostered by parents and townsmen who, as proprietors, were able to control the curriculum more effectively than they could in either grammar schools or private schools. Proprietary schools grew up in the 1830s and 1840s and soon began to compete with grammar schools and private schools.

The 1870 Education Act marked one step in the replacement of private schools, whose actual teaching content is very difficult to discover, with a type of public education that was defined predominately in religious terms. However, private schools were not killed off, rather the stereotype of the poorest schools perished in the face of reforms by failing to keep up with standards of health and hygiene, new concepts of the environment and educational progress. In Durham and the North East many examples of private schools which disappeared fairly quickly after 1870, as well as those which continued to flourish, can be found. A feature of the southernmost part of south-west Durham was the incidence of
private boarding schools in the nineteenth century. This was partially because the larger villages with their attractive venues made ideal settings for this type of educational establishment. Often there was also a large building in which to set up a school. There were seven private boarding and day schools in Barnard Castle in 1834. In 1894 there were still six, as well as two teachers of music. Staindrop had a ladies seminary in 1856, Piercebridge had a boarding school for fifty-four pupils established in the 1850s, while Gainford Academy, founded in 1818, and conducted in 1856 by Reverend William Bowman, flourished for many years. Of ninety-six schools listed in the Returns of Elementary Education in South West Durham for 1871, forty-six were public elementary schools, twenty-five were private adventure schools and twenty-five were private schools. There was accommodation for 6,451 pupils in the public sector and 3,283 in the private sector. Whellan's Directory of Durham for 1894 shows Bishop Auckland as having seven private schools, five teachers of music, a professor of music and a professor of French, alongside four Voluntary Schools, the Barrington School and King James 1st Grammar School. Hartlepool had seven private schools, West Hartlepool eight, Gateshead five, Stockton eleven, Sunderland twenty-one, and there were even two in a small town like Spennymoor. Descriptions varied from, 'Mrs. E. Inkson, private school, children' at Gateshead, through the 'middle-class school of J.P. Banning' in Sunderland,

to the 'high-class school of William Sowler', also in Sunderland, and Gateshead's 'J.P. Saysbourne - academy'.²² Many were described as boys, girls or ladies schools, so the class of society for which they catered can be difficult to ascertain.

South Shields had fourteen private schools in 1800. Then,

'In addition to seven public schools by the middle of the nineteenth century there were a number of private schools of which the most noted was that of R.W. Wilson in East Smithy Street, where his son, John Mathias Wilson, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, was educated.'²³

In 1853 the Dean of Durham, Dr. Waddington, vehemently refuted an H.M.I.'s report that the juvenile population of South Shields was 'beset by much ignorance and many moral evils through the want of school accommodation'. He pointed out that with a population of 28,954 the public schools had a daily attendance of 2,209, and in addition 1,271 children attended thirty private schools for the lower-classes and 571 children attended eighteen private schools for the middle-classes. After the advent of the School Board lower-class private schools were gradually replaced by Board Schools, so that by 1901 18,998 public school places were being provided in South Shields. The South Shields Gazette for January 1902 included advertisements for Westoe High School For Girls, run by Miss Lee, and the Misses Stewart's school in Ogle Terrace, showing that some of the private schools survived. A degree of social aspiration was


²³ George B. Hodgson, The History of South Shields (Newcastle 1924) p. 137.
one cause of the survival of some lower-class dame schools and private venture schools after 1870. Many public week-day schools were just as poor educationally as the small private schools at this time, and this contributed to the popularity of the latter. Private schools were often regarded as more respectable, and parents assumed that as private schools usually charged more than public schools the former gave a better type of education. Another advantage of private schools was that the children were always taught by the master or mistress, and often in small classes, whereas public school children were generally taught in large classes, and sometimes by pupil-teachers or even monitors.

It took School Boards some time to provide efficient schools with good teachers, but once their reputation became established more parents became happy to send their children to Board Schools. School Boards also took time to make inroads into the large number of children attending private schools. About one-third of all elementary school children were attending private schools in 1851, so it would take some time for them all to change over to public education. Mr. Foster stated that in his area of Cumberland and Durham 24.3 per cent of all children attending weekday schools were going to private schools in 1859, as opposed to 30.9 per cent in 1851, still a significant number. They were preferred because they served the immediate locality and because they were not too strict about enforcing attendance. The 1870 Education Act did not

24 Newcastle (Vol. 1) p. 95.
remove parents' reasons for preferring small private schools to larger public elementary schools, and in fact it reinforced the last mentioned. Where School Boards showed vigour in enforcing Attendance Bye-laws dame schools and other small private schools opened their doors to offenders. Because of the continued existence of private schools some Boards had difficulty in enforcing their Bye-laws, Tudhoe being an example.

'On 4th March, 1880, Reverend Long of Ferryhill asked Tudhoe School Board about the efficiency of certain private venture schools. The Education Department said the Board could proceed against parents if their children were not attending a certified efficient school, or were not receiving efficient instruction.'

Not all private schools were inefficient, however, and they were sometimes necessary to the educational provision in certain areas, especially at the beginning of the School Board period. The population of Witton le Wear rose from 918 in 1851 to 2,329 in 1871 following the opening of the colliery and iron works. This created enormous educational problems which were discussed by Witton le Wear School Board, one of the earliest to be formed, on 12th May, 1871. A survey showed one efficient school at Witton Park, some other schools connected with the chapels and the colliery, as well as a private adventure school. In May, 1874, Witton le Wear Board School opened for 205 pupils. Interim reports show Mr. W.J. Buston and Miss F. Gray ran schools catering for 146 pupils between them, these being inspected by the H.M.I. on 10th February,

1872, so private schools could serve as stop-gap measures. Some were not acceptable to the H.M.I.s though. In February, 1880, of 1,100 children in Willington 817 went to efficient schools and 172 attended non-recognised schools. On being asked in 1879 if Mr. Montagu's School and the Oakenshaw School could be regarded as meeting part of Willington's educational requirements, the H.M.I. had deemed neither acceptable. Because of the concern shown over health and the sanitary conditions of small private schools by H.M.I.s like Mr. Oakley, and because of stricter enforcement of attendance following Sandon's Act (1876) and Mundella's Act (1880), private schools, particularly dame schools, went into recession by 1881. When free education was made possible in 1890 this was the final nail in the coffin, with many lower-class private schools being forced to close. Private schools which survived into the twentieth century were mainly middle-class.

Between 1870 and 1904 many, but by no means all, of the small private schools in Durham, Jarrow and Darlington were superseded by the work of their School Boards. Of the three areas, Durham City was remarkable in that apart from two small infant schools built on the outskirts of the city it was able to manage without building any other Board Schools, voluntary and private provision being sufficient. As late as 1850 Durham City had twenty-four private schools and only three public elementary schools. In 1870 Durham had a Ragged School; a Workhouse School; the Blue Coat Charity School; a Boys' Model and a Girls' Model School; Infants'
Schools at Gilesgate, Framwellgate, Church Street Head and Leazes Lane; St. Margaret's and St. Oswald's National Schools; St. Cuthbert's and St. Godric's Roman Catholic Schools, and Elvet Wesleyan School. Alongside these were Durham School, a Girls' High School, Durham Classical and Choristers' School, Schools of Science and Art, and numerous private adventure schools, comprising,

'Richard Bailey, Gilesgate Academy; Miss Deanham, 47 South Street, ladies boarding; Mrs. Gibson, 4 and 5 Leazes Place, boarding; Jas Hall, 56 Old Elvet, boarding; Charles Macnally, 24 and 25 Allergate; Misses Mather, 20 South Street, boarding; Miss Robinson, 208 Gilesgate; Margaret Rule, BEES Cottage; Mrs. Anne Shepherd, 27 Hallgarth Street; Mrs. Mary Ann Smurthwaite, 8 John Street; Mrs. Webb, 66 New North Road; Miss A. Wetherall, 40 North Bailey; Miss Wilkinson, 38 North Bailey; Misses Willis, 9 Old Elvet, boarding; Misses Wharton, 6 North Bailey, preparatory school.'

Five other private schools were also listed separately in the Street Directory pages, so at the time of the 1870 Education Act the city had about twenty private schools, showing the willingness of certain parents, some of whom would have been working-class, to pay for their children's education. As private schools were usually smaller they educated fewer children than public elementary schools, but even in terms of numbers the education provided was not insignificant.

Many of Durham's larger houses which had several rooms contained schools at some time or another. Crossgate had private schools at numbers 28, 36 and 55 in 1847, while in 1850 52 and 56 South Street were private schools, with many others to be found in

26 Walker, Durham Directory and Almanack (Durham 1873) p. 96. See also Appendix I.
Elvet and Claypath. In 1873 8 and 66 Tenter Terrace; 9 and 56 Old Elvet; 20 and 47 South Street; 38 and 46 Dun Cow Lane, and 189, 208 and 214 Leazes Lane were among the houses containing private schools. Some of the schools had been in existence for a long time.

'The disparaging remarks about some Dame Schools and/or private adventure schools being ephemeral, is a more appropriate epithet for mayflies than for schools, some of which at least lasted much longer than suggested ... The case for the possible continuity of private schools in the nineteenth century is based largely on evidence taken from trade and commercial directories, the social range for which they catered being fairly wide. The very extensive lists of private schools, which are a sure testament of the preponderance of private school provision in the nineteenth century, contained not only classical preparatory schools, but also those belonging to dames who called their schools "preparatory" or "girls" schools according to whim.'

This throws doubt, no more, on some of the generalisations made about nineteenth century private schools. Of fourteen private schools listed in the Durham City Directory for 1848 only six existed for less than ten years, three existed for more than thirty years, one existed from between twenty and thirty years, and four existed from between ten and twenty years. Between 1848 and 1894 premises were often used by successive owners to accommodate their schools. Miss Mather's boarding school in 20 South Street, 1872, had become St. Kenelm's Boarding School, under Reverend Swallow,

by 1892. H. Castley had taken over the preparatory school of the Misses Wharton at 6 North Bailey sometime between 1873 and 1892. Miss Raine's Infant School at 100 Sidegate in 1873 was no longer there in 1876, but there was an Infant School at 100B Sidegate run by Miss Blake. There was also movement of certain schools from one house to another, possibly because bigger and better premises could enhance the success of a school. The Misses Willis' school was at 49 Old Elvet in 1850, then moved to 9 Old Elvet in 1855, where it continued until 1884. Thomas Wilkinson had a school at 35 New Elvet in 1850, then at 3 Church Street in 1860. By 1870 he was at 5 New Buildings, Hallgarth Street, and three years later at 62 West Side, Hallgarth Street. The latter two were possibly the same building, just as two of the three addresses for Mrs. Clark's school could have meant the same place. In 1850 her school was in North Road, in 1855 it was at 1 Neville Street and in 1860 it was at 40 Crossgate; but Neville Street runs from North Road to Crossgate, so number 1 may have been a building in one of these two roads. The Misses Stanley ran a school at 19 Albert Street in 1873, moved to 7 South Bailey in 1884 and then to 24 North Bailey by 1894.

'A good example of how the acquisition of premises possibly determined the measure of success of a private schoolowner was to be found in the case of the Reverend J.C. Lowe, M.A., who in 1855 kept a school at 45 South Street. By 1856 he had taken over 44 South Street which he further enlarged in 1860 by also taking over 46 South Street. In 1867, possibly still finding his premises inadequate, he moved to 16 South Bailey where he stayed till 1887. Could it be that by moving to South Bailey he preferred the advantages of conducting
a school in one possibly larger house than in three smaller ones? 28

However, 44, 45 and 46 South Street put together make enormous premises which 16 South Bailey by itself cannot match. Reverend Lowe must have moved for other reasons, possibly because he wanted to work from just one house, and possibly because the Bailey was more salubrious than South Street. A Report to the Board of Health on the 'Sanitary Condition' of Durham in 1849 gave the average age of death as thirty and a half years, with 35.52:100 deaths in the under five group.

'The extraordinary unhealthiness of Durham City is forcibly shown by contrast with other districts ... Elvet has several of the best houses after those in the Bailey, but 43 New Elvet and 7 Hallgarth Street are two out of numerous cases in which there are choked up court drains ... South Street occupies one of the finest positions, overlooking the Wear and Cathedral Close. The filth from the lower side is thrown down the bank; on the upper side at the bottom of the Street the ground falls towards the houses and renders them damp.' 29

The Report says much the same about the other streets in Durham, and even mentions that a new infant school had been placed 'in or upon a burial ground' at Church Street. So, in 1849 some of the smaller private schools, and indeed one new infant school, were being run in very poor conditions. The Report recommended that the Public Health Act be applied to Durham, and this coupled with


the completion of the water-works would have improved the sanitary conditions somewhat. However, time would have been needed to remedy everything in the Report so it is probable that some of the schools run in private houses after 1870 were still suffering from poor sanitation.

As 'any room, however small and close', served for the purpose of setting up a private school, ease of opening and lack of heavy investment made it easy to move from one place to another. In Durham schools moved from time to time, and one reason for this would be to improve them. However, just as opening was easy, for the same reasons closing a private school was easy and painless. Although some existed for many years as Leinster-Mackay argues, others disappeared fairly rapidly.

'Many private schools were short-lived ... A room could be rented on opening and abandoned on closing. Of the twenty-four private schools listed in the 1850 Directory for Durham City, only nineteen were left in 1855, and by 1860 there were only thirteen of the original twenty-four. Even in a city where more settled schools might be expected, there was a heavy closure rate.'30

Another reason for this was that when a master or mistress moved or died the school tended to disappear also. Public elementary schools, on the other hand, were more permanent, and a new master or mistress would be found to fill any vacancies. After 1870, with recourse to the rates, the introduction of compulsion and finally free education, public elementary schools went from strength to strength, often being filled at the expense of private schools, especially those

small ones run in unhealthy conditions with poor resources. In Durham of the private schools in existence in 1870 only five remained by 1894. Mrs. Shepherd's school and that of Miss Smurthwaite ceased to exist by 1874, while Miss Raine's infant school had gone by 1876. By 1884 five more private schools had disappeared, followed by another four before 1892, and a further three by 1894. It must be pointed out, however, that some new private schools had opened, and at least one of those no longer listed, Miss Mather's, had been replaced by St. Kenelm's School, so there was still a market for them.

In 1894 Durham City still had fourteen academies and schools, six of them boarding schools, three listed as 'Ladies' Schools', one 'Boys' Private', one 'Boys' Model' and one 'Boys' Preparatory School'. Although the smaller private schools for the working-classes were disappearing, Durham still had room for a large number of private schools, even after the introduction of free education. This was possibly because of the type of people in the city, with its large number of professional men, solicitors, clergymen academics and the like. While the School Board catered for working-class children by enforcing attendance at Durham's Voluntary Schools, private schools continued to meet the educational needs of Durham's middle-classes. It was rather a different story at Jarrow, as this large industrial town, still growing in 1870, continued to expand throughout the School Board period. The expanding population made it necessary for another system of education than that which was there prior to the 1870 Education Act.
Durham had school accommodation in excess of the number of pupils and this was the case for most of the period. Jarrow had a shortfall of accommodation, there being an appalling lack of educational facilities at the inception of the Board in 1871. An immediate survey by the School Board showed 1,447 three to five year olds, 1,626 five to seven year olds, 1,618 seven to ten year olds, and 1,255 ten to thirteen year olds, a total of 5,946 children, or twenty-four per cent of the population.

'Three to five year olds were included as the Board is of the opinion that properly conducted Infant Schools, under efficient mistresses trained expressly for that department, constitute an important preparatory part of elementary education.'

There was accommodation for 3,364 in existing schools, plus 892 places 'in progress or in contemplation for'. At most, then, there were places for 4,256, leaving a deficit of 1,690, soon to be exacerbated by the closure of Hebburn Quay's Iron Shipbuilding Company's Schools, which had provided accommodation for 205. Jarrow School Board saw the urgent need to build and immediately planned a school for 1,000 at the west end of Jarrow to serve both Jarrow and Hebburn.

Included in the Board's survey of existing accommodation had been 672 private school places. There were the following private adventure schools: James Bell, High Street, 97 places; Margaret Cowan, High Street, 22; Mary Douthwaite, Hebburn, 103; Elizabeth Fletcher, Lord Street, 32; Mary Ann Johnstone, New Grange Road, 18;

31 Triennial Report of Jarrow School Board, 1871 to 1874.
Sarah Lundin, James Street, 17; John Major, Grange Road, 99;
Mary McGlenchy, Caledonian Road, 20; Mary Jane Mort, Monkton, 22;
Mary Jane Potts, Springwell Paper Mills, 110; and Henry Rennie,
Ferry Street, 132. Five of these had numbers on their rolls far
in excess of their accommodation, while Mary Potts' school had
accommodation for 110, but only 32 on the roll. The former may
have been very popular, and consequently overcrowded, or they may
have had extra children on the roll because of intermittent
attendance. Attendance at Jarrow private schools is difficult to
assess because of lack of records, but as the average attendance
for all Jarrow Schools in 1871 was only thirty-four per cent it
could not have been very high. In March 1872 the H.M.I. classified
all but one of the private adventure schools as inefficient, thus
adding 600 more places to the already large deficiency. To deal
with this the School Board opened two temporary schools and began
a programme of building large, efficient, economic Board Schools,
with boys, girls and infants departments. On 23rd April, 1873,
Jarrow Grange Board School for 1,000 children was opened, followed
by similar schools at Dunn Street, 20th April, 1874, and Hebburn
New Town, 3rd May, 1875. These posed a serious threat to the
thirteen existing Voluntary Schools, the largest of which catered
for 386 children. To protect their schools Denominationalists
strongly contested School Board elections at Jarrow, while the
Unsectarians fought equally hard to promote Board Schools, thus
making the elections bitter sectarian battles.

Private schools were more seriously threatened and individuals
found it hard to compete with the Board. The building programme
and strong compulsory Bye-laws soon killed off Jarrow's private adventure schools. By 1872 Ward's Directory lists only the academies of James Bell and John Major, plus Henry Rennie's day school as surviving from 1870. There were also five other private schools listed and of the eight only two remained by 1879. Kelly's Directory for 1890 only lists Miss Agnes Nance's ladies' school, while Whellan's 1894 Directory has this along with Miss E. Hymers, private school, infants, and Mrs. Johnstone, private school, girls. The number of private schools in Jarrow fluctuated during the period with the majority being short-lived. Many disappeared in face of Board School competition because of inefficiency, poor premises, lack of resources and the fact that they catered mainly for younger children. The low income of private schools meant little money for books, slates and other equipment. In 1858 forty-four per cent of private schools charged 3d. or less, eleven per cent charged 4d., thirteen per cent charged 6d., while sixteen per cent charged between 7d. and 1s. Od. This, 'shows that the teachers of a large proportion of private schools must either be in receipt of incomes derived from other sources than their schools, or that they are probably the wives of men earning wages in various ways unconnected with schools.'

The low income from fees meant low salaries for teachers, and this did lead to a preponderance of women teachers in private schools because, in many cases, the income was not enough with which to maintain a family. Of the twenty private school teachers listed

32 For a full list see Appendix I.
33 Newcastle (Vol. I) p. 590.
under Durham City in 1857 only five were men, and one of these was also a priest. Eight out of Jarrow's eleven private school teachers in 1870 were women. The small income and the fact that these schools were teaching, in the main, younger children because of the shortage of public infant schools, helps explain their rapid disappearance in Jarrow, where the School Board quickly provided infant schools. Nineteenth century private schools were providing education on a commercial basis for young children who, in many cases, could not be accommodated in Society Schools or Charity Schools because of their age. In 1870 forty per cent of the children in private schools were under six years old, compared with twenty-two per cent in public elementary schools. Some children who went to dame schools and the like would go on to continue their education at these public schools. Some School Boards were quite prepared to tolerate dame schools as infant-minding institutions, even though there was a general feeling that they did not provide the type of education defined as desirable for working-class children.

'It was recognised that dame schools did play an important role in the community. In Southampton, the School Board was of the opinion that these schools supplied to a great extent a want which no probable amount of public Elementary Schools could meet, namely training (however defective) for Infant Children up to five years of age, close to their own homes. In Portsmouth the Board classified a number of private schools as suitable for the under fives, and decided to accept them until in the natural order of things they ceased to exist.'

Jarrow School Board, on the other hand, had a definite commitment to infant education, building all schools with infant departments, thus hastening the disappearance of private schools catering for young children. Fees were another influence. The Board set fees at 2d. per week for infants, 3d. to 5d. for girls, and 3d. to 6d. for boys, so in the lower age range fees were similar, if not lower, than in the private schools for a more efficient education in better surroundings. Private schools in Durham City lasted far longer than at Jarrow, possibly because Durham neither had a commitment to infant education, nor did it build large schools. However, it is significant that the only building undertaken by Durham School Board was for infants at Framwellgate in 1879 and Gilesgate in 1885. It seems that those private schools which closed earliest in Durham could well have been catering for younger children.

Darlington was similar to Jarrow in that between 1870 and 1904 there was a large increase in population. In 1870, however, Darlington was more like Durham as it had no deficit of school accommodation. Nineteenth century Darlington had certain advantages which greatly helped education and facilitated the operation of the dual system. A strong Nonconformist element, led by the Quakers, existed both in the provision of Voluntary and private schools, and also on the School Board after 1870. The altruistic and philanthropic motives of the Quakers carried over onto the School Board, resulting in a desire for educational advance. Initially the Board's main preoccupation was with attendance because in 1870 Darlington already had the following public elementary
schools: Holy Trinity and St. Paul's (Church); St. Patrick's, St. William's and St. Augustine's (Roman Catholic); Bank Top, Bridge Street, Brunswick Street, Kendrew Street and Skinkergate (British); Albert Hill, Albert Road and Rise Carr (Methodist); St. Cuthbert's (National), and the Wesleyan Day School. Bye-laws, putting the onus for attendance on the parents, were quickly drawn up, and by providing co-ordination between the various Voluntary Schools, then later between Voluntary and Board Schools, the School Board was able to successfully enforce attendance. Between 1870 and 1880 it rose from seventy to eighty per cent. This was helped by the Board's power to pay fees for necessitous children, making it easier for the poor to attend public elementary schools.

Lower-class private schools were thus threatened by the advent of Darlington School Board, as were some of the better class ones. In 1867 Darlington had a good supply of private schools which,

'attempted to meet the demand for a better kind of education (because) the Voluntary Schools provided nothing more than the rudiments of learning and were socially unacceptable to the majority of the middle-class.'35

The majority of Darlington's twenty private schools in 1870 were for the middle-class, but some would have catered for the upper strata of the working-class, who also were not satisfied with the mere 'rudiments of learning'. After 1870 better run and more

35 N. Sumederland, A History of Darlington (Manchester 1972) p. 96. For lists of schools see my Appendix I.
efficient public elementary schools began to appeal to upper working-class parents who may previously have sent their children to private schools. Whellan's Directory for 1865 lists twelve private schools in Darlington, while Sunderland's History gives thirteen which advertised in the Darlington and Stockton Times of 1867. Only four were on both lists, so there were about twenty-one private schools in Darlington at this time. Of these, William Stevenson's school in Mechanics' Yard, along with the day schools of Ann Dent, Jane Jackson, Mrs. Faynter, Miss Thompson and Eliza Wilson had gone by 1879. The latter five may have been dame schools catering for young working-class children, hence their rapid demise, but lack of records make this difficult to ascertain. It must be pointed out that during the same period The Classical, Mathematical and Commercial School of Mr. C. Jackson, The Classical and Commercial School of Mr. Clapham, Mrs. G. Wilson's Establishment for the Boarding and Education of Young Ladies, The Misses Woodward's Ladies' College and Mr. W.W. Wilmott's Select Boarding School also disappeared, and these were obviously for the middle-classes.

Just as in Durham, many of the private schools in Darlington were fairly short-lived. Of the twenty-one on the 1865 and 1867 lists, only six were left by 1881, five by 1887 and two by 1894. Polam Hall, established in 1848, and Miss Wilkinson's seminary were the survivors. The former was a well-established Ladies' Boarding School run by the Society of Friends, and it exists to this day. Schools for young ladies were beginning to take-off in the mid-nineteenth century, another well-known Darlington example being
that conducted by Miss Bamber, listed at Paradise House in 1865
and then in Red House on the corner of Staindrop and Carmel Roads
by 1881. These schools were part of the ferment in the education
of girls which was occurring at this time, along with the prolif­
eration of middle-class and upper working-class private schools.

'Kelly's Directory for 1879 gives about 200 in the
Durham area, and eleven in Darlington alone. Of
these nine were for girls and Polam Hall was not
among them; presumably the Misses Proctor had
neither need nor inclination to advertise. Among
the rest some were in quite small houses and would
be able to offer very little.'36

The latter type found it difficult to survive Board School compet­
tion, the houses in Darlington being as unsanitary as at Durham
and the schools being run in unfavourable conditions, and six of
the eleven had gone by 1881. Others, like Polam Hall, reached a
much higher standard, and Mr. Fitch, reporting on Yorkshire for
the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1864, had made the point that
among the girls' schools the Quaker ones were in the first rank.
The nature of women's education had been changed in 1863 when
Miss Francis Mary Buss had sent twenty-five candidates from her
North London Collegiate to the first Cambridge Local Examination
open to girls. Thus, the divide had been crossed and other schools
opened with increasing rapidity in the late 1860s and the 1870s,
modelled on the school of Miss Buss and Miss Dorothea Beale's
Cheltenham College.

36 Kathleen Davies, Polam Hall. The Story of a School (Darlington
1981) p. 34.
There were also well-known middle-class schools for boys in Darlington, like Mr. Blackwood's School For Young Men and the school conducted in Cockerton by Mr. Mackay of Edinburgh University. One of the most important boarding schools for young men was Cleveland College, founded by Mr. Henry Brooks in 1868. He gave good service to the town as an educationist, and was a member of the School Board from 1877 to 1886. After the opening of the new Queen Elizabeth Grammar School in 1878 many of the private schools failed to attract the full quota necessary to carry on and were forced to close. Cleveland College closed in 1889. Many smaller establishments had already gone to the wall in face of increasing competition from Board Schools. By 1880 there were nine Board Schools with accommodation for 3,023 and an average attendance of 2,396 (eighty per cent). At the same time Voluntary School places stood at 3,637, so with similar attendance over 5,000 children were regularly at these schools as opposed to 2,800 in 1871. Parents were gradually being convinced of the value of education through their own schooling, and through participation in educational matters at School Board elections or on the Board itself. Prior to 1870 low standards were the norm and there was little demand for a high standard of educational fitness for the teaching profession. Roger Giles advertising in Darlington as, 'Schulmaster, Grosser, Surgin, Parish Clerk and Hundertaker' was not an isolated case of a teacher being a 'Jack of all Trades'. In 1851 the schoolmaster at Summerhouse was also a cowkeeper; George Goudry, schoolmaster at 12 Claypath, Durham City, in 1850 was also the Collector of the Borough Rates, and Reverend Isaac Todd, Vicar of Shincliffe, also ran a boarding school in the 1850s.
It was open to anyone to set up a private school, and most of the teachers in dame schools, private adventure schools and common day schools were untrained. Many, unable to earn a living in any other way, turned to teaching as a last resort. A sample would include,

'domestic servants out of place; discharged barmaids; venders of toys or lollipops; keepers of small eating houses, of mangles, or of small lodging houses; needlewomen, who take in plain or shop work; milliners; consumptive patients in an advanced stage; cripples almost bedridden; persons of at least doubtful temperance; outdoor paupers; men and women of 70 and even 80 years of age; persons who spell badly, who can scarcely write, and who cannot cipher at all.'37

In the Durham and Auckland Unions in 1861 less than one out of two hundred private school teachers had a certificate, while thirty-one per cent of public elementary school teachers were college trained. However, not all private school teachers were ineffectual. Dame schools, private adventure schools and common day schools provided rudimentary education for those working-class children whose parents could afford the small weekly fees, and such parents would not send their children to any school which appeared obviously defective. Above the humble dame schools came a layer of private academies, commercial schools, seminaries and preparatory schools for the upper strata of society. At one end of the scale of private schools the terms dame school and preparatory school were interchangeable, and the Taunton Report has evidence of the pre-preparatory nature of dame schools, with preparatory schools blaming their backwardness on dame school-feeders.

37 Newcastle (Vol. I) p. 93.
In the nineteenth century private schools represented an important and integral part of the education system, with dame schools contributing to the development of elementary education in England and Wales. At the time of the 1870 Education Act there was a vast amount of private education, but much of this did not command attention in the minds of those promoting the Act. The definition of dame schools as being inefficient is partly based on an assessment of their effectiveness in imparting literacy and numeracy; it is also based on assumptions which led to cherished beliefs of free-enterprise being abandoned in favour of the principles of compulsion and State enterprise. In 1870,

'The difference between schools was whether they were aided and inspected, or whether they were not. Unaided schools numbered about a third of all schools for the working-class. Financial stringency was the chief reason for the existence of so large a number. The logic of the voluntary system left managers of small schools little choice when they had to decide between an untrained woman who would be satisfied with £20 per year and a fully-trained teacher who would demand twice that amount plus a house ... (These) schools were almost universally condemned as inferior, but the likelihood of some good informal teaching in some cannot be overlooked.'

The improvement in public elementary schools brought about by the introduction of Board Schools which competed with Voluntary Schools, thus setting standards for both, led to the demise of many small private schools. The 1870 Education Act marked one step in the replacement of these, in particular the replacement of dame schools and common day schools, which had strong connections with working-class communities.

As sources of income and as educating institutions private schools played an important part in the daily lives of the working-classes in the nineteenth century, but even the best of the small private schools tended to be short-lived, linked as many of them were to the precarious existence of the urban poor. Private venture schools covered a wide range of scope and competence, but many were small and unorganised with intermittent existence. If demand fell during times of hardship they often ceased to exist. Small private establishments for education in the nineteenth century have often been unduly deprecated, and the concept of dame schools as concerned with only one section of society is too narrow. They provided education for the middle-classes as well as the working-classes. However, many small private schools were undoubtedly deficient and with the improvements in public elementary schools consequent with the advent of School Boards, many working-class parents came to see the latter as more attractive. In Durham and Darlington many of the small private schools disappeared, leaving in the main the more expensive and larger ones which catered for the wealthier classes, while at Jarrow, with its predominantly working-class population, nearly all the private schools disappeared. The Boards for all three areas were served by members who advanced the cause of education by creating better opportunities for working-class children, and a corollary of this was the rapid demise of small private schools. Through voting at the School Board elections and by being elected on to them, the parents of the children concerned were able to participate in the creation of these wider educational opportunities.
CHAPTER 7

ELECTIONS TO DURHAM SCHOOL BOARD
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Durham School Board was established as the direct result of a resolution carried by ten votes to eight at a meeting of the Corporation on 18th January, 1871. Thus, it was one of the earlier School Boards to be formed. Some areas took far longer to form Boards because they were not in favour of education on the rates, some were Church dominated and ways were found to delay 'Godless' Board education, and others did not want to expend large sums of money so made do with whatever school accommodation they already had, however inferior, until forced by the Education Department to act. This is not to say that Durham School Board was formed without opposition. When the 1870 Education Act was passed Durham already had a large amount of school accommodation, so the only reason for setting up a School Board was the enforcement of the Act's compulsory clauses. In the Durham of 1870 there were the Bluecoat National, the Boys' Model, St. Margaret's, St. Oswald's, St. Cuthbert's, St. Godric's and the Elvet Wesleyan Schools. Besides these there were numerous private adventure schools, schools of science and art, a Girls' High School, the Durham Classical School and the Choristers' School.¹ So, there was

in the Diocese of Durham by Voluntary effort in order to obviate the need for schools built or maintained out of local rates. Subscribers included the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the Earl of Durham and many prominent clergymen. The Churches, however, could not prevent School Boards being formed and in many areas elections to these were fought with extreme bitterness and sectarian rivalry. The Education Act was denounced by extremists because of its interference with the Voluntary system. They tried to warp public opinion against Board Schools with the taunt of 'Godlessness', appeals to intolerance, fear of the rates and the Englishman's inbred hatred of compulsion. These issues, especially the latter, came out strongly at the Corporation meeting held to discuss the formation of a School Board in Durham.

The meeting was opened by the Mayor who stated that the population of the Borough was 13,789 in 1861 and that, after taking into consideration the increase of 847 from 1851 to 1861 and the number of new houses built from 1861 to 1870, the population could be assumed to be 15,000. As one-sixth was the proportion of elementary school accommodation to be provided, then the need was for 2,500 places. Total school accommodation in the city was 2,382, so the deficiency of accommodation according to the regulations of the privy council was for 118 scholars. He went on to propose waiting for the Education Department's decision upon this deficiency in order to prevent contention for no reason. School Boards had powers to levy rates, build schools, decide upon the religious instruction clauses and compel attendance, and the Mayor
contended that a Durham School Board could only do the latter. To him the question of a School Board was one of civic pride, expense and the iniquity of forcing parents to send their children to school instead of earning money.

"I think better of my native town than that it requires compulsory education. Many large towns may require it, but we do not abound with Street Arabs. On the contrary I feel firmly convinced it will be a heavy burden to ratepayers, with a most minute benefit to the objects intended, and a tyrannous scourge to the labouring poor."

This because,

"in cases very frequent the wages earned or the household services rendered by a child or children under thirteen are actually necessary to prevent a hardworking father from becoming a pauper."2

Alderman Watson, when informed by the Mayor that the return did not include those children educated at Mr. Bailey's and all other adventure schools, proposed postponement until August, saying it was "fallacious and premature to adopt the Act". This was seconded by Councillor Blackett, who, like the Mayor, alluded to civic pride.

"It is not for us to force the Education Department to do that which they, in their discretion, have thought very likely wise to put off. A Cathedral City, boasting as it does of its charities and schools, does not need to be classed with, I may say, low and swarming populations abounding in all sorts of vice."3

However, Alderman Boyd, who moved for the formation of a School Board, was to carry the day.

2 Advertiser, 20.I.1871.
3 Advertiser, 20.I.1871.
He began by paying tribute to voluntary effort, but qualified this by saying that no voluntary system would educate the children of Durham then existing.

"Although there is accommodation for 2,382 there are only 1,399 at present attending ... It is only by compulsory education that this can be done. This will not mean building big schools. With compulsion parents will probably send their children to existing schools, so we will need a school for two to three hundred at the most and the expense would not be great ... We are not pioneers, already twenty-two boroughs have petitioned for a School Board ... When this Act was put before the legislature, it was acknowledged by every portion of the community and every political party that some compulsory measures were needed."4

Boyd's motion was carried, but the opposition did not end there. One member of the Council who had been absent from the meeting wrote to the Education Department protesting that things would have gone the other way had he been there. The School Board Chronicle predicted trouble at Durham.

'The Town Council has passed a resolution favouring the formation of a School Board, and the citizens are resisting the action of the Council with so much feeling the Education Department is likely to have considerable trouble with the Northern city.'5

Then the Durham Advertiser carried a letter, possibly from the Mayor for it used his words, arguing against the School Board and hoping that counter petitions to London would prevail.

"SOR: A few remarks friv a awd pitman may not be out of place. It was settled by a nervous majority that Durham should be saddled wiv a School Board ... Compulsion is a

4 Advertiser, 20.I.1871.

very nice and delicate question of imposing a penalty on a parent where, in cases very frequent, the wages earned by a child or children under thirteen years, are actually necessary to prevent a hard working father from becoming a pauper ... A worthy but mistaking doctor (Boyd) said to the best of his knowledge there were about 1,000 bairns running about the streets, who were not receiving any education whatever. Watson proved this wrong ... There is a counter petition on the way to London, and all hope it will be successful. SPECTATOR."

These arguments were backed by the Advertiser itself, and Durham was not the only place to oppose School Boards on the grounds that they would deprive parents of income. Although much had been done to combat the evils of child labour, children in the 1860s still suffered the hardships of factory, mine and agricultural work. In 1861 Lord Shaftesbury secured a commission to inquire into the employment of children in trades not already regulated by law, as children of six were still working as many as fourteen hours a day in pottery works, lace industries, paper staining, lucifer match making and sundry other trades. In 1867 The Factory Acts were extended to all workshops of over one hundred, and regulations were imposed on others prohibiting the employment of children under eight years old, and extending the half-time system to those between eight and thirteen. This did help to alleviate the problem, but unfortunately the laws were easy to evade. The Report of the Education Department for 1863 to 1864 had described the Mining Act of 1860, prohibiting the employment underground of boys between ten and twelve without a certificate that they could read and write.
as a failure. In 1873 Shaftesbury brought to the notice of the Lords an inquest on a chimney-sweep of seven and a half years old, even though the minimum age for this job had been set at twenty-one in 1840. Employers saw education as a threat to cheap labour, while parents saw it as a threat to extra income. Schools meant children leaving fields and factories for the classroom, so for this reason many School Boards were opposed. Gradually, however, most towns established adequate elementary schooling, but agricultural areas were not covered so well. The Agricultural Children Act of 1873 was an attempt to combat this which was largely ineffective. Rural districts had to wait for Sandon's Act of 1876 and School Attendance Committees in many instances. Durham City saw to its own attendance problems with a School Board.

In backing the Mayor against this the Advertiser saw the 1870 Education Act to be chiefly directed against the large manufacturing towns and its adoption by a city like Durham to be a question open to debate. It stated that the arguments for delay far outweighed those for immediate action, reiterating the point that Alderman Watson had made a complete case for postponing the subject until further enquiry had been made. All this opposition was in vain, the counter-petitions failed, and a School Board was formed without a contest on 17th March, 1871. A sigh of relief at the lack of trouble was heaved by the Advertiser, and, remembering it had said that 'it was better to be hasty in supporting a great national measure of progress' than to be 'indecisive', it even claimed some credit for this.
'Said a London paper, the other day, the Education Department were likely to have a great deal of trouble with Durham, which city has sent in a petition twenty feet long, against the formation of a Board. We are glad to know that prophesy will not be verified ... It is gratifying to us that in the midst of the first excitement of the opposition to the formation of a School Board we did nothing but oil the troubled waters ... (The result is) a School Board that will do justice to the opinions of the locality and the objects of the Act, and this without a contest.'

This was rather false crowing as throughout the beginning of 1871 theAdvertiser had made many controversial statements about the School Board. It was theAdvertiser which had raised the religious issue, bemoaning the fact that the system of new schools did not 'include a thorough and complete impregnation of religious truth and Christian precept' and that the Education Act did not 'provide for the simple teaching of the leading principles of the Protestant faith'. Luckily no one else seems to have clouded the debate with religious arguments, and a policy on the Act's religious clauses seems to have been generally agreed. Interested bodies met, chose candidates and then managed to compromise on the Board's composition, this despite the fact that theAdvertiser also raised the political question.

Claiming that both Liberals and Conservatives of the borough had an equal interest in the subject of the School Board, theAdvertiser talked of 'parties instrumental in obtaining a School Board' quickly 'taking active measures for accomplishing their ends'. It then posed the question of whether they were trying to

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7 Advertiser, 17.III.1871.
make it a political issue and this was taken up by a 'Conservative Churchman' in an attack upon the proposed compromise Board.

"Immediately after the memorable School Board meeting of the Town Council, there had been in hot haste a meeting of the 'Liberals' at which it was determined to nominate four gentlemen, viz, Alderman Boyd, Mr. Gradon, the Reverend W. Greenwell and Canon Consitt, and at another meeting of what is termed the Church party, a further nomination of the Reverend J. Cundill, Mr. John Shields and Mr. E. Peele took place, thus forming a Board of seven to avoid a contest ... On examining the list of gentlemen nominated I find there are five Liberals and two Conservatives. Surely if there be no political bias the Board might have been more equally divided ... If they can get the Board so constituted the Saddler Street 'directorate' will wish nothing better than to take their seats quietly, for none know better than the Liberals that PATRONAGE IS POWER and this is the true secret of all their anxiety to avoid a contest ... (The Conservatives should) fight for the seats with gentlemen who have always stood by the Church." 8

Even though issues were stirred up like this compromise was still effected and a nine man Board was duly elected. It consisted of Mr. William Boyd, surgeon, Unsectarian; Mr. George Gradon, joiner and builder, Unsectarian; Reverend William Greenwell, clerk in holy orders, Unsectarian; Mr. George Coward Jr., wholesale stationer, Unsectarian; Reverend Edward Consitt, priest, Roman Catholic; Reverend John Cundill, clerk in holy orders, Church; Mr. John Shields, mercer, Church; Mr. Edward Peele, registrar to Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral, Church, and Reverend George Bulman, clerk in holy orders, Church.

So, 'the Saddler Street directorate' was successful, along with Bulman and Coward. Durham succeeded in avoiding a contest.

8 Advertiser, 10.11.1871.
for various reasons. Religious instruction itself had not been an issue as it was at many School Board elections elsewhere. The liberty permitted by the 1870 Education Act as far as religious instruction at Board Schools was concerned had been recognised by those involved, and had even been put forward by Councillor Hutton as an argument for a School Board at the Corporation meeting of 18th January, 1871. The Dean told Churchmen that if they could get the persons who went on the Board to acknowledge the broad principles of the Church of England, and that it was desirous to have religious teaching and training in their schools, then he would be content. Election addresses were put out by Cundill, Bulman, Shields and Peele; by Boyd, Gradon and Greenwell; by Coward, and by Consitt, showing all to be in favour of Bible reading. What had to be guarded against was any one denomination gaining an ascendancy on the Board in order to indoctrinate the children in their dogma. There was opposition to 'sectarian teaching or anything savouring of denominational bigotry', and by having a School Board of four Unsectarians and four Churchmen, with a Roman Catholic to hold the balance, neither main party was able to hold sway, whereas both were satisfied. Even the Advertiser was happy.

'We are glad to find that the designs for securing an exclusive control of the powers of the Act by a party, if such designs existed, have been utterly foiled ... No doubt the Board will know how to prevent, if it be attempted, anything like proselytism being carried on

9 Advertiser, 3.III.1871.
under the guise of comments on the (Bible) lessons. This duty and the appointments and regulations of certain officers, besides the levying of rates will indicate the chief responsibilities of the School Board."10

For most of its existence the overall composition of Durham School Board did not change, only three out of a possible eleven elections being contested. Having a closely-knit and fairly homogeneous population which only increased by eighteen per cent between 1871 and 1901 helped, in that there was little need for extra school accommodation, so existing schools coped. This prevented much of the Voluntary versus Board friction found elsewhere. In many areas the building and control of schools became a bitter religious issue as the various denominations had strong vested interests to protect, which, unlike in Durham, were threatened by the School Boards and the emergence of new schools. This made compromise difficult, and in places like Darlington and Jarrow, with their more varied and rapidly increasing populations, most or all School Board elections were contested. Control of the School Board would change hands several times, and with the change of control came changes in policy. It was not until later in the period that the Denominationalists realised that Voluntary Schools, though threatened, would never disappear, and began to appear happier to maintain a less dominant role. As Cardinal Manning stated,

"The most sanguine friends of the voluntary system cannot believe that it will ever recover the whole

10 Advertiser, 10.III.1871.
population of England and Wales; neither can the most devoted advocates of the board school system believe that it can ever extinguish the voluntary system."11

This latter fact was accepted by Unsectarians, and, although elections were still often bitterly contested, gradually a spirit of compromise, toleration and co-operation was fostered on the Boards themselves.

As elsewhere, expense, religious instruction and compulsory education were the three most important issues at Durham School Board elections. Once elected the Boards dealt with these fairly amicably. In Durham the first two were not great issues as, with little or no building, expenses incurred by the School Board were comparatively negligible, and religious instruction, as already stated, was generally agreed upon. Like others before and after it Durham followed the example of London School Board, 'Bible reading with such explanation as suited to the children's capacity'. The main 'raison d'être' for Durham School Board was to enforce attendance and this was stressed in candidates' electoral addresses. Emphasis on this can also be seen in the Durham School Board Minute Books. The first School Board quickly drew up Bye-Laws and began enforcing the compulsory clauses of the 1870 Education Act. By January 1874, when its term of office neared its end, attendance was eighty-one and a half per cent. This represented an increase in attendance from 1,399 to 2,039, or forty-six per cent. A steady rise continued to well over ninety per cent attendance by 1904.

This was an important achievement as it was clearly seen that the passage of the Education Act, even with its compulsory clauses, was not enough. To hold her own among the nations of the world England had to educate her children, and it was up to the School Boards to get these children into schools. In most areas this meant first building enough schools and then getting the children into these, but for Durham it just meant the latter, as the schools were there already. Compulsion spread more rapidly in urban areas than rural ones. Small School Boards soon earned a poor reputation. By the end of 1871 the Education Department had sanctioned 117 sets of bye-laws for enforcing attendance. The percentage of the whole population under such bye-laws was forty in 1873 and had reached fifty by 1876. In the boroughs it had reached eighty-four per cent. The inefficiency of the five member Boards, elected for too small an area, from too small an electorate did much to discredit the School Board system.

This, plus the fact that many districts were without School Boards, led to Sandon's Act of 1876, making it the 'duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and if such parent fails to perform such duty he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by this Act'. This was a form of indirect compulsion, and where there were no School Boards to deal with it School Attendance Committees were set up. It led to seventy-three per cent of the whole population (ninety-seven per cent in the boroughs) coming under bye-laws by 1880. In certain
areas School Boards and School Attendance Committees were still not anxious to enforce the law, while some magistrates were unwilling to convict. Direct compulsion was secured in 1880 by Mundella's Act, compelling all School Boards and School Attendance Committees which had not already done so to make bye-laws to enforce attendance. The Act required full attendance between the ages of five and ten, with exemptions for ten to thirteen year olds if a certain standard was reached, while at thirteen exemption could be on attendance alone. The earliest age for exemption was raised to eleven years in 1893 and then to twelve in 1899, so children therefore went to school for longer. Another aspect of compulsion was the enlightenment it brought.

'It was through compulsion that the real results of the 1870 Act were seen, because once children were roped into the schools the extent of underfeeding and under-nourishment was discovered, and another chain of movement began. Penny-dinners were introduced, the health service grew and child factory labour was curtailed.'

Members of School Boards came face to face with the poor and found that more than education was needed to help them. School dinners, medical inspection and decreasing child labour were all part of this help, especially in the boroughs, being another aspect of the widening responsibilities of urban politics.

Although Durham School Board dealt with compulsion fairly amicably, managed to compromise on religious instruction and was not overly stretched financially, it was not all a bed of roses.

During its existence there were three hotly contested Board elections at Durham, arousing comments from,

'that local pillar of the Established Church, The Durham County Advertiser which was quick to castigate the action of Mr. John Coward and Mr. W. Proctor in standing for election.'13

For six years both sides had been happy with the status quo and casual vacancies on the School Board had been filled amicably. However, in 1877 although the Church and the Roman Catholics were still able to agree on candidates, the more diverse Unsectarians could not and six candidates were fielded, two as Independents.

'Some men are unhappily so constituted that they can never rest unless they occupy a prominent position in the management of public affairs. It is a matter of perfect indifference to them what amount of expense is incurred, or what turmoil and annoyance are caused by their conduct, so long as their ambition is gratified and the propositions of their opponents are frustrated. If Mr. Coward cannot be classed under this category it will be difficult to conceive what object he has in view in being the sole cause of forcing a contest for the School Board. We hope the electors will bear in mind in giving their votes on Monday next, that the unnecessary turmoil and expense have been produced at the instigation, and for the gratification, of MR. COWARD, and that they will testify their disapproval by supporting the candidates who have so efficiently performed their duties during their term of office.'14

The Church, the Unsectarians and the Roman Catholics had all put forward their sitting members as candidates, this being the usual practice. However, Coward issued an address as an 'Independent

14 Advertiser, 2.III.1877.
candidate and supporter of the principles of the Birmingham League', and was followed by Proctor who also 'entered the field as an Independent candidate'. This led to the Church working hard to secure the return of their candidates, for which they were rewarded by their position on the poll, whereas 'polling ended disastrously for the Unsectarians'. The poll was headed by the Roman Catholic candidate, followed by two Church candidates, while two Nonconformists failed to be elected and two more were bottom of the poll. This greatly pleased the Advertiser, which only regretted that the originator of the contest was not amongst the defeated candidates.

In effect Coward and Proctor replaced two sitting Nonconformists so the overall composition of the Board was not affected. The result was: Elected - Reverend Provost Consitt, Roman Catholic, 2,355; Mr. C. Rowlandson, Church, 1,916; Mr. J. Shields, Church, 1,817; Mr. H. Robson, Unsectarian, 1,666; Mr. J. Coward, Independent, 1,636; Reverend T. Rogers, Church, 1,556; Reverend J. Cundill, Church, 1,352; Mr. W. Proctor, Independent, 1,307; Reverend W. Greenwell, Unsectarian, 1,004; Not Elected - Mr. G. Gradon, Unsectarian, 897; Mr. W. Boyd, Unsectarian, 723. Gradon and Boyd had been two useful, hard-working Board members, so for them this was a disappointment. However, the result was hailed as a vindication of the Church and religious instruction. It in fact represented far more than that. Coward's action had given voters in Durham a chance for the first time of having a direct say in the education of their
children, a 'raison d'être' of School Boards which had been denied them in 1871 and 1874. The fact that Coward did so well in the poll and that the electors took up the chance with alacrity justified his action.

"Great concern and much excitement were manifested at the election ... 1,861 out of 2,250 voted ... The absence of Reverend T. Rogers and Reverend J. Cundill affected their position on the poll. It is an acknowledged fact that the presence of candidates during an election undoubtedly stimulates the efforts of their supporters ... The organisation of the Church party was excellent, and the instructions given by the committee, as to the filling in of voting papers, were strictly adhered to ... At an early hour a bill was posted, drawing the attention of working men to the joiners' strike. This was apparently levelled at Messrs. G. Gradon and H. Robson, master builders, but as far as Mr. Robson was concerned it had no effect. Cabs were hired by the respective parties, and were kept busy during the day. At noon a little more animation was imparted to the election by the working classes rushing to vote, but by two the stations had almost assumed their wonted appearance."\(^{15}\)

In 1883 and 1886 Durham electors were again given the chance to express their feelings about education in the city. It was the Nonconformists who also instigated these contested School Board elections. This was understandable as the entrenched Denominationalists had no reason to want an election, it being in their interest to preserve the status quo.

In 1883 the retiring Board issued a joint address for re-election, hoping to avoid a contest, but this was not to be.

"Like all public bodies, a portion of whose functions it is to administer the public funds, and whose actions are subject to the scrutiny of the critical ratepayers,\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) Advertiser, 9.III.1877. (For a full list of results see Appendix III).
the Durham School Board has periodically to pass through a period of dissolution and recomposition. The variety of political and religious sentiment which permeates the country at large is no greater than that which is to be found in our small but politically active electorate. Therefore it follows these diversions of thought should take the opportunity of expressing themselves which the School Board election will afford. (The equitable) representation of parties ... would appear to go for nothing with those who seem to be under the impression that a preponderance of the "Nonconformist" or "Independent" element is essential to the future working of the Board ... (So) the Church Party, though in no way desirous of forcing a contest, decided to retain on the Board the whole of the old members. 16

Then again in 1886 'a well-known member of the Nonconformist body' put himself forward for a place on the School Board because of his 'personal ambition'. The result in 1883 was that the Unsectarians gained a seat on the Board at the expense of the Church, and this position was unaltered in 1886. The 1883 contest excited very little interest, being adversely affected by piercing cold winds and drifting snow so that 6,158 fewer votes were cast than in 1877. A slight improvement occurred in 1886 when an additional 1,644 votes were cast, but again very little interest was taken in the election by the citizens at large. Thereafter, until it went out of existence in 1904, no more Durham School Board elections were contested, any vacancies being filled by agreement. This was probably because there was little to gain in Durham by being the dominant force on the Board, the main functions of which were to keep an eye on attendance and disburse a few hundred pounds in salaries. Also, uncontested elections meant a saving to all the ratepayers in election expenses.

16 Advertiser, 2,III,1883.
Although religious instruction could be little influenced by the School Board, children in Durham generally attending a school of their own religion, a look at election addresses shows this still to have been important. 'Sectarian Teaching' and 'Denominational Bigotry' were to be guarded against, and during election years the Advertiser was full of promises like,

'Believing that all sound education is based on religious teaching, we should endeavour to ensure such an amount of the latter as is allowed by the Acts of Parliament.'

For the most part Durham was able to sink its differences over religious instruction, because, with its Cathedral, Churches and predominantly Anglican population, it was more sympathetic to this in schools than were areas like Darlington and Jarrow, with their more religiously diverse populations. The type of area and the situation at a particular time were reflected in promises made at School Board elections, and at Durham these tended to be mainly about compulsory education, its greatest concern. At Durham also there quickly grew up an easy co-operation between Anglicans and Roman Catholics, another factor which facilitated compromise. Usually the Church nominated four candidates, the Catholics one and the Unsectarians four, making a compromise nine-man Board, and a joint address such as those of 1883 and 1895 was issued. Durham, however, was something of an exception.

In many areas the 1870 Education Act had led to unending competition between Denominationalists and Nonconformists so that,

17 Advertiser, 2.III.1877.
'three main groupings arose within the field of religion and education:- the unsectarian, dissenting group, who gradually came to favour a still more secular system; the traditional Anglican party centred on the National Society with support from the Conservatives; and the Roman Catholic Church led by Cardinal Manning. Anglican and Roman Catholic school societies became more and more closely allied as they saw their developing common interests.'

Extremists from these groups frightened their rivals and School Board elections became bitter sectarian disputes. This was especially so in large urban areas where control of the School Board gave a party influence over the education of a large number of children. In smaller, mainly rural areas, there was less rivalry, either because of the dominance of one group over another, or because there was only one school and few children to quarrel over. Although Durham was an urban area with many schools it tends to fall into this latter category, being able to effect a three-way agreement. This was because the greatest point of difference was Clause 25 allowing Boards to pay the fees of necessitous children, and in this the Churchmen, advocating the principles of religious toleration and freedom of conscience for the poor man as well as his richer neighbour, were successful. It took much longer for this spirit of toleration and co-operation to develop in other areas, Clause 25 for many, including Darlington and Jarrow, remaining a bone of contention until the responsibility for aiding poor children's education was transferred to the Poor Law Guardians in 1876.

In fact toleration by the Church of England was anything but a widespread practice. Throughout the country Churchmen fought, often quite bitterly, to gain School Board seats. Similarly, Catholics, taking heed of Cardinal Manning's advice to "obtain a share in questions which affected them", also did their utmost to gain representation. On the other side members of the various Dissenting sects, attempting to prevent 'religious instruction on the rates' and to gain widespread free education, also joined the fray. The resultant hotly contested elections were little wonder, as it could not be expected that the religionists and the secularists, the Dissenters and the Churchmen, the advocates of compulsion and the anti-compulsionists would all at once forgo their individual opinions and sink all those differences which had so nearly wrecked the 1870 Education Act. The battle was merely shifted from the national to the local level, and in this Durham was no exception, the difference being that settlement came more quickly. As elsewhere, education for the poor in Durham had for so long been solely provided by the Churches. When the 1870 Education Act was implemented these naturally wished to protect their vested interests. To manage this they needed representation on the School Board. The continued influence of the clergy on education can be seen by looking at the composition of the Durham School Boards. The first three and that of 1884 had four ministers of religion as members, while there were three on each of the other seven. At each of the three contested elections Reverend Canon Consitt 'headed the poll, receiving the whole of the support of the Catholics in Durham, as well as votes from other citizens.
who esteemed and respected him'. The cumulative vote greatly
helped minorities and Roman Catholics quickly learned how to use
it to its best advantage. Throughout the country areas often had
a Roman Catholic at the top of the poll, Darlington and Jarrow
included. Organisation was the key to success, and the more
compact the group the easier it was to organise.

Often the loosely-allied Unsectarians found that although
they had the majority of support, they split the vote and failed
to gain the majority of the seats on the School Board, the most
notable case being Birmingham. Many areas had a Town Council
dominated by one party and a School Board dominated by the other
because of the different methods of voting for each body. The
Denominationalists, and in especial the Roman Catholics, were
better organised and less likely to split the vote, while often
Tory Churchmen united with Roman Catholics to gain a majority, or
at least a significantly large minority, on School Boards. In
Durham this was certainly the case with the Church and the Catholics
working together. The latter were strongly represented by Reverend
Canon Consitt from 1871 until his death in 1887. He had for ten
years been the Board Chairman and his dying wish, that his seat
on the Board be taken by Reverend G.A. Jones, so that Catholics
would be represented on the Board in accordance with the number of
town children educated in their schools, was acceded to. The Roman
Catholics and the Church generally sided with each other against
the Unsectarians in Durham, as was the case elsewhere, and this is
probably why Durham's three contested elections were instigated by
the Unsectarians. This continuation and extension of Church influence led Edward Miall to retort,

"Mr. Forster's Education Act is no boon, but in consequence of its defects and deficiencies the local clergy and the gentry have been able to turn it into an effective instrument of extending Church influence." 19

He even demanded the repeal of the Education Act on the grounds that only the Roman Catholics and the Church would benefit. As far as Durham was concerned this charge had some justification.

The countering of this Church influence and preventing religious instruction on the rates were two of the reasons why Nonconformists fought for School Board places. Sometimes their candidates were also ministers of religion, in Durham Reverend Greenwell being a good example. It was not just the clergy who contested School Board seats of course. Throughout the country all sorts of people from humble and wealthy origins sat on School Boards. Board members tended to reflect the areas which they represented and the times in which they served. Initially School Boards were mainly constituted of middle- and upper-class people as these had the time and the money to devote to urban politics. Gradually as the period wore on more people from the working-classes became Board members. This was facilitated by employers who allowed time off for Board meetings, and by Boards which held their meetings outside of working hours. The growing awareness by

19 Nonconformist (Vol. XXXI NS, No. 1315, 1.II.1871) p. 109.
the working-classes of the power of education and politics, fostered by the Trades Union movement, also had its effect. Two innovations of the 1870 Education Act had been opening representation to the working-classes and to women. The opportunity was taken up by those concerned, but in the North East of England the former was more marked than the latter, as discussed previously. In fact, for some reason, no women put themselves forward as candidates for the School Board of Durham during its entire existence. Durham did have a small amount of working-class representation, but mainly in later years. From 1892 to 1898 the working-classes were represented by Launcelot Trotter, Secretary of Durham Miners' Mechanics' Institute, and from 1901 to 1904 by John Harris, President of Durham Trades and Labour Council. Both Darlington and Jarrow had far stronger working-class representation, but it must be remembered that of the three Durham had the least industry. The School Board of Durham was served mainly by professional men, many with experience in urban politics through the Corporation, by men actively involved in education and by the clergy. This was especially so in its early years.

The first School Board Chairman at Durham was Edward Peele, registrar and chapter clerk to the Dean and Chapter of Durham since 1858. He had long been active on the Corporation, being a member of the Highways Board and Vice Chairman of Durham Board of Guardians. Alderman William Boyd, surgeon, was Vice Chairman of this first Board and he too was well experienced in local politics, being for twenty-two years a member of the Corporation and three times Mayor.
He was a past President of Durham Mechanics' Institute, a Liberal in politics and a religious dissenter. Reverend William Greenwell, a minor canon of Durham Cathedral and a distinguished antiquary, was also on the first Board and he served the Board throughout its existence, being the only person to do so. Reverend Canon Consitt, the Roman Catholic member, was one of the most distinguished dignitaries of his church in the north of England. Another ex-Mayor on this first Board was builder George Gradon. He had been Vice Chairman of the Durham Liberal Association and President of Durham Young Man's Christian Association. He had educational connections, being a devoted Congregationalist Sunday school teacher. After his death in 1884 his place on the Board was taken by his son, John George Gradon, who also served Bearpark School Board from 1889 to 1904. It was not unusual for people to be on more than one School Board; in rural areas it was often necessary as there was a limited number of able candidates. Another example from Durham was John Slack who was on Durham School Board from 1883 to 1889 and Framwellgate School Board from 1878 to 1890. 'Nepotistic' trends were also common, with sons succeeding fathers on some Boards and various family members serving on others. Examples of this were the Palmers at Heworth, the Livingstones at Stanhope and the three great Quaker families of Dale, Fry and Pease at Darlington. Two other Sunday school teachers on Durham's first School Board were George Coward and John Shields, the latter being described as "one of the best and most useful of public men in County Durham". Reverend George Bulman and Reverend John Cundill were the other two members of this first Board, which amply
illustrates the types of people interested in education and the politics of education. It compared well with other areas where the best and most able men were put forward for election to School Boards. This meant that, once constituted, many Boards were well able to use the permissive powers granted by the 1870 Education Act to advance the cause of education for the poor.

London School Board began work under Baron Lawrence, and other members included Viscount Sandon, Professor Huxley and Members of Parliament like W.H. Smith. Birmingham had people like Joseph Chamberlain and George Dixon, both Members of Parliament; Hull had Sir Henry Cooper and Albert Rollitt, Member of Parliament, and Middlesbrough had its great industrial families like Bell and Wilson.

'The School Board of Nottingham had thirteen members, increased to fifteen in 1877. Ninety-seven people sat on the Board in all, and it was always dominated by the business and professional classes, with clergymen in a great majority. There was usually a member of the working class on the Board, but rarely more than one. It was only in the 1880's that the working class were elected without the support of the main parties.'

Thus, along with the wealthy and prominent people of the area, people from humbler backgrounds came forward to serve Boards. Through the School Boards the working-classes could have a voice in the education of their children and gain first hand political experience. Independent Labour Party Members like Joseph Nuttall of Salford and Frederick Brokelehurst of Manchester gained experience on School Boards. Charles Hobson, President of Sheffield's

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20 David Wardle, Education and Society in Nineteenth Century Nottingham (Cambridge, 1971) p. 82.
Trades Council, headed the School Board poll in 1897. The Labour Annual of the same year printed a list of fifty-seven socialist members on School Boards, while in the House of Commons in 1896 John Burns had claimed a total of five to six hundred working men on Boards. This figure was merely a guess, but nonetheless in the 1880s and 1890s the working-classes were making their voices heard by fielding candidates for School Board elections. Often, as in Durham, these were sponsored by Trades Councils or similar bodies.

The working-classes were more prominent in industrial areas like Jarrow, because School Board elections mirrored the area's population. Industrialists and manufacturers stood in the industrial areas, traders and merchants were often the representatives for large towns, while clerics, squires and farmers generally represented rural areas. The type of area Durham was between 1870 and 1904 can be seen by looking at those who stood for election to the School Board, while at the same time elections showed the kinds of people interested in education. In 1886 the candidates for the Board were: George Carr, joiner; Reverend Canon Consitt, priest; Reverend Greenwell, clerk in holy orders; Christopher Rowlandson, land agent; T. Randell, principal of Durham Schoolmasters Training College; J.G. Wilson, solicitor; H. Robson, spirit merchant; J. Patrick, solicitor; C.E. Barnes, solicitor; E.A. Oliver, aerated-water manufacturer; C. Maynard, gentleman; Reverend G.A. Jones, priest; R. Bailey, accountant; G. Miller, land agent; M. Chambers, designer; J. Slack, bookseller; Reverend A.L. Henderson, minister, and J.G. Gradon, builder. They were mostly clerics, merchants and
professional people, reflecting the Anglican dominated Cathedral city with very little industry. The 1901 candidates show similar backgrounds: Reverend Brown, priest; Reverend Greenwell, clerk in holy orders; Reverend Haworth, clerk in holy orders; John Patrick, solicitor; Christopher Rowlandson, land agent; John Harris, insurance agent; Christopher Lumley, printer; Micah Chambers, designer; John George Gradon, builder, and Robert Hauxwell, iron-founder. Two members of this final School Board continued to serve education after the Board's demise, thus giving a little continuity. J.G. Gradon, on the Board since 1889, was elected to the City Council in 1905 and became a member of the Education Committee. Colonel Christopher Rowlandson, second longest serving Board member and Chairman from 1887 to 1904, was elected to Durham County Council, becoming Chairman of the Executive Committee.

It can be seen that School Board elections brought many people, candidates and voters, face to face with each other and with the facts of education. These people from different backgrounds had to work together when elected to School Boards in order to administer the elementary education in their areas. The ministers, traders, gentlemen, merchants, professional men and occasional working-class member of the Durham School Boards managed to do this fairly amicably right from the start. This was not always the case, London, Birmingham and Jarrow being good examples of Boards on which things did not always work out, and where it took far longer to build up a spirit of toleration and co-operation. This did, however, gradually emerge in most areas through the workings of School Board
members, and the achievements of School Boards make the success of this measure of 'State Socialism' clear. In 1870 Voluntaryism was able for the most part to meet the educational needs of the city of Durham. The 1872 census showed an excess of 556 places over demand, there being 575 children between three and five years old and 1,494 between five and thirteen. There were nine grant-aided public elementary schools with accommodation for 2,625, so there was no necessity for building and establishing, at a large cost to the ratepayers, School Board schools. However, a survey by the Attendance Officer in 1873 revealed that despite adequate provision many children were not attending schools. There were more girls than boys among these, and the highest incidence was in the ten to thirteen age group; in other words those most able to earn. Girls were being kept off to work at home, while boys were working as errand boys or in other light employment. There remained an antagonism from parents to education, along with a need for the money their children could earn.

As previously mentioned Durham was soon specialising in enforcing attendance, its main responsibility. Apart from this the Board was called upon to supplement educational provision by the opening of an Infants School at Gilesgate. This question of infant accommodation in St. Gile's parish had first been raised in 1877, but it was not until a letter from Cumin at the Education Department, threatening a Requisition declaring the Board in default for failing to supply adequate school accommodation, was sent in 1880 that the Board began to look for sites. Even then it was not until February 1885 that Gilesgate Infants Board School was finally opened.
A similar thing happened at Framwellgate Moor where notice was served on the parish on 18th July, 1873, that a school for 424 was required. The local vicar, Reverend Ridley tried to meet this through voluntary effort, but not too successfully. In June 1875 his school was deemed inadequate to meet the requirements of the Education Acts, after inspection by members of the newly elected School Board for the extra-municipal parish of Framwellgate and St. Oswald's. This had been elected on 11th May, 1875, with Ridley as one of its five members.

"The election of a School Board (for Framwellgate) ... has resulted in the return of three Churchmen and two Unsectarian members. Such a result is highly gratifying to the friends of religious teaching in the schools for the poor. It is striking that with all the tall talk of the Birmingham League party, they meet with continued defeats. I am glad to witness the adherence of working men to the great principles of Scripture teaching."21

Durham's Anglican influence was felt right to the outskirts. It failed, however, to prevent Ridley's school from closing in 1876, followed by the Framwellgate Board 'unanimously resolving that steps be taken to provide the necessary Infant accommodation' on the western side of the city. Framwellgate Infants Board School was ultimately opened in March 1879. Another School Board, that for the extra-municipal parish of Elvet and St. Oswald's, was elected on 13th July, 1875, to serve other areas on the fringe of the city. This Board purchased sites at Houghall and Bearpark Colliery for the erection of schools. So, the only building that Durham School Board actually did itself was the small Gilesgate Infants School.

21 Advertiser, 14.V.1875.
As a School Board then, Durham was unusual in that it was more like a School Attendance Committee than a School Board. In this Durham showed local government to be in advance of central government, something that was often the case as far as educational politics and the advance of education were concerned. An example of this was the abolition of fees by School Boards in certain areas. In 1891 the government made schools free in principle, but total abolition of fees did not come until 1918. Local politicians elected onto School Boards began, in certain cases, to do what the National Education League had demanded of the government in 1870, long before central government moved. This was because,

‘During the latter part of the nineteenth century ideas and emotions aroused by the terms "elementary education" and "technical education" were everywhere changing, but they changed more rapidly in the great School Boards than in the Government offices; and educational facts were changing most rapidly of all.’

Members of School Boards often interpreted these changes far quicker than central government, and acted upon them, thus giving the latter a lead. Merely by setting up its School Board, Durham did this. Durham School Board diligently enforced attendance long before School Attendance Committees were universally set up by Sandon's Act in 1876. If it had so wished Durham could probably have got away without a School Board up until 1876, and thereafter a School Attendance Committee would have sufficed. However, the Corporation of Durham decided, in its wisdom, to petition for a School Board as

it saw that the education problem was not just one of sufficient school accommodation, but also one of getting the children to take up this accommodation. Durham School Board was successful in enforcing attendance and quickly settled down as a body which worked together for the good of the community. Because there was little need for building and a general agreement on religious instruction and compulsion, dominance of one party on the School Board was not as crucial as elsewhere, and this explains why there were only three contested School Board elections in Durham. It also explains the early co-operation at Durham which led Board members to understand each other better, while at the same time learning the needs of those to be educated. At Durham these needs were catered for by getting the children into the existing schools, finding out what they lacked and then trying to provide for this. It was only by seeing the children at first hand in the schools that the extent of their deprivation could be learnt, and Durham School Board became very good at managing this.
CHAPTER 8

ELECTIONS TO THE SCHOOL BOARD OF HEDWORTH, MONKTON AND JARROW
The School Board for Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow was established on 21st March, 1871, four days after the formation of Durham School Board, and two months after that of Darlington. At this time there were eight public elementary schools in the district, providing accommodation for 1,344 children. There were also various adventure schools 'doing good and useful work', but these were not recognised by the 1870 Education Act. There were 5,946 children of school age and this number was rapidly increasing.

Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow, which included Hebburn, had a population of 24,361 in 1871, this having increased from a mere 3,835 in 1851. This growth was to continue throughout the School Board period, reaching 55,712 in 1901, an increase of one hundred and twenty-eight per cent in thirty years. One reason for this rapid increase was the establishment of the Jarrow shipyard in 1851 which attracted workers from many areas. Concurrent with this came the manufacture of paper, begun in 1841, along with the chemical industry, salt-making and the coke-works, all started in the mid-1840s. This rapidly expanding population presented a great educational challenge, a challenge that was gladly taken up.

'In Jarrow, if anywhere in the United Kingdom, the necessity was shown for another system of education than was in vogue prior to 1870; in Jarrow, if anywhere, the success of this phase of State Socialism has been abundantly demonstrated. Voluntaryism was utterly incapable of meeting the educational wants
of the community. It was paralysed - swamped in the rapid growth of the place.'

Jarrow was in great need of more and better schools and a School Board was a way of achieving this.

At its inception the Board had to face an appalling educational poverty. This was approached with a generous policy by men with broad and progressive outlooks. Lines were laid down between 1871 and 1874 which were generally followed by subsequent School Boards, whatever their political make-up. In fact, at various times the Sectarians found themselves carrying out the building projects of the Unsectarians. A great deal of building had to be done, and during the life of the Board five large permanent Board Schools were built, some Voluntary Schools taken over and various temporary premises used. Unlike Durham and Darlington all the elections for the Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School Board were contested and control changed hands several times. Being a large, growing industrial town, Jarrow was a fertile area for numerous religious denominations. This large, diverse population made co-operation and compromise more difficult than in a small, compact city like Durham, or even a town like Darlington, which was only slightly smaller, having four-fifths the population of Jarrow in 1901. Besides this, the strength of the Church, the Roman Catholics and the Nonconformists was such in Jarrow that the control of the School Board was finely balanced, making it worthwhile for whichever group was in the minority to

1 Guardian, 11.III.1892.
challenge for power. The building and control of schools became a religious issue as the various Denominations had strong vested interests to protect. These were threatened by the School Board and the emergence of new schools, and in many cases there were intense religious feelings generated at School Board elections. The flames of religious strife were fanned by the local press, the *Jarrow Express* and *Tyneside Advertiser* espousing the Churches' cause, and the *Jarrow Guardian* and *Tyneside Reporter* siding with the Nonconformists.

In Jarrow the School Board provided a great opportunity for building many schools, and, once built, to control what was or was not taught within those schools. Unlike Durham, which had adequate accommodation, or Darlington, which had to supplement existing accommodation, Jarrow had very little school accommodation in 1870. Progressives welcomed the School Board and fought fiercely to gain control of it and all its powers. Denominationalists were less keen, but seeing a School Board as inevitable they fought equally hard for representation so as to protect their vested interests. Of the twelve School Board elections those of 1871, 1877, 1883 and 1892 were won by the Unsectarians, while the other eight were won by the Churches. The variation of results reflected the importance attributed to education in Jarrow. Elections, as well as being fought along religious lines, were also fought on particular issues current at any particular time. For instance in 1880 and 1883 the School Board elections were fought over the issue of a Higher Grade School, it being rejected in 1880, but accepted
three years later. In 1892 spending on Technical Instruction was an issue, while subsequent elections were fought over the threat to voluntary schools. Different issues appealed to the electors in different ways and led to the School Board changing hands several times. On each School Board there was also a strong Roman Catholic influence, reflecting the large Catholic minority of the district. This added another facet to the religious contention generated by the Jarrow School Board elections, contention that sometimes had its beneficial side.

'Acute political and religious controversies did arise. These disputes in Jarrow were responsible for a greater public concern for education and strengthened motivation - even if for the wrong reasons - towards the expeditious provision of a sound and expanding system of education.'

Jarrow School Board was the first School Board established in a civil parish in County Durham, and the election on 21st March, 1871, was crucial in that it set the trend for future developments. Two Churchmen, two Roman Catholics and five Unsectarians were elected. Under the Chairmanship of William Henry Richardson this Board started to tackle the educational problems with which it was faced.

Two subjects of importance which required immediate attention were the public elementary school requirements of the Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow district, and the more contentious matter of compulsory school attendance. The first act of the Board's Non-conformist majority dealt with the latter issue by making education

compulsory, with the onus laid upon the parents. Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School Board, along with Darlington whose bye-laws were approved at the same Court on 3rd November, 1871, had the honour of being the first parish School Board in the country to enact bye-laws making school attendance compulsory. It was also the first School Board of any kind in County Durham to make elementary education compulsory. It became the responsibility of the parents of every child between the ages of five and thirteen years to ensure that their child should attend a public elementary school. The relevant bye-law stated,

"The parent of every child residing within the Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow school district, shall cause such child being not less than 5 nor more than 13 years old, to attend a public elementary school unless there be a reasonable excuse for non-attendance." 3

Reasonable excuses were incapacitating illness or 'some other cause which is unavoidable', as well as regular and efficient instruction from another recognised source. There were also to be exemptions for those over ten years old who had passed Standard IV of the Government Code of February 1871. Those who passed Standard III could attend on a half time basis. These regulations were way ahead of their time and showed the progressive nature which was to stamp Jarrow School Board. Jarrow was twenty years ahead of Central Government on the matter of compulsion, and this illustrates the fact that School Boards often initiated educational policy which was later followed up by Parliamentary legislation. Other ways in which

3 W.M. Morley, 'The Development of Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow, Stanhope and Thornley School Boards from 1870 to 1904' (M.Ed., Newcastle 1969) Appendix J.3, p. 7. (For Bye-laws see also my Appendix IIa).
Jarrow showed itself to be progressive were in the remission of fees, in its attitude to infant education, in provision of evening classes, technical instruction and a Higher Grade School, as well as its widening of curriculum. It is a tribute to Forster's 1870 Education Act that School Boards found themselves at liberty to do this.

This first School Board also took steps to deal with another contentious issue which faced all School Boards, religious instruction. Section 14(2) of the 1870 Education Act - 'No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught' - was strictly enforced in its schools. The Board's main priority at this early stage, however, was to establish large, efficient, economic schools for the area so a building programme was formulated. On 23rd April, 1873, the Jarrow Grange Board School was opened at a cost of £5,000. It was the first permanent Board School to be opened in the North under the provisions of the Education Act, and was designed for 400 boys, 300 girls and 300 infants. This work made the power of the Board patently obvious and over the next thirty years the Churches and the Nonconformists marshalled their forces to try to gain control of School Board policy. Religious controversy had been removed from national to local politics because the Liberal Government which framed the 1870 Education Act had given the country a dual system of education, and this was no settlement of the issue.

'Almost every aspect of the Bill (had been) looked at through religious spectacles, through the eyes of denominational and sectarian jealousy and fear ...
Into the religious difficulty drained all the passions, convictions, principles and antagonisms of the conflicting groups in mid-Victorian England." 4

By giving School Boards fairly permissive powers, and by leaving religious decisions to be made locally, Forster bequeathed School Board elections the same antagonisms and problems he had faced in Parliament. The majority of School Board elections in the country centred round religious issues and were fought on narrow sectarian lines, Jarrow being a case in point.

The Denominationalists were more successful at these elections in Jarrow, having majorities from 1874 to 1877, from 1880 to 1883, from 1886 to 1892 and from 1895 until the demise of the Board in 1904. However, the Denominationalists did not always have things their own way and for the most part the progressive policies of the Unsectarians predominated. This was because when the Board changed hands policies could not be completely altered, only delayed and tempered. The Unsectarians managed to gain control of the Board at crucial periods, not least at its inception, and begin projects which then had to be continued. In 1880 Alderman Richardson and the Unsectarians were ejected for advocating a Higher Grade School, only to return triumphant three years later despite pleas like this from a Hebburn miner.

"If Richardson had been Chairman of the present Board we would have no school built at our colliery, but a fancy one for rich folks at Jarrow would have been

built, and our children would be trudging to the Grange. Mr. Bee and his Board have built us a good school, and I think my fellow miners ought to vote for the Bee."5

So, with Richardson as Chairman, plans for a Higher Grade School went ahead and it was eventually opened in July 1886 by the succeeding Denominational Board. This kind of ironical situation happened several times. Sectarian Boards carried out or finished off the building programmes of the Unsectarians between 1874 and 1877 with Dunn Street and Hebburn New Town Schools; between 1880 and 1883 with Hebburn Colliery Schools and extensions of Grange and Dunn Street schools, as well as the opening of temporary schools at Jarrow and Hebburn Quay, and between 1886 and 1889 with Hebburn Quay Schools and Jarrow Higher Grade Schools. Thus the Denominationalists were prevented from holding up educational progress as they were wont to do.

Although like elsewhere with religious instruction, compulsory education and finance being the three main issues mentioned in election addresses, Jarrow differed from many areas in that educational progress was also frequently mentioned. Education and its expansion was uppermost in the minds of many of the candidates who stood for election to Jarrow School Board. Richardson, the first Board Chairman, had foreseen the way educational development should progress in the area and had planned accordingly. Education was dear to his heart and he,

5 Express, 16.III.1883.
'contended that there was a principle involved in the question. The sectarian or clerical party had not only opposed the passing of the Education Act, but had done all they could to prevent its adoption when it became law; hence he considered they were not the proper persons to have charge of the education of the people.'

Under Richardson's leadership average attendance rose from thirty-four per cent in 1871 to eighty-three per cent when he retired in 1892. School accommodation grew from 1,344 places to 10,794. However, as the Guardian pointed out, there was still a deficiency of 2,418 places, so more building was needed to fulfil the ideal of the possibility 'for every poor man's child to go from Board School to the University'. To help this end evening classes had been instituted and scholarships founded. The more conservative Express stated that School Boards had more to do than instruct the rising generation in reading, writing and arithmetic. Other subjects such as cookery, laundry and manual instruction were also of importance. It urged Jarrow to take advantage of the recent Technical Instruction Act, something echoed by William Scott's election address.

"Unsectarians must advance education much further than the sixth grade. We must have more subjects in the schools. The Sectarians might put a drag on this to let their schools catch up ... I am a supporter of manual instruction and believe a Technical School to be important." 7

Others in the contest took up the same cry. Thomas Wallace wanted the introduction of 'additional useful subjects' to the school curriculum and supported technical education, seeing 'educational

6 Express, 16.III.1883.
7 Guardian, 11.III.1892.
progress as the necessity of the hour'. It was clearly seen that if other countries advanced in technical education then England should take it up. Foreign industrial competition made this important. In 1892 the Unsectarians won control of Jarrow School Board and were able to implement a scheme of technical education, starting with the introduction of manual instruction.

So, even after Richardson's retirement educational progress continued in Jarrow and the situation was not as hopeless as the Guardian believed.

'A parish containing 50,000 souls and cannot produce a single man who is fitted to take the lead of the progressionist party in education ... It is the ratepayers determination that the children shall have as much education and no more than can be given in voluntary schools. The ratepayers, in fact, are taking care that the Board schools shall not interfere in the slightest degree with the denominational schools.'

A ray of hope was seen in the Reverend Alexander Matheson, a 'highlander who understands something of clanship', as a possible leader. The Guardian also espoused the cause of the workers with high praise of Thomas Wallace: 'to have such a man in an elective Board from the ranks of Labour' would be 'an honour'. Readers were also asked to support Mr. A. Morrison, another working-class candidate. The rival Express was more conciliatory than usual, even suggesting a possible compromise.

'The Free Education Act has swept away all party grievances and left the work of the Board a purely educational and financial one ... Men who will give good, economical education are required.'

8 Guardian, 4.III.1892.
9 Express, 19.II.1892.
This suggestion came to nought and the ensuing election gave the majority to the Nonconformists, with five Unsectarians and one Independent being elected to two Church and three Roman Catholics. The Guardian was jubilant that the 'Unsectarian principle' would predominate. A mere three years later the Express had lost its spirit of compromise and was far more vehement in its advocacy of the Churches' cause.

This was no doubt prompted by Church gains at School Board elections in other parts of the country.

"Parliament guarded the interests of "Undenominational" and even of actual "unbelieving" people. Now there is a reaction. Why are so many who represent religion and the voluntary schools now being elected to School Boards? The grievance has swung in the other direction. It is an inalienable right for Christians to have Christian teaching."¹⁰

With a Liberal Government in power the Churches were everywhere making great efforts at School Board elections. Election sermons were heard from the pulpit, literature was distributed and education became an everyday staple topic. Areas such as Burnley even held Christmas or New Year bazaars to raise election funds.¹¹ In many districts Anglicans and Roman Catholics were in harmony, fighting rearguard actions against demands by the Education Department to build more Board Schools. Bootle was a good example of this, the

¹⁰ Express, 25.I.1895.
Denominational majority giving precedence to attendance over accommodation, thus serving the Voluntaryist interest. In late 1894 and early 1895 Voluntary School supporters retained power in Manchester, Bootle, Liverpool and Sheffield and won Leeds, Bradford, Darlington, Burnley and Jarrow from School Board supporters. By this time the Churches had spent upwards of £25,000,000 on their schools since 1870, but still could not compete with School Boards.

'The biggest threat to voluntary schools was lack of funds in competition with the boards. This resulted in a "holy alliance" in the fight against increasing financial difficulties ... Under Clause 21 of the Act voluntary schools could be transferred to a board. By 1890 the Church of England had surrendered 1,000 schools and this fact was not liked ... Denominationists feared an increased secular society and saw education as the only means of stemming this "godless" trend.'

This ever growing fear led to even stronger efforts by Denominationists at School Board elections. Anglicans and Roman Catholics made firmer alliances, organised themselves and strived to retain those Boards they held and to wrest as many others from Nonconformists as possible.

Jarrow Nonconformists were attacked during the 1895 Board election by a letter, which also praised Church gains elsewhere in the country.

'Sir, That most narrow-minded and sectarian of all sects, the sect of the Unsectarians, has sounded the tocsin

in regard to next month's School Board election ... The sorest point was the success of the Church Party in the rest of the country ... The Church is united and ready to march on conquering to conquer. The sect of the Unsectarians, being but an aggregation of paltry sects, there is no reasonable hope of united action from it.'13

To counter this the Guardian preached Nonconformist unity, pointing out that as the Unsectarians had too many candidates in the field the Sectarians would easily secure the majority. It lamented the divisiveness of Independent candidates and exhorted 'the friends of progressive education' to 'fight as never before' in order to secure victory. All was in vain, and like elsewhere in the country the Denominationalists gained control of the School Board, and were able to retain this at the final two Board elections. School Board policy was thus once more in the hands of the party who had their own schools to protect. Fortunately, for Jarrow Nonconformists at least, educational policy had been fixed years before on liberal-progressive lines and no great harmful reversal could be achieved. The policies, initiated by W.H. Richardson, which had put Jarrow in the vanguard of educational advance, continued. By 1904 Jarrow School Board had erected eight permanent schools to accommodate 8,516 and improved attendance from thirty-four per cent in 1871 to ninety-two per cent in 1903. Accommodation was also increased by taking over Voluntary Schools and using temporary premises. The Higher Grade School, brainchild of Richardson, showed progressive thinking, as did a widened curriculum, technical education, evening classes and the establishment of a Pupil Teachers'
Centre. Even the *Express*, a constant critic of the School Board and supporter of the Church, could say in 1904,

'During the time of its existence, much good work has been done; the old bitterness and party feelings have gone into the background and all the energies devoted to the improvement and moral advancement of its scholars.'

This was an irony of School Boards, especially in urban areas. The two sides would fight tooth and nail at elections to gain control of Board policy, but once elected they often settled down to work together for the common educational good. As the period wore on Denominationalists and Nonconformists found it easier to work together with agreement and co-operation increasing, and even after the Churches' final surge in 1894 and 1895, once the Boards were elected members in many areas including Jarrow were able to work together for education.

Helped by its size and economic resources Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School Board was able to do a great deal to advance the educational opportunities available to the people in its district. Throughout the period 1871 to 1904 the two opposing parties fought to gain ascendancy over this educational policy. The *Times* of 29th November, 1870, had recognised the power and influence that a School Board could exercise over the people of a district, something echoed at Jarrow by the *Express*.

'Next to the annual municipal contest no election excites greater public interest than that connected with the School Board. Indeed it might well be a

14 *Express*, 1.IV.1904.
question as to which of them engages the greater share of attention. As to their relative importance there can be no doubt ... there is nothing of greater consequence than education.'

School Board politics were therefore thought to be very important within the wider field of urban politics at Jarrow. There were strong links between those standing for School Boards and those standing for the Town Council. As at both Durham and Darlington the Corporation was well represented. Thomas Sheldon, Oliver H. Duffell and George Dexter were all Mayors of Jarrow as well as School Board members. The former served as Returning Officer and became an Alderman. Dr. Michael Bradley, Hugh McGrorty, Thomas Gibb, William Hedley, John O'Connor and Thomas Salter were councillors as well as Board members. Alderman Zephaniah Harris, a School Board member from 1895 until 1904, went on to serve the Education Committee of Jarrow Borough Council instituted by the 1902 Education Act. A self-made man, rising from being a joiner to a builder, with connections in the licencing trade, Harris became a Justice of the Peace and was Mayor of Jarrow in 1891. He was popular among the people of the area, and also served for a number of years as a member of the South Shields Board of Guardians.

The most enigmatic character to serve Jarrow School Board was Alderman William Henry Richardson. He was Chairman of the first Board, was disqualified from election to the second, failed to be elected to the third, headed the poll for and was Chairman of the fourth, failed in election to the fifth, again topped the poll for

15 Express, 19.II.1892.
and was Chairman of the sixth, served as Vice-Chairman on the seventh and was Chairman of the eighth, finally retiring in 1892. Richardson was the driving force behind progressive education at Jarrow Board Schools. He strove to make the elementary education given to the children at Jarrow and Hebburn the most thorough in the United Kingdom. It was he who, after visiting Bradford, implemented a scheme for a Higher Grade School against all opposition. Education became his life's work and he helped to make Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow one of the most progressive School Boards. His convictions and strength of purpose made him a controversial character, and opponents were strong in criticism, while supporters were very loyal. Richardson came from a large Quaker family, moving from Sunderland to Jarrow because of his Paper Manufacturing Business. He entered politics as a Liberal and became President of the Jarrow Liberal Association. After Incorporation he was created a Borough Alderman, and in 1868 he became a Justice of the Peace. As a member of the Unsectarian Party he was elected to Jarrow's first School Board, which he chaired. In June 1895, three years after retiring from educational politics, he was mysteriously drowned in a reservoir at the age of sixty-six. An inquest found 'insufficient evidence to determine how he came to be there'. This was a tragic end to such a hard-working and committed man. The Guardian summed him up as,
the policy of Mr. Richardson became the basis of the education organisation in Jarrow; that is true of the system of education as well as the provision of buildings.16

The types of candidates who stood for election at Jarrow can be seen by looking at School Board election lists. In 1877 there were: William Henry Richardson, paper manufacturer; John Robinson, colliery engineer; John Buchanan, chemical manufacturer; Thomas Gibb, metal extractor; Oliver Haynes Duffell, draper and milliner; John James Corboy, Roman Catholic priest; John Bee, clerk in holy orders; Hugh McGrorty, builder and contractor; George Meynell, Roman Catholic priest; William Hedley, clerk in holy orders; Matthew Nixon, chemical manufacturer; Robert Elliot Huntley, Doctor of Medicine, and Joseph Milburn English, auctioneer and agent. Eighteen years later the candidates were: John O'Connor, clerk; William Scott, plumber; Thomas Robinson, stationer; Anthony Thackeray, check-weighman; John Welch, painter; Thomas Wallace, sawyer; Miles Fenton, fitter and turner; Zephaniah Harris, builder; Martin Hayes, Roman Catholic priest; Alexander Hislop, outfitter; C.R.J. Loxley, clerk in holy orders; G. Johnson, draper; George Edward Peterkin, rivetter; John Rust, draper; Matthew Toner, Roman Catholic priest; William Jackson, artist, and G. Algernon West, clerk in holy orders. All manner of people showed themselves to be interested in education by being put forward for election to Jarrow School Board. The industrial nature of the area can be seen by the types of candidates, and the influence of the clergy is easy to see.

16 Guardian, 28.VI.1895.
At Jarrow four Boards had four ministers of religion as members, and the rest had three. Six out of twelve Boards had clergymen as Chairmen and four had ministers as Vice-Chairmen. Reverend George Ormsby, rector at Jarrow from 1869 to 1875 was on the Board from 1871 to 1876, being Chairman from 1874. From 1892 to 1904 Charles Richard Jubilee Loxley, rector of Jarrow from 1882 to 1909, served the Board and he was Vice-Chairman from 1895 to 1898. Reverend John Bee was another Anglican minister who served the Board as Chairman; on the Board from 1877 to 1886, he chaired it from 1880 to 1883. Like most places Jarrow had strong Roman Catholic representation. There had been quite a lot of movement to Jarrow for work after 1850, and many of those who came were Irish Roman Catholics. Nine Jarrow School Boards had three Roman Catholic representatives, two had two and that of 1876 had four, reflecting Jarrow's large Catholic minority. In 1876 for the first and only time the Roman Catholics had a larger representation than either the Church or the Unsectarians. However, they did not have many opportunities to use their power, that is if they wished to.

'To their honour Father Corboy and his colleagues recognised that they were not the representatives of a faction, but in a unique degree the representatives of the entire parish.'17

Roman Catholics chaired three School Boards at Jarrow, while three others had Roman Catholic Vice-Chairmen. The Roman Catholic Reverend Matthew Toner was on the seven successive Boards between

17 Guardian, 11.III.1892.
1883 and 1904, while his colleague Reverend Martin Hayes was on the six from 1886, being Chairman from 1886 to 1889 and again from 1901 to 1904. The former also went on to serve Hebburn Urban District Council Education Committee, while another Roman Catholic School Board member, Councillor John O'Connor, served Jarrow Borough Council Education Committee, giving Catholics some continuity of representation. At various times Roman Catholics and Anglicans worked together for their common interests. In 1880, for example,

"According to the arrangement come to by the Catholic and Church Parties, the Catholics plumped for Mr. McGrorty in the early part of the day, and in the evening when he was considered safe the votes were split between the other four."18

All five were thus safely returned. The Churches used the cumulative vote to great effect, becoming masters of vote manipulation. There was a similar 'holy alliance' in 1892, which brought forth this comment from 'Tynesider', a Guardian columnist,

"What a lovely spectacle! The Hebburn New Town Orangemen and the Jarrow Romanists hand in glove! Look out for the millennium."19

The Roman Catholics managed to elect their three candidates, two of whom headed the poll. The Anglicans only returned two out of three, however, so if the three Unsectarians and the three Working Class members 'worked together as closely as the Churches could' the Nonconformist principle would predominate.

18 Express, 19.III.1880.
19 Guardian, 11.III.1892.
In 1895 the Churches used the cumulative vote to great effect once again - 'Cross Voting Extraordinary. A Great Sectarian Victory' was the headline in the Express. The Roman Catholics and the Anglicans returned three members each, a position they held on the Board from then on. The cumulative vote, used so well at these elections, had been introduced to protect minorities at School Board elections. Thus, by 'plumping' all of their votes for their candidate a minority could elect him. Roman Catholics became experts at using the cumulative vote, and generally could be relied on to 'plump' correctly and in many cases returned their candidates at the head of the poll. In many areas the Churches were well organised and saw that by judicious use of the cumulative voting system they could elect their candidates and often secure a majority on the School Board. The closely-knit Churches found it easy to ally and agree to put up the minimum number of candidates to secure a bare majority. The Nonconformists found this more difficult, especially as the period wore on and 'Labour', 'Independent', 'Temperance', 'Economist' and other candidates entered the field, split the vote and took support away from official Unsectarian candidates.

'The voluntaryists, because they recognised that they were fighting a defensive action, were even better organised and more militant. In particular they never over-reached themselves by putting up too many candidates, always being content with a relatively small majority.'

Vote manipulation, however, was not always straightforward. Birmingham Nonconformists quickly learned from the fiasco of fielding fifteen candidates in 1870, and thereafter only ever put up eight, gained control and retained this for most of the period. Popular candidates could often upset the voting by attracting votes away from another member of the same party and contributing to his defeat. In his evidence to the Cross Commission the London School Board Visitor illustrated the vagaries of the cumulative vote. One candidate, Sir Edmund Currie, came top of the poll with an immense majority, but three years later was very low down. At the next election he again headed the poll by a very long way, but then he was left out altogether. This was because his adherents thought that as he had done so well at the previous election he was perfectly safe, and so they voted for others of similar views. Under any other system but that of the cumulative vote there would have been more regularity.21 To try to combat these irregularities and uncertainties parties and press issued advice to the voters. Many examples of advice in local papers, along with pamphlets and handbills explaining tactics, can be found at Jarrow, as well as Durham and Darlington. Most reporters to the Cross Commission, however, believed the cumulative vote to be as good as any system. Denominationalists were especially in favour because, as Cumin stated,

"with all its drawbacks it secured the representation on the school boards of the different denominations, without which he thought it doubtful whether school

21 Cross (Vol. II, 31359-31360) p. 574.
boards would be able to enforce all round the bye-laws for compelling attendance, on the ground that it was not possible to secure the confidence of religious bodies and parents in any other way."

Along with advice to electors the local press also carried reports of party meetings and election addresses. The three main items stressed in the latter were religious instruction, compulsory attendance and expense. Election addresses also reflected the type of area and the situation at a particular time. Durham, with its Cathedral and predominantly Anglican population, was more sympathetic to religious instruction than most. Darlington, with its large percentage of Quakers and Nonconformists, was unsympathetic to religious instruction, while the diverse religious population of Jarrow was also largely unsympathetic. Election addresses at Jarrow show the opposing views - "I am against any religious tenets being promulgated in the Schools"; "I am in favour of such religious instruction being given in the schools as is suited to the capacities of the children, and shall carefully guard against any infringement whatever of Nonconformists in this respect". Similar sentiments can be found at both Durham and Darlington, although the former was generally in favour of some kind of religious instruction (see Chapter 7). At early School Board elections at Jarrow and at the Board meetings themselves, religious instruction was an important and controversial issue. It was one reason why the elections were so hard fought, and the fierce competition engendered divided the Board and the area. Denominationalists were

22 Cross (Vol. IV) p. 201.
afraid of the encroachment of Board Schools on the Voluntary Schools, especially as the former could rely on rate-aid. Non-conformists feared 'dogmatism' and 'indoctrination'. These antagonisms led to changes in School Board policies at times. In 1883 Mr. Joseph Longmore expressed his fears to Jarrow Unsectarians,

"of the Denominationalists teaching their own particular dogmas in the schools when they were in power, and it was their (Unsectarians') duty to prevent them from doing so."23

Nonconformists were fighting for the ideals of free, compulsory unsectarian education against the Churches' rearguard action to protect their vested interests. Throughout the School Board period elections were always keenly contested at Jarrow, but gradually on the Boards themselves co-operation began to emerge. The 'coming together' of all kinds of people with different beliefs, who had to talk and work together, helped to promote a certain amount of religious toleration. To get things done each side had to listen to the other's point of view, as well as putting their own forward. This led to a better understanding, sinking of certain differences and more willingness to compromise in the name of education.

Attempts were sometimes made to compromise at the elections themselves. This was mainly because of finance. Expense was an item that was always mentioned at School Board elections and Jarrow was no exception. "I shall keep a watchful eye on the ratepayers'
"On looking through the accounts I find it cost the ratepayers about £130 for the last election, and in my opinion it would cost £150 this time ... I will be no party to the expenditure. I am decidedly of the opinion that a great effort ought to be made to prevent a contest and thus save the amount, and I have strong reasons for thinking this will not be so easily accomplished if my name is allowed to go forth as a candidate." 24

As with the bid to avoid a contest suggested by the Express in 1892 this earlier attempt failed. Unlike the more compact Durham with only three contested elections, or even Darlington which managed to compromise at two, the School Board for Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow found it impossible to compromise, so every three years the ratepayers had to find approximately £150 for election expenses. Being a 'united district' for the areas of Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow, as well as Hebburn, the Board covered a large area. This area had a large diverse population and consequently agreement was very difficult.

24 Letter from George H. Dexter, Mayor of Jarrow, to the Express, 23.11.1883.
From the diverse population many kinds of people were put forward as candidates for Jarrow School Boards. Among these there were many working-class candidates, reflecting the industrial nature of the area served by the Board. As the period progressed the number of working-class candidates increased. This was itself a result of better education, a greater awareness of the benefits and power of education and efficient organisation fostered by the growing Trade Unions. At Jarrow there are references to meetings of organisations such as the Boilermakers, Shipbuilders, Joiners, Engineers, Miners and Radical Associations for the purpose of selecting candidates for the School Board elections. The local Trades' Council was also very active in sponsoring working-class candidates. There were more working-class representatives on the Boards of Jarrow over the years than there were at Durham or Darlington, again reflecting the area. This was facilitated at Jarrow by Thomas Wallace and James Ratcliffe, two working-class members, who during the School Board of 1889 to 1892 managed to get the meeting times changed to suit the workers. Wallace was a sawyer who served the Board from 1889 until 1904. Ratcliffe, an engineer, served on the two School Boards of 1889 to 1892 and 1892 to 1895, being Vice-Chairman of the latter. He was a controversial figure who drew his share of criticism especially from the Guardian, which 'found him wanting' as he only believed in education for the children of tradesmen and the middle-class. He was also accused of favouring the Sectarians rather than the Unsectarians. Ratcliffe was backed by the Trade and Labour Council, with support from the miners in 1892, and was successfully elected while his
running-mate, Thomas Hewitt, failed. Both of these candidates believed that the advice of practical workmen would be of service and assistance to the School Board, and that the working-class should be represented on the Board by one of their number.

The working-class agreed, and although Hewitt was unsuccessful, Ratcliffe and two other working-class candidates, Thomas Wallace, a sawyer, and Andrew Morrison, a plater, were elected. This was the most successful School Board election that the working-class had so far had, a possible reason being the backing of the Trades Council, a recognised, responsible body. Such success led the Guardian to advocate,

'Why not be heroic and have a working-man Chairman as there are three on the Board - the largest representation ever attained? These and the three Unsectarians could elect one. If labour do not split WALLACE could be Chairman.'

In the event, two of the working-class representatives proposed the Unsectarian Reverend Matheson, who had served on the previous Board, as Chairman and he was duly elected. However, in September 1892 he left the district and was replaced by Reverend P.W. Clarke, Church, who had polled the highest number of votes among the unsuccessful candidates. Thomas Robinson, the Vice-Chairman, took over the Chair and James Ratcliffe was subsequently elected Vice-Chairman. This was the second time that Jarrow School Board had had a working-class Vice-Chairman, the first being Thomas Gibb, from 1883 to 1886. Gibb, a metal extractor, was the first working-

class member of Jarrow School Board, serving the four Boards from 1876 to 1886. He was also one of the first councillors after Jarrow's incorporation in 1875. Oliver H. Duffell, who joined him on the School Board after the 1877 election, was a working-class member who went on to better things. Duffell had begun his working life at the age of nine at John Dawes and Sons, Bramford Ironworks. He moved from there in 1863 to a furnace and forge department at Jarrow, and then was able to move into management. Finally, he saved enough to open his own draper's business. As well as being on the School Board from 1877 to 1883 he was on the Town Council, being Mayor of Jarrow in 1880. The remaining School Boards at Jarrow also had strong working-class representation. Notable among their number was Thomas Wallace, a sawyer, who was on the five Boards from 1889 to 1904 and then went on to become Chairman of the Hebburn Urban District Council Education Committee, which was formed on 1st July, 1903.

Forster's hopes that a fair proportion of working-men would be elected to the School Boards were certainly fulfilled at Jarrow. As the period progressed their representation gradually strengthened. Workers were exhorted by candidates at elections to use the powers placed in their hands by the 1870 Education Act. With the benefits of better education and a growing realisation of the opportunities afforded by these powers the working-class became more and more willing to take advantage of them at School Board elections. This was the case at Jarrow and elsewhere.

"Workmen, as they came out of the poll stations, were looked upon as superior beings by admiring groups of
small boys, and having been initiated into the mysteries of voting by ballot themselves, would kindly explain to their mates the instructions given by the presiding officer." 26

At first they voted for middle-class candidates who supported their views, but very soon, in Jarrow at least, they were actually voting for their 'mates'. In this way they were able to participate directly in the decisions concerning the education of their children. It seems a shame that that other group newly enfranchised by the 1870 Education Act, the women of the area, did not also accept the challenge and use the political powers offered them. For some reason no women stood for election to the School Board at Jarrow. Perhaps this was because of male chauvinism in this predominately industrial district. The nearest women came to participating directly in the education of their children was through becoming members of Committees of the Board.

'After regaining power in the 1877 Board election the Unsectarians used this to the full by electing two of their number as Chairman and Vice Chairman. They also increased the size of the Board's Education and General Purposes Committee to five in April, and then augmented it in May by the addition of five ladies.' 27

The fact that this was 'the first occasion in the history of the Board that women were represented on such an important standing committee' gives an insight into the attitude to women at Jarrow.


Of the five, two were wives and one was a daughter of existing Board members. As usual it was the more progressive Unsectarians who introduced this unprecedented practice. However, not even they were daring enough to attempt to put a woman forward for election to full Board membership. That was possibly too revolutionary for Jarrow males.

Another group greatly concerned with education were the teachers. In certain areas ex-teachers stood for election to School Boards, John Averill being an example at Jarrow, and teachers were also sometimes concerned enough by certain School Board policies to lobby candidates. The teachers of Jarrow were moved to action by the activities of the seventh School Board, 1889 to 1892. This Board wished to save money and decided upon more efficient and economical staffing as one means of achieving this. Representatives of the three main parties, Church, Roman Catholic and Unsectarians, tried to reduce the staff at Board Schools. There was great opposition to this from the teachers, and they were backed by Averill, an ex-head teacher. Added to this was the teachers' concern over harsh School Board regulations, and the 1892 election revolved around teachers' grievances. The Guardian talked of the 'unpleasant notoriety of our Board for its harsh treatment of teachers'. The three hundred regulations which they had to adhere to made them feel constrained, and they resented the fact that they were sent to look for absent pupils. On 16th February, 1892, The Jarrow Assistant Teachers' Association held a meeting and decided on the following aims: the raising of wages to
the level of neighbouring Boards; that teachers no longer be
compelled to reside within the district; that teachers should
not be required to act as attendance officers, and that a better
system of promotion be established. It was also agreed only to
support those candidates favourable to the aims of the Associa-
tion and to send deputations to candidates, setting out teachers'
grievances. Wallace was one of the candidates who favourably
received a deputation. Ratcliffe spoke in favour of equal pay
with other areas, while William Scott, John Welch and Thomas
Robinson all welcomed the idea of an investigation of teachers'
grievances. These five were among the successful candidates at
the election, and Robinson, who became Vice-Chairman, put forward
a proposal for a teachers' conference to investigate their
complaints. There was a report on this in the Express of 29th
April, 1892, showing the two main complaints as,

'the hard and fast lines upon which education has to
be conducted, and the meddling spirit of some School
Board members who make teachers' lives wretched.'

The result was something of a compromise. Only two teachers were
entirely dispensed with, Pupil Teachers were engaged only if they
undertook to enter college and some of the three hundred regula-
tions were relaxed.

Two other Jarrow School Board elections also differed from
the norm. There were doubts cast as to the validity of the second
Board election of 1874. The nomination of William Henry Richardson,

28 Express, 29.IV.1892.
Chairman of the first Board, was rejected by John Salmon, the Returning Officer, because it, 'did not when delivered at the appointed places in that behalf, state the christian names and surname of the candidate therein nominated, but the initials only of his christian names'. As well as this the name of one of the proposers was not entered in the register of ratepayers. The 1876 School Board election, therefore, was held without Richardson as a candidate. He applied to the Queen's Bench to set the election aside as invalid, but the arbitrator found against him. Because of the altercation five Unsectarian School Board members and one Roman Catholic member refused to act, leaving only Reverend John James Corboy, Roman Catholic, Reverend George Ormsby, Church, and John Major, Church. These three constituted a quorum, so during a difficult period they all had to be present to transact School Board business. Their difficult position became untenable when Ormsby was appointed to a living outside the parish, leaving on 1st February, 1876. A special election had to be held on 15th March, and this accounts for the fact that there were twelve School Board elections at Jarrow instead of the usual eleven. The seven vacant seats were filled by three Roman Catholics, one Churchman and three Unsectarians. Added to the Roman Catholic and Church member already elected, this gave the former a majority. Richardson failed to be elected by 139 votes at this election, only to be returned at the top of the poll in the ensuing triennial election of 1877, which returned five Unsectarians, three Roman Catholics and one Churchman.
The School Board election for 1886 centred around the uncompleted Higher Grade School. The *Guardian* favoured the Unsectarians and a Higher Grade School, while the *Express* sided with the Churches against. The *Express* emphasised the cost to the ratepayers caused by the Unsectarian Board, and also called upon the Denominationalists to 'force Mr. Richardson out of office' and have 'a Board leaning to Sectarianism'. The result of the 1886 School Board election was the return of three Roman Catholics, three Anglicans, two Unsectarians, one Temperance, one Independent and one Labour. The *Express* was jubilant, proclaiming,

'Victory for the Church, Catholic and Independent Parties ... A greater collapse and a more complete disintegration of a School Board Party in power could not have been anticipated by serious residents than that which the exceptional enthusiasm and marked determination of the numerous array of parties succeeded in bringing about on Wednesday in the ranks of Mr. Richardson and his party.'

However, although the new Board tried to open the new Grange premises as a Girls' School only, after a great deal of opposition, notably from Richardson, Robinson and John Cameron, they were forced to open it as a Higher Grade School in 1887. The 1886 election was notable in other ways too. The emerging Labour Party sponsored three candidates, one of whom was elected, showing the rising interest of the working-class in educational affairs. It was the only election at which a Temperance candidate stood, Mr. Morrison standing under that banner at a time when drunkenness

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29 *Express*, 19.III.1886.
in the district was increasing. Mr. John Averill, ex-headteacher of Hebburn New Town Board School, an Independent candidate, gained the highest number of votes ever at a Jarrow School Board election, polling 6,136. Prior to this the candidate at the head of the poll had never topped 4,000 votes, so this was a great personal triumph.

Like others before and after him Averill used his powers for the good of the Board and for the good of education in the district. He sided with the teachers in 1892 to try to iron out their grievances. He was typical of most of the people elected to Jarrow School Board, in that they used their powers to the full. Thus, like other large School Board areas, Jarrow was able to use its economic resources to make great strides in educational progress, and through the politics of School Board elections many people from the area were able to participate in this process. Through progressives like Richardson, clergymen like Hayes and workers like Wallace the widening of educational opportunities for the working-class was achieved. More and different schools, better attendance, a wider curriculum and a longer school life were just some of their achievements. They were helped in this work by the permissive powers granted by the 1870 Education Act. These had been recognised by Professor Huxley of the London School Board in 1870.

'The situation was one of sufficient flux to make it possible for the determined Board, avoiding both skinflint economy and stultifying sectarianism, to make a decisive contribution to the education of London's teeming children.'30

What was true for London was equally true elsewhere and Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow was one of the 'determined Boards' which made a 'decisive contribution' to the education of the children in its care. The 1870 Elementary Education Act omitted directions as to the type and extent of religious instruction to be instituted at Board Schools, and this led to sectarian bitterness and rivalry at School Board elections. More significantly, however, the Act omitted any definitions of the child or elementary education, thus giving those elected to School Boards a great deal of permissive powers. School Boards were able to extend education outwards with widened curricula, and also from the bottom upwards by lengthening a child's school life. When the Government Auditor, Mr. T.B. Cockerton, surcharged the London School Board in 1900 for using the rates to support what was secondary instruction given through the Higher Grade Schools, this was not merely aimed at London but also at other progressive Boards like Jarrow. That the elected School Board representatives used the powers granted to them to inaugurate a system of education that was thought, by people like Morant, to rival and even threaten the Grammar Schools, is greatly to their credit.
CHAPTER 9

ELECTIONS TO DARLINGTON SCHOOL BOARD
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The establishment of the School Board for Darlington, elected on 13th January, 1871, was similar to that of Durham, in that its original aim was to enforce attendance, there being enough schools for the children of the town. However, unlike Durham, it was not very long before Darlington School Board found itself first maintaining, and then building its own schools. This was partly due to the fact that, like Jarrow, Darlington experienced a large population increase during the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1861 and 1901 an increase of 182 per cent brought the town's population from 15,779 to 44,511. This presented the difficulty of providing sufficient school accommodation, so by 1877 a school building programme had to be implemented. Prior to this the School Board managed to cope through additions and improvements to schools transferred to them by the British and Foreign Schools Society and by the Methodists. At the same time Darlington differed from Durham in being an industrial town where Liberal-Dissenting policies held sway, and there was an eagerness to utilise the powers granted by the 1870 Elementary Education Act. This eagerness was reflected in the fact that the School Board was established early with little opposition, even though it was only needed to enforce attendance.

Darlington was an important agricultural market town until the seventeenth century, when the textile industry was developed. This
led to a gradual decline in agriculture, then by the early nineteenth century the textile industry was also on the decline. Both were eventually replaced by heavy industry. In 1822 work was begun on the Stockton and Darlington Railway and this was opened on 27th September, 1825. Work continued on this and other railways and in 1847 the Railway Works were instituted. When the North Eastern Railway moved its main works to Darlington in the 1860s railways and their subsidiary industries took on even greater importance. Many iron and steel works were established, thus encouraging the immigration of workers to Darlington. This was not quite on the same scale as a town like Jarrow, giving a 60 per cent growth during the School Board period of 1871 to 1901 compared to Jarrow's 128 per cent. Even so, this population increase from 27,730 to 44,511 meant a growing number of children of school age, and led to the need for more schools in Darlington. However, in 1870 Darlington was exceptional for an industrial area in that it had no deficiency of school accommodation. This was partly due to the efforts of Voluntary bodies and partly due to the fact that the town was blessed with a number of wealthy benefactors, notably among the Quakers. There were six British, five Anglican, three Roman Catholic and four other Voluntary Schools providing accommodation for 5,946 children in 1871, while an educational census revealed that places were required for 5,387, leaving a surplus of 559. The Town Council was well aware that there was no deficiency of school places, but being strongly Liberal-Dissenting in its make-up were in favour of a School Board to enforce compulsory attendance.
The 1870 Education Act allowed a Town Council to make a resolution in favour of a School Board by obtaining the agreement of the majority of the Council members. At a special meeting of the Town Council on 2nd December, 1870, it was resolved to seek permission to form a School Board. There was little disagreement, for, unlike at Durham, the members were not concerned with keeping up an image, nor were there great arguments about the cost. In fact the Town Council optimistically expressed the belief that such a Board would not cost the ratepayers very much, 'though the fees of some poor children would probably be paid'. These sentiments were echoed in the election address of Arthur Pease.

"Characterised as our town has been, and I trust ever will be, by generosity for the promotion of education, I do not apprehend that the School Board will have under its consideration the establishment of additional schools at the expense of the rate­payers ... I rejoice in the opportunity provided by the Elementary Education Act of placing the blessing of good education within the reach of all children, who through poverty or neglect may be wandering our streets without instruction."¹

This latter point was of great significance as a census, taken later in June 1871, revealed that 750 children between the ages of five and thirteen years were not attending schools, and that the 4,019 who were on school lists only had an average attendance of 71 per cent.

This was the main reason for the establishment of Darlington School Board, and the election was set for 13th January, 1871.

¹ Echo, 5.I.1871.
The election itself was not without its critics or its controversy. Prior to the decision of the Town Council there had been efforts by the Churches to preempt the need for a School Board by new buildings and additions to established schools. The Roman Catholics, for example, built new schools at Albert Hill, made additions to the schools at Brunswick Street and rented a schoolroom at Whessoe Lane, giving enough accommodation for 1,000 children. This was in vain because the Liberal majority at Darlington realised that there was more to education than providing school places. It was only through compulsion that the real benefits of the 1870 Elementary Education Act could be thoroughly utilised. It was for this reason that Darlington School Board was established so quickly.

'The resolution which called for the formation of a School Board, shows that an earnest local desire is felt to put the provisions of the Elementary Education Act into force as soon as possible, with a view either to an immediate supply of a deficiency in the School provision of the Borough or to an improvement in the existing means of Elementary Education.'

Almost immediately after the Town Council's decision the religious controversy which had plagued Parliament broke out in Darlington. The Churches began to adopt their other tack of making arrangements to secure as many seats as possible on the Board.


3 Letter from the Education Department to Darlington School Board, in Darlington School Board Minutes Book, 16.II.1871.
'The Roman Catholics were the first in the field with a claim to representation and they anticipated one difficulty by rejecting the argument, already current, that clergy should be excluded.'

The Roman Catholics held a meeting on 4th December, 1870, at which they selected Reverend Coll as their candidate. He maintained that it was,

"the duty of a priest to look after the lambs as well as the sheep of his flock, and that unless he took an interest in the educational requirements of youth he was not fit for his position."

He did aim for a wider appeal by declaring that he would not be exclusively Catholic in his actions, being prepared to co-operate with any denomination in seeing that education in Darlington was well looked after.

Other groups quickly followed the example of the Roman Catholics by meeting and selecting possible candidates, then, in an attempt to avoid an election, a meeting of all the interested parties was held at which the nine seats were allocated by agreement, viz: Anglicans three; Roman Catholics one; Quakers two; Wesleyans one; Independents, Baptists, Presbyterians, Free and Primitive Methodists one collectively, with the last of the nine seats being reserved for a working-man candidate. This proposed arrangement brought criticism from various quarters, not least because nobody had really asked the ratepayers what they wanted so democracy was being negated. The ratepayers' rights were preserved partly because William Coor Parker was persuaded to stand

5 Echo, 5.XII.1870.
as an Independent on the grounds that many working-class people had expressed antipathy towards the sects' arrangement of distributing the seats among themselves, and partly because of Anglican disagreements. As W.H.G. Stephens, a Church candidate, was to state in opposition to the proposed pact,

"I am certain that the burgesses as a whole, many of whom never attended a Church or Chapel, would not agree to a quiet family arrangement by the Churches of Darlington to divide up the nominations between themselves." 6

Even so the pact might have succeeded but for the fact that the Anglicans could not agree upon which candidates should represent them, as there were four parishes and they had only been allocated three seats.

There was keen rivalry between Holy Trinity, the wealthiest and most powerful parish, and the other three, St. John's, St. Paul's and St. Cuthbert's. Holy Trinity wanted the three Church candidates to be selected at a general meeting of all parishioners, as, being the strongest parish it could have dominated such a meeting. Recognising the possibility that Holy Trinity might force three of its own nominees as Darlington's Church candidates, the other three parishes opposed a general meeting, saying that it would be too large for a reasonable consideration of prospective candidates. Instead they proposed a meeting to which each parish would send representatives for the purpose of selecting candidates. Holy Trinity refused to accede to the wishes of the others, so they

6 Echo, 4.I.1871.
suggested that Holy Trinity choose one candidate while they would choose two, each by their own methods. Again Holy Trinity refused, so on 23rd December, 1870, came a final attempt at compromise. A deputation from the Combined Committee of the three parishes asked Holy Trinity to co-operate in choosing the three Church candidates. Holy Trinity declined this offer, but told them to choose three candidates which it would then accept or reject. The Combined Committee chose Mr. H.J. Grieveson of Holy Trinity parish, Reverend W.H.G. Stephens of St. John's, and Mr. R. Luck of St. Cuthbert's. The first two were accepted, but Holy Trinity wished to substitute its own vicar, Reverend A.H. Hughes, for Mr. Luck. The Combined Committee opposed the idea of Holy Trinity having two seats so there was deadlock. There followed bitter personal antagonism and bickering at meetings, as well as some mud-slinging in correspondence to the press.¹

Meanwhile the other parties were keeping to their side of the bargain, with the Quakers choosing Mr. D. Dale and Mr. A. Pease, the Wesleyans Mr. J.H. Bowman, the United and Primitive Methodists Mr. R. Teasdale, the Roman Catholics Reverend H. Coll and the working-men Mr. J. Kane as their respective candidates. When it became clear that the Anglicans were going to exceed their quota of candidates the way became open for the combined Free Churches, who saw themselves as under represented, to put forward Mr. J. Morrell as a second candidate. Other candidates also decided to stand and by 3rd January, 1871, the following twenty-three names

¹ Echo, 31.XII.1870.
had been put forward - Reverend W.H.G. Stephens, Reverend A.H. Hughes, Messrs. H.J. Grieveson, R. Luck, W. Hobson, W. Mossom, J.G. Grace, J. Morley and W. Stowell Jr., Church; Messrs. D. Dale, A. Pease, H. Pease, W.C. Parker, J.F. Clapham and H. Penney, Quaker; Messrs. R. Teasdale, T. Watson and J. Dresser, United Methodist Free Church; Mr. J.H. Bowman, Wesleyan Methodist; Messrs. J. Morrell and W. Forster, Congregationalist; Reverend H. Coll, Roman Catholic, and Mr. J. Kane, working-men's candidate. The Echo urged a settlement before polling day, and the sectarian nature of the proceedings was condemned.

'All this division of candidates into representatives of religious denominations is not in every instance the work of the candidates themselves, but is accomplished by a natural process by their partisans amongst the various religious bodies to which they respectively belong. It should, however, be constantly borne in mind that the duty of a member of a School Board is not to conserve the interests of any particular sect, but to carry out the provisions of the Education Act.'

At any event, an attempt was made at a meeting in Central Hall on 4th January to persuade all but nine candidates to withdraw. Some candidates agreed to abide by a vote of those present on the best nine representatives. Dale, A. Pease, Kane, Teasdale, H. Pease, Bowman, Grieveson, Hughes and Morrell were the nine with the most votes and this satisfied the Unsectarians. The Anglicans and Roman Catholics were not happy, however, as neither Stephens nor Coll were on the list. Arthur Pease, although second on this straw-poll, agreed to stand down in favour of Coll to allow Roman Catholic

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8 Echo, 4.1.1871.
representation. By 12th January other withdrawals left only twelve candidates, but the Anglicans Stephens and Luck as well as the Independent Quaker Parker were adamant about standing, so a contest was inevitable.

Stephens and Parker were vindicated by good performances in the resultant election, but Luck came bottom of the poll. This first Darlington School Board election provoked considerable interest because of the long and interesting build-up, with a ninety per cent turn-out of voters. Possibly this interest was also,

'due to deep concern over the educational issues at stake, most strongly felt by the Churches, to the fact that the outcome of these first elections was far from certain in most districts, and to the novel features of the elections, in particular the cumulative system of voting.'

The result at Darlington gave similar representation to the original pact of December, five Nonconformists, three Churchmen and one Roman Catholic being successful as follows: Coll, Roman Catholic, Liberal, 4,185; Parker, Quaker, Liberal, 2,878; Dale, Quaker, Liberal, 2,754; Grieveson, Church, Conservative, 2,655; Stephens, Church, Conservative, 2,619; Pease, Quaker, Liberal, 2,594; Morrell, Independent Undenominational, Liberal, 2,371; Bowman, Wesleyan, Liberal-Conservative, 2,282; and Hughes, Church, Conservative, 2,282. The unsuccessful candidates were Teasdale, United Methodist, Liberal; Kane, Independent Working Men, Liberal,

and Luck, Church, Conservative. So, although both the Unsectarians and the Denominationalists failed with one candidate, it was really the working-class who suffered by failing to get their candidate elected. The immediate build-up to the election, like the earlier squabbling over representation, had been marred by religious and sectarian bitterness, and this was condemned by the Echo.

'It is much to be regretted that the selection of suitable men for carrying into effect, one of the most important laws passed in our time, full of momentous results for the nation and for individuals, should have been treated in a sectarian manner.'

Even with the election over this was not the end of the problem.

This was because School Boards played a vital role in the rivalry between Church and Chapel in the late nineteenth century, this being part of the transition which focused upon the demand for religious equality to replace religious toleration. Board Schools began to reflect a reduction of the domination of the Established Church in the field of elementary education, and ultimately in life in general. The immediate impact of the 1870 Elementary Education Act had been to stimulate the expansion of Voluntary Schools, as occurred at Darlington, but when it was seen that it would become increasingly difficult to compete financially, the Churches fought hard for strong representation on School Boards so that their voices could be heard directly. Cardinal Manning had exhorted Roman Catholics to this end as early as 17th September, 1870, and the Anglicans were quick to follow suit. As a result,

10 Echo, 6.I.1871.

throughout their existence, many School Boards were characterised by religious strife, both in the election of members and in the implementation of certain policies.¹² In Darlington the struggle over policies began immediately the election was over. The Town Council had applied for a School Board to tackle the problem of poor school attendance. A census was taken which showed that out of the 4,100 children of school age in the town, 2,900 attended fairly regularly, 450 attended occasionally and 750 did not attend at all. Taking the bull by the horns, the School Board passed Bye-Laws compelling attendance and quickly appointed a School Warden to enforce this. Initially attendance remained low. In 1870 it was 71 per cent, in 1871 70 per cent, while in 1872 it dropped to 65½ per cent. At the same time, however, the number of children on the Schools' Books rose steadily, being 3,838 in 1870, 4,881 in 1871, 4,532 in 1872, and continuing to rise to 6,221 by 1880. By this time average attendance had also risen, reaching 79 per cent. Throughout the period attendance at Darlington schools was always above the national average, but nowhere was the situation completely satisfactory until after 1891, when education was both compulsory and free.

At the same time as agreeing upon compulsory education Darlington School Board had also agreed upon the payment of fees

for the needy. This caused religious problems at Darlington as it raised the question of what to do about the poor in Church Schools. There was great scope for local argument over religion, because apart from deciding that religious instruction in Board Schools should be undenominational, and including a 'conscience clause' enabling parents to withdraw their children from school worship and religious instruction, the Government had avoided clear-cut decisions on the religious questions. In Darlington there was every shade of opinion from Reverend Coll's 'education without religion is not worthy of the name', to Mr. Morrell's objections to any kind of payment which subsidised any religion. As a result the arguments raged throughout 1871 at School Board meetings, in the press, in Churches and Chapels, and at various special meetings. Deputation and counter deputation waited upon the Board with petitions for and against the payment of fees for poor children in Church Schools. Morrell went so far as to propose the rescinding of the compulsory clauses rather than paying fees to Denominational Schools, stating that,

"for much as I love education I love religious liberty infinitely more." 13

He also preempted the 1876 Education Act by saying in his opinion the payment of fees for poor children in Church Schools should be the responsibility of the Poor Law Guardians. The editorial of the [Darlington and Stockton Times](#) for 9th December, 1871, stated that Darlington School Board had 'stultified itself' and was

'floundering about', all for the sake of 35 children. At length, thanks to the benevolence of the Quaker Board members, a compromise was reached. If the fees of the poor children in Denominational Schools were paid by voluntary subscription, the Quakers pledged to meet all deficits until the end of 1872. This satisfied the opposing parties and the issue was quietly allowed to drop, with fees being paid in this way until 1876.

Although School Board elections were keenly contested on religious lines at Darlington, Board meetings themselves came to be marked by a spirit of compromise and harmony. There were differences of opinion, as with fees, but early on the diplomacy of Pease and Dale prevented much potential friction, and this example was generally followed by ensuing School Boards. Religious instruction in Board Schools, a potential source of friction, was dealt with amicably by Darlington School Board. The issue cut right across party lines with National Education League supporters uniting with staunch Denominationalists in opposing the colourless religious instruction of the Cowper Temple Clause. In 1872 a motion for Bible reading and undenominational religious instruction at Board Schools was passed. On other issues also voting within the School Board transcended party lines, reflecting the many shades of opinion to be found in the loose party groups. To assume that Church and Roman Catholic School Board members were always Conservative in politics and that Unsectarians were always Liberal would be wrong. At the time of the School Boards Conservative and Liberal were very imprecise terms. A member of a School Board might be Conservative on one issue and Liberal or Economical on another. When applied to
School Board politics Conservative and Denominational, Liberal and Unsectarian were not always synonymous. If the term Conservative is taken as support for economy and Voluntary Schools, then Denominational candidates tended towards this, just as if Liberal is taken to mean using the rates to build and equip more Board Schools, then Unsectarians tended towards this. However, there were exceptions. For example, at Darlington's first election Reverend Coll stood as a Roman Catholic and a Liberal, while Mr. J.H. Bowman was Wesleyan, Liberal-Conservative! This lack of hard and fast parties helped the harmony that developed on School Boards, and Darlington was a good example of this. Commenting on the Board's work the Darlington and Stockton Times said,

'The policy of the Boards has been conciliatory and consistent, and we do not know of any Board where the work has been done more harmoniously, more economically, nor where there has been greater earnestness exhibited in providing for the educational requirements of the town.'

This is not to say there was no friction. All but two Darlington School Board elections were fought along religious and political lines.

During the 1870s and 1880s Darlington was predominately a Liberal town with the Liberal, E. Backhouse (1868-1880), then the Liberal, Theodore Fry (1880-1895) as its Member of Parliament.

This was followed by a slight shift to the right with Arthur Pease

representing the town in Parliament as a Liberal-Unionist from 1895 to 1898, succeeded by H.P. Pease as a Unionist. A similar shift occurred on the School Board. The Liberal-Unsectarians won the first election and held the Board until 1883. In 1883 the Conservative-Denominationalists gained control and there followed three years of partisan struggling on the Board. After the 1886 election confirmed the Denominationalists in power the Liberals became more resigned to work with them, thus harmony gradually developed. The 1874 election was similar to that of 1871 when a proposed pact was again foiled by the inability of the Anglicans to agree, St. Cuthbert's being the intransigent parish on this occasion. The Church put forward five candidates and forced a contest, at which they gained three seats. In 1877 the same thing happened, but again there was no change in Church representation. In 1880, when the number of places on the School Board increased from nine to eleven, the Nonconformists offered the Anglicans one of the two extra seats in the vain hope of avoiding a contest. The latter party insisted on fielding two extra candidates, but their manoeuvring resulted in the failure of their most representative candidate and a Board of six Unsectarians, one Roman Catholic and four Churchmen.

'The Church party made a tactical error. Early in the afternoon, believing that Reverend Hodgson, Reverend Davies and Mr. Mountford had enough votes to secure their election, Church voters were instructed to divide all their votes between the other two Church candidates, Grace and Reed. As a result they lost their most representative member, Reverend Hodgson, Vicar of Darlington, who failed by 53 votes.
Cumulative vote electioneering was like speculation on the Stock Exchange.\textsuperscript{15}

Three years later, however, the Denominationalists managed to use the cumulative vote to gain control of the School Board. At the 1883 election the Anglicans united to make a determined effort to oust the Unsectarians, while at the same time the Roman Catholics decided to attempt to increase their representation as they had topped the poll at all the preceding elections. The four Church candidates and the two Roman Catholics were all successful, so they formed a majority against the five Unsectarians. The Roman Catholic candidates had attracted more voters than there were Catholics on the registers, so Anglican voters had still voted for them despite declamations against the 'unholy alliance'. In 1886 it was the turn of the Unsectarians to be unwilling to accept the status quo, and for the first time they forced a contest. They also adopted the practice, used by the Denominationalists at past elections, of accusing the ruling party of extravagance. J.G. Blumer, a Board member since 1877, prepared a long pamphlet attacking the Denominationalists. Entitled 'The Darlington School Board: Past Present and Future: A Retrospect and Review', it was prefaced by William Coor Parker, Board member since 1871, Vice Chairman 1874 to 1880 and Chairman 1880 to 1883. Published in 1885 this pamphlet declared that the Denominationalists only gained control of the Board through an alliance of the Church and the Roman Catholic.

Catholics, and by use of the cumulative vote. It argued that the Denominationalists were false economists and outlined the good work done by the Unsectarians during twelve years of Board control. It then went on to set out the Unsectarian manifesto for the coming election. This was in vain as the Denominationalists put forward only enough candidates to retain control, all of whom were elected to the Board in 1886.

In 1889 the Unsectarians accepted the situation and a contest was avoided. At the next two elections, in 1891 and 1894, the Unsectarians tried unsuccessfully to regain a majority on the School Board. A compromise was reached in 1897 and an election was once more avoided. In 1900 compromise was again attempted, but the Unsectarians were unable to agree amongst themselves who should be their candidates. The Wesleyans put forward their own candidate and a contest was forced. Once the election became unavoidable the Unsectarians suddenly decided that a new Board School was needed at Bank Top, and made this an election issue. This had not been demanded previously, and besides there was both a Voluntary School and a Board School nearby. The ensuing election made no change in the composition of the School Board, there being four Church, two Roman Catholic and five Unsectarian members, so the latter were foiled in their manoeuvres. It can be seen, therefore, that once the Denominationalists, especially the Anglicans, stopped disagreeing and put forward a united front they gained control of Darlington School Board, which they retained in face of the less united Unsectarians for the rest of its life, from
1883 to 1904. They were helped in this by careful use of the cumulative vote.

'Nearly three years ago, by the aid of the cumulative vote, a minority of the ratepayers of Darlington succeeded in placing a majority of Denominationalists on the Darlington School Board.'

This controversial method of voting had been conceded to Church and Catholic feelings as a sop after Sir Charles Dilke's proposal for a ratepayers franchise for all School Boards was incorporated in the 1870 Education Bill. The cumulative vote was enormously favourable to minorities, and was used to great advantage especially by Roman Catholics.

For the first four elections to Darlington School Board the Roman Catholics 'plumped' all their votes and their candidates, Coll 1871 and 1874, Turnerelli 1887 and Wade 1880, came top of the poll. Thereafter by 'plumping' their votes between two candidates they were able to elect both, not at the head of the poll, but still fairly high up. Thus, by casting their nine, then eleven, votes for the same one or two candidates the Roman Catholics were guaranteed representation on the School Board. On 8th January, 1877, the Echo printed an exercise to highlight the extent of the falsification of results by the cumulative vote.

16 'The Darlington School Board: Past Present and Future. A Retrospect and Review, by J.C. Blumer, (A Member of the Board), with Preface, by William Coor Parker, (Chairman of the Late Board)', (Darlington 1885) p. 3.

<table>
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<td>Rev. Turnerelli (R.C.)</td>
<td>1,223</td>
<td>3,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. King (Ch.)</td>
<td>1,160</td>
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<tr>
<td>W.A. Wooler (Ch.)</td>
<td>1,080</td>
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<tr>
<td>R. Luck (Ch.)</td>
<td>998</td>
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<tr>
<td>H. Brooks (U.)</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>2,361</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.G. Blumer (U.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>T. Fry (U.)</td>
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<td>W.C. Parker (U.)</td>
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<td>E. Hutchinson (Ch.)</td>
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<td>J.G. Grace (Ch.)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>309</td>
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In effect the Echo was arguing that the cumulative vote virtually turned the election results on their head, this being illustrated in the second column of their table. However, although there is no doubt that the cumulative voting system greatly benefitted minority groups, this is a somewhat exaggerated view as the 'plumpers' would probably have voted for candidates of similar views if they had not been allowed to cast several votes for one candidate.

18 Echo, 8.1.1877.
As was the case elsewhere it was not just the Denominationists who benefitted from manipulation of the voting system and election tactics. Denominationists also found cause for complaint.

'Under the machinery of the School Board system ... the most important interests of religious education are confided to bodies whose election depends upon the caprice of a popular election ... Power may pass from the people into the hands of men whose real design is to destroy the grand and beneficient system of Christian education which has been built up by the zeal and devotion of the Church.'

At Darlington the 1871 election had attracted 90 per cent of those eligible to vote, while only 58 per cent voted in 1874. The total Liberal vote decreased by 2,441, from 14,895 to 12,454. At the same time the Church's total decreased by only 151, from 8,657 to 8,506, and the Roman Catholic's by 740, from 4,841 to 4,101. Thus, the combined Denominationalist vote was 12,607, 153 more than that of the Unsectarians. If the Denominationalist votes had been distributed carefully they could have returned more candidates than the Unsectarians, but Anglican disunity and poor organisation allowed their vote to be spread widely and thinly with the top Denominationalist candidate gaining 4,101 votes and their bottom candidate only 52. In contrast the five Unsectarian candidates received a fairly even spread of the vote, the top candidate polling 2,882 votes and the bottom candidate 1,951, and all were successful. This was due to the fact that although their total vote had decreased, by careful organisation the Liberals used it to its best

19 Advertiser, 16.IV.1875.
Darlington School Board Election.
1883
NORTH-WEST WARD.

RATEPAYERS WHO DESIRE
RATES KEPT DOWN!
CHILDREN TAUGHT BIBLE TRUTHS!
NO EXTRAVAGANCE WITH PUBLIC MONEY!
VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS UPHELD! and

NO INSPECTOR!!!

VOTE FOR

The Voluntary & Economical Candidates,

AS FOLLOWS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO PLUMPERS.</th>
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<td>WILKINSON, Robert</td>
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It is absolutely necessary that the Burgesses desiring the Return of the
Voluntary and Economical Candidates should Mark their Voting Papers with
figures as above and NOT put a X or ANY OTHER MARK, or Writing thereon.

VOTERS who cannot read or write should ask the Presiding Officer at the Polling Booth
to Mark their Voting Paper for them.

The Polling Station for this Ward is at the KENDREW STREET SCHOOL
ROOM.

The Poll Opens at 9 a.m., and Closes at 4 p.m., on SATURDAY, the 6th day
of JANUARY, 1883. POLL EARLY.
advantage. Posters were printed and distributed amongst their supporters telling them exactly how to use their nine votes.

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<tr>
<th>WARDS</th>
<th>DALE</th>
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<th>KANE</th>
<th>MORRELL</th>
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It was not until later in the period that the Denominationalists overcame their disagreements and became better organised. For instance, in the 1900 election, at which all their candidates were returned, the Roman Catholics only had 69 votes between their top and bottom candidate and the Church 422, while the Unsectarians, now less united, had 2,114 votes separating their top and bottom candidates.

It was at Darlington's second School Board election that, by joining the highly organised alliance of Nonconformists and Independents, John Kane, who had learned something about politics from his experience three years earlier, was successfully returned as Darlington's first working-class candidate. This innovation of School Board elections, working-men being eligible to stand, was taken up more quickly by Darlington than either Durham or Jarrow, perhaps because of Kane's stature in the town. One of the best known of northern Trades Unionists, John Kane had worked his way

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20 Election Poster, Darlington Public Library (1874). See also Plate IX.
up to become the Secretary of the National Amalgamated Malleable Ironworkers' Association of Great Britain, a position of commanding influence among the industrial population. He was a pioneer of union among ironworkers in the North, and in 1862, after twenty years' work, the Union was formally established, with Kane being elected President the following year. After the strikes of the 1860s the Union's headquarters were moved to Darlington in 1868, and in 1869 Kane, 'regarded by the middle-class as a pestilent firebrand and dangerous agitator', was elected General Secretary. He also became the Operative Secretary of the Board of Arbitration in the North of England Iron Trade, a position which brought him into contact with David Dale, President of the Iron and Steel Institute. Kane now became an earnest champion of conciliation; what he had sought to gain by war he now pursued more successfully by peace. The aims were the same only the means were different, with Kane always working hard on behalf of the working-classes. Kane also became a member of the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee, served on the Working Men's International Peace Association and the Land and Labour League, as well as being on the committee of Darlington's Mechanics' Institute. At the General Election of 1874 he stood unsuccessfully as the Radical and Permissive Bill Candidate for Middlesbrough, polling 1,541 votes to the sitting Liberal Bolckow's 3,719. Perhaps Kane's new found 'respectability' as well as his dealings with Dale led Darlington's Unsectarians to endorse him so early and help in his election to the School Board.
Edward Trow, a successor to Kane as a working-class Board member, also stood unsuccessfully for Parliament, being the Labour nomination for Darlington in 1885. Like Kane he was involved in Union work, serving as Secretary to the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the Iron and Steel Trades of the North of England. Industrial Darlington's labour movement enthusiastically embraced the question of educating its supporters for more successful labour politics.

'The role of labour movements in relation to the provision of education under the School Boards was but one of a number of strands in the entire fabric of education and the working class ... The labour movement was involved in School Board politics through the struggle for working class representation and on a network of interrelated issues, such as welfare, adequate school provision and the payment of fees ... That they were not always successful at securing representation says more about the complex politico-religious climate of School Board activity, than of the relation of organised labour to formal educational issues.'21

At Darlington the working-class candidates were able to work with the Nonconformist religious groups and gain seats on the School Board. They were helped by support from the industrial population of the town, and by the calibre of their candidates who could appeal to the electorate as a whole. Men like Kane realised the value of education and by spelling this out he helped to persuade parents to send their children to school, arguing that they should be spared the ill-health that could be brought on by employment in the iron-works. By pointing out to parents that child labour

reduced adult wages, he added another dimension to the argument that children should be in school.

The other innovation of School Board elections which allowed women to stand was also used to advantage at Darlington. Unlike Durham and Jarrow where there were no women School Board members, Darlington had four - Mary Pease, Sophia Fry, Clara Lucas and Mrs. Marshall. Quaker influence greatly helped in the election of the first lady member, Mrs. Mary Pease, in 1883. A staunch Liberal, she had had the honour of being the first Mayoress of Darlington, her husband, Henry, holding the civic chair from 1867 to 1868. Mrs. Pease took great interest in the welfare of the poor and served on the Board of Guardians as well as the School Board. Darlington's longest serving lady member was also helped by Quaker influence. Sophia Matilda Fry, eldest daughter of Theodore Fry, was a Board member from 1891 until 1900, and on her resignation she was replaced 'not only by another Unsectarian, but by another woman, Mrs. Marshall'. This was because in replacing retiring or ineligible members Darlington School Board was guided by two principles, that the successor should represent the same interests as the member being replaced, or that he had been next highest on the poll at the last election. Both of these principles fitted in 1887 when T. French was chosen to replace J.G. Blumer. French was an Unsectarian like Blumer, and had been top of the list of unsuccessful candidates at the previous election. In its 1878 Annual Report Darlington School Board stated that in filling vacancies 'the Board was guided by the belief that the fair and
right course was to choose gentlemen who held substantially the same views as those who had retired'. The only conflict came in 1880 when the Unsectarian Theodore Fry resigned on becoming a Member of Parliament. The Unsectarians proposed J. Williamson as a replacement because he too was Unsectarian, but the Church proposed Reverend T. Hodgson on the grounds that he had come top of the list of unsuccessful candidates at the previous election. The Unsectarian majority on the Board prevailed, and its composition remained the same. Otherwise the policy of replacement worked amicably, as was the case with Mrs. Marshall who had never previously contested an election.

Not only was Darlington one of the few School Boards in the North East to have lady members, but it also had the distinction of having two ladies serving at the same time. Miss Clara Curtis Lucas joined Miss Fry on the Board from 1894 to 1897, and then served again from 1903 to 1904. Miss Lucas, who died at the age of sixty-five in 1919, was,

'a pioneer who advocated the woman's cause. She saw the fruit of her labour in the conferring of the Parliamentary vote on women and the opening of career avenues once closed.'

Miss Lucas had been Honorary Secretary of the Darlington Women's Liberal Association from 1882 to 1893, was active on behalf of the Temperance Movement and Women's Suffrage, and became Chairman of the Darlington Women's Suffrage Society. After her service on the School Board she was co-opted by the Town Council as a member of

22 _Echo_, 15.VI.1919.
the Education Committee on the formation of the new education authority. She served on this until 1910, then in 1915, having been returned as the first lady member for the new Darlington County Borough Council, resumed her duties on the Education Committee.

"In the whole of its first seventy-five years history Darlington Town Council had only one woman member, Miss Lucas." 23

Miss Lucas was indeed a pioneer, and along with the other women members of Darlington School Board she showed her sex how to use the political opportunities opened to them by the 1870 Elementary Education Act. These opportunities were not taken up at Durham or Jarrow, but they had no influential and wealthy Quaker families with their deep sense of public duty, nor did they have any strong-minded pioneers of the women's movement.

Miss Lucas was not the only member of Darlington School Board to move from work on the School Board to serving on the new education authority. As was the case in many areas, continuity was achieved during the transition period with certain members from the School Board also serving the infant Local Education Authority. Reverend H.E. Bilbrough, Board member since 1901, Reverend W.A. Rigby, Board member and Vice-Chairman since 1883, and Mr. W.A. Spafford, Board member from 1889 to 1897, all became members of Darlington Education Committee. The latter also became a member of the North Riding of Yorkshire Education Committee.

23 Darlington and Stockton Times, 5.XII.1942.
Alderman T.M. Barron, Alderman G.W. Bartlett and Mr. C.H. Leach all served the School Board and were then Town Council members of the Education Committee. Thomas Metcalfe Barron was for twelve years Chairman of the School Board, retiring in 1893, and was a member of the new education authority at its inception. On the Town Council from 1884, Barron was Mayor from 1890 to 1891, and elected as Alderman in 1894. George William Bartlett also served the School Board for twelve years. He was on the Town Council from 1880, being Mayor from 1893 to 1894, and elected as an Alderman in 1904. He was elected to Durham County Council in 1891, becoming a County Alderman in 1905, and was also a Justice of the Peace. Charles Henry Leach, another Justice of the Peace, served both the Board and the Town Council and was Mayor from 1904 to 1905. So, like Durham and Jarrow, there were strong links between the School Board and the Town Council at Darlington, with many eminent public men involved in the politics and service of both.

Perhaps two of the most famous Town Councillors to serve on the School Board were Henry Pease and Theodore Fry. As well as being the School Board's first Chairman, Henry Pease had also been Darlington's first Mayor on its incorporation in 1867. From 1857 until 1865 Pease had also been Member of Parliament for Durham South. That so eminent a man should serve on the School Board reflected the importance attributed to education in Darlington. Theodore Fry, created a Baronet in 1890, was on the School Board from 1874 to 1880, being Vice-Chairman in 1880. He also served the
Town Council, was Mayor from 1877 to 1878, was on the Board of Guardians and was Chairman of Darlington College of Female Teachers. He resigned from the School Board on becoming Member of Parliament for Darlington, a seat he held from 1880 to 1895. David Dale, another prominent Quaker, was Vice-Chairman of the first Board and Chairman of the next two. He was President of the Iron and Steel Institute, a Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant of County Durham and High Sherriff in 1888. He later served for six years as Chairman of the Education Committee of Durham County. Other members of these great Quaker families, notably Mary Pease and Sophia Fry, also gave good service to Darlington School Board, and here the town differed from both Durham and Jarrow in that it had these wealthy families to call upon.

School Board areas, especially small ones, sometimes had difficulty in finding candidates of the right calibre to stand for election, a problem never encountered at Darlington.

There were other Quaker families to call upon as well as members of the other large Nonconformist groups. Such people as Mr. W.C. Parker, Quaker, Mr. J. Morrell, Congregationalist, and Mr. J. Todd, Primitive Methodist also served the Board well. On the other side of the fence were prominent Anglicans such as Mr. H.J. Grieveson and Roman Catholics like Mr. G. Webster. Like elsewhere, of course, there was strong clerical influence on all of the School Boards for Darlington, especially from the Denominationalists who were keen to protect their interests from the encroachments of 'Godless education'. Clergymen had some knowledge
of education through Voluntary and Sunday Schools and were aware of the needs of the poor in their parishes. For these reasons they stood for election to School Boards, but their over-riding concern was the protection of their own schools and as the period progressed and Board Schools made greater inroads into education this concern grew. It was this concern which united the Anglicans and Roman Catholics in their efforts to gain control of the School Board in 1883. At a meeting of the Church Party in January 1883,

'R.G. Davis in the Chair said that he was anxious for Voluntary Schools because the education they gave was religious as well as secular. But the schools under the School Board were also as much their property as that of any of the ratepayers, though the other party were in the habit of looking at them as their property. On the management of the Albert Road and Gurney Pease Schools, now that he was no longer on the Board, there was not a single Churchman.'

So, the Denominationalists were not only concerned with looking after their own schools, but also wanted a say in the running of the Board Schools. Through careful organisation the supporters of Voluntary Schools were victorious at the election, four Churchmen and two Roman Catholics being returned as opposed to five Unsectarians, and this remained the composition of the Board for the rest of its existence. The Denominationalists, however, used their power to work for the educational good of the town as well as to protect their own schools. The Roman Catholic Reverend William Augustine Rigby, who served as Vice-Chairman from 1883 to 1904, worked for the good of all, taking a deep interest in education.

24 Echo, 1.I.1883.
and being greatly esteemed by his colleagues. Like one of his predecessors, Reverend Coll,

'whilst watching the cause of those who particularly supported him, he (was) at the same time willing to join with members of any denomination to forward the common object for which they were appointed.'

Other clerics were equally hard working in the cause of education. Reverend W.H.G. Stephens and Reverend A.H. Hughes were two Anglican clerics who gave good service on the first two Boards, while Reverend H.E. Bilbrough served on the final Board and also on the new Education Committee. Bilbrough came to Darlington from South Shields in 1897, to take over as Vicar of St. John's. He had been a member of South Shields School Board from 1895 to 1897 so was well suited to serve on Darlington's Board. He had a distinguished career in the Church, being appointed Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham in 1901, and becoming Bishop of Newcastle in 1927.

Darlington, then, was a good example of a School Board which attracted the most able men of the area to stand for election. Powerful and wealthy Quakers, eminent Churchmen, prominent Trades Unionists and articulate women stood alongside humble iron-workers and gardeners for seats on the Board. School Boards provided something of a practice ground for those wishing to participate in urban politics, while at the same time focussing interest and attention on education. Once the elections were over the members

26 Echo, 5.XII.1870.
had to get down to the business of dealing with the educational problems of their area. At Darlington, as was often the case elsewhere, this led to compromise, co-operation and a better understanding of each group and class by the other. Just as David Dale came to respect John Kane during the meetings of the Board of Arbitration in the North of England Iron Trade, so much so that he was willing to help this erstwhile agitator in his School Board election, so Darlington School Board members came to know and respect each other at School Board meetings. They were thus educated into the ways of each other, while at the same time furthering the development of education in the town.
CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION. THE LEGACY OF SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS
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School Board elections should be looked at as part of the wider spectrum of urban politics rather than in isolation. These elections had an effect upon society as a whole, not just on education, being one aspect in the progress of democracy. The 1870 Education Act gave many people the opportunity to participate directly in politics, some of whom had never had this opportunity before. At the same time School Board elections brought together men and women of different faiths, different political outlooks, and different social classes. While these people were working together in the name of education, understanding, toleration and co-operation were gradually fostered. This co-operation at local level influenced events at national level, bringing about legislation, such as the 1897 Voluntary Schools Act. The Government was also influenced by certain aspects of the work of local School Boards, and some progressive Boards helped to bring about educational changes, like compulsory measures and free education. Unfortunately for those who believed in the School Board system, many of the people who were elected to the Boards went too far for certain influential members of Government circles. The permissive powers granted under the 1870 Education Act were used to encroach upon the middle-class domain of secondary education, and the illegality of this was used as one excuse to replace School Boards with Local Education Authorities in 1902. By this time School
Boards, however progressive, could be superseded by the new local authorities as these were universal, whereas in 1870 it had been necessary to create ad hoc authorities for education. The 1902 Education Act put education into the hands of fewer bodies, but, instead of purely educational Boards, local education was henceforth to be administered by large multi-purpose authorities. Whether this was an improvement or a retrograde step is debatable, but it is to the School Boards' credit, and to those elected to them, that by the close of the nineteenth century these novel creations had carried out the demands of the National Education League. They had also widened educational opportunities, and had focused widespread interest and attention on education for the first time.

The nineteenth century saw the beginnings in England and Wales of what has later been termed the Welfare State. Legislation was used to benefit the poor even at some sacrifice of individual freedom. The Factory Acts were the first of a series of laws in which the State began to act paternally, while social legislation, such as the Labour Laws of 1871 and 1875 guaranteeing union rights and peaceful picketing, helped the progress of democracy. The poor were also helped by reforms in public health and sanitation and attempts to provide better working-class housing. Along with these went the favourable moves in the field of education for the poor, especially primary education. The main progress of democracy was felt in the realm of politics with the reforms of the electoral system in 1832, 1867 and 1884. These were reinforced by
the introduction of the ballot in 1872 and the election of local authorities, County Councils and County Borough Councils in 1888 and Parish Councils in 1894. The creation of directly elected School Boards was part of this same process.

'Democratization also made headway at local level. Self-government on the elective principle had up to then only existed for large towns (since 1835). This was extended to the counties in 1888 and to all urban and rural districts in 1894. From then onwards elected representatives ... managed the very large field of local affairs, including in particular health, the police and sanitation and, after 1902, education.'

Between 1870 and 1902 education had already been managed in many areas by elected representatives, these being elected solely to deal with education. School Boards were an innovation of the 1870 Education Act which opened the field of politics to many people hitherto unable to participate, being part of the general widening of the franchise. In 1832 The First Reform Act was passed, then the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 gave 184 boroughs an elected government, albeit only by ratepayers of substance. After the 1867 Reform Act even more workers became involved in urban politics, with working-class organisations becoming more vocal and active in urban areas. To this growing number of workers with parliamentary and municipal votes, the 1870 Education Act added a further element. Unlike Town Councils which demanded a property qualification, School Boards were open to all on the electoral roll, so the working-classes could exercise some parochial control over educational policy, something removed in 1902, and this was taken up with alacrity.

The number of working-class members on School Boards tended to increase as the period wore on, facilitated by meetings outside of working hours and sponsorship by Trades Councils or other workers' organisations, like the Yorkshire Miners' Association. Workers grew more politically conscious as well as becoming more aware of the benefits of education. There were strong links between School Boards and Town Councils with many people serving on both, examples from the North East working-classes being Thomas Gibb, Oliver Duffell, Zephaniah Harris and Robert Hauxwell. Country areas, however, were still in the majority of cases under the rule of the priest and the squire. The turning point came with the 1884 Reform Act, which extended the franchise to rural smallholders, making it no longer possible for rural Conservative squires and priests to resist reform. Though still denied a voice in local affairs, except on School Boards where these existed, rural workers at last had a lever on the national political scene. This influenced the Local Government Act of 1888, providing for representative County Councils as well as sixty-one County Borough Councils. These took over financial and administrative functions for their areas except for the police, the poor law and education. Thus local administration was greatly facilitated, and after 1902 these bodies were to take over education as Local Education Authorities, multi-purpose authorities having made ad hoc boards such as Boards of Guardians and School Boards less necessary.

During their existence School Boards had broken the monopoly of Denominationalists upon education. One of the major effects of
School Board elections was the opening up of opportunities in educational matters for all sorts of people not connected with the Churches. Prior to 1870 the Churches had for many years been the main providers of education for the poor, as well as the prime-movers in any educational progress. The 1870 Education Act envisaged a growing and flexible system of education, and by bringing more and more different people into contact both with education and each other, interest and opportunities in education were greatly stimulated. Although, as can be seen from Durham, Jarrow and Darlington the clergy in many cases continued to have a strong hold on education, 1870 saw the beginning of what was to result in the Churches accepting a less dominant role. Encroachments upon the Denominationalists' hold on education, especially that of the Anglicans, was part of the conflict between Church and Dissent which was fundamental to the political arena for most of the nineteenth century. This battle was fought at many different levels in political life and political controversies were continually embittered by tensions which were really religious. Educationally this occurred on a national scale during the debate over the Education Bill in 1870. Once this became law then these politico-religious controversies were transferred to the local arena.

'Urban society, so dominated by Dissent, was an obvious setting for these religious conflicts which underlay so much of the political development of towns in the mid nineteenth century. Urban political leaders saw religious grievances as vitally important motivation for political action, and the redress of these grievances was a long-standing popular political ambition.'

Denominationalists found themselves very much on the defensive and attempted to justify their existence through moral reform and social usefulness. There was a belief that by developing qualities of social citizenship the moral growth of the nation and the process of civilisation would be promoted. The Churches believed that they should be the ones to do this. One method of achieving this end was through education so the Churches wanted to maintain and strengthen their hold on the education of the poor. Nonconformists, believing that Forster's Act had not gone far enough, resolved to try to wrest education from the control of the Churches. This now had to be done locally and the result was bitter sectarian conflict at School Board elections.

Denominationalists found it easier to maintain control in rural areas, with the local clergy either able to prevent a School Board altogether, or, failing this, to become Board members and thus be able to protect their Voluntary Schools. It was more difficult to maintain control in urban areas where Nonconformists used the full potential of the political system - the polling booth, the political platform, Parliament, the Town Council, the Board of Guardians and the School Board - to pursue their ambition of redressing religious grievances. Urban growth had resulted in a shift in the balance between the town and the country, with large towns and cities becoming the characteristic environment of modern man. Along with this rapid growth of industrial towns in the first half of the nineteenth century came various urban ills and problems. Education was seen as one way of combating these.
'It was urgently necessary, according to one group of educational reformers, to develop a form of schooling that would facilitate the adaptation of children to the conditions of working and living in cities, making for a more effective urban life by contributing to the physical health and economic well-being of future citizens.'

Town Councils, later supplemented by School Boards, were a governmental response to the enormous problem of controlling and organizing vast urban populations of unprecedented scale. It was for the control of this palliative education that the Denominationalists and the Nonconformists battled during School Board elections. The Churches saw themselves as the rightful providers of education for the poor, because they had been doing this for so long already. They wished to protect their vested interests, retain control of the nation's poor and prevent the spread of 'Godless' secular education. The Nonconformists, on the other hand, believed that the 1870 Education Act did not go far enough, wishing to extend it from merely being,

'\textit{the least possible with (its) rickety framework of permissive Boards and permissive compulsion.}'

This permissiveness had been introduced into the Act by design so as to promote the gradual advance of education. It introduced the means by which universal education could be achieved, being one of steps in the movement of progressive social legislation. Nonconformists determined to use it to the full in order to achieve their

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aims of universal, free, compulsory and secular education. The participation of many Nonconformists in education was made possible by the creation of School Boards, these being part of the variegated political structure through which the social and political horizons of large numbers of people were widened.

Built in to the School Board system were certain factors which led to an accelerating concern with education. The Boards themselves were directly elected so the parents of the children who would use Board Schools were immediately involved in the developing system. Parents were enabled to use their voices, by voting at School Board elections and standing as candidates, to influence the educational development in their locality. Even though there were strong financial restraints School Boards had scope to make advances. Progressive Boards, generally dominated by Nonconformists and found in urban areas, thrust upwards extremely rapidly. The pace-setter among School Boards was that of London, set up by a Special Act of Parliament, since the problems in the capital were considered to be unique. London School Board's lead was followed by many others when establishing policy, its Religious Instruction Scheme, for example, being copied by numerous Boards, Darlington included. Famous men and women, such as Baron Lawrence, ex-Viceroy of India, Emily Davies, a pioneer of women's education, Thomas Huxley, the scientist, and Sidney Webb of the Fabian Society, did not consider themselves above standing for election to and participating in the work of this Board. Their example was followed elsewhere. In North East England, the Dales, Fry's and Peases of Darlington; the
Palmers at Heworth; Bell and Wilson in Middlesbrough; Boyd and Rowlandson at Durham, and Coote and Richardson of Jarrow, being cases in point. London School Board was quickly in the forefront of educational advance, one instance being its methods of training pupil teachers, and others quickly followed suit. From the start of the School Board period progressive Boards, like Sheffield and Bradford, moved into the realms of post-elementary education, setting up Higher Grade Schools and the like, with the deliberate intention of filling the gap between what School Boards provided in terms of elementary education and the new colleges in provincial cities, like Firth College, Sheffield. So, from the very start School Board members showed their intention of building up an organic system of education and providing an educational ladder to widen the opportunities of the poor.

At Jarrow Alderman Richardson spoke of creating a path from the Board School to the University, and he was instrumental in the opening of Jarrow Higher Grade School towards this end. Darlington made provision for senior pupils at Beaumont Street, while Durham sent its senior pupils to Central Classes. This progress did not always come easily. The issue of a Higher Grade School dominated the two School Board Elections of 1883 and 1886 at Jarrow before it was resolved. This was partly because Denominationalists believed they had a duty to fight rearguard actions to defend the Voluntary Schools, which were increasingly threatened by Board Schools with their never-ending recourse to the rates. Bigger and better schools like Higher Grade Schools increasingly induced children away from
impoverished Voluntary Schools, thus adding to their impoverishment by taking away much needed fees. This rivalry between Voluntary and Board supporters manifested itself at School Board elections. It was natural for the Churches to try to protect their vested interests as they quickly realised that Board Schools, with their guaranteed large resources, would prove strong competitors. This opposition by Denominationalists, however, was not merely jealousy. One of the most terrible facts which confronted Churchmen as the period progressed was that even if all Voluntary Schools were put on an equal footing with Board Schools, School Boards would still hold wide possession of the elementary schools in nearly all the great centres of industry, commerce and intelligence. Many Churchmen regarded Board Schools as a positive evil rather than an encroachment. As a result School Board elections often became bitter religious contests.

Education was used as one of the battlegrounds of the great religious controversies which shook the country from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

'Dissenters against the Established Church, champions of secular as against religious education, Catholics against Protestants, Latitudinarians against Fundamentalists. Every shade of opinion, every cause was involved in the semi-political, semi-theological battle between Churches, sects, pressure groups and political parties.'

The struggle between these opposing forces took place firstly on a national scale, during the period up to the 1870 Education Act, and

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then at local level, during the School Board period. The educational strength of the Churches, especially the Anglican Church, had evolved during the agricultural revolution and lay in small village schools. The growth of large towns and cities threatened this and the Church was losing its influence. Nonconformist dissenting bodies in these urban areas posed threats to Denominational education. These bodies favoured universal secular education as more impartial, more effective and more free from clerical influence. By 1870 these two forces had crystallised into the Denominationalist National Education Union and the Nonconformist National Education League.

During the late 1860s urban politics were characterised by disputes between the League and the Union as each sought to impress Parliament with the public support for its policies. The battle to gain this support was fierce, as the nature of Forster's Bill would depend somewhat on his assessment of the relative strength of the two bodies. The Union made great capital of the League's desire to run down Voluntary Schools, while the League itself was not altogether clear as to what should happen to existing elementary schools. Their hope that a comprehensive State system would supersede them was not fulfilled by W.E. Forster, whose declared aim was not to replace but only to supplement existing provision. In this respect, as in many others, the 1870 Education Act was a victory for the National Education Union. After 1870 the conflict was switched from Parliament, not as some expected to Town Councils, but to the directly elected School Boards.
Sectarian rivalry became part and parcel of many School Board elections, with Nonconformists and Denominationalists fighting for their educational and religious ends in order to claim those children unattached to either side. The League's strategy became one of using the political power of School Boards to put their principles into practice, while supporters of the Union opposed and delayed the establishment of Boards, and then strove for representation on them in order to use their political power to protect Voluntary Schools and delay or prevent the building of Board Schools. The 1870 Education Act may have appeared to be a Nonconformist defeat, but George Dixon among others realised that it offered the means by which the adoption of the principles of the League could be achieved in time. Issues of educational policy politicised School Boards and they became instruments of popular participation and control.

By leaving decisions over religious education and compulsory education to School Boards Forster had hoped to minimise the controversy over these issues. Instead, however, the problem was merely transferred, with local friction between Denominationalists and Nonconformists at School Board elections long after the national furore surrounding the Act's passage had passed.

"I am sorry to say that the election turns almost entirely upon politics or upon religion, and not sufficiently upon education; that is the thing I complain of in the system."6

6 Cross (Vol. III) p. 66.
During early School Board debates at Durham Nonconformists were accused of trying to oust the Voluntary Schools.

'The most important interests of religious education are confided to bodies whose election depends upon the caprice of a popular election, which may be influenced by the most unworthy personal and party motives ... Under the machinery of the School Board system ... power may pass from the people into the hands of men whose real design is to destroy the grand and beneficent system of Christian education which has been built up by the zeal and devotion of the Church, and to rear upon its ruins a system of Godless secular education.'

Nonconformists countered with accusations of 'indoctrination' and 'dogmatism'. They saw the Denominationalists trying to capture Board Schools for their own narrow sectarian ends, with School Boards controlled by Denominationalists being able to teach their own dogma in schools provided out of the rates. There were social, political and economic motives behind the educational reforms implemented in 1870, but the question which concerned everyone was religion.

The demand for control of education by the Churches sprang from the early nature of the educational movement in which Sunday Schools and Ragged Schools led the way. Voluntary Schools followed, and the religious bodies which ran these and had secured some control over education expected to maintain, and even in some cases extend, this control. This attitude caused most of the controversy in education during the second half of the nineteenth century, much of which manifested itself at School Board elections. School Boards

7 Advertiser, 16.IV.1875.
flourished mainly in cities and urban districts and religion be­
devilled this branch of urban politics, because as Lord Salisbury
exhorted Anglicans,

"It is your business to capture the Board Schools - to capture them in the first instance, under the existing law, and then ... under a better law which shall place you under no religious disability ... And, intermediately, we must do all we can to streng­then the Voluntary Schools, and to swell the resources on which they rest."\(^8\)

This controversy naturally heightened when Salisbury became Prime
Minister in July 1895, and came to a head on a national scale at
the time of the 1902 Education Act. An interesting characteristic
of School Boards was that even where controversy still reigned
during elections, as the period wore on there was a gradual move
towards co-operation and compromise upon the Boards themselves.

The people who served upon School Boards came to realise that
the other members, although with different beliefs, were not
altogether greatly different to themselves. They too were men and
women with strong religious convictions, but also with a belief in
the education of the poor. They might differ in their views as to
how this should be achieved, but in many instances they were
reasonable people, willing to compromise for progress. Neither
side was prepared to give up completely, but gradually the other's
point of view was seen and understood. A certain amount of relig­
ious toleration was thus promoted by the coming together on School
Boards of people with different religious beliefs. At the turn of

\(^8\) Times, 13.VI.1895, quoted in: Alan Rogers, 'Churches and
Children: A Study in the Controversy Over the 1902 Education
Act', B.J.E.S. (Vol. VIII, No. 1, November 1959) p. 36.
the century real harmony did exist in many parts of the country, with inter-denominational co-operation certainly much more widespread than the rival protagonists were prepared to admit. At Buckhurst Hill, Essex, all the boys went to the Board School while all the girls attended the Voluntary School. Wimbledon had a Voluntary School Committee consisting of six Anglicans and five non-Anglicans, which supervised three large Church of England schools and four undenominational ones without raising any religious difficulties. In Nottingham both main parties took a moderate line so the political and sectarian controversy never reached the pitch it did in some large towns. Once the election excitement was over the two parties co-operated. For example, the scheme of education drawn up by the Denominational-dominated first Board was accepted without dispute by the Nonconformists, and the practice evolved of having the religious work of the schools inspected in alternate years by Anglican and Dissenting clergymen.9

This kind of harmony can also be found in North East England, Gateshead School Board being a good example. At Durham the School Board agreed quickly upon religious instruction and worked harmoniously together, so much so that only three elections were contested. Even on hotly contested Boards such as Jarrow by 1902 much of the religious bitterness had receded into the background. Latterly elections, when contested, were fought over educational

provision or over personalities. Once elected Board members got on with the task of providing education. School Boards themselves deserve some of the credit for removing the heat from the religious controversy as few acted in an extreme manner. Not many followed Birmingham's example of banning anything remotely connected with religion, while there were few cases of blatant dogmatism. Rather, the men and women of different faiths, brought together by being elected onto School Boards, usually found ways of working together to promote the education of the poor, which after all was their raison d'être. As well as fostering co-operation, understanding and toleration between people of different faiths, School Boards brought together people from different social classes and of the opposite sex, and promoted understanding amongst these.

The 1870 Education Act opened the door for the working-classes and women to be introduced to political life, something that was to contribute to the eventual rise of the Labour Party and to the emancipation of women. For the first time working-men could vote for representatives within their own ranks and women could appeal for election to political office. Examples of working-class and women School Board members can be found throughout the country, some of whom, like Ben Turner and Margaret McMillan, were prominent in other ways. In North East England few Boards had women members, Stockton, Gateshead and Darlington being three of the exceptions. Darlington was well-served by Mary Pease, Sophia Fry, Mildred Marshall and Clara Lucas, the latter pioneering women's rights and being the only woman to sit on Darlington Town Council in its first
seventy-five years of existence. As to the working-classes many stood for election in the North East, it being an industrial area. Miners, engineers, ironworkers, rollers, checkweighmen and so on served on School Boards. Some, like John Kane and Oliver Duffell, were also prominent in other ways, while others, like John Simpson and Zephaniah Harris, went on to serve the new Local Education Authorities. Alongside these were Board members from the rich and prominent families of the area, so each had to learn to understand the ways of life of people on different levels of the social scale. Men also had to recognise the managerial and committee capacities of women. Thus the members of School Boards themselves were educated.

Once elected these diverse people had to implement the 1870 Education Act. Some sections of this were clear cut, others were vague and undefined, with many being permissive, thus giving School Board members scope for improvisation. To their credit they used this. Within twenty years or so elementary education became universally compulsory and virtually free. School Boards filled the gaps in elementary education as intended, but at the same time reached out into the sphere of secondary education. By using their permissive powers to the full progressive School Boards not only instituted efficient education in their areas, but also pushed Central Government into action by their lead on matters like compulsion and free education.

'With the help of later supporting legislation, the 1870 Act covered the country with good schools and got parents to send their children to them. School
Boards were able to do this by raising a local rate to set up schools and by making bye-laws for attendance ... The significance of this was the provision of a place for every child, safeguarded by a framework which in ten years was to lead to universal compulsory attendance.10

It was also significant that School Boards did more than just fill the gaps and provide an elementary school place for everyone who needed one. Many advances in educational provision and practice were initiated by independent School Boards, often in the face of opposition from the Education Department. School Boards, particularly in urban areas, became the interest of radicals and vehicles of much democratic educational progress. A willingness to exercise independent choice was shown by many Boards which developed facilities not required by the Education Department. Their first task was to provide places for all children, from the 'street arab' up to the 'respectable working class'.

'Let it be the aim of government to sweep the streets of our large towns, and gather in those neglected dirt begrimed arabs whose dense ignorance is the shame of our civilisation, and prevent them from growing up with minds as dark as the untutored savages ... Let it see that no child shall be defrauded of its right to a fair start in life through the criminal neglect or pauperised condition of its parents.'11

The elementary schools providing these places were to teach the rudiments needed for performing the basic tasks of an industrial


society. However, many School Boards went further than this. After election School Board members went into the schools and had direct contact with the poor, many for the first time. They were able to witness at first hand the depths of real ignorance and poverty, which they tried to alleviate through education. Progressive School Boards tried to provide as wide and as long an education as possible, being encouraged in this by the permissive legislation of 1870.

Definitions of the child and of elementary education were omitted from the 1870 Education Act, as were directions as to the type of religious instruction to be taught. The latter caused controversy, but the former enabled progressive Boards like Birmingham, Bradford and Jarrow to make a decisive contribution to the education and welfare of the poor. The curriculum was widened, post-elementary education was provided, and at the same time other services were initiated by School Boards. School Boards were part of the strand of Victorian urban society which included workhouses, ragged schools and innumerable charities, all for the amelioration of the poor. By setting up schools for the poor School Boards rendered ragged schools and workhouse schools less necessary. As fees were lowered or abolished ragged school children gradually came into Board Schools. At the same time many areas were trying to remove children from the workhouse environment. Sheffield initiated a 'scattered homes' policy after 1893, with systems of family units under foster parents. Other areas followed the Scottish example of boarding out children with working-class
families, and these children would then go to local elementary schools. School Boards also contributed to an improvement in the health of the young through medical agencies and the provision of food. The first classes for mentally handicapped children were established by Leicester School Board before an Act of 1892 granted permissive powers to all Boards to provide such classes. Sheffield set up a school for the blind, then in 1893 the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act made it a duty for all school authorities to ensure that blind children received suitable education. Medical inspection began when London School Board appointed a medical officer to report on the air-space and ventilation of schoolrooms in 1890. He was also to examine mentally defective children. In 1893 Bradford went a stage further by organising the medical inspection of all children, and for many years pioneered medical services. Margaret McMillan was instrumental in this work whereby the first medical officer of health to be concerned with the personal health of each child was appointed.

This eventually led to the 1907 Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, lobbied for by Margaret McMillan, doctors and medical officers, empowering Local Education Authorities to provide medical inspection and treatment. Individual initiatives by medical officers also helped in the reduction of the infantile death-rate, through the establishment of Infants' Welfare Centres and the institution of health visitors to advise poor mothers on child rearing. The great strides made in sanitation and public health after the Report of the Royal Sanitary Commission in 1871 greatly
helped in the reduction of infant mortality and the eradication of preventable diseases. Children in urban districts grew up in a far less healthy environment than their rural counterparts. Education and other services provided by School Boards tried to counteract this, while Public Health Legislation (1872 and 1875) created sanitary districts with medical officers and specified the duties of these new authorities. Both were part of the collectivist approach of this period, and together they contributed to improvements in the welfare of children.

Nutrition was another aspect of children's health to which School Boards made a contribution. As well as becoming involved with the training of teachers, central classes, evening school work, the education of handicapped (blind, deaf, dumb, feeble-minded) children, the curbing of child employment and the protection of children from exploitation, Birmingham School Board introduced school dinners in 1884 and then, in some cases, breakfasts too. Rouzden, a Devonshire village, provided cheap meals and other School Boards followed these examples. This initiative helped bring about the 1906 Provision of Meals Act inaugurating the Schools Meals Service. The body needed to be nourished so that the brain could be fed. The welfare of poor children could be attended to because their needs were seen by the people elected on to School Boards who visited schools and saw the children for themselves. This was helped by getting deprived children into the schools. School Boards which had anticipated free education, made possible by the 1891 Act, by remitting fees for the poor, and Boards which allowed free
education in times of difficulty, such as Bearpark during the 1877 mining slump, made it easier for parents to send their children to school. Improved attendance was another aspect which helped child welfare, and here again local School Boards anticipated Central Government. The needs of the children could be discovered and dealt with if the children attended school. Universal compulsion came gradually through Sandon's and Mundella's Acts, but progressive Boards like Jarrow and Darlington introduced compulsion at the outset by putting the onus of sending children to school firmly on the parents.

These adjuncts of education were all initiated by people on locally elected School Boards, and by allowing local control the 1870 Education Act helped to make obtrusions into people's lives, such as the initial introduction of compulsory education, more acceptable. The Taunton Commission had supported the view that local control would facilitate the acceptance of State intervention in education, and School Boards provided the link between the ideas of State responsibility for and recognition of a public system of education. Being democratically elected these Boards represented a new source of political power and were prepared to use it. Large, wealthy School Boards, in predominantly urban areas, quickly started taking their own decisions and readily criticised decisions of the Education Department. School Boards could make their views heard both individually and collectively, and thus advance the educational cause. The detailed guidance of the Codified Minutes of the Education Department, the Code which controlled the elementary school
curriculum, was restrictive, but those School Boards which could afford to raise the necessary rate were able to expand their teaching beyond the limits of the Code, thus weakening its influence. By the 1880s the Code divided the elementary curriculum into two parts, obligatory and optional subjects. The former were the 3Rs; the latter consisted of class subjects, like geography, history and plain needlework, which could be taken throughout the school above Standard I, with the whole class assessed for grant, and specific subjects, like science, which were assessed individually and could only be taken above Standard IV. Many School Boards were quick to take advantage of this; Nottingham's curriculum expanded to include science, practical cookery, manual work and a wide range of academic subjects, Durham, Jarrow and Darlington School Boards all introduced new subjects, like science, history and geography.

School Boards were also forging ahead with building projects. London far exceeded all with 343 permanent schools, 22 schools transferred by the Denominations and 26 temporary schools. In 1904 The Daily Telegraph stated,

'London owes much to the London School Board. It has not had quite thirty four years of life, and in that time elementary education in the Metropolis has been entirely transformed. Before the School Board came into being, only one third of the children of London received any elementary education at all; now practically all the 800,000 of school age came within the educational net. This is a great result, and the Board deserves the highest credit for so vast an accomplishment. For the education imparted steadily improved and widened in scope until it was found that the frontiers laid down by the Act of 1870 were being left far behind.'

Other Boards did the same, but this 'crossing of frontiers' was eventually to lead to their downfall. At Bradford 25 schools were built in fifteen years, raising the average attendance to nearly 8,000. Leeds erected 43 new buildings, Manchester had 57 schools and 139 departments in other buildings, while Nottingham's 94 Board Departments housed 28,546 by 1904. School accommodation at Jarrow grew from 1,344 places in 1871 to 10,794 by 1892, with average attendance rising from thirty-four to eighty-three per cent. Only in large towns where the Denominationalists were all powerful, like Liverpool, or in small rural areas where the Board was dominated by the clergy or squire, like Norton, near Stockton, or in a unique city like Durham, where the needs were mainly met by voluntary provision, was progress less impressive. Liverpool only built 15 Board Schools, while Durham only needed two small infant schools. Rural School Boards like Norton and Middleton St. George often helped Voluntary Schools at the expense of Board Schools. Some Boards had to be pushed by the Education Department to reach reasonable standards, dilatoriness in framing attendance bye-laws being an example of their transgressions.

Generally, however, attendance improved dramatically and this along with the expansion of accommodation had a great effect upon the rate of illiteracy. In 1871 19.4 per cent of men and 26.8 per cent of women signed the marriage registers with a mark. By 1891 this had dropped to 6.4 per cent of men and 7.3 per cent of women; six years later it had come down to only 3 per cent. One reflection of this greater literacy was a growing demand for newspapers.
The rise of the provincial press took place between 1870 and 1890, and of the evening press from 1880. There was also more demand for technical instruction now more possible with greater literacy. Prior to the establishment of the Board of Education in 1899, the main source of State provision in the technical field below degree level was the Department of Science and Art. This, along with the Board of Trade, encouraged the formation of Organised Science Schools for older pupils, after 1870. In 1885 there were 3 such schools, in 1896, 125, and by 1901, 212. At the same time some Grammar Schools began offering scholarships to the more able pupils of elementary schools. These two avenues of post-elementary education were supplemented by some larger School Boards, especially in industrial areas, opening Central Schools where older pupils could continue their education through practical courses linked with local industries. In 1877 Nottingham opened the first Organised Science School, Sheffield followed with a Higher Central School in 1878, then Bradford opened the first Higher Grade School in 1884. Similar schools were developed in areas like London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds and Jarrow.

The biggest rate of increase in the numbers earning grants from the Department of Science and Art occurred in the mid and late 1880s, being largely due to the rise of science teaching in post-elementary schools. Higher Grade and Organised Science Schools rapidly multiplied, while Grammar Schools, especially in industrial areas, also received assistance. In fact the Department of Science and Art was the only Department to aid both elementary and secondary
education. There was a good deal of toleration from official circles as it was felt that only the exceptional working-class child could benefit from secondary or further education. The Education Department saw post-elementary education in a similar light as the institution of services like school meals and medical inspection, being prepared to let School Boards take the initiative. However, when necessary the Education Department could dominate; for example, under its pressure the hours of work of pupil teachers were reduced and the starting age raised. Generally the power to declare a School Board in default was sparingly used. School Boards were thus able to develop education beyond the elementary stage, and as standards of literacy were raised more and more artisans profited from a system by which poor children could rise from elementary schools to high positions in commerce, industry and scholarship. By 1895 there were 60 Higher Grade Schools outside London, mainly concentrated in large towns and cities of the North and Midlands, representing an educational movement from below and the demand of new classes of the population for secondary education. This engendered financial problems, for if technical education for artisans was to expand new forms of finance had to be found. From 1870 the Devonshire Commission had been considering the question of technical instruction, bringing attention to the problem of instruction for artisans. In 1880 the City of Guilds of London Institute was incorporated to help with the finance of this. The Technical Instruction Act of 1889, allowing a penny rate to be levied for technical instruction, gave further aid, and the following year under
the Local Taxation Act, 'Whisky Money' became a further source of income. Areas like Jarrow used these means to expand educational opportunities for the working-classes.

This upward thrust of elementary education became a major element in the 1902 Education Act, which abolished School Boards and ended local zeal in educational progress for a time. Some School Boards had literally done too well. By promoting the expansion of elementary education to, and beyond, the limit they aroused the fears of some administrators and educationalists. The spread of popular education had induced a certain amount of democratisation and opened up educational and political opportunities for the working-classes. However, the middle-classes still firmly held the reins of power in most areas, and thus controlled the structure of teaching. The encroachment of School Boards into the sacrosanct middle-class field of secondary education threatened this control, so measures were taken to offset this. There was an overlap between the manual and technical instruction provided by Counties and Boroughs and the post-elementary education which School Boards were providing with doubtful legality. This School Board initiative was outside the scope of public education authorities and so could not be legally financed from public funds. Believing that these ad hoc bodies were not capable of providing and administering secondary education, Robert Morant and his colleagues used this unlawful expenditure of funds as one of the excuses for the abolition of School Boards by the 1902 Education Act. Eaglesham asks,
'Ought School Boards and teachers to have awaited the decisions of Parliament, or were they justified in stretching the meshes to meet the pupils' needs?'

Legally, as was set out during the Cockerton case, they should have waited, but local circumstances differ and are not always understood by Central Government. It could be argued that morally School Boards were right, especially as local initiative often pulled Central Government along behind it and much that was educationally beneficial would have been lost. The principle that education should be mainly in the hands of local bodies had been established in 1870 with the inception of School Boards. Another principle, dual control with statutory and voluntary bodies sharing the responsibility for the provision and maintenance of schools, was also established. Both principles persist today, though in a modified form. However, both principles were contributory factors in the demise of School Boards.

One facet of this was that Parliament had never established any satisfactory relationship between School Boards and Voluntary Schools. Any moves to aid Voluntary Schools financially were seen by Nonconformists as attacks upon the School Boards, but Voluntary Schools could not compete with Board Schools' unlimited funds. This facility to levy the necessary rate for local education was all right to begin with, but as Board Schools multiplied and expanded the costs increased, leading to demands that the School Boards' financial autonomy should be ended. Finance was also a

crucial factor in the field of secondary education. School Boards had no powers to provide secondary education, but in their zeal to overcome and circumvent this they dug their own graves. Their support for Higher Grade Schools and the like was dependent upon the sanction of the auditors of the Local Government Board. By attacking the London School Board Morant precipitated the issue which struck at the legal basis of all post-elementary education, forcing Parliament to intervene with the resultant 1902 Education Act. The auditor, T.B. Cockerton, laid charges against London Board members for grossly exceeding their parliamentary powers in spending ratepayers' money on evening and continuation work. London School Board took the matter to the High Court, but Mr. Justice Wills found against the Board and in favour of Cockerton, 20th December, 1900. Thus, Morant hoped to restrict elementary education to specific limits, cut off the outgrowth that had taken place, and allow the development of a separate system of secondary education, largely for the middle-classes.

Another contributory factor to the demise of School Boards was the multiplicity of agencies dealing with higher education. Gorst, Morant and others were appalled by the chaos in the English Education System, which was both uneconomic and confusing. They saw the answer in a stronger central authority to co-ordinate all forms of education, and the replacement of School Boards by Local Education Authorities. More central control would oversee the whole situation, attempt to lessen inequalities and provide the necessary finance. This movement away from local control was opposed by Board
supporters as central control would not always take into consideration local idiosyncrasies. Besides, Nonconformists and Liberals were traditionally opposed to centralised control of education because of the position of the Established Church.

'The Liberal Party regarded urban freedom as the basis of individual freedom since town governments tended to be Liberal dominated. Ad hoc control of social services was the nineteenth century answer to the problems of developing state intervention, having begun with the 1834 Poor Law. Education could have been attached to Municipal Corporations, but these were not universal, so their own bodies were created for education.'

In 1870 the decision to establish specialist ad hoc local authorities for education was taken because there were no universal bodies to administer education, and also because of pressures to retain existing Voluntary Schools under the local control of their own managers. Denominationalists wished to retain their control over education and feared the effect of state schools being established, especially in rural areas. The Government was also forced to keep Voluntary Schools out of economic necessity. By the end of the century the situation had altered. Board Schools were providing about half the total elementary school accommodation, 2.2 millions as against 2.5 millions in Voluntary Schools. The latter, however, were about £450,000 in debt, with schools in large urban areas being particularly threatened by lack of finance. In rural areas Denominationalists had been able to prevent or delay Board Schools, and Voluntary Schools, especially Anglican, were still strong. The

Churches began to realise that Voluntary Schools, though threatened, would never disappear. By slowly becoming resigned to accepting a less dominant role the Churches contributed to the fostering of a certain amount of toleration and co-operation, something anticipated on School Boards with Denominationalists and Nonconformists working together for education in their own areas. This co-operation and understanding had an influence at national level with people like George Dixon and Joseph Chamberlain recognising the need for Voluntary Schools within the education system. The problem for Denominationalists was how to obtain rate aid for Voluntary Schools while at the same time retaining independence of management. They were helped by the Conservative Government in power at the beginning of the twentieth century. This preferred that Voluntary Schools be 'mended', not 'ended'.

Sir John Gorst's abortive Education Bills of 1896 and 1901 had highlighted the problems of religious instruction, rate aid for Voluntary Schools, and of having School Boards existing side by side with County Council Authorities. In 1902 the Education Bill was revived in a better devised form with the backing of Morant and Balfour. The latter wanted a comprehensive and permanent settlement for Voluntary Schools, while the former desired a national system of education, seeing the multiplicity of authorities as a hindrance. After Gorst's abortive Bills Morant saw that the only way to remove secondary education from the School Boards and to simplify educational administration was to abolish them altogether. However, their vested interests made the Boards very strong and they had many influential supporters. Therefore,
'Morant allied himself with the religious party as the only way to get up enough steam for an Education Bill in the teeth of School Board opposition ... Neither side depended upon the other, but they were useful allies, united in their opposition to School Boards.'

Morant was helped by the fact that School Boards had never become universal, being supplemented in certain areas by School Attendance Committees. By 1902, however, there were universal bodies able and willing to take over control of education. In 1888 County Councils and County Borough Councils had been set up. A year later under the Technical Instruction Act these, not School Boards, had been given the responsibility for technical education. Early in 1902 the County Councils had passed a resolution saying that if offered the power to take over Board education they would do so. Here was Morant's solution. He recognised that County Councils, popularly elected, with power over the rates and yet large enough to avoid the abuses of popular control, would be good replacements for School Boards. The resulting 1902 Education Act was political and religious more than educational, the educational clauses being debated for only four out of the Bill's fifty-seven days passage through Parliament. The three main outcomes of the Act were the abolition of School Boards, rate aid for Voluntary Schools and the provision of a statutory basis on which a system of secondary education, separate and apart from both elementary and technical education, could be developed.

There had been opposition to Gorst's two Bills, especially from the Free Church Council and the Northern Counties Education League, a revival of the National Education League. The removal of local control of education by abolishing School Boards and the lack of public control over rate-aided Voluntary Schools were the main issues. However, the 1902 Education Bill had the advantage over its predecessors in being ably prepared by Morant and presented by Balfour, the Prime Minister designate. Despite strong Nonconformist opposition and fifty seven days of impassioned debate, the Government's unassailable majority saw the Bill through Parliament. School Board supporters had protested vehemently, H.H. Asquith saying,

"Instead of developing School Boards, instead of encouraging the work of these great instruments which have been far more fruitful in result than anything that has been set up in this country in the last fifty years, the whole of that is to be swept away as though it had never existed, and those educational experts, men and women, who have devoted their lives to the School Boards are to be left to the chance of being nominated as co-opted members by a committee of the town council."16

The crux of the matter was that the new authorities for education would not be directly elected like School Boards, but appointed by Municipal and County Councils. So the bodies that would be charged with the expenditure of the rates on Voluntary Schools were not directly responsible to the people. South Shields School Board, for example, objected to the Bill on the grounds that those in control of education would have been elected for reasons other than

a knowledge and interest in education, while also objecting to the central issue of rate aid to Voluntary Schools without sufficient control over them. The South Shields municipal council elections of November 1902 had education as a central issue, with several candidates standing on an anti-Bill plank. By then, however, the Bill was inevitable. On 19th April the Tynemouth School Board had passed an Anti-Bill Resolution; Jarrow Liberal Federation met on 1st May and condemned the Bill, favouring a single authority for education. In March, 1902, the County Council of Durham had expressed its opposition to the proposed changes in the existing administration. The Council was against the replacement of the national scheme, approved by the 1870 Education Act, by a County scheme that needed Board of Education assent, as this took the control of education away from the local community.

This opposition was in vain as the Bill became law on 20th December, 1902. The matter did not end there, however. Nonconformists had been opposing financial aid from the rates for denominational instruction since 1895, when it had been revived by Gorst. They also resisted the claims of Anglicans to enter all schools at the request of parents to give denominational instruction. The fact that Voluntary Schools were to be given rate aid for school maintenance and fair wear and tear (not for expenditure on new school buildings) in return for only minority representation of Local Education Authorities on managing bodies, caused great protests. These protests did not cease in 1902. Opposition to the 1902 Education Act by Liberals in general and Nonconformists in particular
was to last up to and beyond the 1906 General Election. Nonconformist, Liberal and working-class spokesmen were unanimous that Clause 6 of the Act, providing that Voluntary Schools now maintained by the rates, would be managed by Boards of six members, of whom only two would be public representatives as against four denominational managers, violated the basic concept of democracy in that it did not provide public control of institutions wholly maintained from public funds. This opposition was to result in the Liberal landslide of 1906, a great and unexpected reversal for the Conservative Party which was not to form a stable Government as a single party for the next twenty years. Opposition took two forms, passive resistance and Local Education Authority hostility. Passive resistance through the witholding of rates continued for many years, but as a strong movement it was ineffective, being dealt with by law enforcement, distraint on property and imprisonment. Many Nonconformists believed that the speedy replacement of the Conservative Government with a Liberal one would gain them redress of their educational grievances, so worked for this.

The hostility of Local Education Authorities to the Act was a far more serious matter. In England authorities, like Durham County Council, dragged their heels in implementing the Act. Mr. Fliot asked in Parliament,

"I beg to ask the Secretary of the Board of Education if he can state what steps he proposes to take in view of the refusal of the County Council of Durham to put
the Education Act into force in that County before April 1904?" 17

This was a small problem compared with what was happening in Non-conformist Welsh Councils. These determined to defeat the Act's provisions by not helping Voluntary Schools. Some counties, such as Carmarthenshire, did this by strictly limiting the funds given to Voluntary Schools, by sending no representatives to the managing bodies and by not appointing teachers. This led to a Commission of Inquiry which declared, in March 1904, that Carmarthenshire County Council had gravely abused its powers and had acted illegally. After this other Welsh Councils followed Carnarvon's example of what Eaglesham termed 'slow starvation' 18. They administered the letter but not the spirit of the Act. Voluntary Schools received exactly what the Act required and no more. This policy was so effective that the Government had to draft the Local Authorities (Default) Act, August 1904, enabling the Board of Education to bypass a defaulting Local Education Authority and act through a school's managers. This was a tactical measure to be used only when necessary in order to defeat the Nonconformists. The Board acted in Barry and Montgomeryshire, but in neither case had to go to the extreme, and with the return of a Liberal Government in 1906 the battle ceased. The new President of the Board of Education, Augustine Birrell, introduced a Bill in 1906 which would in some

ways have anticipated the 1944 Education Act. Two kinds of Voluntary School were proposed, one of which would receive a larger subsidy and hence be under greater state control than the other. This failed, as did a Bill by McKenna in 1907 and another by Runciman in 1908. However, Lloyd-George's influence did gain one concession for Welsh Nonconformists, a Welsh Department of the Board of Education to be responsible for matters of educational administration in Wales. The 1902 Education Act, which had been working successfully in many areas for four years, was here to stay.

Whether this was a progressive or retrogressive measure is a matter for debate. Cruickshank believes,

'The Balfour Act was a response to the challenge of the times. It brought to an end the intolerable strain and conflict within the dual system of schools; it established unity in educational administration while at the same time offering scope to local initiative, and it made possible a co-ordinated system of elementary and secondary education.'19

Simon disagrees, saying,

'The Act broke the primary direct link between the people and local school systems. The imposition of the dual system brought in a perpetual block or obstacle to the system's progressive development, and imposed a hierarchial and divided structure on the public system of education, thus vitiating any concept of an all round education. This hierarchial system necessitated, or provided the basis for, the whole process of selection and streaming from which we are only now beginning to emerge.'20


Certainly some unity of educational administration was established after 1902. The Government emerged as a major policy-making body in education, being active, either through the Board of Education, or, more directly, through legislation in laying down the lines of development for elementary and secondary education. Thus, there was a movement from State assistance of education to State supervision of education, which was to lead to State control of education in 1944. Increased control by Central Government, however, inhibited spontaneous local initiative and often failed to take local circumstances into consideration. This still causes controversy today, as with wrangles over comprehensivisation or closures of village schools, for example. The withholding of the rate-support grant from County Councils can be a strong Government threat for conformity.

The 1902 Education Act did extend the public system to cover secondary education, with the establishment of a more uniform system of selective secondary schools, with their general curriculum, instead of the more haphazard localised growth of Higher Grade Schools, Organised Science Schools and Pupil Teacher Centres, with their leaning towards science and technical subjects. However, Council Secondary Schools became imitations of the older endowed schools and the ancient grammar schools, with limited opportunities of entry for elementary school pupils. The close relationship between elementary schools and Higher Grade Schools and the like had benefitted the working-classes; now they found themselves in an educational backwater. By drawing a sharp distinction between the
elementary system, ending at fourteen years of age with no prospect of higher education, and secondary schools leading to the Universities and the professions, the 1902 Education Act shut off an avenue of social mobility for many working-class children.

'Morant helped to contain, to repel, and in some respects to destroy the upward strivings of elementary schools. It was his avowed motive to keep the field clear for 'genuine' secondary education ... As a result of the Gorst-Morant-Balfour policy of 1900 to 1905 something was lost, both in evening schools and in Higher Grade Schools, which was long in being replaced.'

School Boards had pointed towards an organic system of education, with primary (elementary) education and secondary education linked and leading to the new developing system of local universities. Now secondary education was to be for a particular social class, separate from not only elementary but also technical education. According to the 1904 Elementary School Regulations only 'exceptional' pupils were to have the opportunity of passing from elementary to secondary schools. In 1907 the Liberal Government widened this slightly by ruling that any secondary school receiving a capitation grant had to reserve at least twenty-five per cent of its intake for non-paying pupils from elementary schools, so some older grammar schools were opened to pupils of ability. This, however, created a problem of selection with opportunities varying in different parts of the country. In the poorer areas there were always fewer schools, so fewer pupils were able to benefit. This

problem has continued to the present day, with the Labour and Conservative Parties still arguing over selection in certain areas.

Cruickshank cites the establishment of a coherent system of local administration out of the former chaos as a positive achievement of the 1902 Education Act.

'The new framework gave authorities the scope to innovate in the light of local needs, to establish not only secondary schools and teacher training colleges, but a range of special schools for the physically and mentally handicapped. It facilitated the future extension of the educational service to cover welfare and medical treatment.'

The development of Local Education Authority teacher training colleges was a major achievement, but surely the innovations of special education, medical inspection, school meals and the like emanated with the School Boards. The introduction of school meals for poor children in 1906 and the school medical service in 1907 were both legacies of progressive School Boards, being part of the growing concept of social services which led to measures like old age pensions, 1908, and sickness and unemployment insurance, 1911.

In fact there had been more scope for local initiative before 1902, with School Boards pushing Central Government on matters such as fees and compulsory attendance. The 1870 Education Act had set up a decentralised system of local administration, with democratically elected School Boards expending local rates under local management. This was overseen by central inspection and control, and resulted in the flexibility of the English pattern of schools. Under School

Boards there were spectacular advances in school provision, spurred on by the urgent need created by the rapid population increase during the second half of the nineteenth century. School Boards built schools, won the battle for attendance, provided essential facilities and set new and higher standards.

At the same time School Board members were able to introduce educational and social innovations in their areas.

'In the course of their constitutional development School Boards taught the country for the first time to use the machinery of a ratepayers' democracy - a democracy of women as well as men - and moreover to use it in defence of public principles wider than the restraint of petty corruption.'

In urban society School Boards expanded the conflict over the exercise of power, where the pattern and boundaries of politics was determined by the struggle for control between social groups. School Boards were not only focal points in this wider struggle for power, but also agents for implementing wider political objectives through educational and social reforms. Many political activists served their apprenticeships on School Boards, and then looked towards Town Councils as the next level in the hierarchy of urban politics. There were many examples of people who served on both School Board and Town Council for their area, Boyd at Durham, Gibb at Jarrow and Dexter at Darlington, for example. Both could also be steps on the road to Parliament, Chamberlain of Birmingham and Fry of Darlington being examples of this. Parliamentary

elections were affected by these other strands of the urban political structure, all being part of the broader political system. Political agitation which sought to change the will of Parliament, such as was the case in 1902, was the element of politics which went the furthest beyond the local community, coming back full circle as an element in both local and national elections. Like Boards of Guardians and Town Councils, School Boards reflected the political culture of the new urban society, the politics of election, opinion and participation, rather than of traditional rural society and the politics, in the main, of deference. The difference between School Board elections at Jarrow, which were always hotly contested, and rural Board politics at Wolviston, with only five contested and six uncontested elections, illustrate this. Darlington was similar to Jarrow, whereas Durham stands alone, being more like a rural area than a city. This was because of a generally stable population with only marginal growth, and the domination of the Churches.

School Boards, then, did achieve a great deal. They were the first area authorities for education, being less parochial than the Voluntary Schools in that they generally looked after more than one school. Exchanges of ideas between School Boards helped progress, as they were able to make comparisons and copy what they saw to be effective. Many of London School Board's leads were followed elsewhere, while many Boards copied Bradford's example of setting up Higher Grade Schools. Progressive School Boards introduced ideas in advance of the Education Department, thus urging it to widen its province and adopt greater powers. In the main industrial urban
areas of the country School Boards on the whole did a very effective job considering the contemporary financial and educational constraints with which they were faced. By providing an alternative to Voluntary Schools the Board Schools effected a much needed break in the Denominationalist monopoly on education. The competition that this engendered led to progress from both parts of the system. It was a great stimulus to school building, helped to solve the attendance problem and brought about a longer school life. In their thirty or so years of existence School Boards proved that undenominational teaching was viable. They also helped to bring about a widening of the elementary school curriculum by eating away at Lowe's Codes. What the National Education League had demanded nationally in 1870 was achieved in many areas by local people elected on to School Boards. They interpreted and acted upon rapidly changing educational facts far more quickly than Central Government. It must be pointed out, however, that although progressive Boards certainly set the pace, many rural School Boards were sluggish and parsimonious, being blocks to educational progress. There were also large areas where School Boards never penetrated. In 1902 some kind of universal local authority was needed for education. School Boards could have been extended throughout the country as Nonconformists demanded, but County Councils and County Borough Councils were already universally in existence. Besides this Morant, an architect of the 1902 Education Act, was in favour of select secondary education separate from the Boards. At this time the desirability of transfer to secondary schools on merit was generally upheld; only later did it fall out of favour.
School Boards were replaced by Local Education Authorities and these inherited a fairly comprehensive system of primary schools from the Boards, and thus were able to get on with the business of providing secondary schools. As a result a new dual system of elementary schools existing side by side with secondary schools, with few links, was inaugurated and this was to last until 1944. Education, which should involve a continuous movement through an organic system, became a sideways movement for those working-class children with ability lucky enough to benefit through selection. Parents no longer had as much say in the education of their children because of the abolition of the directly elected School Boards. The fact that during the School Board period so many struggled so hard for a place on a Board in order to have a voice in education shows a belief in the efficacy of these bodies. Society was greatly affected by School Board elections as political opportunities and power were expanded. Many people saw in School Boards greater opportunities for controlling the future than even Town Councils provided. With the centralisation of 1902 this power was curtailed.

'Processes and structures at one level may lose their relative autonomy while the determining capacity of their counterparts may increase. An illustration of this was the strengthening of the central direction in English education through the creation of a national Board of Education and the abolition of locally elected School Boards, which had controlled extensive municipal systems of elementary and secondary education.'

The 1902 Education Act removed this local control by replacing 2,559 School Boards and 788 School Attendance Committees with 330 Local Education Authorities. Those who had served on School Boards had left a firm foundation for these embryo authorities to work from, and many ex-Board members went on to serve on Local Education Authorities, thus giving some continuity. The interest in education fostered by the 1870 Education Act and the subsequent School Board elections continues today with people standing as Councillors and serving on County Council Education Committees to further the cause of education. Unfortunately, because these committees are appointed rather than directly elected minorities do not always get fair representation. Education has now become a more political issue rather than a religious one, with election battles at County and National level hindering educational progress. Changes of National Government can result in educational changes being imposed from the centre without taking into account local needs and local differences, with consequent harmful effects in some areas. Politicians might do well to follow the example of those School Board members who learned toleration and co-operation, by forgetting party dictates and dogma, and working instead for the good of the country's children.
APPENDIX I

Public And Private Provision Of Schools In Durham, Jarrow And Darlington

(a) DURHAM, 1865

Public Provision

- Blue Coat Charity School, 81 Claypath;
- Catholic Free School, 33 Old Elvet;
- Diocesan Training School For Schoolmasters, Leazes Lane;
- Durham Grammar School, South Street;
- Model School, Leazes Lane;
- National School, Church Street Head;
- National School, Crossgate;
- St. Oswald's School, Church Street Head;
- Training School For Schoolmistresses, Pelaw Leazes;
- Wesleyan School, 79 New Elvet.

Academies

- Harriet Bainbridge, Gilesgate;
- Miss M. Blackett, 78 New Elvet;
- Jesse Brown, Infant School, Church Street Head;
- Sarah and Susan Deanham, 47 South Street;
- Ann W. Gibson, Leazes Place;
- George Goundry and Son, 12 Claypath;
- James Hall, Leazes Place;
- Miss Haugh, Infant School, Pelaw Leazes;
- Misses Lonsdale (boarding), 45 Old Elvet;
- Charles MacNally, Allergate;
- Jane and Sarah Mather, 20 South Street;
- Maria Smales, Tenter House;
- Paul de Visme (languages), Western Hill;
- Mary Ann Webb, 54 Crossgate;
Sarah and Ann Wharton, 6 North Bailey;  
Dora Wilkinson, 20 North Bailey;  
Thomas Wilkinson, 3 Church Street;  
Misses Willis (boarding), 9 Old Elvet.

There was also the Ragged School at Milburngate and the Workhouse School at Crossgate.¹

(b) DURHAM, 1873

Public Weekday Schools

The Blue Coat Charity Schools, boys, girls and infants;  
Elvet Wesleyan School;  
St. Cuthbert's Mission School, Roman Catholic;  
St. Godric's Catholic Schools;  
St. Margaret's National School;  
St. Nicholas' Schools;  
St. Oswald's National Schools, boys, girls and infants.

Private Schools

(i) Those listed in the Street Directory:-

A. Richard Bailey, 189 Leazes Lane, Gilesgate Academy;  
   Miss Brockhausen, Queen Street, teacher of music etc.;  
A. Miss Deanham, 47 West Side, South Street, academy;  
A. Mrs. Ann Gibson, 4/5 Leazes Place, boarding school;  
A. James Hall, 56 North Side, Old Elvet, boarding and day school;  
A. Miss Mather, 20 East Side, South Street, boarding school;  
A. Miss E. Moses, 8 Tenter Terrace, seminary;

¹ Source: Francis Whellan And Co., History, Topography And Directory Of The County Palatine Of Durham Comprising A General Survey Of The County And A History Of The City And Diocese Of Durham (London 1865).
G. Newton, 49 Sadler Street, School of Art;
Miss Raine, 100 Sidegate, infant school;
A. Miss Robinson, 208 Leazes Lane, schoolteacher;
A. Margaret Rule, Dickinson's Buildings, North Road, schoolteacher;
A. Mrs. Shepherd, 40 New Buildings, Hallgarth Street, school;
Miss Souris, 7 Alma Terrace, infant school;
Misses Stanley, 19 Albert Street, Western Hill, school;
St. Giles Middle Class School, 46 Dun Cow Lane;
Miss Kate Taylor, 214 Leazes Lane, school;
A. Miss Webb, 66 Tenter Terrace, seminary;
A. Agnes Wetherall, 40 Dun Cow Lane, music and dancing taught;
A. Misses Wharton, 6 North Bailey, preparatory schools;
A. Miss Wilkinson, 38 Dun Cow Lane, boarding school;
Thomas Wilkinson, 62 West Side, Hallgarth Street, schoolmaster;
A. Misses Willis, 9 South Side, Old Elvet, boarding school.

(A. denotes those schools also listed under Academies).

(ii) Those listed under Academies and not in the Street Directory:

   Infant School, Church Street Head;
   Infant School, 100 Framwellgate;
   Infant School, Gilesgate;
   Infant School, Leazes Lane;
   Charles MacNally, 24/25 Allergate;
   Model School, Leazes Lane;
   Mrs. Mary Ann Smurthwaite, 8 John Street;
   St. Giles Middle Class School, 46 North Bailey.

(_______) denotes schools which had survived since 1865.  
(----------) denotes schools which had survived since 1865 but at different addresses).
Other Educational Establishments

Catholic Free School;
Durham Classical and Choristers' School;
Durham Female Training College;
Durham Grammar School, boys;
Ragged School;
Workhouse School.²

(c) DURHAM, 1894

Public Weekday Schools

Infant Board School, Framwellgate (424);
Infant Board School, Sunderland Road;
St. Cuthbert's Catholic School (200);
St. Gile's National School (200);
St. Margaret's National School (500);
St. Oswald's National School;
Wesleyan Day Schools (130).

(Numbers in brackets indicate maximum accommodation, giving 1,454 places in the five schools with figures. Average attendance was seventy-six per cent).

Private Schools

William Henry Bramwell, M.A., Bow School, boarding, preparatory school, boys;
H. Castley, 6 North Bailey, boarding;
Miss Annie Chambers, Ebenezer Cottage, ladies school;
John Dall, M.A., 167 Gilesgate, Boys Model;
Misses S. and S. Deanham, 47 South Street, boarding, ladies;
James Hall, 56 Old Elvet;

² Source: Durham Directory And Almanack (Durham 1873).
Mrs. Hannah Morton, 8 Colpitts Terrace;
Misses G.F., and E. Notman, 2 Ravensworth Terrace, 
boarding, ladies;
W. Pringle, M.A., 3 Pelaw Leazes, boys private;
Miss E. Rawes, 50 Western Hill;
Miss Elizabeth Snowdon, 2 Flass Street;
Miss Amelia Stanley, 24 North Bailey, boarding;
Reverend Wm. Swallow, M.A., St. Kenelm's School, 20 South Street, boarding;
Misses Emily and Edith Taylor, 16 Old Elvet.

(----- denotes schools which had survived since 1873.
(-------- denotes school which had survived since 1873, 
but had changed owners).

Other Educational Establishments

Choristers' School or Song School;
Diocesan Training College For Females;
Diocesan Training College For Schoolmasters;
Durham School of Art;
Durham United Blue Coat and Sunday Schools;
The Grammar School;
High School For Girls;
Science School. 3

(d) JARROW, 1865

Academies and Schools

Catholic School;
Ellison School, Ellison Street, Wm. Dickson and Catherine Jane Almond;

Hebburn School, Mary Potts;  
Monkton School, Margaret Jane Moat;  
United Presbyterian School, - Cameron master;  
White, Reverend Thomas, Langholm Villa.  

(e) JARROW, 1870

Public Elementary Schools
Bede School, Church of England, Church Square (316);  
Ellison School, Church of England, Ellison Street (228);  
Ellison School, Church of England, Ellison Street (185);  
P. East Jarrow, Roman Catholic, Old Church Square;  
Hebburn Church of England, Hebburn (123);  
C. Hedworth National, Hedworth;  
P. Hebburn Quay Roman Catholic, Hebburn Quay;  
Hebburn New Town Wesleyan, Hebburn New Town (312);  
Iron Shipbuilding Company's School, Hebburn Quay (54);  
P. Iron Shipbuilding Company's School, Hebburn Quay;  
Jarrow Wesleyan School, North Street (371);  
Presbyterian, Ellison Street (289);  
St. Bede's Roman Catholic, Monkton Road (262);  
St. Bede's Roman Catholic, Monkton Road (386);  
C. St. Paul's National, Queen's Road.

(Numbers in brackets indicate maximum accommodation,  
giving a total of 2,692 places. There were 2,463 children on the rolls of the schools. P. denotes schools in progress for a further 1,310 children. C. denotes schools in contemplation for 722 more).

Private Adventure Schools
Bell, James; High Street (97);

Cowan, Margaret; High Street (22);
Douthwaite, Mary; Hebburn (103);
Fletcher, Elizabeth; Lord Street (32);
Johnstone, Mary Ann; New Grange Road (18);
Lundlin, Sarah; James Street (17);
Major, John; Grange Road (99);
McGlenchy, Mary; Caledonian Road (20);
Mort, Mary Jane; Springwell Paper Mills (110);
Rennie, Henry; Ferry Street (132). 5

(Numbers in brackets indicate maximum accommodation, giving a total of 672 places. There were 566 children on the rolls of the schools. So with total accommodation for 3,364 children, Jarrow schools had 3,092 on their registers. In its 1871 survey Jarrow School Board estimated a total of 5,946 three to thirteen year old children. This meant a deficit of 2,582 school places, and even with the extra 1,310 places in progress and 722 in contemplation, a deficit of 550 still existed).

(f) JARROW, 1894

Public Elementary Schools

(i) Voluntary Schools:-

Ellison National Schools (900);
St. Bede's Catholic School, boys (500);
A.B. St. Bede's Catholic School, girls (500);
St. Bede's Catholic School, infants (400);
A.B. St. Peter's National School (640);
A.B. Wesleyan Methodist Day School (391).

(A.B. denotes schools built after the establishment of the School Board).

(ii) Board Schools:

Dunn Street Schools (1,377);
Grange Schools (1,241);
Higher Grade Schools (684);
Monkton School (193).

(Numbers in brackets indicate maximum accommodation, giving a total of 3,331 Voluntary places and 3,495 Board places. Average attendance given for four of the Voluntary Schools was ninety per cent).

Private Schools

Miss M.E. Hymers, Monkton Road, private school, infants;
Miss J. Johnstone, 45 Croft Terrace, private school, girls;
Miss A. Nance, 6 Croft Villas, private school, girls.6

(By 1894 Jarrow had public elementary school provision for 6,826 children as opposed to accommodation for 2,692 in 1870, a massive improvement. None of the three private schools listed was in existence in 1870, though Miss J. Johnstone could have been a relative of Mary Ann Johnstone who ran a school in 1870).

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DARLINGTON, 1865

Public Elementary Schools

Albert Hill, mixed;
British, boys, Bank Top;
British, Bridge Street; established 1839;
British, girls, Kendrew Street; established 1860;

British, Skinnergate; established 1819;
St. Cuthbert's Catholic, Paradise Lane;
St. Cuthbert's Parish School, Lead Yard;
St. John's National, boys, girls and infants; established 1859;
St. Paul's, infants, North Road;
Trinity, girls and infants, Commercial Street; established 1850;
Trinity National, Union Street; established 1850;
Wesleyan, boys, girls and infants; Bridge Street; established 1858.

(Also mentioned in 1865 were The Free Grammar School, founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1563, and the Mechanics' Institute in Skinnergate, established 1853).

Private Schools
Georgina Esther Bamber, Paradise Row;
Ann Dent, Eastburn;
Maria Hodgson;
Jane Jackson, Four Rigs, day;
Robert MacKay, Bloomfield House;
Misses Procter, Polam Hall, boarding;
William Stevenson, Mechanics' Yard, High Row;
Mary and Fanny Walker, 8 Arden Street;
Dorothy Wilkinson, 1 High Terrace;
Eliza Wilson, 41 Bondgate, boarding;
Misses Woodward, Grange House.\(^7\)

(h) DARLINGTON, 1867

Public Elementary Schools
Albert Hill, Methodist;

\(^7\) Source: Whellan (London 1865).
Albert Road, Methodist;
Bank Top, British;
Bridge Street, British;
Brunswick Street, British;
Holy Trinity, Church of England;
Kendrew Street, British;
Rise Carr, Methodist;
Skinnergate, British;
St. Augustine's, Roman Catholic;
St. Cuthbert's National;
St. Patrick's, Roman Catholic;
St. Paul's, Church of England;
St. William's, Roman Catholic.

Private Schools

Mr. H. Brooks, Classical and Commercial Boarding School, Cleveland Villa, Elton Parade;
Mr. Clapham, University of London and College of Preceptors, Classical and Commercial School, Park Villa;
Miss Graham, The Ladies Seminary, Boarders and Day, Chestnut Cottage;
Mr. C. Jackson, Member of the University of London, The Classical, Mathematical and Commercial School, West Brook;
Mr. R. MacKay, Edinburgh University, Bloomfield School, Cockerton Road;
Mrs. Paynter's Day School, Hume Terrace, Eastbourne;
Miss Thompson's Day School, East Parade, Northgate;
Miss Walker's Day School, 7 West Terrace;
Miss Wilkinson's, High North Terrace, later Grange House Seminary, Residential Governesses, Master for English Classes and Accomplishments, Music Master, Herr Holzapfel;
Mr. W.W. Wilmott, Select Boarding School, The Elms;
Miss Wilson's, 2 Paradise Terrace;
Mrs. G. Wilson's Establishment for the Boarding and Education of Young Ladies, 36 Bondgate;

(— denotes schools listed for both 1865 and 1867. Taking the two lists together, Darlington was well-provided with public and private school places on the eve of the 1870 Education Act. Sunderland's 1867 list of thirteen private schools seems to be aimed mainly at the middle-classes, however, with its 'Seminaries', 'Select Boarding School', 'Ladies College' etc.).

(i) DARLINGTON, 1894

Public Elementary Schools

(i) Voluntary Schools:

Holy Trinity Schools, boys, girls and infants (443);
A.B. St. Augustine's Catholic Church Schools, boys, girls and infants (380);
St. Cuthbert's National School, boys and infants (400);
St. Cuthbert's National School (formerly Bridge Street) girls (140);
A.B. St. John's Schools, mixed and infants (750);
St. William's Catholic Schools, mixed and infants (315);
Wesleyan Schools, boys, girls and infants (632).

(A.B. denotes schools built after the establishment of the School Board).

(ii) Board Schools:

T. Albert Road, boys, girls and infants (900);
Beaumont Street, mixed senior, junior and infants (990);
T. Brunswick Street, mixed (314);

Gurney Pease Memorial School, mixed and infants (584);
Harrowgate Hill, mixed, girls and infants (363);
T. Kendrew Street, girls and infants (460);
T. Rise Carr, mixed and infants (242).

(T. denotes schools which had been transferred to the School Board. Numbers in brackets indicate maximum accommodation, giving 3,911 places in Voluntary Schools and 3,853 Board School places. Average attendance was seventy-six per cent in the Voluntary Schools and seventy-nine per cent in the Board Schools).

Private Schools

Mrs. Frances Hornsey, 37 St. John's Crescent;
Misses Eliza and Annie Lane, 31 Duke Street;
Misses Lockwood, Polam Hall, Friends' Boarding School;
Miss Marshall, Westbrook Villas;
Misses Penman, 4 Victoria Place;
Misses Riddle, Brookside, Boarding;
Miss Margaret Taylor, 6 Cleveland Terrace;
A.E. Tregelles, 22 Duke Street;
Miss Dorothy Wilkinson, Thornbeck House.

(-- denotes schools which had survived since 1865).

Other Educational Establishments

The Bluecoat Parochial School, founded 1713;
The Grammar School, founded 1563;
The High School For Girls, established 1885;
The Training College For Schoolmistresses, opened 1872.  

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(By 1894 Darlington had public elementary school accommodation for 7,764 children as opposed to 5,946 places in 1871. There were 4,019 children on the school lists in 1871, with an average attendance of seventy-one per cent. Average attendance in 1894 was seventy-eight per cent. At the same time Darlington still had nine private schools in 1894.

Thus, Darlington was similar to Jarrow with its increasing School Board provision of school places, while it was also similar to Durham in that there was still a large demand for private school places.

All three School Boards were doing their utmost to deal with the problem of attendance).
Recital of 74th Section of the 1870 Elementary Education Act

Whereas by the 74th Section of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, it is enacted that every School Board may, from time to time, with the approval of the Education Department, make Bye-laws for all or any of the following purposes:

(a) Requiring the parents of children of such age, not less than five years, as may be fixed by the Bye-laws, to cause such children (unless there is some reasonable excuse) to attend School.

(b) Determining the time during which children are so to attend School, provided that no such Bye-law shall prevent the withdrawal of any child from any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects, or shall require any child to attend School on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs, or shall be contrary to anything contained in any Act for regulating the education of children employed in labour.

(c) Providing for the remission or payment of the whole or any part of the fees of any child, where the parent satisfies the School Board that he is unable from poverty to pay the same.

(d) Imposing penalties for the breach of any Bye-laws.

(e) Revoking or altering any Bye-laws previously made.
PROVIDED, that any Bye-law under this Section requiring a child between ten and thirteen years of age to attend School, shall provide for the total or partial exemption of such child from the obligation to attend School if one of Her Majesty's Inspectors certifies that such child has reached a standard of education specified in such Bye-law.

Reasonable excuses for Non-attendance

AND by the said 74th Section it is further enacted, that any of the following shall be a reasonable excuse, namely:—

(a) That the child is under efficient instruction in some other manner.

(b) That the child has been prevented from attending School by sickness or any unavoidable cause.

(c) That there is no Public Elementary School open which the child can attend, within such distance, not exceeding three miles, measured according to the nearest road from the residence of such child, as the Bye-laws may prescribe.

Penalties for Breach of Bye-laws

AND by the said 74th Section, it is further enacted, that any proceeding to enforce any Bye-law may be taken, and any penalty for the breach of any Bye-law may be recovered in a summary manner; but no penalty imposed for the breach of any Bye-law shall exceed such amount as with the costs will amount to five shillings for each offence, and such Bye-laws shall not come
into operation until they have been sanctioned by Her Majesty in Council.

Recital of 17th Section of the 1870 Elementary Education Act

AND WHEREAS, by the 17th Section of the said Act, it is enacted, that every child attending a School provided by any School Board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the School Board, with the consent of the Education Department; but the School Board may, from time to time, for a renewable period, not exceeding six months, remit the whole or any part of such fee in the case of any child, when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable from poverty to pay the same, but such remission shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

Recital of 25th Section of the 1870 Elementary Education Act

AND WHEREAS, by the 25th Section of the said Act, it is enacted that, the School Board may, if they think fit, from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the School Fees payable at any Public Elementary School by any child resident in their district, whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same, but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any Public Elementary School other than such as may be selected by the parent; and such payment shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.
Recital of 26th Section of the 1870 Elementary Education Act

AND WHEREAS, by the 26th Section of the said Act, it is enacted, that if a School Board satisfy the Education Department that, on the ground of the poverty of the inhabitants of any place in their district, it is expedient for the interests of education to provide a School at which no fees shall be required from the scholars, the Board may, subject to such rules and conditions as the Education Department may prescribe, provide such School, and may admit scholars to such School without requiring any fee.

Recital of 36th Section of the 1870 Elementary Education Act

AND WHEREAS, by the 36th Section of the said Act, it is enacted, that every School Board may, if they think fit, appoint an Officer or Officers to enforce any Bye-laws under this Act with reference to the attendance of children at School, and to bring children who are liable under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, to be sent to a certified Industrial School, before two Justices, in order to their being so sent, and any expenses incurred under this section may be paid out of the School Fund.

BYE-LAWS FOR DURHAM CITY¹

Recital of Election of School Board

AND WHEREAS, in pursuance of a requisition sent by the

¹ Source: Durham School Board Minutes, 14th June 1872.
Education Department, to the Mayor of the Borough of Durham, in
the County of Durham, a School Board for the district of the
said Borough was duly elected on the 15th day of March, 1871:

Now, at a Meeting of the School Board of the said Borough
of Durham, held in the Mayor's Chamber, Town Hall, Market Place,
in the said Borough of Durham, on Friday, the 14th day of June,
1872, at which meeting a quorum of the Members of such Board are
present, the said Board do hereby, in pursuance of the aforesaid
powers, and subject to the approval of the Education Department,
make and ordain the following Bye-laws.

INTERPRETATION TERMS

I. The term 'Education Department' means, 'The Lords of the
   Committee of the Privy Council on Education'.

   The term 'Her Majesty's Inspectors' means, 'The Inspectors
   of Schools appointed by Her Majesty on the recommendation of the
   Education Department'.

   The term 'Borough of Durham', or 'Borough' means, 'The
   Municipal Borough of Durham, as defined by the Act for the regu-
   lation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales', and
   includes any future enlargement or extension of such Municipal
   Borough.

   The term 'School Board', or 'Board' means, 'The School Board
   of the District comprising the Borough of Durham'.

   The term 'School', or 'Public Elementary School', means a
Public Elementary School as defined by the said Act, and includes a Free School but not an Industrial School.

The term 'School Managers' means a body of managers appointed by the Board, pursuant to the 15th section of the said Act.

The term imparting Males in these Bye-laws includes Females.

The term 'Officer' means an officer appointed by the Board, pursuant to the 36th section of the said Act.

The term 'Parent' includes Guardian, and every person who is liable to maintain or has the actual custody of any child, but does not include the mother of a child when the father is living, and is residing within the Borough.

Requiring Parents to Cause Children to attend School

II. Subject to the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, and of these Bye-laws, the parent of every child not less than five years of age, nor more than 13 years of age, residing within the district of the said Borough, shall cause such child to attend School.

Determining Time during which Children shall attend School

See Sec. 7 (Sub. Sec. 2)

III. The time during which every child shall attend School shall be the whole time for which the School shall be open for the instruction of children of similar age, provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the withdrawal by the parent of any child during the time or times in which any religious observance is
practised, or instruction in religious subjects is given, and that no child shall be required:

(a) To attend School on any day exclusively set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his or her parent belongs.

(b) To attend School on Sunday, Christmas Day, Good Friday, or any day set apart for a day of Public Fast or Thanksgiving, or on Saturday after twelve o'clock at noon.

SEC. 76

(c) To attend School on any day fixed for the inspection of the School and examination of the scholars in respect of religious subjects.

Provided also that any requirements herein contained shall not be held or construed to apply to any child employed in labour, and receiving instruction in conformity with the provisions of the Factory Acts, or of the Workshop Regulation Act, 1867.

Proviso for total or partial exemption from attendance, if child has reached certain Standard

IV. In case one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools shall certify that any child between 10 and 13 years of age has passed the 4th standard of education mentioned in the Revised Code of Regulations of the Education Department, made on the Seventh day of February, 1871, such child shall be totally exempt from the obligation to attend school, and any such child who has been so certified to have passed the 3rd standard of education mentioned
in the said Code, shall be exempt from the obligation to attend
School more than 15 hours in any one week.

Defining reasonable excuse for Non-attendance

V. A child shall not be required to attend School:-

(a) If such child is under efficient instruction in some other
manner.

(b) If such child has been prevented from attending School by
sickness or any unavoidable cause, or a cause that the School
Board shall seem to be sufficient.

(c) If there is no Public Elementary School which such child
can attend within one mile and a half, measured according to the
nearest road from the residence of such child.

Providing for the remission or payment of School Fees in cases
of Poverty

VI. If the parent of any child satisfies the School Board that
the reason that his or her child does not attend School is that
he or she is unable, from poverty, to pay the School fees of such
child, the School Board, in the case of a School provided by the
Board, will remit, and in case of any other School will pay, the
whole or such part of the fees as, in the opinion of the Board,
the parent is unable to pay, for a renewable period, to be fixed
by the Board, not exceeding six calendar months, provided that
the amount of fees to be remitted or paid shall not exceed either
the ordinary payment at the School selected by the parent, or the
following scale:-
For any child under 8 years of age, 3d. per week.

For any child exceeding 8 years of age and under 10, 4d. per week.

For any child exceeding 10 years of age, 6d. per week.

Provided also that no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of any child attending any Public Elementary School other than such as may be selected by the parent.

Requiring notice to Parent to cause child to attend School

VII. Any officer, appointed for the purpose by the School Board, shall, under the direction of the Board, or by virtue of his general authority from the Board, visit the parent of any child, in respect of whom any of these Bye-laws shall appear not to have been complied with, and require from such parent his reasons for non-compliance therewith, and in case such reasons shall not appear to him to be satisfactory, or no reason shall be assigned, he shall thereupon report the same, in writing, to the School Board, and the School Board shall, forthwith, cause a notice to be served upon such parent, in the form prescribed in the Schedule to these Bye-laws, and therein marked with the letter 'A'. Upon the day named in the said notice for the appearance of such parent, the School Board, or any committee thereof, appointed in that behalf, shall proceed to hear the statements of the said officer, and of the parent (if he appear), and of any other person; and the said School Board, or Committee, may direct that the said notice shall stand, or shall be withdrawn, according to the circumstances.
In case the said School Board shall not direct the withdrawal of the said notice, and the parent so served therewith (whether he have appeared or not) shall not observe and obey the same, according to the tenor and within the time therein specified, such parent shall be considered to have neglected or not observed these Bye-laws.

Penalty for breach of Bye-laws

VIII. Any person committing a breach of these Bye-laws, or any of them, shall be subject to a penalty not exceeding two shillings and sixpence, provided that all breaches of these Bye-laws by a parent in one and the same week, shall be deemed one offence, and that no penalty imposed for the breach of any Bye-law shall exceed such a sum as with the costs will amount to five shillings for each offence.

Providing that no proceeding be taken within 3 clear days from service of Notice

IX. No proceedings shall be commenced against any parent for the recovery of any penalty imposed for breach of the Bye-laws, unless such parent has been served with a notice, written or printed (either personally or by leaving the same with some person at the residence of such parent), requiring that the child therein mentioned shall, within three clear days from the service thereof, be caused to attend and continue to attend School, as required by these Bye-laws.
Alteration of Bye-laws

X. The Board may, from time to time, revoke or alter these, or any other Bye-laws hereafter made, or any one or more of such Bye-laws, provided that fourteen clear days' written notice shall be given to every member of the Board (such notice pointing out every Bye-law it is intended to revoke or alter, as the case may be), and that the precise terms of any proposed new Bye-law, whether the same be by way of addition to, or substitution of, or alteration of any then existing Bye-law, be clearly contained in such notice.

Date on which Bye-laws shall come into operation

XI. These Bye-laws shall take effect from and after the day on which the same shall be sanctioned by order in Council.

(SCHEDULE)

A. NOTICE TO ATTEND SCHOOL

To Mr. .......

Take Notice, that you are required, within fourteen days from the service hereof, to cause your child (A.B.,) who is now between five and thirteen years of age, to attend, and continue to attend, an Elementary School.

Dated this ......... day of ......... A.D. 1872.

(C.D.)
Clerk of the School Board

Offices of the School Board, Durham.
The officer serving this notice will explain the same, and the consequences of refusing to comply therewith, and will also give you any information relating thereto, or to the Schools which your child may attend.

The officer will not disclose the fact of your having been served with this notice, or any information relating thereto, to any person other than a member of the Board or a School manager, or the principal teacher of a School.

If you do not comply with this notice, and wish to give any reason or explanation for not doing so, you are invited to attend a meeting of the School Board, or of a Committee thereof, or of School Managers appointed by the Board, to be held in the

\[ \text{on Monday, } \text{day of } \text{187-, between } \text{and } \text{o'clock} \]

in the and before any proceedings are taken against you, full consideration will be given by the Board to any statement you may think fit to make at such meeting, or to the officer serving this notice.
APPENDIX II(a)

Ways In Which The Bye-Laws For Jarrow School Board
And Darlington School Board Differed From Those
Of Durham School Board

JARROW BYE-LAWS

The Bye-laws of the Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School
Board were approved at the Court at Balmoral on 3rd November,
1871, in the presence of the Queen's most excellent Majesty in
Council.

DURHAM BYE-LAWS I, II, IV AND V

Jarrow did not set out the INTERPRETATION TERMS. Its Bye-
law I. stated:

The parent of every child residing within the Hedworth,
Monkton and Jarrow school district, shall cause such
child being not less than 5 nor more than 13 years old,
to attend a public elementary school unless there be a
reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

The following shall be deemed reasonable excuses:-

(a) as for Durham V(b)
(b) as for Durham V(a)
(c) and (d) as for Durham IV.

However, Jarrow did not give exemption for there being no Public

1 Source: W.M. Morley, 'The Development Of Hedworth, Monkton
And Jarrow, Stanhope And Thornley School Boards 1870-1904'
Elementary School within a certain distance as for Durham V(c).

**DURHAM BYE-LAW III**

Jarrow also missed out Durham Bye-law III(b) and (c) relating to a child not being required to attend School on certain fast days, holy days and religious examination days.

**DURHAM BYE-LAW VI**

The scale for remission of fees at Jarrow was:-

(a) Where the family consists of 2 persons, and the weekly income (after allowing for rent) does not exceed 4/- per head per week.

(b) Where the family consists of 3 or 4 persons and the income (after allowing for rent) does not exceed 3/6d. per head per week.

(c) Where the family consists of 5 or 6 persons, and the income (after allowing for rent) does not exceed 3/- per head per week.

**DURHAM BYE-LAW IX**

As far as breach of Bye-laws was concerned Jarrow allowed fourteen days as opposed to Durham's three days.

Jarrow Bye-law V stated:

No proceeding against any parent for breach of these Bye-laws, or any of them, shall be taken until after the expiration of 14 days from the service of the notice prescribed by Bye-law III., or until such parent has had an opportunity of attending a meeting
of the Board, or of a Committee thereof, or of the
managers of a school, to state his or her reasons
for not complying with the said notice.

In all other respects Jarrow's Bye-laws were the same as
Durham's, and the forms of notice to attend school were also
the same.

However, Jarrow included a scale of fees in its Bye-laws.

**SCALE OF FEES**

- 5th and 6th Standards ———— 6d.
- 2nd, 3rd and 4th Standards ——— 4d.
- 1st Standard ———— 2d.
- Infants —— 1d.

No extra charge is to be made for books or other school requisites, whether for school or home use, by children who are paid for by the Board.

Jarrow's Bye-laws were sealed and sent for approval on 1st September, 1871.

**DARLINGTON BYE-LAWS**

The Bye-laws of Darlington School Board were approved on
3rd November, 1871, at the same Court as those for Jarrow.

---

2 Source: Darlington School Board Bye-laws 1871, in Darlington Public Library.
Like Jarrow, Darlington did not set out the INTERPRETATION TERMS. Its Bye-law I. stated:

Subject to the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, and of these Bye-laws, the Parent of every Child, not less than five years of age, nor more than thirteen years of age, residing within the district of the said Borough, shall cause such child to attend school, unless there be shewn some one of the following excuses for non attending, viz:-

(a) as for Durham V(a)
(b) as for Durham V(b)
(c) as for Durham V(c), but three miles being the distance instead of one and a half miles.

The scale for remission of fees at Darlington was:

For any child not passed in the 1st Standard 2d. per week
For any child who has passed in 1st and 2nd Standard 3d. per week
For any child who has passed in 3rd Standard 4d. per week
For any child who has passed in 4th Standard 5d. per week
And in the 5th or any higher Standard 6d. per week

Like Jarrow, Darlington allowed fourteen days' notice before
taking proceedings for breach of Bye-laws, instead of Durham's three days.

Otherwise Darlington's Bye-laws were the same as Durham's, and the forms of notice to attend school were also the same.
APPENDIX III

Results Of The School Board Elections For Durham

KEY:  
R.C.  ______________  Roman Catholic  
Ch.  ______________  Church  
U.  ______________  Unsectarian  
I.  ______________  Independent  
I.Ch.  ______________  Independent Church  
P.  ______________  Presbyterian  
W.  ______________  Wesleyan  
N.  ______________  Nonconformist

15th March, 1871 (Uncontested)

Reverend Edward Consitt  R.C.  
Reverend George Bulman  Ch.  
Reverend John Cundill  Ch.  
Mr. Edward Peele  Ch.  
Mr. John Shields  Ch.  
Dr. William Boyd  U.  
Mr. George Coward  U.  
Mr. George Gradon  U.  
Reverend William Greenwell  U.  

Chairman: Mr. E. Peele; Vice-Chairman: Dr. W. Boyd

(14th February, 1873, resignation of Mr. E. Peele because of ill-health, but vacancy not filled. 14th March, 1873, Mr. J. Shields elected Chairman).

9th March, 1874 (Uncontested)

Reverend E. Consitt  R.C.  
Reverend J. Cundill  Ch.  
Reverend Thomas Rogers  Ch.  


Mr. Christopher Rowlandson  Ch.
Mr. J. Shields  Ch.
Dr. W. Boyd  U.
Mr. G. Coward  U.
Mr. G. Gradon  U.
Reverend W. Greenwell  U.

Chairman; Mr. J. Shields; Vice-Chairman; Dr. W. Boyd

(10th March, 1876, Mr. Henry Robson replaced Mr. Coward, died).

9th March, 1877 (Contested)

Elected:
Reverend E. Consitt  R.C.  2,355
Mr. C. Rowlandson  Ch.  1,916
Mr. J. Shields  Ch.  1,817
Mr. H. Robson  U.  1,666
Mr. John Coward  I.  1,636
Reverend T. Rogers  Ch.  1,556
Reverend J. Cundill  Ch.  1,352
Mr. William Proctor  I.  1,307
Reverend W. Greenwell  U.  1,004

Not elected:
Mr. G. Gradon  U.  897
Dr. W. Boyd  U.  723

Chairman; Reverend E. Consitt; Vice-Chairman; Mr. C. Rowlandson

(In effect the contested election did not really change the political make-up of the School Board, because the two Independent candidates replaced Unsectarian members and not Sectarian ones. Then on 14th June, 1878, Dr. W. Boyd replaced Mr. W. Proctor who was disqualified because of six months non-attendance.)
Dr. Boyd, however, also attended infrequently and on 12th September, 1879, the Education Department asked for his vacancy to be filled. The Board declined saying this was inexpedient at that time.

15th March, 1880 (Uncontested)

Reverend E. Consitt
Mr. Thomas Creighton-Forster
Reverend T. Rogers
Mr. C. Rowlandson
Mr. J. Shields
Mr. J. Coward
Mr. G. Gradon
Reverend W. Greenwell
Mr. H. Robson

Chairman: Reverend E. Consitt; Vice-Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson

9th March, 1883 (Contested)

Elected:

Reverend E. Consitt
Reverend W. Greenwell
Reverend Alexander Henderson
Mr. John Slack
Mr. John George Gradon
Reverend S. Barradell-Smith
Mr. C. Rowlandson
Mr. H. Robson
Reverend T. Rogers

R.C. 1,650
I.Ch. 1,520
P. 1,237
I.Ch. 1,164
C. 876
Ch. 831
Ch. 802
W. 726
Ch. 419
Not elected:

Mr. T. Creighton-Forster Ch. 355
Mr. J. Coward N. 341
Mr. Salkeld Ch. 150

Chairman: Reverend E. Consitt; Vice-Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson

(On 8th December, 1884, Reverend T. Rogers resigned. On 12th January, 1885, the death of Mr. H. Robson was recorded in the Minute Book. On 9th February, 1885, Mr. John George Wilson replaced Reverend Rogers and Mr. Micah Chambers replaced Mr. Robson).

12th March, 1886 (Contested)

Elected:

Reverend E. Consitt R.C. 1,555
Mr. J. Slack I.Ch. 1,283
Mr. Herbert Robson Ch. 1,161
Mr. William Patterson N. 1,099
Mr. M. Chambers N. 1,097
Reverend W. Greenwell I.Ch. 1,072
Mr. C. Rowlandson Ch. 856
Mr. John Patrick Ch. 803
Reverend A. Henderson P. 800

Not elected:

Mr. J.G. Gradon N. 778
Reverend Thomas Randall Ch. 772
Mr. George Miller N. 439

Chairman: Reverend E. Consitt; Vice-Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson
(This election gave the parties the same representation as in 1883, there being one Roman Catholic, two Independent Church, three Church, two Nonconformist (Congregationalist and Wesleyan in 1883) and one Presbyterian elected. On 16th September, 1887, Reverend Gregory Austin Jones replaced Reverend Consitt, died. Mr. C. Rowlandson became Chairman and Reverend W. Greenwell took over as Vice-Chairman).

22nd February, 1889 (Uncontested)

Reverend G.A. Jones  R.C.
Mr. J. Patrick  Ch.
Reverend T. Randall  Ch.
Mr. C. Rowlandson  Ch.
Mr. M. Chambers  I.Ch.
Reverend W. Greenwell  I.Ch.
Mr. J. Slack  I.Ch.
Mr. J.G. Gradon  N.
Mr. W. Patterson  N.

Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Greenwell

26th February, 1892 (Uncontested)

Reverend G.A. Jones  R.C.
Reverend James Haworth  Ch.
Mr. J. Patrick  Ch.
Mr. C. Rowlandson  Ch.
Mr. M. Chambers  I.Ch.
Reverend W. Greenwell  I.Ch.
Mr. J.G. Gradon  N.
Mr. Launcelot Trotter  N.

Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Greenwell
(Only eight members were duly elected in February, 1892, because Mr. W.H. Smith failed to get his nomination papers in early enough for re-election. On 18th March, 1892, he was re-elected onto the Board on the motion of Mr. Chambers, seconded by Mr. Patrick. The fact that Mr. Smith should have been up for re-election means that at some time between 1889 and 1892 he replaced Reverend Randall, Mr. Slack or Mr. Patterson. However, because Volume II of Durham School Board Minutes covering 1885 to 1896 is missing, it is difficult to find out when Mr. Smith first came onto the Board and whom he replaced).

5th March, 1895 (Uncontested)

Reverend William Brown  R.C.
Reverend J. Haworth  Ch.
Mr. J. Patrick  Ch.
Mr. C. Rowlandson  Ch.
Mr. M. Chambers  I.Ch.
Reverend W. Greenwell  I.Ch.
Mr. J.G. Gradon  N.
Mr. W.H. Smith  N.
Mr. L. Trotter  N.

Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Greenwell

(On 1st March, 1895, the Advertiser reported that a contest had been imminent until Mr. Edwin Brewer, a hatter, retired within the time specified, thus saving the ratepayers almost £100. On 8th November, 1897, Mr. John Johnson was elected to replace Mr. L. Trotter, absent for six months).

4th March, 1898 (Uncontested)

Reverend W. Brown  R.C.
Reverend J. Haworth  Ch.
Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Greenwell

(On 10th April, 1899, Mr. Robert Hauxwell was elected to replace Mr. Smith, resigned).

22nd February, 1901 (Uncontested)

Reverend W. Brown  R.C.
Reverend J. Haworth  Ch.
Mr. J. Patrick  Ch.
Mr. C. Rowlandson  Ch.
Mr. M. Chambers  I.Ch.
Reverend W. Greenwell  I.Ch.
Mr. J.G. Gradon  N.
Mr. John Harris  N.
Mr. R. Hauxwell  N.

Chairman: Mr. C. Rowlandson; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Greenwell

(As in 1895 there were originally ten candidates for the nine seats and a contest was feared. However, Mr. Christopher Lumley, Secretary to the Durham Trades and Labour Council, withdrew in favour of Mr. John Harris, the President of the Durham Trades and Labour Council. On 10th March, 1902, the death of Mr. Hauxwell was minuted, with Mr. Charles Caldcleugh being elected in his place).
Thirty-four different people served on the eleven School Boards at Durham, far less than either at Jarrow or at Darlington. However, only three Durham School Board elections were contested as opposed to all elections at Jarrow and all but two at Darlington. The first four Durham School Boards were each composed of four Church members, four Unsectarian members and one Roman Catholic holding the balance. Thereafter, there were always three Church members, one Roman Catholic member, and the remainder being composed of a variety of Unsectarians, with a strong contingent of Independent Churchmen. The sitting members were happy, for the most part, to maintain the status quo, and as the Board was not constantly changing hands fewer people served on it than on the hotly contested School Boards of Jarrow and Darlington. Eleven different ministers of religion served on Durham School Board. There were no lady members. The longest serving School Board member was Reverend William Greenwell who served throughout the Board's complete existence of thirty-three years, being Vice-Chairman for seventeen of these. Mr. William Proctor served for the least time, being disqualified after fifteen months for non-attendance, so in effect he only served for nine months.

Sources: The Durham County Advertiser
APPENDIX IV

Results Of The School Board Elections
For Hedworth, Monkton And Jarrow

KEY:

R.C. = Roman Catholic
U. = Unsectarian
Ch. = Church
I. = Independent
I.U. = Independent Unsectarian
S. = Sectarian
T. = Temperance
L. = Labour
E. = Economist
M.R. = Miners' Representative
W.M. = Working Man
Soc. = Socialist
I.R.C. = Independent Roman Catholic

24th March, 1871

Elected:

Mr. Joshua Ward  
Reverend James Corboy  
Reverend George Meynell  
Mr. John McIntyre  
Mr. William Henry Richardson  
Reverend George Ormsby  
Mr. Thomas Sheldon  
Mr. John Buchanan  
Mr. Arthur Coote

U. = 2,662
R.C. = 2,630
R.C. = 2,553
U. = 2,160
U. = 1,686
Ch. = 1,626
Ch. = 1,493
U. = 1,414
U. = 1,381

Not elected:

Reverend John Bee  
Ch. = 1,301
11th March, 1874

Elected:

Reverend J. Corboy R.C. 2,460
Mr. A. Coote U. 2,290
Dr. Michael Bradley R.C. 1,987
Mr. J. Buchanan U. 1,881
Reverend G. Meynell R.C. 1,455
Mr. George Dexter U. 1,329
Mr. J. McIntyre U. 1,217
Reverend G. Ormsby Ch. 1,197
Mr. John Major I. 1,180

Not elected:

Mr. T. Sheldon U. 1,039
Reverend J. Bee Ch. 993
Dr. Robert Huntley I. 228
Mr. P. Duncan I. 105
Mr. J. Clark I. 80

Chairman: Reverend G. Ormsby; Vice-Chairman: Reverend J. Corboy

(It seems that Mr. Sheldon changed parties before this election and stood as an Unsectarian candidate).

15th March, 1876 (Special election for seven members)

Elected:

Mr. John Robinson U. 2,442
Reverend William Hedley Ch. 2,147
Mr. John Bald U. 1,897
Mr. Hugh McGrorty R.C. 1,313
Mr. Peter McParlin R.C. 1,295
Mr. Charles Dougherty R.C. 1,293
Mr. Thomas Gibb U. 1,088

Not elected:
Mr. W.H. Richardson U. 949
Mr. William Henry Dickinson Ch. 627
Mr. R. Plues U. 566
Reverend John Weir U. 545
Mr. Thomas Gray Ch. 215
Mr. Joseph English U. 177
Mr. John Paton I. 26

Chairman: Reverend J. Corboy; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Hedley

(This special election was necessitated because of a dispute over the rejection, by the Returning Officer, of Mr. Richardson's nomination in 1874. Mr. Richardson applied to the Queen's Bench asking for the 1874 election to be set aside as invalid, but the Arbitrator found against him. However, because of the altercation six School Board members refused to act, leaving a Board of three, Reverend Corboy, Reverend Ormsby and Mr. Major. In July, 1875, the Chairman, Reverend Ormsby, asked the Education Department to issue an order for an election to fill the six vacant seats. As the Board was still quorate, the Education Department declined. Then on 1st February, 1876, Reverend Ormsby attended his last meeting as he had been appointed to a living outside the parish, so a special election was called on 15th March, 1876, to fill the seven vacant seats. Mr. Richardson stood, but failed by 139 votes. The resulting School Board had a Roman Catholic majority for the first and only time, but tried to represent the interests of all).
20th March, 1877

Elected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. W.H. Richardson</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>3,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Robinson</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Buchanan</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Gibb</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Oliver Haynes Duffell</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend J. Corboy</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>2,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend J. Bee</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>2,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. McGrorty</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>2,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend G. Meynell</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>2,254</td>
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</table>

Not elected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend W. Hedley</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>2,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Matthew Nixon</td>
<td>I.U.</td>
<td>1,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. R. Huntley</td>
<td>I.U.</td>
<td>997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. English</td>
<td>I.U.</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chairman: Mr. W.H. Richardson; Vice-Chairman: Mr. J. Buchanan

(This was a complete reversal of the special election, with Mr. Richardson, rejected twelve months previously, heading the poll).

19th March, 1880

Elected:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend W. Hedley</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>3,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend Peter Ward</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>3,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Robinson</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>3,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Salter</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>2,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend J. Bee</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>2,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. O.H. Duffell</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. McGrorty</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>2,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Buchanan</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Gibb</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not elected:

Mr. W.H. Richardson  U.  2,279
Mr. Zephaniah Harris  I.  420

Chairman: Reverend J. Bee; Vice-Chairman: Mr. H. McGrorty

(In August, 1881, Mr. J. Buchanan's seat was declared vacant for non-attendance, and Dr. William Sweet replaced him. Reverend P. Ward resigned in June, 1880, and was replaced by Reverend Jeremiah Foran, who resigned in October, 1882. In November, 1882, Reverend W. Hedley died, so this left two unfilled vacancies).

22nd March, 1883 (Board increased to eleven members)

Elected:

Mr. W.H. Richardson  U.  3,943
Dr. J.E. Norman  U.  3,832
Reverend Matthew Toner  R.C.  3,810
Mr. John Roy  U.  3,201
Mr. Joseph Longmore  U.  3,147
Mr. H. McGrorty  R.C.  2,886
Mr. T. Gibb  U.  2,857
Reverend J.A. Kirwan  R.C.  2,748
Mr. John Jameson  U.  2,741
Reverend J. Bee  Ch.  2,213
Mr. Thomas Robinson  I.  2,073

Not elected:

Mr. T. Salter  Ch.  1,760
Mr. Henry Hunting  I.  1,254
Mr. John Smith  I.  23

Chairman: Mr. W.H. Richardson; Vice-Chairman: Mr. T. Gibb
(The Mayor, Mr. George Dexter, called a meeting to try to avoid a contest and even withdrew his own name from the list of candidates, but his efforts were nullified by the three Independents, one of whom was elected. Once again positions were reversed, with Mr. Richardson, ejected in 1880 for advocating a Higher Grade School, heading the poll).

17th March, 1886

Elected:

- Mr. John Averill I. 6,136
- Reverend M. Toner R.C. 4,351
- Reverend Martin Hayes R.C. 3,933
- Reverend Peter Clarke Ch. 3,470
- Mr. Andrew Morrison T. 3,061
- Mr. H. McGrorty R.C. 2,956
- Mr. T. Robinson Ch. 2,922
- Mr. J. Roy U. 2,919
- Mr. W.H. Richardson U. 2,891
- Mr. Thomas Ramsey Ch. 2,802
- Mr. John Cameron L. 2,592

Not elected:

- Mr. T. Gibb U. 2,466
- Mr. J. Jameson U. 2,296
- Mr. James Ratcliffe I. 2,014
- Mr. J.W. Moore U. 807

Chairman: Reverend M. Hayes; Vice-Chairman: Mr. W.H. Richardson

(This election was interesting because of the high number of votes polled by the Independent candidate, Mr. Averill, an ex-School Board teacher, and because of the introduction of the Temperance ticket. It also marked the co-operation that was being fostered on the Board itself, with a Denominationalist Chairman and an Unsectarian Vice-Chairman. Apart from 1895 to 1898, if there was
a Denominationalist Chairman, then the Vice-Chairman was an
Unsectarian and vice versa for the rest of the Board's existence.

In June, 1887, Mr. Cameron's seat was declared vacant for non-
attendance, and Mr. T. Salter, an ex-member, filled the vacancy.
However, in August, 1888, Mr. Salter's seat was declared vacant
for the same reason, and this time the vacancy was not filled).

18th March, 1889

Elected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend M. Toner</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>4,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend M. Hayes</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>4,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend Alexander Matheson</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>3,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Robinson</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>3,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. McGrorty</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>3,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Wallace</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>3,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend P. Clarke</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>2,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Averill</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>2,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Ratcliffe</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. W.H. Richardson</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Morris</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>2,076</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not elected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Morrison</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. James Weir</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Gibb</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>1,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. George Johnson</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>1,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Storey</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chairman: Mr. W.H. Richardson; Vice-Chairman: Reverend P. Clarke
18th March, 1892

**Elected:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend M. Toner</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>5,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend M. Hayes</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>5,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Wallace</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>4,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. William Scott</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>4,621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Morrison</td>
<td>I.</td>
<td>4,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Robinson</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>4,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend Charles Richard</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>4,142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jubilee Loxley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. H. McGrorty</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>3,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Welch</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>3,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend A. Matheson</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>3,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Ratcliffe</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>3,505</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Not elected:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend P. Clarke</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>2,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alexander Hislop</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>2,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Hewitt</td>
<td>L.</td>
<td>2,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. George Johnson</td>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Retired)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chairman:** Reverend A. Matheson; **Vice-Chairman:** Mr. T. Robinson

(Two Trades Council sponsored Labour candidates entered the fray at this election, with Mr. Ratcliffe gaining a seat. Mr. Morrison and Mr. Wallace were also working-class candidates, so working-class representation was strong on this School Board. The icing was put on the cake when Mr. Ratcliffe eventually became Vice-Chairman.

In September, 1892, Reverend Matheson left the district and was replaced by Reverend Clarke who had polled the highest number of votes among the unsuccessful candidates. Mr. Robinson was elevated to the Chairmanship, and Mr. Ratcliffe was elected as the new Vice-Chairman. On the death of Mr. McGrorty in May, 1893, Mr. John O'Connor was elected to replace him).
15th March, 1895

Elected:

Mr. William Jackson I. 6,141
Reverend M. Toner R.C. 6,042
Reverend M. Hayes R.C. 4,295
Reverend George West Ch. 4,260
Mr. John O'Connor R.C. 3,879
Mr. T. Robinson Ch. 3,671
Reverend C.R.J. Loxley Ch. 3,508
Mr. J. Welch I. 3,415
Mr. Zephaniah Harris E. 3,179
Mr. T. Wallace L. 2,871
Mr. W. Scott U. 2,824

Not elected:

Mr. Anthony Thackeray M.R. 2,736
Mr. George Peterkin W.M. 2,559
Mr. A. Hislop I. 2,301
Mr. John Rust E. 2,065
Mr. Miles Fenton Soc. 1,795

Chairman: Mr. T. Robinson; Vice-Chairman: Reverend C.R.J. Loxley

(Once more an Independent candidate polled an unusually high number of votes. This election also saw the introduction of Economist and Socialist candidates).

18th March, 1898

Elected:

Reverend M. Toner R.C. 5,880
Dr. J. Weir U. 5,371
Reverend George Wilkinson Ch. 5,035
Reverend M. Hayes R.C. 4,877
Mr. T. Wallace U. 4,562
Mr. J. O'Connor  
Reverend C.R.J. Loxley  
Mr. W. Scott  
Mr. W. Jackson  
Mr. T. Robinson  
Mr. Z. Harris  

Not elected:  
Reverend Alexander Lobban  
Mr. Martin Clark  

Chairman: Mr. W. Jackson; Vice-Chairman: Mr. J. O'Connor  

15th March, 1901  

Elected:  
Reverend M. Toner  
Reverend M. Hayes  
Mr. J. O'Connor  
Mr. T. Robinson  
Reverend G. Wilkinson  
Dr. J. Weir  
Mr. W. Jackson  
Mr. W. Scott  
Mr. T. Wallace  
Reverend C.R.J. Loxley  
Mr. Z. Harris  

Not elected:  
Mr. George Young  
Mr. Edward Trainor  

Chairman: Reverend M. Hayes; Vice-Chairman: Mr. W. Scott
(This was a great success for the Roman Catholics with their three candidates taking the top three places in the poll, gaining almost a third of the total votes cast, and this in the face of an Independent Roman Catholic. The election was also a vindication of the retiring School Board as it was returned in its entirety. This was also the closest Jarrow ever came to avoiding a contest. On 8th March, 1901, the Mayor held a meeting to try to avoid a contest and four of the seventeen candidates withdrew. Unfortunately for Jarrow ratepayers two newcomers, Mr. Young and Mr. Trainor, refused to drop out and a contest was forced. Hopes of no contest led to fewer voters turning out, the poll being 2,000 down on 1898, and in the event both the newcomers were unsuccessful).

Jarrow School Board had fifty-one different people as members during its existence, and like Durham not one of these was female. Of the twelve School Boards seven were dominated by the Denominationals and five by the Unsectarians. The majority changed hands six different times, often during crucial periods, and all of Jarrow's elections were contested. This was because of the size of the district and the diverse population, which made compromise difficult. Besides this, with the frequent change of Board domination the parties always had everything to play for. Fifteen different ministers of religion sat on Jarrow School Board. Reverend Matthew Toner and Mr. Thomas Robinson were the two longest serving members with twenty-one years' service each. The latter was also Chairman for six years. Reverend Peter Ward, a member for six months, had the shortest service.

APPENDIX V

Results Of The School Board Elections For Darlington


4th January, 1871

Elected:

Reverend Henry Coll  R.C.(L.)  4,941
Mr. William Coor-Parker  F.(L.)  2,900
Mr. David Dale  F.(L.)  2,799
Reverend William Stephens  Ch.(T.)  2,737
Mr. Henry J. Gieveson  Ch.(T.)  2,714
Mr. Henry Pease  F.(L.)  2,712
Mr. John Morrell  I.(L.)  2,503
Reverend Arthur Hughes  Ch.(T.)  2,365
Mr. John Bowman  W.(L.)  2,342

Not elected:
Mr. Robert Teasdale  F.M.(L.)  2,333
Mr. John Kane  W.C.  2,081
Mr. Richard Luck  Ch.(T.)  841

Chairman: Mr. H. Pease; Vice-Chairman: Mr. D. Dale

(There had been twenty-three candidates for the nine seats so meetings were held to try to avoid a contest. Eleven nominees, including the much respected Mr. Arthur Pease, withdrew, but as there were still twelve remaining a contest was unavoidable).

7th January, 1874

Elected:
Reverend H. Coll  R.C.(L.)  4,181
Mr. J. Morrell  U.(L.)  2,882
Mr. J. Kane  U.(L.)  2,729
Reverend W. Stephens  Ch.(T.)  2,484
Mr. Theodore Fry  U.(L.)  2,459
Mr. D. Dale  U.(L.)  2,433
Reverend A. Hughes  Ch.(T.)  2,099
Mr. R. Luck  Ch.(T.)  2,073
Mr. W. Coor-Parker  U.(L.)  1,951

Not elected:
Mr. John Grace  Ch.(T.)  1,798
Mr. Edward Hutchinson  Ch.(T.)  52

Chairman: Mr. D. Dale; Vice-Chairman: Mr. W. Coor-Parker

(In the Minutes Book for 3rd April, 1876, there was the report of the death of Mr. Kane in Birmingham on 21st March. Reverend
Coll resigned because of ill-health, this being minuted on 2nd October, 1876. Neither was replaced before the ensuing election.

6th January, 1877

Elected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend Charles Turnerelli</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>3,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverend James King</td>
<td>I.Ch.</td>
<td>3,663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. William Wooler</td>
<td>T.</td>
<td>2,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. D. Dale</td>
<td>U.(L.)</td>
<td>2,387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Henry Brooks</td>
<td>U.(L.)</td>
<td>2,361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Fry</td>
<td>U.(L.)</td>
<td>2,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Blumer</td>
<td>U.(L.)</td>
<td>2,047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. W. Coor-Parker</td>
<td>U.(L.)</td>
<td>1,852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. R. Luck</td>
<td>I.Ch.</td>
<td>1,705</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not elected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. E. Hutchinson</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>1,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. Grace</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chairman: Mr. D. Dale; Vice-Chairman: Mr. W. Coor-Parker

(Nineteen candidates were nominated for this election. Eight, including three ladies, Mrs. Proctor, Mrs. Bowman and Mrs. Kane, withdrew, leaving eleven to contest the election. On 4th March, 1878, Reverend Turnerelli resigned on taking up a position at Sunderland, to be replaced by Reverend P.P. Wade on 10th April, 1878. Because of ill-health Mr. Luck resigned on 11th May, 1878, and was replaced by Mr. Edward Hutchinson on 21st June, 1878).

6th January, 1880 (Board increased to eleven members)

Elected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverend P.P. Wade</td>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>3,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. T. Fry</td>
<td>U.</td>
<td>3,328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mr. H. Brooks U. 2,723  
Mr. Henry Byron Reed Ch. 2,708  
Mr. W. Coor-Parker U. 2,540  
Mr. J. Grace Ch. 2,535  
Reverend C.G. Davis Ch. 2,501  
Mr. Edward Trow U. 2,347  
Reverend A. Holliday U. 2,323  
Mr. J. Blumer U. 2,276  
Mr. Ralph Mountford Ch. 2,101  
Not elected:
Reverend T.E. Hodgson Ch. 2,048  
Mr. John Bowman I. 1,521  
Mr. J.J. Wilkes I. 288  

Chairman: Mr. W. Coor-Parker; Vice-Chairman: Mr. T. Fry  

(Having been elected as Member of Parliament for Darlington, Mr. Fry resigned on 29th April, 1880. On 15th June, 1880, the Unsectarians proposed Mr. John Williamson as a replacement, but the Denominationalists wanted Reverend Hodgson, Vicar of Darlington, as he had been next highest on the poll. This was defeated so Mr. J. Bowman was proposed. Again this was defeated so Mr. Williamson became the new member. On 24th June, 1880, Mr. H. Brooks was elected Vice-Chairman).

9th January, 1883  

Elected:
Mr. Thomas Barron Ch. 4,401  
Mr. R. Mountford Ch. 3,885  
Reverend William Rigby R.C. 3,511  
Mr. George Webster R.C. 3,467  
Mr. H.B. Reed Ch. 3,427  
Mrs. Mary Pease U. 3,422
Mr. J. Grace Ch. 3,417
Mr. Edward McCulloch U. 3,381
Mr. H. Brooks U. 2,987
Mr. J. Blumer U. 2,757
Mr. W. Coor-Parker U. 2,577

Not elected:
Mr. J. Williamson U. 2,277
Mr. Harrison Fenwick I. 1,659
Mr. R. Wilson Ch. 54

Chairman: Mr. J. Grace; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Rigby

(At this election Darlington's first woman School Board member was elected. On 27th November, 1884, Mr. McCulloch resigned, then on 22nd January, 1885, the death of Mr. Grace was recorded in the minutes. Reverend C.G. Davis, an ex-member, was elected instead of Mr. Grace, and Mr. Barron was elected Chairman. On 29th January, 1885, Mr. E. Trow, another ex-member, was elected to replace Mr. McCulloch).

8th January, 1886

Elected:
Mr. T. Barron Ch. 4,703
Reverend C.G. Davis Ch. 4,686
Mr. John Thompson Hall Ch. 4,362
Mr. R. Mountford Ch. 4,265
Reverend W. Rigby R.C. 3,510
Mr. George Bartlett B. 3,486
Reverend C.T. Coulbeck P.M. 3,278
Mr. J. Blumer Unit. 3,276
Mr. W. Coor-Parker Q. 3,260
Mr. G. Webster R.C. 3,187
Mr. John Todd W.M. 3,186
Not elected:

Mr. Thomas French  U.  3,136
Mr. J. Wharton      I.  1,603
Mr. J. Law         I.  413

Chairman: Mr. T. Barron; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Rigby

(On 27th May, 1886, Mr. Blumer resigned, being replaced by Mr. Thomas French on 22nd July, 1886).

7th December, 1888 (Uncontested)

Mr. T. Barron     D.
Mr. G. Bartlett   U.
Reverend C.G. Davis D.
Mr. John Pease Fry U.
Mr. J. Hall       D.
Mr. R. Mountford  D.
Reverend W. Rigby D.
Mr. William A. Spafford U.
Mr. J. Todd       U.
Mr. G. Webster    D.
Mr. James Wilson  U.

Chairman: Mr. T. Barron; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Rigby

(Nine candidates withdrew before the closing date in order to prevent a contest. On 18th December, 1890, Reverend Davis resigned, to be replaced by Reverend Alfred Boot on 29th January, 1891).

19th December, 1891

Elected:

Mr. John Howden     I.  6,625
Mr. T. Barron       Ch.  6,347
Mr. Richard Rogers Ch. 4,426
Reverend Alfred Boot Ch. 4,350
Mr. J. Hall Ch. 4,113
Miss Sophia Matilda Fry Q. 4,011
Mr. G. Bartlett B. 3,593
Mr. G. Webster R.C. 3,309
Reverend W. Rigby R.C. 3,062
Mr. J. Todd P.M. 2,830
Mr. W. Spafford Q. 2,468

Not elected:
Mr. J. Wilson B. 2,258

Chairman: Mr. T. Barron; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Rigby

(There had been nineteen candidates, including a second female, Miss Clara Curtis Lucas. All but twelve were induced to withdraw, the unofficial candidate being Mr. Howden, who refused. His position at the top of the poll vindicated his decision. On 28th September, 1893, Mr. Barron resigned because of ill-health, and on 14th November, 1893, Reverend Wilfred Gore-Browne was appointed in his place. Mr. Hall was elected as the new Chairman).

22nd December, 1894

Elected:
Reverend Wilfred Gore-Browne Ch. 8,047
Mr. J. Hall Ch. 6,531
Mr. R. Rogers Ch. 6,492
Reverend A. Boot Ch. 6,451
Mr. J. Howden I. 5,448
Miss S.M. Fry Q. 4,627
Mr. J. Todd P.M. 4,297
Reverend W. Rigby R.C. 4,049
Miss Clara Lucas Unit. 3,930
Mr. W. Spafford  Q.  3,865
Mr. G. Webster  R.C.  3,350

Not elected:
Mr. Joseph Walker  W.  3,224
Mr. C. Hinks  W.  3,063

Chairman: Mr. J. Hall; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Rigby

(At this election there was a marked increase in the number of votes cast, there being 63,374 compared with 47,392 in 1891. This was possibly because of an increase in population, census figures for 1891 showing 35,899 people in Darlington and this rose to 44,511 by 1901. The poll was also possibly affected by greater efforts on the part of the Church in defence of the Voluntary Schools, something which was occurring nationwide around this time. Another feature of this election was the return of two women members, a unique event in the North East. If the Wesleyans had run only one candidate he would probably have been elected, their combined vote being 6,287, which would have taken fifth place above Mr. Howden.

On 29th March, 1897, Mr. Howden resigned and was replaced by Mr. Joseph Walker anyway. The death of Mr. Todd was recorded on 8th April, 1897, and on 28th May, 1897, Mr. Charles Henry Leach was elected to replace him. Then on 31st May, 1897, Reverend Boot resigned, to be replaced by Reverend Francis Warren Parry Jones Mortimer on 26th July, 1897).

14th December, 1897 (Uncontested)

Mr. J. Hall  V. (ex-Chairman)
Reverend W. Rigby  V. (ex-Vice-Chairman)
Miss S.M. Fry  U.
Reverend Hugh Rothwell  U.
Mr. Charles Leach  U.
Mr. J. Walker U.
Mr. Robert Davies U.
Reverend F. Mortimer V.
Reverend W. Gore-Browne V.
Mr. R. Rogers V.
Mr. G. Webster V.

Chairman: Mr. J. Hall; Vice-Chairman: Reverend W. Rigby

(There had been sixteen candidates originally, then four of them withdrew. At the last minute Councillor William Oliver was prevailed upon to do likewise so there was no contest. On 20th July, 1899, Reverend Gore-Browne resigned as he was going on a prolonged tour of the East. He was replaced by Reverend Harold Bilbrough on 5th October, 1899. Miss Fry resigned on 22nd March, 1900, because she was moving from the town, and on 19th April, 1900, she was replaced by Mrs. Mildred Dorothea Marshall).

14th December, 1900

Elected:
Reverend H. Bilbrough Ch. 6,538
Mr. J. Hall Ch. 6,411
Reverend F. Mortimer Ch. 6,348
Mr. R. Rogers Ch. 6,116
Mr. J. Walker I.P. 5,067
Mr. C. Leach S.B. 4,650
Mr. Edward Walker S.B. 4,388
Mr. R. Davies S.B. 4,131
Mr. William Priestman R.C. 4,017
Reverend W. Rigby R.C. 3,948
Reverend Charles Duthie S.B. 3,115

Not elected:
Mrs. Mildred Marshall S.B. 3,097
Mr. Thomas James S.B. 2,536
Mr. William Oliver I. 2,009
(There were sixteen candidates and compromise could not be
effected, as only two would withdraw. Again there was a high
poll with 62,374 votes being cast. On 24th January, 1901, the
death of Mr. Rogers was recorded. Mr. E. Walker resigned on
28th January, 1901, having attended no meetings. On 21st March,
1901, Mr. William Stewart replaced Mr. Rogers and Mrs. Marshall
replaced Mr. Walker. At the same time Mr. Hall's resignation
was recorded, as he had got himself into legal difficulties.
Reverend F. Mortimer was elected as the new Chairman. Mr. E.
Hutchinson, an ex-member, replaced Mr. Hall on 10th May, 1901.
Mrs. Marshall resigned on 22nd May, 1902, to be replaced by
Mr. Thomas James on 19th June, 1902. On 23rd July, 1903,
Reverend Duthie resigned and was replaced by Miss Lucas on 20th
August, 1903. As well as all these comings and goings, there had
been no effective Vice-Chairman since 23rd October, 1902, when
Reverend Rigby resigned because of ill-health. He was asked to
stay on and reluctantly agreed, but he attended no further
meetings).

Altogether fifty-seven different people served on the eleven
Darlington School Boards. The first five Boards were dominated
by the Unsectarians, while the latter six were Denominationalist
dominated Boards. Sixteen different ministers of religion served
on Darlington School Board and four females became members,
Darlington being one of the few Boards in the area to elect ladies.
The longest serving School Board member was Reverend William
Rigby with twenty-one years' service, and he was also Vice-
Chairman throughout this time. Mr. Edward Walker served for the
shortest period, just 56 days, and he attended no meetings. Nine
Darlington School Board elections were contested, and two were uncontested, as generally compromise was difficult.

Sources: The Northern Echo.  
The Darlington and Stockton Times.  
Darlington School Board Minute Books, 1871 to 1904 (Six Volumes).
S. BARRADEL-SMITH, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 9 Mar. 83. S.B. 1883-1886.


GEORGE BULMAN, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 17 Mar. 71. S.B. 1871-1874.


MICAH CHAMBERS, draper, N.C. El. 9 Feb. 85 (Henry Robson, q.v., had died) S.B. 1885-1904.


ROBERT HAUXWELL, ironfounder, N.C. El. 10 Apr. 99 (W.H. Smith, q.v., had resigned) S.B. 1899-1902 (d.) Alderman.


JOHN JOHNSON, miners' agent, N.C. El. 8 Nov. 97 (Launcelot Trotter, q.v., disqualified) S.B. 1897-1901.

GREGORY AUGUSTINE JONES, priest, R.C. El. 16 Sep. 87 (Edward Consitt, q.v., had died) S.B. 1887-1895.

JOHN PATRICK, solicitor, Ch. El. 12 Mar. 86. S.B. 1886-1904.

WILLIAM HAMMOND PATTERSON, miners' agent, N.C. El. 12 Mar. 86. S.B. 1886-1892.


WILLIAM PROCTOR, solicitor, I. El. 9 Mar. 1877. S.B. 1877-1878. 14 June 78 disqualified for non-attendance. Proctor, the shortest serving Board member, did not attend any meetings.

HENRY ROBSON, builder, Wes. El. 10 Mar. 76 (George Coward, q.v., had died). S.B. 1876-1885 (d.).

HERBERT ROBSON, licenced victualler, Ch. El. 5 Mar. 86. S.B. 1886-1889. On T.C., Mayor 1878-79.

THOMAS ROGERS, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. Mar. 74. S.B. 1874-1884 (resigned 8 Dec.).

CHRISTOPHER ROWLANDSON, land agent, Ch. El. Mar. 74. S.B. 1874-1904. V.C. 1877-1887. Chairman 1887-1904. On City Council, becoming Alderman and serving as Mayor. City and County J.P. Elected to County Council; Chairman of Executive Committee. Served Board of Guardians. Leader of Conservative Party in Durham for many years. Chief agent and sub-treasurer to Dean and Chapter. Governor of County Hospital and other charitable institutions. For 34 years officer of volunteer movement, reaching rank of Colonel. First with 7th Durham, then 4th Volunteer Battalion Durham Light Infantry; C.O. for ten years.


LAUNCELOT TROTTER, Secretary of Durham Miners' Mechanics' Institute, N.C. El. 26 Feb. 92. S.B. 1892-1897 (8 Nov. disqualified for non-attendance). 21 May 81 elected from 5 candidates to succeed George Dover (d.) as second general secretary of Durham Colliery Mechanics' Association, founded 1879. Suggested as Labour parliamentary candidate for Bishop Auckland, 1885. Difficulty with Returning Officer's fees prevented him going forward. Suspended from office 15 May 97 owing to financial irregularities. 24 May resolution of Mechanics' Association Council asked him to resign. Hushed up because of sterling work he had accomplished; no court case, resignation merely reported in Advertiser.
JOHN GEORGE WILSON, solicitor, Ch. El. 9 Feb. 85 (Thomas Rogers, q.v., had resigned). S.B. 1885-1886.

The different strands of urban politics were illustrated at Durham by the fact that, of its thirty-four School Board members, twelve also served on the City Council, four becoming Aldermen, and five served as Poor Law Guardians. Of the five Mayors who sat on the School Board, one, Dr. Boyd, was Mayor three times. Five School Board members also became Justices of the Peace, while five went on to serve the Local Education Authority after 1904. At Durham the connection with the Cathedral and the Churches was also prominent. Besides the eleven ministers of religion, three of whom became Canons of the Cathedral, two other School Board members had connections with the Cathedral through their professional positions. Two School Board members were lay preachers and four were Sunday School teachers, showing their interest in both religion and education, two closely connected aspects of School Board politics.
APPENDIX VII

Dramatis Personae

Jarrow School Board

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bd.</td>
<td>Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.M.</td>
<td>Master of Surgery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cons.</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec.</td>
<td>Economist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El.</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.P.</td>
<td>Justice of the Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.R.C.P.</td>
<td>Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.D.</td>
<td>Doctor of Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.</td>
<td>Quaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Sectarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.B.</td>
<td>School Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>Temperance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.C.</td>
<td>Town Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.</td>
<td>Unsectarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.C.</td>
<td>Vice Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.C.</td>
<td>Working Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wes.</td>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


JAMES JOHN CORBOY, priest, R.C. El. 24 Mar. 71. S.B. 1871-1880. V.C. 1874-1876. Chairman 1876-1877. (Corboy was one of only three willing to serve on the controversial second Bd. He was Chairman of the only R.C. dominated Bd.).

GEORGE HORNSBY DEXTER, timber merchant, U. El. 11 Mar. 74. S.B. 1874-1876. (Refused to serve because of Richardson controversy. In 1883 he was again a candidate, then withdrew in the hope of avoiding a contest, but in vain). On T.C. after incorporation 1875. Mayor 1881-1882, 1882-1883 and 1883-1884. Alderman 1890. J.P. 1890.
CHARLES DOUGHERTY, grocer, R.C. El. 15 Mar. 76. S.B. 1876-1877.


WILLIAM HEDLEY, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 15 Mar. 76. S.B. 1876-1877 and 1880-1882. (Failed by 118 votes to be re-elected in 1877. Died, aged 36 on 29 Sep. 82). On the formation of the parish of Hebburn in 1874 became first incumbent on the preferment of Rev. Ormsby, q.v., Rector of Jarrow. Prior to this curate at Greenside. On T.C. after 1875 incorporation.

WILLIAM JACKSON, artist, I. El. 15 Mar. 95. S.B. 1895-1904. Chairman 1898-1901. Teacher for twenty years, then variously artist, manager and editor.


JOHN MAJOR, I. El. 11 Mar. 74. S.B. 1874-1877. One of only three members willing to serve on controversial second Bd.


JOHN McINTYRE, shipbuilder, U. El. 24 Mar. 71. S.B. 1871-1876. (Refused to serve in 1874 because of Richardson controversy).

PETER McPARLIN, provision dealer and Post Office manager, R.C. El. 15 Mar. 76. S.B. 1876-1877. Also served on South Shields S.B. Post Office manager from 1853 until his death in 1889.

GEORGE MEYNELL, priest, R.C. El. 24 Mar. 71. S.B. 1871-1876 and 1877-1880. (Refused to serve in 1874 because of Richardson controversy).

JOHN MORRIS, shipbuilder and repairer, Ch. El. 18 Mar. 89. S.B. 1889-1892.

ANDREW MORRISON, plater, T./U./I. El. 17 Mar. 86. S.B. 1886-1889 and 1892-1895. (Failed by 73 votes to be re-elected in 1889).


THOMAS RAMSEY, registrar of births and deaths, Ch. El. 17 Mar. 86. S.B. 1886-1889.


WILLIAM HENRY RICHARDSON, paper manufacturer, U./Q. El. 24 Mar. 71. S.B. 1871-1874, 1877-1880 and 1883-1886. (Disqualified by Returning Officer 1874, because ballot paper only had initials of his Christian names, and because one of his proposers' name was not entered on the register of ratepayers. All but three of those elected refused to serve in protest. At the ensuing special election, 15 Mar. 76, Richardson failed to be returned by 139 votes, only to top the poll a year later, 20 Mar. 77. He was rejected again 19 Mar. 80, topped the poll 22 Mar. 83 and was successful in 1886 and 1889, retiring from the Bd. in 1892). V.C. 1886-1889. Chairman 1871-1874, 1877-1880, 1883-1886 and 1889-1892. From one of largest and most respected north country Quaker families; moved from Sunderland to Jarrow when he bought Springwell Paper Mills, 1860. Also connected with Curlew Chemical Works. Active for Liberals in North Durham constituency. Chairman of Local Board. On T.C. and created Borough Alderman on incorporation, 1875. J.P. 1868. On D.C.C. 1889; County Alderman 1889. V.C. of County Education Committee. County J.P.


JOHN ROY, licenced victualler, U. El. 22 Mar. 83. S.B. 1883-1889. Licensee of Station Hotel, Jarrow.

THOMAS SMITH SALTER, iron merchant, S. El. 19 Mar. 80. S.B. 1880-1883. (Failed by 313 votes to be re-elected 83). June 87 replaced John Cameron, q.v., disqualified, but Salter's seat declared vacant for non-attendance Aug. 87. On T.C. Mayor 1885-1886 and 1886-1887. J.P.


PETER WARD, priest, R.C. El. 19 Mar. 80. S.B. Mar.-June 1880 when he resigned; replaced by Rev. Foran, q.v.

JAMES WEIR, medical practitioner, U. El. 18 Mar. 98. S.B. 1898-1904.


GEORGE WEST, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 15 Mar. 95. S.B. 1895-1898. Also served on Board of Guardians.


The fifty-one different School Board members who sat on Jarrow School Board came from all walks of life and represented the whole area. Many of them also served on the Town Council after Jarrow's incorporation in 1875, illustrating the link between these two aspects of urban politics. Five Board members were elected Mayor, one of them, George Dexter, three times, four were Aldermen, four went on to serve the new Local Authorities and seven became justices of the Peace. They showed a sense of duty to their fellows wishing, like W.H. Richardson, to open up educational opportunities for all.
APPENDIX VIII

Dramatis Personae

Darlington School Board

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bap.</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cong.</td>
<td>Congregationalist</td>
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<td>D.C.C.</td>
<td>Durham County Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El.</td>
<td>Elected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.P.</td>
<td>Justice of the Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.E.A.</td>
<td>Local Education Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P.</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prim. Meth.</td>
<td>Primitive Methodist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.</td>
<td>Quaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.B.</td>
<td>School Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.C.</td>
<td>Town Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.U.</td>
<td>Trades Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.</td>
<td>Unsectarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.C.</td>
<td>Vice Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wes.</td>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


HAROLD ERNEST BILBROUGH, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 15 Oct. 99.
S.B. 1899-1904. On South Shields S.B. 1895-97. Served
Darlington Education Committee 1904, then South Shields
Education Committee. Curate of South Shields 1890-97;
Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Darlington, 1897-1904.
Commissary to Bishop of Madagascar 1899. Chaplain to
Bishop of Durham 1901. Rural Dean of Jarrow 1904. Became
Bishop of Newcastle 1927.

JOHN GEORGE BLUMER, colliery agent, U. El. 6 Jan. 77. S.B. 1877-
1889.

ALFRED BOOT, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 29 Jan. 91 (C.G. Davis,
q.v., had resigned). S.B. 1891-1897. Curate at St. Hild's,
South Shields, 1882-4. Curate at St. Mary's, Durham, 1884.
Vicar of St. John's, Darlington 1886-97. Sunday school
teacher. Helped form society for young men of the parish.
Vicar of St. George's, Jesmond, 1897. Chaplain to the High
Sheriff of Northumberland, 1900.

JOHN HARDCASTLE BOWMAN, tanner, Wes. El. 4 Jan. 71. S.B. 1871-
1874. Principal proprietor of the Darlington and Stockton
Times.

HENRY BROOKS, private school proprietor, U. El. 6 Jan. 77. S.B.
1877-1886. V.C. 24 June 1880-1884 (Theodore Fry, q.v., had
resigned and David Dale, q.v., became Chairman).

C.T. COULBECK, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 8 Jan. 86. S.B. 1886-
1889.

HENRY COLL, priest, R.C. El. 4 Jan. 71. S.B. 1871-1874. Priest
at St. Augustine's R.C. Church. Left 1876, ill-health.

WILLIAM COOR-PARKER, manager of Henry Pease Spinning Mills, U./Q.
El. 4 Jan. 71. S.B. 1871-1889. V.C. 1874-1880. Chairman
1880-83. On Board of Guardians. Member of Peace Temperance
Social Party. Superintendent of day school at Skinnergate.
Manager of Ackworth School. Clerk to Small Meetings Committee,
Richmond.

DAVID DALE, manufacturer, Q. El. 4 Jan. 71. S.B. 1871-1880. V.C.
1871-74. Chairman 1874-80. J.P. and Deputy Lieutenant for
County of Durham. 1880 High Sheriff of County. On D.C.C.
and for six years Chairman of Education Committee. Chairman
of Governors of Darlington Grammar School and of Council of
Girls' High School. President of Iron and Steel Institute.
Served on various Royal Commissions. Director of N.E. Rail-
way Company, Pease and Partners Ltd. and other firms. Baronet.

ROBERT WILLIAM DAVIES, managing director, iron manufacturer, U. El.


HENRY J. GRIEVESON, railway director, Ch. El. 4 Jan. 71. S.B. 1871-1874.

JOHN THOMPSON HALL, chartered accountant, Ch. El. 8 Jan. 86. S.B. 1886-1901 (resigned 21 Mar.). Chairman 14 Nov. 93 (Thomas Barron, q.v., had resigned) until 1901. John Hall was indicted on five charges of fraud and embezzlement on 21 Nov. 1901, having been extradited from America. The sum involved was between £14,000 and £15,000 and Hall was sentenced to five years penal servitude with hard labour. The two others involved got away with it. John Hall was a magistrate, a lay reader at Holy Trinity Church and a Sunday School teacher.


JAMES KING, clerk in holy orders, Ch. El. 6 Jan. 77. S.B. 1877-1880.

CLARA CURTIS LUCAS, spinster, U. El. 22 Dec. 94. S.B. 1894-1897. Re-elected 20 Aug. 1903 (Rev. Duthie, q.v., had resigned). S.B. 1903-1904. Secretary of Darlington Women's Liberal Association for eleven years. Chairman of Darlington Women's Suffrage Society; member of Temperance Movement. 1902 T.C. co-opted her as member of Education Committee; served to 1910. First lady member for Darlington County Borough Council 1915 (only woman member of Darlington T.C. in its first 75 years). On Education Committee and other Corporation Committees, becoming V.C. of the Library and Museum Committee, over which she presided while the Chairman was absent on active service.


RALPH MOUNTFORD, glass and china dealer, Ch. El. 6 Jan. 80. S.B. 1880-1891.

Wife of Henry Pease and Darlington's first female S.B. member. First Mayoress of Darlington. Member of Board of Guardians. Member of Committee of Training College for Schoolmistresses. Helped High School for Girls. Promoted the Mothers' Union at Cockerton.


HENRY BYRON REED, journalist, Ch. El. 6 Jan. 80. S.B. 1880-1886. Editor of North Eastern Independent on its establishment in 1879. Later editor of North Star, then Bradford Argus. 1885 stood unsuccessfully as Con. candidate for West Bradford. M.P. for East Bradford 1886-96. At Darlington had been J.P. Also active in Church Defence Movement; Chief Secretary of Church Defence Association. Chairman of Council of National Union of Conservative Associations. Member of Grand Council of the Primrose League. Died as a result of a carriage accident, 1896, aged 42.


RICHARD ROGERS, gentleman, Ch. El. 19 Dec. 91. S.B. 1891-1901 (d. 13 Jan.).


WILLIAM JOHN STEWART, Ch. El. 21 Mar. 1901 (Richard Rogers, q.v., had died). S.B. 1901-1904. Served T.C.; Mayor 1898-9; Alderman 1915. On Education Committee 1904.


CHARLES DONATUS TURNERELLI, priest, R.C. El. 6 Jan. 77. S.B. 1877-1878 (resigned 4 Mar.). Parish priest of St. William's, Darlington. Left to go to Sunderland, 1878. Served on Sunderland S.B.

P.P. WADE, priest, R.C. El. 10 Apr. 78 (Rev. Turnerelli, q.v., had resigned). S.B. 1878-1883.

EDWARD DANIEL WALKER, newspaper proprietor, U. El. 14 Dec. 1900. S.B. 1900-1901 (resigned 28 Jan.). On T.C. 1879; Mayor 1886-7, 1892-3 and 1901-2. County Councillor; Alderman 1888. J.P. 1892. Member of Darlington Board of Guardians. Attended no meetings of the S.B. and was a member for only 35 days, inclusive.

JOSEPH HENRY WALKER, farmer, Wes. El. 29 Mar. 97 (John Howden, q.v., had resigned). S.B. 1897-1904.

GEORGE WEBSTER, solicitor, R.C. El. 9 Jan. 83. S.B. 1883-1901.

JOHN WILLIAMSON, farmer, U. El. 15 June 80 (Theodore Fry, q.v., had resigned). S.B. 1880-1883. Stood unsuccessfully 1883, 300 votes short.


Darlington certainly attracted many of its most eminent citizens onto the School Board, while at the same time providing opportunities for the working-classes and for women. Besides the many Town Councillors, Aldermen, Mayors, Justices and Poor Law Guardians who served on Darlington's School Board, three of its members became Members of Parliament and two of its working-class members contested Parliamentary seats, albeit unsuccessfully. Two prominent Board members, David Dale and Theodore Fry, served as Deputy Lieutenants of the County and both also became Baronets.
Two of the clergymen who served the School Board rose to become Bishops. Twelve Darlington School Board members actively continued their educational work by serving on Local Education Committees. So, Darlington is a good example of a School Board showing the various aspects of educational politics.
APPENDIX IX

Elementary Education Acts, 1870, 1873.

General Order regulating the Triennial Election of a School Board in a Borough.

AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, WHITEHALL.

The 3rd day of October, 1873

BY THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, by virtue and in pursuance of the powers in them vested under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 and 1873, and of every other power enabling them in this behalf, do order, and it is hereby ordered as follows:--

With respect to the Triennial Election of a School Board in a Borough:

1. The number of Members of the School Board for a Borough is the number determined in the first instance by the Education Department; or thereafter by the resolution in force for the time being, which has been duly passed by the School Board, and approved by the said Department.

2. The Returning Officer shall be the Mayor of the Borough or other Officer who, under the law relating to Municipal Elections, presides at such Elections.

3. The members of every School Board shall hold office for three years, and the day for the triennial retirement of members shall be the same day of the year as that which was fixed for the first election of the School Board.

The election of members of a School Board to fill up the vacancies to be caused by every such retirement, shall be held upon some convenient day to be fixed by the Returning Officer in the notice to be issued by him in pursuance of this order, provided that such day of election shall be not more than fourteen clear days and not less than four clear days before the day here-inbefore fixed for such retirement.
4. **Fourteen clear days at least before the day fixed for the triennial election**, the Returning Officer shall prepare, sign, and publish, such notice of the election as is hereinafter prescribed.

5. The notice shall specify the number of Members to be elected, with the day fixed for the triennial election, and shall also specify a place for the reception of the nomination papers hereinafter mentioned.

   The notice shall be in the form annexed to this order, or to the like effect.

6. After publication of the notice, but not less than **ten clear days** before the day fixed for the triennial election, any two persons whose names are on the Burgess Roll of a Borough, may nominate as a candidate any one person of full age, by sending to, or delivering at, the appointed place, a nomination paper subscribed by such two persons as aforesaid, and stating the Christian name and Surname, with the place of abode and description of each subscriber, and of the candidate nominated; and the Returning Officer shall send, forthwith, notice of such nomination to each candidate.

   A person shall not join more than once in nominating a candidate in the election.

7. No nomination paper shall be received after four o'clock in the afternoon of the last day upon which such paper may be received, and no person shall be a candidate unless he has been nominated within the time and in the manner aforesaid.

   The Returning Officer shall decide whether any nomination is valid, and his decision shall be final.

8. **Eight clear days at least before the day fixed for the election** the names, places of abode and descriptions of the several candidates nominated as aforesaid shall be advertised by the Returning Officer in one or more of the newspapers circulating in the Borough, or shall be published in like manner as in the case of an election of Councillors.

9. After delivery of a nomination paper, but not less than **six clear days** before the day fixed for the election, any candidate may be withdrawn by delivering at the place appointed, a notice of such withdrawal, addressed to the Returning Officer, and signed by the candidate.

   Such notice shall not be delivered later than 4 o'clock in the afternoon.
10. If no more persons are nominated as aforesaid than there are members to be elected, such persons shall be deemed to be elected on the day fixed for the election, and the Returning Officer shall, on the said day, publish a list of the names, with the places of abode, and descriptions of the persons so elected, and such publication shall be conclusive evidence of the election.

The Returning Officer shall forthwith transmit a copy of such list to the Education Department.

11. If after the time hereinbefore limited for the withdrawal of any candidate more persons remain as candidates than there are members to be elected, the Returning Officer shall forthwith publish the names, places of abode and descriptions of the several candidates, and give notice that a poll will be taken on the day fixed for the election, between the hours specified in such notice.

12. The Returning Officer shall determine the number and situation of the Polling Stations, and shall publish the same not less than three clear days before the day fixed for the election.

No public house shall be used for a polling-station, or for the purposes of an election.

13. If the Borough is divided into Wards, each Voter shall give his vote in the Ward in which the property in respect of which he is entitled to vote is situate, and if it is situate in more than one Ward, he shall vote in any one of the Wards in which it is situate.

14. The Returning Officer, or some person or persons appointed by him for this purpose, shall preside at each polling-station, provided that only one person shall preside at the same time.

15. The poll shall commence at such an hour, not earlier than 8 a.m., and close at such an hour, not later than 8 p.m., as shall be fixed by the Returning Officer, but the poll shall be open for seven hours and no longer.

16. Subject to the provisions of this order, the poll shall be taken in like manner as a poll at a contested municipal election is directed by the Ballot Act, 1872, to be taken; and the provisions of that Act shall apply to the election in like manner as if they were contained in this order, with the substitution of the term "School Board Election" for the term "Municipal Election". Provided that:
a. Every voter shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of the members of the School Board to be elected, and may give all such votes to one candidate, or may distribute them among the candidates as he thinks fit.

b. The voter may place against the name of any candidate for whom he votes the number of votes he gives to such candidates in lieu of a cross, and the form of directions for the guidance of the voter in voting, contained in the Ballot Act, 1872, shall be altered accordingly:

c. The provisions of sections three, four, eleven, and twenty-four of the Ballot Act, 1872, shall be deemed to be regulations contained in this order, which involve a penalty within the meaning of section ninety of the Elementary Education Act, 1870.

17. The person presiding at the poll may, and if required by any two voters shall, put to any voter at the time of his applying for a Ballot Paper, but not afterwards, the following questions, or one of them, but no other:

(1) Are you the person whose name appears as A.B. on the list of Burgesses, being registered therein as being rated for property described to be situate therein?

(Here specify the street, etc., as described in the Burgess Roll.)

(2) Have you already voted at the present Election?

And no person required to answer any of the said questions shall be permitted or qualified to vote until he has answered the same.

18. In case of an equality of votes, the Returning Officer shall determine by lot the persons to be elected. The triennial election shall be deemed to have taken place on the day fixed for such election.

19. The Returning Officer shall publish notice of the result of the poll and of the names of the persons elected. He shall also forthwith transmit a copy of such notice to the Education Department, and deliver the Ballot-papers to the Town Clerk, to be kept for six months among the records of the Borough, and section 64(b) of the Ballot Act, 1872, shall apply as if it were inserted in this paper.
20. The expenses of the election and of taking the poll, and the remuneration to the Returning Officer and his assistants (if any), shall be paid by the School Board out of the School Fund. Provided that if any question shall arise between the Returning Officer and the School Board as to such expenses or remuneration, such question shall be referred to the Education Department, whose decision thereon shall be final and conclusive.

21. Notices and other matters required by these regulations to be published, shall be published in like manner as in the case of the election of Councillors.

(signed) F.R. Sandford

Secretary.
FORM OF NOTICE

TRIENNIAL ELECTION OF A SCHOOL BOARD IN A BOROUGH

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN - THAT

1. The Triennial Election of a School Board for this Borough will take place on the ............ day of ............ 187-.

2. The number of persons to be elected as Members of the School Board is ............

3. Any two Burgesses may nominate any one person of full age, and no more, as a Candidate, by sending to or delivering at the office of the Town Clerk (or other office to be specified) a nomination paper.

A person may not join more than once in nominating a candidate in the Election.

The nomination paper must be dated and subscribed by the two Burgesses, and must contain the Christian names, surnames, places of abode, and descriptions of the subscribers, and of the Candidate nominated.

No nomination paper will be received after four o'clock in the afternoon of the ............ day of ............

4. Public notice will be given of the list of Candidates on or before the ............ day of ............

5. Any Candidate may be withdrawn by delivering at the Town Clerk's office (or other office to be specified), not later than four o'clock in the afternoon of the ............ day of ............, a notice of withdrawal signed by the Candidate and addressed to the Returning Officer.

6. The voting will take place in each Ward, and notice of the number and situation of the polling stations will be published on or before the ............ day of ............

Each voter must vote in the Ward in which the property in respect of which he is rated is situate, and if it is situate in more than one Ward, in any one of the Wards in which it is situate.
7. The poll will be open from .... A.M. till .... P.M.

8. Every person upon the Burgess Roll is entitled to vote in the election. The voting shall be by Ballot.

9. Each voter has ...... votes, all or some of which he may distribute among the Candidates as he thinks fit.

Dated this ....... day of ....... 187-

(State office or address.) Returning Officer.
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PLATE XI

Map of Darlington showing Board and Voluntary Schools, 1884 (Darlington Public Library).
(In back cover pocket)