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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN CREWE,
1840-1918

M.Ed. THESIS, 1969

A. W. GEESON

ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the rapid if occasionally uncertain progress of education during the difficult period of transition from voluntary to State control in a nineteenth century 'new town' which was created and, for the first century of its existence, largely dominated by a single industrial organization, the London and North-Western (formerly Grand Junction) Railway Company.

After a brief explanatory account of the foundation of Crewe in a rural parish where no nucleated settlement had previously existed, the early chapters describe the various contributions made by Anglican, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist communities and by the Railway Company towards the provision of public elementary schools during the first thirty years of the town's growth. Some detail is also given of the work and progress of the schools.

The central section of the thesis is concerned with the period between the two major Education Acts of 1870 and 1902, during which Crewe's population increased

from less than 17,000 to more than 42,000, and deals in turn with the local response to the requirements of the 1870 Act and of subsequent educational legislation, the determined struggle on the part of the town's rate-payers, denominational bodies and the Railway Company to maintain elementary education on a voluntary basis, the improvements effected by the Crewe School Attendance Committee, the influences of the State grant system on the curriculum and organization of the schools and, finally, with the training of pupil teachers.

Following the Education Act of 1902, Crewe Borough Council became a 'Part III' local authority, and the remainder of the thesis constitutes an appraisal of the work and achievements, necessarily limited by steadily increasing financial restrictions, of the Crewe Education Committee during the first fifteen years of municipal control.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

C.B.E.C.	Crewe Borough Education Committee.
C.G.	<u>Crewe Guardian</u> newspaper.
Church Cttee.	Crewe Church Committee, Grand Junction Railway Board.
Church and Schools Cttee.	Church and Schools Committee of the London and North-Western Railway Board.
Crewe Cttee.	Crewe Committee of the London and North-Western Railway Board.
Cttee. of Coun.	Committee of the Privy Council on Education.
G.J.B.M.	Grand Junction Railway Board minutes.
L.N.W.B.	London and North-Western Railway Board.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
School Attend. Cttee.	School Attendance Committee, Crewe Town Council.

INTRODUCTION

THE EMERGENCE OF CREWE

As is well known, the modern town of Crewe owes its creation to the Board of Directors of the Grand Junction Railway Company who, for a number of reasons, selected this part of the Cheshire Plain as the site of their proposed new junction on the railway line between Birmingham and Liverpool in the 1830's. The area in which the new model town was to develop lay in the ancient ecclesiastical parish of Coppenhall which had, at an early date, been divided into the civil townships of Church Coppenhall and Monks Coppenhall. It should be noted that in this context the word "township" does not imply any form of nucleated village or settlement but refers merely to a land division. Indeed the total population of the parish in 1831 numbered but 498, of whom only 148 lived in the township of Monks Coppenhall which was destined to become the home of the new railway colony. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Census 1851, Part 1, vol. ii, div. viii, pp. 20-3.

The name of the new town was taken from the adjacent township of Crewe, lying to the south-east of Coppenhall, in which the railway station was built. This township, like the two Coppenhalls, possessed no urban nucleus, but contained the ancestral home and park of Baron Crewe who was violently opposed to railway development of any kind on his land. Although the Grand Junction Act of 1833 (3 Wm. IV, c.34) had obliged the Baron to allow the railway line and station to border on his estates he resolutely forbade the sale of any land in the township of Crewe for further railway development. (1)

Accordingly, when the Grand Junction Board decided to transfer its locomotive works and workers from Edge Hill, Liverpool, to the more central location at Crewe, suitable building land had to be sought outside the township of Crewe. In this quest the Board received timely assistance from the wealthy Nantwich lawyer Richard Edleston who had between 1811 and 1816 acquired the Oak farm and the Hall o'Shaw farm as well as other smaller estates in Monks Coppenhall, amounting

(1) W. H. Chaloner: The Social and Economic Development of Crewe 1780-1923, Manchester Univ. Press, 1950, p.5.

in all to just over 200 acres.⁽¹⁾ From Edleston the Grand Junction Board was able to purchase the land it required for its proposed railway works and accommodation for its workers.

Thus it happened that the nucleus of railway settlement developed not around the station itself in the township of Crewe, but a mile or so away to the north-west in the township of Monks Coppenhall, giving rise to the quaintly paradoxical local proverb: "The place which is Crewe is not Crewe; and the place which is not Crewe is Crewe."⁽²⁾ In fact this name was not officially adopted for the town until 1869, until which time it continued to be called Monks Coppenhall, and the actual railway station of Crewe remained outside the area of the borough from its incorporation in 1877 until the extension of its boundaries under the Ministry of

-
- (1) Land Tax Returns (Monks Coppenhall), 1781-1832; Poor Rate Book, Monks Coppenhall, 1837-44; Return of Owners of Land, 1873, vol. 1, Cheshire; (These are stored at the County Record Office, Chester Castle.)
Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, Jan. 31, 1846, p.77
- (2) 'The Jubilee of Crewe': published by the Crewe Guardian, July 1887, p.8. See Map 1.

Health's County of Chester Review Order in 1936. (1)

Not only does Crewe owe its birth and raison d'être to the railway age but for the first century or so of its existence it remained a town completely dominated by the influence of railways. In retrospect it seems inevitable that this should have been so considering that the only real natural resource Crewe possessed was its position at the north end of the Midland Gate as a potential route centre, and also that no real social or economic establishment existed here previously. Even at the present time it may be said that Crewe remains an industrial island in an agricultural sea. Not until the transfer of the Rolls Royce motor-car division from Derby to its present site in Pym's Lane in 1938 did the Railway Company encounter any serious challenge to its monopoly of male employment in Crewe. In addition to its rôle as employer the Railway Company owned and controlled for more than fifty years the essential public services of the town such as water and gas supplies,

(1) Staffordshire Advertiser, 27.2.69.

hospital, library and most educational facilities, as well as being landlord to most of the town's inhabitants. In short the Company exercised what Miss Dorothy Sylvester has referred to as a "smothering paternalism".⁽¹⁾ While the town's debt to the Company's benevolence cannot be denied, its economic imbalance which persists to the present time must also be attributed in large measure to this railway stranglehold in its early years.

It is clear then that an examination of the development of education in Crewe, as of any other facet of the town's social and economic history, must be closely concerned with the planning policies and the breadth of outlook of the former directors of the single commercial organization which created a flourishing town in a rural parish where a mere 27 houses inhabited by less than 150 farm workers had stood before. It is in the minute books of the Grand Junction Railway Company, which amalgamated with the London and Birmingham in 1846 to form the London and North Western Railway Company, that the earliest records

(1) Dorothy Sylvester and H. Brian Rodgers: Crewe - a Geographic, Economic and Demographic Study of the Town in relation to S. E. Cheshire, Crewe Borough Council, 1965, p.7.

of Crewe's history are to be found. Study of these reveals that while the Directors of the Company showed concern for the pastoral care and social well-being of their servants and their families, they did not seek to impose a dogmatic religious and educational policy on the new community, though it must be said that they gave much more financial aid to the establishment of Anglican churches and schools than to others. Rather, the Directors considered it their responsibility to provide the money necessary for building, equipping and staffing churches and schools. They were content to leave the internal organization of them to those whose professional business it was, and nowhere in the Company's records can any report of interference or dispute in the actual working of the Company's schools be found. To this extent, therefore, the Company must be regarded as the financial benefactor-in-chief rather than as actual directors of education, and the limit to which the Company directors controlled education in the town was determined by the amount of money they felt inclined to spend on it. In this matter they exercised very careful supervision.

In educational affairs, however, the Railway

Company did not enjoy the same degree of monopoly as in most other social services. From the earliest years the town numbered among its population a large proportion of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, and in their turn Roman Catholics, Wesleyan Methodists and Presbyterians established their own schools, some of which matched the Company's own schools both in size and reputation. Probably because of its artisan character, lacking as it did a sizeable middle-class, Crewe offered little scope to development in the private sector of education, so that such private institutions as did arise tended, with the exception of William Dishart's Crewe Academy founded in 1887, to be as ephemeral as their owners and apparently achieved little in academic distinction. For the same reasons true secondary education did not become generally available to the youth of Crewe until after the Balfour Act of 1902, though admirable facilities for further education, including university extension courses, were provided through the medium of the Mechanics' Institution founded by the Railway Company as early as 1845.

While the population of the railway colony increased rapidly and fairly steadily from its inception in 1841 Crewe's

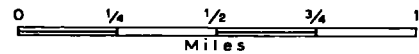
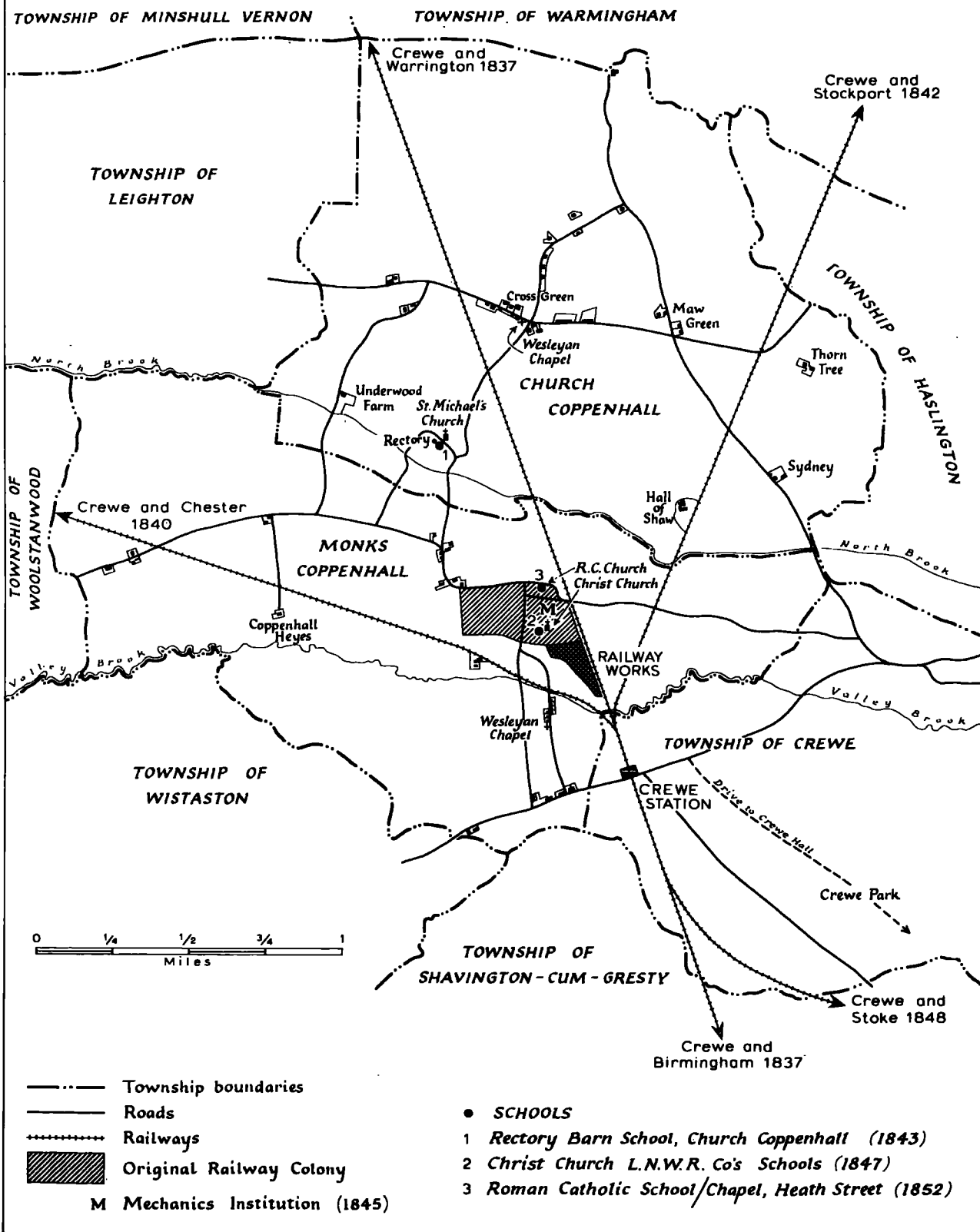
official boundaries remained coterminous with those of the ancient township of Monks Coppenhall until 1892, when parts of the twin township of Church Coppenhall were annexed.⁽¹⁾ The remainder of Church Coppenhall was taken over by the Crewe Borough Council in 1936. Clearly, therefore, an examination of the early history of education in Crewe must contain close reference to educational activities in Church Coppenhall at that period also, and interesting contrasts may be drawn in this field between the twin townships in that whereas Church Coppenhall formed a School Board in 1873, Crewe stubbornly resisted centralised control over education until the beginning of the present century when, in 1903, Crewe became a 'Part III' authority.

Indeed, since Church Coppenhall was, until the coming of the railways, the dominant township of the parish containing, as it did, the parish church and more than double the population of Monks Coppenhall, and considering further that the Rector of Church Coppenhall was the chief driving force in religious and educational affairs in the new railway colony, it is here that the survey must naturally begin.

(1) Local Government Supplemental Act (33 and 34 Vict., c.114).

Map 1

THE TWIN TOWNSHIPS OF CHURCH COPPENHALL AND MONKS COPPENHALL IN 1852 —



- · — · — Township boundaries
- — — Roads
- + + + — Railways
- ▨ Original Railway Colony
- M Mechanics Institution (1845)

- SCHOOLS
- 1 Rectory Barn School, Church Coppenhall (1843)
- 2 Christ Church L.N.W.R. Co's Schools (1847)
- 3 Roman Catholic School/Chapel, Heath Street (1852)

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF FORMAL EDUCATION

"Grotesque race! cottagers and tradesmen and farmers with little learning! It was thought well of the scholar who could read his own writing." So appeared the inhabitants of Church Coppenhall in the late Eighteenth Century to the youthful Richard Lindop as he emerged from "the dawn of schoolboy days".⁽¹⁾ These impressionable days he had spent under the care of a schoolmaster who had "but lately retired from the high office of huntsman in the service of Mr. Salmon of Hassall Hall who, it appears thought the compliment due to an old servant to bring his dogs two or three times each winter into this parish".⁽²⁾

Nurtured by such a mentor it would seem a matter of no small wonder that Lindop himself was literate, and since he presumably enjoyed greater privileges than

(1) 'The Reminiscences of Richard Lindop, Farmer, (1778-1871), and his account of the Township of Church Coppenhall, near Nantwich', printed, with notes by W.H. Chaloner, in the Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society: Vol. LV, 1940; p.112.

(2) *ibid*, p.115.

most of his fellow parishioners in being educated at all, his impressions of their scholastic limitations were probably, even allowing for the natural cynicism of youth, fairly accurate.

In its paucity of facilities for even the most elementary form of education Coppenhall was, of course, by no means unique among the rural parishes of England at this period. While in the adjacent township of Crewe, in the parish of Barthomley, a charity school had been built and endowed in 1729 by Thomas Leadbetter "for teaching the poor of the township of Crewe to read and write", (1) no similar foundation existed in Coppenhall. In fact the only documentary evidence of there being a school in Coppenhall in the Eighteenth Century, other than Richard Lindop's reference to his own 'schooldays' by which he may well have meant lessons given by a private tutor, is contained in an account entitled "History of Coppenhall" written by Miss Rachel Jane Cattlow, daughter of John Cattlow, Rector of Coppenhall between 1805 and 1833. Although the original manuscript has now been lost

(1) The Thomas Leadbetter Charity Foundation, documents filed at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 49 File No. 605.

its contents were printed in the Crewe Guardian of August 31st., 1878. In this account Miss Cattlow, writing of a Mr. Harding who had been Curate of Coppenhall from 1729 to 1775, relates that "his daughter kept a little shop in one end of the Rectory dining room and the other end was used as a school kept by the Curate's son". The son referred to here later became the landlord of the Blue Bell Inn, presumably a more remunerative occupation!

It is, in fact, from Miss Cattlow's father that we have the first reference contained in official records to the provision of education in Coppenhall. This is found in the replies made by the Rector to the 'Articles of Enquiry Preparatory to Visitation by the Bishop', dated 5th April, 1825.⁽¹⁾ In this document the Rev. Cattlow reports that "there is a Sunday School taught by the Rector and his family and two young persons of the Parish at the Rector's own expense. The catechism is taught, the Bible is read and tracts from the S.P.C.K.. There are two schools in the Parish, about 20 or 25 scholars in each, the number varying according to the

(1) Filed at County Record Office, Chester Castle,
File No. EDV7/7/142.

seasons of the year. There is no National School and no parochial library". Although no further details may be found of the two schools mentioned by the Rector it is certain that they were privately owned establishments and not attached to any religious denomination, since the Rector's replies also reveal that at the time of the Enquiry the only threat to the complete religious homogeneity of Coppenhall came from the Wesleyan Methodists whose society had been established here in 1806, and no Wesleyan day school existed in the district before 1862.⁽¹⁾

Following the advent of the railway colony some fifteen years after the time of the Rev. Cattlow's writing, the population of the parish became very mixed in religious outlook and the Coppenhall Parish Registers contain even a reference to Mormonism in 1843.⁽²⁾

Further light is thrown on the social character of the inhabitants of the parish in the early Nineteenth Century by the census return of 1831 for the smaller of

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- (1) c.f. History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Crewe Circuit, Rev. Caesar Caine: publ. J. Hinchsliff, Crewe, 1883, p.54.
- (2) Entry dated Nov. 26, 1843 - burial of Sarah Cartwright, "drowned by Mormonite immersion" in the Valley Brook.

the twin townships, Monks Coppenhall.⁽¹⁾ Of the 27 families then resident in the township, 11 were classified as farmers, 11 as labourers, 3 as shoemakers who were employed by the master shoe-manufacturers of nearby Nantwich, 1 as a tailor and 1 as a schoolmistress.⁽²⁾ This last was Elizabeth Galley who appears to have enjoyed a sort of monopoly, for the census also records that "of wholesale and capitalists, clergy, office clerks, professional and other educated men" there were none.

Although no similarly detailed information is available for Church Coppenhall the returns for the 1841 census reveal that the majority of the inhabitants of that township also were farmers or agricultural labourers.⁽³⁾ Most of the land in both townships was owned by absentee landlords in the 1830's, less than 30 in Church Coppenhall actually holding the land they farmed, and only 5 in Monks Coppenhall, the respective population totals in 1831

(1) Details of Sherwin's census were reproduced in the Crewe Guardian, 'Jubilee of Crewe', July, 1887, pp. 8 - 12; C.G. 19.11.04.

(2) Shoemaking was the staple industry of Nantwich. Nantwich and Acton Grammar School, 1560-1960, Edward Lloyd, Guardian Press, Nantwich, p. 16.

(3) P.R.O. Home Office Papers 107/116.

being 350 and 148. The holdings tended to be very small, some having an annual value of only £1. 2s. 6d.. The absentee landlords included such great landowners as Sir John Delves Broughton who became lord of the manor of Church Coppenhall, the Duke of St. Albans and Sir John Chetwode.⁽¹⁾ Miss Rachel Cattlow, the Rector's daughter, described the parishioners of Coppenhall as "small farmers and labourers, the farmers working upon their land and their wives and daughters making cheese".

The impression emerging from these early records of Coppenhall is, then, that of an essentially simple working-class society based on an agricultural economy which yielded very small wealth and provided little stimulus for educational or cultural advance. The Government Education Enquiry of 1833 summarized the state of Sunday and day school provision in the decade preceding the establishment of the railway colony as follows:

"Coppenhall Parish:

Church Township (Pop. 350) - Two Sunday Schools supported by subscription, in one of which are 61 children of both

(1) Land-tax returns, preserved in the County Record Office, Chester Castle.

sexes, who attend the Established Church; the other appertains to Wesleyan Methodists, and contains 20 of both sexes.

Monks Township (Pop. 148) - Two Daily Schools, in which 38 males and 34 females are instructed at the expense of their parents."⁽¹⁾

Strangely Monks Coppenhall, although the smaller and poorer of the twin townships, appears to have enjoyed proportionately better provision than Church Coppenhall, although there is, of course, no way of evaluating the quality of instruction given in the two daily schools mentioned.

If the farming community of Church Coppenhall felt complacent about this deficiency in their township the Rector, the Rev. John Cooper, showed considerable concern. With the proposed transfer of railway mechanics and their families from Edgehill to his parish in mind, he made a formal application on July 2nd, 1842, to the National Society for financial aid towards the cost of

(1) Education Enquiry 1833, Vol. 1 (Bedford - Lancaster) p. 75. Address presented to the House of Commons on 21st. May, 1833 by Lord Viscount Melbourne, printed 20th March, 1835.

converting the Rectory Barn for use as a schoolroom for infants and a Sunday School. (1) In his application he reported that no provision for daily instruction existed, even though the population of the township according to the 1841 census had reached 544. Although there was a Sunday School with about 80 on the books and 62 in actual attendance, these children had to be taught partly in the Church and partly in the Rectory House owing to the lack of proper accommodation for them. He estimated that the converted barn, with dimensions 28 ft. long, 16 ft. wide and 15 ft. high, giving a total area of 448 sq.ft., would accommodate about 80 children. (2) In a preliminary letter to the Rev. T. Sinclair of the National Society, dated 10th June, 1842, the Rector had explained: "The peculiar nature of my parish forbids the hope of raising any adequate subscription towards the erection of a

(1) Forms and correspondence preserved at the National Society's offices, 69 Great Peter Street, S.W.1.

(2) As the statutory minimum area per child required by the National Society was 6 sq.ft., and these dimensions allowed only $5\frac{1}{2}$ sq.ft., the number of children had to be reduced subsequently from 80 to 72, details filed at National Society, loc. cit.

school house", hence the present suggestion to convert the barn for this purpose. He had previously obtained the consent of his patron, the Bishop of Lichfield, as well as a builder's estimate of £80 for the conversion. If the National Society would allow a grant of £50, the Rector himself undertook the responsibility of supplying the remainder, as well as bearing all or most of the cost of salary for a mistress. In addition to the building itself, valued at £150, the Rev. Cooper offered also to give "sufficient room for an entrance yard and necessary offices to be enclosed by a good brick wall". In response to the Rector's generosity the National Society voted, on July 16th, 1842, to make a grant of £20 towards the cost of the scheme. (1)

The shrewd Rector, concerned for the welfare of his flock, had made a similar appeal to the Committee of Council on Education on 28th April, 1842, wisely pointing out that he offered the building and land "at great inconvenience to himself". The Committee awarded a grant of £36. (2) Despite the Rector's actual or perhaps feigned

(1) Church Coppenhall File at National Society Archives Office.

(2) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1842-3, pp. 802-805.

pessimism the sum raised by private local subscription amounted to £36.16s. Od.⁽¹⁾

The total sum thus realized of £92.16s. Od. proved to be more than enough to pay the actual conversion cost of £80.11s. Od. and the cost of the conveyance of land which amounted to £6. 6s. 4d.⁽²⁾ The "Terms of Union" of the school with the National Society, certifying that the school would be conducted "on the principles of the Established Church by masters and mistresses who are members of the same", received John Cooper's signature on 22nd May, 1843, and the school was officially opened on the following Monday, May 29th.

Despite the Rector's vigorous efforts the school enjoyed only limited success in its first year. At its first Government Inspection on 22nd March, 1844, the Rev. Henry Moseley reported: "The religious

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- (1) Letter from Rev. J. Cooper to Rev. T. Sinclair at National Society, dated 4.7.43. Of this amount the Rector himself paid £12.16s.Od.
- (2) The Deed of Conveyance, between John Cooper, Rector of Coppenhall, and John Armistead, Vicar of Sandbach, Isaac Wood, Vicar of Middlewich and Robert Mayor, Vicar of Acton, dated 9.6.1843, is preserved at the County Record Office, Chester Castle.

instruction of the school was very good. The secular instruction appeared to me to have been somewhat neglected."⁽¹⁾ Although the school provided accommodation for 72 there were only 54 on the register, the average attendance being 40. The fees of 2d. a week for each child, with concessions for three or more from the same family, amounted to £18 which just paid the salary of the mistress. At the next inspection of the school, however, on 15th May in the following year, the same Inspector's impression was decidedly more favourable, although the average attendance of 44 showed no appreciable improvement. On this occasion the Rev. Moseley reported: "Reading is well taught. The children appear clean and happy, and the mistress does her duty to the best of her ability."⁽²⁾

Generally though, the school did not prosper well in its early years, and academic standards remained very low until its eventual reorganization and removal to completely new buildings in Broad Street in 1862. Progress had been inhibited from 1847 onwards by a serious

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1844, pp. 544-5.

(2) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1845, pp. 292-5.

lack of financial resources, which merely reflected the general poverty of the township and an apathy towards education on the part of its non-progressive farming community. Even a decade after the foundation of the school its total 'apparatus' consisted of only one black-board and stand, while the Education Department's Inspector reported "a deficiency of books for secular reading", and the furniture, comprising only wall desks, he described as "ill-supplied". The salary of the school-mistress Elizabeth Frost, which had to be derived entirely from the school pence, fluctuated each year between £18 and £24, and never proved adequate to attract a properly trained and certificated teacher. Consequently no grants for teachers, pupil-teachers, books or equipment could be obtained from the Privy Council, so that an enforced situation of stalemate was created. Average attendances remained far below the school's physical capacity, reaching only 34 in 1853, and as half of these were infants it is not surprising that the Inspector, the Rev. H.R.P. Standford, found the instruction "very limited" and the

character of the school "indifferent".⁽¹⁾ Furthermore the school catered only for girls and infants, leaving the boys over 8 years of age in the township without proper school provision.⁽²⁾ While this state of educational stagnation obtained in Church Coppenhall, dynamic growth and revolutionary changes had been taking place in the adjacent satellite township to the south. In Monks Coppenhall the railway town had been born.

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- (1) Ctee. of Coun. Minutes, 1847, p. 163; 1848, pp. 336-7; 1853, pp. 551-2. Education Department's Statistical Returns of School Population in 1853, p. 179 (at Department of Education and Science, Curzon Street, W.1.)
- (2) Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory for 1848 records, however, that at this time Charlotte Cooper, the Rector's daughter, kept a small boarding academy at the Rectory.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST RAILWAY COMPANY SCHOOLS

Some six months before the Rev. John Cooper, Rector of Coppenhall, made application to the National Society for aid in converting the Rectory Barn, he had written to the chairman of the Grand Junction Railway Board to indicate the need for religious and educational facilities which would arise as the new town which the Board proposed to establish in the south of his parish developed. In his letter, read at the Board meeting of 5th January, 1842, the Rector pointed out that the existing church accommodation at Coppenhall was "too little for the population and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Company's Depot".⁽¹⁾ He hoped that "the Board would provide in some way for the spiritual wants and education of the numerous workmen and their families about to be brought there". In response to this request the Board directed its chief engineer Joseph Locke, in appropriating the Company's ground at Crewe, "to preserve a convenient

(1) See Map I. p. 9

locality for a church and school houses, should it be determined hereafter to build them".⁽¹⁾

These matters received further consideration at the Board's next meeting in the following week. On this occasion the Board expressed its policy concerning religious and educational affairs very clearly in the following resolution: "That the Board considers it the duty of the Company to contribute liberally towards the supply of this important deficiency (i.e. the lack of church and school accommodation) and that it be recommended to the Proprietors at the ensuing general meeting to vote a sum of money not exceeding £1,000 on the principles adopted by the London and Birmingham Railway Company, towards the building of a Church and School at Crewe, and that in order to give every Proprietor the opportunity of stating his opinion or objection, intimation be sent in the circular to the Proprietors of the intention of the Board to submit such a motion for their adoption."⁽²⁾ In the event only one of the

(1) Grand Junction Board Minutes, 5.1.1842, stored at British Transport Historical Records Office, 66 Porchester Road, W.2.

(2) G.J.B.M., 12.1.42.

Proprietors, Mr. Edward Carroll, raised objection to the Board's proposal, and this was not received until a very late stage some three years later, when the church building had been virtually completed.⁽¹⁾ Apparently the reason for this objection was that the Company had unduly favoured the Established Church and had given little direct support to the Nonconformist sects which had developed in the town by that time, despite their large following. The Directors retaliated to this criticism by pointing out that they could not endow every sect, that it was better to have an Anglican church and a National type of school than none at all, and that the "Liverpool Party" - a powerful group of financiers who had provided the capital for the construction of the Grand Junction Crewe Line - was Anglican by tradition. However reasonable these observations may seem, it is a matter of some wonder that the voice of Dissent was not raised more loudly.

Following the Directors' resolution in January some ten months elapsed before further steps towards the

(1) G.J.B.M., 24.9.45.

provision of a church and school appear to have been taken. On the 2nd November, 1842, the Board decided to appoint an ad hoc committee for the purpose of carrying out the Proprietors' determination, and to take such measures as should seem most desirable for increasing the funds already devoted to this purpose. Messrs. John Moss, Charles Lawrence, James Heyworth and Robertson Gladstone were accordingly elected to constitute the first Crewe Church and Schools Committee. The benevolence of the Directors in this matter is further illustrated by the fact that they gave up some of their fees and travelling expenses connected with their attendance at meetings together with part of the Sunday Travelling Fund, which represented the dividends refused by strict Sabbatarian shareholders, in order that more money might be added to the church and school fund.

As an interim measure, pending the actual building of the church and school, the Committee arranged with the Bishop of Chester that a room in one of the Company's buildings should be licensed for use as a place of worship on Sundays and as a schoolroom on weekdays.

The Bishop stipulated that the Company should raise £100 a year to pay the stipend of a curate for whom a residence should be provided and, further, that if the Company would be prepared to endow the new church when erected with £50 a year he, the Bishop, would without doubt be able to provide another £50 to complete the requisite stipend. To these arrangements the Company agreed, and decided that these amounts should be charged against the sum at the Board's disposal arising from the sundry dividends declined by Proprietors.⁽¹⁾ The curate appointed by the Bishop for this purpose, the Rev. John Appleton, took up his duties on the 1st. March, 1843, and baptized the first baby in Crewe Works on Sunday, 9th April.⁽²⁾ The curate found his work at Crewe by no means easy and felt obliged to appeal to the Directors, only six weeks after his arrival, for the provision of a police officer at Crewe Works "to preserve order, especially on the Sabbath".⁽³⁾ The Company duly appointed

(1) G.J.B.M., 2.11.42; 7.12.42; 18.1.43; 8.2.43.

(2) Coppenhall Church Registers.

(3) Letter to the G.J.B., dated 17.4.43.

an Inspector at a salary of 24s. a week. (1)

At the meeting of the Church and Schools Committee on 6th March, 1843, Mr. Lawrence reported that the state of funds at this date was £2,010.11s.11d.. After studying the plans of the church at Farrington, designed by Sharpe of Lancaster and built for £1,400, the Committee decided that the same design on a larger scale would be suitable for Crewe, provided that the cost did not exceed £1,600. In order to endow it with £50 p.a., a sum of £1,000 would be required in addition, and it was agreed that the deficiency between the sum required and the £2,010 in hand should be made up by private subscription or otherwise. At this meeting the Committee also decided that a schoolhouse to comprise a separate boys' and girls' department and also an infants' school should be built on the capital fund of the Company "as a necessary and indispensable adjunct to the works at Crewe". (2)

Meanwhile the Directors had instructed the

(1) G.J.B.M., 26.4.43.

(2) Church and Schools Cttee. Minutes, 6.3.43, at 66 Porchester Road, W.2.

Committee to look out for a proper schoolmaster and mistress and to report to the Board on what salary they would recommend to be allowed to such persons and the qualifications of the nominees selected.

From the time of the arrival of the railway workmen and their families at Crewe in March, 1843, until the summer holidays the children received tuition from the Rev. J. Appleton. On 29th July Miss Anne Tatlock, who came "well recommended" from a London National School, was appointed first schoolmistress of Crewe at an annual salary of £35 and a free cottage. The appointment of a schoolmaster took a little longer, and only after a prompting letter from the Rev. Appleton, read to the Board on 3rd January, 1844, did the Directors take necessary action. One week later Robert Hardman, who had been offered by the Secretary of the Normal School in London, became Crewe's first schoolmaster. (1)

The foundation stone of Christ Church was laid during the first week of September, 1844, the building completed in the following year and the church

(1) G.J.B.M., 8.2.43; 19.4.43; 26.4.43; 3.1.44; 10.1.44:
Church Cttee. Minutes, 6.3.43; 27.3.43; 17.5.43;
22.5.43; 29.7.43.

finally consecrated on 18th December, 1845, having cost a total of £2,353. The four members of the Church Committee who had been appointed on 2nd November, 1842, became its first Trustees. At the same time work was in progress on the building of the schools in Moss Square close by the church, and they came into use in November, 1846. It had cost almost £1,700 to build them. If these sums seem large they represent but a very small fraction of the total expenditure on all the works at Crewe which had by this time amounted to over £100,000.⁽¹⁾

Hitherto the development of Crewe had been in the hands of the Grand Junction Railway Company, but on 16th July, 1845, this Company amalgamated with the London and Birmingham Railway Company to be reconstituted by Royal Assent as the London and North Western Railway Company. The general management of the town was then entrusted to a new committee of four directors, Messrs. Earle, Booth, Lawrence and Loch, to be known as the Crewe Committee. The director's wives formed a Ladies'

(1) G.J.B.M., 28.8.44; 4.9.44; 13.11.44. Crewe Guardian, 9.2.78. G.J.B. Report, 1.8.45.

Committee to help in the management of school affairs.

The Rev. Walter Butler became Crewe's first vicar in 1846, and took an immediate interest in education in his newly created parish. Desirous of increasing the teachers' salaries he recommended in January, 1847, that the small charge made to the children attending the Schools should be raised. Possibly some pressure had been brought to bear on him in the matter of school staffing since the schoolmistress who, having applied two months previously for the provision of an assistant teacher at the Girls' School and having been asked to manage with a monitress, may well have been feeling dissatisfied. In the following April the Vicar made a much more constructive suggestion. He requested the Directors' permission to apply to the Privy Council on Education for those privileges and encouragements to the teachers which he understood were to be obtained on proper application. This permission the Directors readily granted, the application was successfully made, so that the Schools came under Government inspection and now became eligible for grants from the Committee of Council

on Education. (1)

Although the Schools, properly called Christ Church Schools, became generally known as Crewe National Schools, even in official records such as those of the Committee of Council, they had no official link with the National Society and no mention of the Schools is to be found in the archives of that Society. It was, of course, quite fashionable for Anglican schools at that period to be called 'National' whether or not they received financial aid from the National Society.

The Schools received their first Government inspection, conducted by H. M. I. the Rev. Muirhead Mitchell M.A., on July 19th, 1847. Both buildings and equipment evoked high praise from the Inspector who reported:

"The Schools at Crewe, belonging to the London and North Western Railway Company, are good instances of a right feeling on the subject of education being liberally carried out. They are conducted with great vigour and zeal and as there is no want of funds the Schools are

(1) G.J.B.M., 14.6.45. L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes:
17.11.46; 26.1.47; 20.4.47.

very successful." The buildings he described as "excellent", the boys' classroom being fitted up with parallel desks. Commenting on the staff he found the mistress "especially well fitted for her work", and the master "by no means deficient". The Vicar also received praise for his considerable interest in the Schools. The infants' school, however, he found to be only "fairly conducted", apparently because of inadequate staffing. At this first inspection the Rev. Mitchell shrewdly observed what was to become a long lasting social and educational problem in Crewe, that while the girls tended to remain at school to complete their elementary education, there being no employment for them other than domestic service and Crewe had virtually no upper or middle class to provide even that, the boys were usually taken away at the age of 11 to serve in the railway works as apprentices. The Company later sought to alleviate this problem by providing in 1853 vocational and academic courses for juveniles at the Mechanics' Institution which they had founded in 1845.⁽¹⁾ Later records show that the

(1) L.N.W.B. Minutes: 10.9.53; Staffordshire Advertiser, 4.11.1854.

Girls' Department enjoyed considerably greater success academically than the Boys' Department, due in part to the efforts of an exceptionally capable headmistress but also because the Girls' Department benefited from greater stability than the Boys'. For example, in 1852-53 the boys on the average stayed at school for only eighteen months.⁽¹⁾

In the first year of the Schools' existence the number of children on the registers was about 300, the numbers actually present at the annual inspection being 76 boys, 112 girls and 129 infants.⁽²⁾ These figures indicate the imbalance caused by local demands for boy labour. The Vicar's campaign to raise the teachers' salaries had clearly borne fruit, as by this time the master's salary had risen to £80 p.a., and that of the mistress of the Girls' Department to £75 p.a..

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1847-48 Vol. II pp. 162-3. Log Books of Christ Church Schools (in Crewe Borough Library). Chaloner, *op.cit.*, p. 62-3. Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1852-53 Vol. II p. 502.

(2) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes: 1847-8 Vol. II p. 162.

The infants' teacher, however, still received only £5 p.a., since she was an unqualified pupil teacher, so that the Inspector's reservations about the attainments of this department are hardly surprising. The total running costs of the Schools in their first year amounted to £230, including £25 for books and stationery, £20 for other equipment and £5 for fuel, and these costs were, with the exception of the income derived from the school pence at a rate fixed by the Ladies' Committee, met by the Railway Company as the Government grant had not yet been received.

This generally favourable report apparently flattered the Directors into further action, as they authorized the Rev. Butler immediately to appoint a second master to the Boys' Department and two additional assistants for the Infants' Department at a total expense not exceeding £50 a year. They wanted a lot for their money. ⁽¹⁾ The head teachers of the three departments were respectively James Waller Gill, Frances Armstrong and Harriet Dutton. ⁽²⁾

(1) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes, 17.8.47.

(2) Bagshaw's Cheshire Directory, 1850, p. 369.

During the ensuing decade the Schools grew fairly steadily in numbers, so that the accommodation became increasingly less adequate, and later Government inspections revealed serious deficiencies. The number of pupils rose from 328 in 1850 to 472 in 1852. The contribution made by the Railway Company towards the running costs of the Schools averaged about £40 a month, though from time to time larger sums were expended to meet the costs of alterations and the provision of additional equipment. For example in January, 1854, the Company authorized a plan for altering the internal arrangements of the Boys' Department, in accordance with the suggestions of the Privy Council, to be carried out at a cost of £86, and in November, 1856, paid an additional £8.16s.10d. for extra books, and in the following month sanctioned proposed alterations in the Girls' Department at an estimated cost of £40.⁽¹⁾

However, while Her Majesty's Inspector, the Rev. J. P. Norris, reporting on the Schools in 1849 and

(1) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 17.6.50; 24.1.54; 22.8.54; Church and School Cttee. Minutes: 14.11.56; 12.12.56.

and 1850, found them "well cared for by the Railway Company" he apparently had cause to modify this view in subsequent reports. Of the attitude and work in the Boys' Department he was, from the outset, quite scathing. In 1849 he complained of "rudeness and want of tone" and in 1851 he reported: "Considering the liberal way in which these Schools are provided by the L.N.W. Railway Company, a higher standard may be expected than has been attained hitherto. The Boys' School is by no means among the best in my district (i.e. Cheshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire), and this I think it may and ought to be".⁽¹⁾ The gravity of the apparent indictment here against the schoolmaster is tempered somewhat by the Rev. Norris's explanation in his report of the following year that the boys generally left school at an early age to be engaged in the railway works, while those few boys who had been at school more than two years passed a good examination. The Department was organized in six classes controlled by Mr. Gill, an assistant master and two pupil teachers, and while the Inspector regarded the

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1850, Vol. II p. 499; 1851, Vol. II pp. 424-5.

instruction in the first class as good he found the other classes rather poor and disapproved of the methods used. In 1854 he described the buildings and furniture as "only moderate" and the playground too small, while the arrangement of desks in a single large gallery he considered restricted progress considerably.

The Girls' Department was organized in five classes with about thirty in each, supervised by one mistress and four pupil-teachers, singing being taught by a visiting master. The arrangement of the girls' classroom differed from the boys' in having wall desks, which the Inspector preferred. Despite the deficiency of books and slates the Rev. Norris considered the Department to be "efficiently conducted and doing its work well". Again he referred in 1852 to the advantage enjoyed by the Girls' Department over the Boys' in that they stayed much longer. During the preceding year only 17 girls out of the total of 160 had left.

By 1851 the staffing of the Infants' Department had been improved and now consisted of a qualified mistress, an assistant teacher and three pupil teachers. During the following three years the Rev. Norris recorded

a steady improvement in standards of attainment, though he considered the methods "not sufficiently infantine", and found the school "defective in gallery teaching". At this time the school pence charged varied between $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. and 4d., the fourth child of a family being admitted free, and this realised an annual income from fees of about £150. (1)

In accepting an annual grant from the Privy Council, which at this time amounted to about £200 - e.g. £196.10s.0d. in 1853 - the Company soon found that they had to accept also certain conditions to ensure its continuance. (2) In return for this Parliamentary philanthropy Her Majesty's Inspector required certain alterations to be carried out, such as an enlargement of the boys' playground and the lowering of the platform in the girls' classroom, as well as a larger supply of books,

(1) Reports of H.M.I. the Rev. J. P. Norris printed in Ctee. of Council Minutes: 1850 Vol. II p. 499; 1851 Vol. II pp. 424-5; 1852-3 Vol. II p. 502; 1853-4 Vol. II pp. 551-2; 1854-5 Vol. II p. 536 and p. 772. L.N.W.R. Church and Schools Cttee.: 7.2.56.

(2) L.N.W.R. Church and Schools Cttee.: 22.8.54.

maps and apparatus. The Rev. Norris also suggested changes in the school curriculum of a significant kind, firstly that a system of "scientific instruction" be established for Crewe and the neighbouring district and, secondly, that the pupil teachers in the Schools be taught mathematics beyond the elementary stage. Towards these ends the Inspector himself had obtained promises of subscriptions estimated at £91 per annum, and he asked the Company to contribute a further £30 a year. ⁽¹⁾

These and other similar demands made on the Company's benevolence resulted in an apparent change of policy in educational affairs, and from 1856 onwards the Company began to exercise a more cautious control over expenditure in the Schools. The proposed provision of scientific instruction in school would in particular have been regarded as somewhat superfluous and extravagant, since the Crewe Mechanics' Institution had since 1853 provided technical education for boy apprentices. Thus, while the Company continued to meet essential expenses they became more sparing in providing what they

(1) *ibid.*, 10.10.56.

regarded as unnecessary extras. The first breath of change may be detected in the minutes of the Board Meeting at Euston on 9th May, 1856, when the Directors ordered that the school accounts in future be submitted to them "for their sanction and approval". No longer had the Crewe Committee the final decision in matters of educational expenditure, and this subsequently led to considerable disagreement between the Committee and the Board of Directors.

The effects of the new policy became apparent when, in February, 1858, the mistress of the Girls' School, Miss Fea, applied for an assistant teacher to be provided. Although the Company approved her application, it was only on the condition that the salary offered did not exceed £25 p.a.. This, however, proved to be carrying thrift too far and the Crewe Committee found it quite impossible to engage an assistant at such a low salary so that the Directors were later obliged to increase their offer to £30, that being the minimum amount which any applicant was prepared to accept. (1)

(1) Church and Schools Cttee. Minutes: 11.2.58.

In the following month Mr. James Gill, the schoolmaster, wrote to the Directors urging the need for further school accommodation, but the Board was not prepared to consider his application at that time.⁽¹⁾ Three months later, however, the Crewe Committee, accompanied by the new Vicar, the Rev. J. Nadin, and the Company's resident engineer, decided to conduct a survey of the Schools themselves. They found them to be "quite inadequate for the wants of the population (now 8,000), and in many respects inconvenient as regards size and want of arrangement". Among other objectionable arrangements they found one small confined court between the Boys' and Girls' Schools to be occupied by the children of both, and that each set of scholars, when at play alternately, disturbed the work of the other. The Committee commissioned the engineer to submit plans and estimates for improving these conditions.⁽²⁾

The Board, however, chose to disregard the Committee's recommendations to enlarge the Schools and

(1) Church and Schools Cttee. Minutes: 12.3.58.

(2) *ibid.*, 15.7.58.

no further action was taken until the Government Inspector, the Rev. Norris, submitted a further adverse report on the state of the Schools in August, 1860. The resident engineer estimated that the cost of the proposed improvements would be about £600.⁽¹⁾ The Crewe Committee reported in the following February that the inhabitants of the town had raised £103 towards this amount, and recommended to the Board that the enlargement should be built straight away. Unfortunately, however, the Board of Directors did not seem to share the Committee's concern, and declined the proposal.⁽²⁾

Consequently, in September, 1861, the Committee of Council on Education withdrew all Government grants from the Company's Schools. In response to an appeal made by the Rev. Nadin, Vicar of Christ Church, against this decision, the Committee readily expressed a willingness to resume its connection with the Schools and to pay the capitation money then due, which amounted

(1) Church and Schools Cttee. Minutes: 12.10.60.

(2) *ibid.*, 8.2.61.

to £62.14s.0d., provided that a distinct promise could be given that the Schools would be enlarged before the Inspector's visit in July, 1862.⁽¹⁾ This naturally caused great concern to the Crewe Committee which felt constrained to report to the Company Proprietors that it still considered the maintenance of the Schools to be an obligation imposed on the Proprietors, as they had often and cheerfully acknowledged, and to point out to them that the severance of the connection subsisting between the Government and the Company would result in a serious loss of a twofold character: the Schools would be deprived of the great advantage of Government inspection, and an income of upwards of £300 p.a. would be withdrawn from their support.

At this the Board finally relented, and agreed to the proposed extensions at a cost of £600, less the £159.12s.11d. which had been collected locally by the Rev. Nadin, but firmly refused to accede to a request for the addition of a cloakroom to the new extensions at a further cost of £60. While the extensions were being

(1) Church and Schools Cttee. Minutes: 18.10.61.

constructed arrangements were made for the staff and pupils of the Boys' School to be temporarily accommodated in the Town Hall. (1)

Since the population of the town had grown from 4,571 in 1851 to 8,159 in 1861 and the number of pupils in the Schools from 405 in 1854 to 655 in 1862 these extensions were clearly urgently required and indeed long overdue, and it is difficult to understand the Company's apparent meanness when it is considered that the annual cost of education at this time amounted to only 6s. per head at Crewe, compared with 9s.9d. at the Company's schools at Wolverton and 16s.1d. at Stantonbury. (2)

Despite such vicissitudes, however, the Company's first schools represented a revolution in the educational facilities of the district and began the task not only of eliminating widespread illiteracy, but also of training many pupil teachers for the great expansion of elementary education in Crewe which followed

(1) Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 18.10.61; 15.11.61; 21.3.62; 18.2.63.

(2) L.N.W.R. Crewe Church and Schools Cttee. Minutes: 18.3.64.

in later years. In this respect the Company's initial munificence and commendable concern for the cultural needs of its employees' families should not be underestimated, and though it may be considered by some that the Company's real interests did not go beyond its own need for a properly educated and efficient labour force this hardly detracts from the value of the social amenities it provided.

CHAPTER III

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOLUNTARY SCHOOL SYSTEM BEFORE 1870

Apart from the Railway Company's Christ Church Schools in Moss Square and the Rectory Barn School in Church Coppenhall the only other educational establishments serving the new town during its first decade were small private schools and 'academies'. Three of these had been established as early as 1850, those of Arthur Sadler Pryse in Russell Street (now Heath Street), Thomas Robinson in Market Street and John Wilks in Nantwich Road; the last named took boarders as well as day pupils.⁽¹⁾ Little is known of the size and quality of early private institutions in the town since no detailed records of them have been kept. Indeed the only proof we have that they existed at all is in the form of catalogues in local directories and advertisements in local newspapers of the period. From these, however, it is possible to derive some impression of their character and draw certain conclusions concerning

(1) Bagshaw's Cheshire Directory, 1850, pp. 368-9.

their contribution to the educational facilities of the town in the middle decades of the century.

Most of them appear to have been somewhat transitory. Of the three existing in 1850 only one, that of John Wilks, survived long enough to be recorded in White's Directory a decade later, while of the seven listed here only that of Louisa Holden is mentioned in Crewe Guardian advertisements in 1872 and 1873, and in Eardley's Crewe Directory for 1873.⁽¹⁾

If ephemeral in character, however, they certainly became more prolific in number, increasing from seven in 1860 to twelve in 1873 and twenty in 1877.⁽²⁾ This rapid expansion must reflect a corresponding increase in demand for a more exclusive type of education, as the growing town became socially more mature and traces of a lower middle-class began to emerge. Such ostentatious titles as the 'Crewe Middle Class School' in West Street, the 'Gibside Seminary for Young Ladies' and the 'Crewe

(1) White's Cheshire Directory, 1860, p. 349; C.G., 13.1.72; 26.7.73; Wilmot Eardley's Directory for Crewe, 1873, p. 71.

(2) School Attendance Officer's Report on school places in Crewe, printed in C.G., 27.11.77.

Grammar School and Collegiate Institution' in High Town must have been designed to attract the patronage of Crewe's self-styled social élite. These generally single-staffed institutions offered an extremely wide variety of subjects ranging from "a thorough commercial education and drilling in the classics and the higher branches of mathematics" to a liberal selection of modern languages including Dutch, Italian, Spanish and even Portuguese, and were under the direction of 'professors' rather than teachers.⁽¹⁾ Pretentious advertisements of this kind must surely have aroused in the more astute and discerning type of parent considerable suspicion if not total incredulity. While the pupils of these private establishments may have enjoyed a certain social prestige among their less wealthy contemporaries, it seems probable that in actual education most of them acquired little more than basic instruction in the standard elementary subjects together with a smattering of more specific knowledge and a veneer of sophistication. Indeed Chaloner notes

(1) Crewe Guardian, 6.1.72; 4.1.73; 1.11.73.

that the really prominent railway executives in Crewe, such as Pedley, Hill and Heath, sent their sons away from the town to be educated. (1)

Whatever the attainments of these early private schools may have been, however, and no doubt the range of their quality was as wide as the professed content of their curriculum, they contained by 1877 no fewer than 482 of the children between the ages of 5 and 13 attending school in Crewe, compared with 3,110 of that age group on the registers of the nine public elementary schools in the town at that time. (2) Without this contribution, comprising 15% of the total numbers of school places in the town, Crewe's deficiency of accommodation in the terms of the 1870 Act would have been considerably more serious than it in fact was, and it is unlikely that the battle waged by clergy and laity against the proposed establishment of a much dreaded School Board could have continued as it did for three decades.

(1) W. H. Chaloner, op. cit., p. 222.

(2) Crewe School Attendance Cttee. Minutes, 27.11.77, in Crewe Public Library.

It is perhaps not surprising that the Roman Catholics were second only to the Railway Company in founding a denominational school in Crewe. The Company employed many Irish labourers for excavating, track-laying and constructional work, so that the new town's earliest immigrants included an appreciable number of Roman Catholics. The 'Crewe Mission' was established in 1844 when the Rev. J. Gallagher came as the first resident priest to take pastoral care of the 50 Catholics then living in Crewe.⁽¹⁾ During these early years Mass was said either in a stable behind the Royal Hotel in Nantwich Road or in an outhouse at the back of the 'Red Bull' in Market Street. When the Rev. H. Alcock took charge of the Crewe congregation in 1851 the number of Catholics in the town had risen to almost 400, comprising 6% of the total population, and in addition this priest had to attend to a further 2,000 scattered in a wide area including Market Drayton, Whitchurch, Sandbach and Northwich. Notwithstanding the onerous duties

(1) Letter dated 29th Sept., 1846, accompanying the Second Annual Statement of the Lancashire District Mission Fund: preserved in the Ushaw Bound Collection No. 97, at Ushaw College, Co. Durham.

imposed by such an enormous parish at a time when travel was considerably more difficult than today, the Rev.

Alcock found strength to have a proper presbytery built in Heath Street on the site of the present Crewe Theatre. ⁽¹⁾

Previously a house had been provided by the Railway Company for this purpose at a nominal rent. ⁽²⁾ Also in

1852 a school-chapel was opened by the Bishop of Shrewsbury in Heath Street, and the School came under Government inspection in 1856. ⁽³⁾ The Inspector placed it, however, in the lowest category labelled "inferior school buildings to be regarded as only provisional".

Two years later the same Inspector, Scott Nasmyth Stokes, issued a warning that after a fixed time grants would no longer be paid unless better premises were provided. By

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- (1) From an account of St. Mary's Church, Crewe, in The Centenary Record of the Diocese of Shrewsbury, 1851-1951, by Father Maurice Abbott of Acton Burnell. Father Abbott's main source of information relating to the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church in Crewe was a 19th century manuscript history of the Shrewsbury Diocese compiled by Monsignor Edward Slaughter.
- (2) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 2.1.49.
- (3) Plan dated 30.8.55 shows size of schoolroom adjoining chapel as 30' x 20' with separate classroom 11' x 9' - at P.R.O., Ref.: Ed. 7 File No. 8 Form No. 4(a); Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1856-7, p.76.

1860 the School, under the direction of Anne Maria Clery, a certificated teacher, assisted by two pupil-teachers, had an average attendance of 85 scholars.⁽¹⁾ Although the Inspector had complained of the school building, it did have a library with a reading room, containing not only books but also newspapers and periodicals "of a select description".⁽²⁾ Nevertheless, in 1861 the Privy Council withdrew its grants which had up to this time totalled £332.18s.1d., and these were not restored until the School's accommodation was substantially increased by transferring the mixed department into the former Chapel in 1868.⁽³⁾ The mixed department thus became virtually a separate school and opened on 17th February, 1868, under the charge of Mary Whelan, a certificated teacher from Liverpool Training College. It contained 14 scholars in the first class, 15 in the second, 18 in the third and 24 in the fourth, preparing for Standards IV, III, II and I respectively. The books

(1) Cttee of Coun. Minutes, 1858-9, p. 200; 1859-60, p.213.

(2) White: Cheshire Directory, 1860, p. 344 and p. 349.

(3) Form signed by Rev. T. J. Marsden with plan dated 13.2.71, at P.R.O., Ref.: Ed. 7 No. 8.

and apparatus provided for this work consisted of six dozen copies of Books 1 - 4 of the 'Burns's Standard Reading Series'; six dozen slates and slate pencils; two blackboards with chalk; two lesson stands and Johnston's wall maps of the World, England, Ireland and Scotland. ⁽¹⁾ The Rev. T. J. Marsden had the old all-age school converted into an infants' school and it continued to be used also as a chapel, the sanctuary being screened off with folding doors. ⁽²⁾ The new St. Mary's School received a grant of £38.10s.0d. from the Privy Council for the year ending 31st. December, 1869. ⁽³⁾

Of the various Nonconformist groups which very quickly became established in the town the Wesleyan Methodists were the most numerous and progressive. In fact it was they who opened the first place of worship in Crewe, the Earle Street Chapel, on 8th October, 1843,

(1) St. Mary's R. C. School Log Book I, Feb. 1868 to Apr. 1898, preserved at St. Mary's R. C. Presbytery.

(2) Fr. Maurice Abbott of Acton Burnell, op.cit., section on Crewe.

(3) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1869-70, Appendix 3, p. 548.

two years before the Railway Company's Christ Church. It should, however, be said that this was just a temporary structure, only 12 yards long and 8 yards wide, the first permanent Wesleyan chapel being built in Mill Street six years later.⁽¹⁾ Owing to the small size of the temporary building the Wesleyans were also allowed to hold services in the L.N.W.R. Company's schoolroom "at a reasonable rent, but strictly on a temporary basis".⁽²⁾ This also soon proved inadequate, and the Rev. A. Watmough, Superintendent of the Nantwich Circuit, in launching an appeal fund on behalf of Crewe Wesleyans wrote in 1848:

"The Wesleyan Methodists at Crewe finding the School Room they occupy not sufficient to accommodate themselves and their friends, and wishing to promote the spiritual good of the place, have agreed to make the attempt to erect a new chapel; and cherishing the hope and belief that many, on hearing their design, will feel a genuine pleasure in affording them aid in so great and important an undertaking, appeal to your Christian

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- (1) Rev. Caesar Caine: History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Crewe Circuit, publ. by J. Hinchsliff, Victoria Street, Crewe, 1883. Rev. J. S. Cowan: Church and People in a Cheshire Town, unpublished essay in Crewe Public Library.
- (2) L.N.W.R. Crewe Ctee. Minutes: 15.8.48.

sympathy, and solicit a generous sub-⁽¹⁾
scription in aid of their design."

A generous response followed this appeal and the Mill Street Chapel was built in the following year for £838.

In the field of education the Wesleyans came third in erecting day schools in Crewe. In all they built three sets of elementary schools, in Mill Street in 1862, at Hightown in 1869 and in Earle Street in 1887.⁽²⁾

The first of these, Mill Street or 'Trinity' School, is the oldest school building in Crewe which is still in use at the present time, although the school is scheduled to move to new buildings in Manor Way in the near future. The land in Mill Street was acquired on 1st. December, 1860, being conveyed from Henry Blakemore, Edward Griffiths and Thomas Bower to William Horsley, an engine driver, for the sum of £331.13s.4d.⁽³⁾ It is

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- (1) Manuscript preface to Crewe Chapel Account Book, dated July 1848, stored in Trinity Chapel Vestry, Mill Street, Crewe.
 - (2) The location of these, and all other public schools in Crewe, is shown in Map 2.
 - (3) Deed of Conveyance of a plot of freehold land situated in Monks Coppenhall, dated 1st. December, 1860, preserved in the safe of Trinity Chapel, Mill Street, Crewe.

of course, most unlikely that an engine driver at that time would have possessed so much money, and even less likely that if he did he would have expended it on buying land on which to build a school. The most probable explanation is that Horsley was appointed as a 'man of straw' to buy land on behalf of the Wesleyan trustees in order to overcome any difficult opposition which may well have been raised by Anglicans in the town. Certainly by this time, perhaps surprisingly in an essentially working-class town, a tradition of high Anglo-Catholicism had grown up among the Established Churchmen in Crewe, so that there may well have been a reluctance to sell land for the purpose of erecting a Wesleyan school.

An indenture dated 19th January, 1861, made over part of the land, 'Lot 43', from William Horsley to the twenty-one trustees of the proposed new day school in the sum of £198.10s.0d., and with the aid of a building grant of £359.10s.0d. from the Privy Council on Education the school was completed and opened on

1st. August, 1862.⁽¹⁾ The new building accommodated an infant school on the ground floor with room for 150 and a covered playground measuring 30 ft. x 17 ft., and a mixed school on the upper floor with room for 200. Most of the money to build this school had been raised by private subscription among the Wesleyans themselves, but in addition to the large Parliamentary building grant a further £50 was donated by the Railway Company.⁽²⁾

During its first few years the Infant School, taught by Eleanor Ann Bearman, a certificated teacher, with the assistance of one pupil teacher, had an average attendance of just under 100. At the end of 1864 Her Majesty's Inspector, William Scoltock, reported that the school was "well taught and conducted", and at the end of the following year that the children were well disciplined and suitably instructed, their writing

(1) Indenture preserved in Trinity Chapel safe, with scale plans. Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1862-3, Appendix 4, Parliamentary Grants, p. 376.

(2) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 12.10.60; 8.2.61.

PLAN OF INTERIOR AND PHOTOGRAPH OF
CREWE'S OLDEST EXISTING SCHOOL -
MILL STREET, FOUNDED IN 1862

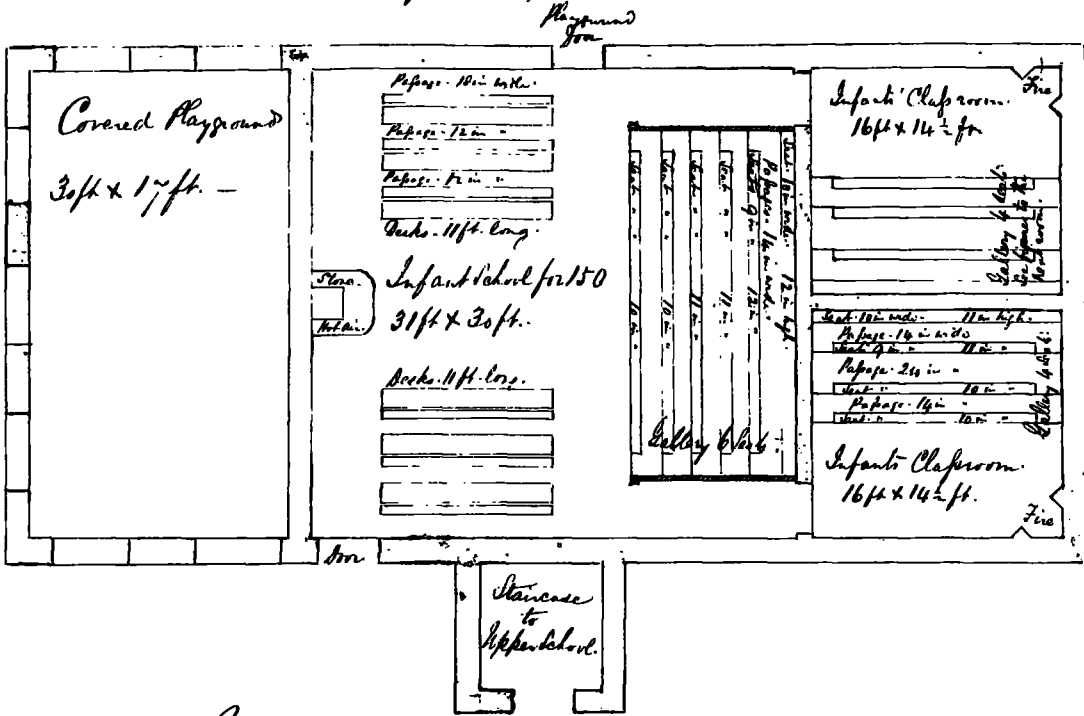
The long desks with bench seats and the raised galleries shown in the plan were characteristic features of mid-nineteenth century elementary schools.

Wesleyan Day Schools - Greenville.

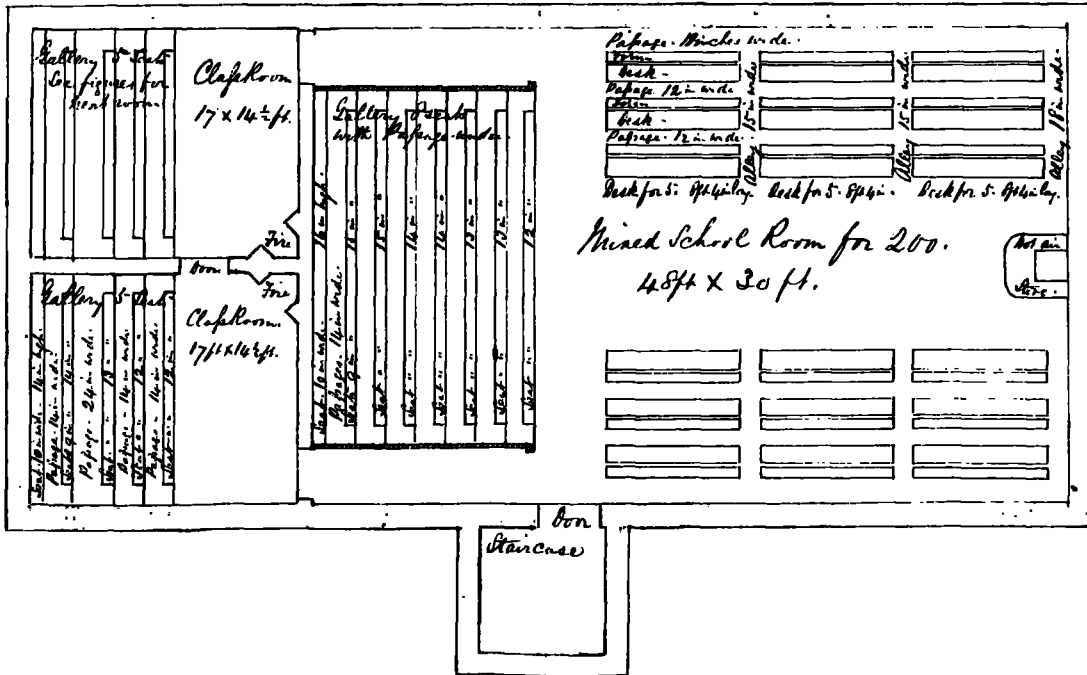
Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 1 foot.

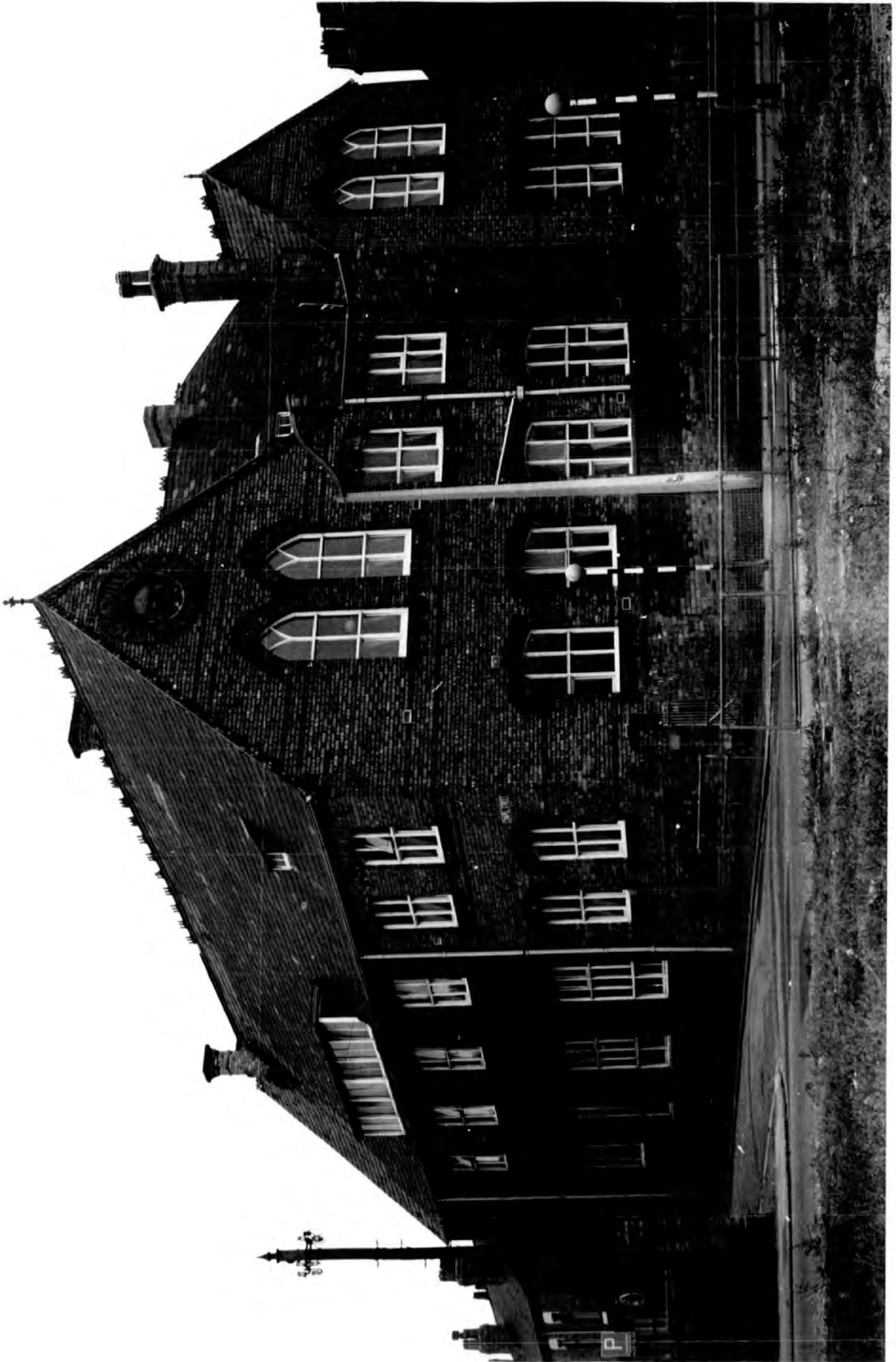
M. S. Lupton. Jan. 24th 1861.

Ground floor plan.



Upper Floor Plan.





particularly good and their reading and arithmetic fair. A second certificated teacher joined the staff in 1866. (1)

The Mixed Department, taught by two certificated teachers and four pupil teachers, soon acquired nearly 200 pupils, but suffered in its early years from poor standard of discipline and the Inspector found the children very talkative during examinations and had to exercise the greatest vigilance to prevent copying. When R. H. Turner became headmaster in 1871, however, by which time the number of pupils had increased to 234, he introduced a reign of terror, expelling half a dozen of the more insubordinate boys within three weeks of his arrival and waging a war against late attendance which he described as "a considerable evil here". Certainly Government Inspectors in the following two years reported great improvements in work and discipline, but Mr. Swatman, the assistant master left in the year following Mr. Turner's arrival and Mr. Turner himself, having apparently overstepped the limit of his authority, was

(1) Log Book of Wesleyan Infant School, Mill Street, kept at the School.

dismissed in 1876. In the following year the Government Grant was reduced by one-tenth "for faults of instruction". (1)

A second Wesleyan school had its beginnings as a Sunday school in the western part of the town, first held in a room in Chetwode Street in 1864. That year saw the opening by the Railway Company of its own Bessemer steelmaking plant which increased the number of men on the Company's payroll at Crewe to over 3,000, and began the rapid urbanization of the west end of the township. From 1867 onwards most of the new buildings were erected around this new steel plant in the Coppenhall Heyes area, so that the main nucleus of demographic growth shifted from the old Mill Street-Market Street zone to the Hightown-West Street region. (2)

During the decade 1861-1871 the population of Crewe as a whole more than doubled, from 8,159 to 17,810. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Sunday school room in

(1) Log Book of Wesleyan Mixed School, Mill Street, kept at the School. Cttee. of Coun. Minutes: 1865-6, p. 501; 1867-8, p. 618; 1868-9, p. 314; 1869-70, p. 548; 1871-2, p. 238; 1874-5, p. 508; 1876-7, pp. 742-3.

(2) W. H. Chaloner, *op.cit.*, pp. 71-72; L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 16.2.65.

Chetwode Street became so crowded after a few months that the Wesleyans were obliged to take a much larger room over the Co-operative Society Stores in West Street. Before long, however, this also became inadequate and still larger premises had to be sought. Despite formidable obstacles, vigorous efforts were made for the erection of proper schools and in the early summer of 1869 the foundation stone was laid in Hightown. In the October following the Sunday Schools were opened, and in January, 1870, the Hightown Wesleyan Day Schools opened with Mr. J. Hinchsliff as headmaster. (1)

Not least among the formidable obstacles referred to had been the three year long dispute between the Wesleyans and the Railway Company concerning the rival claims of both parties to the land at Hightown on which the schools were to be built. The Railway Company had bought land adjacent to the school site for the purpose of building a new Anglican church, later to become St. Paul's, and the Company's architect could not agree with the Wesleyan Trustees as to the exact position of the boundary between the two. Eventually an agreement

(1) Rev. Caesar Caine, *op.cit.*, p.17
Crewe Guardian: 25.9.69; 2.10.69.

was reached, but when the Wesleyan minister, the Rev. James Kent, wrote to the Railway Board in July 1869 to ask for a contribution towards the cost of erecting the schools, pointing out that employees of the Company with their families comprised seven-eighths of the Wesleyan congregation, the Board demurred and directed Mr. Savill of the Crewe Committee to carry out a full investigation of the present situation. In the following December he reported to the Crewe Committee that the Wesleyan schools were intended to provide for upwards of 500 children and would cost over £3,000, not to mention the considerable sum which would be required annually to support them. After consideration the Committee decided that "the cause of education should not be allowed to suffer from causes which are now irremediable" and that the sum of £50 should be granted towards the cost of the erection of the schools, but expressed the hope that "all disputes and differences will now be buried in oblivion and that henceforth the heads of the two establishments will work in harmony for the promotion of education and for the benefit of their respective charges".⁽¹⁾

(1) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 23.8.66; 21.9.66;
16.7.69; 20.8.69; 17.12.69.

A further building grant of £422.4s.6d. was allowed by the Privy Council on Education and the new school came immediately under government inspection.⁽¹⁾ From the beginning the school enjoyed a greater degree of stability than the Trinity School in Mill Street. This, together with the exceptional popularity of the school in the town and its consequent rapid growth, must be accredited largely to its first and, indeed, only headmaster John T. Hinchsliff, who remained at the school from 1869 until 1912. He was the son of a printer and publisher, and in addition to his duties as headmaster which he performed with exceptional ability, at one time controlling 140 children single-handed, he carried on his father's business in Victoria Street, as well as being a lay preacher in the Crewe Circuit and was largely instrumental in establishing the Earle Street Wesleyan Chapel and Schools in 1887. He had been trained at the Wesleyan Training College, Westminster.⁽²⁾ In its

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1870-71, p. 437; 1871-72, p. 238.

(2) Rev. Caesar Caine: op.cit., pp. 17-19; Minute Books of the Trustees of Hightown and Earle Street Wesleyan Schools, stored in Trinity Chapel vestry, Mill Street.

first year the school had an average attendance of 266, but this grew rapidly to over 300 in the second year so that an extension had to be built in 1871 and seven years later it became necessary to erect a separate additional building. By 1884 it had become Crewe's largest school with accommodation for 781 pupils and an average attendance of 635, with a staff of three certificated teachers, four assistant teachers and eight pupil teachers. ⁽¹⁾

The only other denominational group to establish day schools in Crewe were the Presbyterians. The transfer of the Grand Junction locomotive works to Crewe brought a considerable influx of Scottish engineers during the early forties and in February 1844 the Company granted the use of the infants' schoolroom in the administrative building of the Works for conducting Presbyterian services. ⁽²⁾ At this time also the Presbyterians petitioned the Lancashire Presbytery for a resident minister, but had to wait a further two years until 25th May, 1846, when James Cross, who had studied at Edinburgh College

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1870-71, p. 437; 1871-72, p. 238; 1883-84, p. 609.

(2) G.J.B.M. Minutes: Vol. 5, p. 72, No. 297. 7.2.1844.

and Paisley Hall, was translated from Newcastle-on-Tyne to become Crewe's first regular Presbyterian minister. Although of a delicate constitution he immediately applied himself to educational affairs in the new town and gave evening classes in Greek, Latin, French and Italian at the Mechanics' Institution, but he died in 1849 at the age of 38. (1)

His successor David Blelloch, however, remained in Crewe for twenty years, 1851-1871, and it was during his incumbency and largely as a result of his labours that the Crewe Presbyterian Church and Schools in Hill Street were built. Blelloch, a graduate of Glasgow University, soon became concerned that the Railway Company Schools had "fallen entirely under the influence of the Established Church". (2) He accordingly proposed that a new school should be built in Crewe. However, shortage of money among a small working-class community made such an idea impractical at that stage, so that instead the Rev. Blelloch negotiated for several months

(1) W. Gladden: Ninetieth Anniversary History of the Crewe Presbyterian Church, reprinted in the Crewe Chronicle, 2.2.1934. Manuscript letter from James Cross dated 13.12.1847, preserved at the Presbyterian Church of England offices, 86 Tavistock Place, W.C.1. Ref. 363.

(2) English Presbyterian Annual Report, 1854, at 86 Tavistock Place, W.C.1.

with the Committee of Council and with the Railway Company Directors with the result that in 1855 a General Committee of Management was established to exercise surveillance over doctrinal instruction in the schools. Blelloch himself naturally became a member of this Committee and found that under these new arrangements he could enjoy a facility of superintending and directing education in the schools equal to what he could have possessed in a school more strictly Presbyterian. Therefore, with all the advantages of Government aid and inspection, and the financial support of a powerful Railway Company, he decided to suspend for the present the movement for the erection of a separate Presbyterian school.

Plans for the erection of a Presbyterian Church, however, went ahead and in this campaign the congregation found a wealthy benefactor in Robert Barbour of Bolesworth Castle. Nevertheless it reflects great credit on the industrious enterprise of David Blelloch that when the new church, St. Andrew's, was opened on August 29th, 1862, one year after Barbour had laid the foundation stone, the entire £2,100 which the church had cost to build had

been collected by Blelloch, despite the poverty of his flock, and the church began its life proudly free of debt. ⁽¹⁾ Having realised his first ambition the Rev. Blelloch, with innate Scottish determination, revived his appeal for a Presbyterian school. Success followed on success, and a mixed and infants' school was opened on 5th February, 1866 with an attendance of 46. It soon became so popular that it had to be divided into three departments. The infants, under Miss Bates, and the girls, under Miss Sudworth, were accommodated in the Heath Street Hall hired from the Primitive Methodists' 'Wedgwood' Chapel Committee. The boys remained on the Presbyterian Church premises and were taught by Mr. William Dishart who came to Crewe in 1869, by which time the school had 184 pupils. ⁽²⁾ Dishart, who remained at the school for eighteen years, was destined to become one of the prominent and respected figures in education in Crewe

(1) The English Presbyterian Messenger, Sept. 1861.
· The Presbyterian Weekly Review of 30 Aug., 1862,
records that R. Barbour contributed £300 and his
brothers £150.

(2) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1866-7, p. 553.
· Education papers at P.R.O., ref: Ed. 7 No. 8, Form
No. 16, dated 28.2.1866.

partly as a result of his outstanding success as headmaster of the "Scotch Schools", but more particularly by virtue of the private academy which he opened in 1887. His successor in this year as headmaster of the Presbyterian School was Henry D. Struthers who later, in 1903, became Crewe's first Director of Education. Struthers had formerly been one of William Dishart's pupil teachers at the school. After passing the Queen's Scholarship examination he went to Borough Road Training College in London and, on completion of his training, returned to the school at the age of 21.⁽¹⁾ He soon proved himself to be an extremely conscientious and capable teacher and successfully maintained the high academic standards which Dishart had established, so that the school continued to attract many pupils of other denominations in addition to the Presbyterians themselves.

Throughout its period of existence, however, the school suffered from inadequate and unsuitable accommodation, the girls' department consisting of chapel

(1) Private information from Henry Struthers' two sons, W. H. Struthers, Headmaster of Tewkesbury Grammar School, and the Rev. F. B. Struthers, Presbyterian Minister of Morpeth, Northumberland.

schoolrooms rented from another denominational body and therefore of insecure tenure. Her Majesty's Inspector made frequent complaints of the dilapidated state of all three departments of the school.⁽¹⁾ The Presbyterian congregation, although very active, remained small and, in fact, decreased considerably in size towards the end of the century. The number of communicant members fell to only 189 in 1890, so that resources for school building and maintenance must have been very limited. Nevertheless, by the time the school closed in 1896, and Struthers with his staff and pupils were transferred to the new school built by the Railway Company in Beech Street, the number of scholars had risen to almost 700.⁽²⁾ It is a tribute to the tenacity and inspired leadership of Struthers, who had persevered for so long under very difficult conditions, that when the first scholarships to the new secondary school were awarded in 1902 no fewer than ten of the eleven awards

(1) e.g. H.M.I.'s Report for 1881 in the Presbyterian Girls' School log book; Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1883-4, p. 300.

(2) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1894-5, p. 798. The Presbyterian School buildings were condemned by the Education Department in 1894.

made went to pupils of Beech Street School. (1)

The rapid rise of Crewe after 1850 naturally brought considerable changes to the adjacent, and formerly dominant township of Church Coppenhall. There had been a serious economic depression in the Crewe railway works between the years 1849-1852, the number of men employed in all departments having fallen from 1,600 in 1848 to only 827 in 1852. (2) In the following year, however, a new rail-rolling mill close to the boundary of Church Coppenhall began production and renewed prosperity followed. A rapid increase in population accompanied this expansion of industry, and during the remainder of the decade an ever-growing number of railway workers with their families began to encroach

(1) Crewe Chronicle, 2.2.34.
Struthers' obituary notice in the Presbyterian Journal of April, 1940, records that in addition to his services to elementary education he was superintendant of the Presbyterian Sunday School for 47 years and did "sterling work as a member of the General Assembly's Welfare of Youth Committee".

(2) W. H. Chaloner, op.cit., p. 69.

on the parish of the Rev. John B. Wheeler, Rector of St. Michael's, Church Coppenhall. In a letter to the Crewe Committee of the L.N.W.R. Board in June, 1861, the Rector pointed out that since the arrival of the railway works the population in his parish, quite independently of Crewe, had grown from 450 to 3,200 and that 475 families of the Company's servants now resided in it. The great locomotive designer, John Ramsbottom, who assumed responsibility for the reorganization of Crewe Works in 1857, had written previously to the Committee in November, 1859, to inform them that no special provision had been made for the families of men working in the new rolling mills, and that 151 children resident in the Rev. Wheeler's district were wholly unprovided for. (1) The Rector himself, who had evidently been alive to this growing problem since the opening of the rolling mill and realised how hopelessly inadequate the old Rectory Barn school had become, had been dutifully collecting subscriptions towards the building of a new school in his parish. By May, 1861,

(1) Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 11.11.59; 21.6.61.

he had succeeded in raising nearly £700 locally, and in this month he wrote to the General Committee of the National Society appealing for help in erecting two schools with houses for a master and mistress.⁽¹⁾ In support of his application the Rector pointed out that his older children had to travel up to four miles to school in the neighbouring parishes of Minshull Vernon, Warmingham and Crewe Green, so that he had little influence over them and they grew up almost strangers to him as their pastor. The potential danger of this state of affairs he drove home by drawing attention to the fact that no fewer than eight different denominations of Dissenters met for worship every Sunday in Crewe and Coppenhall. Here the wily Rector had chosen effective ammunition with which to bombard the Committee of the National Society, though doubtless this threat to his

(1) The Rev. J. B. Wheeler's letter, dated 25th May, 1861, is preserved at the National Society Offices. See photocopy in Appendix B. A Deed of Conveyance dated 24th December 1859 made over a plot of land called the Bowling Green to the Rector and Church wardens of Coppenhall for the construction of a school "for the education of children of the labouring, manufacturing and other poorer classes in the Parish of Coppenhall". Deed preserved at County Record Office, Chester Castle.

nomadic flock did cause him much genuine concern. Indeed his devotion to his pastoral duties is proved beyond question in that he had collected so large a sum in a parish inhabited almost exclusively by cottage tenants, containing "not a Gentleman ... nor any Landord owning any quantity of land". Two months later, on 22nd July, the Rector followed up his previous letter by sending a postal order for 27s. being the proceeds of a collection made in Church on behalf of the National Society, and with this he happened to enclose the plans of a London architect, J. K. Colling Esq., of Hampstead, for the proposed new buildings. On the following day the Com-mittée responded to the Rector's persistence and ingenuity by awarding a building grant of £66.⁽²⁾ The Chester Diocesan Board made a grant of £30, and the Com-mittee of Council on Education donated £464.⁽³⁾ In his

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- (1) In organizing a Church collection on behalf of the National Society the Rector was complying with Section 2 of the Minute passed by the General Committee of that Society on 2nd February, 1859.
 - (2) Letters from the Rev. J. B. Wheeler to the National Society, dated 11.9.60; 22.7.61; 27.7.61; 2.6.62; 13.6.62, preserved at Nat.Soc. Offices, loc. cit.
 - (3) National Society School Building Aid Application Form dated 1.6.1861, at National Society Offices (see Appendix B); Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1862-3, p. 376.

appeals for aid to the Crewe Committee of the L.N.W. Railway Board in February and June 1861 the Rev. Wheeler pointed out that the sum required for the erection of the schools was £1,550 of which £1,096 had been raised, leaving a balance of £456 to be provided. The Committee, in consideration of their debt to an incumbent who derived no direct benefit from the railway colony, recommended a donation of £100 towards the cost of building, though this amount was not actually paid until four months later after a respectful reminder from the Rector. (1)

Further local subscriptions made up the deficiency and, thus provided, the Rector proceeded with building negotiations and the new schools in Broad Street were erected with accommodation for 230 boys and girls, to supplement the already over-crowded small infants' school originally built for 70 though now housing over 100, which had hitherto constituted the only public school accommodation available in this rapidly expanding parish. The actual cost of building the school and two school-houses amounted to £1,679.1s.8d. of which £1,119.1s.8d.

(1) L. N. W. R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 8.2.61; 21.6.61; 18.10.61.

had been raised by local subscriptions and collections.⁽¹⁾ With the opening of the school, however, the Rector's problems did not end. The actual running costs of the school totalled considerably more than the income received, so that the Rev. Wheeler was obliged to make a further appeal to the Railway Company. At this time, August 1862, there were 183 children attending the school, of whom all but 31 were children of the Company's servants. The receipts of school pence from these amounted to £25.19s.7d., whereas the expenditure was £50.9s.0d., leaving a deficiency of £24.9s.5d., for which the Rector was personally responsible. The Crewe Committee, bearing in mind "the great benefits conferred upon the Company's servants, and also the large amount expended by Mr. Wheeler in the establishment of the Sunday and Day Schools at Coppenhall", recommended the payment of the deficiency of £24.9s.5d., and a subscription of £10 per annum upon the understanding that no further demand should be made upon the Company.⁽²⁾ This grant was made annually from

(1) Balance Sheet, School Case 2063 Coppenhall, preserved at Nat. Soc. Offices.

(2) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 14.8.62; 18.6.63; 20.11.63.

Michaelmas 1862 for the next decade, but after the establishment of a School Board in Church Coppenhall in 1873 the Directors withdrew their subscription towards the upkeep of the school. (1)

Having solved the immediate problem of providing facilities for the education of children over the age of 7 within Church Coppenhall the Rector, still concerned about the inadequate provision for infants in his district, continued his educational campaign. He realized that in two areas of Monks Coppenhall township which lay outside the new parish of Christ Church, Crewe, and therefore within his own parish, the deficiency was particularly serious. He concentrated his attention first on the north-eastern part of the township and initiated a fund to establish an infants' day school in New Street based on an existing Sunday School. Again he prevailed successfully upon the Railway Company to assist in his efforts and a small sum, £13.14s.0d. was recommended to be paid into the New Street School account in June, 1863. In fact

(1) Letter from the Rev. Moses Reid (the Rev. J. B. Wheeler's successor) to Edward Moore, Secretary of the National Society, dated 30th January, 1874, preserved at Nat. Soc. Offices.

enquiry on the part of the Crewe Committee revealed that the Rev. Wheeler with characteristic zeal, faith and optimism had already expended this amount, leaving the Crewe Committee morally obliged to settle his debt since it would have seemed churlish of them to rebuff the Rector's well intentioned labours on behalf of railwaymen's children outside his own township in a part of Monks Coppenhall close to the original railway works. For his part the Rev. Wheeler gave the Committee his assurance that he would in future limit his annual demand on the Company to £10. (1)

In 1865 the Rector received timely support in the appointment of a new curate at St. Michael's. He could hardly have anticipated at the time just how great this support was to prove. The new arrival, the Rev. John Ashe, was no ordinary curate, but a man of mature years and of very substantial private means. He had previously been a cotton and calico manufacturer and owner of the Higher Carr Mills, Stockport. He was an

(1) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 18.6.63; 20.11.63;
16.2.65.

enthusiastic amateur artist who resolved late in life to take holy orders and was, in fact, prepared for ordination by his own son, Thomas Ashe.⁽¹⁾ On taking up his curacy at St. Michael's John Ashe became immediately concerned with the education and moral training of the young and he joined forces with the Rev. Wheeler in persuading the Railway Company to assist in the equipping of the New Street School. He himself rented premises, now known as No. 65 Stewart Street, in the south-west area of the township and there established the Rockwood or 'Valley' School in 1866, meeting all expenses from his own pocket.⁽²⁾ This school, together with New Street School, contributed materially to solving the problem of providing places for the children in the two parts of Monks Coppenhall which

(1) Dictionary of National Biography Supplement, Vol. 1 p. 80 (under 'Thomas Ashe'); Articles by G. Milner in The Manchester Quarterly, Vol. 7, 1888, and by J. B. Oldham in Cheshire Notes and Queries, Nov. 19th 1887, p. 272; Pigot's Directory of Manchester and Salford, 1838; Slater's Directory of Manchester, 1843; Bagshaw's Directory of Chester, 1850; Kelly's Cheshire Directory, 1857; Slater's Manchester Directory, 1858; White's Cheshire Directory, 1860; the Burgess Roll for Manchester, October 1862. All these are kept at Stockport Central Library.

(2) Typescript booklet: History of the Parish of St. Paul Crewe, 1869-1956, John G. O'Connor, p. 3. in Crewe Public Library. Rockwood School, like New Street, was both a day and Sunday school.

remained outside the new parish of Christ Church, Crewe - a problem which had naturally caused the Rector much concern.

In November of the same year the Rev. Wheeler and the Rev. Ashe were able to report to the Crewe Committee that the New Street Day School and the Rockwood Day School each contained 80 children. Also in the New Street School evening classes were held three times a week. (1) Ashe continued to give financial support towards the upkeep of the school and in 1869 he persuaded the Railway Company to erect the additional accommodation necessary to secure a Government grant, although the Company would not go so far as to provide a rent free cottage for the schoolmaster. (2)

While these negotiations for the extension of school provision had been in progress, the Rector had also been engaged in collecting subscriptions towards the building of a new church in the High Town area of Monks

(1) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 16.11.66.

(2) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 14.5.69; 3.6.69.

Coppenhall which had by this time become very populous. By November 1866 the account stood at £2,233.17s.2d. and the Rev. Wheeler secured a suitable site at a cost of 5s.6d. per square yard.⁽¹⁾ Reference has previously been made to the dispute concerning the rival claims to this land of the Railway Company on the one hand and the Wesleyans on the other, which resulted in the portion of the land bordering Albert Street being appropriated for the new Anglican church and the portion on the Beech Street side being sold to the Wesleyans for the erection of their High Town Schools. The new church was completed in 1869, having cost a total of £4,403.17s.9d. to build, and in January 1870 an Order of Her Majesty in Council assigned a District Chapelry to St. Paul's Church, Coppenhall, consisting of so much of the township of Monks Coppenhall as was not included within the limits of the parish of Christ Church, Crewe.⁽²⁾

The physical and nervous strain of all the feverish campaigning of the past decade had by this time sapped the strength of the over-industrious Rector. His

(1) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 21.9.66; 16.11.66.

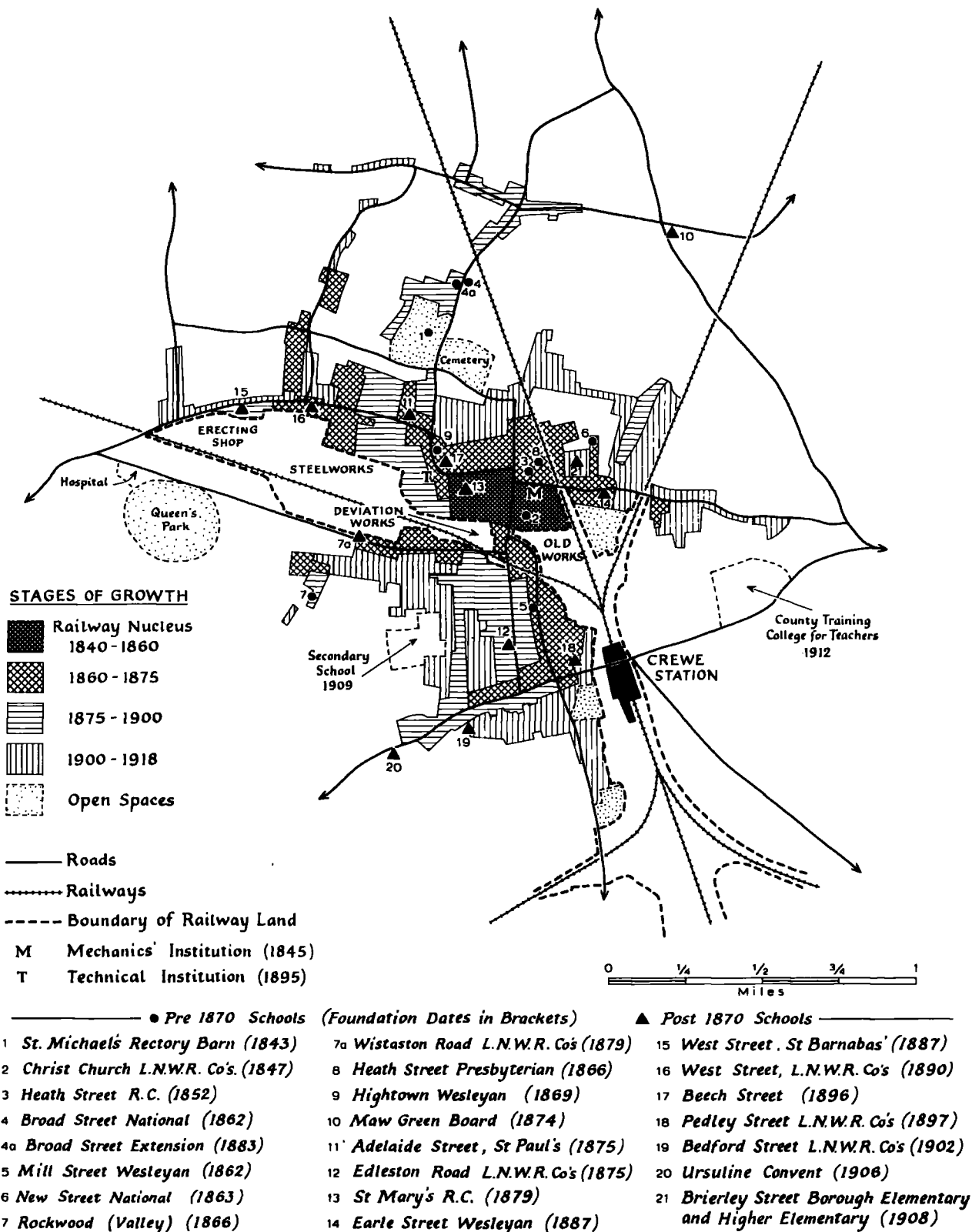
(2) The London Gazette, 14.1.1870.

health began to fail and he was obliged to retire from his labours in January, 1867.⁽¹⁾ However, his good work was continued with equal zest and enterprise by his curate John Ashe, who became the first Vicar of St. Paul's in 1869. In Ashe the new town had been endowed with yet another devoted and redoubtable disciple to the cause of education, and one who was to become such a prominent contestant in the long and arduous struggle against the proposed formation of a School Board in Crewe which followed the provisions and requirements of the 1870 Act.

(1) L.N.W.R. Crewe Cttee. Minutes: 18.1.67.

Map 2

SCHOOL PROVISION IN RELATION TO THE URBAN GROWTH of CREWE UP TO 1918



CHAPTER IV

SCHOOL PROVISION AND ADMINISTRATION BETWEEN THE EDUCATION ACTS OF 1870 AND 1902

The years between the two great Education Acts of 1870 and 1902 have been described as a "period of partition".⁽¹⁾ Certainly the demands of the 1870 Act resulted in a very pronounced division of opinion between Monks Coppenhall on the one hand and Church Coppenhall on the other, though it may also be said that in a certain sense the Act brought about a greater degree of unity and coordination of educational interests in Monks Coppenhall itself than would hitherto have seemed possible. This was a unity which sprang from a mutual adversity as Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Nonconformists, railway executives and ratepayers found themselves thrown together in the common cause of resisting any form of non-denominational central control over education in the town. The inhabitants of Church Coppenhall, in contrast, having experienced long enough the strain of maintaining their

(1) C. Birchenough: History of Elementary Education, U.T.P. London, 3rd Edition 1938, p.111.

voluntary schools on quite inadequate resources, capitulated almost immediately and decided to form a School Board.

(i) The Immediate Effects of the 1870 Act in Crewe

In his 'Report on the Township of Monks Coppenhall' in 1872, Her Majesty's Inspector, Thomas S. Gleadowe, listed the existing accommodation provided by "efficient" schools in receipt of grants from the Privy Council as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Infants</u>	<u>Total</u>
Crewe National	315	222	223	761
Mill Street Wesleyan	105	105	165	375
High Town Wesleyan	110	110	125	345
Rockwood C. of E.	47	47	48	142
St. Mary's R. C.	80	79	85	244
Presbyterian, Hill Street	90	90		180
Presbyterian, Heath Street			147	147
New Street C. of E.		45	45	90
Totals:	747	699	838	2,284 (1)

Of the total population of 17,810 inhabitants at that time 17,300 were considered to be of the class

(1) Report dated 11.9.72 - filed at P.R.O., ref: Ed. 16, File No. 17.

whose children may be expected to attend elementary schools. Calculating at the rate of 1 in 5 of this class Gleadowe estimated that school accommodation ought to be provided for 3,460 children - 989 boys, 989 girls and 1,482 infants. Evidently, therefore, additional accommodation was required for 1,176 children - 242 boys, 290 girls and 644 infants. The Inspector considered that a school for 608 children should be erected in the south-east of the township near the railway station, and another for 605 children near the western extremity in the Rockwood area, to which the town had expanded following the opening of the steelworks at Coppenhall Heyes.

These statistics and proposals correspond closely with those given in the official Education Department Return, 'Notice U', published in accordance with Sections XL and XII of the 1870 Act on 19th February, 1873, although this Return relates to the combined school districts of Monks Coppenhall and Church Coppenhall. (1)

(1) Notice U, No. 4,840 (Union of Nantwich) - at P.R.O., ref: Ed. 1, Vol. 10. (See Appendix C.)

Having thus clearly set forth the deficiency problem in the district the Privy Council allowed the voluntary school organizations a short period of grace in which to resolve it.

Accordingly the Rev. J. Nadin, Vicar of Christ Church, convened a meeting of the ratepayers of Monks Coppenhall in the Town Hall on Monday, 19th May, 1873. The views expressed at this meeting by both clerics and laymen left no doubt that the inhabitants of the railway town were determined at all costs to avoid the imposition of a School Board. The clergy disapproved strongly of secular education and feared that they would lose much of the considerable influence they had hitherto been able to exert on the religious content of the school curriculum. The Rev. Nadin expressed this viewpoint thus: "I believe a School Board leads to a great deal of religious excitement, bigotry and intolerance. We meet together as friends of denominational teaching". The representatives of the railway company feared the enormous increase in expenditure which would inevitably be incurred by the levying of an education rate to support a local School Board. (1)

(1) In 1876 the rateable value of Monks Coppenhall was £55,934, of which £20,132 stood in the name of the L.N.W.R.Co..

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F. W. Webb, Chief Mechanical Engineer of the L.N.W.R., expressed the hope that "the ratepayers might see some other method of providing the extra school accommodation required without the expensive machinery of a School Board". As the largest body of ratepayers in the town the Company had good cause for alarm, and Webb's views were echoed wholeheartedly by the mass of ordinary ratepayers present. Despite these sentiments, however, it was observed that the Roman Catholics in the town were a poor body and could not afford to build schools, while the Wesleyans were "at the end of their tether". At this juncture the Rev. Nadin succeeded in dispelling despondency by announcing that his friend the Rev. John Ashe, Vicar of St. Paul's, had collected £1,200 with the intention of building Sunday schools and that he would not object to using it for day schools. He went on to suggest that all workmen who were not in difficulties and had no sickness at home should give half a day's wages, and all foremen, richer people and parsons should give a week's pay. He himself contributed £10 and Mr. Webb offered a further £50. Accordingly an "opponents' Committee" was formed, with Mr. W. M. Moorsom as secretary

and Mr. F. W. Webb as treasurer. (1)

War had thus been declared, a war which continued, often in the face of quite formidable difficulties, right up to the implementation of the Balfour Act of 1902. The first great hero in this long struggle was undoubtedly John Ashe, the former cotton manufacturer turned clergyman and educationalist. He lost no time in opening negotiations with the Railway Company for the building of new schools in the now populous area of High Town. From his own resources, he bought a suitable site in what was to become Adelaide Street at a cost of £300 and offered this, together with the £1,300 he had collected, supplemented by a further £200 raised by the other clergymen in Crewe, for school purposes provided that the Company would supply bricks at cost price and contribute £1,500 in money, which he estimated to be about half the cost of building. He pointed out that this arrangement would be more economical for the Company than having new schools erected by a school board, and since this was clearly true the members of the Company's Special Committee readily gave their approval. Indeed there was little

(1) A report of this meeting is contained in the Crewe Chronicle of 24.5.73., with further comment in the issue of 21.6.73.

time for more prolonged consideration as the Privy Council had postponed their order for the formation of a school board in Monks Coppenhall only until March, 1874.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly plans and contracts were drawn up without delay, and by April work on the building had already begun.⁽²⁾

Meanwhile, in order to meet the deficiency in the southern part of the town, the Railway Company in collaboration with the Rev. Nadin put in hand plans for the construction of another school, on the site of the original St. John's Church in Edleston Road. These plans, dated April 1874, indicate the provision made for boys, girls and infants in the proposed new buildings. The boys were to be accommodated on the ground floor in a large schoolroom measuring 60' x 24', divided in two by a partition, and a smaller classroom measuring 20' x 14'6", while the girls' accommodation was above the boys' in rooms of the same dimensions. The infants' accommo-

(1) L.N.W.R. Special Cttee. Minutes, 16.1.74, Minute No. 32,576, Ref: LNW 1 Vol. 25, Piece No. 103.

(2) Letter from John Ashe to the Educ.Dept., Whitehall, dated 5.5.74, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16 No. 17. Indenture dated 17.3.74, preserved in the Church safe of St. Paul's, Crewe.

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dition, on the ground floor adjacent to the boys' department, consisted of a single schoolroom measuring 40' x 20' with a raised gallery at one end. The total accommodation this provided, in terms of the statutory 8 sq.ft. per child, was for 520 children.⁽¹⁾ The buildings were completed and formally opened by the Rev. Nadin on 28th June, 1875.⁽²⁾

Whereas the Edleston Road School had been built entirely at the expense of the Railway Company, and was therefore the exclusive property of the Company, the High Town School, although generally known as the L.N.W.R. Company's School, had been built with very substantial financial aid from the Rev. John Ashe and his parishioners. Ashe had also provided for an endowment fund to assist in the day to day running of the School, and in assigning the land on which the School was built to the Duke of Sutherland and Richard Moon, acting as trustees for the Railway Company, wisely stipulated that

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- (1) Plans of Proposed School at Edleston Road, at British Railways Board Archives Office, 66 Porchester Road, W.2., Ref: LNW 3/255.
- (2) Educ. Dept. Papers, P.R.O. Ref: Ed. 7 No. 8, Form No. 11.

the School be for ever attached to St. Paul's Church for the purpose of imparting religious instruction. (1)

This meant that strictly the School was neither a Railway Company's school nor a Church of England National School, and in making these provisions Ashe ensured that the School enjoyed a greater degree of independence than the other schools in Crewe which were owned completely by the Railway Company. The wisdom and foresight of Ashe in this respect were to prove beneficial also to the Crewe Borough Council some thirty years later when, in pursuance of the provisions of the 1902 Education Act, the local authority had to negotiate with the Railway Company for the transfer of the Company's schools. (2)

The School buildings, completed on 12th July, 1875, contained one large and one smaller room each for boys and girls, and one large room with raised gallery and two small rooms for infants, providing in all accommodation

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- (1) Grant and Assignment of land at Monks Coppenhall for St. Paul's Schools, dated 13.4.77, preserved in the Church safe of St. Paul's, Crewe.
- (2) Explanatory notes on Minutes of L.N.W.R. Special Cttee., 18.2.1903, Ref: INW 1 Minute Book 577.



TWO SCHOOLS BUILT IN 1875
ADELAIDE STREET (above) AND EDLESTON ROAD (below)



for 243 boys, 160 girls and 245 infants.⁽¹⁾

The additional 1,168 places supplied by these two schools appeased the Privy Council for the time being, and the school board threat was at least temporarily allayed. However, if education officials in Whitehall felt satisfied, at least one group of Nonconformists in Crewe did not. In purely statistical terms school provision may have seemed adequate, but in religious denomination both the new schools were Anglican, so that the very substantial proportion of Nonconformists in the town understandably felt that their interests had not been properly represented. This may partially explain why the new schools were, for several years after their opening, poorly attended. Edleston Road School, for example, with room for 520 had an average attendance of only 246 in 1879, although this may have been partly also the result of the poor academic reputation which it had apparently acquired since its

(1) Educ. Dept. Papers at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 7 No. 8, Form No. 9; Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1877-8 p. 124-5 and 1878-9 p. 856; Plans at British Railways Board Archives Office, loc.cit., Ref: INW 3/255.

inception.⁽¹⁾ In an attempt to rectify this imbalance the Rev. D. S. Prosser made an application in November 1877 to the Education Department on behalf of his Primitive Methodist congregation to establish a mixed and infants' day school in the Sunday school rooms at the Wedgwood Primitive Methodist Chapel in Heath Street.⁽²⁾ The large ground floor room was already let to the Presbyterians for their infants' day school, leaving two large rooms each measuring 51' x 39' and five smaller classrooms available for use as a Primitive Methodist school. Replying for the Education Department Mr. E. M. S. Kynnersley, having considered the school accommodation already existing, decided that the Presbyterian School should be confined to boys only and the Primitive Methodists should be allowed to open a school for girls and infants. Dissatisfied with this reply the Rev. Prosser wrote again on 13th January, 1878, to explain that

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1878-9, p. 856. Mr. E. M. S. Kynnersley, in a report to the Privy Council in Nov. 1877, said: "They (the Edleston Road Schools) are far from full because they are not good", P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16 No. 17.

(2) Letter from Rev. D. S. Prosser to the Educ. Dept., dated 17th Nov., 1877, filed at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16 File 17.

about 1,000 families in Crewe were Primitive Methodists and their aim was to provide what they considered to be a suitable type of education for their children. This aim, he reasonably pointed out, could not be adequately achieved unless the boys as well as the girls and infants could be included. Mr. Kynnersley, however, remained quite adamant in his decision and explained his views to the Privy Council. He considered that the cause of education would be injured by setting up another mixed school in "a rough town like Crewe" within 100 yards of the mixed Presbyterian School and facing a Roman Catholic mixed school. "In the country mixed schools are a necessary evil; in a town like Crewe there is no need for them".⁽¹⁾ He thought further that it would serve only as an additional refuge to the large class of shifting truants who were in the habit of trying various schools in turn and not staying long in any of them. These reasons were not, however, relayed to the Rev. Prosser, who was merely informed that as Crewe contained

(1) Report on Primitive Methodists' application to establish day schools, by Mr. E.M.S. Kynnersley to the Privy Council, P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16 No. 17.

1,550 children of elementary school age and there were places in existing schools for 1,561 children their Lordships did not feel justified in entertaining his application. (1) A second application on behalf of another Nonconformist group received a similar refusal some three years later. On this occasion the managers of a Baptist mixed 'adventure' school in Underwood Lane wrote to ask for recognition and Government inspection with, of course, the accompanying grant. (2) The reasons given for refusing official recognition were firstly that 'adventure' schools were excluded from inspection by the Education Act of 1876, and secondly that such schools seldom worked well and in a town like Crewe should be avoided. (3)

Perhaps the wisdom of the Education Department in rejecting these two applications should not be questioned, but the claim made by the Department in

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- (1) Letter from Educ. Dept. to Rev. Prosser, dated 25.3.75 - at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16. No. 17.
 - (2) The Education Department defined an 'adventure' school as "one conducted by the teacher at his or her own risk and on his or her own responsibility".
 - (3) Letters from Edward Price to the Educ. Dept., dated 11.11.1880 and 27.3.1881, with reply dated 9.4.1881, filed at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 21, File No. 9.

replying to the Rev. Prosser that the number of school places exceeded the number of children to be accommodated did not correspond with the Committee of Council's official report on school accommodation in Crewe published in July of the same year. This indicated that additional places were needed for 150 children in the Rockwood area. (1) The Rev. John Ashe had written to the Education Department on 11th March, two weeks before the Department's reply to the Rev. Prosser, informing them that he had been obliged to close the Rockwood School owing to opposition from Mr. Broughton, the owner of the premises. Although the proposed Primitive Methodist School in Heath Street was only one mile distant from Rockwood the Department had decided that it would not provide suitable accommodation for the Rockwood children. (2) Ashe, in fact continued negotiations with Mr. Broughton and hoped eventually to re-open the Rockwood School but, after a long period of declining health, the man who had

(1) Educ. Dept. 'Notice B' No. 14,421, P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16/17 (see Appendix C).

(2) Letter from Rev. J. Ashe to Educ. Dept., dated 11.3.78; Interview Memorandum dated 24.9.78, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16/17.

given and achieved so much in the interests of education in Crewe died in the following December. The Railway Company, aware of the deficiency created by the closing of the Rockwood School, authorised Ashe's successor as Vicar of St. Paul's, the Rev. Arthur H. Webb, to arrange for the erection of a small school building on land belonging to the Company in Wistaston Road.⁽¹⁾ The new school, measuring 75' x 18', provided accommodation for 155 girls and infants, and was completed in April, 1879.⁽²⁾

Also in this year the Roman Catholics, whose buildings in Heath Street had become very dilapidated, transferred their school to new premises in St. Mary's Street. The new school had accommodation for 420, an increase of 178 over that of the former school, and until 1891 when the new St. Mary's Church was completed the upper room served also as a chapel. Bishop Knight of Shrewsbury opened the new school on 5th October 1879.⁽³⁾

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- (1) L.N.W.R. Special Cttee. Minutes, Nos. 45,150 and 45,151, 17.1.79.
 - (2) Letters from Rev. A.H. Webb to Educ. Dept., dated 11.2.79, 28.2.79 and 28.4.79, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16/17.
 - (3) Father M. Abbott: Centenary Record of the Diocese of Shrewsbury, 1851-1951; Form dated 12.9.79 at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 7 No. 8.

As the Primitive Methodists had been unable to establish their own day school in the Wedgwood Chapel schoolrooms they allowed the Presbyterians to rent the Heath Street Hall, enabling them to increase their accommodation from 428 to 613. As the average attendance at the Presbyterian Schools had reached 500, reflecting their high academic prestige in the town, this additional space was much needed. (1)

Clearly then the decade following the introduction of the 1870 education Act was a period of almost frantic activity in Crewe as clergymen, ratepayers and the Railway Company joined forces in a determined effort to keep elementary education on a voluntary and denominational basis in the town. For the time being at any rate their efforts had been successful and the requirements of the Act had been more than adequately met.

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1880, pp. 546-7; 1882-3 p. 629; Crewe Chronicle, 24.8.78; Letter from F. Cooke, Town Clerk of Crewe, to Educ. Dept., dated 22.8.78, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16 No. 17.

(ii) The Church Coppenhall School Board

Meanwhile, in the neighbouring township of Church Coppenhall the inhabitants had responded to the demands of the Act in a completely different way. As only one school existed in the township, the National School, the situation was far less complicated and the question of providing separate schools for various denominations did not have to be considered. (1)

At the time of Her Majesty's Inspector's survey in 1872 the township had a population of 2,094 which included 418 children for whom school accommodation should be provided. The existing accommodation, part of which was actually outside Church Coppenhall, for 327 children left a deficiency of 91 places. The Inspector recommended that an infants' school for 80 should be built in the north-east of the township while the remainder should be provided for in Monks Coppenhall. He further suggested that the twin townships should be

(1) The Coppenhall National School is School No. 4 on Map 2. The Rectory Barn School, No. 1 on this map, had closed when the National School opened in 1862.

united into a single School District.⁽¹⁾ Following the publication of these findings and proposals in the Education Department's 'Notice U'* twelve months later, the Rector of Church Coppenhall, the Rev. Moses Reid, called a public meeting in the vestry of St. Michael's on Tuesday, 15th July, 1873 to consider what course of action should be taken. At this meeting it was unanimously agreed that the township should not be joined with Monks Coppenhall in educational matters but should constitute a separate School District, and at a further meeting on 22nd October it was further agreed that application should be made to the Privy Council for permission to form a School Board.⁽²⁾ These views the Rector communicated to the Education Department, and the Committee of Council duly issued an order on 4th November authorising the formation of a School

(1) Inspector's Report for the Township of Church Coppenhall, dated 17.2.72, filed at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 2/33 File No. 752.

* See Appendix C.

(2) Crewe Guardian, 19.7.73; 25.10.73. Petition from Rev. M. Reid, dated 9.4.73, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16/17.

Board in Church Coppenhall.⁽¹⁾ The election of the five members of the Board, with the Rector as Chairman and Mr. C. E. Speakman as Clerk, took place in the following month.

This development brought great relief to the Rector who had, since taking up the incumbency of St. Michael's three years previously, been obliged to contribute at least £30 annually from his income of less than £250 towards the upkeep of the school. In writing to the National Society to seek their advice about leasing the school to the newly formed School Board he explained that the population of the township consisted entirely of small farmers and labourers employed in Crewe Railway Works, who had "never contributed a pound a year since the time the school was built".⁽²⁾ The Rector had good reason to consider his parishioners disinterested in educational matters since only three of

(1) Correspondence between Rev. M. Reid, Mr. F. Cooke and the Educ. Dept., various dates between 21.7.73 and 4.11.73, preserved at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 2/33.

(2) Letter from Rev. M. Reid to Edward Moore, Secretary of the National Society, dated 30.1.74, preserved at National Society Offices, loc.cit.

them, and those were all churchwardens, had taken the trouble to attend the 'public' meeting he had called the previous July to discuss the Education Department's proposals. Clearly education in Church Coppenhall could not have survived on a voluntary basis.

The School Managers drew up proposals to lease the buildings to the School Board for consecutive periods of five years at a nominal annual rent of £20, with the provisions that the Managers would have the use of the School on Sundays, Christmas Day, Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, and that the School Board should be responsible for all running costs including repairs, and should keep the premises insured for £800. The Education Department replied that the rent would have to be a really nominal amount of 5s. per annum, despite the School Trustees' protest that they had just spent £60 on roof repairs, and on this basis the School was transferred to the Board on 25th March, 1874. (1)

Having acquired the tenure of the existing

(1) Form No. 96 and related correspondence, various dates between 20.2.74 and 16.4.74, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 21/2095.

school the Board turned its attention to planning the building of a new school in the north-east of the township to supply the additional 91 places which the Inspector had found to be wanting. In a flurry of initial enthusiasm, quite unjustified in view of the lack of resources, the Board engaged a local architect, Mr. E. Furber, to draw up plans for a mixed and infants school to accommodate 150 to be built on a site at Maw Green which the Board agreed to purchase from Mr. Richard Whittle for £250.⁽¹⁾ These plans, however, the Education Department rejected on the grounds that they were too extravagant, the proposed school being far bigger than immediate requirements demanded. Therefore Mr. Furber was asked to design a smaller school for 100 children. The re-planned school, consisting of three rooms measuring 34'3" x 18', 20' x 15' and 27' x 18' with space for 101 children was completed in 1876 at a

(1) Plans for proposed Maw Green Board School, dated August 1874, preserved at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 21/2095. Crewe Chronicle, 1.5.75. In Board schools 10 sq.ft. were required for older children and 8 sq. ft. for infants.

cost of £1,100, which sum the School Board borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners.⁽¹⁾ Even this much reduced school the Board could not afford to equip or staff adequately, and the entire stock with which the school opened on 16th October consisted of 15 copy books at 2d., 12 exercise books at 2d., 6 grammars at 1d., and 18 arithmetic books at 1d.⁽²⁾ In his report on the school three years later Her Majesty's Inspector, T. S. Gleadowe, who found the standard in all subjects "exceedingly defective", felt constrained to comment: "A judicious expenditure in increased staff would more than have repaid the Board. Books, maps and apparatus are wanting. Miss Lives appears to be working well, but it is hardly to be expected that a young teacher aided only by a monitress could successfully conduct a school of 100 children to the majority of whom education is quite new".⁽³⁾

(1) Crewe Chronicle, 7.11.74; Form 209 at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 21/2103; Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1875-6, p.50.

(2) Maw Green Board School Log Book, entry for 16.10.76, stored at Crewe Public Library.

(3) *ibid.*, entry for 24.11.79.

Apart from the statutory grants from the Privy Council based on the number of scholars and the standards they attained, the Board derived its income from the school pence and from the education rate. At both the Board schools the average charge made for each child was 3d. per week.⁽¹⁾ The amount of rate levied for educational purposes averaged 9d. in the £ during the twenty years between 1875 and 1894, though it ranged from the extremes of 4.75d. in 1878 to 1s.8d. in 1881.⁽²⁾ In most years the Board's expenditure exceeded its income by amounts up to £50, which had to be made up by private subscription, and never after 1876 did its liabilities for loans fall below £1,000.⁽³⁾ Throughout the 25 years of its existence the Board faced great financial difficulties and exercised frugal control over staffing and provision of equipment, although the actual accommodation afforded by the Board's schools always far exceeded the average attendance of its scholars, despite

(1) Crewe Chronicle, 5.1.78.

(2) School Board Accounts for Church Coppenhall in Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1874-1895, passim.

(3) See Appendix D.

the steady increase of population in the township. (1)

The Board's problems were not, however, confined to matters of money. From its inception until 1883 a Nonconformist majority controlled the Board, and discord developed between the Anglican and Nonconformist members concerning religious instruction in the schools. The simmering situation became aggravated when the Rev. William Cawley Reid, a High Churchman, was appointed Rector of St. Michael's in 1879, and soon a fierce dispute broke out. The case is worth recording in some detail firstly because it provides a notable example of a group of ratepayers in a School Board area attempting to exert their rights in accordance with the terms of the Cowper-Temple 'conscience clause' of the 1870 Act, and secondly because it exemplifies the lack of harmony between adherents to the Established Church and Nonconformist factions which became so rife in educational affairs in many industrial towns of the Midlands and

(1) The bye-laws of the Church Coppenhall School Board specified the age range for compulsory attendance to be between 5 and 13: Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1878-9, p. 308.

North at the time before the schools came under the control of local government authorities. (1) The Rector's most vociferous opponent was Thomas H. Heath who had, at the early age of 23, been elected as one of the original members of the Board and who later was to play a major part in reviving Liberalism in Crewe's municipal politics after defeating H. D. Earl, Works Manager, at a by-election in July 1888, during a period when the Independent majority of the Borough Council seemed immutable. In January 1883, Heath brought the matter of the Rev. W. C. Reid's alleged interference in the work of the schools to the attention of the Education Department in a somewhat vehement letter addressed to the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education. (2) The Rector, he reported, insisted on visiting the schools

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- (1) The Cowper-Temple clause stipulated that in schools "hereafter established by means of local rates, no catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive to any particular denomination shall be taught". Elementary Education Act, 1870.
- (2) This letter, dated 15.1.83, is filed at the P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 2/33 File No. 752.

wearing canonical vestments, and usurping half an hour of school time between 9.30 and 10 o'clock each morning to indoctrinate pupils in the tenets of his own Church, despite the fact that proper provision had been made for every school day to begin with an undenominational act of worship conducted by the Board's recognized teachers. These intrusions caused the teachers much inconvenience and some parents had already removed their children from the schools because, quite apart from religious considerations, there was no provision during these sessions for the secular instruction of children whose parents would not allow them to attend the Rector's classes and "ritualistic services". This loss of lesson time, Heath claimed, largely accounted for the poor standards attained in the recent examinations conducted by Her Majesty's Inspector. Although he had remonstrated with the Rector, the latter had merely reiterated his determination to continue giving religious instruction in the schools "in spite of men or devils". In urging their Lordships' intervention in the matter Heath concluded his letter with the warning:

"I am persuaded that unless the ratepayers of Church Coppenhall have the full benefit of the Education Act,

especially the protection it gives by the Conscience Clause, their complaints will assume a more aggravated form and bring disastrous results on the whole parish".

The Privy Council decided that the local Inspector, T. S. Gleadowe, should pay a surprise visit to the schools to ascertain whether, in fact, the school time-table was being violated. Accordingly Gleadowe visited the Broad Street School at 9.40 a.m. on January 24th and found that while religious instruction as provided by the time-table was going on throughout the school, more than 100 children were congested in the lobbies waiting for 10 o'clock. For these no arrangements for secular instruction had been made. In the Boys' Department religious instruction was being conducted entirely by the recognized staff, while in the Girls' Department 7 or 8 pupils of the first class were receiving instruction from the Rector, the remainder being in the charge of pupil teachers. Many children apparently did not arrive at school until 10 o'clock, at which time all religious instruction ceased promptly. The Rev. Reid attended the schools with the authority of the Board, visiting the Boys' and Girls' Departments on

alternate days, and his practice was to open with a shortened form of Anglican matins. This, rather than the actual instruction, had apparently given rise to complaints from parents, although the alleged removals of children from the schools applied to one family only. Having read the Inspector's report the Privy Council asked for a copy of the school time-table, which was duly sent on February 22nd accompanied by the following observations from the Rev. W. C. Reid himself, who had by this time been dubbed in Whitehall as the "Ritualistic Rector":-

- "1. I do not open the schools with prayer but leave that entirely to the teachers.
2. I do not attend the schools in canonical vestments.
3. I only take a few children in each school in the classroom, the parents of these children having expressed a willingness that I should do so.
4. The Bible is read with such explanations that arise out of the context.
5. I have nothing whatever to do at any time with the great body of the children.
6. I come to the school at 9.35 a.m. and leave at 10 a.m., and never by any chance stay later.
7. In the face of these facts I humbly submit the ratepayers have no grievance but it is the

same as in a private house.

8. I admit I opened the school with prayer until a month ago but I have ceased entirely to do so.
9. I have occasionally, when I have had an early service at my church, gone into the school in my cassock which is not in law a canonical dress.
10. I am willing to attend at the school at 9 a.m. if more convenient."⁽¹⁾

It is understandable that the Education Department felt some reluctance to take sides, particularly in a matter of religious policy, with either of two opposing factions within a School Board. To have done so would merely have weakened the whole structure of local educational administration. At a time when a large proportion of the cost of elementary education had to be met from local resources the successful implementation of the 1870 Act depended to a considerable extent on how effectively these could be tapped by the local controllers of the schools, clergy and laity alike, so that it would have been dangerous to undermine their authority or prestige. Mutual co-operation and cordial relationships between them and the Department in Whitehall had to be diplomatic-

(1) P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 2/33, File No. 752. The Rector had, in fact, since 1879 also conducted a voluntary Bible Class after school on Monday afternoons. (Entry in Maw Green Board School Log Book for 13.1.79.)

cally fostered. In this particular case it was by no means clear that the Conscience Clause had been actually violated. The children whose parents objected to the form of religious instruction given by the Rector had not been obliged to participate. Clearly the Rector's conscientious application to what he regarded as a necessary part of his duties could not be questioned and equally, while Thomas Heath had evidently felt genuine concern for the efficient working of the schools and acted in good faith, he had apparently overstated the gravity of the situation. In the event the Education Department decided to do no more than to draw the attention of the Board to the provisions of Section 7 of the Act, that while religious instruction had to be given after the opening of each school day, children whose parents objected to their participation should be provided with secular instruction during this time. Therefore the Rector's visits continued and the Church party had now, in fact, secured for the first time a majority on the Board. While Heath himself and a small number of strict non-sectarians may have felt dissatisfied with this outcome, the ratepayers in general seemed to accept the Department's decision with

equanimity and certainly showed no inclination to react in the revolutionary way which Heath had anticipated.

Notwithstanding this internal disturbance the Board had remained active in pursuing its main purpose, and had made provision for the erection of a new extension to the former National School on the opposite side of Broad Street. Completed later in 1883, this new building provided a further 317 school places for the township and so relieved the congestion of which the Inspector had long complained. The girls and infants were transferred to the new school allowing the whole of the old building to be used as the Boys' Department only. The new arrangement met with the entire approval of Her Majesty's Inspector, T. S. Gleadowe, who described the extension as "commodious, handsome and well arranged". In his report to the Privy Council he made it clear that the cause of his enthusiasm involved more than merely the architectural virtues of the buildings themselves:

"Denominational and party feeling has run very high in this township. Very keen and bitter have been the contests; no less unseemly have been the scenes reported at meetings of the Board. It is much to be hoped that with the opening of



THE SCHOOLS BUILT BY THE CHURCH COPPENHALL SCHOOL BOARD
BROAD STREET (above) AND MAW GREEN (below)



the new schools an era of peace has been inaugurated."(1)

Fortunately these hopes proved to be well founded and, whether as a result of the increased accommodation or of the decreased Nonconformist representation on the Board, its members conducted their affairs from this time onwards with sufficient restraint to prevent attracting public attention. The cost of the new buildings had amounted to £2,248 and, with no capital resources, the Board again had to borrow the whole of this sum from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, to be repaid over 50 years at an interest rate of $4\frac{1}{4}\%$. Although now almost £3,500 in debt, the Board had succeeded in making ample provision for school accommodation within the area of its jurisdiction, and this area remained unaffected when the expanding borough of Crewe annexed part of the township of Church Coppenhall in 1892.(2)

(iii) The Crewe School Attendance Committee

The first step towards any form of central

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1883-4, p. 299.

(2) *ibid.*, p. 6; Plans for proposed new Board School at Church Coppenhall - at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 21 No. 2095.

control over education by the local governing body in Monks Coppenhall came in 1877, the year of the town's incorporation as a municipal borough. ⁽¹⁾ In January of that year Frederick Cooke, Clerk to the Crewe Local Board, applied for permission from the Privy Council to appoint a School Attendance Committee in accordance with the provisions of Lord Sandon's Act of the previous year. This Act had aimed directly at improving school attendance, by granting local authorities the power to impose penalties on parents who persistently failed to send their children to school, and on anyone who employed children below the age of 10 who had not yet passed a Standard IV examination or had not made 250 attendances during each of five years.

(1) From June 25th, 1860, the town had been governed by the Monks Coppenhall Local Board which became known from 1869 onwards as the Crewe Local Board. On March 20th, 1877, Her Majesty in Court at Windsor gave consent for the incorporation of the Borough of Crewe, and the Privy Council granted the official Charter of Incorporation on April 27th. The Crewe Local Board held its last meeting on June 27th and, following municipal elections on June 30th and July 9th, the first meeting of the new Borough Council comprising 18 councillors and 6 aldermen took place on July 24th. (Letter from F. Cooke, Town Clerk, to the Educ. Dept., Whitehall, dated 11.8.77, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16 No. 17, Crewe Borough Council; Crewe Chronicle, 30.6.77; Crewe Guardian, 25.7.77.) The boundaries of the new borough remained the same as those of Monks Coppenhall township until 1892, i.e. as shown in Map 1 on p. 9.

Legislation of this kind was particularly needed in Crewe as there had always been a tendency for boys to be tempted or obliged to leave school at an early age in order to take up junior apprenticeships in the Works. Cooke's application received the approval of the Guardians of the Nantwich Union in February, endorsed by that of the Local Government Board in Whitehall on March 15th.⁽¹⁾

The Town Council appointed Mr. Peter Ranicar as Crewe's first School Attendance Officer and commissioned him to conduct a comprehensive census of the state of school attendance in relation to school accommodation and the number of children of school age in the three wards of the Borough. This gargantuan task, which involved visiting 4,137 houses, 9 public elementary schools and 20 private schools, took several months to complete, and Mr. Ranicar presented a very detailed report to the Committee on November 27th.⁽²⁾

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- (1) Correspondence dated 6.1.77, 17.2.77 and 15.3.77, at P.R.O., Ref: Ed. 16 No. 17; Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1878-9, p. 56.
- (2) Ranicar's Report was reproduced in full in the Crewe Chronicle of 15.12.77; see also Crewe Guardian for 27.11.77, and Crewe School Attendance Cttee. Minutes of same date, in Crewe Public Library.

He found the amount of "certified" school accommodation in the Borough to be for 3,777 children, although the total number of scholars actually on the school registers was 3,995. Of the 1,126 children in Crewe between the ages of 3 and 5, 245 attended private schools and 842 public elementary schools, while the corresponding totals for the 4,073 children aged between 5 and 13 were 482 and 3,110. The overall average attendance amounted to 2,745, or 69% of the total number on the school registers. 843 children of school age did not appear to be receiving any formal education at all, and had to be classified as "indifferent". Mr. Ranicar's services were also engaged, for a fee of £16 per annum, by the Church Coppenhall School Board, in whose area he found the average attendance to be 224, representing only 62% of the 359 scholars on the registers. He reported that 97 children between the ages of 5 and 13 were not being sent to school at all and observed that in terms of school pence alone at a rate of 3d. per week this represented a loss of £54.11s.3d. in one school year. (1)

(1) Crewe Chronicle, 5.1.78.

Evidently the Attendance Officer had discharged his first duties with commendable zeal and, in so doing, had provided himself with ample scope for further activity. This he began without delay by investigating some of the "indifferent" cases revealed by his census. Within three weeks he had issued 62 warning notices to defaulting parents. In thirty of these cases parents promised to send their children to school either immediately or straight after the Christmas holidays. Five of the notices were found to refer to children below the statutory school starting age, one family moved away without trace, in seven cases the parents proved to be "totally indifferent" and the remaining seventeen volunteered to be interviewed by the Attendance Committee in the hope of being excused on the grounds of poverty. Of this last group thirteen actually appeared before the Committee who found three of them to be genuinely needy cases. These were referred to Mr. Lea, the Relieving Officer, while the other ten were advised to send their children to school at once and so avoid further trouble. (1)

(1) School Attend. Cttee. Minutes, 18.12.77.

To ensure that the parents who had promised to send their children to school after the holidays kept their word Mr. Ranicar circulated a list of the children's names to the appropriate schools. The Committee supported the Attendance Officer's actions by demanding that all cases of sickness should be substantiated by a doctor's certificate and that, where appropriate, a birth certificate should be produced to prove that a child had reached the school leaving age of 13. ⁽¹⁾

These measures soon began to produce favourable results, and during the first fortnight of the following school term the public elementary schools in the Borough admitted 380 scholars who had not hitherto attended any school, while the average attendance increased by 267. ⁽²⁾ In Church Coppenhall the number on the Board's school registers rose to 395 by the end of the following month and the average attendance to 320, so that Mr. Ranicar was able to report with some satisfaction that the streets were now much clearer of children than they had been a short time back. However,

(1) To obtain a birth certificate required by school authorities parents had to pay a registrar's fee of 8d.

(2) School Attend. Cttee. Minutes, 22.1.78; Crewe Chronicle, 26.1.78.

the closing of the Rockwood School and of a private 'adventure' school held by a Mr. Lokham in the West Street Mission Room, which had failed to gain official recognition, caused a temporary reversion to the former scene until the children thus displaced could be absorbed by other schools. (1)

The Attendance Officer continued to pay surprise visits to the schools and to the homes of persistent absentees. In addition he distributed handbills to children communicating warnings to parents of the possible consequences of keeping their children away from school without good cause. Certain parents, however, chose to disregard all such warnings and exhortations, so that the Crewe School Attendance Committee and the Church Coppenhall School Board found themselves obliged to take out magistrates' summonses against a small number of persistent offenders. The first cases in the Borough were heard in May, 1878, when thirteen parents were each fined the minimum penalty of 2s.6d. (2)

(1) Crewe Chronicle, 5.1.78; 26.1.78; 2.3.78.

(2) School Attend. Cttee. Minutes, 18.5.78.

While the Number of actual prosecutions remained small, the School Attendance Committee continued to receive the ready support of the magistrates for whom fewer children on the streets meant less juvenile delinquency. During the ensuing two years school attendance in Crewe and Coppenhall increased by 1,500 and, by exercising effective supervision over the private elementary schools, many of which failed to rise educationally above the level of kindergartens, the Committee succeeded in reducing their number from 20 to 12. By 1883 the average attendance at Crewe's public elementary schools had, for the first time, exceeded 80% when the corresponding average for England and Wales as a whole was only 71%, and all this valuable work had been achieved at a cost to the ratepayers of between $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the pound. ⁽¹⁾

(iv) The End of the 'Voluntary' Struggle

However beneficial to the social improvement of the community the work of the School Attendance Committee may have been, the considerable increase in the number

(1) W. H. Chaloner, op. cit., p. 225.

of scholars it produced brought fresh problems in its wake. During the twenty years between the 1861 and 1881 censuses the population of Crewe had trebled, rising from 8,000 to 24,000. Certainly the amount of school accommodation in the town had also increased very considerably in this period, but even so the strain on this imposed by a combination of the rapid population growth and greatly improved school attendance became felt to an ever increasing extent in the closing decades of the century. The two Education Acts of 1870 and 1876 had produced an immediate and spirited response in Crewe, but at a certain cost. Whereas previously voluntary school provision had been prompted by a genuine philanthropic desire to promote the spiritual and moral welfare of the artisan class through the dissemination of religious and secular instruction, the new legislation, with its stringent demands and penalties, brought about a widespread change in attitude towards the ideal of elementary education for all. The term "voluntary schools" took on a new and somewhat hollow meaning, and compulsion brought with it a hardening of heart in parents and benefactors alike. To an increasing extent the latter

began to think of education in purely financial terms, and what would be the cheapest rather than what would be the most beneficial became the main consideration. Crewe's greatest social benefactors, the Directors of the Railway Company, were no exception and, indeed, so greatly did the demands made on them for further school provision increase after the 1870 Act that they had little alternative but to adopt a more truly commercial and less paternal policy. This the Chairman of the Company himself, Lord Stalbridge, frankly and succinctly expressed:

"What is done at Crewe...in subscribing to schools, is only done after most careful consideration as to whether it is cheaper for the shareholders to pay a subscription or to pay the rate necessary to support a School Board, the only consideration moving the directors being the economy which can be effected to the shareholders."⁽¹⁾

It would be wrong to assume that the criterion here given was the only or even the main reason in the minds of all school managers for opposing the formation of a School Board. For Roman Catholics and Nonconformists the desire to retain some degree of religious freedom remained the chief motivating force in the struggle for

(1) Crewe Chronicle, 17.11.94.

continued independence. Their resources, however, were very limited and, unlike the managers of the Anglican schools, they could not expect more than very meagre support from the Railway Company. The era of voluntary school provision by independent denominational bodies was drawing inevitably if reluctantly to a close. The administration of these schools lay in the hands of committees of managers or trustees, of which the officiating priest or minister was always an ex-officio member. They relied for their income on the school pence, private and denominational subscriptions, and the various types of Government grants. As these tended to remain more static than the continuing demands for more and better accommodation the governing bodies experienced increasing difficulties in meeting their obligations.

In January 1887 the Wesleyans opened their third day school in the Earle Street Chapel Sunday Schoolrooms, and this proved to be the last of Crewe's denominational foundations. By any standard, and certainly in comparison with the earlier Wesleyan day schools in Mill Street and High Town, the Earle Street School was a very modest establishment. It survived, in fact, for only

twenty years and throughout this time experienced quite formidable difficulties. The chapel and schoolrooms had been built in 1881-2 at a combined cost of £2,500 of which amount the schoolrooms themselves accounted for £1,300. These consisted of a large room measuring 51' x 21' with a small adjoining classroom on the ground floor and two similar rooms above, giving accommodation altogether for 244 children.⁽¹⁾ Most of the money had been raised by bazaars although a private benefactor, W. R. Johnson of Wybunbury, contributed £150. From the outset, however, the Inspector of Schools complained of the premises, particularly of the dangerous staircase and the fact that the closets were too close to the school. In order to qualify for grants, therefore, the managers had to purchase 800 sq. yards of land for £40 from the Edleston Trustees in order that new toilets could be constructed at a proper distance from the building, and they spent a further £112 on necessary alterations to the

(1) Rev. Caesar Caine: History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Crewe Circuit, p. 12. Papers relating to the foundation of Wesleyan Schools in Crewe, stored at Trinity Chapel, Mill Street, Crewe; Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1888, p. 533.

building itself. The Railway Company contributed £25 for fencing and 20 tons of cinders to lay on the yard.

The original proposal was to establish a day school for boys and infants only since the managers considered, quite rightly in view of the local Inspector's feelings about mixed schools, that it would be easier to obtain Government support this way. Accordingly the school began with boys only upstairs and infants downstairs, 40 in all contributing a total of 9s. per week in school pence. Five months later, however, with the grants safely established, the managers made a further successful application for the boys' Department to be converted into a mixed school. Despite the small initial intake within eight years the school had become overcrowded with 314 on the books in 1894, and the managers had to choose between reducing numbers or increasing accommodation. They decided on the latter and borrowed £80 which fortunately was supplemented by a grant of £75 made by the Midland Association of Voluntary Schools. In addition to these expenses and the payment of staff salaries, the managers had to pay an annual rent to the chapel trustees of £32.10s.0d. increased in 1896 to £42.10s.0d., as well as

providing equipment and meeting the cost of other running expenses. With Government grants averaging only about £200 a year it is hardly surprising that in most years the school account was overdrawn by well over £100.⁽¹⁾ From time to time the school staff were asked to arrange entertainments in the school to reduce the amount of the overdraft. This school provides but one example of the valiant but losing struggle to provide 'voluntary' education on a shoe-string which was typical not only of Crewe but of most other industrial towns at this period.

In the year of the Earle Street foundation Crewe celebrated its Jubilee, and by this time the town was beginning to acquire some degree of social maturity. The emergence of a middle-class of appreciable size is reflected in the fact that one-tenth of the town's school children now received their education in private schools. A survey undertaken on June 17th, 1887, to ascertain how many commemorative medals should be struck for presentation to the scholars of the borough revealed that 5,459 pupils appeared on the registers of the eleven public elementary schools and a further 597 attended the eight 'recognized' private schools.⁽¹⁾ In the autumn of that year William

(1) The Jubilee of Crewe, 1837-1887, published by the Crewe Guardian, pp. 99-100.

Dishart opened his Crewe Academy which may fairly be described as the only private establishment in the town to enjoy lasting success and the first to survive its founder. It continued, in fact, until 1945. Its success may be ascribed to three main factors. First and foremost among these was Dishart's own reputation as a fine teacher and administrator, acquired during his eighteen years as headmaster of the Presbyterian School in Hill Street which, until its forced closure in 1896, remained one of Crewe's academically most successful schools. Secondly, because of the Academy's popularity, it was possible to keep the fees very moderate; in 1888 the charge for tuition was only £1.1s.0d. per quarter. The other reason for its success was that in addition to providing sound training for younger children at a reasonable fee, the Academy also offered, for the first time in Crewe, a worthwhile form of secondary education. Dishart employed native French and German assistants to teach their mother tongues, and the curriculum included classics, higher mathematics and science as well as vocational and recreational subjects such as shorthand,

art, handicraft, music, swimming and gymnastics. Several of these subjects were, however, not part of the standard curriculum, but optional extras for which an additional fee of 10s.6d. or 15s. per subject had to be paid.

Dishart himself, a strict grammarian, took all the English lessons in the senior part of the school, although he was also a certificated teacher of science and of drawing. At first the Academy catered for boys only and was accommodated in Dishart's own home, a large detached house in Edleston Road at which some of the staff and a few of the boys boarded. In the following year, however, Dishart opened an annexe for girls in Mill Street, known as the "Middle Class School for Girls". Shortly afterwards both the boys' and the girls' sections were amalgamated in rented accommodation at the Mechanics' Institution in Prince Albert Street where the large hall on the ground floor served as both gymnasium and playground. The Crewe Academy supplied a growing need for an efficient literary and scientific type of education which the public sector could not afford to provide until the implementation of the 1902 Act.⁽¹⁾

(1) Eardley's Crewe Almanack, 1888, p. 123. Private information from former pupils.

Continuing its strictly controlled economic policy of providing just enough school accommodation to satisfy the Education Department's requirements, and so avoid the imposition of a School Board, the Railway Company in 1887 built and equipped a mixed and infants' school with accommodation for 331 children near the new St. Barnabas' Church in West Street. It soon became apparent, however, that in its attempt to exercise maximum economy the Company had seriously underestimated the needs of this now very populous west end of the town. Within two years the average attendance exceeded the School's capacity so that the Company found itself obliged to build an extension school with room for a further 276 children on the other side of the church, which was completed and opened in 1890.⁽¹⁾

This brought the total amount of public school accommodation in Crewe to 6,005 places, and while the borough had 6,170 children between the ages of 5 and 14 the actual average attendance at the public schools was

(1) School Attend. Cttee. Minutes: 13.9.87; 19.8.90; 16.10.90; Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1888-9, p. 533; 1891-2, p. 601; Crewe Guardian, 30.8.90.



THE TWO SCHOOLS BUILT IN WEST STREET BY THE L.N.W.R. COMPANY



only 4,348. In Church Coppenhall the Board Schools had room for 739 while the number in actual attendance averaged 462. (1) These figures revealed a marked decline in the rate of attendance from 81% in 1883 to 72% in Crewe and only 63% in Church Coppenhall, for which the Inspector placed the main part of the blame on the School Attendance Committee. (though he emphasized that the Attendance Officer himself was overworked and that an assistant officer should be appointed) and the rest on the school managers. (2) On the state of actual school provision, however, the Inspector was able to comment favourably in his report for 1890 to the Privy Council. (3) The voluntary school managers could breathe again. Their relief, however, proved to be short lived. New legislation

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1890-91, p. 565; Parliamentary Returns for Public Elementary Schools, 1890, statistical tables for Crewe and Church Coppenhall.

(2) The headmaster of Mill Street Wesleyan School complained in 1890: "The School Attendance Committee are not stringent enough". Entry in Log Book for 6.10.90. Mr. P. Ranicar had died in 1885 and Crewe Schools were closed for the afternoon of his funeral on 7th Jan.

(3) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1890-91, pp. 349-50; 1894-5, p. 29.

about to emerge from Whitehall was to pose problems more serious than any before. The real crisis, in fact, was just beginning.

The so called "Free Schooling" Elementary Education Act of 1891 did not, in fact, abolish school fees entirely, but it did give parents the right to demand free education for their children. In effect the State granted 10s. on average attendance to each child between 3 and 15 years of age, provided that no fees were charged except where the average payment before the Act had exceeded 10s. a year, in which case the sum of the reduced fee and the State subsidy was not to exceed the amount formerly paid by the pupil. This meant that parents still willing to pay fees could send their children to a school of their own choice while those who demanded free education had to accept a place in any school designated by the managers in which fees had been abolished. Since the State had now made provision for free education the Education Department was in an even stronger position both to enforce regular school attendance and to demand adequate school provision.

This Act, like the previous one in 1870, with

its promise of further troubles in store, again united all those concerned with education in Crewe to consider how best to meet a renewed threat to their independence. In July 1891 the managers of the Crewe schools arranged a meeting in the Council Chambers at which A. H. Holland Hibbert, Chairman of the Railway Company's education committee suggested that a joint committee should be formed of two managers from each school in the borough, and that this committee should go to Euston to meet the Chairman and Directors of the L.N.W.R. Company "in order that all might work together for the good of the schools generally".⁽¹⁾ Accordingly, the managers elected a committee of representatives, for which Mr. A. G. Hill, J.P. acted as secretary, and this committee duly met with Lord Stalbridge and other representatives of the Railway Company. On both sides, if for different reasons, the main consideration once again was to avoid the imposition of a School Board. Choosing what was, from the Company's point of view, the lesser of two evils, the Directors offered to pay an extra £350 to the Joint Committee for

(1) Earle Street Wesleyan Day School Managers' Minutes, 3.8.91.

the first year and £200 for each succeeding year for so long as education in Crewe remained on a voluntary basis. This meant that the Company would in subsequent years be subsidising education in Crewe by about £850 per annum which, although a generous allocation, was less than the additional cost to the Company of an education rate to support a School Board.⁽¹⁾ Following the provisions of the Act the managers abolished fees in seven of the public schools and reduced those in the remaining four, namely Mill Street Wesleyan, High Town Wesleyan, Edleston Road and Adelaide Street, by about 50%. The money granted by the Railway Company, together with donations from denominational trusts and worried ratepayers, enabled the Joint Committee to make good these losses, but the side effects of the Act proved more difficult to combat. The school population continued to rise and the raising of the exemption standard from V to VI in 1892 aggravated the problem further. By 1894 the number of scholars on the registers exceeded the official accommodation by over 400, and when in that year the

(1) W. H. Chaloner: *op. cit.*, p. 226; L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes: 20.12.94; 16.1.96.

Education Department condemned the Presbyterian School, which at this time contained well over 600 pupils, the managers despaired of being able to continue the voluntary system. In desperation they turned again to the Railway Company. Equally alarmed, the Company offered to donate £2,500 towards the cost of erecting a new school to accommodate the children who would be displaced by the closing of the Presbyterian School, on condition that the ratepayers themselves raised a further £1,800.⁽¹⁾ The Joint Committee therefore convened another meeting in Crewe at which they suggested levying a voluntary rate of 1s. in the £ "as a last resort to keep the voluntary schools open".⁽²⁾ This met with opposition from the newly founded Crewe branch of the Independent Labour Party which called a further meeting in the town in an attempt to carry a resolution in favour of establishing a School Board. After heated discussion the majority of ratepayers voted in favour of the Joint Committee's proposal.⁽³⁾ In the event,

(1) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes: 14.3.95; 16.5.95.

(2) Earle Street Wes. Day School Managers' Minutes: 16.8.94.

(3) Eardley's Crewe Almanack, 1895, entry for 2.10.94.

however, many of the ratepayers who had pledged their support declined to pay, so that A. G. Hill was obliged to report to the Company Directors in May, 1895, that he had been able to collect only £1,346 of the intended £1,800. The Directors expressed disappointment at the poor response from the ratepayers but decided nevertheless to sign J. R. Goulden's contract to proceed with the building of the proposed new school on a site acquired in Beech Street. (1) The building itself, of very utilitarian design with room for 836 children, cost just over £3,500 and the land a further £650. (2) On its completion in March, 1896, the Presbyterian School closed down and its pupils, staff and headmaster, Henry D. Struthers, were transferred to Beech Street.

While the new school solved the immediate problem of absorbing the children of the condemned one it offered only very limited additional accommodation. In response to the ever increasing demand the Company had to build yet another school almost immediately to

(1) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes: 20.6.95.

(2) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes: 19.3.96.



BEECH STREET SCHOOL (above) AND PEDLEY STREET SCHOOL (below)



serve the south ward of the borough. This school, in Pedley Street, was completed in December of the same year and handed over to the managers of Christ Church Schools in the following month. In design it represented the worst style of railway architecture, but it did afford accommodation for a further 360 boys, girls and infants in separate departments at a total cost of £3,500.⁽¹⁾ During the four years between 1895 and 1899 the Company spent a further £2,970 on necessary extensions and repairs to the Edleston Road, West Street and Adelaide Street Schools, supplemented by only very modest contributions from local sources, and donated £50 to the Wesleyans towards the £200 they needed for enlarging their High Town Schools to accommodate 60 additional scholars.⁽²⁾ In 1897 Her Majesty's Inspector reported that "the district may be said to be well supplied with schools", and further that "the schoolrooms are no longer cheerless, uncomfortable and uninviting". To these

(1) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes: 14.1.97. The land on which the school was built, being adjacent to the railway station, already belonged to the Company.

(2) *ibid.* 14.2.95; 15.10.96; 20.10.98; 15.12.98; 18.5.99.

improvements he ascribed the considerable improvement in attendance, and mused: "there can be no doubt, as I have maintained all along, that the better the school the better will be the attendance".⁽¹⁾ So it seemed that the more conscientiously and generously the Company effected improvements to the town's schools the more burdensome became the cross it had to bear. And still the child population continued to grow apace, so that in his report for 1899 the borough's Medical Officer of Health observed that classes were often held "in the cloak-rooms and porches". In May of the following year Pedley Street School, only three years after its opening, had become so overcrowded that the Government grant was withdrawn. In preference to extending the School, the Board of Education, as the Education Department had now become, advocated the erection of another new school for about 630 children. Accordingly, the Directors commissioned F. W. Webb to prepare plans for such a school at a cost of about £3,450, and Mr. Mackie, the Company's Estate

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1896-7, pp. 104 and 107.

Manager, to purchase a suitable site. At the same time Mr. Holland Hibbert warned the Directors that the question as to whether a School Board should not be formed would shortly have to be considered.⁽¹⁾ On behalf of the Joint Committee of Day School Managers Mr. Hill undertook to ensure that they would provide such accommodation as would render unnecessary any additional capital outlay by the Company for a period of six years. With plans approved and a suitable site secured in Bedford Street, building commenced in November, 1900.⁽²⁾ The work was completed early in 1902, having cost £4,500, and the Board of Education certified the building to be suitable for accommodating 335 girls, 166 boys and 190 infants, or 691 in all. Under the supervision of the managers of Beech Street School the new undenominational school opened on September 22nd, 1902, and the Company raised its annual contribution to the Crewe schools from £200 to £205, on the condition that Bedford Street School should receive from that fund

(1) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes: 17.5.1900.

(2) *ibid.*, 15.11.00, Minutes Nos. 373 and 374.

not less than £5 per annum. (1)

As it happened, the provision of this school was to be the Railway Company's last major contribution to education in Crewe. In the year of its completion Mr. Balfour's Education Act received Royal Assent and with it the School Board threat, against which so many had struggled so persistently for so long, was removed for ever, to be replaced with a completely new form of central control.

(1) *ibid.*, 16.1.02; 7.8.02; 16.10.02.

CHAPTER V

THE WORK OF THE SCHOOLS

(i) The State Grant System

During the latter decades of the Nineteenth Century the Government, working through the Committee of Council as its educational agency, exercised a stringent if indirect control over the internal working and organization of public elementary schools throughout England and Wales by means of a complex system of State grants. As these grants generally constituted the main source of income of the schools both managers and staff contrived anxiously to ensure that their pupils should meet the Committee's requirements of satisfactory attendance and academic attainment. A team of regional inspectors, each responsible for a particular school district, made annual reports to the Committee of attendance and attainments in the various schools in their areas, and if a school was found to be unsatisfactory in either respect or to be deficient in suitable accommodation, equipment or staff the inspector could recommend an appropriate reduction in its rate of grant or even a total withdrawal.

This system of administering grants had many critics and obvious disadvantages, but its effectiveness as a means of encouraging the maintenance of certain basic standards in schools owned or controlled by a wide variety of denominational and secular bodies could not be denied.

Robert Lowe's Revised Code and its subsequent modifications formed the basis of the grant system from 1862 onwards, and also prescribed the curriculum to be followed in the elementary schools. It authorised school managers to claim grants at the end of each year at the following rates:

- "(a) the sum of 4s. per scholar at morning and afternoon meetings and 2s.6d. per scholar at the evening meetings of their school:
- (b) for every scholar who has attended more than 200 morning and afternoon meetings of their school
 - (i) if more than six years of age 8s., subject to examination
 - (ii) if under six years of age 6s.6d., subject to a report by the inspector that such children are instructed suitably to their age, and in a manner not to interfere with the instruction of older children:
- (c) for every scholar who has attended more than 24 evening meetings of their school 5s., subject to examination".⁽¹⁾

(1) Revised Code, Section 40.

In order to satisfy the examination requirements pupils had to pass in a certain 'standard', graded from I to VI, in the three elementary subjects reading, writing and arithmetic. Section 48 of the Code set out in precise detail the various exercises and processes in their three subjects which each pupil had to accomplish to qualify for a grant. Failure in any one of the three subjects resulted in a loss of one-third of the 8s. examination grant. (1)

New regulations introduced in 1867 added to these basic subjects three 'specific' subjects - grammar, geography and history in which pupils of Standards IV, V and VI could qualify for a further grant. In prescribing so definitely the content of each Standard examination the Education Department created a very mechanical system of teaching and learning, severely criticized by Matthew Arnold who warned the Department: "In the game of mechanical contrivances the teacher will in the end beat us; and as it is now found possible, by ingenious preparation, to get children through the Revised Code examination in reading, writing and ciphering, so it will with practice

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1861-2, pp. xv-xliv. See Appendix E.

no doubt be found possible to get the three-fourths of the one-fifth of the children over six through the examination in grammar, geography and history, without really knowing any one of these three matters".⁽¹⁾

By 1871 the range of specific subjects had been extended to include languages and branches of mathematics and science, though only two could be offered and seldom were they taught below Standard IV since they were not examined below that class. In this year the New Code introduced a more liberal system of awarding grants and withdrew the condition which had hitherto made the reading of the Scriptures compulsory. At the same time a modification of the six Standards of the Revised Code abolished the old Standard I, renumbered the remaining five so that the old Standard II became the new Standard I and so on, and added at the top a new higher Standard VI. In return for a one-third increase in the amount of the attendance and examination grants a corresponding increase in the standard of school

(1) Matthew Arnold's General Report for the Year 1867, p. 124.

facilities available was demanded. Also schools had now to be in the charge of certificated teachers. In a further effort to liberalise the curriculum, especially of the lower Standards, the grant for a pass in each of the three basic subjects was reduced in 1875 from 4s. to 3s., but an extra 4s. per child might be earned if the children throughout the school could pass creditably in any two 'class' subjects chosen from grammar, geography, history and plain needlework. The curriculum now consisted of three main parts:-

- (1) the elementary or obligatory subjects, reading, writing and arithmetic, with needlework for girls;
- (2) the class subjects, optional for the whole school;
- (3) the specific subjects which might be taught to individual scholars in Standards Iv to VI.

In addition a special grant was made to encourage singing, and instruction in cookery could be given though no grant was paid for it. Good discipline, organization and moral training in a school received monetary rewards for the first time, though this amount of 1s. per head could be lost if these were not satisfactory.

The Mundella Code of 1882, in introducing 'merit' grants at the primary stage, was ostensibly

designed to reward schools whose pupils reached a standard above the bare pass requirement. In practice it merely increased the cramming pressure on pupil and teacher alike. This Code also introduced a Seventh Standard for examination purposes in which pupils had to

- (a) read a passage from Shakespeare, Milton or some other standard author, or from History of England;
- (b) write a theme or letter in which composition, spelling and handwriting were considered;
- (c) work sums in averages, percentages, discount and stocks.

The list of 'class' subjects was extended to include English (literature and grammar), physical geography and elementary science, while a grant now became payable for instruction in cookery. Of these English became compulsory wherever class subjects were taken at all, and of the other class subjects geography enjoyed the greatest popularity, being taught in 12,367 school departments throughout the country, while history was taken in 414 and elementary science in only 32.⁽¹⁾ At the same time

(1) C. Birchenough: History of Elementary Education p. 319 (footnote 1). The full examination syllabuses prescribed by the Mundella Code are given in the Committee of Council Minutes of 1888, pp. 140-3.

agriculture, chemistry and physics were added to the list of 'specific' subjects.

Still further expansion of the curriculum followed the Cross Report published six years later. This laid emphasis on the importance of practical work and encouraged physiology, commercial and domestic subjects for girls and manual instruction for boys, although this last subject earned no grant. Drawing became a compulsory subject for boys in 1890. It now became essential for schools to include at least one 'class' subject, and history was no longer confined to the upper part of the school. All these additions and the spread of elementary education generally added considerably to the State education bill. During the decade between 1876 and 1886 the annual cost per scholar in average attendance at a public elementary school showed a rise of 4s.9d., from £1.14s.8d. to £1.19s.5d. on average, an increase of over 13%. Whereas in 1860 the proportion of the population receiving instruction in aided schools had been only 5%, it had risen by 1886 to between 16 and 17%. (1)

(1) The Cross Report on the Elementary Education Acts, Part V, Chapter 3, p. 191.

By 1893 the importance of physical activity and of learning through the senses to the educational development of younger children, as advocated by Froebel, had become more widely appreciated, though in most schools the practice of these principles lagged a long way behind an appreciation of their value. In fact schools generally showed a reluctance, probably for very practical reasons of physical limitations, to liberalise the curriculum to the extent of including subjects other than those for which grants could be earned. The introduction of the 'block grant' system in 1900 did much to dispel this attitude. In place of the elaborate system of grants payable for different parts of the curriculum (viz. a principal grant of 12s.6d. or 14s.; discipline and organization grant, 1s. or 1s.6d.; drawing grant 1s.9d.; needlework grant, 2s.; singing grant, 6d. or 1s.; grant for one or two 'class' subjects, 1s. or 2s.; grant for specific subjects, 6d. or 1s.) a principal grant of 21s. or 22s. was instituted.

From this complex and bewildering succession of additions and amendments emerged, in 1904, the first clear statement from the Board of Education of the real

purpose of the public elementary school. Robert Morant's apposite expression of this purpose constitutes a worthy synthesis of the cautious experiments and uncertain progress of almost half a century:

"The purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both boys and girls, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life".⁽¹⁾

(ii) The Application of this System in Crewe

The elementary schools in Crewe responded to this system with varying degrees of success, the larger and wealthier Railway Company's schools naturally being more adventurous in their attempts to widen the curriculum

(1) Professor Eric Eaglesham has suggested that this classic statement may not, in fact, have been made by Robert Morant, but by J. W. Mackail, a classical scholar, assistant in the Education Department from 1884-1918, and sometime Professor of Poetry at Oxford. The Board of Education issued a Blue Book in 1905 containing practical suggestions for elementary school teachers for fulfilling this purpose.

than the less well endowed schools. The Board schools in Church Coppenhall appear to have been less progressive and generally achieved less success in even the basic elementary subjects than schools of corresponding size in Crewe itself. Perhaps a reason for this was the reluctance or inability of the Board to pay an adequate salary to attract really competent teachers. For example, of the candidates the Board interviewed in December 1874, just after its formation, for the post of schoolmistress Mrs. Liddle, the Board's first choice, declined the offer unless a salary of £80 per annum could be guaranteed, and Mrs. Paul, to whom the post was then offered, also declined in order to take up a higher-salaried post in Lancashire.⁽¹⁾ Five years later the Inspector, in his examination of the Board's schools found "geography and grammar a failure, spelling and notation exceedingly defective and arithmetic decidedly weak".⁽²⁾ Apparently the Board had exercised

(1) Crewe Chronicle, 19.12.74.

(2) Church Coppenhall Board School log book, entry for 24.11.79. The location of the various school log books referred to is given in the Bibliography.

false economy, probably because no more money was available to give, although, of course, unfavourable examination results caused a loss of part of the grant and a vicious circle became established. Such instances indicate one of the basic faults of the payment by results system. Very poorly endowed schools had little chance of improving their standard of teaching or of extending their curriculum, while schools which began with some degree of wealth had every chance of multiplying their income by earning grants well above the basic allowances.

Not surprisingly, therefore, reports of Inspectors' annual examinations in Crewe schools show that only the larger schools, such as the Christ Church National, the Presbyterian and the High Town Schools was a fairly wide range of 'specific', 'class' and practical subjects successfully taught before the last decade of the century. As late as 1886 the Inspector for the Crewe district commented, with apparent approval: "specific subjects are wisely attempted in only two schools".⁽¹⁾ These had, however, been previously taught

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1886-7, p. 290.

in at least five schools, though not always with success. (1)

Grammar, geography and history were by far the most popular class and specific subjects taught in Crewe, and in some mixed departments, such as Mill Street Wesleyan and the Presbyterian School, the girls took needlework as an alternative to geography. (2) Apart from these the only other specific subjects referred to in Crewe school log books were Euclid and algebra introduced to the Boys' National School in 1875. For lessons in these subjects the boys attended school thirty minutes before the normal time on certain mornings. (3)

In no school does any form of science, other than 'object lessons' on such subjects as 'glass', 'evaporation' and 'plant roots', appear to have been taught before the

(1) References to specific subjects in school log books - Mill Street Wes., 24.10.71; Presbyterian School, H.M.I.'s Report for 1881; Crewe National Girls', 24.6.69; Crewe National Boys', 12.11.70; Maw Green Girls', 13.1.79.

(2) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1890-1, p. 353.

(3) Christ Church National Boys' School log book, entries for 26.11.75 and 3.12.75. Both Euclid and algebra were attempted at Mill Street Wes. School in 1879, but the Inspector found the papers "worthless". However, in his general report on Crewe schools in 1884 Mr. Gleadowe observed that these two subjects had been "well taught" in four schools.

turn of the century. A possible reason for this deficiency is that courses in engineering and applied science had been made available to boy apprentices at the Mechanics' Institution from 1853 onwards, so that headmasters may have considered such instruction in schools to be unnecessary, though a more cogent objection may have been the additional expense involved in science teaching.

Conversely, drawing became a very popular subject in Crewe schools, perhaps not surprisingly in a town where most boys were destined to become engineering apprentices, so that an early introduction to mathematical drawing techniques had obviously useful practical applications. From the school managers' point of view the subject had the additional attraction that its inclusion in the curriculum made it possible for a school to earn special grants awarded by the Science and Art Department. The subject was, in fact, taught as early as 1862 in both the Boys' and Girls' Departments of the Railway Company's Christ Church Schools, and from the log books of these schools it appears that the assistant master who gave drawing lessons received an

additional allowance for this from the Science and Art Department. ⁽¹⁾ By 1873 the subject had become established in five Crewe schools, from which pupils earned the following grants for satisfactory performance in the Department's examinations:-

<u>School</u>	<u>No. of pupils taught drawing</u>	<u>Grant earned</u>
Christ Church National	300	£23.19. 6d.
Hightown Wesleyan	180	8.13. 6d.
Mill Street Wesleyan	142	9. 1. 7d.
Presbyterian	102	9. 8. 6d.
Rockwood C. of E.	51	2.19. 0d. (2)

In the teaching of 'specific' subjects during the period immediately following the introduction of the New Code of 1871 emphasis had to be placed on purely factual learning in order to satisfy the requirements of the grant earning examination. Inevitably, therefore, much of the work consisted of mere repetition or rote learning which could hardly have been satisfying for either teachers or intelligent senior pupils. This approach led to the 'cape and bay' method of geography teaching, as exemplified by the following comments of

(1) Log book of Girls' Dept., entry for 28.11.62;
log book of Boys' Dept., entries for 10.12.62;
20.1.63; 6.2.63.

(2) Annual Report of the Science and Art Department
for 1873, pp. 186-7.

Mr. R. H. Turner, Headmaster of Mill Street School from 1871 to 1875, on the work of two of his pupil teachers, one of whom was his own son:

"Ernest Turner repeated the names of and pointed out on blank maps 178 towns and cities of Europe, having prepared on the previous evening 9 different countries. Amos Holland had the same time and opportunity but repeated and pointed out only 10 towns in one country, Belgium, and did no other work. This is a fair example of his daily productions in study."(1)

Mr. Turner's praise of his son's industrious efforts would no doubt evoke greater criticism from present day teachers of geography than his contemptuous condemnation of Amos Holland's apparent indolence. It would be wrong, however, to assume that Mr. Turner himself felt satisfied with this system of education. Like many other teachers of the period he found himself inhibited by the severe restrictions which the Code imposed on both subject matter and teaching method, and two years later he recorded in his log book feelings of frustration with which it is easy to sympathise:

"The evil results of the forcing process of the Government education plan under the present Code is daily felt. The master should have freedom in his arrangement so that he may do the best

(1) Mill Street Wes. School log book, entry for 8.8.72.

for each pupil. For want of this much mental injury is done and education is seriously impaired."⁽¹⁾

Gradually, as increasing numbers of both teachers and inspectors came to share Mr. Turner's views the demands made by the Education Department underwent a healthy degree of modification, and syllabuses in geography and English used in Crewe schools in the last decade of the century reflect the change of emphasis suggested in the Mundella Code of 1882 from the mere recitation of geographical place names or the memorising of lines of poetry to a reasoned explanation of the subject matter and a consideration of its practical applications.

Sample syllabuses:-

(a) Geography Syllabus of Mill Street Wesleyan School in 1890

Standard I: Meaning of a map; plan of the School; points of the compass; general idea of the shape of the earth.

Standard II: Same as for Standard I with the definitions of land and water on the globe; the daily and annual motions of the Earth.

(1) *ibid.*, entry for 6.8.74.

Standard III: The physical, commercial and manufacturing details respecting England and Wales, also of the county of Cheshire. (Numerous sketch-maps have been drawn to impress the above facts.)

Standard IV: General knowledge of Ireland, Scotland and Australia. (Here I have endeavoured to teach commercial and manufacturing details rather than mere names of places.)

Standard V: Europe; the seasons; day and night; latitude and longitude.

Standard VI and VII: Oceans, winds, tides and currents. (1)

(b) English Syllabus of Pedley Street L.N.W.R. Co's School in 1897

Standards I and II: Reading; recitation; transcription; dictation; oral formation of simple sentences.

Standards III and IV: Reading; recitation; dictation; formation of simple sentences oral and written; parts of speech.

Standards V, VI and VII: Reading; recitation; dictation; composition; parsing and analysis of simple sentences; simple grammatical rules relating to the correct use of language. (2)

It is evident from these syllabuses that a much more enlightened approach to elementary teaching had now been

(1) *ibid*, dated 12.11.90.

(2) Pedley Street School log books, Boys' Dept. dated 5.3.97; Girls' Dept. dated 12.9.02.

adopted which, although Mill Street pupils may have suffered mental indigestion in geography lessons, must surely have made the academic work of the schools more absorbing and effective. Also by this time well illustrated textbooks and equipment such as the 'Britannia' Series of Geography Readers and Bacon's 'Picture Lessons in Geography' were in fairly widespread use to supplement the wall maps which in several schools had previously been the only form of visual aid available for geography lessons.

In the three basic elementary subjects, although individual standards naturally varied from school to school and even within the same school under different head teachers, the Crewe schools in general seem to have compared quite favourably with those in other Cheshire towns and in England and Wales as a whole. In 1883, for example, the Crewe elementary schools presented 2,823 pupils for examination in Standards who achieved a percentage pass of 94.3 in reading, 80.9 in writing and 71.2 in arithmetic. In the same year the corresponding pass rates in the whole county and the whole country were :-

	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Average %
Cheshire	91.15	80.22	74.42	89
England & Wales	89.22	81.92	77.42	83

Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools in the Crewe District, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, placed the various towns under his surveillance in the following order of merit:-

<u>Order of Merit</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>No. presented</u>	<u>%age pass in 3 subjects</u>
1	Middlewich	404	89.3
2	Crewe	2,823	82.1
3	Sandbach	663	79.5
4	Northwich	1,332	79.2
5	Bollington	712	78.9
6	Nantwich	544	78.0
7	Macclesfield	3,551	76.8
8	Over & Wharton	1,252	75.1
9	Congleton	1,169	70.8 (1)

It is interesting to note that Gleadowe considered the reason for the low placing of Macclesfield and Congleton to be that most schools in these two towns were mixed schools. In the same year he expressed the hope to the Wesleyan school managers in Crewe that when they enlarged their Mill Street School they would consider erecting a separate girls' department. Although the School was

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1883-4, p. 298, Table C.

enlarged three years later it remained mixed. (1)

While Crewe schools achieved a commendable degree of success in the elementary subjects, however, a cause of frequent complaint on the part of inspectors was the impurity of the Cheshire accent. Comparing local boys with those he had visited in schools in Wales Her Majesty's Inspector, the Rev. H. Smith, observed quaintly:

"A Welsh boy on coming to school has a new language to learn, but he has nothing to unlearn. The Cheshire lad on the contrary has to unlearn almost the whole alphabet, certainly every vowel. And I am inclined to think that most schoolmasters would prefer to teach the English language ab initio to a foreigner than to undergo the labour of undoing the 'Cheshireisms' learnt from the mother's knee". (2)

In addition to the annual Government inspection the schools connected with the Church of England were also visited annually by Diocesan inspectors who conducted an examination in religious knowledge. This included a test of hymns, collects and passages of scripture learned

(1) Mill Street School log book, entries 20.12.83; 15.10.86.

(2) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1870-1, pp. 188-9.

by heart, transcriptions of the Catechism and questions on the Book of Common Prayer. The Roman Catholic and Nonconformist schools naturally had their own prescribed forms of religious instruction and were also examined periodically by visiting clergy.

By the end of the century, however, the various types of public examinations had generally become a less dominant factor in determining the work of the schools than they had been during the preceding 30 or 40 years. The rigorously mechanical academic drill of the school day was relieved to a much greater extent by a variety of practical and recreational subjects such as shorthand, needlework and domestic economy for girls, woodwork and handicraft for boys, singing, nature study, physical training and games. Not all of these subjects were new to the schools, of course, but whereas they had previously been included in the curriculum mainly for the purpose of earning additional grants or 'honour payments', they were now regarded more highly for their intrinsic value in providing cultural and social training or simply as an organised form of necessary recreation. As the pressure imposed by examinations in these subjects

had been greatly relieved, it became possible to adopt a less mechanical method of teaching and so make them much more enjoyable. The payment by results system had, of course, now passed its zenith and no longer were entire classes examined in each subject. The inspector still paid fairly frequent visits to the schools, but examined only a representative sample from the various standards. ⁽¹⁾ No longer was the percentage pass-rate a matter of life or death to the schools as in some cases it had quite literally been in the past.

In the infants' schools the range of subjects taught inevitably had to be more limited, and partly because the teacher/pupil ratio was even less liberal than in the senior departments the teaching tended to be very mechanical. The youngest children, only 3 or 4 years of age in some schools, received 'gallery' teaching, mostly conducted by pupil teachers of tender years and little experience. The alphabet was learned by repetitive reciting of the letters in unison from a large card held in front of the class - A, A, A; B, B, B;

(1) Christ Church Girls' School log book, entry for 17.1.96; Mill Street School log book, entry for 3.12.90; Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1898-9, p. 228.

C, C, C and so on. While doing this, the children, seated in long desks, had to remain perfectly still with arms folded. They also learned to spell simple words and to write their names on slates; printing was not generally used at all. When the older infants had singing lessons the gallery children were allowed to join in. It would, in fact, have been virtually impossible to exclude them as most infants' schools in Crewe consisted of only a single room with the gallery at one end and no form of partition. (1)

Similar mechanical drill in the three R's continued into the two higher classes of the infants' departments, evoking from the local Inspector the wistful comment: "Perhaps the time will come when in infants' schools the wearisome repetition of reading, writing and arithmetic will be more frequently relieved by lessons on objects or natural history; not much has been done in

(1) Information received from Miss Helen O'Connor who, at the age of 5, became a pupil at St. Mary's R.C. School in 1886. She stayed at the School beyond the age of 15 as a pupil-teacher and, after attending training college and teaching for a few years in Liverpool, returned to St. Mary's in 1904 where she remained as a certificated teacher until her retirement in 1945.

this way at present".⁽¹⁾ Teachers in Crewe responded readily to Mr. Gleadowe's plea and lessons on objects and natural history became more numerous in the infants' schools after this time. The imaginative list devised by the headmistress of Mill Street Infants' School for the summer term of 1884 consisted of the following: a knife, a pig, a house, spring, summer, an oak tree, ivy, the mouth, the eye, water and evaporation.⁽²⁾ Object lessons had, in fact, formed a significant part of the curriculum of this particular school since its opening in 1862. Apart from these general interest lessons, however, the work of the infants' schools remained generally restricted to reading, handwriting practice on slates, addition and subtraction, poetry, singing and sewing. This last subject was, in some schools, taught to boys as well as girls, although Mr. Gleadowe expressed serious doubts about the expediency of this practice and persistently refused to allow any

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1883-4, p. 300. T. S. Gleadowe's Report on Crewe Schools.

(2) Mill Street Wes. Infants' School log book, entry for 24.3.84. The entry for 16.1.85 lists thirty topics for natural history and object lessons to be given during the ensuing year.

grants in respect of the boys' work in sewing. At the age of 7 the children went into the senior departments, the more intelligent pupils going straight into Standard II and the slower ones into Standard I where some stayed for three years or more.

An annual treat for the Crewe school children was the excursion by train each summer to either Rhyl or Llandudno. Initially this had been organized and paid for by the Railway Company until 1863 when the Company decided that the number of children in the town had grown too large and so withdrew the privilege of free transport. Nevertheless the custom continued, but at the children's own expense.⁽¹⁾ Another diversion which the children enjoyed was the visit to the town each March or April of Sanger's Circus. On the day of these visits school attendance was usually so poor that registers could not be marked and the schools had to close early.⁽²⁾

In both the infants' and senior departments of the elementary schools much of the teaching was entrusted to pupil teachers who worked under the supervision of the

(1) Christ Church Girls' School log book, entry for 20.8.75; Mill Street Wes. Mixed School log book, entry for 29.8.90.

(2) From 1905 onwards the Local Education Authority made the day of the circus visit an official half-holiday for schools.

head-teacher. The scheme of apprenticeship for pupil teachers had been introduced as early as 1846 by the Committee of Council acting on the recommendation of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.⁽¹⁾ From that time until the early years of the present century the whole structure of the elementary education system rested heavily on this scheme, and Matthew Arnold referred to pupil teachers as "the sinews of the English primary instruction". In return for a grant, based on a graduated scale, certificated teachers undertook to give instruction in various academic subjects and the basic techniques of teaching to selected senior pupils who had passed successfully through the Standards. This apprenticeship lasted for five years, and the payments were subject to the success of the pupil teacher in the annual examinations conducted by the Government Inspector and favourable reports on conduct, suitability and progress. It became the custom in Crewe schools for half the grant earned by pupil teachers to be paid to the head-teacher and the other half to the pupil teacher, so that an incentive to work

(1) Cttee. of Coun. Minutes, 1846, Vol. 1, pp. 1-2.

conscientiously was provided on both sides.⁽¹⁾ In some Crewe schools 'stipendiary monitors' were engaged to supplement the work of pupil teachers, and these received only a nominal allowance of two or three pounds a year. A regulation made by the Committee of Council in 1877 stipulated that not more than three pupil teachers should be allocated to each certificated teacher, and that where the average attendance exceeded 220 an additional adult assistant should be employed.

With very rare exceptions, and then only for short periods between the resignation of one assistant teacher and the appointment of another, the Crewe schools appear to have kept well within these limits. This is not to say, however, that the overall staff/pupil ratio was particularly generous. Classes of over 70 were quite common in several schools up to the end of the century, and as late as 1904 His Majesty's Inspector, Mr. H. Ward, complained that Standards V, VI and VII at Adelaide Street Boys' School were grouped under one teacher for many lessons, making a total of 96 in one class.⁽²⁾

(1) Earle Street Wesleyan Day School Managers' Minutes, 7.12.89.

(2) Adelaide Street Boys' School log book entry for 20.6.04.

This kind of arrangement did not, however, directly affect pupil teachers who normally were given charge of one junior Standard only, and after 1877 the number of pupil teachers to each adult member of staff rarely exceeded two. In 1879, for example, the staff of Christ Church Girls' School, which then had 260 pupils, consisted of the headmistress, two assistant teachers and five pupil teachers, while in the same year that of Mill Street Wesleyan Mixed School, with an average attendance of 223, comprised the headmaster, two assistant teachers, one pupil teacher and two stipendiary monitors. (1) Most other Crewe schools had a similar ratio on the staff at this period, and the proportion of certificated teachers increased steadily during the remaining two decades of the century.

During their term of apprenticeship the pupil teachers had to work very hard both during the day at school and in the evenings at home. Their weekly teaching time was limited officially to 25 hours but Mr. Gleadowe,

(1) Christ Church Girls' School log book, entry for 14.2.79; Mill Street Wes. Mixed School log book, entry for 13.4.79.

Inspector for the Crewe District, complained that in some schools this limit was frequently exceeded. Usually the older pupil teachers were each made responsible for teaching all the basic elementary subjects to a particular Standard, so that they spent the greater part of the school day in charge of that class. Considering the large size of most classes and the small age difference between the scholars and the pupil teachers this work and responsibility must certainly have made rigorous demands on the young apprentice's ingenuity and nervous energy. In addition to class teaching and the preparation of lessons the pupil teachers had to continue their own academic study and reach the required standard in the annual Government examination. In most Crewe schools the pupil teachers received tuition in various subjects from their head teachers for an hour or so before the beginning of each school day, usually between 8.15 and 9.30 a.m., and were given written tests at the end of each week on the work they had covered. At several schools the pupil teachers had to attend on Saturday mornings for their weekly tests, and at St. Mary's Roman Catholic School the pupil teachers

returned to school each evening at 8 p.m. to have their lesson preparation for the following day inspected by the head teacher. Weekly time-tables for pupil teachers at the Christ Church Schools in 1872 were as follows:-

(a) In Girls' Department:

Monday: Grammar; Reading; Composition:
Tuesday: Arithmetic; Geography:
Wednesday: History; Arithmetic; Dictation:
Thursday: Etymology; Geography; Method:
Friday: Dictation; Grammar; General Examination.

(b) In Boys' Department:

Monday: Arithmetic or Algebra; review of Saturday's examination:
Tuesday: Geography:
Wednesday: Grammar; Composition:
Thursday: School management:
Friday: Euclid; History:
Saturday: Examination paper.

In both departments the time of instruction was between 8.15 and 9.30 am. each day. (1)

Although the subjects shown in the above time-tables constituted the standard curriculum for most pupil teachers, occasionally tuition was given in less common subjects by head teachers who had specialized knowledge

(1) Christ Church Girls' School log book, entry for 12.4.72;
Christ Church Boys' School log book, entry for 30.8.72.

or interests. For example, at Mill Street School, where Mr. R. P. Butler, headmaster from 1877 to 1885, was studying for the London B.A. degree, selected pupil teachers had lessons in French and Latin, and one of these reached a sufficient degree of proficiency to read the Eclogues of Virgil.⁽¹⁾

Such an intensive course of training left the young pupil teachers little time or energy for leisure activities, and it is not surprising that a large proportion found themselves unable to endure the severe strain it imposed on them for a period of five years. Others were found to be temperamentally or morally unsuitable for the teaching profession and had to be dismissed. In one extreme case several children were removed from a particular Crewe school in 1873 because their parents felt so concerned about the reputation for delinquent behaviour which one of the school's pupil teachers had acquired in the town. In general considerably less than half of those selected for training as pupil teachers appear to have completed the full term of their

(1) Mill Street Wesleyan School log book, entries for 21.1.81; 1.4.81; 21.7.81; 25.1.84.

apprenticeship. For these an opportunity to pass on to a teachers' training college was provided by the Queen's Scholarship examination, roughly comparable in standard to the present G.C.E. Ordinary Level examination. Successful candidates received grants for maintenance, books and equipment to attend a training college for two or, in some cases, three years. Those who were placed in the First or Second Class of the pass list earned a bonus grant of £3 or £2 respectively for their own school.⁽¹⁾ Pupil teachers who, at the end of their apprenticeship, did not wish to take a training college course were at liberty to apply for appointment as assistant uncertificated teachers.⁽²⁾

Crewe schools seem to have reaped their fair share of successes in the Queen's Scholarship examination, particularly the Christ Church Girls' School from which a larger number of pupil teachers reached First or Second Class standard than from any other school in Crewe. Indeed,

(1) This was provided for under Article 19(e) of the Regulations for Pupil Teachers.

(2) e.g. A.G. Wild, a pupil teacher at Mill Street School for five years, left the school in 1877 to become an assistant master at the Wesleyan School in Bingley, Yorks.

in one year, 1878, all three pupil teachers from this school who presented themselves for the examination were placed in the First Class.⁽¹⁾ At the examination held in December, 1896, Francis William Heath of the Church Coppenhall Board School in Broad Street, although only in his fourth year of training as a pupil teacher, brought distinction to his school by being placed No. 1 of the First Class List in all England. The members of the School Board expressed their desire to present him with the sum of £10, to be taken from the Board's Common Fund, in recognition of this commendable achievement, but this expenditure the Education Department would not sanction since no precedent existed for such an award, and the Local Government Board could not find "any legal authority for payment out of the rates of the amount proposed".⁽²⁾

To a considerable degree the successes attained by the pupil teachers reflected the quality of teaching

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- (1) Christ Church Girls' School log book, entry for 14.2.79. Two of these three later returned to the school as certificated teachers and remained until 1895 and 1896 respectively.
- (2) Correspondence between C.E. Speakman, Clerk to the Church Coppenhall School Board, and the Education Department, Whitehall, dated 29.8.97 - 30.11.97, filed at P.R.O., ref: Ed. 2/33, File No. 752.

and the amount of attention given to them by their respective head teachers, and naturally some head teachers tackled this part of their work more conscientiously than others. The pupil teachers of Christ Church Girls' School were particularly fortunate in receiving their apprentice training from Miss Elizabeth Smith, a very highly qualified, competent and dedicated teacher who, as headmistress for over 40 years gave the school a degree of stability and continuity enjoyed by few other Crewe schools. The system of pupil teacher training must, indeed, have proved as demanding for the head teachers as for the apprentices themselves, and as the numbers of pupils in the schools continued to rise and the duties and responsibilities of the head teachers were correspondingly multiplied, the additional task of preparing and examining pupil teachers' work must have become increasingly onerous. In order to relieve the head teachers of some of this burden, and also to achieve some degree of standardization in teacher training, a Pupil Teachers' Centre for Crewe, Nantwich and Sandbach was opened in the Mechanics' Institution in April, 1899. Its foundation was the result of collaboration between the Crewe Technical Instruction Committee, which had been elected by

Crewe Borough Council in September, 1892, and the Joint Committee of Crewe Day School Managers. Two prominent Crewe educationists, H. D. Struthers and A. G. Hill, were appointed as the first principal and secretary respectively, and these were assisted in organizing the work of the Centre by a committee containing representatives of each elementary school in the Borough.

In order to attend the Centre the pupil teachers from the various schools in the town were allowed half a day's absence from school each week and they attended on Saturday mornings also. The school managers paid to the Centre a fee of £3. 5s. 0d. per half year in respect of each pupil teacher.⁽¹⁾ Later, in 1906, it became the custom for pupil teachers to spend two days a week at the Centre and three days in school on teaching practice. While on teaching practice the pupil teachers usually gave one lesson in the day in the basic elementary subjects, geography, history,

(1) Earle Street Wesleyan Day School Managers' Minutes, 2.1.01; 24.10.01.

drawing, domestic science or object lessons, and spent the rest of the time observing the lessons of qualified teachers. They had to write full records of the lessons they taught themselves and those they observed, and it remained the responsibility of the head teachers to exercise general supervision over their own pupil teachers and to check their records of work each week. The staff of the Centre submitted frequent reports of the pupil teachers' progress there to the head teachers. (1)

In 1901 the Centre had 127 pupil teachers on its register. Two years later it was removed from the Mechanics' Institution to the Technical Institute in Flag Lane, which had been established by the Technical Instruction Committee in 1897. Shortly after this transfer, however, the Cheshire Education Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr. William Hodgson, chose Crewe as the most suitable place for the proposed County Training College. (2) The new college was opened in the Mechanics'

(1) Register of the Training of Pupil Teachers, in Crewe Public Library.

(2) Dr. Hodgson, later Sir William, and Henry D. Struthers visited the United States and Canada in 1906 and 1907 to study teaching methods and training there, which they found to be far in advance of those in this country. (C.B.E.C. Minutes, 22.8.06: Crewe Guardian 20.4.07.)

Institution in 1908, superseding the Pupil Teachers' Centre. Four years later it was transferred to new buildings erected at a cost of over £33,000 on a pleasant open site at Crewe Green.

With fourteen public elementary schools, a county secondary school, the Mechanics' Institution, the Technical Institute, the School of Art and the County Training College, Crewe had by this time become the most important educational centre in south Cheshire.

CHAPTER VI

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION UNDER MUNICIPAL CONTROL

In establishing the Borough Council as the local education authority the Education Act of 1902 brought a sudden and involuntary end to the resolute campaign to preserve denominational independence which had pervaded the administration of elementary education in Crewe for more than half a century. For the first time since the town's creation its education system was put on a secure and centrally organized basis. It is impossible to say how long active resistance to secular control would have continued had this timely Government intervention not occurred, but it may be said with certainty that during the whole of the period between the two great Acts the local administrators of the voluntary system had been merely passing from one crisis to the next, having no reserves with which to implement any long term plans for adequate school provision and maintenance. However sincere their optimism and enthusiasm it should have been clear to all but the most fanatic denominationalists that the battle had, from the outset,

been a losing one.

Nevertheless, even after the new Act became law, the fighting spirit of certain obdurate Nonconformist reactionaries remained undaunted. In 1903 these united to form the Crewe Citizens' League, which organized resistance to the payment of an education rate on the pretext that the larger proportion of this would be used in supporting the Anglican schools in the town. Since these schools contained more than twice as many pupils as the Nonconformist schools the League's protest would appear to be somewhat ill-founded and irrational.⁽¹⁾ At the same time less extreme Nonconformist members of the Borough Council used their influence there to implement the provisions of Part III of the Act in accordance with their own views, and when the new Borough Education Committee was elected in 1903

(1) Eardley's Crewe Almanack, 1903, entries for 21st and 24th November. Stormy protest meetings took place on these dates. W. H. Chaloner records that isolated instances of resistance to the payment of the education rate occurred until 1909 (Social and Economic Development of Crewe, p. 227, footnote 2.) The schools connected with the Established Church-contained, in fact, over 5,000 pupils, compared with 2,300 in the Nonconformist schools.

it contained a significant Nonconformist representation. Its chairman, Alderman William McNeill, J.P., was the town's most prominent Primitive Methodist, and Crewe's two great Presbyterian leaders in the field of education, William Dishart and Henry Struthers, also figured among the Committee's most vociferous members, the latter in the rôle of Director of Education for the Borough. One of the County Council's representatives on the Committee, Dr. Hodgson, was an active Baptist with strong views on religious instruction in schools. This matter, in fact, received the Committee's immediate attention at its first meeting on 25th August, 1903, and in dealing with it the Committee showed commendable restraint and impartiality. The following resolutions received general approval:

- "1. that religious instruction be provided for by the Managers at their own cost, and given only to the children whose parents desire it;
2. that in order to secure effective control over the secular instruction in the schools teachers should be appointed by the Local Authority without reference to any sectarian test or qualification;
3. that teachers should not be required, as a

condition of employment, to give instruction in any distinctly sectarian dogma."(1)

The first major task which the newly elected Committee had to undertake was the transference of the elementary school buildings from their various proprietary bodies to the local education authority. Considering the long history of voluntary control in the town it was surprisingly fortunate that in the event the Committee had to conduct negotiations with only two categories of school proprietors, the Railway Company and the Wesleyan Methodists. Even so, some of these negotiations proved to be so fraught with complexities that the whole procedure took five years to complete. Even then two schools in the Borough, St. Mary's Roman Catholic School and the L.N.W.R. Company's Hightown School in Adelaide Street, remained semi-independent and "non-provided".(2)

The special terms of the Foundation Trust which the Rev. John Ashe had drawn up when he assigned the land on

(1) Crewe Borough Education Cttee. Minutes, 25.8.03 - stored in Crewe Public Library.

(2) St. Mary's R.C. School was eventually transferred to the local authority in 1925.

which the latter school was built to the Railway Company in 1877 prevented the Company from either selling or renting the school to the local authority. The school had, in fact, been self-sustaining since its foundation, receiving no part of the Company's annual subscription to the cost of maintenance of the Crewe schools, and all its furniture and equipment had been bought from time to time out of the school's own funds. (1)

Neither could the Railway Company, under the terms of its agreement with the Joint Committee of Crewe Day School Managers in 1895, lay any claim to the property rights of Beech Street School, even though the Company had subsidised so heavily the cost of its building. This school, therefore, passed without payment under the control of the local authority in February, 1904. (2)

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- (1) Grant and Assignment of land at Monks Coppenhall for St. Paul's Schools, from John Ashe to the Duke of Sutherland and Richard Moon, dated 13.4.1877 - preserved in St. Paul's Church Vestry, Crewe. L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Memorandum on Adelaide Street Schools, dated 18.2.03 - at British Transport Commission Historical Records Office, 66 Porchester Road, London, W.2., ref: LNW 1 Piece No. 577.
- (2) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 12.1.04; L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes, 18.2.04.

The Borough Council also inherited without direct payment the schools of the former Church Coppenhall School Board, although the area previously administered by the School Board which lay outside the Borough boundary came under the administration of the County Council.⁽¹⁾

The pupils of Broad Street and Maw Green Schools continued in attendance as before, whether they lived within the Borough or not. The reciprocal arrangement by which the County Council paid the Borough Council or the Borough Council paid the County Council in respect of children residing in the area of the one authority while attending a school in that of the other, proved to be a poor bargain for the Borough. The rate of payment in each case depended on the annual per capita cost of providing elementary education within the whole of the area administered by each authority. As the cost of education in the County area invariably exceeded that in Crewe, the Borough Council had to pay far more than it received in respect of these pupils, even though the number of Crewe school-children attending schools in the County area was

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 5.10.03.

consistently only about half that of pupils living outside the Borough but attending Borough schools. For example, in the year ending March, 1905, the County Council paid the Borough of Crewe £63.11s.3d. in respect of the 135 children living in the County area attending schools in the Borough, at the rate of 9s.5d. per head, while the Borough Council were charged £75.18s.0d. for the 69 Crewe children attending schools in the County area, at a rate of £1.2s.0d. per head. ⁽¹⁾

In order to negotiate terms for the transfer of the school buildings belonging to the Railway Company and to the Wesleyan Methodists, separate ad hoc sub-committees were formed. Several months before the election of the Crewe Education Committee a deputation of the Borough Council, comprising the Mayor, the Town Clerk and Aldermen W. McNeill, J. Briggs, A. G. Hill had travelled to Euston for a meeting on March 25th, 1903, with the Railway Company's chairman, estate manager and solicitor to discuss proposals for the purchase or lease of the Company's schools in Crewe. The Company estimated

(1) *ibid.*, 15.8.06.

the present accommodation and value of these to be as follows:

<u>Schools</u>	<u>Accommodation</u>	<u>Value of land and buildings</u>
		£
Christ Church	811	4,580
Edleston Road	1012	5,290
Pedley Street	360	2,936
New Street Infants'	135	560
Wistaston Road Infants'	247	873
St. Barnabas' Mixed	526	3,016
St. Barnabas' Infants'	343	2,200
Bedford Street	691	5,526

The Company's representatives made certain proposals for the sale of Bedford Street School and for the renting of the others which, after long discussion, the Crewe deputation found unacceptable. (1) Therefore negotiations had to be adjourned and, after voluminous correspondence between the two parties, a further meeting took place at Euston on November 19th, at which agreement was reached on compromising terms which were much closer to the Company's original proposals than to the Council's former offers. It was decided that the Council should purchase the freehold of three of the schools, Edleston

(1) Crewe Borough General Purposes Cttee. Minutes, 12.3.03.
L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes, 2.4.03.
Crewe Borough Special Cttee. Minutes, 25.3.03.

Road, St. Barnabas' and Bedford Street, for sums of £4,550, £5,050 and £5,200 respectively, and these amounts the Council subsequently arranged to borrow from the Local Government Board. ⁽¹⁾ Christ Church School and New Street School, both of which were likely to be condemned at any time, the Company let to the Council on a renewable tenancy of two years and one year respectively pending the building of new schools, at annual rents of £130 and £20. In the case of Christ Church School the Company also agreed to demolish some adjacent cottages in Manchester Street in order to make room for a playground, on condition that the Council should pay interest on £1,560 as the value of the additional site, as well as the cost of fencing and laying out as a playground. ⁽²⁾ Although the Council would have preferred to buy outright the remaining two schools, Pedley Street and Wistaston Road, the Company did not feel prepared to

(1) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes, 15.10.03; 14.1.04.
C.B.E.C. Minutes, 17.8.04.

(2) Crewe Borough Special Sub-Cttee. Minutes, 25.3.03.
In 1908 the vacated Christ Church School building was sold by the Railway Company to the Vicar and Churchwardens of Christ Church for £1,300. (L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes, 19.2.08.)

surrender the freehold of these, because they considered their sites, both adjacent to railway lines, might be required for other development in the future.⁽¹⁾ Instead, therefore, the Company leased Pedley Street School to the Council for a period of five years in the first instance at an annual rent of £115, and let Wistaston Road School on a yearly tenancy at £32 per annum.⁽²⁾

On these terms the Company's chairman considered that the "Crewe Borough Council would be starting, under the new Education Act, in circumstances more favourable than any other town in the country". Perhaps not sharing his unqualified optimism the Borough Council assumed control of the schools which the Railway Company had built, and substituted "Council" for "L.N.W.R. Company's" in their official titles.

Negotiations for the transfer of the Wesleyan day schools proved to be much more complicated and protracted. In fact they extended over a period of three years. Meetings between the Borough Council's Wesleyan

(1) See Map 2, p. 82.

(2) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes, 14.1.04, 20.1.10.

Schools Sub-Committee and the trustees of the three Wesleyan Schools began in April, 1905, but it was not until January, 1908, that the final lease, that for Mill Street School, received the Board of Education's official seal. ⁽¹⁾ Settlement would have been reached much sooner than this, in fact the Borough Council and the Wesleyan trustees arrived at mutually agreeable terms as early as January, 1906, had not the Board of Education obstructed proceedings by withholding its sanction for the Wesleyans to sell their Mill Street School outright to the local authority for £3,000. ⁽²⁾ Further undue delay was subsequently caused by failure on the part of both the Board of Education and the Borough Council on several occasions to answer correspondence promptly. ⁽³⁾

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- (1) Manuscript minutes of the first meeting between the Sub-Committee and the Wesleyan trustees, which took place at the Technical Institute on 14.4.1905, are stored at Trinity Wesleyan Chapel, Mill Street, Crewe.
 - (2) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 13.1.06. Letter from Board of Education to A. G. Valentine, dated 16.2.06, stored at Trinity Chapel, Crewe.
 - (3) e.g. One important letter, dated 13th March, 1907, from the correspondent of the Mill Street School, A.G. Valentine, to the Director of Education for Crewe, requesting the Education Committee to reconsider their terms of transfer, did not receive a reply from the Director until 15th October.

The Wesleyans, in effect, found themselves caught in a cleft stick. While they were quite prepared to lease the Earle Street and Hightown schools to the local authority, they wanted to sell the Mill Street school at market value and use the sale money to build new Sunday schools. As far as Earle Street School was concerned, since it had never been used exclusively for public elementary day school purposes and had not been the subject of a Parliamentary building grant, the Wesleyans were quite free, in the terms of the Charitable Trusts Amendment Act of 1894, either to continue to maintain or to dispose of the premises as they pleased, since the property was thus exempt from the jurisdiction of the Board of Education. In the case of the other two schools, however, which were subject to the trusts of the Wesleyan Methodist School Model Deed No. 1, and had received Government building grants, the trustees were obliged either to continue administering the schools on a "non-provided" basis or to transfer them to the local authority on a temporary lease and at a nominal ground rent, in accordance with the provisions of Section 23 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. One possible way

of escape might have been to repay the building grants which had been received, but this the trustees were in no position to afford. Quite apart from this, however, they were bound by the terms of their trust deeds to carry on day schools for secular education as well as Sunday schools. (1) This situation the trustees found very difficult to accept. Having conscientiously served the cause of elementary education in Crewe for 44 years they found it impossible to believe that the Act of 1902 could be made to "connive at what is so very much like confiscation". Nevertheless, they had eventually to resign themselves to disillusionment, for the Board of Education's demands proved to be quite within the limits of the law if not apparently within the bounds of moral obligation.

Both the Earle Street and the Hightown schools were transferred to the local authority in 1906, the former being rented "during its temporary use as a public

(1) Memorandum from the Board of Education to J. A. Bratby of Crewe, dated 27.7.04 - stored at Trinity Chapel, Crewe. Papers and correspondence relating to Mill Street and Hightown Wesleyan Schools, various dates between 3.12.03 and 7.4.08, filed at P.R.O., ref: Ed. 49, File No. 607.

elementary school" for £40 per annum, and the latter on a renewable 14 year lease at a nominal annual rent of £5, granted in consideration of a premium of £100 which was to be used by the trustees in discharging debts outstanding on the school. ⁽¹⁾ The feud over Mill Street School continued, however, for a further fifteen months. A further complication to the negotiations was presented by the fact that the school had, by that time, accumulated debts of £330, which the Crewe Education Committee did not feel prepared to settle. This large amount, the trustees claimed, resulted mainly from the cessation of all public elementary school fees in the Borough in October, 1903. Eventually deciding on a suitable compromise the local authority agreed to accept the school on a 21 year lease, determinable at the end of 14 years, granted "in consideration of £200 towards the outstanding debts", to be paid on execution, and a yearly peppercorn rent of £5. The Council also agreed to insure the premises for £2,750 with the Wesleyan Assurance Office. These arrangements

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 5.9.05; 3.1.06; 8.6.06; 21.11.06.
Board of Education Transfer Order No. 383 W., sealed
3.10.06 - stored at Trinity Chapel, Crewe.

finally received the Board of Education's seal of approval on 24th January, 1908. (1)

Having thus acquired direct control over fourteen of the sixteen public elementary schools in the Borough and in Church Coppenhall, the Crewe Education Committee soon found that it had inherited almost as many problems. During the long period of voluntary school management there had never been enough money available either to build really well designed schools or to carry out proper maintenance, so that the Committee found it necessary to expend far larger sums on repairing and modifying the school buildings than had been required for their actual transfer to the local authority. As Dr. Hodgson summarized the state of affairs in 1905,

"Sufficient had been done to keep out a School Board, but it had not been possible to keep it out any longer. It had come in since under the new Act, and the Education Committee were doing

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 13.12.06; 15.4.07; 15.5.07; 29.8.07; 19.2.08. Board of Education Transfer Order No. 552 W., sealed 24.1.08. Letter from Wesleyan Chapel Committee, Manchester, to Rev. J. Hewitson of Crewe dated 17.9.07 - stored at Trinity Chapel, Crewe. A copy of the Notice of Transfer appeared in the Crewe Guardian of 4.1.07 and in the Crewe Chronicle of the same date.

now what might have been done many years ago under a School Board."

It would, however, be quite wrong to assume that the local authority had not fully anticipated the magnitude of the task which lay ahead. Very shortly after his appointment as Director, Henry Struthers had written to the Board of Education to enquire whether the Board would, in fact, be likely to give its approval for the continued use of the various premises as public elementary schools, upon which the Board had immediately directed its inspector for the Crewe District, Mr. H. Ward, to conduct a thorough survey of the state of Crewe schools. This inspector communicated in detail the results of his investigation, which had revealed serious defects in the structure, design, lighting and ventilation of old and new buildings alike, to the Crewe Education Committee as well as to the Board, so that the Committee had been in a position to estimate fairly precisely the amount of work and expenditure which would be needed to provide Crewe with really satisfactory school accommodation. Mr. Ward's reports had also, of course, supplied the local authority with a realistic basis on

which to conduct negotiations for the transfer of the buildings.⁽¹⁾

The Education Committee decided straight away that as little money as possible should be spent on the Christ Church, New Street and Earle Street schools since it was evident that these could never be adequately renovated. In his report Mr. Ward had described the Christ Church School as dark, dingy and unattractive, surrounded by noisy streets, while the infants' school in New Street, built close to a water-filled pit, had very damp walls and floors. In order to make necessary repairs and build suitable extensions to the other existing schools, however, the Committee borrowed from the Local Government Board a total of £27,992 between 1903 and 1909.⁽²⁾ Ironically it was the newest of the Borough's schools, Bedford Street, which required the costliest modification. Although so recently built, Mr. Ward considered it to be "so badly designed, lit and

(1) Struthers' letter, dated 28.10.03, and Ward's reports dated 13.11.03, are filed at the P.R.O., ref: Ed. 16, File No. 17.

(2) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 3.12.03, 5.9.05, 16.1.07, 18.11.08, 21.4.09.

ventilated that if it had been 30 years old it would have been condemned".⁽¹⁾ Curiously designed to give accommodation for 335 girls but only 166 boys and 190 infants, the Girls' Department in 1903 contained 126 more places than were actually used, while the Boys' and Infants' Departments suffered from severe overcrowding.⁽²⁾ The only practical solution to this problem of imbalance proved to be to convert the entire ground floor for use as an infants' department and to build a completely new department for 438 boys, at a total cost of £11,900.⁽³⁾ Other schools which required extensive modification were Broad Street, Edleston Road and West Street, incurring an expenditure of £2,027, £4,550 and £5,050 respectively.⁽⁴⁾

In addition to making these necessary alterations to the existing schools the Committee had to give its attention to planning for a new set of schools to

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 3.11.03.

(2) Crewe Borough General Purposes Cttee. Minutes, 25.3.03.

(3) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 21.4.09.

(4) *ibid.*, 17.8.04; 5.9.05.

replace the three which had been found unsuitable for further development. Quite apart from the unsatisfactory nature of these school buildings there was, by the end of 1904, a marked deficiency of school places of any kind in the central area of the town which these schools, together with Beech Street School, served. The total accommodation officially provided by these four schools was for 2,056, while the number of pupils actually on their registers was 2,421 with an average attendance of 2,146. As a temporary measure to cater for this deficiency while the proposed new schools were being built, the Committee requested and obtained the permission of the Board of Education to re-open the previously condemned Presbyterian School in Hill Street which, it was estimated, would accommodate about 240 boys and girls.⁽¹⁾ The 'Hill Street Temporary School' opened in April, 1905, with 214 children on its registers, of whom 127 had been transferred from Christ Church Schools, 50 from Earle Street, 26 from Beech Street and 9 from New Street. Its staff consisted of a certificated headmistress

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 21.12.04, 13.3.05.

and three uncertificated assistants.⁽¹⁾

The first decisive steps towards the provision of new school buildings were taken only four weeks after the Crewe Education Committee had been elected, when it was arranged that the Borough Council should borrow £1,750 to buy 11,357 square yards of land off Earle Street from the Edleston Trustees at 3s. per square yard.⁽²⁾

Alderman Briggs later proposed that the new schools should be known as the 'Borough Schools'. These were planned on a far more ambitious scale than any previous schools in Crewe, to provide accommodation for a total of 1,525 scholars, comprising 370 senior boys, 370 senior girls, 360 mixed juniors and 425 infants.⁽³⁾ In 1906 the Committee accepted a tender of £17,410. 6s.0d., for the erection of the schools, submitted by Mr. C. W. Davenport of Stockton Heath, the buildings

(1) Hill Street Temporary School log book, entry for 17.4.05. The Borough Council rented the premises from the Presbyterian Trustees for £25 per annum.

(2) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 30.9.03.

(3) *ibid.*, 26.11.03; 13.3.05.

having been designed by Mr. G. Bolshaw.⁽¹⁾ The completed Borough Elementary Schools were ceremonially opened by the Chairman of the Crewe Education Committee, Alderman W. McNeil, on March 27th 1908, and were made available for public inspection during the first week. On April 6th the first pupils were admitted.⁽²⁾ William Hinchsliff, hitherto the headmaster of the Earle Street School, had been appointed first headmaster of the new school, and remained in office until his death in unpropitious circumstances in 1934. When the new schools opened the Christ Church and New Street schools finally closed and their pupils were transferred as previously planned.⁽³⁾ The Hill Street Temporary School remained open until April, 1908, while the Earle Street School continued to be used as an annexe to the Borough Elementary Schools in Brierley Street until the

(1) *ibid.*, 20.6.06.

(2) Borough Elementary School, Brierley Street, log book, entries for 27.3.08, 1.4.08, 6.4.08.

(3) Christ Church School log books of Boys' and Girls' Depts., entries for 27.3.08.

end of 1915. (1)

During the time that these improvements and additions to elementary school accommodation were being put into effect, the Crewe Education Committee had also been occupied with plans for providing a long overdue opportunity for the more able pupils of the elementary schools to continue their studies beyond the level of Standard VII. The foundation by the Crewe Technical Instruction Committee of the Secondary School, which opened at the Technical Institute in 1902 and was taken over by the County Education Committee in the following year, contributed in a limited way towards supplying this need, but free places were awarded to only a small number of children of exceptional academic promise. (2)

(1) Hill Street Temporary School log book, entry for 31.8.09.
Earle Street Council School log book, entry for 23.12.15.

(2) The competition for scholarships to the Secondary School was very severe. For example, of the 132 candidates who took the qualifying examination in 1907, 30 obtained a free scholarship; in 1912 only 21 out of 129 candidates were successful. Generally the County Education Authority provided two-thirds of these scholarships and the Borough Council the remaining third. (C.B.E.C. Minutes, 2.7.07; 19.6.12.). The County Secondary School moved to new buildings in Ruskin Road, with accommodation for 350 pupils, in 1909.

Therefore a need remained for an intermediate type of school which would make suitable provision for those elementary scholars who proved themselves capable of benefiting from a more advanced type of education than that given in the ordinary elementary schools but who could not reach the standard required for admission to the County Secondary School.

With this deficiency in mind, His Majesty's Inspector, Mr. H. Ward, suggested to the Crewe Education Committee at a meeting in February, 1904, that a higher elementary school might be established in Crewe. He considered that the growing demand for such a school had been accentuated by the lack of employment in the town for those children who had passed without difficulty or delay through the ordinary elementary Standards, and drew the Committee's attention to the fact that the Railway Company had introduced a good rule that no boy below the age of 14 would be apprenticed in the Works. He observed also that Crewe had no industry which offered adequate regular employment to girls. The Committee, however, as anxious as the Inspector himself to give Crewe the best educational facilities it could afford,

needed no such persuasion, and responded enthusiastically to Mr. Ward's proposal. It was decided first that the school should be free, and that boys and girls should be taught separately in small classes by a highly qualified staff, with different curricula for the two sexes.

Mr. Ward, perhaps fearful that the Committee's enthusiasm might go too far, emphasized that the work of the school should be strictly elementary in scope and aim, and not be allowed to trespass on the ground covered by the County Secondary School. The Committee agreed that emphasis should be placed on training the boys "in view of their future employment without giving specific technical instruction", and on providing for the girls a "good training in the domestic subjects", rather than on purely academic study. Accordingly the following syllabuses, designed for courses extending over two or three years, were formulated:-

(i) For Boys -

English subjects: reading to be applied to the acquisition of a knowledge of geography, history and the appreciation of literature.

Mathematics: practical arithmetic and an introduction to algebra and geometry.

Science

Drawing

- Practical work: (a) woodwork
(b) experimental science and mechanics
(c) experimental mathematics

(ii) For Girls -

English subjects: as for boys, but with more emphasis on literature.

Science: domestic economy and hygiene

- Practical work: (a) housewifery
(b) cookery
(c) laundry work
(d) advanced needlework⁽¹⁾

The Board of Education gave its approval for the proposed higher elementary school to be established in accordance with the proposals made by the local authority, and for it to occupy the upper storey of the new Borough Elementary School building in course of erection in Brierley Street.⁽²⁾ The regulations for the admission of pupils which the Education Committee drew up

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 5.2.04.

(2) *ibid.*, 24.6.07, 19.12.07, 19.8.08..

in May, 1908, stipulated that prospective entrants from the public elementary schools had to be 12 years of age and had to pass a qualifying examination in comprehension, dictation, composition and arithmetic based on the work normally covered in Standard VI. The Committee made provision for 120 entrance scholarships to be awarded each year, but in only two of the years between 1908 and 1918 did this number of candidates actually reach the standard of proficiency required. ⁽¹⁾ Parents had to consent to allow successful scholars to remain at the school for at least two and, if possible, for three years, although in each year after 1911 it proved necessary for the School Attendance Subcommittee to take proceedings against a considerable number of parents who failed to honour this agreement.

In order to attract a highly qualified headmaster for the new school the Committee advertised the post at a commencing annual salary of £250, which

(1) In 1914, 134 of the 161 candidates who presented themselves for the examination were successful and, in the following year 120 out of an entry of 139. In the other years of this period the number of successful candidates ranged from 95 to 114. (C.B.E.C. annual reports on the Higher Elementary School Entrance Examination, 1908-1918; in Crewe Public Library.)

exceeded by £40 the head teacher's salary at the largest of the ordinary elementary schools in the Borough. From the 164 applicants who responded to the advertisement Mr. George Young, B.A., B.Sc., of Sheffield, was appointed as headmaster in July, 1908. The Committee also appointed specialist teachers for woodwork, metalwork, cookery and housewifery. The Borough Higher Elementary School opened on Monday, 7th September, 1908, with the 56 boys and 51 girls who had passed the first entrance examination on its registers, and a staff of nine carefully selected teachers of whom three were graduates and two held special diploma qualifications in practical subjects. (1)

During these first five years of municipal control the Crewe Education Committee had clearly accomplished a great deal towards providing the town with up to date facilities for elementary education. In addition to the Committee's abundant resources of vitality, ingenuity and enterprise, however, all these achievements had demanded a great deal of money. The cost of erecting and equipping the new Borough Schools had been £20,762,

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 15.5.08, 15.6.08, 3.7.08, 10.7.08, 23.7.08, 16.9.08.

and this amount, together with the very large sums expended on renovating and extending the existing schools and on various other educational services, brought the local authority's total debt at the end of the financial year 1909-10 to over £64,000.⁽¹⁾ Crewe's ratepayers now found themselves obliged to pay dearly for their former neglect of civic responsibilities. Although the sum required from the rates for elementary educational purposes during the first six months of local government administration, from September, 1903, to March, 1904, had amounted to only £1,725.12s.5d., equivalent to a rate of 3d. in the pound, the education rate in subsequent years rose sharply.⁽²⁾ In 1906 the Board of Education, well aware of the financial difficulties of such 'Part III' authorities as Crewe at this time, had decided that where necessary expenditure on elementary education required a rate of more than 1s.6d. in the pound the Board would pay up to three-quarters of the excess.

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 17.1.06, 21.6.11.

(2) Crewe Borough Joint Finance Cttee. Minutes, 28.9.03.

Three years later the Crewe education rate had exceeded this limit and continued rising until it reached 1s.11d., so that the local authority had to receive State aid. Whereas in 1904-5 the cost per head of elementary education had been £2.13s.7d., of which the ratepayers paid 12s.4d., it had increased by 1913-14 to £4.5s.10d., and the ratepayer's contribution to £1.14s.0d.⁽¹⁾ These very substantial increases brought forth loud protests from Crewe's ratepayers, many of whom had, from the beginning, been entirely opposed to the establishment of a local education authority. The Education Committee had now gone as far as public opinion would allow, and from 1909 onwards was obliged to exercise very stringent economy. This sudden curb on expenditure was both untimely and unfortunate, since it prevented the Committee from completing the task it had begun so well.

Reporting to the Board of Education on the state of elementary education in Crewe in 1908, Mr. Ward praised the Education Committee for the considerable progress which had been made in the staffing of the schools.

(1) W. H. Chaloner, op. cit., p. 230, footnote 2.

The number of adult assistants had risen from 108 in 1903 to 177 in 1908, and the number of certificated teachers from 30 to 77. During the same period the number of children on the school registers had increased by less than 600 to 9,471, giving an average in the senior departments of 51 pupils to each teacher, so that Crewe compared fairly favourably with the rest of the country at this time. Although nearly one-third of the children who had left school in 1906-7 had done so before reaching the age of 14, the proportion of pupils in Standard VI and above, 18.5% in 1907, was "remarkably high". About the schools themselves, however, the Inspector was far less complimentary. He found them untidy, dingy and "curiously deficient in amenities". The teachers had no staff-rooms, cloak-rooms or toilets, and the school furniture was generally old fashioned and uncomfortable. Although the new schools in Brierley Street were spacious and well equipped, they were too far away to relieve the congestion at the two Hightown schools. ⁽¹⁾ Evidently the Education Committee had still much work to do, but with far less financial support than

(1) H. Ward's Report, dated 3.3.08, is filed at the P.R.O., ref: Ed. 16, No. 17.

it had so far enjoyed.

It was the teachers who first felt the effects of the new economy measures when, in 1909, the local authority threatened to suspend the normal annual increments on salaries. This caused public attention to be focused on the teachers, who suffered the indignity of having their names and salaries published in the local press. The legality of the authority's proposed action was challenged and finally a compromise was decided on which allowed most teachers to be paid a partial increment.⁽¹⁾ The incident, however, marked the beginning of a long series of salary negotiations between teachers and employers which continued until 1914.

The problem of inadequate school accommodation, to which Mr. Ward had referred in his Report, became even more serious for the Education Committee when the Board of Education decreed that as from 1st January, 1910, the amount of accommodation provided by public elementary schools be calculated on a basis of 10 sq. ft. for each senior pupil and 9 sq. ft. for each infant. This new

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 13.9.09.

requirement reduced the official capacity of the Crewe schools by 562 places, the deficiency being most marked in the Hightown area.⁽¹⁾ The Education Committee had previously anticipated that a shortage of school accommodation was likely to occur in this part of the town, and had borrowed £710 from the Local Government Board in 1905 to purchase a site in Derby Street, close to Hightown, on which the erection of a school for 800 children had been planned.⁽²⁾ These plans now had to be postponed, however, since the Committee was in no position to consider further capital expenditure. Instead the Committee had to resort to makeshift arrangements, and in 1911 obtained permission from the Board of Education to transfer the Boys' Department of the Hightown Council School to the Technical Institute as a temporary measure until new schools could be provided.⁽³⁾ Meanwhile, the

(1) Board of Education Circular No. 583, dated 6.6.09, and tabulated Schedule showing present and revised elementary school accommodation in the Borough of Crewe - filed at the P.R.O., ref: Ed. 21, File No. 2095.

(2) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 18.1.05; 22.8.06; 20.4.10.

(3) *ibid.*, 16.8.11.

managers of the non-provided Hightown L.N.W.R. Company's School had obtained a donation of £400 from the Railway Company to carry out the modifications to the school buildings required by the Board of Education. (1)

Among the various suggestions put forward by individual members of the Education Committee to overcome the deficiency without increasing expenditure, the one which received widest publicity was that of Councillor Frederick Manning, who proposed in 1912 that the Bedford Street Boys' and Borough Senior Schools should be worked as double-shift mixed schools for the pupils in Standards VI and VII of all the elementary schools in the Borough. He had calculated that by working a series of four two-hour shifts a day between 8 a.m. and 5.30 p.m., accommodation for 790 additional scholars could be provided without the expense either of building new schools or, since the teachers' agreements did not specify their hours of duty, of appointing additional staff. Not surprisingly Councillor Manning's absurd scheme received no support whatever from even the most thrifty members of the

(1) L.N.W.R. Schools Cttee. Minutes, 20.10.10.

Committee, and so came to nothing.⁽¹⁾

Undaunted by public criticism and limited revenue the Education Committee continued to follow an optimistic policy and purchased two further sites for school development, one between Gainsborough Road and Denver Avenue in 1913, and another between Newdigate Street and Ludford Street in the following year. The Borough Surveyor drew up ambitious plans for new schools on the latter site to accommodate 350 boys, 350 girls and 200 infants, with an open air classroom for 25, a handicraft room for 20 and a cookery and laundry centre for 18.⁽²⁾ These plans superseded the abandoned Derby Street project since the new site was found to be more suitable for possible future expansion. Unfortunately, the further financial restrictions imposed by the Great War made it necessary to postpone again the building of new schools, and the two newly acquired sites were merely

(1) Yorkshire Post, 18.1.12; Crewe Guardian, 19.1.12, 22.3.12; C.B.E.C. Minutes, 14.3.12; Manchester Guardian, 21.3.12.

Councillor Manning succeeded Alderman McNeill as Chairman of the Education Committee in 1918.

(2) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 21.5.13, 6.2.14, 18.2.14, 2.3.14, 18.3.14, 21.10.14, 8.6.15.

fenced off and let as allotments. Consequently the deficiency of accommodation in the Hightown area remained and, after repeated warnings, the Board of Education, "having regard for all the circumstances", reduced by £50 its grant to the Hightown L.N.W.R. Company's School in 1915.⁽¹⁾ This problem of inadequate school provision continued, in fact, until 1932 when the long awaited new schools in Ludford Street were at last completed and opened.

In other aspects of the town's education service, however, the Committee met with less frustration and accomplished much useful work. School attendance improved appreciably after 1904 when the Committee introduced the incentive of a half day holiday to be awarded each month to schools in which the average attendance during the preceding month had reached 92% in a boys' school, 90% in a mixed school and 88% in a girls' school. The average attendance in all Crewe schools rose from 84.9% in 1904 to 89.5% in 1905, and never fell below 88% from that time until the

(1) *ibid.*, 10.2.15.

retrogression brought by the war years. (1)

Following the Provision of Meals Act, 1906, and the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, a considerable amount of attention was given to the welfare of children from poor families. In December, 1907, the Committee made arrangements for free breakfasts, consisting of scones and cocoa, to be provided for needy children during the winter months. Between the actual commencement of the scheme on January 7th, 1908, and its temporary suspension at the end of March, over 18,000 such meals were supplied at a cost to the local authority of £193. In successive winters an average of 1,200 free breakfasts were provided each week between December and March until 1913-14, after which wartime restrictions made it necessary to limit this service to only the most destitute cases. (2)

Under the supervision of a special Children's Care Committee, formed in 1910, the welfare service was extended to provide free clothing, shoes and clogs for

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 21.9.04; School Attendance Sub-
- Cttee. Annual Reports, 1904-1918.

(2) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 16.12.07, 20.1.08, 24.3.08,
- 28.11.10, 15.12.10, 4.3.13, 19.8.14.

deprived children attending the town's elementary schools. The Mayor of Crewe, in response to a request from the Committee, willingly gave his support by instituting an appeal fund to supplement the limited amount of money granted by the local authority for this purpose. (1)

As a first step towards providing a medical service, a school nurse was appointed to conduct physical examinations of pupils and, where appropriate, to advise parents to allow their children to receive necessary treatment. (2) The possibility of establishing a school clinic received consideration in 1911, but it was generally agreed that other facilities demanded attention more urgently at that time. Three years later, however, the Committee appointed a school dentist and provided him with a properly equipped dental clinic. For children whose parents earned less than £1 a week dental treatment was given free. For others charges were based on

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 15.12.10, 23.1.11. In its first year the Mayor's appeal realized over £60.

(2) The school nurse worked under the direction of the Borough Medical Officer of Health, to whom serious cases of disease or neglect had to be referred.

parental income up to a maximum of 1s.3d. per visit. Despite these modest charges, most parents at first showed a reluctance to allow their children to receive treatment prescribed by the school dentist. The service did become more popular, however, after the introduction, in 1916, of an annual competition designed to improve the standard of dental hygiene among schoolchildren. The Mayor awarded certificates to the boys and girls judged to have the soundest and cleanest teeth, and their parents received cash prizes. (1)

The Education Committee's other significant contribution towards the improvement of the town's education service after 1908 was in the provision of facilities for extending the range of practical and recreational activities in the elementary school curriculum. As the financial resources available were so limited these were inevitably of a very modest nature. Properly equipped handicraft and cookery centres, staffed by specially qualified instructors, were established at

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 15.12.10, 14.9.11, 13.3.13,
3.3.14, 5.12.16, 17.10.17.

the Technical Institute in 1910, and selected boys and girls from the various elementary schools visited these centres on a rota system for practical work.

The Committee also spent £95 on providing a metal-workshop at the Higher Elementary School, and equipping it with a forge, a shearing machine, a drilling machine and a grindstone. (1)

In response to the complaint of His Majesty's Inspector, in 1909, that virtually nothing had been done in Crewe to provide the schools with facilities for organized games or other physical activities, the Committee decided to engage, on a part-time basis, a qualified physical training instructor to supervise the teaching of games and gymnastics in the elementary schools. (2)

(1) *ibid.*, 28.11.10, 17.5.11, 6.2.12, 13.5.12. The girls' cookery centre was transferred to Bedford Street School in 1915.

(2) Mr. G. Hanley, formerly Assistant Director of the Liverpool Gymnasium, was appointed as Crewe's first physical education supervisor in 1911. His services were divided equally between the Teachers' Training College, the County Secondary School and the Crewe elementary schools. The Crewe Borough Education Committee contributed one-third of the amount of his salary, the remainder being paid by the County Education Authority. (C.B.E.C. Minutes, 17.5.11.)

Suitable playing areas for organized games were, however, very limited. At some schools the playgrounds were enlarged and properly surfaced, but it was not, in fact, until 1932, when the Committee eventually succeeded in acquiring and developing a large site in Middlewich Street, that the majority of Crewe's schoolchildren were able to enjoy proper playing field facilities.

The economic difficulties which had so restricted the work of the Education Committee since 1909 became even more accentuated during the war years. No further development of ancillary services or provision of additional material facilities could be contemplated; indeed, the Committee was hard pressed to ensure the continuance of even the bare essentials of routine work in the schools.

In this latter respect a further problem was created by the enlistment of a considerable number of male teachers in H.M. forces, leaving several schools seriously understaffed. This difficult situation was relieved to some extent by the employment of as many temporary teachers as could be found and, as an emergency measure, women were asked to fill vacant positions in

boys' schools where, naturally, the staff shortage was most acute. Conscious of the exacting conditions under which teachers now had to work, the Committee decided to award them some compensation in the form of a special 'war bonus' of £26 per annum. Early in 1918, salaries were increased still further, adding almost £500 to the local authority's monthly expenditure on elementary education.⁽¹⁾

During these lean years the Crewe Education Committee evidently made a valiant attempt to keep the schools functioning as normally as possible in extremely difficult circumstances, and to safeguard the welfare of both pupils and teachers. Nevertheless, after a decade of steadily declining resources and ever increasing problems, the state of elementary education in Crewe had, by the end of the war, inevitably reached a very low ebb.

(1) C.B.E.C. Minutes, 16.6.15, 9.3.16, 17.1.17, 21.2.17, 16.1.18, 18.2.18, 20.11.18; School Attend. Sub-Ctee. Minutes, 1.2.16 to 4.2.19, passim. Teachers engaged in military service continued to receive their normal salary, less the amount of their Army pay.

CONCLUSION

Although the introduction of the Fisher Act in 1918 provided new opportunities for progress in many aspects of education, the local authority in Crewe was, unfortunately, in no position at the time to respond to these with enthusiasm, and post-war recovery was slow. Not until 1921 was the leaving age at the Borough's elementary schools effectively raised to 14, and even then it was apparently with a view to relieving the town's unemployment problem rather than to promoting actual educational advancement.⁽¹⁾ Even considering the effects of the 'Geddes Axe'⁽²⁾ and the adverse economic and social conditions prevailing in the 1920's, the

-
- (1) It was in 1921 also that the Crewe Education Committee decided to adopt the Burnham salary scale III for its teachers.
- (2) Under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Geddes, the Committee on National Expenditure which the Government set up in 1921 to review the serious condition of national finance, recommended that expenditure on education should be reduced by about a third. The financial restrictions imposed on local authorities as a result of the Committee's proposals became commonly known as the 'Geddes Axe'.

fact that a further eleven years elapsed before the new schools which had been so urgently needed since 1911 were eventually provided would seem to suggest a degree of public apathy towards education in Crewe.

While the Education Committee may, perhaps, be criticized for having drawn too heavily upon public funds between 1903 and 1909 and, in so doing, having strained public sympathy to the limit, it would be unfair to lay all the blame for the steady loss of momentum in Crewe's elementary education service after 1909 at the Committee's door. To some extent this decline merely reflected the general economic stagnation which beset the town after the turn of the century.⁽¹⁾ However, the actual roots of the problems which the local education authority had inherited on assuming control in 1903 may be traced much further back in the history of the town's social development.

The great majority of Crewe's working population

(1) Whereas the population of Crewe increased by 13,313 during the decade 1891-1901, the corresponding increase in the following decade was only 1,886. (See Appendix A.) After 1931 a period of renewed prosperity, with consequent expansion, began.

had always consisted of poorly paid artisans who had never been able to afford to contribute much towards the provision of really adequate facilities for the education of their children. To many of them formal academic education, as distinct from purely practical training for earning a living, seemed unnecessary or even undesirable. As one member of the Crewe Education Committee observed in 1912, "The majority of people had received little education, and many looked unkindly on it. Schooling was not looked upon as an ordinary thing." Before the arrival of the railway colony, the inhabitants of the Coppenhall area had been almost exclusively impecunious farm labourers for whom also education had little significance. Consequently there had been no traditions or foundations on which to build, and the entire period of the town's rapid growth was marked by a conspicuous lack of responsibility for educational provision on the part of the general public.

It is not so much a matter of wonder, therefore, that the newly elected Education Committee found several of the town's schools to be in need of repair, enlargement or replacement, as that so many schools existed at all.

The credit for the presence of these must be shared between local clergymen with their relatively small groups of active supporters, the Committee of Council on Education and the Directors of the Railway Company. In the development of elementary education in Crewe during its first sixty years each of these three bodies played a vital but quite distinctive rôle.

Before 1870 the spread of popular education in England depended to a considerable extent upon the initiative of religious leaders and communities. Certainly Crewe, particularly in its early years, was blessed with its fair share of progressive and persuasive clergymen who were prepared to give unstintingly of their time, labour and, in some cases money, to ensure that adequate provision for elementary education was made. The achievements in this respect of such pioneers as Cooper, Wheeler, Ashe and Belloch are all the more remarkable when one considers the general poverty and limited vision of their congregations. If rivalry existed between Anglicans and Non-conformists it served to stimulate rather than to restrict educational progress, in so far as it strengthened the determination of the various denominational communities

to provide the best facilities possible for their own children. With only nominal subsidies from the Railway Company the Wesleyan Methodists had, by the end of the century, provided school accommodation for 1,650 children, while the Presbyterians, despite their small numbers, had succeeded in establishing in their schools an academic reputation which was second to none in the town.

Although the local clergy, in their firm resolve to retain denominational control of the schools, played a large part in preventing the formation of a School Board, it is by no means certain that a School Board would have actually achieved more than the voluntary system did in Crewe. There is no evidence to suggest that the pupils of the Board Schools in Church Coppenhall fared better than those in Crewe schools, and when the Board yielded control of its schools to the local authority in 1903 it also left debts of over £2,000 to be settled. ⁽¹⁾

(1) Negotiations between the Crewe Education Committee and the Cheshire County Council concerning the settlement of the Church Coppenhall School Board's liabilities continued until 1907.

The Committee of Council on Education, working through its local inspectors of schools, assisted the growth of elementary education in Crewe in two main ways. Firstly, it contributed the main source of income of the schools in the various types of grants it awarded. Secondly, by the conditions imposed for the continuance of such financial aid, it sought to ensure that certain basic standards of school accommodation and equipment, as well as an adequate supply of suitably qualified teachers, were properly maintained. After the 1870 Act the Committee's influence in this respect was increased further by its new power to demand the establishment of a School Board if, at any time, educational facilities fell seriously short of requirements. It is very unlikely that either the inhabitants of Crewe or the Directors of the Railway Company would have contributed as much as they did towards the 'voluntary' supply of school accommodation without the additional incentive created by the possible imposition of a much feared education rate.

While the Railway Company's main function in the education of its employees' children was to provide money for the building, equipping and general maintenance

of schools, the Directors displayed, at least in the early years, a genuine paternal interest. From the outset they had considered it their duty "to contribute liberally towards the supply of education" for the community they had brought into being.⁽¹⁾ Between 1847 and 1902 the Company built ten elementary schools in Crewe, incorporating 23 separate departments which provided accommodation for a total of 5,221 children. With the exception of only three of these schools, New Street, Adelaide Street and Beech Street, the Company received no appreciable contribution from the inhabitants of Crewe towards the cost of their building. Although the schools built at the Company's expense were all of the 'National' type and, therefore, connected with the Anglican church, the complaints of certain Nonconformists were hardly justified, since the Company could not reasonably have been expected to satisfy the needs of all the denominational communities which emerged as the town grew. To have given substantial financial assistance to one sect while refusing the requests of another would have rendered the

(1) G.J.B.M., 5.1.42.

Directors liable to even sharper criticism than they in fact received. In any case, the Company's schools were open to all children, regardless of their denomination.

The 1870 Act, however, brought about a change in attitude on the part of the Directors. They made it quite clear that their main consideration now was to safeguard the financial interests of the Company's shareholders by exercising the greatest possible economy in their expenditure on education. As it was evident that an education rate would have proved to be more expensive than their continued support of the voluntary system, they resolved to contribute just enough towards the cost of school provision and maintenance to avoid the formation of a School Board. Consequently, the new schools which the Company was obliged to provide in order to satisfy the rapidly increasing demands for additional accommodation were generally built to the most spartan specifications.

Throughout the long period of voluntary control, in fact, there was never enough money available to supply and maintain really well designed and properly equipped schools in Crewe. In this respect the Roman Catholic and Nonconformist schools naturally suffered even more than

those belonging to the Railway Company.⁽¹⁾ The voluntary school managers found it progressively more difficult to meet their commitments each time the Education Department introduced new legislation designed to increase attendance, improve standards of accommodation, abolish school fees and raise the school-leaving age.

In order to alleviate these problems to some extent, head teachers were virtually obliged to confine the range of subjects taught in their schools to those which could earn the largest possible State grants without adding appreciably to the cost of teaching. This explains why English and geography, which required neither specialist teachers nor expensive equipment, were by far the most popular 'class' subjects in Crewe schools. Similarly, while drawing had intrinsic value as a practical subject, the main reason for its inclusion in the curriculum of several schools was that it made them eligible for the special grants awarded by the Science and Art Department.

(1) In his report for 1883, T. S. Gleadowe, Inspector of Schools for the Crewe District, recorded: "In buildings we are much worse off than any of our neighbours. Many of the schools were established years ago, and there are comparatively few rooms that thoroughly satisfy present conditions."

Conversely, science subjects were neglected because the teaching of these would have proved too costly in relation to the amount of grant they might have earned.

In addition to influencing the range of subjects included in the school curriculum, the State grant system also determined to a large extent the manner in which they were taught. The rigorous demands made on teachers and pupils by the Education Department's 'Codes', together with the large size of most classes, resulted inevitably in very mechanical methods of teaching, with an undesirable emphasis on mere rote learning. These restricting conditions naturally made it difficult for teachers to inspire in their pupils a genuine academic interest in the work they did, and the considerable success achieved by a large proportion of both pupils and pupil teachers in certain schools reflects great credit on the industry and ingenuity of such dedicated teachers as William Dishart, Henry Struthers and Elizabeth Smith. In general, however, the work of most Crewe schools remained rather unprogressive in character and limited in scope at least until the turn of the century.

After the long and determined struggle to

maintain elementary education on a voluntary basis it was to be expected that the eventual imposition of central control should meet with strong opposition, although for the teachers at least it must have come as a considerable relief. Despite the general lack of public support and goodwill, however, the Crewe Education Committee made a resolute attempt to provide the town with a better and more comprehensive education service than had hitherto been possible. Within a very short time the Committee succeeded in supplying the long felt need for a higher form of elementary education, improving and increasing school accommodation, organizing child welfare services and extending the range of practical and recreational subjects in the curriculum of the town's elementary schools. It was unfortunate that the advent of municipal control coincided with the beginning of a long period of economic decline in Crewe, so that the good work which the Education Committee had started with such enthusiasm had to be severely curtailed. Nevertheless, after sixty years of dependence on the uncertain support of denominational bodies, private benefactors and the Railway Company, elementary education in Crewe had at last been placed on

a secure basis and the foundations for future development had been firmly established.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLE SHOWING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN RELATION
TO POPULATION GROWTH IN THE TOWNSHIP OF MONKS COPPENHALL AND
THE BOROUGH OF CREWE, 1851-1921.

Year	Population	Percentage Increase	Average Attendance at Public Elementary Schools	Percentage Increase or Decrease	Notes*
1851	4,571	-	370	-	1
1861	8,195	79.3	693	87.3	2
1871	17,870	105.9	1,798	159.5	
1881	24,385	36.4	2,716	51.0	3
1891	28,761	18.0	4,483	65.1	
1901	42,074	46.3	6,060	35.2	4
1911	44,960	6.9	8,297	36.1	
1921	46,497	3.4	7,047	-15.1	5

The table is compiled from the decennial Census Returns, the annual Reports of the Committee of Council on Education, the Parliamentary Returns for Public Elementary Schools and the Reports of the Crewe School Attendance Committee.

*Notes:

1. This attendance figure relates to the Railway Company's Christ Church School, the only public elementary school existing at that time.
2. The very rapid population growth during the decade 1861-71 resulted mainly from the major extensions to the Railway Works in 1862 and 1864.
3. The large increase in school attendance in relation to the smaller percentage increase in population reflects the improvement brought about by the efficient work of the Crewe School Attendance Committee.
4. After reaching a peak of 8,488 in 1909, the average number of children attending elementary schools in the Borough began to decline as younger families moved away from Crewe to seek better employment prospects elsewhere.
5. The decline in the number of scholars became more marked during the Great War when the Railway Company resorted to employing boys below the age of fourteen, the normal labour force at the Crewe Works having been seriously depleted by the success of local recruiting campaigns. By 1918 the average number in attendance at the public elementary schools had fallen to 6,893.

APPENDIX B

THE REV. JOHN B. WHEELER'S FORMAL APPLICATION
TO THE NATIONAL SOCIETY IN 1861 FOR A
BUILDING GRANT IN CONNECTION WITH PROPOSED
NEW SCHOOLS IN CHURCH COPPENHALL

The forms show details of amounts received from various sources and of the accommodation the schools would provide.

In response to the Rector's application the Committee of the National Society awarded a grant of £66 in July, 1861, and the new schools were built in Broad Street at a total cost of £1679.1s.8d.

(The originals of these documents are preserved at the National Society's Offices, 69 Great Peter Street, S.W.1.)

SCHOOL-BUILDING GRANTS.

Minutes passed by the General Committee of the National Society, on February 2nd, 1869, as to the Terms on which School-Building Grants will hereafter be voted.

The Committee having considered

The limited extent to which the large sums heretofore collected under Royal Letters have as yet been replaced by the Society's present Appeal, and the impracticability of being able to vote, at the rate of aid lately adopted, Grants out of the General Fund of the Society to meet the Applications now before the Committee, and those which may be hereafter expected from the promoters of new schools;

And also,

That while at this crisis there is a general feeling of sympathy towards the Society, there are numerous parishes and districts which have in former years received Building Grants and other advantages from the Society, from which no contributions are received in aid of its funds:

Resolved,

1. That under these circumstances, and looking to the future financial prospects of the Society, this Committee will not feel at liberty hereafter to make Grants without a disposition being shown, on the part of the Incumbent of the parish or district and the applicants for the Grant, to promote the interests of the Society, and thereby enable the Committee to extend similar benefits to other places.

2. That in future the Committee will expect all recipients of Grants to undertake to make Collections, either annually or at other convenient intervals, on behalf of the Society in the church to which the school is attached.

3. That the Managers of Schools to which Grants are voted be invited to make a yearly subscription to the Society from the funds of the School, as in some instances is already done.

*Coppenhall Rectory, Essex.
May 25th 1861.*

My Lords & Gentlemen,

*I earnestly entreat your sympathy & help towards erecting two Schools, with dwellings for a Master & a Mistress in my poor Parish. My older children have to go from 2 to 4 Miles to Schools in other Parishes viz to Finchill Berman, Warmingham, & Crewe Green. Thus I lose my influence over them & they grow up almost strangers to me as their Pastor. The effect of all this is very visible in the Sunday Schools connected with the many chapels in the neighbourhood, & when I state that there are in Crewe & Coppenhall (the former being a district in this Parish,) eight different denominations of Dissenters meeting for worship every Sunday, I am sure it will be allowed that this is a case of more than ordinary interests. Permit me to add that I have not a gentleman in the Parish to help me, nor any Landlord owning any quantity of land, whereon I may base an appeal for large subscriptions; the Parish for the most part being cottage tenements. But God has much blessed my efforts for the last year & half in enabling me to raise nearly £700, & I have faith that He will give me the remainder. Humbly begging your kind aid to meet the deficiency, I beg to remain, My Lords & Gentlemen
Your obedient Servant
John Wheeler*

NATIONAL SOCIETY

FOR

PROMOTING THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

Application for Aid towards building School-rooms, to accommodate **250** children, for the

Parish of *Coppenhall* -
or
District of

Post Town.
Epsom.

The Schools will be (according to the conditions stated by the Committee) united to the SOCIETY by the terms of the Trust-Deed, when completed.

QUESTIONS.

ANSWERS.

- Amount of population at the last Census of the parish or district for which the Schools are intended. *3,100 - 8 (Dove) Church District which is in the Parish Boundary; 0,000 closely adjoining*
- What provision already exists in the parish or district for educating the children of the poor in Church principles? Will this provision be superseded either in whole or in part by the proposed new Schools? *Only a mixed Infants' School intended for 70, of having more than 100 in it. The intended new Schools will be additional -*
- What is understood to be the existing provision for education, gratuitously or at a very small charge, in Schools not connected with the Church? *A small Roman Catholic School connected with their Chapel in Epsom - no other Denominational Day School*
- Is it proposed to erect Boys', Girls', and Infant Schools, or which of them?
If it is intended to purchase a house to be converted into a School-room, instead of building a new one, the circumstance must be clearly stated, and a Surveyor's Certificate be forwarded, which may show the actual present condition of the building, and what its state will be when the undertaking is accomplished. The date of erection must be also mentioned, and the purpose to which the building was originally applied.

<i>Boys for</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Class room</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Girls for</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Class room</i>	<i>25</i>
	<hr/>
	<i>250</i>
- What are the proposed dimensions of the School-rooms?

	FEET LONG.	FEET WIDE.	HEIGHT TO THE WALL-PLATE, &c.
Boys' (internally).	<i>43: 6 in</i>	<i>10.</i>	<i>11 ft. 4 in to ceiling</i>
Girls' ..	<i>45: 6</i>	<i>10.</i>	<i>ditto.</i>
Infants' ..			<i>ditto.</i>
Class-room, or rooms. -	<i>10 ft</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>ditto.</i>

The plan of the building must be submitted to the Committee for approval. *has been approved by the Committee of the Council of Schools*
- Does a residence for the Teacher form part of the plan? if so, state the number and size of the rooms. *Two Newell's Houses - 6 rooms in each
Parlour 12x12. Kitchen 12x10. - Cellars, 9x8:6
Bed rooms 12x12 each. H. 10 ft. 6 in. high.*

7. At what rate of payment is the instruction to be afforded, and what prospect is there that the Schools will be permanently continued?

from two pence to four pence per week. The School has 10 scholars & 100. The Free Party will support the Schools.

8. What extent of accommodation will be provided for the children in the parish or district church?

Whatever room they may require is quite available.

9. What is the legal tenure of the proposed School-site? and who are the Trustees to whom it is to be conveyed?

Half an acre of Freehold land is purchased by the Rector & Church Wardens for the use being one the Trustees, & the Vestry in accordance with the Drafted Instructions of the Committee of Missions Council.

N.B.—A Draft of the Conveyance is required to be sent to the National Society before the deed is engrossed.

10. What is the estimated cost of the undertaking, including ground, labour, materials, conveyance, &c. &c.?

Cost of School-site. *115 - - -*
 " " School-rooms, including Class-room. *732 - 10 - -*
 " " Teacher's Residences *300 = - -*
 " " Fittings, Fencing, &c. *312 5 - 12 - -*
 " " Legal Expenses. *13 - - -*

TOTAL *£1570 = 2/2*

11. Means to meet the cost:—

	RAISED	EXPENDED.	TOTAL.
Local Funds.	<i>430</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>580</i>
Diocesan or Local Board.		<i>30</i>	<i>30</i>
Committee of Council.* <i>have granted</i>	<i>464</i>		<i>464</i>
Other sources.	<i>240</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>320</i>
	<u><i>1134</i></u>	<u><i>260</i></u>	<u><i>£1394</i></u>

* State particularly whether it is intended to apply or not to the Committee of Council on Education.

12. Of what materials are the School-premises to be built? *Brick.*

Walls of 13 and 1/2 inches thick; roof of tiles; floor of Ptd. pine.

13. State any peculiar circumstances, on the fly-sheet of this paper, upon which you ground a claim to assistance from this Society.

To be signed by the Incumbent, (Signed) as well as the Applicant or Secretary of the School Committee.

John B. M. M. M. Rector of Cottenham.

In case the School is intended for a district with several parishes, the Incumbents of the parishes must sign the application, or the Rector must state that he is empowered to do so on their behalf.

to be transmitted through the Bishop of the Diocese, for Lordship's approval and counter-signature.

Approved by me,

This *first* day of *June* 1861

J. Chester

Number of Case, and when received.

No. 2063 - 23 July 1861 -

Application from *Coppenhale*
County of *Chester* Diocese of *Chester*

Applicant, *Rev^d J. B. Wheeler*

Population	Description of Schools.	Number of Rooms.
<i>3100-</i>	<i>S & D</i>	<i>Two to a Classroom</i>

Accommodation for *230* Boys, & ~~girls, and~~ ~~Infants~~; *230* - Total.

Estimated Cost of School-rooms, including a Teacher's Residence £ *1578. 2-*

Means raised or promised £ *670*

Ground, & Materials, &c. £

Further means expected £ *230*

Local Means £ *900*

Grant from *Dio* Board £ *30*

Probable Grant from Committee of Council £ *464*

Total Means to meet the Cost £ *1394*

Deficiency £ *174. 2*

Bishop's approval *✓*
 Incumbent's approval *✓*
 Tenure *Freehold*
 Church accommodation *sufficient*
 Floor *wood*
 Height of rooms *11 to 17 feet*
 Walls, inches thick

2 Residences *6* rooms each

APPENDIX C

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT'S NOTICES OF EXISTING
PUBLIC SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION AND OF ADDITIONAL
ACCOMMODATION REQUIRED IN THE CREWE DISTRICT,
IN PURSUANCE OF THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
ACT OF 1870 - NOTICE U No. 4,840 DATED
19th FEBRUARY, 1873; NOTICE B No. 14,421 DATED
15th JULY, 1878.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT, 1870.
Sections XL., XLI.

Notice U.

COUNTY OF CHESTER.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF MONKS COPPENHALL AND CHURCH COPPENHALL.

WHEREAS the Education Department, in pursuance of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, have caused inquiry to be made into the expediency of uniting the above-named School Districts, and are of opinion that it is expedient to unite them: And whereas it is provided that the said Department shall publish notice of their decision as to the Public School accommodation required for the area proposed as the United School District, and shall in such Notice state that they propose to unite such Districts as aforesaid; Now, therefore, the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education

Hereby give Notice as follows:—

- I. They propose to unite the aforesaid School Districts, viz.:— the Townships of **MONKS COPPENHALL** and **CHURCH COPPENHALL.**
- II. The Schools named in the first Schedule to this Notice are considered to be available for the proposed United District.
- III. Additional Public School accommodation of the amount and description mentioned in the second Schedule to this Notice appears to be required for the District.

SCHEDULE I.

	Name and Description.	Situation.	No. of Children accommodated.			
			Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	TOTAL.
(a.) Schools situate in the District.	National School - - -	Crewe - - -	315	223	223	761
	Mill Street Wesleyan School - -	Crewe - - -	105	105	165	375
	High Town Wesleyan School - -	Crewe - - -	259		167	426
	Rockwood Church of England School.	Crewe - - -	142			142
	St. Mary's Roman Catholic School	Crewe - - -	159		85	244
	New Street Church of England School.	Crewe - - -	131			131
	Hill Street Presbyterian School -	Crewe - - -	180			180
	Heath Street Presbyterian School	Crewe - - -			200	200
	National School - - -	Coppenhall - -	130	103	27	260
	(b.) School without the District, but partly available for it.	Church of England School -	Crewe Green -	56		56
TOTAL - 2,775						

SCHEDULE II.

Amount and description of accommodation required.	Situation.	Particulars.
For 500 children - - -	In direction of Rockwood.	—
For 500 children - - -	In direction of Wybunbury.	
For 80 infants - - -	Stoneley Green.	

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,

19th day of February 1873.

Notice No. 4,840.

Union of **NANTWICH.**

F. R. Sandford

Secretary.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT, 1870.
Section IX.

Notice B.

COUNTY OF CHESTER.

SCHOOL DISTRICT OF CREWE (BOROUGH).

WHEREAS the Education Department in pursuance of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, have received the Returns in the said Act mentioned, and made such enquiry as they think necessary, with respect to the School accommodation of the District hereinafter mentioned; Now, therefore, the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education have decided and

Hereby give Notice as follows:—

- I. The School District is the Borough of **CREWE**.
- II. The Schools named in the First Schedule to this Notice are considered to be available for such District.
- III. Additional Public School accommodation of the amount and description mentioned in the Second Schedule to this Notice, appears to be required for the District.

SCHEDULE I.

Name and Description	Situation	No. of Children accommodated			
		Boys	Girls	Infants	TOTAL
Hightown, London and North Western Railway Company's School	West Ward -				648
Wesleyan School - - -	West Ward -				426
Wesleyan Girls' School - -	West Ward -				350
National School - - - -	East Ward -				761
Roman Catholic School - -	East Ward -				242
Presbyterian Mixed School - -	East Ward -				211
Presbyterian Infant School - -	East Ward -				216
Edleston Road School - - -	South Ward -				520
Mill Street Wesleyan School - -	South Ward -				375
Infant School - - - -	East Ward -				131

TOTAL .. 3880

SCHEDULE II.

Amount and description of accommodation required	Situation	Particulars
For 150 children - - -	Rockwood.	

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,
15th day of July, 1878.

Notice No. 14,421.
The NANTWICH UNION.

F. R. Sandford
Secretary.

APPENDIX D

TABLE SHOWING AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED BY LOCAL RATEPAYERS EACH YEAR TOWARDS THE EXPENSES OF THE CHURCH COPPENHALL SCHOOL BOARD BETWEEN 1874 AND 1895, TOGETHER WITH AN ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE BOARD'S LIABILITIES FOR LOANS DURING THIS PERIOD.

Year	Amount paid by Rating Authority	Rate per. £ levied for education purposes	Liabilities for loans	Amounts borrowed from Public Works Loan Commissioners
1874-75	£ 60	d. 9.0	£ -	
1875-76	180	5.0	1,100	First instalment of £2,200 loan received for building new school at Maw Green
1876-77	200	5.0	2,200	Second instalment of loan received
1877-78	200	4.75	2,031	
1878-79	250	6.0	1,872	
1879-80	250	7.5	1,468	
1880-81	250	8.5	1,059	
1881-82	200	7.0	1,049	
1882-83	200	5.75	1,039	

Year	Amount paid by Rating Authority	Rate per £ levied for education purposes	Liabilities for loans	Amounts borrowed from Public Works Loan Commissioners
1883-84	£ 340	d. 10.75	£ 3,432	Loan of £2,328 received for building new school in Broad Street.
1884-85	600	12.0	3,386	
1885-86	500	10.5	3,316	
1886-87	625	10.0	3,253	
1887-88	250	6.0	3,901	Loan of £750 received for extension to Broad Street School.
1888-89	540	9.1	3,385	
1889-90	535	8.5	3,297	
1890-91	575	9.25	3,126	
1891-92	525	9.5	3,052	
1892-93	720	12.0	2,977	
1893-94	525	10.0	2,901	
1894-95	450	8.0	2,824	

This table is compiled from the Statements of School Board Accounts included in the Annual Reports of the Committee of Council on Education. Details of School Board Accounts after 1895 are not available.

APPENDIX E

SYLLABUSES PRESCRIBED FOR THE VARIOUS STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION IN THE ELEMENTARY SUBJECTS BY THE REVISED CODE OF 1862, AND IN ENGLISH AND GEOGRAPHY AS 'CLASS' SUBJECTS BY THE NEW CODE OF 1888

(i) Elementary Subjects:-

	Standard I	Standard II
Reading	Narrative in monosyllables.	One of the Narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school.
Writing	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small manuscript.	Copy in manuscript character a line of print.
Arithmetic	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on black-board.	A sum in simple addition or subtraction, and the multiplication table.

	Standard III	Standard IV
Reading	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school.	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school.
Writing	A sentence from the same paragraph, slowly read once, then dictated in single words.	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read.
Arithmetic	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).	A sum in compound rules (money).

	Standard V	Standard VI
Reading	A few lines of poetry from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative.
Writing	A sentence slowly dictated once, by a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.
Arithmetic	A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures).	A sum in practice or bills of parcels.

(ii) Class Subjects:-

	Standard I	Standard II
English	To repeat 20 lines of verse.	To repeat 40 lines of poetry and to know their meaning. To point out nouns and verbs.
Geography	To explain a plan of the school and playground. The four cardinal points. The meaning and use of a map.	The size and shape of the world. Geographical terms simply explained, and illustrated by reference to the map of England. Physical geography of hills and rivers.
	Standard III	Standard IV
English	To recite with intelligence and expression 60 lines of poetry, and to know their meaning. To point out nouns verbs, adjectives, adverbs and personal pronouns, and to form simple sentences containing them.	To recite 80 lines of poetry, and to explain the words and allusions. To parse easy sentences, and to show by examples the use of each of the parts of speech.
Geography	Physical and political geography of England, with a special knowledge of the district in which the school is situated.	Physical and political geography of the British Isles and of British North America or Australasia, with a knowledge of their productions.

	Standard V	Standard VI
English	To recite 100 lines from some standard poet, and to explain the words and allusions. To parse and analyse simple sentences, and to know the method of forming English nouns, adjectives and verbs from each other.	To recite 150 lines from Shakespeare or Milton or some other standard author, and to explain the words and allusions. To parse and analyse a short complex sentence, and to know the meaning and use of Latin prefixes in the formation of English words.
Geography	Geography of Europe, physical and political. Latitude and longitude. Day and night. The Seasons.	Geography of the world generally, and especially of the British colonies and dependencies. Interchange of productions. Circumstances which determine climate.

	Standard VII
English	To recite 150 lines from Shakespeare or Milton or some other standard author, and to explain the words and allusions. To analyse sentences, and to know prefixes and terminations generally.
Geography	The ocean. Currents and tides. General arrangement of the planetary system. The phases of the moon. (In Standards V, VI and VII maps and diagrams may be required to illustrate the answers given.)

APPENDIX F

SUMMARY TABLE OF SCHOOLS AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED IN CREWE BETWEEN 1840 AND 1918.

Date of Foundation	School or other Educational Institution	Notes
1843	Rectory School, Church Coppenhall	Accommodated in St. Michael's Rectory Barn, converted by the Rev. John Cooper with financial aid from the National Society. Closed when new National Schools opened in Broad Street in 1862.
1845	Crewe Mechanics' Institution, Prince Albert Street	Established by the L.N.W.R. Company "to supply to the Working Classes of Crewe the means of instruction in Science, Literature and the Arts". Classes ceased in 1912.
1847	Christ Church School	The L.N.W.R. Company's first school, built in Moss Square. Closed in 1908 when the Borough Schools were opened.
In or before 1850	Several private schools and 'academies'	These increased in number as the town grew, but were generally short-lived.
1852	Roman Catholic School in Russell Street (now Heath Street)	Extended in 1868. Transferred to new buildings in St. Mary's Street in 1879.

Date of Foundation	School or other Educational Institution	Notes
1862	Mill Street Wesleyan School	This is the oldest Crewe school still in use. The property is still owned by the Methodist Day School Trust.
1862	Broad Street National School	Built to replace Rectory Barn School. Subscriptions towards building costs collected by the Rev. John Wheeler, who also received a building grant from the National Society.
1866	New Street Infants' School	Established by the Rev. John Wheeler, with financial assistance from the L.N.W.R. Company. Closed when the Borough Schools were opened in 1908.
1866	Rockwood or 'Valley' School	Opened by the Rev. John Ashe in premises rented by him in Stewart Street. Replaced in 1879 by the L.N.W.R. Company's school in Wistaston Road.
1866	Presbyterian School in Hill Street	Girls' and Infants' Departments transferred to Heath Street Primitive Methodist Chapel Hall in 1879. School closed when Beech Street School opened in 1896, but was re-opened as 'Hill Street Temporary School' 1905-8. Finally closed when the Borough Schools were opened.

Date of Foundation	School or other Educational Institution	Notes
1869	Hightown Wesleyan School	First opened in Co-operative Society's premises in West Street, and moved to permanent buildings in Hightown in 1870. Closed when Ludford Street Schools were opened in 1932.
1874	Maw Green School	First school built by Church Coppenhall School Board.
1875	Adelaide Street (St. Paul's) School	Built partly at expense of L.N.W.R. Company and partly by subscriptions collected by the Rev. John Ashe, who also provided the site.
1875	Edleston Road School	Built by the L.N.W.R. Company.
1879	Wistaston Road School	Built by L.N.W.R. Company to replace the Rockwood School.
1879	St. Mary's Roman Catholic School	Replaced the Heath Street Roman Catholic School.
1883	Broad Street Board School	Built opposite the Broad Street National School by the Church Coppenhall School Board.
1887	Earle Street Wesleyan School	Last denominational foundation in Crewe. In 1908 it became an annexe for the Borough Schools, and finally closed in 1915.
1887	St. Barnabas' School	Built by L.N.W.R. Company.

Date of Foundation	School or other Educational Institution	Notes
1887	Crewe Academy	Opened by William Dishart at his house in Edleston Road, but was soon transferred to the Mechanics' Institution. This was the only really successful private school in Crewe, and it continued until 1945.
1890	West Street School	Built by L.N.W.R. Company.
1895	Technical Institute, Flag Lane	Incorporated the School of Art; later became the Technical College.
1896	Beech Street School	Built to accommodate the pupils of the condemned Presbyterian School; cost of building met partly by local subscription and partly by L.N.W.R. Company.
1897	Pedley Street School	Built by L.N.W.R. Company.
1899	Pupil Teacher Centre	Opened in the Mechanics' Institution; transferred to the Technical Institute. Replaced by Cheshire County Training College in 1908.
1902	Bedford Street School	The last school to be built in Crewe by the L.N.W.R. Company. Considerably enlarged by Crewe Borough Education Committee in 1911.

Date of Foundation	School or other Educational Institution	Notes
1902	Secondary School	First opened in the Technical Institute. Became the County Secondary School in 1903 and was transferred to new buildings in Ruskin Road in 1909.
1906	Ursuline Convent	The school established by the Ursuline Sisters from France became recognised as an "efficient secondary school" in 1922. The Convent was transferred to Chester in 1937.
1908	Borough Elementary and Higher Elementary Schools, Brierley Street.	The first schools built by the Borough Education Committee, formed in 1903 as a "Part III" Authority, following the Education Act of 1902.
1908	Cheshire County Training College	Replaced Crewe Pupil Teachers' Centre at Technical Institute. Transferred to new buildings near Crewe Green in 1912.

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5. Land Tax Returns for the Townships of Church Coppenhall and Monks Coppenhall (various years between 1781 and 1832) - at County Record Office, Chester.
6. London and North Western Railway Company:
minutes of Crewe Committee (1846-49); Church and Schools Committee (1849-1870); Board and Special Committee (1870-1894); Schools Committee (1894-1912); Schools and Hospital Committee (1912-1917) - at British Transport Commission Archives Office, loc.cit.
7. Monks Coppenhall Local Board (1860-69) and Crewe Local Board (1869-77), minutes of Board and Committee meetings - stored at Town Clerk's Department, Municipal Offices, Crewe.

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10. Poor Rate Book, Monks Coppenhall (1837-44) - at County Record Office, Chester.
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12. School Log Books:
 - (a) The following are kept at Crewe Public Library:-
 - Christ Church L.N.W.R.Co.'s Boys School (1862-1908)
 - " " " Girls' " (1862-1908)
 - " " " Infants' " (1897-1908)
 - Earle Street Wesleyan Infants' School (1888-1908)
 - Heath Street Presbyterian Girls' School (1879-1899)
 - Hightown, Adelaide Street, L.N.W.R.Co.'s Boys' School (1891-1932)
 - Hightown, Adelaide Street, L.N.W.R.Co.'s Infants School (1875-1921)
 - New Street C. of E. School (1867-1903)
 - Pedley Street L.N.W.R.Co.'s Boys' School (1897-1930)
 - " " " Girls' " (1897-1920)
 - Wistaston Road L.N.W.R.Co.'s School (1879-1929)
 - (b) The following are kept at the County Record Office, Chester:-
 - Church Coppenhall Board Schools - Broad Street (1885-1919)
 - Church Coppenhall Board Schools - Maw Green (1876-1917)
 - (c) The following are kept at Brierley Street Boys' School:-
 - Borough Senior Mixed School (1908-1927)
 - Earle Street Wesleyan Mixed School (1887-1908)
 - Earle Street Annexe to Borough Schools (1908-1915)
 - Hill Street Temporary School (1905-1908)

(d) The following are kept at the respective schools:-

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" " " Infants' " (1862-1893)

St. Mary's R.C. School formerly Heath Street
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14. Ushaw Bound Collection No. 97, at Ushaw College, Co. Durham.
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F. MAPS AND PLANS

Tithe Commutation maps of Monks Coppenhall and Church Coppenhall (1839 and 1840 respectively) - in County Record Office, Chester.

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