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ABSTRACT OF AN M.Ed. THESIS ON
THE DURHAM DIOCESAN TRAINING SCHOOL
FOR MASTERS, 1839 - 1886.

K.R. WILKINSON, DURHAM, 1968.

The discovery in Durham of extensive College records has provided a welcome opportunity to prepare a College history and this is the first aim of the thesis. A second aim is to relate developments in Durham to the generally accepted pattern for the development of training colleges for men. The history of the College is confined to the years 1839-1886, that is the period in which it was known as the Durham Diocesan Training School for Masters. In terms of the national picture it is the period from the setting up of the Committee of Council on Education to the work of the Cross Commission.

In the earlier period, from 1839 to 1860, the generally accepted view of the development of training schools, holds them to be scarcely distinguishable from the diocesan monitorial training centres. They were accommodated in humble premises, and were financially insecure. Even so their curriculum was pretentious and not well suited to students who were drawn from the poorer classes and who had a limited educational background. As centres for the training of elementary school staff they could have no real contact with the Universities. The emphasis placed upon practical teaching forced the training schools to recruit staff from their own trainees. Their future lay in following the lead established by the metropolitan colleges. During the period 1860-1890, when the model for development was very much that prescribed by the government, the training of teachers remained wedded to the work of the elementary schools.

So humble were the beginnings of the Durham Training School that the Committee were unable to obtain a government grant, and the School was not even listed by the National Society until four years after it had opened. The Training School was founded as a diocesan enterprise, in 1839, after the failure of an earlier attempt to open a teacher training centre in the University. Students were admitted to temporary premises in 1841, and the first purpose-built accommodation opened six years later. The initial curriculum was pretentious when one considers the mean length of the course at nine months, and the meagre attainment of students on entry.

By 1860 the number of students had risen from five to fifty, the mean length of the course had been extended to two years, and very satisfactory results were being obtained in the Certificate examinations. Unfortunately the measure of progress achieved had been all too heavily dependent upon Committee of Council grants. A reduction of grant from 86% to 75% of annual income was sufficient to jeopardise financial security. Further plans for expansion were delayed until the increased demand for teachers which followed the passing of the 1870 Act. After 1870 expansion was again possible and by 1886 the Durham Training School was enlarged to take seventy students, a new Model School was opened, and part of the buildings was dedicated as a chapel. It was in this year that the School was re-named, Bede College.

In the case of the Durham Training School, the pattern of staff recruitment, the curriculum followed, and the relationship established with the University, constitute a challenge to the accepted view of training college development. With very few exceptions members of staff were graduates. The standard of work achieved was sufficiently outstanding for the Inspectorate to recommend that students be given opportunities of attending lectures in the University.

In many respects the history of the Durham Training School exemplifies the model given by writers such as Rich. This is especially true with regard to humble beginnings, the dominance of Council grants, and the cramming imposed by the Certificate in later years. In other respects the Durham records show that there have been fundamental omissions in accounts of the history of teacher training previously published. Of these omissions the two most important are - the extent to which diocesan training schools were forced to shed their attachment to the monitorial approach in order to obtain Council grants, and the extent to which the energies of staff, after 1870, were increasingly devoted to work outside of the requirement of the Certificate syllabus.

In the case of Durham it was hoped that the change of name from School to College, would mark the opening of better opportunities for working more closely with the University Colleges.

THE DURHAM DIOCESAN TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MASTERS

1839 - 1886

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Education
of the University of Durham

by

Kenneth Riley Wilkinson

Bede College

Durham

June, 1968.

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Introduction

Government reports rather than 'college'¹ records have been taken as primary sources for much that has been written on the history of teacher training in the nineteenth century. The picture given by Rich,² a leading authority in this field, is one which stresses patterns of development which were common to colleges. It is possible that an examination of local records may show a greater difference between colleges than has generally been accepted.

The discovery in Durham of extensive college records³ has given a welcome opportunity to prepare a college history, and this is the first aim of the thesis. A second aim is to relate developments in Durham to the generally accepted pattern for the development of training colleges for men. The records of the Durham Training School may well challenge existing generalisations, and conversely the pioneer work of writers such as Rich, Smith and Tropp should provide a much needed perspective. The history of the College is confined to the years 1839 - 1886, that is to the period in which it was known as the Durham Diocesan Training School for Masters. In terms of the national picture it is the period from the setting up of the Committee of Council on Education to the work of the Cross Commission.

1. Teacher training centres were, during this period, successively described as central, normal, and training schools. St. Mark's, Chelsea, was always described as a college.
2. Rich, R.W. The training of teachers in England and Wales in the nineteenth century (1933) relies heavily upon government reports for the comments he makes on particular colleges. Smith, F. The life and work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (1923) draws heavily upon Shuttleworth's private papers, and again stresses the idea of a central design. Later writers such as Tropp, A. The school teachers (1956) take Rich as a standard authority.
3. For a description of the Durham records see appendix H.

Part One : Chapter One.

The recognised model for the development of
teacher training in the nineteenth century.

A review of the literature in this field shows the prominence of two issues within the contemporary debate on education. The first was that of Church-State relations in a period when the rate of voluntary investment was declining if compared with the growth of government subsidies. The second concerned the form of training deemed appropriate for teachers working in elementary schools. When one considers the contribution of the Anglicans to education during the first half of the century, one can see the build-up of the general issues which divided the 'voluntaryists' and the supporters of state intervention. In the period 1810 - 1830 the National Society felt that the Madras System of Dr. Bell would solve the problems of rising costs and the increased demand for trained teachers.¹ At this time the Society discouraged plans for state subsidies. In the 1830's, however, the National Society came to regard government aid as "an agreeable substitute for the search for new subscriptions and the State, acting as paymaster without imposing its will, tended to lull the Committee into a false sense of security."² In the 1840's there developed a definite campaign on the part of the Church against any new government ventures in the field of education. In this campaign plans for the training of teachers constituted a key issue.

1. Burgess, H.J. Enterprise in education pp. 43-44.

2. Ibid. page 64. This is the Committee of the National Society.

It should be noted that for a considerable period after the first government grant to education, in 1833, the administration of the grant was not regulated by Act of Parliament. The following hypothesis is advanced to show why there was such an extended period of 'incipient state action',¹ and how the form of teacher training developed between 1830 and 1850 was very much dependent upon the changing forms of the partnership between Church and State. The hypothesis is that before introducing legislation on social questions the government must feel satisfied that the problems have been clearly defined and the inadequacy of the voluntary agencies established. The government must also feel that the problems, so defined, have already become real issues in the contemporary political debate. Finally the government must feel that it has the personnel and the agencies to implement its policies.

Before the Reform Act there was relatively little debate on state sponsored schemes for the training of teachers. When, after 1832, there was more general support for state intervention it was seen that the securing of an adequate force of trained teachers was a key factor in promoting wider schemes of public education. There is evidence to show that, with regard to teacher training, the more clearly the problems were defined the less adequate appeared the work of the voluntary agencies. The first direct action proposed by the government was a plan for a State Normal School but in 1839 it was found there was insufficient political support to persist with this.

Even so, after the collapse of the scheme for a State Normal School, the government was still able to exercise considerable influence without recourse to legislation. The voluntary societies, on their part, were

1. The title which Birchenough gives to a section of his book.

Birchenough, C. History of elementary education in England and Wales (1914)

stirred into re-fashioning their own schemes for teacher training. The National Society acted largely through the stimulation of local enterprise, and this encouragement of diocesan initiative must have led to a variety of approaches before the training schools were brought under the government grant regulations. In the case of the Durham Training School this initial independence led to significant variations from what has been taken as a national pattern.

The definition of the problem

As Miss Jones has pointed out,¹ "The growing interest in the education of the poor which characterised the early years of the nineteenth century was not accompanied by enthusiasm for state intervention." The basic problem related to the ability of the voluntary societies to provide day-school education for an increasingly large section of the population. Parliament recognised this problem but at first was not prepared to go beyond appointing a Royal Commission to enquire into educational charities throughout the country.² It was not until after 1832 that the Commons were prepared to act upon the evidence available to them, to judge the work of the voluntary societies inadequate, and to propose grant aid. Once the vote had been made it was seen that the problems relating to education would take rather a different form, partly because of the re-organisation of voluntary effort and partly because of the change in party strengths in the Commons. The monitorial systems of Bell and Lancaster had helped to co-ordinate voluntary effort into two, major, school promoting societies, the National Society of the Anglicans,

1. Jones, M.G. The charity school movement in the eighteenth century, p.329

2. 1816 for London, and for the whole country after 1818.

and the British Society with Nonconformist support. The monitorial system also served to link together the problems of school provision and teacher supply.¹ This meant that if the government should continue to judge the work of the voluntary societies inadequate then their solution to the problem of training teachers would be judged unsatisfactory too. It also meant that a decision to make grants towards the building of schools was likely to be followed by financial aid to improve teacher training facilities.

The inadequacy of the voluntary agencies

As early as 1807 the Commons had discussed a bill to sponsor state-aided parochial schools,² but nothing had come of this scheme and the attention of reformers had turned towards an examination of educational charities. By 1833 Roebuck was prepared to introduce a bill for the "universal and national education of the whole people" but the Commons preferred to subsidise the voluntary agencies rather than create a secular system of education. In August of that year the Whig government proposed that £20,000 be provided "in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of school houses for the education of the poorer classes." The vote was administered by the Treasury and repeated in each of the years to 1839. During this period of grant aid there were new Select Committees set up to enquire into the state of popular education. The National Society too set up a Committee of Enquiry and Correspondence.³ The results of these enquiries were to show that the existing arrangements for the training of teachers were inadequate.

1. Burgess, op.cit., page 44 argues that the National Society was founded to promote Bell's system as the answer to the problem of teacher training.
2. Whitbread's bill. See Birchenough, op. cit., pp. 45 - 46.
3. For an account of its work see Burgess, op. cit., chapter six.

The backbone of teacher training plans, as has been said, was the monitorial system. The basis of the system was that the adult master in the school should act as an organiser and superintendent of the system, leaving the actual teaching in the hands of older pupils acting as monitors. Such training as was conceded necessary for masters of monitorial schools consisted of their experiencing the system as monitors. Rich¹ has argued that the most readily available evidence on the state of the monitorial, central, training schools is that produced by Parliamentary Committees in the years 1834-38. In particular he points to the brevity of the courses and the importance attached to practice in teaching methods at the expense of personal education. More recently it has been shown² that members of the National Society, by 1838, were well aware of the limitations of the monitorial system and had plans for 'training colleges'. The Committee of Enquiry and Correspondence agreed that there were too few trained masters, that there ought to be more opportunity to allow pupils to continue their own education as a preparation for teacher training, and that there was need for a central college to set and maintain standards. The Committee of Enquiry and Correspondence urged upon the National Society that it could "no longer limit its operations to exercising adults in the art of teaching" and that it ought "to undertake the superintendence of young persons who may appear to possess the natural requisites for teaching others, and endeavour to prepare them for receiving instruction in their practical duties by a systematic course of intellectual discipline, and religious and moral culture."³

The reformers within the National Society were also able to show

1. Op. cit., pages 17-22 and 41-42.

2. By Burgess who claims "that the church was the pioneer in two important developments, the establishment of training colleges and the introduction of the pupil - teacher system." op. cit., page (ix)

3. Ibid. Page 70.

that diocesan training schemes connected with the larger monitorial schools had not been adequately financed to expand and meet the needs of schools in union with the Society.

By 1839 it was easier to see the problems involved in extending and improving facilities for the training of teachers. It remains a matter of conjecture as to whether the scheme advanced by the government was meant to forestall the plans of the voluntary societies for a new approach to training, or whether the government felt forced to act by the apparent inability of the Societies to introduce new and improved schemes for the training of teachers. ¹ It nevertheless remains true that in 1838-39 the whole question of Church-State relations in education was brought to a head on the issue of state intervention in the training of teachers. The easy relationship developed in the years 1833-38 had then to be modified to accommodate the political truth that the state, as a principal investor in education, would need to exercise more control over developments in state-subsidised schools.

Inadequacies in educational provision brought within the contemporary political debate.

In the period 1832-1839 three events signalise the movement of events from the recognition of inadequacy to political debate as to how the inadequacy should be met. The Reform Act of 1832 meant representation for the new industrial towns. These were, in many cases, the very areas to which the larger part of state subsidies would need be directed. The money voted by the Commons in 1833 was the first applied to public

1. Burgess advances the argument that Kay-Shuttleworth chose to act quickly so as to prevent the churches establishing a much stronger control over teacher training by developing for themselves new training schools.

education since the Commonwealth. The third development was the setting up of a Committee of Council on Education with Dr. Kay as its first administrative secretary. By 1839 there had been established the basis for future political action ----- a parliamentary grant, the representation of problem areas, and an officer determined to act.

From 1833 until 1838 the £20,000 voted annually to promote elementary education was applied in accordance with the terms of a Treasury Minute, and the vote was provided for in Treasury Estimates.¹ Meanwhile two commissions of enquiry into popular education produced evidence to support the continuing need for state assistance.² During these years there was little overt friction between the National Society and the Whig government. The administration of the grant by Treasury Minute emphasised that the State was "acting as paymaster without imposing its will."³ Grants were paid indirectly to schools, the two Societies acting as sponsors. Such an arrangement appealed to the Committee of the National Society partly because a measure of self help was a condition of grant, and partly because the National Society secured the lion's share of the money made available by the government.⁴

This aid did not, however, help to promote any new arrangements for the training of teachers. The National Society, and the Treasury too, declined to support any claim in respect of teachers' salaries.⁵ The inability (or irresolution) of the voluntary societies to provide funds for teacher training and better salaries for trained masters played

1. See Craik, H. The state and education page 5, and Birchenough, op. cit., page 70. The Minute is dated April 30th, 1833.
2. Rich, op. cit., pp. 26-30, and Jones, L.C.E., The training of teachers in England and Wales, a critical survey, p. 16.
3. Burgess, op. cit., p. 64.
4. Of the £100,000 made available during these years the National Society obtained £70,000 for its own schools.
5. "The heaviest item of the school's annual budget" Burgess.

into the hands of those who wanted the government to take a stronger lead.¹ From 1835 £10,000 had been available as government aid towards "the erection of Model or Normal Schools" but remained unappropriated. The original proposal had been made by Lord Brougham and this may well explain the failure of the National Society to secure such 'tainted' money, for Brougham, in the same year attempted to introduce a Bill to establish a Board of Education, and two years later advocated the exclusion of all dogmatic teaching from schools aided by parliamentary grant.² Whilst this money remained unappropriated³ there were groups in the Commons and groups in the National Society anxious to move proposals for improving and extending teacher training. Inside the National Society the Committee of Enquiry and Correspondence wanted something much more than The Madras System, but the Committee of the National Society was not prepared to adopt a new approach until government financial help had been secured.⁴ The government, on the other hand, approached closer to the view of the newly formed Central Society which wanted to move away from the sectarian approach to education.⁵

1. Help from the government, or from local rates, was a feature of Education Bills such as those of Whitbread (1807) Brougham (1820, 1835) and Roebuck (1833).
2. The details of the Bill are given in Birchenough, pp. 72-73 and the basis of the National Society's opposition in Burgess, pp.76-78.
3. A full explanation of this has yet to be given. Most of the texts on the history of education refer to the vote of 1835 as an explanation of the fact that £10,000 was available for teacher training in 1839. Rich suggests "sectarian jealousy" as the explanation, and yet this had been no obstacle to the application of the annual vote to elementary schools. An alternative, possible explanation, is that the voluntary societies were not prepared to think in terms of the Continental training schools which Brougham had in mind.
4. Burgess, op. cit., pages 69 and 71.
5. Birchenough, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

By 1839 the government was prepared to abandon the role of mere paymaster and to publicise its own views on teacher training.

This more active role depended upon the creation of a new government agency for education. More than anything else it was the proposals made by this agency for the setting up of a State Normal School which re-opened the question of Church - State relations in education. This question very much occupied the energies of the National Society between 1839 and 1841, the years in which the Durham Diocesan Training School for Masters was founded.

Political conflict between Church and State, 1839 - 1843.

In 1839 the government created a special committee of the Privy Council to superintend the expenditure of money voted for public education. This committee, usually referred to as 'The Committee of Council on Education', was charged with determining the manner in which the parliamentary grants should be distributed. It therefore needed to limit spending but at the same time, because the Committee had not been created by Act of Parliament, was free to make relatively independent judgements when considering requests for grant aid. In April, 1839, within days of its establishment, the Committee of Council issued a minute setting out its plans for the building of a State Normal School. The Normal School would draw its students from all denominations and sectarian teaching would be regarded as a concessionary extra.

This the Anglicans could not accept as it seemed to resurrect Brougham's Bill of 1837.¹ At the same time other Council Minutes provided for the payment of grants to teachers and to schools not in

1. Vide Birchenough and Burgess for details relating to the creation of the Committee of Council and the opposition of the Church to this development.

union with either of the two Societies, and for the Committee of Council to inspect all schools aided by the parliamentary grant. The Church objected to the State Normal School because it was regarded as an attempt by the secular authority to make direct provision for teacher training on non-sectarian lines. The Council Minutes challenged the "indivisibility of education, and the inalienable right of the Church to provide it."¹ In the face of a united church opposition the government was forced to abandon its proposals for a Normal School.

The Committee of Council, however, remained, testimony to the fact that the state had become a principal investor in education. The National Society did not surrender all claims to government subsidies, including the £10,000 once more available for denominational training schools. The Society was, nevertheless, placed in a difficult position as the £10,000 like all government grants, was payable only if the recipient would accept government inspection.² The detailed story of the way in which the inspection controversy was settled, in 1840, has been told elsewhere. The impact of the dispute upon the Anglican training schools was three-fold :

- (a) although the Committee of Enquiry of the National Society had plans for a network of diocesan training schools and a central college, the funds of the Society were wholly committed to the support of the ordinary schools during the inspection controversy³
- (b) even after the Concordat of 1840 the Committee of Council was reluctant to pay grants to training schools before 1844.⁴

1. Burgess, op. cit., page 78.

2. Ibid, page 82.

3. Ibid, pp. 83-88.

4. Ibid, pp. 110-117.

(c) the full share of the £10,000 given to the National Society was applied to St. Mark's, Chelsea.

This is the background of the financial difficulties which faced the founders of the Durham Training School.

Agencies adequate for the supervision of the state interest

At the time when the Committee of Council was set up there were no means of protecting the government interest once a building grant had been made. No greater tribute can be paid to Kay-Shuttleworth than to say that at the time he came to office the agencies of the state were inadequate to protect its investment in education, and that due to his insight an administrative system was built up which made the enlargement¹ of the state interest inevitable. Between 1838 and 1841 he made visits to the Continent and to Scotland, and was much impressed by the way in which teacher training was being developed. In studying Continental schemes he was won over by the way in which academic studies, professional training, and manual work had been blended together to give a course of training for teachers who were to work in schools for the poor. Such a course of training he attempted to put into practice for his students at Battersea.

The experience he had gained as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in Norfolk and in London led him to a temporary courtship with the idea² of a residential apprenticeship for older monitors. From his Continental tours he could appreciate the point of view that at first training should be provided for adults who would take charge of schools. His work at Battersea persuaded him that a course of residential training was best
.....

1. Smith in his life shows this to be the case.
2. Pollard, H.M. Pioneers of popular education, pages 233-234.

delayed until the student had reached the age of eighteen.¹ The pupil-teacher system of 1846 was the administrative resolution of these two competing influences. Throughout his secretaryship he strongly defended the residential training institution as the best means of fostering a sense of moral, social and religious endeavour.

He held very clear views as to what the training schools should attempt, and his earlier experience in the preparation and publication of reports on social questions helped him to translate policies into practice. The value of his experience is seen in the reports on the Inspectors of Schools, published annually with other Council minutes and reports from 1840 onwards. These reports take descriptions of the state of popular education out of the hands of amateurs. The translation of these influences into administrative action can be seen in those early minutes of the Committee of Council which deal with the training of teachers.

Early Council Minutes and Reports

After the summer of 1840, with the agreement of the Church, Dr. Kay was able to send inspectors to those schools supported by building grants from the Committee of Council. At first there was little direct contact with training schools as such but, by the careful framing of regulations for the work of the inspectors, and by a skilful arrangement of their reports, he was able to give a strong lead as to the kind of developments which the Committee of Council would welcome in the training of teachers. The failure to establish a State Normal School in 1839 was seen as an unfortunate

1. Rich. op. cit., page 74.

delay in government plans to take a more active part in teacher training ---
 inspection would be a condition of grant for any training school seeking
 1
 aid.

The purpose of school inspection was to collect facts, to comment upon shortcomings, and to ensure that the government building grant had been a sound investment. Among the numerous questions asked by the inspectors were some enquiring as to how the masters had received their
 2
 training.

In the publication of the Council Minutes opportunity was taken of indicating the direction which the training of teachers might take if the grant system were to be extended. In the Minute of February 20th, 1840, for example, which sets out some of the considerations for the payment of building grants for training schools, a three year course was taken as a norm, and the architecture of the buildings planned in great detail. The conditions attached to claims made upon the first £10,000 made it clear that in giving this money over to the two Societies the government was not giving up its view of what teacher training
 3
 should become. After 1841 there was some doubt as to whether new grants could be made to training schools and only one diocesan training school, Chester, was successful in obtaining a building grant. The position was clarified by a minute published in 1843, setting the building grant for training schools at £50 per pupil place. By this

1. Minute of June 3rd, 1839, page (viii) of the bound report for the year 1839-1840.
2. In the Report for 1839-1840, pages 29 - 43, there is a list of the 140 principal questions to be asked by the inspectors when visiting schools.
3. This is made clear in a reply to the British and Foreign School Society, dated 17.8.39. and published in the Minutes for 1841-42, pages 59-66.

time the policy of defining an approved form for the training school by setting limiting conditions to the grant, was effected with consummate skill, as can be seen in the Minute of January, 1844, given in full as Appendix A.

The Council Reports also attempted to mould public opinion towards the training schools, as the following quotation shows. The Committee of Council, in 1843-44, was still sceptical of the kind of training offered in the existing diocesan training schools and anxious that the new training should be distinguished from that offered formerly by the monitorial central schools. Speaking of teachers in the Northern District, H.M.I. Watkins reported "the short time they have spent in their place of training has been mischievous rather than profitable. They have not been, in general, long enough at the training school to be permanently affected by those enlightening as well as humbling influences which abound and are cherished there..... but have only attended at the chief National School of the neighbourhood, where perhaps, the master is not thoroughly trained, and the system imperfectly developed".¹

In these ways, inspection, report, and the minuting of all decisions relating to grant award, Dr. Kay was able to ensure that "principles of great public policy were in operation, and were silently attracting to themselves a mass of precedent and authority which was destined to become irresistible".²

1. Report of the Committee of Council for 1844, Vol. II page 289.
2. The claim made by Kay-Shuttleworth in his Public Education, page 6.

Given this survey of the general background to the development of training schools for male teachers two further questions remain to be answered before considering in detail the early history of the Durham Training School. What was to be the form of the training school sponsored by the Committee of Council under the influence of Dr. Kay, and how did this form differ from the existing diocesan training schools?

The form of the training school, 1840 - 1845 :
the incorporation of the Battersea model.

Rich accepts the view of Tufnell, a friend and collaborator of Kay-Shuttleworth, that Battersea became the model for the first forty training schools established in England and Wales. Certainly there is a great deal known about the organisation of the course at Battersea, and at Chelsea too,¹ but our knowledge of the work of the diocesan schools is much more limited.²

At Battersea provision was made for the moral education of students as well as attending to their professional training. The spirit of service which Dr. Kay commended so highly in Continental Normal Schools was fostered by all students undertaking a variety of household tasks. Such domestic duties also helped ensure that the education of the intellect did not induce a feeling of arrogance or false pride.

1. Battersea was opened in February, 1840 and reported upon fully in the Minutes for 1845, vol. II pages 7-78. Reports dealing with St. Mark's, Chelsea, appear in the Minutes for 1846, Vol. I pages 529-571. These two training institutions, plus the Chester Diocesan Training School, are the only three training schools to which Rich makes detailed reference in this period.
2. By 1846 there were six provincial male training schools in receipt of grants. Chester, Salisbury, Brecon, York, Durham and Exeter.

Three aspects of the organisation of the Battersea Training School were to remain characteristic of training schools generally for the better part of the century. These were the comprehensive curriculum, insistence upon residence, and strict supervision on the part of the staff. The curriculum offered the students a very full working day from six in the morning until nine in the evening and was designed to counter the poverty of their previous education. The wide programme of training which was considered necessary for intending teachers included language, mathematics, industrial science, geography and history, natural philosophy, agricultural chemistry, law, local government, book-keeping and music. The influence of Continental training schemes is seen in the place accorded to a "detailed exposition of pedagogics".¹ The 'industrial' aspect of the curriculum included gardening, shoe-making, tailoring and smithy work.² Staff took the same meals as the pupils and were expected to be available at all times. Supervised residence was held to be essential for the moral education of the students,³ and in turn residence came to emphasise segregation from the outside world.

Rich holds that the influence of Battersea was paramount "for it was the type to which all subsequently founded training colleges conformed until the advent of the Day Training College. For good or for ill it established the type."⁴ Such a statement does not offer a satisfactory

1. Pollard, op. cit., page 238.

2. Smith, op. cit., page 94 and pages 104-105.

3. Shuttleworth lived in at Battersea during the first year of his secretaryship to the Committee of Council.

4. Page 75.

explanation as to how the Battersea model was incorporated into the 'other training colleges of the Church of England'. From Smith and Pollard it can be shown that Kay-Shuttleworth was able to publicise his work in a variety of ways, but principally through the encouragement of visits,¹ through publishing method books first used at Battersea,² and through his own position as administrator-in-chief to the Committee of Council on Education.

It was through the person and position of Kay-Shuttleworth himself that the influence of Battersea was most effectively communicated. His letter to Sir Robert Peel seeking aid for Battersea may be quoted to support this claim. "It has become the type on which all other normal schools are founded it affords a means of preparing inspectors for the discharge of their public duties, and thus increases the efficiency of the inspection of schools."³ The reference to inspection is interesting in that it suggests what the inspectors would be looking for in the other church training schools. It leaves open the possibility that reports on training schools were meant to emphasise their proximity or otherwise to the Battersea model.

1. Smith, op. cit., pp 113-114. The visitors included the Bishop of Durham.
2. Ibid. Five of the published manuals sponsored by the Committee of Council had been written or planned at Battersea.
3. Quoted by Smith, op. cit., page 117.

Chapter Two :

The Diocesan contribution to the expansion of 1839-1845.

Of the twenty-two training schools listed in the Minutes of 1845¹ all save five in the metropolitan area were founded by the enterprise of individual dioceses. Most were founded in the years 1839-1841 when the Church and the Government were at loggerheads over the whole question of teacher training. Rich, taking York and Chester as his examples, suggests that the following pointers are typical of developments generally. The training schools were first established in humble but temporary premises. They faced considerable financial difficulties and looked to the foundation of middle class boarding schools as an additional source of income. The course seldom lasted for as long as a full year and it was difficult to persuade students to stay for more than a few months. The educational background of the first students was extremely limited and many were encouraged to keep up their old trades in case they found little security in teaching.

Smith, in part, agrees with this outline of development and finds some support for it in the Minutes of the Committee of Council.² Yet both writers attach great importance to the founding of St. Mark's, Chelsea, and this college was not really typical of the pattern of development to be seen in the diocesan training schools. According to Rich the Chelsea foundation was "a noteworthy date in the history of English Training Colleges," and Smith thought it the most prominent of the early training schools.³

1. Vol. I. pp 333-334.

2. Minutes for 1841-1842 pp. 69-72.

3. Rich page 84 and Smith page 120.

Yet the influence of High Churchmen at Chelsea, the length of the course at three years, and Coleridge's acceptance that his Marksmen should seek social advancement, all stand against the limited evidence produced on the prosperity and outlook of the diocesan training schools. Chelsea and Battersea may be regarded as competing influences and Burgess has been able to show that within the National Society there had long been a division of opinion as to whether the aim should be to co-ordinate diocesan effort in the field of teacher training or to concentrate effort upon a central training school. In a sense the developed Chelsea and the later Battersea represent the persistence of this division of opinion.

In 1838 the Committee of Enquiry and Correspondence had urged the founding of a central college in London to be called the Queen's Hall, having a Master who was also to be Professor of Education in King's College.¹ This central college was to maintain standards within the teaching profession and to offer advanced courses for masters who may already have received some training in the diocesan schools associated with the cathedral chapters. These diocesan central or training schools were also to be regarded as 'middle schools' in which pupils would be introduced to some form of 'secondary' education which would make it possible for them to move to that part of the school where masters were trained. The proposal for the establishment of a Queen's Hall was never realised but there was a considerable stimulation of effort in the dioceses for the founding and supporting of diocesan training schemes. The stimulation of effort here helped make possible the development of St. Mark's as a superior central training school. The diocesan training

1. Burgess op., cit. pp 68-73.

schools, which had been unable to set their sights as high as Chelsea were, after 1843, invited to follow the Battersea model.

Between 1840 and 1845 the development of the diocesan training schools seems to have been bound up with the number of students whom they hoped to train at any one time. By the summer of 1840 diocesan training schools had been established at Chester, Exeter, Oxford, Chichester, Gloucester and Norwich, and all aimed at a three year course with an annual charge of about £20.¹ They were probably accommodated in rectories and placed under the direction of a clergyman. When they expanded, however, they found themselves faced with the difficulties of raising funds for new buildings, and adjusting their courses to meet the needs of students who had a very limited background and who could not support themselves for an extended period. The solution of these problems had to wait upon the development of maintenance grants and the pupil teacher system, as defined in the Council Minutes of 1846.

Rich's summary of what was achieved in the diocesan training schools still remains the most useful introduction to the study presented in this thesis. In his view, at the time when the Durham Training School was founded, there were three possible lines of development for teacher training in this country.² These were to improve the normal schools, that is the central monitorial schools, to establish residential training schools as on the Continent, or to secure university co-operation.

1. For the whole of this paragraph see Burgess, *op. cit.*, page 110.

2. Page 47.

The chosen line of advance was to re-develop the diocesan normal schools as residential training schools. This, argues Rich, explains their uncertain and humble beginnings. The emphasis upon practical teaching was a survival from the monitorial training centres. The Model School and the Master of Method developed at an early stage and together contributed to the closed system of the training schools. There was a tendency to recruit staff from former students so that in many instances practical training rested with "a man whose experience was limited to the training college and elementary school, and his methods, good enough in their way did not merit exaltation as models of general and exclusive imitation." ¹

A summary of the position reached in the ten years following 1839, based largely upon Rich and those who have integrated his findings in their own writing, suggests the following as the cardinal features of the diocesan training schools.

- (1) They were not easily distinguishable from the diocesan monitorial training centres.
- (2) They were accommodated in humble premises and financially insecure.
- (3) Their curriculum was pretentious.
- (4) The emphasis placed upon practical teaching forced them to recruit staff from their own trainees.
- (5) Their students were drawn from the poorer classes and had a limited educational background.
- (6) As centres for the training of elementary school staff they could have no real contact with the universities.

1. Rich, page 79.

- (7) Their future lay in following the lead established by the metropolitan colleges.

These points will be considered in detail when examining the records and achievements of the Durham Diocesan Training School for Masters, during the period 1839-1860. In the sections dealing with the period 1860-1890 consideration will be given to changes in government policy towards the training schools, and to the Durham reaction to later versions of the prescribed model. In particular it will be shown that in terms of staff recruitment, the curriculum followed, and the relations established with the University, the Durham Training School is a challenge to the accepted view of training college development.

The Foundation of the Training School1839 - 1841

Since 1809¹ the Durham Diocesan Schools Society had co-ordinated Anglican effort in the field of education and in 1839² the members of this Society, meeting in Bishop Cosin's library, had doubtlessly come prepared to discuss the maintenance of National Schools throughout the diocese. The precise agenda of the meeting is not known, but it was in any case readily abandoned to discuss a letter from Archdeacon Thorp requesting that a special meeting be called, later in the month, to consider the 'propriety' of establishing a Training School for Masters. The adjourned meeting, chaired by the Archdeacon, set in motion a further series of meetings at which his scheme was discussed by clergy and laity throughout the diocese.

There can be no doubt that Thorp was the prime mover of the plan to establish a Training School in Durham. He had already played a major part in the foundation of the University and was to show an enthusiasm for the new teacher training centre unequalled in the Chapter. The minutes of the Training School make it clear that he hoped for a large and influential attendance at the special meeting.³ A committee to further the plan was quickly established and requested to report not later than the next quarterly meeting.⁴ In a little more than three months meetings were held in each of the Durham deaneries and, with the Archdeacon in the chair, passed almost identical resolutions in favour of his scheme.

1. The 28th report was issued in 1839 but McKenzie gives the foundation year as 1809. op. cit. Vol. II page 415.
2. April 11th. Minute Book page 2.
3. Minute Book. Page 3. 26th April, 1839, carefully avoiding a clash of dates with a meeting of county magistrates.
4. To the next quarterly meeting unless a special meeting was called previously.

Meanwhile the central committee, in deciding the form which the Training School should take, had met on no less than six occasions¹ and had already agreed details in respect of management, the admission of students, and the content of the course. A director designate was appointed and enquiries made for a suitable house within the city of Durham.

In this sense the foundation of the Training School may be dated to 1839, by which time an initial list of subscribers had promised an annual income of £164 and the following instrument of management had been agreed. "That it is expedient to form a school in Durham for the training and instruction of schoolmasters, according to the principles of the Church of England and Ireland.

The management of the Training School to be a Committee consisting of
The Bishop of Durham

The Archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland

The Dean and Chapter of Durham

And two Deputies from each Deanery Board, Hexhamshire and North Durham, with the liberties of Berwick, of which two, one at least shall be a layman.

The direction of the School to be vested in a sub-committee of not less than 5 nor more than 7, to be named by the Committee".²

With such a drive shown in the summer of 1839 it is difficult to understand why the first students were not received until some eighteen months later. Only the actual words of the Minute Book can convey how inglorious their admission was.

1. May 15th, 24th, June 5th, 17th, July 22nd, August 6th.
2. Minute Book page 16. May 15th, 1839.

"..... the school was opened on the 4th of October, 1841, although the candidates did not commence actual residence until about a week after in consequence of Mr. Tuer's children having the measles. Four candidates were admitted and about a week after a fifth." ¹

The reasons for the delay in opening the Training School is not given in the minute book yet some explanation is called for if one is to relate events in Durham to the national picture. During these eighteen months the plan for a State Normal School had been abandoned and the Committee of Council had made £10,000 available to the voluntary societies ² to help in their plans for teacher training. In the case of Durham the delay in receiving students and the small number who were finally admitted suggests that the Archdeacon did not find much support from the National Society or from the Committee of Council.

Two pointers, one local and the other national, shed some light on what may have caused the delay. In his letter of April, 1839, Thorp had asked the Diocesan Schools Society to discuss the 'propriety' of his proposals. Possible reservations against the building of a Training School in Durham will be discussed on the following pages. The second clue is to be found in the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education for 1843, where it is recorded that an earlier grant application for "the erection of a Normal School in Durham" had been considered and turned down.³

1. Durham minute book, page 28. Mr. Tuer was the superintendent of the Framwellgate house.
2. The Durham Diocesan Schools Society had been affiliated to the National Society since 1813. Mackenzie, E. History of Durham. Vol. II. page 415.
3. Committee of Council Minutes, 1843, pages 280 and 283.

It would therefore appear that one explanation of the delay between the early plans and the actual opening lies in the fact that at first the scheme may well have been considered too ambitious within the diocese --- yet not sufficiently ambitious to gain the support of Kay-Shuttleworth and the Committee of Council.

If this explanation is to be upheld then there must have been some feeling that in Durham there was no immediate need to set up a new teacher training establishment. Either the view was widely held that teacher training was unnecessary or it was insisted that existing diocesan training schemes were adequate to meet the demands placed upon them. The evidence available suggests the latter of these two views as the better explanation. The known means of teacher training within the diocese, prior to the establishment of the Training School, had been the monitorial training centre at Bishop Auckland. This centre was founded by Bishop Barrington in 1808 and opened two years later,¹ as the first centre in the country to follow the Madras system of Dr. Andrew Bell. As Bell was a personal friend of Bishop Barrington, and held the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital from 1809 until his death in 1832, it may be assumed that there were many within the diocese who considered the Barrington foundation adequate. As late as 1823 the Bishop set aside an investment of £30,000 in government securities to create an annual income of £463 for his school in Auckland.² It may well have been that in 1839 there were many who shared the view expressed by Sir Thomas in 1815 that the Barrington School "may be in future times a sufficient source to supply

1. Bernard, Sir Thomas: "The Barrington School". 3rd edition. London 1815, pp. 19 and 23.

2. Report of the Charity Commissioners. No. 21 (1829) pp. 42 - 44.

masters for the schools of the poor throughout the kingdom -----
and the Barrington School, or what I shall venture to call the Bishop's
College at Auckland, will I trust be always adequate to that purpose. ¹

Men trained at the Barrington School were teaching in a number of
National Schools in the diocese. Goundry of the Blue Coat School in
Durham, the same man who was later to act as Master of Method for the
Durham Training School, had himself been trained at Bishop Auckland.
As early as 1829 it had been noted that the revenues of the Barrington
school exceeded expenses by about £70 a year, and that there were
seldom more than two 'grown ups' at any one time who wished "to learn
the Madras system of instruction and thereby qualify themselves to teach
it in other schools of the diocese." ² The plan to train boy monitors
had apparently been dropped by the Bishop himself, some time prior to
his death in 1826.

Later minutes of the Training School ³ show that the management
committee attempted to secure the unused Barrington revenues. The
basis of this claim was no doubt a clause in the 1823 provision which
provided for the disbursement of unused revenue "to such of the schools
of the Diocese of Durham as his said trustees should conceive that, if
living, he would have directed the application of the same". ⁴

1. op. cit. page 259.
2. Charity Commissioners Report page 43.
3. For 1854. pp. 96 and 98.
4. Charity Commissioners Report.

As no part of the Barrington revenues was transferred to the Training School until 1854 it may be supposed that the enthusiasm of Archdeacon Thorp for a new form of teacher training was not shared by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury who controlled some of the former Palatinate revenues. Similarly the amount of money promised by subscribers suggests that the diocese at large did not wholly support the 'propriety' of establishing a training school in Durham.¹

There is much more direct evidence to show that the leading members of the diocesan administration looked more favourably upon the plan and had some understanding of continental training schemes. Pollard² has traced entries in Kay-Shuttleworth's diaries to show that it was the Dean of Durham who, in 1841, helped introduce Shuttleworth to works on German education. At much the same time the Bishop of Durham visited the training school in Battersea.³

The support of his Bishop and his Dean must have strengthened Thorp's influence with the Diocesan School society. It was the refusal of the Committee of Council to give financial support that effectively limited his plans. The failure to obtain a government grant can only be explained in terms of later Committee of Council Minutes⁴ for in 1841 government policy with regard to grants for teacher training was far from clear.

1. In Durham annual subscriptions promised totalled £164. In Chester more than £1,000 had been raised within the diocese. See Committee of Council Minutes, 1841-42
2. Pollard, H.M. "Pioneers of English Education". Page 217.
3. Smith, F. "Life of Kay-Shuttleworth". Page 113.
4. Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1842-43, pp (i) - (viii), published in 1844.

In 1839 the Committee of Council released £10,000 for the promotion of teacher training and allocated the money 'in equal proportions to the two societies'¹. The National Society spent the whole £5,000 on St. Mark's Chelsea and was therefore able to give very little help to the Diocesan Training Schools.² After 1839 further applications for grants were not always successful, first because of the difficulty over inspection,³ and later because of doubt as to whether the building of training schools could be regarded as 'an improvement and extension of elementary education'.⁴ Chester and Battersea were successful in their applications largely because they had either provided the basic premises or had a substantial contribution to make towards the cost of a new building. The minute of November, 1843, and the grant application form published shortly after,⁵ represent a clarification of Committee of Council policy and help considerably to throw light on the failure of Durham to obtain a grant in 1841.

It is convenient to take the principal questions of the Committee of Council form of 1844 and use these as a measure of surveying the position in Durham at the time of the opening of the Training School in October 1841. The precise nature of the accommodation afforded by the house in Framwellgate is not recorded in the Durham minutes and can only be inferred from entries of later years. At first it seems to have been intended that the master should be resident in the 'little mansion.'⁶

1. C. C. Minute dated June 3rd, 1839.
2. Burgess, H.J. Enterprise in Education, page 111.
3. C.C. Minute June 3rd, 1839. C.C. Reports 1839-40.
4. C.C. Reports 1841-42, page 71, in a letter from Kay-Shuttleworth to Chester.
5. The form is printed in full in Appendix A.
6. Minutes of the Durham Training School, June 17th, 1839, page 19.

The supervision of the students was left in the hands of Mr. Tuer, who¹ had been specifically engaged for that purpose. No member of the academic staff was ever in residence whilst the Training School was situated in Framwellgate. Although the students were subject to 'strict² superintendence and moral discipline' the Durham Training School did not meet Council recommendations with regard to the residence of staff. The choice of site for the Training School was equally incompatible with the spirit of Committee of Council policy. Battersea, which received a grant of £1,000 in 1842,³ was a separate residential institution. Chelsea and Chester were established in new buildings from the beginning.⁴ In Durham there was no move to find a separate site until after the first application for a grant had been turned down.⁵

Whatever the limitations in respect of the building, and despite the failure to recruit as many students as had been anticipated, the curriculum of 1839-1840 was decidedly ambitious, and covered most of the possibilities listed by the Committee of Council. The plan was to offer a course covering three areas, one of which, that relating to 'higher subjects', would be optional. The genesis of the curriculum is given in the Minute for June 5th, 1839.

1. Minutes June 17th 1839. Page 19.
2. Advertisement in the Durham Advertiser, August, 1841, Minutes page 28.
3. Rich op. cit. page 73. Also Smith, F. op. cit. page 115.
The grant was made in the November of 1842.
4. Vide Shuttleworth, Sir James K. Bart, "Public Education", page 66.
5. That is before February of 1842. The applications for grant made by Durham and Battersea were before the C.C. at much the same time. When Battersea received its grant it was largely to keep alive on experiment in teacher education which was giving a vital lead to the church societies. ---- Shuttleworth. op. cit. Page 63.

"The average instruction to be such as will qualify the Masters for the duties of a Parochial School; facilities being afforded for the acquisition of higher attainments in particular branches of learning,

The scheme to comprise in the first place, -

Religious Instruction.

General, viz; Reading, Writing, Geography, History, Arithmetic,

including Book-keeping and Mensuration and vocal Music.

And in the second place, -

The higher branches of Arithmetic, the elements of pure and mixed

Mathematics, Languages and Drawing.

The pupils to acquire the practice of teaching in the Blue Coat School."

The developed curriculum of the Training School is discussed in more detail elsewhere and it is sufficient to point out here that the range of subjects offered, and the three tier priorities of religious studies, academic studies, and practical teaching, accorded well with the declared policies of the Committee of Council. It would be difficult to substantiate the view that the application for a government grant was rejected on the grounds that the curriculum planned was inadequate.

In Durham a great deal of consideration had been given to regulations for the admission of students. The problem of the Committee of Management was not so much that of framing regulations but of finding sufficient students. ¹ The first students were to be admitted after the summer holiday of 1841 at a charge of £14 a year. This fee covered both board and instruction. No student was to be admitted before the age of sixteen

1. Minutes, November 18th, 1841. Page 33. It was urged that the aims of the Training School be widely advertised so as to attract more students.

and one condition for admission was that 'pupils' should produce, "Certificates of character and aptitude for the profession of school-master" - from their parish priests.¹ The Committee also reserved the right to set an entrance examination. The length of the course was not specified but the probable intention was to have students remain for at least one year. No regulations were made, at the time of applying for a government grant, with reference to scholarships, exhibitions, or the precise amount of time to be spent on practical teaching. The conclusion to be drawn is that in Durham the Training School had given reasonable consideration to the admission of students, and that it was the nature of the accommodation rather than the length or nature of the course which failed to gain Council approval.

The original staff were few in number. From the first it had been thought necessary for the school to 'be under the immediate direction of a master, who shall be of the Church of England, and who shall be charged with the religious instruction of the pupils'.² By the summer of 1839 the Committee had already decided upon their choice of Master. On his appointment John Cundill was variously described as Master and Principal.³ His salary, at £25 a year, less than his students were to earn on qualifying, can only have been an honorarium. This slender salary helps explain the non-residence of the first Principal.

1. From an advertisement in the Durham Advertiser of August, 1841.
2. Recorded in the Minute Book.
2. Minutes, May 24th, 1839. Pages 16-17.
3. Minute book, page 20.

There were only two other members of staff appointed before October 1841, William Goundry, who was master of the Blue Coat School in Claypath, and a Mr. Tuer from the Chapter Office.¹

Goundry was to give instruction in the method of teaching and such branches of learning as are introduced into the national school."²

Tuer, as superintendent of the Framwellgate house, was to supply the students with food, laundry and fuel at a fixed charge.³

In a very short while the Committee of the Training School came to realise that this team of part-timers was not able to cope with the curriculum laid down in 1839.⁴

The limitations in terms of staffing and accommodation were probably due to lack of funds and had reduced the Training School to the position of attempting to cover staff salaries for something like £60 a year.⁵

1. This may be inferred from the terms of the advertisement which appeared in the Durham Advertiser of August, 1841. Page 21 of the Durham minutes refer to this.
2. Minutes. April 8th, page 22.
3. From the general regulations given in an undated entry to the minute book, pages 29-30.
4. In October of 1841, a Mr. Martindale of the Crossgate Academy in Durham was engaged to teach 'grammar, reading, writing, geography, history, arithmetic, including book-keeping, mensuration, algebra, trigonometry and latin'. Minutes, October, 1841, page 31.
This is all the more formidable a list when it is considered that he too was to be employed in a part-time capacity.
5. This is an estimate from the £25 paid to the Director, £20 to Goundry and an estimated £10 - £15 to Tuer. Even so this figure is a fair part of the money promised as annual subscriptions, £164.

The Committee of Council attached considerable importance to the solvency of Training Schools applying for a government grant. As the questions given in Appendix 'A' exemplify, the Committee of Council needed to feel satisfied that any grant on their part would be a sound investment. The promoters of Training Schools were required to provide a substantial contribution to new buildings and routine maintenance.¹ The maximum permissible grant was 50% for buildings meeting Council specifications.

In Durham the appeal for subscriptions did not achieve a response large enough to consider the immediate establishment of a building fund. The total subscriptions promised from the four deaneries totalled only £164. 11s. 6d. for the year 1839 - 1840. The contributions of the Bishop and of the Dean and Chapter had yet to be confirmed. A comparison drawn between education and other diocesan charities shows² just how inadequate this response was. The Dean and Chapter records show that in relation to other forms of clerical benevolence, education took third place to church building programmes and stipend augmentation. Between 1750 and 1841 the Dean and Chapter of Durham made the following contributions:

	£.
to church buildings	15,190
to stipend augmentation	23,238
to education	11,445

1. The Committee of Council offered no maintenance grants to Training Schools. Vide. Minute of November 22nd, 1843.
2. Records of Benefactions etc. Durham 1858. Pages (i) - (v).
The very full title is given in the bibliography.

In the years immediately preceding the founding of the Training School the proportion devoted to education was even less. For the decade 1831-1840 the figures were:

church buildings	stipend augmentation	education
£8,108	£14,416	£1,992

The figures for the following decade show much the same proportions. ¹

In general terms, if the diocese did follow the lead of the Dean and Chapter, education was not a favourite charity. Within the field of education the Training School did not appear to merit any special place, in the early years at least. For example in two successive ² years the Dean and Chapter donated over a hundred pounds towards the erection of a new school house at Shincliffe, and a figure of about £50 may be taken as a typical donation towards a school. The £164 promised in subscriptions from all sources indicates that the Training School was seen very much, in the eyes of the subscribers at least, as a school rather than as a special institution for higher, professional, education.

Another possible comparison is between the general subscription lists for the Diocesan Training School, and the established subscriptions to the Diocesan School Society. In 1833 the subscriptions to this latter Society amounted to £194, ³ This same society, six years later, functioning as an organisation to promote teacher training, could not match the sums regularly subscribed to support parochial schools. It cannot be said that the new Training School really loosened the purse

1. The figures quoted exclude the £130,000 given to found the University. The form given here is as in the original records.
2. The years 1840-1841.
3. Mackenzie "History of the County Palatine". Newcastle 1334. pp. 414-415 of volume II.

strings of the diocese. In 1841 the ambitions of Archdeacon Thorp, and of the Committee established to manage the Training School, had yet to be translated into a soundly financed, separately housed, well staffed institution. Efforts to acquire a site, a new building, more students and staff, and above all an improved income, were the principal aims of the Training School in the following twenty years.

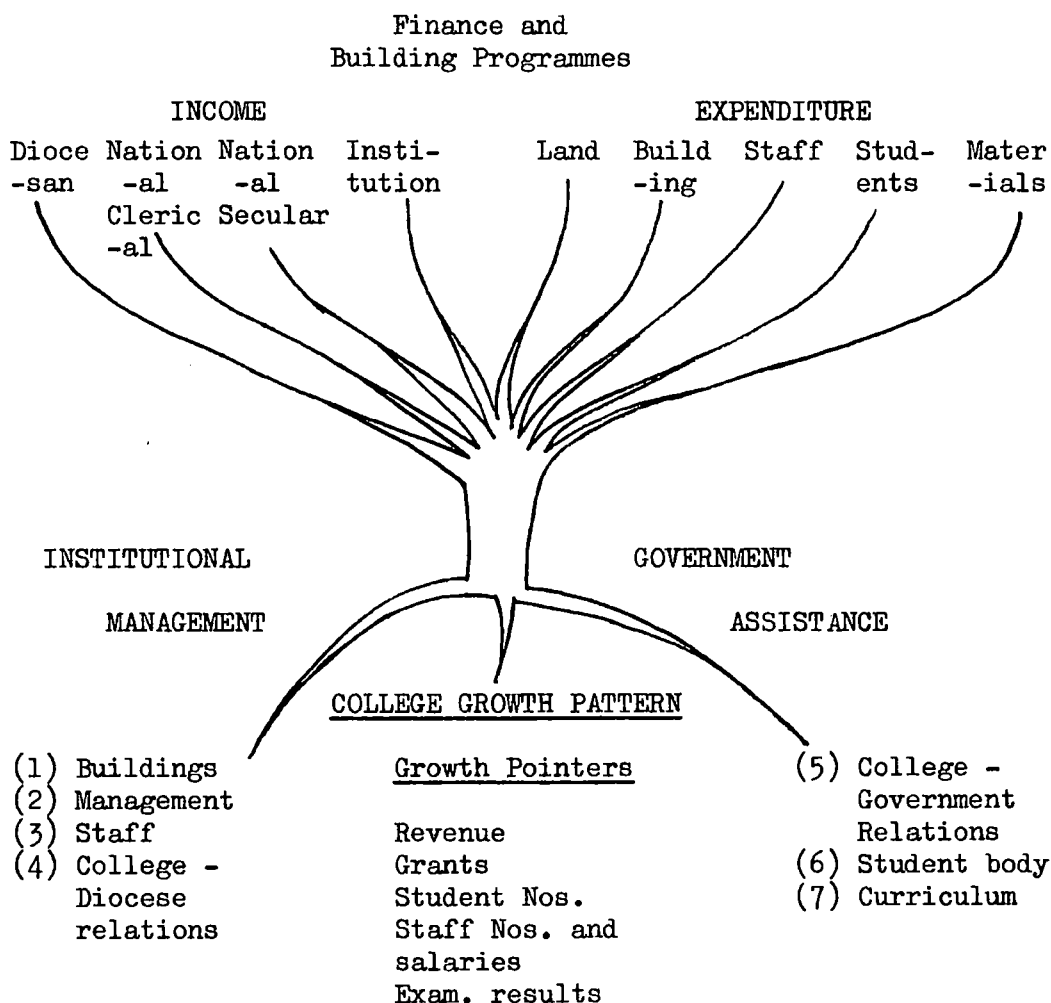
Part Two: The Years of Progress 1841 - 1861.

Chapter One: Patterns of Growth. Finance and the building programme.

As has been indicated in the previous section, the difficulties which held back the somewhat grandiose plans of 1839 were largely financial, and such problems remained central to the development of the Training School during the next twenty years. This is illustrated diagrammatically below.

Figure 1

Diagram illustrating the pattern of growth 1841 - 1861



The committee of management, in translating policies into expenditure, found itself dealing more and more frequently with the Committee of Council as the principal subscriber to the Training School. Consequently the delicate balance between income and expenditure, upon which growth depended, was not a function of institutional management alone. The eventual growth of the Training School was the product of the initiative shown by the management of the School and the complexities of government aid.

The diagram further illustrates the close links between all aspects of the life and growth of the Training School. For example, the fees charged to students tended to fluctuate with the 'health' of the School income generally. The size of the student body helped determine the number and salary of the staff. The curriculum was the compounded product of staff specialisms, teaching accommodation, the policy of the committee of management and the complexities of the grants payable through the Privy Council Committee. Those aspects of development chosen for more detailed examination are described separately to facilitate comprehension; they are not put forward as an irrefutable analysis of the Training School as an institution.

It is by no means a simple matter to isolate criteria against which to measure the growth of any educational institution. Either there is an incomplete record of the data, or measures of growth, previously given a great deal of attention, become redundant. For example, in early days student numbers are of crucial importance ¹ yet once a measure of growth

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1. C.F. Pof. Foster Watson in "A Century of Education 1808 - 1908". Edited by H.B. Binns, pp. 297-301. "The nineteenth century history of the training of teachers had been chiefly concerned with the quantitative output of teachers for the schools of the industrial classes the problem was numerical."

and contintinuity has been secured it is the quality of student and the kind of course he follows which become of more importance. Similarly increases in staff, although indicative of growth, cannot be considered apart from staff qualifications and the nature of their appointments, whether full-time or part-time. Again, a lengthened course is not necessarily a better course, and conversely a shortened course can well boost student numbers without contributing to what may be termed the educational growth of the institution.

Finance and the Building Programme

The initial income of the Training School had been entirely dependent upon donations and subscriptions within the diocese. When, in October 1841 the Bishop suggested that the accumulated wealth of an endowment he had already granted to the School be "applied to the foundation of a building fund",¹ many new dimensions were added to the funds and prospects of the Training School. The Bishop's suggestion opened the way to permanence, solid, Victorian, architectural, trustee-regulated permanence. The suggestion also indicates that the Bishop realised that eventually the committee of management must re-open negotiations for a government grant. Further, since the revenues of this particular endowment were held by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, it seems that the committee of management were determined to seek extra-diocesan aid. In 1839 the aim of the committee of management was to secure

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1. Minutes. October 25th, 1841. Pages 31-32.
This was that part of the Langley endowment used to support the Song School. It is usually referred to as the "pro plano cantu." See page 50 of this thesis.

maintenance by subscription. After 1841 the Training School moved towards a position in which capital investment played a more important part. The question of the building fund was of prime importance as it was the means to government aid, to an improved institutional income in terms of fees and investments, and it gave to the committee of management, as defined in the deed of conveyance, trustee status without which the re-application of older endowments would have been difficult if not impossible.

In the summer of 1841, at the time of the final preparations for the opening of the house in Framwellgate, subscriptions and donations together totalled less than £175, and the receipts from fees offered an additional £70. In September, 1847, a new Training School building was completed at a cost of £3,000, of which the Committee of Council had subscribed £1,000.¹ What were the means whereby the committee of management was able to raise £2,000 in six years whilst meeting the cost of maintaining the house in Framwellgate?

The difficulties of depending upon local, annual subscriptions.

In 1839 the raising of subscriptions seemed the obvious way in which to establish a Training School as there was already within the diocese an organisation which promoted voluntary schools, "The subscribers and Friends of the Durham Society for the Encouragement of Education". It was through this organisation that local boards were set up to secure funds for the Training School.² These local deanery boards were not

1. Shuttleworth, Sir James Kay Bart. "Public Education" page 66.
2. Minutes April 1839, page 3.

a great success. Within the first year it was necessary to remind them that subscriptions were overdue, and in May of 1841 the secretary needed to send a further reminder that subscriptions due since January 1st had yet to be paid.¹ This is a perennial problem with subscriptional charities but one which is not insuperable if the subscriptions are always paid, however late. The entries in the Minute Book suggest in many cases that the subscriptions were not collected because the deanery boards had failed to elect collectors and representatives to the general committee,² so that eventually a means of filling such vacancies, without elections, had to be written into the constitution of the Training School.³

Even if the individual subscriptions promised had been paid regularly and promptly it was soon found that they represented a relatively insignificant part of the revenue required. Three cases from a slightly later period illustrate this point beyond any doubt. In 1853 the committee of management considered the possibility of establishing a 'Female Training School' in Durham, but declined to go ahead "until subscriptions should be received, without reference to the Committee of Council, of not less than £1,000 for the building and site fund, and not less than £200 a year for the institution fund."⁴ This plan was later dropped because the Committee found it difficult to raise the necessary subscriptions and the Committee of Council considered £1,000 in subscriptions to be insufficient to merit grant aid. 1856 provides a second example⁵ for of the £1,000 which had been collected for the erection of

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1. Minutes April 9th, 1841 and May 27th 1841, pages 22 and 24.
2. Minutes January 13th, 1848, page 59.
3. In 1853 two deaneries did not elect deputies, two in 1854; in 1855 and 1856 four of the boards failed to elect deputies.
4. 5. Minutes July 6th, October 5th, 1853. Pages 88 and 90.
6. Minutes April 10th, 1856. Page 108.

a house for the Principal only 8% came through local, individual subscriptions, a mere 3% if we accept the corporate indentivity of the Bishop of Durham.

It is, perhaps, possible to argue that local subscribers, accepting the hopelessness of raising the increasingly large sums required, and realising that government grants were eventually forthcoming, reserved their efforts for a cause peculiarly diocesan and spiritual. This was not the case as the attempts to establish a chapel attached to the Training School clearly show. Government grants were not available to help in the erection of avowedly Anglican places of worship so that the Committee depended entirely upon voluntary contributions for the Chapel appeal fund. This was established in 1860¹ but can not have been successful since in 1884² the inspectorate reported that Durham was one of the two remaining training schools without a Chapel. After 1841 subscriptions from individuals, in the best tradition of the charity school movement, ceased to be the principal means of financing the expansion of the Training School.

Sources of income other than subscriptions.

There were several ways in which to secure the income needed for building extensions and increased running costs. These are listed below and the list sub-divided to show those sources of income which were substantial and those which merely illustrate the financial acumen of the committee of management without returning any great yield.

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1. Minutes February 3rd, 1860, pages 144-145.
2. Minutes October 22nd, 1884, page 273. "and it is very desirable that there should be a special place for prayer, and that they should not be said in the rooms used for secular purposes during the day".

- . Government grants to buildings
- . Voluntary subscriptions through corporations
- . Student fees
- . Regular annual subscriptions by individuals
- . Government maintenance grants (after 1846)
- . Transfer of endowments
- . Donations by individuals
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Investment of funds

Rent of land

Fees charged to private students

The government grant, payable towards the erection of Training Schools, was at first a great incentive for voluntary contributions. Although the Committee of Council had fixed the grant at £50 per student place the amount of grant actually paid varied from less than a quarter in the case of Chichester to over three fifths in the case of the Battersea extensions of 1852. With regard to the Durham Training School the government contributed a little over a third, which was somewhat less¹ than an average of two fifths for all building grants paid in 1852.

The maintenance grants, part of the pupil-teacher system, were introduced after 1846 and at first accounted for little more than a tenth of total income but later were to account for a much greater part as the number of Queen's Scholars increased. Students' fees did not contribute a great deal for whereas in 1851-1852 the expenditure in the Durham Training School was the lowest of all training schools it was still three times the fee charged to students. It was not until 1880, says the Board of

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1. Shuttleworth, Sir James Kay, Bart, "Public Education" pages 66-69.

Education Report ¹ that receipts from fees matched the total of voluntary contributions. Certainly in the period before 1846, when the committee of management was trying to raise a building fund, maintenance grants were not available to stimulate annual subscriptions and there was a relatively small balance each year from which to build up capital. ² This was achieved by an increasing reliance upon contributions other than annual subscriptions.

Towards the end of 1842 the committee of management received from Dr. Kay the bitter news that "the Committee (of Council) will give no assistance to the building". ³ Despite this first refusal the committee of management was already beginning to think in terms of a new building, partly financed by government grant. Plans were submitted to the Committee of Council in January, 1844 ⁴ that is before the minute defining the procedure for such grants had been published. After 1847, when the first government building grant had been secured, future government aid was taken for granted. In 1853 plans for the alteration and extension of the Training School, costed at £346, were sent up to the Committee of Council in the hope that they would grant £150. This was true of all future schemes for expansion.

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1. Report for 1912-1913, pages 8-9.
2. The precise revenue for the early years is not known but with staff salaries alone running at £1,000 per year the balance must have been small. In 1851, after the completion of the building it was only £14.
3. Minutes. Reported to the December meeting of 1842. Page 43.
4. Minutes, January 1st, 1844. Pages 47-48.

In finding their share of the costs of new buildings the committee were most fortunate when approaching corporate bodies. They hoped that the Dean and Chapter would provide a site for the new Training School, and approached that body early in 1842.¹ The Dean and Chapter were able to help, and gave land in Gilesgate, a site valued at £425 at the time of transfer in 1845.² The Bishop of Durham promised £300, in 1842,³ and the National Society offered the same amount three years later.⁴

A contribution was also received from the University, probably the first money ever provided by an English university to help in the training of teachers by outside agencies. The University gave £250 towards the cost of the new buildings, as part of a complicated property deal over the Langley School buildings on Palace Green. The Langley School buildings were given by the Bishop to the University on condition that the University provided two teaching rooms in the new Training School.⁵

The Dean and Chapter appear to have subscribed £100 on a number of occasions, so that by far the greater part of the £2,000 raised for the new buildings came from corporate bodies. Attempts to have old endowments transferred to the Training School were less rewarding. An approach to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to secure the 'plano cantu arrears' proved unsuccessful. A likely explanation of the failure of this approach is to be found in an earlier report of the Charity Commissioners, where the nature of the Langley endowment is defined, together with an account of the

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1. Minutes, February 24th, 1842, page 40.
2. Dean and Chapter, Records of Benefactions, etc., given as an additional entry on the last page of their record of accounts.
3. Minutes, page 43, in a report to the December meeting.
4. Minutes, July 10th, 1845, page 52.
5. This point, recorded in the minutes for April, 1861, pages 148-9, was made in a letter to the Training School from the University Registrar and recorded in the minutes for January, 1844, pages 48-49.
6. Minutes, December 2nd, 1842, pages 42-43. See also page 44 of this thesis.

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strange purposes to which it had been applied by past bishops.

Since the abolition of the Palatinate in 1836 the Treasury had shown itself unwilling to release funds which exemplified the peculiarities of palatinate wealth. The revenues of the 'pro plano cantu' endowment, calculated to be worth £10 a year, were applied to the singing master of the Training School, but the arrears seem to have been lost. The transfer of charitable endowments is only really possible when a continuity of purpose can be shown. The Training School was not a writing or a song school. It would seem that the managers of the Training School were pursuing a more legitimate course when they passed the following resolution in 1854.

"That an application be made to the Charity Commissioners for obtaining effectual assistance for the Durham Training School from the funds of the late Bishop Barrington left by him for the purpose of preparing proper masters or teachers for schools for the poor in this diocese." 2

The revenue of the Barrington funds, at £436 a year, was carefully noted, and had it been applied to the Training School then all financial difficulties would have been solved as £436 represented half of the

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1. "Bishop Langley's Schools and Bishop Cosin's Almhouses on the East side of Palace Green, Durham. There is a range of buildings erected by Bishop Cosin, consisting of an almshouse for eight poor people in the centre, and a school at each end. The arms of Bishop Langley are placed over the doors of each of these schools, and on the one at the south end is inscribed, 'Schola pro plano cantu et arte scribendi'; and on the other, 'Schola pro addiscendi rerum literarum' The other school 'pro plano cantu et arte scribendi' has long fallen into disuse, and the office of master has been granted by letters patent, from time to time by the Bishop of Durham, as a beneficial sinecure."
Report of the Charities Commissioners, Vol. 23. London 1830.
Pages 6-9.
2. Minutes, May 27th, 1854, page 96.

average income for the years 1851 and 1852.¹ Unfortunately the first application to the Charity Commissioners was unsuccessful² but an immediate second application was made "stating the wants of the Institution, a Chapel, a House for the Principal, a Model School etc.." This claim was much more successful and £200 was granted towards the erection of the principal's house in 1856.³

Institutional Income

The Training School, in that it offered an education which was not free, did have an income of its own. It was, however, heavily dependent upon subscriptions and government grants. Careful management could do little more than make a show at reducing the gap between income and expenditure. The principal source of institutional income was by means of the fees charged to students. The table below illustrates the fluctuations in fee charges between 1841 and 1856.

Table 1. Fluctuation in fees charged to students 1841 - 1856.

1841	£14	5	students	£ 70
1846	£20	11	"	£220
1852	£14	25	"	£350
1853	£18	25	"	£450
1854	£20	27	"	£540
1856	£23	31	"	£713

Source: Minute Book

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1. Minute Book, pages 70 and 82.
2. Minutes, October 4th, 1854, page 98.
3. Minutes, April 10th, 1856, page 108.

This suggests that during the years for which figures are available a 500% increase in the size of the student body was matched by a 900% increase in receipts from fees. This was not really the case in terms of real values. Since 1842¹ the committee of management had used a policy of fee reduction as an incentive for students to take a longer course. This meant that a student who completed a one year course satisfactorily earned a 25% reduction in fees for that year, with the promise of a 50% reduction if he completed a second year. In 1856, when it was decided to increase fees to £20 a year, after the opening of the new building,² the deductions were to continue 'pro rata'. The increase of 1846 can only have been short lived since in 1853 the committee of management decided to raise the fees from £14 to £18.³ The increase of 1853 was more apparent than real since the extra receipts were to be applied to founding exhibitions in the Training School, five of £10 a year and six of £5. These would replace the older arrangements for fee reductions. Consequently £80 of the apparent increase of £100 was to be returned to the students. This would give a mean figure of £15 as the student's fee whereas the expenses per student place in 1852 had been just over £40.⁴

The charges of 1854 and 1856 followed the improved government grants to students and illustrate the way in which the Training School, in relying upon the fees of Queen's Scholars, became dependent upon the government for approximately half of the running cost. Without the Queen's Scholarships very few students would have been able to meet the expenses of their training.⁵

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1. Minutes December, 1842, page 43.
2. Minutes May 14th, 1846, page 53.
3. Minutes January 5th, 1853, pages 79-80.
4. Minutes January 13th, 1853, page 82.
5. In 1858 46 of the 47 pupils were Queen's Scholars. Minutes page 130.

It would appear therefore that the committee of management in setting fees was not likely to secure more than one third of the income required to maintain the Training School and was more concerned with the length of the course and the industry of the students than with balancing its budget. The social background of the students, examined elsewhere, suggests that major increases in fees would have emptied the School of its students.

The Minutes also record other ways in which the managers showed their business acumen, even if their efforts did not substantially increase the income of the Training School. In 1847 an attempt was made to educate local boys on the premises of the Training School at a charge of four guineas annually. ¹ No other reference is made to this scheme. A small revenue was derived from the renting of land required either as additional grounds or as a potential site for an enlargement of the building. ² In 1852 a donation of £100 was invested in consuls. ³ This, and other investments made in 1863, were to help the School during later financial crises.

1. Minutes November 5th, 1847. The comment of Kay-Shuttleworth on such projects is worth noting; "An arrangement in all respects to be deprecated." "Public Education". Footnote page 69.
2. Minutes October, 12th, 1860, page 147 and March 19th, 1862, page 155.
3. Minutes April 7th, 1852, page 73.

The development of the buildings and grounds of the Training School.

In the light of the foregoing account of the struggle to secure funds, and the increasing reliance upon aid from the government, the progress and form of the Training School between 1841 and 1861 is more readily understood. After 1842, when a serious effort was made to plan for a new building in its own grounds, difficulty arose over the insistence of the Committee of Council that the Principal should reside within the new school. As early as February, 1842¹ the committee of management were looking for a possible site and building plans were despatched to the Committee of Council in the beginning of 1844.² It seems likely that these plans were generally approved subject to "the proviso ... which required the residence of the Principal and Vice-Principal in the building to be made."³ At this time the Training School did not have a vice-principal and John Cundill, who reported the difficulty to the general committee, obviously did not wish to reside within the Training School. Consequently the proposals for the new buildings were temporarily shelved. In the following year (1845) a compromise was reached whereby the Training School was to appoint a resident vice-principal and the Committee of Council were to agree a grant of £1,000 towards the new building. The status of the vice-principal was safeguarded by the proviso that he be in holy orders or a graduate of the English Universities.⁴ The way in which the committee of the Training School found its part of the cost has been discussed elsewhere.⁵ Once agreement had been reached with the Privy Council the actual

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1. Minutes 24th February, 1842, page 40.
2. Minutes 1st January, 1844, pages 47-48.
3. Minutes 11th July, 1844, page 51.
4. Minutes 10th July, 1845, page 52.
5. See pages 50-52 of this thesis.

building of the new school smoothly advanced and although Kay-Shuttleworth gives the date of completion as September 7th, 1847, the new building had been furnished and was occupied by the students a few months earlier than this.¹ On completion the new Training School, on the Gilesgate site, offered accommodation for twenty students whereas previously, in the Framwellgate house, accommodation had been limited to twelve and had caused the committee of management to turn down a number of applications for places.² The additional places were quickly taken up so that by 1852/53 the Durham Training School had moved considerably closer to the Battersea Model. It was residential, stood in its own grounds (which were enclosed),³ and some of its staff were resident.

The Training School was however very small when compared with the other schools receiving government aid. It had cost less to build than any other and could take only twenty students compared with an average of sixty-two for all male training schools.⁴ In the decade before the Revised Code the Durham Training School was pressed by the Committee of Council to conform to the 'model' even more strictly. In these years the School was asked to expand, to erect its own model school, to have a resident principal, and to provide a chapel on the site. The committee of management did not rush to conform and placed more emphasis upon the extension of the grounds and the building of a house for the principal than upon the model school or the chapel.

The influence of the Committee of Council is best illustrated in

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1. Public Education, page 66. c.f. Minute Book, pages 55 and 56.
2. Minutes July 11th, 1844, page 51.
3. By means of a wall 6 ft. high. Minutes Jan. 22nd, 1847, page 56.
4. Kay-Shuttleworth op. cit. page 66.

following through the enlargement of the main building in the years 1853-54. Clearly when the initiative of the School management was in accord with the policy of the Committee of Council it was the government which could force the pace. In January, 1853, when the building was already accommodating five more students than the number for which it had been planned, the committee of management was authorised to consider the possibility of enlargement.¹ Originally this was to have cost no more than £170² with the Committee of Council granting an equal amount. On receiving plans for this expansion the Committee of Council promptly made proposals of its own for further expansion which would have pushed up the total cost to £800.³ On receiving an assurance that the government would grant £400 towards the cost of the enlargement, the committee of management agreed and so raised to £400 their own contribution which they had previously placed at a maximum of £170.⁴ By the summer of 1854 the enlargements had been completed and the Training School was now able to accommodate 33 students.⁵

When the new accommodation was opened in 1854 three of the rooms were set aside for the use of the principal, Mr. Cromwell,⁶ who had succeeded John Cundill in 1852. Cromwell had previously held the office of vice-principal and was therefore already resident in the Training School.⁷ Cromwell, always influential with the committee, was soon able to launch a campaign to provide a distinct principal's residence. Whether or not he was influenced by the idea of the 'living' to which a substantial house was usually attached, or whether he saw in the

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1. Minutes January 13th, 1853, page 82.
 2. Minutes March 12th, 1853, page 82.
 3. Minutes July 6th, 1853, page 87.
 4. Minutes October 5th, 1853, page 90.
 5. Minutes July 13th, 1854, at which time there were 27 students.
 6. Minutes May 27th, 1854, page 96.
 7. He was appointed sometime prior to July 1851. Minutes 107.2/51, p.66.

principalship prospects which had eluded him in the parish, can never be determined with certainty. The hypothesis that clerics would expect accommodation in the Training School to match the comfort of the vicarage could explain the earlier difficulty over the residence of the principal. Whatever may have been the reason for this pressure to provide a house there can be no doubt that the pressure was persistent and eventually successful. With this end in view the trustees of the Barrington endowments were approached as early as 1854¹ and by 1856 the committee of management agreed to establish a fund for the building of a principal's house.² The work was completed in the same year at a cost of £1,000.³

Meanwhile the committee had taken every opportunity to buy up land adjacent to the Training School so as to provide both grounds and additional building space. Land to the west, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in all, was finally purchased in 1861 after negotiations which had dragged on for the last seven years.⁴ This eventually became the site of the Model School. Land to the east, that is the stretch extending towards the grounds of the Female Training School, was secured on lease in 1859.⁵ Measures were taken to lay out this land as it was acquired, and to have it drained, so that the desirability of the site as a residential training school was constantly enhanced.

It was as though the committee of management was unwilling to have the peace of the site disrupted by the inclusion of a model school as suggested by the Privy Council and urged personally by visiting

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1. Minutes October 4th, 1854, page 98.
2. Minutes April 2nd, 1856, pages 106-107.
3. It was included in the fire insurance for 1856. Minutes, page 113.
4. From October, 1854 until August, 1861. Minute Book pages 98 and 152.
5. Minutes October 5th, 1859, page 140. The lease ran for 42 years.

inspectors. The suggestion was first made in 1852¹ but the model school was not opened until 1858.² There was no major difficulty in obtaining land. Since the suggestion came from the Committee of Council there can have been little difficulty in obtaining a government grant towards the cost of erection. Moreover, as the subscription lists were to show, there was considerable local support for the idea of a model school despite the fall in subscriptions for the Training School itself. After the recommendation of the inspectorate in 1852 the committee of management considered the possibility of a model school but the matter was deferred without any positive proposals having been made.³ In 1856 the same recommendation was made by the inspectorate, but this time more strongly. Their recommendation was for "a model practising school entirely under the direction of the Principal"⁴ At the same meeting the committee of management also asked for a further explanation of criticism that the men were being trained "too high". In the following year more positive action was taken and a start made to raise the necessary £500 which was to be the half contribution from voluntary sources.⁵ Nearly £200 was subscribed straightway and within four weeks the figure had risen to £540.⁶ Of these subscriptions only two, those of the Dean and Bishop, were for more than £50. At least 80% of the subscriptions were from individuals living locally.⁷ Eventually, on receiving tenders, the cost of the model

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1. Minutes July 7th, 1852, page 76.
2. April 12th. Minutes April 7th, 1858, page 130.
3. Minutes January 5th, 1853, page 80.
4. Minutes May 3rd, 1856, page 109.
5. Minutes January 7th, 1857, pages 114-115.
6. Minutes February 4th, 1857, page 119.
7. The minutes give lists of subscribers on pages 115 and 117.

school was increased to over £1,600 of which the government gave half. The school was opened in April of 1858 and by October of that year, there were sixty boys attending regularly. Appointments to the mastership rested with the principal and thus the training of the men in practical teaching was made less dependent upon the opportunities afforded by the Blue Coat School in the city. The long association between the Training School and Blue Coat was not, however, broken for Mr. Cromwell was the correspondent of that school and thought sufficiently highly of the Master, John Fish, to offer to take him to St. Mark's Chelsea when he, Cromwell, became principal of that college.² The only possible conclusion to be drawn from the evidence available is that the model school was something thrust upon the Training School by the Committee of Council and local opinion in Durham. The academic curriculum of the Training School, the inclination of the staff, and the existing cordial relations with the Blue Coat School may have caused the model school to have been regarded as an unnecessarily close reminder of a school - based approach to teacher training.

The position with regard to buildings and finance, in 1861, was one which suggested that the future of the Training School was secure. Its buildings and site conformed to the strict requirements of the Committee of Council, and its finances were generally sound.³ As the following account is meant to show, 1861 was a year which marked a peak in the general well being of the Training School. The twenty-first year was one indicative of maturity after growing pains.

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1. Minutes June 10th, 1857, page 124.
2. Chadwick, R. "Durham Blue Coat Schools 1708-1958" page 36.
A privately printed school history. Fish was a former student of the Training School.
3. In 1860 the balance in favour of the Training School was £221 for that year. Minutes April 17th, 1861, page 148.

Chapter Three: The Management of the Training School.

The control of the church over education had, traditionally, depended upon three particular powers, the trusteeship of funds subscribed by the laity, control of teacher - supply through the powerful interest of the church in the two Universities, and control of appointments to the teaching staffs of denominational schools. ¹ With the application of state grants towards the erection of Training Schools the Committee of Council, through its administrative secretary, Kay-Shuttleworth, was ² determined that church control should be contained if not diminished. This discrediting of clerical management was based upon two considerations; the inability of the church of itself to finance an expanding school system, and a reluctance to see a wholly clerical control over an increasingly secular investment. The financial aspect of promoting and maintaining the Durham Training School has been examined elsewhere. An examination of the management of the School shows it to have been well regulated, at all times eager to secure the representation of lay interests, and increasingly dependent upon lay teachers to provide a course suitable for the masters of elementary schools. The management of the Training School was determined by the deed of conveyance which

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1. This control may be traced right through from the Tudor grammar school, to the closing of the universities to the dissenters, and finally to the view of Archdeacon Dennison that the master of the parochial school should in all his work be directly subject to the control of the parish priest.
2. Kay-Shuttleworth was decidedly outspoken in his attitude towards clerical control; "The scheme of the Normal School was the most direct mode of asserting the emancipation of the Common School from the surviving claims of a purely priestly control."
"Public Education", page 4.

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incorporated the practice of former years. Final control rested with a general committee "to consist of the Bishop, the three Archdeacons, the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and subscribers of not less than ten shillings annually to elect not more than sixteen nor less than eight of the established Church subscribers to the fund of not less than ten shillings

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annually." The principles governing the election of representatives to this general committee had been settled even before the Training School

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was opened. There were to be two deputies from each deanery, of which 'one at least shall be a layman'. The general committee delegated the 'direction of the School' to a sub-committee of management, named by the general committee. Three of the seven members of the first sub-committee of management were laymen.

The first meeting of the general committee was held in July of 1841 and subsequently quarterly meetings were held alternatively in Bishop Cosin's Library, Durham, and St. Nicholas Vestry, Newcastle. This arrangement must surely have been intended to show that the school served the whole of the diocese, and that the general committee was prepared to show itself outside the cathedral city. The difficulty of travelling from Morpeth to Durham, for example, meant that there was a danger of elected members not attending Durham meetings. It was probably the same difficulty which led to the repeated failure of the Northumberland deaneries to elect their representatives to the general committee so that eventually the instrument of management had to be amended to allow the governing body to fill up such vacancies.

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1. The date of the deed of conveyance is not given, but probably is 1846-7 whereas a form of management had been used consistently since 1839.
2. Entered in the flyleaf of the minute book.
3. 15th May, 1839. Minutes page 16.
4. Minutes January 13th, 1848, page 59.

The elective principle was difficult to maintain and as early as 1848 it was necessary for those who had been returned to the general committee to fill up vacancies by nomination.¹ By 1852 the position with regard to elections had so deteriorated that there was a danger of the School entering a new year without the elections to the Committee having been completed. It was therefore decided that elections for the new year should be completed by December 31st of the old, that at the January meeting all vacancies should be filled by nomination and the sub-committee of management elected.² The deaneries of Corbridge and Morpeth exemplify the difficulties of making the general and sub-committees representative of all opinion within the diocese. From 1853 until 1858 these deaneries did not hold elections and subsequently were represented by nominees of the other members of the general committee.³ This meant that for these five years one quarter of the membership of the general committee was not truly elective. In some years the position was even worse. In 1855 none of the four Northumberland deaneries elected members to the general committee. In the following year three of the Northumberland and one of the Durham Deaneries failed to make elections. Whether those who served readily on the committee kept alive the elective principle because it was essential to maintain financial contact with the deanery boards, or whether they wholeheartedly subscribed to the idea of representative government, is difficult to establish. The suspicion, that there was a strong apathy in parts of the diocese to the work of the

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1. Minutes January 13th, 1848, page 59.
2. Minutes July 8th, 1852, page 77.
3. Minutes 1853 (page 85). 1854 (page 95). 1855 (page 101).
1856 (page 107). 1857 (page 122).

Training School, is hard to dispel as it helps to explain the difficulty of meeting running costs from subscriptions. The failure of the elective system, and the apathy shown by some deaneries, meant that the initiative and drive of the management committee could only be maintained by taking upon itself stronger executive powers. In 1853 the secretary and treasurer were accepted as 'ex officio' members of the sub-committee.¹ In the previous year it had been accepted that members of the committees were eligible for re-election.² The management were particularly fortunate in their choice of secretary for the Rev. J.D. Eade held that office, continuously, for forty years and in his person represented the corporate identity of the Training School.

The first responsibility of the committee in managing the affairs of the Training School was to frame regulations for the admission of students. On applying for a place in the School candidates were asked to furnish a reference from their parish priest confirming that they were "of moral and religious habits, of a studious turn, and evinces (ed) an aptitude for the profession of Schoolmaster".³ Even if accepted the first quarter was to be considered probationary. Certificates of health were required before admission but, as later records show, there was no actual examination made by the School doctor.⁴ During the first year after the opening of the Training School, students could be admitted at any time, but from 1842 they could only be admitted at the beginning of a term.⁵ When considering applications the probable time of entry to the

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1. Minutes January 5th, 1853, page 80.
2. Minutes April 7th, 1852, page 73.
3. Minutes February 24th, 1842, page 39.
4. Minutes December 14th, 1841, page 38.
5. Minutes February 24th, 1842, page 40.
Michaelmas, Christmas and Whitsun.
Minutes June 2nd, 1842, page 41 and Jan. 12th, 1843, page 45.

Training School was considered by the committee of management so as to regulate the overall student numbers.¹ Non-diocesan students were admitted if they could offer some guarantee that they would teach within the diocese when qualified.²

Closely related to the regulations for admission were those which governed the length of the course. Initially a period of three full terms was considered the minimum period for training³ but pupils needed to complete a two year course before they could be granted a certificate. Those who attended for a shorter period had to be content with a statement on their conduct and attainments, a substantial reference rather than a certificate.⁴ It is probable that the full certificate carried the seal of the Training School after 1846.⁵ The only sponsored exception to the minimum period of one year was in the case of married men who were already in charge of a school. They were permitted a shorter course of an unspecified length, at a cost of six shillings and eightpence a week.⁶ An examination of the registers reveals that the intentions of the committee of management, in respect of the length of the course, were seldom realised, a failing which the committee promptly recognised. Appreciative of the difficulties experienced by the students in finding even the modest fees which were charged, and sensitive to the willingness of school managers to employ those students who had followed the briefest of courses, the committee hoped to induce the men to stay longer in the Training School by a system of fee reduction.⁷ Rebates of one quarter of fees already paid were

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1. Minutes February 24th, 1842, page 41.
 2. It is hoped to give an analysis of recruitment and service areas when the register has been copied and analysed.
 3. Minutes June 2nd, 1842, page 41.
 4. Minutes February 24th, 1842, page 39.
 5. Minutes May 14th, 1846, page 54.
 6. Minutes June 2nd, 1842, page 41.
 7. Minutes January, 12th, 1843, pages 44-45.

offered to those students who stayed for a full year and who reached a satisfactory standard in the annual examination. As a further inducement one half of all fees was to be returned for each completed term after the first year. It is hard to see how such a scheme can have achieved the effect intended as it was based upon the principle of saving by spending. A man who left after two terms had less fees to raise than one who completed the first year and earned for himself a 25% rebate. This probably explains a second measure proposed by the committee¹ in 1846. This, basically, was an appeal to academic and professional pride; a diploma was to be issued to students who had completed a three year course. A special seal was commissioned for such diplomas and only in cases of distinguished merit would the diploma be given to students who had not stayed for the full three years. In fact the three year course proved a dream, difficult to enforce, impossible to defend when there was no distinct relation between the salaries earned on first appointment and the length of the course taken in the Training² School.

It was the sub-committee of management which prepared the annual reports for the approval of the general committee prior to printing. The fly leaf of the minute book refers the reader to printed reports for the period 1841-1846,³ and subsequent minutes show that until 1856 at least annual reports were ordered to be printed.

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1. Minutes, May 14th, 1840, page 54.
2. When, after 1846, Kay-Shuttleworth attempted to link salaries to the length of the course, the attempts to persuade Durham students to take a longer course were much more successful.
3. The entry is in the hand of J.D. Eade and illustrates his concern for the accuracy of the minutes he so industriously wrote up.

Unfortunately not all of these reports have survived, nor have Mr. Cromwell's 'Laws',¹ but the fact that such reports were required for circulation to subscribers illustrates the point that the executive power of the committee of management was essentially a delegated power. The growing disinterest of diocesan subscribers, the realisation that subscriptions could not match the government grant, the infrequency with which the report of the management committee was questioned, all testify to the growing independence of the executive. The growth of a new dependence, a dependence upon the state, is dealt with in a later chapter.

1. Minutes April 8th, 1857, page 121.

Chapter Four: The Staff of the Training School to 1860

Something has already been given on the staff of the Training School whilst dealing with the foundation years of 1839-41. In describing the part played by the staff in the development of the Training School to 1860, changes in patterns of responsibilities are of as much importance as the work of individual officers. This is particularly true when one seeks to relate a study of the staff to changes in the curriculum for the period 1853-1860.

The Principal and his staff to 1847.

In the early days at Framwellgate it was the Principal who was¹ charged with the moral and religious instruction of the students. The first Principal recommended to the Bishop was John Cundill, recently² graduated from the University of Durham. His appointment was confirmed³ at the modest salary of £25 a year, a poor salary indeed but one not inconsistent with the number of students in his care, and his non-residence. Professional (pedagogical) training was in the hands of the Master of the Blue Coat School. The general academic instruction was given by a combination of part-time tutors who, collectively, filled what came to be known as the office of general instructor. Supervision of the students within the Framwellgate house was left to the house

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1. Minute Book, 25th May, 1839, pages 16-17.
2. Minute Book, 17th June, 1839, page 19.
3. Minute Book, 4th November, 1841, page 22.

superintendent, Mr. Tuer. In the twenty years which followed 1841 each of these aspects of the work was maintained but identified with different members of staff. The Principal came to combine with his religious instruction a general moral superintendence of the pupils in residence. The vice-principal came to take most of the general academic work other than divinity. The work of the normal master, at first taken by Goundry of Blue Coat, was eventually performed by the master of a specially built model school.

The path to such a tidy division of labour, and to defined staff appointments, was by no means a direct and simple one.* At first the general, non-religious instruction was shared amongst three part-time teachers, Mr. Martindale who offered the pretentious curriculum of the Crossgate Academy in Durham, Mr. Freemantle of the Durham Choir, who taught music and singing, and Mr. Finlay, who was described as the mathematical master. The very fact that there was need to employ Mr. Finlay points to the inability of Martindale to teach all he had claimed. This employment of part-time teachers can hardly have been a

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1. Minute Book, 25th October, 1841, page 31. The precise curriculum of the Crossgate Academy is not known, but was probably similar to one in South Shields, twenty miles away. There the master offered tuition in "English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, the most useful branches of the mathematics, with their application to Dialling, Navigation, Surveying and the Planning of Land, and Mensuration in general, Algebra, Geography and the use of the Globes, Construction of Maps, Charts etc.," From the Kelly Collection in the South Shields Public Library.

In the Training School Mr. Martindale was to teach "grammar, reading, writing, geography, history, arithmetic, including mensuration, algebra, trigonometry, latin"

2. Minute Book, 25th October, 1841, page 31.
3. Minute Book, 22nd January, 1849, page 63.

* An attempt is made to show this diagrammatically on page 80 of the thesis.

satisfactory business but was probably the only possible arrangement whilst the school was in Framwellgate with accommodation for only a dozen students.

The office of superintendent was restricted to the Framwellgate period and presumably became defunct when a residential vice-principal was appointed for the new buildings in Gilesgate. The duties of Mr. Tuer were clearly defined by the Committee who asked that he be prepared to provide "board, washing, light, coals, blacking and knife cleaning materials."¹ Of rather more interest were the duties assigned to him in respect of the supervision of students outside tutorial hours. The minute regulating this aspect of his duties is worth quoting in full. "The Superintendent to endeavour, as far as may be, to raise up in the pupils habits of economy, good order, civility, regularity and cleanliness. To keep the strictest eye upon their moral and general conduct, but not to speak to them on the subject himself, but to communicate his observations to the Director. To attend to the health of the pupils, and call in Mr. Green when medical assistance is necessary. The charge for this is defrayed by the Society."² The position of the superintendent is analogous to that of the prefect, appointed to oversee prep but without powers to take direct action in the event of misbehaviour, and not really conversant with the work he is to superintend. This difficulty was overcome in 1847 when the Reverend William Sproule was appointed resident vice-principal in the new buildings.³

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1. Minutes, undated other than by the year, 1841, page 30.
2. Minutes, November 18th, 1841, page 36.
3. Minutes, May 14th, 1846, page 54 and July 8th, 1847, page 57.

The office of principal

Whilst the Training School was situated in Framwellgate, John Cundill was described as the 'director', but the general committee had already decided to use the term 'principal' when the school moved to the new buildings in Gilesgate. It seems likely that the change in title was meant to imply a change in status, and that Cundill did not intend to retain the principalship for a lengthy period. At the time of the move the Rev. J.G. Cromwell was appointed residential vice-principal at a salary twice that paid to Cundill, and as a graduate in holy orders Cromwell was eligible for the principalship should it fall vacant. In 1852 Cundill did resign and the committee made a point of stressing the "very small pecuniary consideration which he had received for these important services"¹. Cromwell was nominated as a possible successor and his appointment quickly confirmed by the Bishop.² At the same time the committee decided to suspend the vice-principalship, and this too strengthens the suggestion that Cromwell had for some time been regarded as the principal-elect.

Cromwell's salary as principal, as a resident full-time principal, was not immediately increased from that which he had received as Cundill's deputy. It seems that he was prepared to accept this nominal promotion because there were plans already made to increase the prospects and dignity of the principalship. Within a year his salary was doubled and shortly after a move made to provide him with a house immediately next to the Training School.

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1. Minutes, February 26th. 1852, page 72.
2. Ibid.

The year 1852 marks a turning point in the development of the principalship, the office becoming residential, full-time, and commanding a salary rather than an honorarium. At the same time the suspension of the vice-principalship¹ necessitated a re-structuring of staff duties. At first this meant a return to the practice of appointing a general instructor; later it was to make possible an increase of the full-time staff to three members, principal, vice-principal and third master or general instructor.

Once the decisions of 1852 had been taken there followed two further developments which added to the powers and prestige of the principalship. These were the building of a principal's house, and the exercise of his control over the rest of the staff. After 1856 the principalship carried with it a substantial house in much the same way as the parsonage formed part of the living. This meant that the principal could live immediately next to the Training School yet maintain his own household, an important consideration in Victorian times. In 1854 the Barrington trustees were² approached in the hope that they would contribute and by 1856 the committee had raised sufficient funds to make a formal proposal for the³ building of the house. This house, substantial though it was, and costing £1,000 was carefully distinguished from the general accommodation⁴ of the Training School.

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1. Largely on the grounds of expense. Minutes February 6th, 1852, page 70.
2. Minutes, October 4th, 1854, page 98.
3. Minutes, April 10th, 1856, page 108.
4. Unlike the public schools there was no attempt to link staff accommodation with an increase in the number of boarders. As has been observed already, students were a cause of expenditure and not a source of income.

Cromwell was particularly well-qualified for the principalship because of his first-hand experience in each aspect of the curriculum. As vice-principal he had undertaken most of the general teaching, and as a graduate in holy orders he was not likely to find difficulty over the work in divinity which he would take as principal. Through his long association with the Blue Coat School ¹ he had a real grasp of school management and had at one time acted as a diocesan inspector. This background of professional expertise goes far to explain the willingness of the committee to consult with him over the appointment of new members of staff. In 1853, when a general instructor was appointed, no record was made of the part he played in the appointment but by 1857 new regulations were made to enable him to take a very full part in the 'election of officers'. A minute-book resolution makes this quite clear for it was decided "that such other officers as may hereafter be found necessary be appointed by the principal with the approval of the sub-committee of management". ² William Lawson, officially described as 'third master' was the first staff member known to have been appointed by Cromwell. ³ After the opening of a model school the appointment of the master rested with the principal so bringing the practical training of the students under his 'immediate direction'. ⁴ This meant that by 1857, by which time the vice-principalship had been restored, there were three full time, residential members of staff in addition to

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1. His association with the Blue Coat School is described in the school history by Mr. R. Chadwick. See the full bibliography.
2. Minutes, February 4th, 1857, page 119.
3. Lawson was appointed in 1857 and thus began his long working association with Cromwell. In 1865 he followed Cromwell to St. Mark's, and was still working with his old principal as late as 1872. See Tropp. op. cit. page 712
4. Minutes, February 6th, 1868, page 129.

the master of the model school. This made possible a new division of teaching duties from that which had been planned for the part-time staff of the Framwellgate period. An attempt has been made to represent this diagrammatically on page 81 and the identification of staff members with particular parts of the curriculum is discussed further in the chapter dealing with the curriculum. As the relationship between the work undertaken by the students with the staff of the Training School and the work carried out in the model or practising schools is rather complicated, it is convenient to consider this in more detail here, stressing the role of the principal as the co-ordinator of both aspects of the work.

The person responsible for the supervision of practical teaching had from 1846¹ been described as the 'Master of the Model School' although a specially designed model school, standing in the grounds of the Training School, was not completed until 1858. As had been arranged, in 1840-41, the students were to receive their instruction in practical teaching in the Blue Coat School, Durham. William Goundry, master of Blue Coat from 1820 until 1850 was paid by the Training School for these services and his employment had apparently given satisfaction until 1848 when his work was heavily criticised by Cromwell.² The basis of Cromwell's criticism was that the school was not in an efficient condition, that the visiting committee was not exercising adequate superintendence, and that it would be better to seek guidance from the principal of the Training School. This

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1. Minutes, May 14th, 1846.
2. The work of Cromwell on behalf of the Blue Coat is described by Robert Chadwick in his Durham Blue Coat Schools 1708-1958, pages 13-17, and is the basis for much of this and the succeeding paragraph.

led to the appointment of the Reverend Sproule, vice-principal of the Training School, as superintendent of Blue Coat. After a very short period of service in this capacity he was succeeded by Cromwell in September of 1848. Consequently from that year until he resigned in 1864 Cromwell had a large measure of control over what was in effect the 'practising school'. After the resignation of Mr. Goundry in 1850 the mastership passed to Mr. Sullivan, a certificated teacher. In 1855 Sullivan was succeeded by John Fish, a former student of the Durham Training School, to the obvious satisfaction of Cromwell who regarded him as one of his star pupils. This was a totally different relationship from that implied by a minute of 1849 in which the following resolution is recorded, "to negotiate with the Committee of the Blue Coat School for a discontinuance or reduction of the payments at present made by the Training School to the Master of the Blue Coat School".¹

When the model school was opened in 1858 the appointment of the master, as has been noted already, lay with the principal of the Training School, and the first master was Thomas Preston, in all probability a man who had recently trained in Durham.² In his charge were fifty boys, as opposed to the two hundred with whom John Fish had to cope. The conditions in the model school were much closer to those envisaged by the Committee of Council. Some students continued to take classes in the Blue Coat School but after 1858 the Master was no longer considered a member of the Training School staff. In the first year of his appointment Preston also undertook some of the teaching of music in the Training School but there is no indication that he was expected to contribute to the general teaching of

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1. Minutes, January 22nd, 1849, page 63.
2. Minutes, February 6th, 1858, page 129. Register. Student no. 179.

the Training School on anything like a regular basis. The reports of the inspectors show quite clearly that his teaching was restricted to those matters which related to practical teaching and school management.¹

When the inspectorate made adverse comments on the staff it was usually left to the principal to administer a suitable reprimand, and in at least one case he was prepared to press for dismissal,² but without success. It seems that with regard to staff appointments the approval of the committee came to be taken as a formality, but in cases of dismissal the committee were less prepared to delegate responsibility. By 1860 with a salary of £450 a year, house and servants provided, and master of his staff, the principal of the Durham Training School enjoyed a position which compared favourably with that of principals in other diocesan training schools.

The office of vice-principal

It was probably government pressure which led to the appointment of the first vice-principal. By means of such an appointment the managers of the Training School could claim that a senior member of staff was in residence despite their failure to provide the accommodation and salary likely to attract a full-time, resident principal. From the beginning vice-principals had to meet two essential requirements, residence within the Training School and the possession of such academic attainments as were to be expected of a man 'in Holy Orders or a graduate of the English Universities'.³ It was expected that the first vice-principal would take over "all the duties at present discharged both by the

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1. Especially the report made in 1856. Minutes. May 3rd, 1856, page 109.
2. The case of Mr. Ashton, the music master. Minutes, Jan. 6th, 1858, page 126.
3. Minutes. July 10th, 1845, page 52.

superintendent and the general master, and moreover to be responsible for all the discipline and instruction except such as shall be undertaken by the Director, and the Music Master, and the Model School Master".

The first vice-principal was the Reverend William Sproule but he must have resigned sometime prior to 1851 for in that year Cromwell attended a meeting of the committee of management as vice-principal. When Cromwell became principal the vice-principalship was temporarily suspended as the resident principal would now be responsible for discipline and it was cheaper to provide for general parts of the course by appointing an instructor. In 1854, however, the vice-principalship was re-established and offered to the Reverend R.D. Dingle who had been acting as the general instructor.

The qualifications of vice-principals on appointment suggests that they had recently come down from the university and were newly ordained. Applications for part-time work, usually of a priestly nature, suggest that the vice-principals were not yet sufficiently established within the church to be offered a living, and the speed with which they left the Training School once a living were offered confirms this point of view. The Reverend Dingle is a good example of the frequency with which vice-principals approached the committee to ask permission to take outside employment. In 1854 he asked if he could apply for the chaplancy of the Union Workhouse

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1. Minutes, May 14th, 1846, pages 53-54.
2. Minutes, July 10th, 1851, page 66.
3. Minutes, January 4th, 1854, page 91.
4. Between 1854 and 1862 there were no fewer than four vice-principals, three of whom held the degree of B.A., R.D. Dingle, W. Townson and Alfred Sweeting. The qualifications of Mr. Lowley are not given. The fact that they had not yet received their masters degree testifies to their comparative youth.
5. For example the case of Alfred Sweeting who was offered a crown living in Lincolnshire. Minutes, September 20th, 1861, page 153.

and this was granted on the understanding that if his salary as vice-¹
principal were increased then his full services would again be required.
In the following year he asked to take a curacy at St. Nicholas, Durham but
this was turned down by the committee.² He must have been particularly
insistent, or very hard pressed financially, for in the following year he
succeeded in gaining permission to take Sunday service at St. Giles.³ In
the period 1850-1860 the managers had no great difficulty in obtaining
the services of young clerics as vice-principals but considerable difficulty
in retaining those services for a salary of between £70 and £80 a year. The
question of staff salaries and staff residence is discussed below for it was
these considerations rather than academic qualifications which account for
the frequency with which vice-principals were appointed and resigned.

Residence of staff

The principle of residence applied to all full-time members of staff
appointed after the Training School moved to the new buildings.⁴ The
purpose of such residence, from the point of view of the committee of
management, has already been defined as responsibility for instruction in
a long working day and the maintaining of discipline. From the staff point
of view there were advantages and disadvantages. In the case of Cromwell
there were considerable advantages as he had occupied a suite of rooms
from his joining the staff as vice-principal in the new buildings.⁵ The

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1. Minutes, May 27th, 1854, page 96.
2. Minutes, January 3rd, 1855, page 99.
3. Minutes, April 2nd, 1855, page 106.
4. Minutes, February 26th, 1852, page 72.
5. Minutes, May 27th, 1854, page 96.

building of a principal's house further increased the possibilities for a full family life whilst still technically resident in the Training School.

For other members of staff there were no married quarters and little chance to use the threat of non-residence as a bargaining point when applying for an increase in salary. Residence was a condition of employment and marriage did not necessarily bring either permission to live out or an increase in salary. This is well illustrated in the case of William Lawson who, in 1857, was appointed as third master.¹ This followed a recommendation of the inspectorate in the previous year² and efforts of the Dean dating back to 1851.³ Lawson was a former pupil of the Training School, and immediately prior to his joining the staff had been master of St. Margaret's School, Durham.⁴ On first appointment he did not gain a great deal financially and probably settled for what he regarded as a form of professional promotion. In 1858 he was contemplating marriage but found it difficult to persuade the committee to release him from residence.⁵ In 1859 he did receive a salary increase from £50 to £70 a year but it was not until 1860 that he was allowed to "reside out of the institution when married" with an increase in salary of £35 to compensate for his board and lodging within the Training School.⁶ The restrictions of staff residence must have been an annoyance to young men who wished to make a career for themselves in the Training School, especially when they were working under better paid vice-principals who did not intend to remain in teacher training.

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1. Minutes, February 4th, 1857, page 119.
2. Ibid.
3. Minutes, 24th December, 1856, page 114.
4. Minutes, October 15th, 1851, page 67.
5. Minutes, October, 6th, 1858, page 134.
6. Minutes, February 3rd, 1860, page 145.

Name of Tutor	Status	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
John Cundill	Director																							
J.G. Cromwell	Principal																							
W. Sproule	Vice-Principal																							
J.G. Cromwell	Vice-Principal																							
R.D. Dingle	Vice-Principal																							
W. Townson	Vice-Principal																							
A. Sweeting	Vice-Principal																							
W. Lowley	Vice-Principal																							
Mr. Martindale	General Instructor																							
R.D. Dingle	General Instructor																							
Mr. Finlay	Mathematic Master																							
Mr. Newton	Drawing Master																							
Mr. Freemantle	Music Master																							
Mr. Ashton	Music Master																							
Mr. Clarke Dawson	Music Master																							
Mr. W. Goundry	Normal Master ?																							
Mr. T. Preston	Normal Master																							
Mr. W. Lawson	Third Master																							

Religious Instruction

PRINCIPAL

General Arts

VICE-PRINCIPAL

Maths and Science

GENERAL INSTRUCTOR

Practical Elementary Instruction

THIRD MASTER

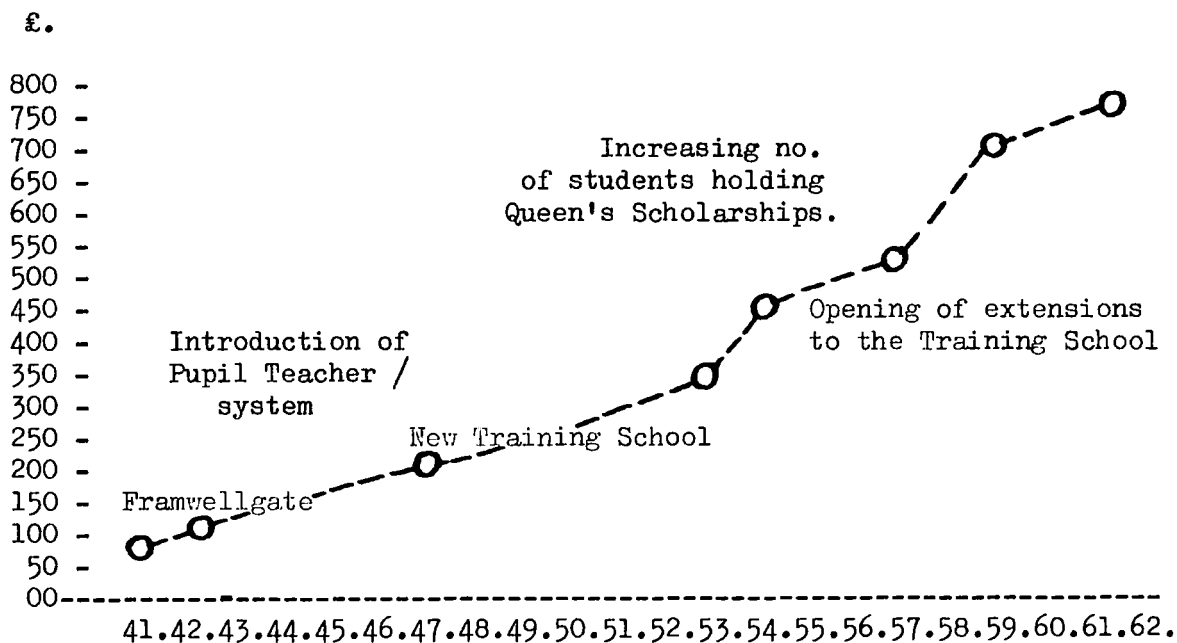
NORMAL MASTER

The Staff and their teaching duties
1841 - 1861.

Salaries of staff

The diagram given below is intended to illustrate the way in which staff salaries were related to the overall growth of the Training School and in particular to show the size of the salary bill on the eve of the Revised Code. From the graph it may be seen that the total salary bill had risen from £65 in 1841 to over £700 in 1859. In terms of student numbers this was a pro rata increase, as there were five students in 1841 and fifty in 1861. It is not likely however that the committee had

Figure 2. Graph showing the growth in the total annual salaries paid to the academic staff of the Training School 1841 - 1861.



paid as much attention to this as they might have done for there was a deal of ill feeling generated when the publication of the Revised Code showed the government's intention to reduce the relationship between staff salaries and student numbers to a near mathematical statement. In the light of the economies threatened by the Revised Code there is some point in looking at the differentials within staff salaries and in particular considering which staff members were in the best position to survive an economic crisis.

In 1851, when most of the staff were employed on a part-time basis, salaries ranged from £10 to £25 a year and as such were hardly distinguishable from those paid to school teachers. By 1861 staff salaries ranged from £50 to £450 a year and were therefore considerably removed from those paid in elementary schools. Viewed from the standpoint that the training schools were institutions of higher learning, this can only be accepted as progress. From the point of view of those who criticised the training schools for being too divorced from the elementary schools, this salary differential was difficult to support out of state funds.

Whilst the Church continued to pay a considerable part towards the upkeep of the Training School the principal's salary tended to increase more quickly than any other. In 1852 it was £100 a year but after increases in three successive years (1853-55) it was raised to £350. The only other salary increase at this time was one of £5 to

1
 Mr. Ashton. In 1859 when there was a general increase in salaries the principal again came off best with a gain of £100 compared with £30 for the vice-principal and £20 for the third master. 2 As has been indicated in dealing with the office of vice-principal, that office was not at first seen as a career but as a stepping stone to advancement outside of teacher training. In the event of financial hardship within the Training School the vice-principal could look elsewhere, the principal could look to the management for support. Unfortunately it was the non-graduate members of staff, those employed because of their professional experience in teaching subjects taken in the elementary schools, who were the poorest paid of the staff and the least protected against a malevolent salary policy. This is a point to be borne in mind in the next chapter.

One member of staff whose role became more closely defined in the twenty years under review was the 'Master of the Model School'. The person responsible for the supervision of practical teaching was first described in this way in 1846, 3 although the Model School was not yet built. As had been arranged in 1840-41 the students were to receive their instruction in practical teaching in the Blue Coat School, Durham. William Goundry, master of Blue Coat from 1820 until 1850, was paid by the Training School for these services and his employment had apparently given satisfaction until 1848 when his work was heavily criticised by the Rev. J.G. Cromwell. 4 Chadwick is obviously sympathetic to the difficulties

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1. Minutes April 14th, 1853, March 4th, 1854, October 10th, 1854, pages 86, 91 and 98.
2. Minutes January 11th, 1859, page 135.
3. Minutes, May 14th, 1846.
4. Chadwick, Robert: "Durham Blue Coat Schools 1708 - 1958" pages 13 - 17. The basis for the whole of this paragraph.

encountered by Goundry in attempting to teach nearly 400 boys 'herded into one room 36 feet by 28 '. Since 1810 there had been a Visiting Committee of subscribers who inspected the work of the school and issued annual reports. The charge of Cromwell, in 1848, was that the school was not in an efficient condition and that, "the visiting Committee of gentlemen having become inefficient, and it being considered advisable to appoint specifically for the purpose, the Rev. J. Cundill was requested to confer with Mr. Sproule on the subject." This led to the appointment of Sproule, vice-principal of the Training School, as superintendent of Blue Coat. After a very short period of service in this capacity he was succeeded by Cromwell in September of 1848. Consequently from that year until 1864, when he resigned, Cromwell had a large measure of control over the organisation of what was in effect the 'practising school'. This brief background helps make the entries in the Minute Book more explicable. After the resignation of Mr. Goundry in 1850 the mastership of the Blue Coat School passed to a Mr. Sullivan, the first certificated master. In 1855 John Fish, a former student of the Training School, was appointed master of Blue Coat, to the obvious satisfaction of Cromwell who regarded him as one of his star pupils.¹ This was a totally different relationship from that implied by the minute of 1849² in which the following resolution is recorded. " ... to negotiate with the Committee of the Blue Coat School for the discontinuance or reduction of the payments at present made by the Training School to the Master of the Blue Coat School."

When the Model school was opened in 1858 the appointment of a master lay with the Principal, and the first master, Thomas Preston, was in all

1. This is the view of Chadwick. op. cit. pp. 35-36.
2. Minutes January 22nd, 1849, page 63.

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probability a recent student of the Training School. In his charge were sixty boys compared with the two hundred taught by John Fish during this period. The conditions in the Model School were therefore closer to the conditions envisaged by the Committee of Council, a school with separate classrooms, close to the Training School, a model in school organisation and management. Students continued to take some of their practical work in Blue Coat but, after 1858, the master of that school was no longer considered as a member of Staff of the Training School. In the first year of his appointment Preston also undertook some of the teaching of music in the Training School but there is no indication that he would be expected to contribute to the general teaching of the Training School on anything like a regular basis. The reports of the Inspectorate show quite clearly that his teaching should be largely limited to those matters which related to teaching and school management.² By 1860, as may be seen from the chart on page 80, the staff of the Training School had become largely resident, enjoyed a salary level which by the standards of the institution itself represented a peak, and, with the exception of the singing master, were all full-time employees. Each of the staff functions identified in the structure of 1841³ was in the hands of a member possessing a professional qualification. The efficiency, success, achievement of the staff may be gauged from the report of the Inspectorate for 1860.⁴ The Rev. Cowie offered a report "favourable in every way, and he considered that it would hold its own (?) with any similar institution in this country. He considered the officers efficient, their training to teach well done, practical and good."

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1. Minutes February 6th, 1858, page 129. Register Student No. 179.
2. Especially the report given in 1856. Minutes May 3rd, 1856, page 109.
3. See pages 77 - 78 of this work.
4. Minutes October, 12th, 1860, page 147.

Chapter Five:

The curriculum 1841 - 1861.

The minutes provide a fair picture of the curriculum followed in the Training School. The initial course is given in some detail, together with timetables which indicate the emphasis placed upon particular subjects. The staffing situation is carefully recorded during the changes of twenty years, together with a general indication of staff specialisation and teaching responsibilities. Occasionally lists of books in use in the Training School appear in the minutes, thus giving some limited idea of the work set as exercises. There is a complete record of the visits made by the inspectorate in terms of names, dates and general statements as to success and failure, but very little detailed information as to which subjects were taken in examinations, to what standard, and how successfully. The Committee obviously attached a deal of importance to the number of students in training and to the length of the course. From the registers it is possible to calculate these statistics with accuracy, but, and this a most annoying omission, there is virtually no mention made in the minutes of the way in which the work of second year students differed from the work of the first year, no means of tracing an expanding or discriminating curriculum.

What one would like to know of the curriculum during this period is easily listed, and to some purpose. What was the initial curriculum and where did the emphasis lie? Was there a detailed syllabus within subjects, and were there any options? What did the committee hope to include in the course for second year students which could not be covered in a course lasting for one year only? What changes in subjects and emphasis were made during the period and what

were the influences which brought about such changes in the curriculum? How did the management of the Training School devise a system of professional training before the appointment of certificated teachers to the staff, and before the opening of the Model School?

A number of external sources may be used to fill in some of the details essential to this account. From the Minute Book there are clear leads to advertisements in the local press, and to the records of the National Society. The books listed can be traced and their contents taken as a vicarious view of the Training School course. The reports of the inspectorate can be traced in the annual publication of the Committee of Council which give examples of examination papers and certificate examination results for all training schools. Fortunately the Minute Books of the Blue Coat School have survived intact to offer some further account of the routines studied. Even so, many points must remain conjectural. Detailed syllabuses have not survived nor any contemporary, personal accounts, which might offer some measure of the depth of insight achieved by the students of the Training School. The precise achievements of the students on admission, especially in the days before the Queen's Scholarship, is beyond calculation. Above all, so brief and selective are the accounts given in the minutes of the visits of inspectors that it is not always possible to determine when changes in curriculum were made. Within such limitations the following account is given of the development of the curriculum between 1841 - 1861.

The initial curriculum

In August of 1841 the curriculum of the Training School was defined thus: ".... The various branches of religious knowledge; also grammar, reading, writing, geography, history, arithmetic including book-keeping and mensuration, and vocal music. Also the theory and practice of teaching. Higher subjects of instruction will be given to such as may desire it, on a higher payment." ¹ Straightway there was a division between those subjects traditional to the elementary school and those desirable for the elementary school master. An earlier minute ² records that Goundry of the Blue Coat school was to be Cundill's assistant "for instruction in the methods of teaching and such branches of learning as are introduced into the National School". One measure of the difference between the elementary subjects and the higher branches of learning may be given by comparing the list of subjects offered by Martindale with those listed in the August 41 document quoted above.

Martindale was engaged to teach "grammar, reading, writing, geography, history, arithmetic including book-keeping, mensuration, algebra, trigonometry and latin". ³ Clearly algebra, trigonometry and latin were not considered part of the basic curriculum but a form of personal education. ⁴ A further distinction may be made between those subjects held to be basic to the course in the Training School and those basic to Blue Coat (the assumption being that Blue Coat was typical of National Schools generally). The curriculum of Blue Coat, for the period

1. Minutes, August, 1841, page 27.
2. Minutes, April 8th, 1841, page 22.
3. Minutes, October 25th, 1841, page 31.
4. See minutes, June 5th, 1839, page 18, which define the higher subjects as "The higher branches of arithmetic, the elements of pure and mixed mathematics, languages and drawing".

prior to the appointment of John Fish has not been recorded other than ¹ entries relating to the teaching of religious knowledge and reading.

The fact that Goundry was trained at the Barrington School, Bishop Auckland, and that in 1841 Blue Coat was still using a monitorial approach, suggests that the curriculum mainly centred around religious instruction, ² spelling, reading, writing, cyphering, and arithmetical tables. Although other writers can point out that the Madras system of Bell could be extended to subjects not previously taken in the elementary school, much is to be said for the arguments used by Joseph Fox to show that Bell's mensuration, navigation, and astronomy soon became "Reading only to the ³ multitude, writing to a few". The early curriculum of the Durham Training School may therefore be described under three main headings as set out below:

Figure 3 The Curriculum of the Training School 1841

Elementary School Subjects of the National Schools	Prospective elementary school subjects, beyond the monitorial system	Subjects for the personal education of schoolmasters
Reading Spelling Writing Arithmetical-notation Religious-knowledge	Grammar Geography History Commercial-arithmetical Music Practice of teaching	Mensuration (Drawing) Algebra Trigonometry Latin Religious Knowledge Theory of teaching

1. Chadwick, op. cit. pages 7 and pages 13-14.
2. Based largely upon Sir Thomas Bernard's "The New School etc." third edition, London, 1910. Especially page 74.
3. Fox, Joseph. "A comparative view of the plans of education as detailed in the publications of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster". Second edition, London 1809 appendix following page 72.

There is some internal evidence to show the relative importance accorded to the three aspects of the curriculum identified above. From the timetable given in the minutes,¹ the actual timetabled hours show the emphasis in this order:

Attendance at the Blue Coat Schools	23½ hours
Religious instruction with the Director	5 hours
Academic instruction with Martindale	6 hours
Music with Mr. Freemantle	4 hours

Clearly the time spent at Blue Coat, observing the system, and perhaps receiving some tuition from Goundry in the elementary school subjects, was the major emphasis, 60% of the timetable. Martindale's teaching was partly in prospective elementary school subjects and partly for the personal education of the students. A break-down of the religious instruction given by the director suggests that this really was personal, higher education, and not intended as an introduction to the teaching of religious knowledge in schools. The four hours given to the teaching of music were not wholly intended for school purposes.³ These weightings within the timetabled hours, 60% to elementary school work, 20% to an extension of that work, and 20% to the personal education of the students, are important criteria against which to measure the changing curriculum of the Training School to 1861.

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1. Minutes, November 18th, 1841, page 37.
2. There is some evidence to show that this included training in the form of music used in church services. See minutes January 4th, 1854, page 91 and February 4th, 1863, page 159.

The minutes afford little detailed information on the syllabus followed within subjects, with the exception of religious knowledge. The course in divinity covered, "Evidences, Sacred History, Exposition of Scripture, Liturgy, Church Catechism, 39 Articles, Church History Ancient and Modern".¹ Apart from the time set aside for religious instruction in the academic timetable there was a regular pattern of Christian reading built into the daily routine. At half past seven in the morning prayers were said, followed by selected readings from the Liturgy, as edited by Dr. Hook.² At half past nine a second lesson was read, followed by prayers. It had earlier been decided upon Porteus' "Evidences" and Bishop Sumner's "Expositions" as the basis of theological and scriptural studies.³ This is the limit of the evidence yielded by the minutes on the subject of religious instruction during the Framwellgate period.

Even less is known about the work taught by Martindale. The Committee had written to Dr. Kay asking his advice on books suitable for the course in Durham, and he had recommended to them works which he thought standard,⁴ but the Committee decided to use only "such of the (above) list as might appear advisable".

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1. Minutes November 18th, 1841, page 37.
2. Ibid.
3. Undated minute, probably Spring, 1841, page 31.
4. The actual list was:-
 - McCulloch and Crombie's English Grammar
 - 4th and 5th. Irish Reform Books for Reading
 - English Classics for Elocution
 - Mulhauser's method of teaching to write
 - Kildar Place Society's Geography
 - McIntosh's History of England
 - Thomson of Glasgow, Arithmetic
 - Wilkin's Method of Teaching Music

This list may be compared with the schedules for book grants, issued by the Committee of Council in 1849. See Minutes for 1847 - 48. Vol. I. Pages xvi - xxxiv.

The development of the curriculum in the days after Framwellgate merits an occasional reference in the minutes but it is in the reports made by the inspectorate that what is known of the curriculum can best be traced. Some explanation of the role of the inspectorate, and of their influence on the curriculum of the Training School generally, must preface any reference in detail to the reports of inspections published in the Minutes of Council. A number of trends, faintly but clearly discernable in the minutes, can be supported and made more meaningful by an examination of the government's general policy for education. Among such trends should be noted the growing importance attached to examinations for the teacher's certificate, the impact of examination results upon staff appointments and salaries, a growing emphasis upon maths and science and increased expenditure upon books and apparatus. Each of these trends may be approximated to the 'pupil teacher system' without constituting that system in full. This interpretation, reached independently, is largely the attitude taken by the compilers of the Board of Education Report for 1912 - 1913. A quotation from that Report puts the problem of the training school curriculum in cogent terms.

"Even then it was doubtful if the primary task of the Colleges was to be professional training or general education But more urgent than any question of the scope of the Training College curriculum was the question of the selection and preliminary education of the intending students. The College could not then - or indeed at any other period - be conducted without reference to the educational machinery of the time. They were not able to plan ideal courses of training, or to refuse to

train persons who had not reached a high standard of education, or who did not appear to be specially fitted for the teaching profession. From the outset, the power of the Training Colleges to send out satisfactory teachers depended very largely on the kind of students whom they could attract".

The problem of student-teacher recruitment was inextricably bound up with the problem of curriculum planning. If financial support for students in training was not forthcoming, then only young men ¹, under-educated, not yet 'possessed of a trade' applied for admission to the training schools. If, on the other hand, the training schools had attempted to launch grant-aided courses for men in the eighteen plus age group there would have been a distinct possibility that the "teaching profession would have been largely filled with the failures in other walks of life"². The pupil-teacher system, established by the minutes of 1846, set out the way in which the government proposed to give grant aid to the training of elementary teachers. In the minutes of the previous year ³ correspondence from certain diocesan training schools was published to illustrate the need for a pupil-teacher system ----- although the memorialists chosen were doubtlessly those whose thoughts corresponded most closely to Shuttleworth's outline of the Dutch system. The Derby Diocesan Board of Education put forward three points, each of which was

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1. I cannot, however, agree with the generalisation made in that Report to the effect that the early colleges recruited boys of 13-14.
2. In Durham no one was admitted under the age of 16.
Board of Education Report 1912-13, page 15. Perhaps a debatable matter but a genuine contemporary viewpoint.
3. Committee of Council Minutes, 1845. Vol. I. pp. (vii) - (xv).

incorporated in the system of 1846.

- (1) The need to retain, by small payments, the services of young persons who had been examined and approved as subordinate teachers.
- (2) The need to send such subordinate teachers to "good training schools".
- (3) The need for salary augmentation for "well trained teachers, as is due to so important and honourable a calling".

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The London Diocesan School Board had already attempted to establish such a system of subsidised school apprenticeships but found that "to begin to educate a boy from the age of thirteen or fourteen (the latest period of his being allowed by his parents to remain at a National School) would involve an expense which no resources at present available would be adequate to meet". The minutes of the following year made good the financial limitations of this diocesan scheme. The pipers in the Privy Council certainly established a position in which they could call the provincial tunes.

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One short quotation from the 1846 minutes shows how carefully the government had related its aims to the ideas of efficiency and system. They had considered "the advantage which might arise if such scholars, as might be distinguished by proficiency and good conduct, were apprenticed to skilful masters, to be instructed and trained so as to be prepared to complete their education as schoolmasters in a Normal School". In order to implement this policy additional regulations were drawn up covering, amongst other things, the qualifications of schoolmasters who were to have pupil-teachers, the kind of instruction which the pupil-teachers should

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1. Committee of Council Minutes, 1845, Vol. I. pp. (viii) - (x).
2. Dated October 25th, 1846, and published in the Minutes of 1846. Vol. I. Page 1.

receive, the form of the examination which they should take throughout their apprenticeship, and the stipends of masters and pupil-teachers within the system.

The curriculum of the training and elementary schools became closely linked. The Queen's Scholarship examination, taken to secure grant-aided entry to a training school, was based upon the pupil-teacher syllabus. In the training schools the certificate syllabus included a study of the instruction which masters would give to pupil teachers. It is from 1846 rather than 1862 that we should date the Codes which effectively governed the curriculum of the elementary school and the places in which elementary teachers were trained. The financial details of the pupil-teacher system make this abundantly clear.

Pupil-teachers were not indentured until they had reached the age of thirteen. During a maximum apprenticeship of five years their income rose from £10 in the first year to £20 in the fifth, provided that their progress each year satisfied the inspector. At the end of the apprenticeship the pupil-teachers were entitled to continue as assistant teachers. They would not, however, be qualified to receive the same financial rewards as those teachers who had completed courses in the training schools. Pupil-teachers who did not become certificated would be largely limited to a salary of £20 a year whereas those who held certificates, gained at the training schools, had their salaries augmented by government grant and could expect at least £45 a year and a free house. Further, it was clear that eventually only trained masters would be permitted to take pupil-apprentices and enjoy additional

payment for this. If the pupil-teacher system of 1846 were to be successful then there would be no future for the uncertificated (non-apprenticed) teacher, and very little for the pupil-teacher who had not completed his training in the Normal School.

Thus many of the general provisions of the 1846 Minutes welded the training school system to the work of the elementary schools. One section² of the minutes dealt specifically with the "SUPPORT OF NORMAL SCHOOLS". Those pupil-teachers who had successfully completed their apprenticeship were invited to apply for admission to the training schools where the principal and the visiting inspectors, by means of public examination, were able to offer exhibitions to at first 25% (1846) and later all (1853) who had passed the Queen's Scholarship examinations with merit. These exhibitioners were to be known as Queen's Scholars and were given grants of £20 - £23 to pay for their tuition. Grants paid to the management committees of the training schools depended upon examinations conducted by the inspectors and were paid at the end of the training year, £20 at the end of the first, £25 at the end of the second, and £30 at the end of the third. This brought the training schools within the same examination structure as the elementary schools and increased the dependence of the training institutions upon government grants. The move from Framwellgate to Gilesgate was co-incident with the development of the pupil-teacher and Queen's Scholarship systems. This meant that from 1847 onwards the curriculum of the Training School in Durham became subject to the annual reports of the inspectors.

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1. Minutes of Council, 1846, Volume I, page 9.
2. Ibid, pages 10 - 11.

During the five years of his apprenticeship the pupil-teacher had undergone one and a half hours instruction per day, five days per week, outside his own teaching periods, in preparation for the series of government examinations which plotted his progress through the apprenticeship. There were seven basic elements to these examinations, collectively covering much of the academic and pedagogic instruction previously given in the training schools. These elements were reading and composition, arithmetic, English grammar, religious knowledge, geography with history, music, and practical teaching. The syllabus in reading and composition gradually pointed towards the theory of education, and the examination in practical teaching progressively covered all the work likely to be taken by the masters of elementary schools. For example, in their last year apprentices were to be prepared to tackle an essay "on some subject connected with the art of teaching". The syllabus in arithmetic had advanced as far as algebra, land surveying and levelling. The studies in grammar were fully immersed in the complexities of syntax, etymology and prosody. In geography emphasis was placed upon the 'use of the globe' and the historical topography of Europe. The pupil was also to take a gallery lesson in the presence of the inspector, and by this means illustrate his control over two classes simultaneously.

With such a background of pre-training school experience, the spending of 60% of student time in the Blue Coat School, Claypath, completing an elementary education, could no longer be justified. Table 2 below shows the build-up of Queen's Scholars in the Durham Training School.

Table 2:

The build-up of Queen's Scholars and
Certificate successes 1847 - 1857.

Year	Total number of students in residence (1)	Number of students admitted (2)	Number of Queen's Scholars in residence (3)	Number of students passing Govt. Exams. (4)
1847	10	8	-	-
48	16	15	-	1
49	17	11	-	2
50	16	7	-	5
51	23	19	-	8
52	24	10	6	16
53	23	16	16	16
54	30	19	18	20
55	32	13	20	18
56	31	20	37	26
57		21	46	37

- (1) Annual Reports.
- (2) College Register.
- (3) College Register and C.C. Reports 1852-53, page 293. 1860-61, page 271.
- (4) C.C. Report 1850-51. Table iv. page ccxv. and C.C. Report 1858-59. Appendix 2. Tables page 277, plus sources given for compilation of Table 3. Pages 109-111.

As the records show, it was not until the middle fifties that the Queen's Scholars constituted a major part of the yearly student intake. Yet the very first visit of the inspectors, in 1849, revealed that there had already been changes in emphasis, with respect to the curriculum, since the early days at Framwellgate. The figures given in Appendix 'B' show that in 1849, out of a working week of 58 hours, only 13 were spent in the 'Model School' that is 22% of all time-tabled periods. In the ten years which had passed since the inception of the Framwellgate curriculum there had been a two-thirds reduction in the proportion of time devoted to the study of elementary school work.

The inspection made in 1849 was the most comprehensively reported of all inspections made before 1860 and is the key used to translate the brief comments made during subsequent annual inspections. In the Minute Book there are earlier references to the importance of certification, examination, and student grants, all indicative of emphases read into the Council Minutes of 1846 by the management committee. Since 1842² the Training School had planned to hold its own examinations with a view to granting diplomas and offering scholarships to those students prepared to take a longer course. This internal assessment of, perhaps, a dozen students must have been a relatively casual business compared with the examinations conducted by visiting inspectors who reported on the attainments of students, the teaching ability of the staff, and the condition of the Blue Coat School. As a result of the 1849 inspection pressure was brought to bear on the committee of the Blue Coat School for a reduction in the fee paid by the Training School to Goundry. The inspectors recommended that, within the Training School, additional tuition in mathematics should be provided.³ Straightaway can be seen the essential difference between internal and external assessment. The former is designed to stimulate student life, whereas the latter makes recommendations designed principally to modify teaching and grant-aid. By 1860 the power of the government examinations had impressed the committee of management in three major areas. In 1859 for example it⁴ was agreed "that on account of the increasing number of candidates, and

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1. Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1849, pp 710 et.seq.
2. Minutes of the Training School, December 2nd, 1842, page 43.
3. Minutes of the Training School, January 22nd, 1849, page 63.
4. Ibid. October 11th, 1859, page 142.

there being no room of sufficient size in the establishment, the Town Hall shall be engaged for the government examination in December". This was a tangible sign that the Durham Training School was smaller than the system to which it had become financially bonded. Before the institution of the Revised Code the public were already aware that the government grant to education was given as a measure of efficiency rather than to finance a speculative independence.

Already too the examination results, upon which maintenance grants were based, could be quoted by the inspectors to challenge the wisdom of the committee of management as hirers and firers of staff. Pressure exerted by the government on staff recruitment, and staff salaries, obviously reperculated upon the curriculum of the Training School. In 1851¹ the management's plans to engage a second master had to wait upon the examination results to be published by the inspectorate.² In 1858 the teaching of Ashton, the Music Master, was severely criticised by the inspectorate. Principal Cromwell appears to have been prepared to deal sharply with Ashton, as his inefficiency jeopardised the finance of the institution. The committee, however, had the good sense to recognise Ashton's ill-health, and to treat him more generously.

During this period, 1847 - 1860, according to the Minute Book, the government examination made most impact upon the curriculum of the Training School with respect to the teaching of mathematics and science. The inspectors, in 1851³ reported favourably upon the teaching of "theology, scriptural knowledge and church history". In the same set of minutes the

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1. Minutes of the Training School, October 15th, 1851, page 68.
2. Ibid. January 6th, 1858, page 126.
3. Minutes, July 18th, 1851, page 67.

committee of management proposed to approach the Committee of Council for financial assistance in the appointment of a mathematics master as the inspectors had noted a definite weakness on that side. In the following year, 1852,¹ equipment to the value of £20 was bought for the study of practical mathematics.² Shortly after this the committee acceded to a strong recommendation of the Committee of Council that elementary drawing should become "part of the regular instruction in the School". In 1854-55 Mr. Newton was appointed to the staff as drawing master.³ In this context drawing meant draughtsmanship, mensuration, surveying, and perhaps engineering drawing. After 1852 the students had ceased to attend Mr. Johnstone's lectures on agricultural chemistry, a further confirmation of the movement of the curriculum away from the world of the husbandman to the world of the mechanic.⁴ In 1860⁵ ten pounds was spent on 'models of machinery', again indicative of a teaching interest in applied mathematics and practical science. Such a view accords well with the viewpoint of the Newcastle Commission, of 1858-1860, which was asked to report on the state of popular education. That Commission took Northumberland and Durham, one of the ten areas investigated, as an example of mining and heavily industrialised areas. Given such an interpretation there would appear to be a growing need for teachers of mathematics and science.

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1. Minutes, July 7th, 1852, page 76.
2. The actual purchase was of "Instruments for surveying, levelling, navigation, and practical astronomy." Minutes, Jan. 5th, 1852, page 80.
3. In December 1855, minutes 10. 12. 1855., page 104, his salary was raised to £15. The decision to add drawing to the curriculum was taken in 1853. This gives 1854-55 as the most likely year of appointment.
4. Minutes July 7th, 1852, page 75.
5. Minutes January 10th, 1860, page 142.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the unifying effect which the use of standard text-books could have upon the curriculum followed. The independent attitude adopted by the management of the Durham Training School has also been described. After 1846, by means of a policy which offered subsidies to schools for the purchase of scheduled books, the Committee of Council was able to exercise a much stronger influence upon the kind of school books in most popular use. Furthermore, through prescribing a graded course of reading for pupil-teachers, the masters who took such apprentices became increasingly dependent upon having the appropriate text-books. The same general agreement in respect of scheduled books was applied to the training schools after the Council Minutes of 1847-48. The subsidy was to be one third of the cost of approved books, set out in an extended schedule, to a maximum of two shillings and sixpence per pupil. In the minutes of the Durham Training School for the period 1849-1860 there are several references to the purchase of books and materials, most of which were listed in the government schedules. From successive lists one may experience, vicariously, the curriculum followed during that period. In 1849 an unspecified number of books and maps, recommended by the inspectorate, was purchased. After 1862, the Training School became a depot for books and maps sent as specimens for use by the Durham Diocesan School Society. The listing of specific purchases during this period, 1847 - 1860, shows that the grammars and readers continued to be purchased in sets, presumably for basic course work, whereas copies of text-books in

1. Committee of Council Minutes, 1847-48, Vol. I. pp. xxvi - xxxiv.
2. Minutes, January 22nd, 1849, page 63.

drawing, geometry, algebra, and practical mathematics, were purchased as single copies. By 1860, although no more substantive detail is given in the Training School minutes regarding the titles of books purchased, it had become a regular practice to make book purchases from the Committee of Council lists. In 1860, for example, books to the value of £48 were ordered in the confident expectation that the Committee of Council would meet one third of the cost. Yet again can be seen the growing dependence of the Training School upon government grants.

A last quotation from the minutes of the Training School underlines the gradual change in government policy with regard to the aims of the Durham curriculum. Arguments presented in the earlier part of this thesis have been designed to show that in the 1840's Shuttleworth, individually, and the inspectorate collectively, had attempted to promote post-elementary studies in the Normal or Training Schools. This was a principal aim of the Council Minutes of 1846 and in the ten years which followed. The curriculum of the Durham Training School, after an initial period of self deception, had by the late 1850's developed courses well beyond those of the elementary schools. The policy of appointing graduate tutors to take religious studies and general arts, an increase in the number of Queen's Scholars, and positive encouragement from the Committee of Council to develop the science side, had led the management committee in Durham to believe that their policy of post elementary provision was the right one. This makes the report of the inspectorate for 1856 all the more unexpected. When the verbal report of the inspectors was made to the committee of management that committee found itself on the defensive, apparently charged with "training the men too high" and failing to provide

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 1. Minutes May 3rd, 1856, page 109.

sufficient teachers for the elementary schools of the diocese. A closer inspection of the reports submitted on the training schools generally, and on Durham in particular, shows that in the decade prior to the Revised Code, the inspectors were already reporting against an over ambitious curriculum.

Government sources on the college curriculum 1849 - 1860.

The first visit of the inspectors to the Durham Training School was made in 1849, after which visits were made annually for the purpose of inspection and public report. Such visits can be traced in the annual reports of the Committee of Council on Education. Usually the training schools were the subject of a collective report in which particular schools can only be identified by their appropriate line in tables of statistics. Rarely is there a specific, fuller report, on the progress of an individual training school.¹ Yet, in the case of Durham, much can be deduced from examination results, from the passing comments of the inspectors, and from a general appreciation of the manner in which the government attempted to structure the curricula of the training schools. Such sources amplify the evidence on the curriculum given in the Minute Book. In particular they afford valuable, complementary information on the syllabus followed, on the standards achieved by students, and on the teaching methods employed by the staff.

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The fuller report of 1849 is the only available source on the

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1. There are only two fuller reports on Durham; in 1849 because it was the first government inspection, and in 1860 when a new inspector reported on the training schools individually.
 2. Report of the C.C. 1848 - 1850. Vol. II. pp. 909 - 716.

syllabus of the Training School after 1841 and prior to 1852, that is to say on the period between Framwellgate and the influx of Queen's Scholars. The subjects constituting the entrance examination were "reading, writing, spelling, grammar, scripture-history, general religious knowledge, the catechism and arithmetic as far as simple proportion"¹. The absence of any reference to the known ability of the entrants as teachers is to be explained by the fact that in 1849 the first of the pupil teachers had yet to complete their apprenticeship. The emphasis upon religious knowledge was not due simply to the fact that Durham was a Diocesan Training School; later evidence shows that in Durham religious instruction was a 'forte' which the staff of the school consciously sought to promote. This may well have been brought about through the close association with the University of Durham.² Even so, with the exception of practical teaching and vocal music, the attainments looked for in candidates for admission were remarkably similar to those prescribed by the Committee of Council within the pupil teacher system.

The major differences lay in the standards of attainment actually accepted. Within the pupil teacher system, when fully established, there was a whole series of examinations placed between the boy with scholastic ambition and the course offered by the training schools. This is

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1. Report of the C.C. 1848 - 1850, Vol. II, page 710.
2. This point is developed later on pages 210-216. It may be noted here that the first Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham was an active member of the management committee.

supported by the figures given in Table 2 which relates success in the certificate examination to the standards attained by students on entry. In 1849 Moseley, hardly an unbiased witness, yet the man best qualified to set up 'standards' for the training schools, reported that the standards attained by candidates for entry to the Durham school were generally very poor and that they would need to improve considerably before a satisfactory number of students could possibly qualify for government grants.¹

After entry the students were taken through a six point course of studies.

- " I. Divinity, including Scriptural History, Evidences, Expositions of Scripture, the Church Catechism, Liturgy, the Thirty Nine Articles, Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern History.
- II. Geography and the use of the Globes.
- III. Grammar and English Composition.
- IV. Mathematics, including Arithmetic and Book-keeping, Mensuration, Algebra, Euclid, Trigonometry, Mechanics and Popular Astronomy.
- V. Vocal music.
- VI. Agricultural chemistry. "

Although Blandford³ reports this as the course given him by the principal it should be more accurately described as the basic course intended for all students. Provision was also made for options in "the higher branches of mathematics, Trigonometry, Physics, Music, Latin and Greek, Drawing, Modern Languages, History of English Language."

This form of curriculum, highly ambitious when compared with the staff available and the relatively small number of students, was typical

1. C.C. 1848-50. Vol. II: 712-713. This point was agreed by the Principal.
2. Ibid, page 710.
3. Blandford was the Inspector who visited the School in 1849.

of the early training schools. Writing in 1854, Moseley claimed that the first policy of the Privy Council was "to recognise in the studies of these institutions whatever subjects might be deemed by their promoters expedient to be taught and in (your) examinations to give their students credit for whatever positive and definite attainments in knowledge they might afford the evidence of ..."¹

From the comments of the same authority it may be inferred that this expansive curriculum was at first seen as a re-action to the monitorial strongholds outside the training schools where the plan of Dr. Bell was widely accepted and the provincial mind could not conceive of a school taught by a trained master who did not depend upon monitors.² Moseley was probably the first of the inspectors to distinguish between the elementary and non-elementary subjects. He was also the first to charge the training schools with an over strong re-action to the work of the monitorial schools. This re-action had turned their staffs away from the elementary subjects "which were felt to be, under their ordinary forms, and in an educational sense, unrealities to those other subjects whose educational power had been tested by experience, and which having formed the staple diet of their own instruction from childhood, had to them the recommendation of truth and reality."³

Gradually, in their published examination results, the inspectors, came to distinguish between those subjects usually taught within the elementary schools, and those not. For Durham this distinction was first made in the Committee of Council Report for 1851 - 1852.⁴ From this point the changes in the structure and emphasis of the Durham

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1. C.C. Reports, 1854-55, page 286.
2. Ibid. Pages 305 - 307.
3. C.C. Reports, 1854 - 55, pages 309 - 310.
4. Page 195.

curriculum may be traced in Table 3. From this table it is also possible to trace the development of distinctive first and second year courses. The development of such courses is a significant illustration of the inter-relationship of three formative influences: the contemporary subscription to the primacy of elementary school education; the general desire of government and voluntary agencies for an extended course of teacher training; and lastly the trend to translate economic into educational uniformity.

Table 3 : The development of the Government Examinations for Training Schools 1850 - 1860, with special reference to the Durham Diocesan Training School for Masters

<u>YEAR OF THE EXAM</u>	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	
<u>Those subjects subsequently listed as elementary school subjects</u>						
Religious Knowledge	9 44	82	18 94	16 94	17 36	39
English Grammar	9 11	9	18 78	16 50	17 82	75
Geography	9 22	27	18 89	16 100	17 82	71
English History	9 44	45	18 50	16 100	17 82	69
Arithmetic	9 67	64	18 67	16 69	17 71	68
Music	9 22	55	- -	- -	17 24	21
School Management	9 33	9	18 67	16 75	17 71	65
Reading	- -	-	- -	16 63	17 94	90
Spelling	- -	-	- -	16 100	17 94	97
Penmanship	- -	-	- -	16 56	17 77	46
Inspectors Report	- -	-	- -	16 100	17 100	80
<u>Those subjects which were subsequently listed as not normally taken in the elementary schools.</u>						
Church History	9 22	82	18 94	16 75	17 77	
Model Drawing	9 8	-	- -	- -	17 47	
Geometry (Euclid)	9 11	-	61	16 94	17 71	
Algebra	9 11	18	18 86	16 88	17 53	
Mensuration	9 22	-	18 28	16 38	- -	
Higher Mathematics	9 11	-	- -	16 25	- -	
Physical Science	9 11	9	18 28	16 44	- -	
Industrial Mechanics	- -	18	- -	- -	- -	
Latin	- -	-	- -	16 13	- -	
Greek	- -	-	- -	- -	- -	

Note on Table 3

The figure in the first of each set of columns gives the number of students who were entered for the examinations.

The second set of figures in each column gives the percentage of students whose papers were classed as 'excellent', 'good', or 'fair'.

For the year 1854 the mean percentage of 'good passes' has been calculated for all diocesan training schools, so as to afford a comparison between the standards obtaining in Durham and those elsewhere.

This third set of figures also makes possible a comparison with a similar return for the year 1860.

The sources used in compiling Table 3 were Committee of Council Reports as given below:-

1850-51, pages 43- 44	1854-55, pages 291	1858-59, page 295
1851-52, pages 291-292	1855-56, page 724	1859-60, page 305
1852-53, pages 401-402	1856-57, page 715	1860-61, pages 284-291
1853-54, pages 433-434	1857-58, page 733	

Table 3 continued.

<u>YEAR OF THE EXAM</u>	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860		
<u>Those subjects of the first year suited to elementary schools</u>								
Religious Knowledge	12 83	20 90	26 92	28 100	27 96	23 95	71	
English Grammar	12 83	20 75	26 78	28 100	27 54	23 65	44	
Geography	12 67	20 70	26 96	28 100	27 100	23 100	84	
English History	12 67	20 70	26 92	28 93	27 54	23 13	15	
Arithmetic	12 50	20 95	26 74	28 80	27 79	23 70	59	
Music	12 42	20 20	26 47	28 96	27 32	23 38	42	
School Management	12 42	20 85	26 92	28 89	27 93	23 83	61	
Reading	12 67	20 70	26 54	28 77	27 43	23 57	73	
Spelling	12 75	20 100	26 96	28 100	27 100	23 96	94	
Penmanship	12 16	20 90	26 78	28 91	27 40	23 96	86	
<u>Those subjects of the first year beyond the elementary school course</u>								
Church History	12 83	20 95	26 92	28 63	27 75	23 65	44	
Model Drawing	12 67	20 10	26 82	-- --	-- --	-- --	--	--
Geometry (Euclid)	12 25	20 10	26 78	28 96	27 46	23 83	84	
Algebra	12 58	20 65	26 31	28 50	27 36	23 23	18	
Mensuration	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	--	--
Higher Maths.	-- --	-- --	-- --	28 31	-- --	-- --	--	--
Physical Science	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	--	--
Industrial Mechs.	12 33	20 30	26 15	28 65	-- --	-- --	--	--
Latin	-- --	-- --	26 31	-- --	27 10	10 60	81	
Greek	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	--	--
Catechism (1860)	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	23 83	82	
<u>Subjects taken by students in their second year</u>								
Religious Knowledge	12 83	7 100	10 90	19 100	22 67	24 100	87	
Grammar (Lit.)	12 100	7 100	10 100	19 100	22 60	24 71	35	
Geography	12 100	7 100	10 80	19 100	22 100	24 96	94	
English History	12 50	7 100	10 90	19 84	22 87	24 96	79	
Arithmetic (logs.)	12 50	7 86	10 80	19 84	22 81	16 63	25	
Music	12 58	7 72	10 80	19 80	22 9	20 60	75	
School Management	12 75	7 100	10 90	19 84		24 100	80	
Reading	12 42	7 86	10 80	19 80	22 36	24 92	80	
Spelling	12 100	7 100	10 100	19 100	22 90	24 100	99	
Penmanship	12 8	7 72	10 60	19 94	22 36	24 71	63	
Report/Teaching	12 83	7 86	10 90	19 45	22 76	24 83	79	
Liturgy/History	12 100	7 100	10 100	19 70	22 100	24 92	67	
Drawing	12 83	7 86	10 40					
Mathematics	12 8	7 43	10 60	19 20		Nil	63	
Physical Science	12 25	7 86				Nil	84	
Mechanics	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	22 27	5 100	89	
Latin	-- --	-- --	-- --	19 65	22 9	1 100	58	
English Literature	-- --	-- --	-- --	19 20	22 13	11 73	51	

The re-orientation of the training school curriculum towards the needs of the elementary schools has already been mentioned in an earlier part of this thesis,¹ when the management of the Durham Training School was accused of "training the men too high." It was in pressing home the need to have a closer identification with the elementary schools that the inspectors came to advocate a common syllabus for all training schools. After 1855, when a common syllabus was instituted, it is possible to distinguish first and second year courses within the curriculum. Only by using such secondary sources can an answer be given to the question, "What did the Committee hope to include in the course for second year students which could not be covered in a course lasting one year only?"

In a minute of 1853 the Committee of Council offered to augment the salaries of those members of staff who were skilled in those subjects normally taken in the elementary school. This, presumably, was to encourage the placing of a greater emphasis upon the vocational approach. If that were the case then the minute was, indirectly, a compliment to the training schools. Those most likely to be skilled in teaching the subjects appropriate to elementary schools were those who had themselves gained Certificates.

1. See page 103.

The subjects, "proper to elementary instruction" were listed as history, English literature, geography, physical science and applied mathematics. This meant that two members of the Durham staff could possibly benefit from such augmentation, Mr. Lawson who taught geography, and Mr. Newton, the drawing master. Yet the records of both the Training School and the Privy Council ² show that prior to 1860 no member of staff actually received an augmentation grant. This was due to the fact that the committee of management could not afford to pay either Lawson or Newton the initial £100 a year necessary to qualify for the government grant. Indeed the whole venture now seems very ill-conceived and can have been applicable to few of the training schools. The examination syllabus of 1855 was much more direct and effective.

One key quotation from the introduction of the syllabus shows that state subsidies to education were governed by parliamentary votes. "The examinations determine the apportionment, to the several training schools, of parliamentary grants, voted expressly for the promotion of elementary education. If, therefore, the course of study pursued in any training school be not confined to the subjects of elementary instruction, or to subjects ancilliary to the same end, the grants made to the school involve a misappropriation of public money." ³ As is shown in greater detail, when considering the mechanics of the certificate examinations,

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1. First minuted by the Committee of Council 20th August, 1853, and given in the report for 1853-54, page 24. A further minute gave more details of salary augmentation paid to training school staff principally engaged to teach the elementary subjects. Minute 26th January, 1854, given in report for 1853-54, page 36.
 2. C.C. Report 1860-61. Table I, page 269.
 3. C.C. Reports 1854-55. Reported letter from Moseley, pages 14 et seq.

it was the intention of the government to relate grants more directly to attainments in those subjects most commonly taught in elementary schools. Training schools which attempted "more than can be done well" would therefore jeopardise their claim to Committee of Council grants. The elementary subjects upon which the training schools were asked to place the greatest weight were listed as follows; "religious knowledge, reading, penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, English history, physical science and vocal music."

The second development implicit in the syllabus drafted by Moseley was a recognition that the course would not normally extend beyond two years. A draft syllabus had been circulated to the training schools and Moseley concurred with the general view that "two years has been shown by experience to be sufficient for the instruction of men who have generally had the advantage of five years apprenticeship." ¹ That this was a compromise and not a weakening of the government position over a three year course can be seen in a comment made by Moseley when the results were known of the first examination held under the new regulations. "The new course of examinations adapted to different years of student residence will, in several of the training schools, have the effect of extending the whole time of residence from one year to two." ² This latter comment was particularly true of the Durham Training School which had lagged behind other training schools in its efforts to lengthen the course.

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1. C.C. Reports 1854 - 1855, pages 14 - 15.

2. Ibid, page 276.

In 1849, for example, the average length of residence for Durham students was eighteen months.¹ In 1854 there were only six candidates for second year certificates, compared with seventeen in the first year.² In 1855 there was a marked change, with twelve candidates in each year, although this may well have been a precipitate development. Yet the number of second year candidates in the years 1858 - 1860 (see Table 3) shows that immediately prior to the Revised Code the two year course of training had been secured for the vast majority of Durham students.

The separate lists of subjects to be taken in the first and second years further stressed the importance of elementary school-work. In the first year candidates could not offer both classics and higher mathematics as examination subjects. Similar restrictions were imposed upon second year students and it was not until the third year that the range of non-elementary school subjects could be extended to include psychology, higher mathematics and modern languages.³ In point of fact no more than 5% of all male students would have qualified to take a third year certificate.⁴ In the case of Durham no student appears to have proceeded to the third year examinations before 1860. There can be no doubt that the Committee of Council had firmly quashed the pretensions evident in the early curricula of the training schools, and that of Durham had been as pretentious as any,⁵ What then were the standards achieved by Durham students taking the Certificate examinations, and where lay the emphasis in staff teaching?

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1. C.C. Reports 1850 - 1851, page 36.
 2. C.C. Reports 1854 - 1855, Table VII, page 290.
 3. C.C. Report 1854 - 1855, pages 21 - 22.
 4. 17 candidates out of a total of 331 for all three years.
C.C. Report 1854 - 1855, page 279, Table III.
 5. There is a glorious phrase in the 54 - 55 minutes (page 15) "to inculcate the principle of not attempting more than can be done well which lies at the root of all truthfulness and reality in the teacher."

Here again there are few direct reports, and it is necessary to build upon a number of suppositions in order to give any answer. Since it was usual for the same inspector to visit all of the male training schools then his contradistinctive comments on Durham may be taken as valid and significant. The second supposition is that where examination results were consistently good this was due to effective staff teaching. The period covered in Table 3 is sufficiently long to distinguish between intent and accident in terms of examination success.

Initially the standards attained by Durham students were very poor, and it was not until the mid-fifties that they could be compared at all favourably with other training schools. In 1849 it was reported that "in reality the standards of admission is even lower than that prescribed for the qualifications of boys of thirteen years of age who are candidates for apprenticeship, pupil teachers under the Minutes of Council".¹ This view was not challenged by Principal Cundill who in one of his own reports, had earlier stressed the need for "a more rigid and searching investigation ... into the qualifications and fitness of those who present themselves for admission".

In 1849,² when the first Durham students attempted the certificate examination, it was clear that they had been inadequately prepared. Two brief quotations illustrate the generally poor standards attained in the 1849 examinations. "The papers in English History and Geography were by no means satisfactory; the amount of historical knowledge was very scanty, the answers to the questions being loose, meagre, and imperfect; nor can I

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1. C.C. Reports 1848 - 1850. Vol. II.
2. There were twelve candidates in all. Five were masters of elementary schools and had been trained in Durham. The other seven were students who had been resident for at least a year.

report more favourably as to the candidates' knowledge of geography".

--- "In reference to the papers on grammar, only one is above mediocrity, of the remainder twelve were imperfect, and seven were complete failures". So poor was the general standard that only two of the twelve candidates secured certificates.

The report of the examination taken the following year shows little improvement.¹ Durham, with Carmarthen, was the poorest of the seven training schools under inspection, and this was true of both those subjects likely to be taken in the elementary schools and those not. It is hardly difficult to accept Moseley's view that there was a high correlation between teaching based largely upon books and poor results gained in the certificate examinations. Teaching in Durham, according to Moseley, was largely by books, a technique not likely to achieve the best results with students whose earlier education had not helped them achieve high standards of attainment when taking the written entrance examinations.

Whatever the cause of the earlier shortcomings, the appointment of Principal Cromwell appears to have made a considerable impact upon the students' examination performance. In 1853, of the fourteen training schools listed, Durham was one of only two with 100%² success in terms of certificates awarded. Durham would have taken an absolute lead had the percentage of passes been based upon all those who might have taken the examination, rather than those who actually did. This was a highly creditable performance as many of the better qualified students tended to make for the

1. C.C. Report 1850 - 1851, page 43 et seq.
2. C.C. Report 1853 - 1854, Vol. I, page 437. Moseley on "The efficiency of small compared with large Training Schools".

larger training schools. After 1854 the Durham Training School moved up steadily in the academic league, as given in the annual publication of examination results. Table 3 shows this very clearly. By 1860 the number of students presented for examination had grown to twenty-three in the first year and twenty-four in the second, all of whom gained certificates. 1

From the same table it is possible to deduce the emphasis given in the Training School to particular subjects within the certificate examinations. If 75% is taken, quite arbitrarily, as a dividing line between average and superior overall achievement, ² then it can be shown that between 1850 and 1860 the Durham school achieved consistently "superior" results in religious knowledge and church history, for both first and second year students. This was a 'forte' consciously developed and the probable explanation of the lead which Durham was later to play in the institution of Certificates in Religious Knowledge.

Achievements in the other subjects of the curriculum are best summarised in terms of elementary and post-elementary subjects for the period 1850 - 1854, and in terms of first and second year students for the period 1855 - 1860. Initially the strengths of the Durham students were to be seen in religious knowledge and geography within the field of elementary school studies, whilst weaknesses were shown, consistently, in arithmetic and music. Outside the elementary subjects the only outstanding result was in Church history, with moderate success in algebra and geometry. Otherwise, in those subjects later classified as post elementary, very poor results were obtained.

After 1855, the date of the first examinations held under the common

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1. C.C. Reports 1860 - 1861, page 307.
2. i.e. in any one subject did three quarters of all candidates receive grades of excellent, good, or fair?

syllabus for training schools, a number of changes are evident. The only post-elementary subjects permitted the first year were Euclid, algebra and industrial mechanics. These subjects could not be taken by second year students who were restricted to Church History and liturgy, physical science, and higher mathematics as examinable subjects outside the elementary curriculum. Generally the tables of examination results show that the main effort of the Durham Training School was directed towards the elementary school subjects of the first and second year. Outside the elementary subjects, with the exception of Church history and Euclid, there was little success, with definite weaknesses in mathematics and physical science. Within the elementary subjects of the first year weaknesses, or rather lack of marked success, were apparent in music, reading and English history. In the second year music and penmanship were the weakest of the elementary subjects. Throughout there is a superiority of arts over sciences, a conclusion in turn supported by the comparisons which have been made with other diocesan training schools in the years 1854 and 1860.

A second point which is clearly evident in the table is the generally improved performance of students in their second year, after the introduction of separate second year examinations. Since there were, in the period 1856 - 1859, fewer candidates for the second year examinations than for the first, the improvement in results may be explained in terms of a selection procedure. Only those men who had some prospect of passing the second year examinations were likely to stay on. It does not seem likely that the committee of management wished to continue a selection procedure, by means of exhibitions, once there were grants available for all students who decided to stay for a second year.

The actual changes in syllabus and choice of subjects for second year students after 1855 cannot be separated from the whole structure of the Certificate, which was a series of examinations rather than a single test. The award depended upon success in both elementary and optional or higher subjects, the former group carrying the most weight. In 1846 examinations had been planned as a terminal point to the course whatever its length, the certificate showing both the length of the course, expressed as a 'class' and the standard attained within the examination, shown as a 'division'. The salary augmentation paid by the government to certificated teachers varied from class to class and within ¹ divisions. Decisions taken in 1855 - 56 were intended to relate a basic two year training to a three-fold class list, and to limit the division awarded until the new schoolmaster had proved himself in the schools. The effect of such changes was to encourage those students who had done well in the elementary subjects of the first year and who were likely to do well as schoolmasters. This view is supported in the figures of Table 4. After 1855, by which time the training schools were working to an agreed syllabus, more credit was offered for elementary subjects than for higher subjects by means of a carefully devised points system. Moseley proposed that if a 'good pass' standard was achieved in any of the elementary subjects then it should count sixty points towards the

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1. C.C. Minutes of 1846. The rates of augmentation were

First class (one year)	£15 to £20	according to division		
Second class (two years)	£20 to £25	"	"	"
Third class (three years)	£25 to £30	"	"	"

In all cases the augmentation depended upon the school managers paying at least the same amount and providing a house.

certificate awarded to show that the year's work had been completed satisfactorily. If the same standard was reached in one of the higher subjects only fifty points could be earned. Failure in the elementary subjects was considered as a failure of the entire examination whereas failure in one of the higher subjects was not considered fatal. Grades within the pass list were awarded according to the following table.

Table 4: The points necessary to gain a certificate of attainment during the training school course. (1)

Grade of Certificate	First Year	Second Year
Third division	300	350
Second division	450	500
First division	600	600

It was hoped that a proficiency in a few subjects would become the new goal of the training schools rather than "mediocrity in many". For this reason an extra twenty-five per cent of marks was awarded to those achieving the 'excellent standard'. This meant that moderate success could be attained by a first year man who passed in five of the elementary subjects. In all there were ten essential subjects, if spelling is included although it did not give any point score toward the examination.² Within the higher subjects choice was restricted

1. The source of this table is the C.C. Report for 1856-57 Circular to training schools, pages 7-9.
2. The essential subjects were:
 Religious knowledge, arithmetic, grammar, school management, reading, spelling, penmanship, history, geography, geometry.

by making latin an alternative to algebra, and by offering science, higher mathematics and literature as second year options only. As a further emphasis upon the elementary school approach one hundred points were awarded to second year candidates who were successful in the lesson taken in the presence of an inspector. The result of these changes, together with the exclusion of geometry, mechanics, and algebra from the second year course, meant that the following subjects became relatively less important to the student cramming for examinations :- geometry, mechanics, algebra, latin, physical science, higher mathematics, English literature, drawing and music. An examination of Table 3 shows that these are the very subjects in which Durham students gained least success. In the period 1855 - 1860 the Durham Training School was undoubtedly tied to the work of the elementary schools as far as the majority of students were concerned.

Arrangements for practical teaching

Another aspect of the minutes of 1853-55, and one of fundamental importance, was the policy of issuing only a suspended Certificate at the time a student left his training school. In August 1853¹ it had been proposed that the division within the class should not be settled until the student had spent two years as a schoolmaster subject to inspection. Then his provisional grading would either be endorsed or upgraded, after which it would remain fixed for the next five years. The government hoped that this would cause the training schools to place more emphasis upon practical teaching and encourage young schoolmasters

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1. A minute of August 20th, published in the Report for 1854-55, page 9.

to improve their techniques. It was anticipated that the value of the certificate (a certificate yet to be issued) would not be placed higher than the first division of the class corresponding to a one or two year course. After two probationary years the full Certificate of Merit was issued, the division within the class depending upon both the results of the college examination and the inspectors' reports. The most advanced certificates "should be mainly regarded as the prize of good school keeping"¹. In effect the class and division of the examination passed in the training school set a ceiling to the grade of the full certificate to be awarded two years later. Even though that ceiling could only be reached by sound teaching during the probationary period, it was a ceiling beyond the reach of one year trained men for a further five years. This was the incentive for students to stay for a second year and to do well in the 'elementary' subjects of the curriculum. It may be that other subjects were taught apart from those listed in the returns of the Privy Council but the evidence of the annual reports² shows that after 1856 the subjects advertised to prospective students were precisely those which were taken for the government examinations.

1. C.C. Reports 1855-56. Circular No. 2. Page 13. This was the last of a long series of letters and circulars seeking to explain the changes in the Certificate (C.C. Reports 1854-55, pages 9-14, 22-24 and C.C. Reports 1855-56, pages 13-15).
2. A bound volume of annual reports covering the years 1856-1871, that is the 15th - 30th annual reports.

Practical teaching and its relation to the general curriculum

Whether or not a report on practical teaching formed part of the examinations conducted by the inspectorate, arrangements for training in practical teaching were a frequent subject of inspectorial enquiry. From their reports it is possible to build up some picture of the Durham course in practical teaching. Much of the extended reports of 1849 and 1860 is directed towards this subject.

In the early days of the Training School, as was to be expected in a situation where staff with a university background attempted to train men who had come up through the monitorial schools, there was little to be seen of that sound if unambitious teaching which was to become characteristic of the English elementary school. The earlier reports make little effort to distinguish between the limitations of the whole approach to practical teaching and the peculiar difficulties to be found in the Blue Coat School, Durham. The report of 1849, or rather those sections dealing with the performance of the students in schools, may be quoted in full to illustrate the point.

"Few of the candidates gave evidence of power in communicating knowledge or in keeping up the attention of the class. No order or arrangement was observed in the delivery of the lesson; and words were constantly used which the children did not understand. The twenty minutes allowed to each candidate for this portion of the examination were generally spent in asking the class a series of questions, the greater part of which had no connection with the subject of the lessons; the countenance of the children all the time presenting that dull and listless appearance which too clearly showed on the part of their teacher a want of skill to interest them in the subject which he had chosen for

instruction".¹ The poor standard reached in practical teaching was later, in the same report, attributed to the inadequacies of the Blue Coat National School in which the students practised their technical skills under the direction of the Blue Coat Master. In the eyes of the inspectorate Blue Coat was a monitorial school, and one which was not under the direction of a thoroughly competent master.

The future of the Blue Coat School, after the departure of Goundry, has been discussed elsewhere, and some account has been given of the Model School too. The development of the pupil-teacher system had a considerable effect upon the form of practical teaching within the Training School course. As trained masters were appointed to local schools, it became possible to use schools other than Blue Coat for the purpose of teaching practice. Thus the Training School came to use St. Margaret's and St. Oswald's, Durham, in addition to the Model School.² A second effect was to be seen in the way in which practical teaching was fitted into the structure of the certificate examination. In the period 1848 - 1855 the 'oral exercise in practical teaching' meant that all students were required to teach a twenty minute lesson in the presence of the inspector, none too difficult a task really for those who had served a full apprenticeship, yet one which was increasingly artificial and pointless for young men who were already experienced teachers.

This criticism was met in a circular published in 1855³ when it was

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1. Report of the Committee of Council 1848-1850. Vol. I, page 713.
 2. 16th Annual Report of the Training School (1857) page 34 in the bound volume, is the first in which three schools are listed, and the titles Master of the Model School and Masters of Practising Schools, used.
 3. Circular 19, 15th November, 1855, published in the Report and Minutes 1855-1856. Also Circular No. 5. Report of 1854-55, pages 62-64.

proposed to drop the demonstration lesson for students of the first year, and in the second year to spread the demonstration lessons over a longer period. Successful performance in practical teaching in the second year could gain 100 points towards examination grades. Modification was also made to the syllabus in school management so that in the first year emphasis was placed upon methods of teaching, and in the second year upon methods of school organisation. This seems to have been the origin of the "demonstration lesson" conducted by a member of staff for the benefit of his students. Such demonstration lessons were intended to illustrate aspects of the teaching theory covered in the Training School, and were followed by group discussion. As most students were former pupil teachers the demonstrations were not simply an introduction to teaching. They also helped to prepare students for the essay in school management which formed part of the syllabus for the second year.

The following is a report on model lessons taken by the staff in local schools in 1860, as observed by the inspector.

"Of the model lessons the Principal's was very good; it was a reading lesson for general information. The Vice-Principal's (was) on arithmetic, the comparison of graduations on the Fahrenheit and Centigrade scales of the thermometer. He succeeded very well in explaining the subject to the boys. Mr. Lawson, on climate, had prepared rather too much, I thought, for the lads to take in; but it was useful and fairly good. Mr. Fish, the master of Blue Coat School, gave a lesson on grammar which was methodical and clear; and Mr. Smith, the master of the model school seemed a successful teacher. Mr. Lawson, of St. Oswald's, gave a lesson in grammar. His school is much improved in discipline, and the boys are very attentive;

and I was glad to find that they were able to follow him, and analyse sentences with great readiness The instruction given at Durham Training College is, on the whole, good and solid, and the great attention paid here to teaching classes must be beneficial to the students, and tend to impress upon them constantly the object for which they are being trained".¹

Little is known of the precise manner in which the students of the second year took their own demonstration lessons before the inspector but there is some evidence to support the view that in their choice of subject for demonstration lessons the students followed those subjects in which they had distinguished themselves academically. In 1858 the Rev. Cowie made a careful note of the subjects of the demonstration lessons and recorded that of the twenty lessons seen in Durham nine had been on the subject of geography, five on common things and three on history. Table 3 shows that in 1858 the second year were particularly successful in geography and history, and that this was generally true of the period 1855 - 1860. If students could use their skills to extend the elementary school curriculum then this was a credit to the liberal curriculum of the Training School. If the Revised Code were to limit the work of the elementary schools then a curtailment of the Training School syllabus could follow.

The quality of staff teaching

The steady improvement in the standards of attainment was brought about, as one would expect, as much by an improvement in the standard of staff teaching as in the pre-training school achievement of the students. In

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1. Report and Minutes 1860 - 1861, page 307.

1849 for example, Blandford complained that in Durham there was a lack of books and apparatus, and that time which ought to have been spent in direct oral teaching was, in fact, spent in pointless 'prep' periods.¹ In the period 1850 - 1851 there can have been little improvement in the quality of teaching for Moseley regarded the standard of teaching in Durham as the lowest of the seven Diocesan Training Schools then under inspection.² His view was that in the case of Durham, where instruction was largely from books, there was too small a staff to give the direct teaching which he thought students most needed.

The examination results, already mentioned, suggest that between 1850 and 1860 the quality of the teaching did improve. There is no direct evidence to corroborate this suggestion as the Inspectors did not report regularly on the quality of the teaching they had seen. It is nevertheless clear that the improved examination results were achieved without recourse to the appointment of ex-students to the staff. There was apparently no attempt made to accept government grants to augment the salaries of those who had been recruited from masterships of elementary schools. With the exception of William Lawson, the improvement in teaching had been achieved without giving up the earlier tradition of teaching conducted largely by university trained men.

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1. C.C. Reports 1848 - 1850, Vol. I. page 714.
2. C.C. Reports 1850 - 1851, Vol. I. pages 32 - 33.
He related standards of teaching directly to the cost of tuition per capita, and found that the figure for Durham was the lowest of the seven schools.

Chapter 6: STUDENT LIFE 1840 - 1860.

The aim of the earlier chapters has been to trace the development of the Training School as an institution and thus attempt to measure the larger, and vaguer, concept of progress. Within this approach it must be emphasised that it was the student body which constituted the heart of the institution. Whatever the qualities of the staff, whatever the care shown by the committee of management in raising and disbursing funds, it was the students who formed the focal point of both teaching and administrative work. It was the young men so long designated 'pupils' who would take the message of the Training School into the Diocese. That there was a message to take can be seen in the following quotation taken from the annual report of 1856.

"... since its establishment 15 years ago (it) has sent forth 146 schoolmasters and has thus been materially instrumental, under providence, in dispensing to a large portion of the working population of the Diocese, that greatest of blessings, a Religious Education".¹

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the social background of the students, their motives in taking up teacher-training, their prospects of employment, and the kind of life they enjoyed during the course of training.

The social background of the students.

Mention has been made elsewhere of the general considerations which led to the introduction of the pupil-teacher system, and of the problems involved in recruiting teachers of the poor from the poorer classes themselves.² This general view of the pattern of recruitment of students may be considered in terms of social mobility.

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1. 15th Annual Report of the Training School, for the year 1856, published in 1857, page 7.
2. In the first chapter of the thesis.

The term social mobility is introduced to explain both the social background of the students and the motivation which brought them to the Training School. It is a term used to describe the conscious movement of people through a stratified society and thus covers more than a simple economic classification; it is a blend of social standing and economic status. If the course at the Durham Training School was recognised as one which promoted social mobility then a survey of parental and pre-student employment ought to show that fathers, who had already found for their sons occupations better than those which they themselves followed, later encouraged their sons to drop those occupations and take the course at the Training School. Once the pupil-teacher system had been firmly established fathers could be expected to secure pupil-teacherships for their sons rather than send them straight to work.

Gradually, after 1841, in Durham at least, fathers came to see teaching as an occupation which they would wish their sons to follow. Further, as those students who had been employed before entering the Training School, took upon themselves a comparatively long and arduous course of training, it can only be assumed that they thought their prospects as schoolmasters more favourable than those they left behind.

A survey of the employment background of the first two hundred students admitted to the Training School largely supports the interpretation that the course came to be recognised as a means of social mobility. The results are given in Table 5 following.

Table 5: The Social Background of the first 200 students classified 1
 (a) by parental occupation (b) by their own former occupation

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP		REGISTER SEQUENCE								TOTALS
		1 -25	26 -50	51 -75	76- 100	101 -126	126 -150	151 -175	176 -200	
Domestic Service	(a)	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	8
	(b)	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	8
Agriculture and Fishing	(a)	6	5	1	6	8	5	4	7	42
	(b)	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	5
Mining and Heavy Industry	(a)	1	6	6	1	5	2	3	3	27
	(b)	0	1	4	3	3	0	1	1	13
Skilled tradesmen, Self-employed	(a)	8	7	6	9	7	9	12	7	65
	(b)	6	4	4	6	2	1	3	2	28
Commerce and Secretarial work	(a)	1	2	2	5	3	3	2	1	19
	(b)	4	4	5	4	2	1	1	0	21
Allied - near Professions	(a)	1	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	9
	(b)	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	5
Unqualified and Pupil-teachers	(a)	4	2	3	2	0	0	1	0	12
	(b)	3	2	6	7	7	18	20	21	84
Unclassified	(a)	3	0	1	0	0	5	3	6	18
	(b)	9	12	4	2	6	3	0	0	36
YEARS OF ENTRY		1842 1843	1844 1848	1848 1849	1849 1853	1853 1854	1854 1855	1855 1857	1857 1858	400

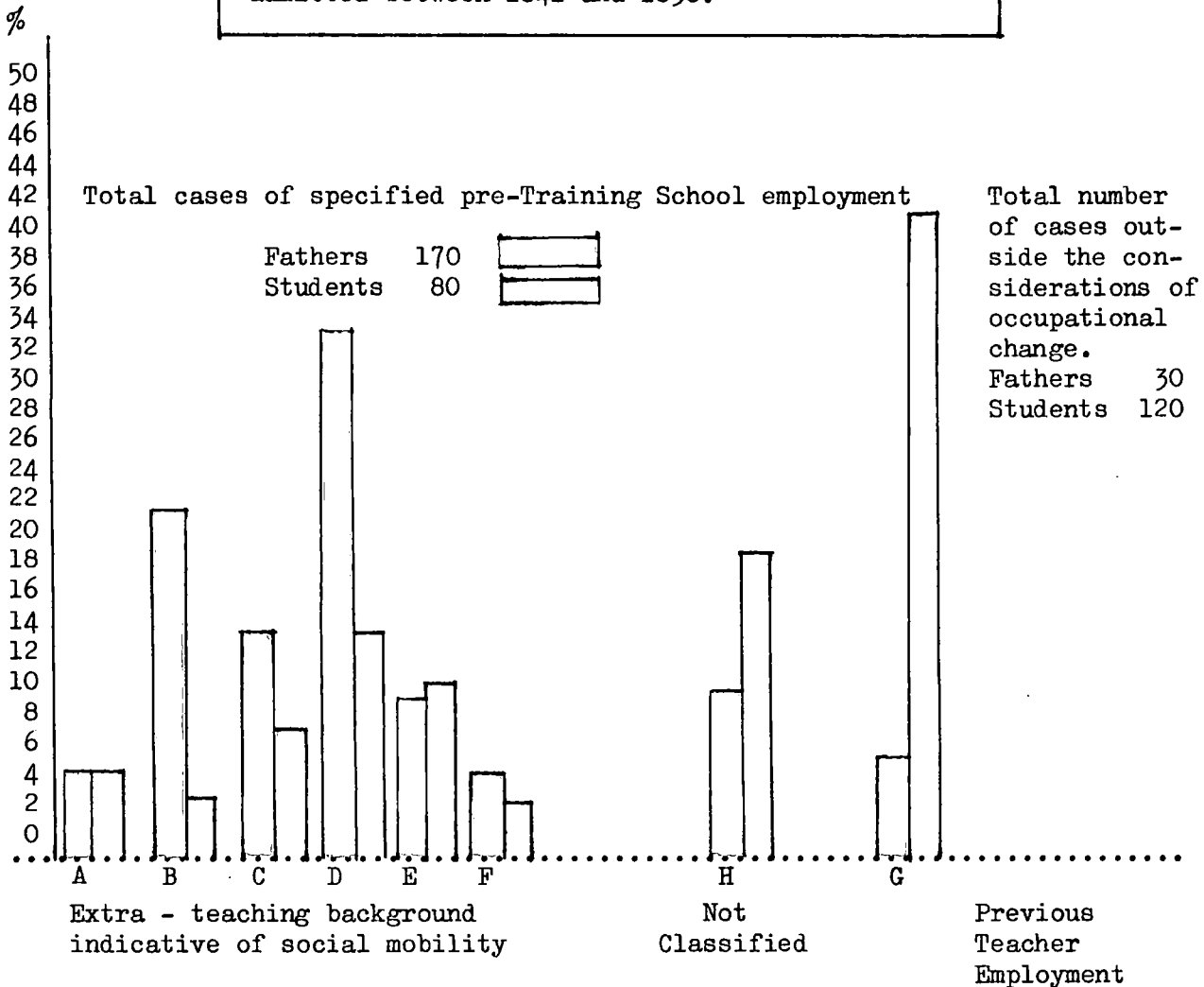
The largest single contributory class by parental occupation is that of the skilled tradesmen, butchers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, masons, a class of people frequently self-employed. This is at one with the evidence of the inspectorate. The fair number of students employed in commerce exemplifies the point made by Tropp that many men who were interested in teaching had at first been lured away by the better salaries paid in the counting houses.

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1. The Source of Table 5 is the College Register.
2. Tropp, A. The Schoolteachers, 1957, page 9.

Figure 4:

Graph showing the inter-generation occupational transfer and social mobility for the 200 students admitted between 1841 and 1858.



From a study of the figures for parental occupations, and from the student figures for the years 1841 - 1848, it is possible to agree with Tropp¹ when he writes, "the impression that emerges from the reports of the inspectors on the antecedents of teachers in their districts is that the majority had tried other trades and failed. They had been semi-skilled craftsmen, shopkeepers, or "superior" domestic servants, all occupations which either required a knowledge of reading and writing or offered opportunities to acquire such knowledge."

1. op. cit. pages 10 - 11.

The previous graph gives some idea of the measure of difference between the generations which came immediately before and after 1846. The major difference is one of abstraction from the working situation rather than gradual changes in pre-training occupations. It would be possible to trace a measure of social mobility in student occupations 'vis a vis' those of their parents. For example fewer students had been employed in agriculture, more had been employed in commerce. Yet the major difference in the modes of the graph shown in Figure 4 can be largely ascribed to the rapidly increasing number of students who had not known any employment other than teaching. This form of accelerated social mobility is even more evident in Table 6 below.

Table 6: The teaching background of the first 200 students enrolled. 1841 - 1847.

Students in Registration Order.	Number of cases of		%	Period covered by the cases
	unqualified teachers	pupil- teachers		
1 - 25	3	-	12	1841 - 1842
26 - 50	2	-	8	1842 - 1846
51 - 75	6	-	24	1846 - 1849
76 - 100	5	2	28	1849 - 1851
101 - 125	3	4	28	1851 - 1853
126 - 150	3	16	72	1853 - 1854
151 - 176	4	16	80	1854 - 1856
176 - 200	5	16	84	1856 - 1857

By way of summary it may be said of the social background of the students, in the earlier period, that they tended to be the sons of skilled tradesmen and agricultural workers. By and large they tended to come from homes where the value of a good education was appreciated if not secured, where the income was sufficient to allow a delayed entry

into employment. This was as true of parents who worked in agriculture and industry as it was of those who followed urban trades. Few fathers are described simply as labourers; references to 'an overman at the pit' or to farm stewards are not unusual. It therefore seems that in the eyes of both students and parents entry into teaching become a form of conscious social mobility.

What then were the attractions of teaching in the fifties? What were the factors which caused parents to send a succession of sons to the Durham Training School? ¹ What were the prospects which gave young men the strength of mind to tackle a course which was officially described as not suitable for "thoughtless, idle, or very delicate young men"? ² It is likely that the young men, and their fathers, were guided by three considerations, a carefully regulated system of qualifications, rising salary rates, and good employment prospects. In each of the Training School annual reports there was a careful summary of Council Minutes relating to pupil teachers, together with an indication as to how potential students could make themselves familiar with old examination papers. Prospective students had every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the course of study which the Training School offered.

Table 7 following shows the steady growth in the salaries of Durham students taking up first posts.

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1. The Lawson family for example. Four brothers were trained at Durham between 1853 and 1865.
2. Annual Report for 1863, page 8.

Table 7:

Growth of Salaries paid to Durham students taking up first appointments, 1842 - 1858.

Students in Register Order	Number of cases where salary known	Average salary for those quoted	Period covered by cases given	Average length of the course in months
		£.		
1 - 25	18	47 . 7	1842 - 1844	9 . 24
26 - 50	19	51 . 05	1844 - 1848	15 . 8
21 - 75	18	44 . 4	1848 - 1849	14 . 5
76 - 100	15	56 . 3	1849 - 1853	16 . 6
101 - 125	18	57 . 2	1853 - 1854	19 . 9
126 - 150	13	59 . 6	1854 - 1855	17 . 6
150 - 178	5	64 . 0	1855 - 1857	20 . 28
178 - 199	nil	1857 - 1858	21 . 85

Throughout the period there was a steady rise in the average salary offered and in many instances a school house was provided.

There were of course variations within the salaries paid to young schoolmasters but largely the better rates were paid to those who had undertaken a longer course of training. ¹ Average first salaries advanced with the increasing average length of course. This was one tangible way in which the Training School authorities could impress upon the young men the wisdom of staying on. After 1855 - 56, when the distinctive two year course was introduced, there was a much clearer relationship between length of course, certificate class, and salary paid on first appointment.

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1. See 14th Annual Report for 1855.
"Of the 28 applications from this Diocese, 15 required Schoolmasters having certificates of merit, whilst 13 did not insist upon that qualification."

H.M.I. Cowie reported on this in 1859 and found that for the Training Schools generally two year trained men earned approximately £10 a year more than those who had taken only a one year course.¹ His figures also afford the opportunity for comparisons between Durham prospects and those obtaining nationally. It would appear that salaries paid to Durham trained masters compared favourably with those paid elsewhere.

The third factor which may well have influenced potential students was the near certainty that they would be offered a position whilst still technically in training. From the earliest days of the School this had been the case, when the greater part of the young men "were supported by friends and patrons",² something like five out of every six who came to Durham. In many instances the patron who paid the fees had a post in mind for his protege, and was not prepared to support a longer course at the Training School. Later, when the student body numbered over thirty, employment prospects were equally bright. In 1856 the Training School received forty-five enquiries for masters when there were only fourteen who qualified in that year. In 1857 there were fifty-nine enquiries after twenty men ready for schools. In 1860 the enquiries were still three times more numerous than the students ready to take up schools.³

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1. C.C. Reports, 1858 - 1859, page 302, Appendix B, Table G.

The actual figures given for Durham are

1857	one year men	£54	1858	one year men	£50
	two year men	£64		two year men	£59.

whereas the average for the country was

1857	one year men		1858	one year men	
	two year men			two year men	

It should be noted that the figures do not tally exactly with my own, which have been taken from the College Register.

2. C.C. Reports, 1845, Vol. II, pages 174 - 175.
3. Annual Reports, 1856, (pages 14 - 15) 1857. 1860.

Table 8: Patterns of student recruitment and placement upon first appointment, by geographical zones, for the period 1841 - 1858.

Students by Register Order	Location of home residence or first appointment									
	Durham	Northumberland	Dio-ceses	Nor-th.	Mid-lands	Sou-th.	Wal-es	Scot-land	Quer-ies	
Homes										
1 - 50	39	11	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	
51 - 100	25	13	38	8	3	1	-	-	-	
101 - 150	13	14	27	18	1	1	1	1	1	
151 - 200	12	18	30	13	2	2	1	-	2	
Totals	99	46	145	39	6	4	2	1	3	
Appointments										
1 - 50	27	13	40	2	-	-	-	-	8	
51 - 100	32	8	40	-	2	2	-	-	6	
101 - 150	17	17	34	7	-	1	-	-	8	
151 - 200	13	4	27	10	1	-	1	-	11	
Totals	99	42	141	19	3	3	1	-	33	

North ---- the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorks.

Midlands - the counties of Cheshire, Derby, Notts., Lincoln, Rutland, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford.

South ---- the English counties south of those listed for the Midlands.

Queries -- in several instances the register entries are incomplete, probably because men did not complete the course.

A second point of interest, in terms of both recruitment and placement, is the question of the areas from which the students were drawn and those in which they took up first appointments. Table 8 illustrates the growth - patterns of recruitment and placement for the period 1842 - 1858. A similar table for the later period is given in Appendix G. From Table 8 it can be seen that the Durham Training School was never a wholly diocesan venture. 26% of all students admitted before 1858 came from homes outside the diocese. The table also shows that there was a tendency for the number of extra-diocesan appointments to increase.

As early as 1852 the committee of management had discussed the question of whether or not to allow students to take schools outside the diocese, and such extra-diocesan appointments were approved, in principle, from January, 1853.¹ It was the view of the committee that they could not tie well qualified men to the diocese if local schools were unwilling to offer a salary commensurate with the students' ability and length of training. It was made abundantly clear that service within the diocese was not to be misconstrued as service on the cheap.² In 1856 the committee were fully prepared to face up to the criticism voiced by the inspectors that they were

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1. Minute Book, page 78 (1852) and page 80 (1853).
2. Minute Book, page 189.

failing to provide enough teachers for the rural parishes. They stated bluntly that the stipends offered were inadequate. This was a defence of both the reputation of the Training School and teachers' salaries. For the young men of Durham it was sufficient to persuade them that there was a future in teaching, that it offered both social and economic advancement, and that the managers of the Training School would help them find a post commanding a decent salary, even if the post were outside the diocese. As Table 8 shows, until 1860 Durham was still a Diocesan Training School, but the diocesan barriers of recruitment and placement were already falling in the national search for good teachers and good training schools. The converse of the argument is brought to the fore when discussing the results of the Revised Code.

Life in the Training School

The prime characteristic of student life was resident membership of a relatively closed community. In the Framwellgate house the doors had been locked at dusk. ¹ Outside visits were carefully recorded, and the visits of friends to the Training School were restricted to meetings in a small room specially set aside for the purpose. Common room facilities were provided; teaching was in classes; sleeping accommodation was provided in the form of dormitories, and students worked together in the gardens ---- all of which helped to stress the corporate identity of a residential community. Outside this community student activities were most carefully regulated so that genuine, personal social contact must have been extremely difficult.

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1. Minutes, 18th November, 1841, page 36.

The basis of the discipline was threefold, academic, religious and moral. Much has already been written on the academic work of the Training School. Two quotations from the annual reports illustrate the close relationship between academic standards and the form of discipline which had been established.¹ In 1861 the committee of management claimed, with obvious pride, that between 1856 and 1861 "124 students have satisfied the examiners and only two have wholly failed." The second quotation, from the 1859 report, indicates the methods of instruction which had been followed to establish such a high 'success' rate. "Lessons are given at stated times to the Scholars, by the Principal and the other teachers of the Training School, in the presence of the Students, who are in their turn required to give lessons in the presence of each other and the Principal, when practical suggestions are made on the best mode of handling each subject of elementary instruction. (whilst) ... the Master of the Model School (and the masters of St. Oswald's and Blue Coat) make a weekly report of each student's progress in the art of Teaching, to the Principal, who then communicates the respective reports to each young man in private ... and by personally making visits to all Practising Schools ... can thus stimulate exertion in this most important department." It may reasonably be assumed that this was equally true of other departments of academic work.

A second aspect of the discipline imposed upon resident students was the regulation of their religious life. From 1841 the students were

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1. The 21st Annual Report for 1861, page 4, and the 17th Annual Report for 1858, page 11, published respectively, 1862, 1859.

required "on Sunday to attend the Sunday School in Claypath, morning and afternoon, and proceed with the scholars to divine service in St. Nicholas' Church".¹ This practice was continued throughout the period under review, the students in turn attending the Blue Coat Sunday Schools and the Cathedral Sunday Services.² Within the Training School prayers were taken morning and evening so that, despite the absence of a private chapel, students were constantly reminded of the fact that the course was not intended simply to train masters for any school, but Anglican masters for National Schools. During their course of training men found that there were two major, permitted absences from the Training School, attendance at the practising schools and attendance at church services.

It would appear that a great deal of concern was expressed for, and care taken over, the 'moral discipline of the pupils'.³ The concern was for moral welfare whilst at the Training School and for qualities of moral leadership in the parish. The reports of the inspectorate for the northern district show that the schoolmaster was expected to be concerned with moral as well as scholastic elevation.⁴ For service in the parishes students were to be raised up "in the habits of economy, good order, civility, regularity and cleanliness with the strictest eye upon their moral and general conduct". This care for moral welfare was no empty statement as can be seen from those entries in the register which relate to the dismissal of students. The authority of the managers and the

1. Minutes 18th November, 1841, page 36.
2. Annual Report 1856, page 4.
3. Minute Book, August 1841, Rule 11, page 28.
4. For example Drunkenness in Morpeth, the miners and their 'fancy women' and the marriage customs of Cumberland, were practices which the inspectorate hoped education would challenge.

principal to expel students whose conduct was unsatisfactory, was exercised in at least three instances, possibly five. Of the five men who were invited to leave it is possible that two were in poor health, and that it was in the medical sense that they were 'unfit'. The other three were undoubtedly dismissed, John Johnson "on account of idleness" Henry Raine "for immoral conduct" and David Williams who "was permitted to enter the Training School in Carmarthen for in Durham he had not conducted himself well". Two other students decided to leave of their own accord, and in circumstances which suggest that the rigours of the Training School did not contain the really independent. William Braby, for example, was an orphan from the Union Workhouse Berwick, the son of a soldier 'long since dead'. One can imagine the lack of warmth in his early life and of the efforts made, on his behalf, to place him in a respectable occupation. Braby, however, had ideas of his own and after a stay of fifteen months ran away. It is impossible to decide whether he sought escape from the hard life of the Training School or the dread of the respectability which faced him on completing his training. William James, on the other hand, the son of a salt manufacturer in Cheshire, had been sent a suspiciously long way from home for training. His stay in Durham was for four days only, again an indication that the discipline in Durham was strict and that only the dedicated and the aspiring were likely to see the course through.

This moral stricture is also evident in the reports given of the measures taken to ensure the proper behaviour of the students on those occasions when they were allowed to go into town. In 1854, for example, the Rev. James Raine, an active supporter of the Training School asked if two or three of the students could be allowed to attend Sunday services at his church in the Bailey. Permission was only granted on the

condition that they would be "under Mr. Raine's special superintendence and that the Principal shall withdraw them if he shall see it fitting to do so".¹ On the other hand enquiries after a cricket ground² were eagerly pursued even though the annual rent was likely to be ten pounds. It would appear that the behaviour of eleven young men, engaged in public sport, away from the town centre, was less risk than the visit of two or three young men to the town centre on Sundays. It is also possible that the presence of the Female Training School, after 1858, was conceived as a potential moral threat. Certainly this is a danger noted in the history of St. Hild's College and may have explained the reluctance of the committee at large to sponsor a training school for ladies immediately next door to the male establishment.

It is possible to reconstruct the daily round of the Training School which appears to have changed not a great deal during the twenty years under review. From the early timetables given in Appendix 'B' it may be seen that the students faced a long and carefully structured day. The day began at six in the summer, (a little before seven in the winter), when the young men were called and expected to tackle a number of domestic chores before prayers at 7.15 and breakfast at 7.30. By half past eight, on at least two mornings of the week, they were already in attendance at the Blue Coat and Model Schools. An hour was taken for the mid-day meal, followed by the afternoon session, spent either in the classroom or the practising schools, and lasting until four. Tea was taken at five and it

1. Minute Book, 4th January, 1854, page 91.
2. Minute Book, pages 123 - 145 passim covering the period 1857 - 1860.

is likely that the students worked in the gardens immediately before and after that meal. In the very early period, prior to Gilesgate, there was no specific mention of the students taking gardening and handicrafts although there are several references to the laying out of gardens. From later reports, however, it is clear ¹ that "A large garden is cultivated by the pupils; and those who show an aptitude have opportunities for using carpenter's tools". The reason for such employment is given, much later, ² in the following terms. "A portion of each day is set apart for labour in the garden with the twofold object of securing healthy occupation, and practical knowledge of a kind, that may be very useful to a country Schoolmaster." The early part of the evening was spent either in the preparation of work for lecturers or in lecture attendance. In particular the lecture work of part-time members of staff was fitted into the evenings. Supper was taken at nine and by ten the young men had retired to their dormitories. The only free time during the week was Saturday afternoon when, perhaps, the cricket matches referred to above, were held. In 1849 the inspectorate calculated that there were fifty-eight hours of committed time each week, and this did not include the time spent on gardening. With such a heavy timetable it is difficult to see how any young man could have found either the time or the energy for unschoolmasterly behaviour. The committee obviously anticipated that this would be the case; in 1863 for example, the information for candidates for

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1. The 15th Annual Report, 1856, page 4.
2. Annual Report for 1863, published 1864, page 9.

admission contained this unequivocal statement on student discipline.

"A Training School is not the place for thoughtless, idle, or very delicate young men. Students are required to rise early; to be content with simple fare; to devote to active exercise in the field or garden most of the time not demanded for study."¹

As is to be anticipated with any residential establishment for young men the question of meals received a fair measure of attention and there are a number of references in the minute book which shed light on the diet offered. There were apparently two principles which determined the menu, plain cooking and relative abundance. In 1841, for example, of the four meals supplied each day only dinner 'consisting of meat and pudding' could be considered a cooked meal, Breakfast, tea, and supper took the form of bread and milk, bread and coffee, bread, cheese, and beer. Even the Sunday dinner, by tradition the best of northern meals, was meant to be a meal of a simple kind, "roast beef and plum pudding of a plain character". The evidence suggests that this simple diet was maintained throughout the twenty years from the foundation to the Revised Code, for in 1860, in the palmy days before Lowe's revision, the committee first decided that the students should be allowed beer on Sundays and on three other occasions each week.²

The accommodation designed for the students was equally Spartan and it would appear that the principles which guided the choice of student accommodation were the principles of avoidance --- privacy and comfort were not thought matters which needed to be considered when training schoolmasters for the schools of the poor. The lack of furnishings is

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1. Annual Report for 1863, published 1864, page 8.

2. Minute Book, pages 29, 35 and 148.

explicable in terms of a general shortage of funds, and there were signs that, at a later date, there were efforts to improve the standard of comfort. The question of privacy was quite a different matter, as the following quotation shows. In his report for 1867 the Rev. Cowie asked "whether the restriction of the pupils going into the town (was) sufficient?" ... and recommended "if more than one pupil in a bedroom there should be three, not two". It was felt that privacy could lead to misbehaviour, ¹ possibly moral decay.

Since the days of Framwellgate the accommodation had consisted of the four distinctive units one would expect to find in a residential school, the dining, common, and teaching rooms together with the dormitories. The teaching rooms and the common room were later divided or duplicated to cater for the two year groups which developed after 1853. In 1844, when the Gilesgate building was being planned, the University had offered to pay for the building of two 'school rooms' in return for the Langley Schools on Palace Green. ² The division of the common room in 1853 ³ was probably to complete this distinctive use of the accommodation by two year groups. This would also explain a later reference ⁴ that there was not within the Training School a room large enough to take all the candidates for the certificate examination. Since, after 1855, examinations were taken by both first and second year students at the same time, then it is reasonable to assume that the teaching rooms, and common room, were

1. Minute Book, 3rd October, 1867, page 193.
2. Minute book, 11th January, 1844, pages 48 - 49.
3. Minute book, 2nd March, 1853, page 83.
4. Minute book, 11th October, 1859, page 142.

designed for two distinct year groups. Those who remember the days of the two year course will doubtlessly testify to the significance of year groups within the student body.

The dormitories were on the upper floors, the number of places increasing with the general expansion of the buildings between 1846 and 1860. The point to stress is that these were common bedrooms, affording little in the way of privacy or comfort. As late as 1875¹ the inspectorate noted that not all of the dormitories had been partitioned to make 'bed-rooms'. It was not until 1857 that it was thought necessary to enliven the appearance of the dormitories by colouring the walls.² Heating must have been poor for whereas parts of the building had a hot water system, the dormitories remained damp and cold, according to the inspectorate.

Dampness and the question of student health were closely associated as the Durham site was undoubtedly damp and it was commonly believed that this caused chest ailments. From the earliest days of Framwellgate the managers of the Training School had shown considerable concern over student health. The roots of this anxiety are never clearly stated but the concern shown is so persistent as to represent more than a general paternalism. There was a particular dread of consumption and this in large measure explains the concern of the inspectorate for good drainage, ventilation, and damp-free premises. There was too, on the part of the managers, an equal concern that the men should have a constitution sufficiently robust to face up to the rigorous life of the young schoolmaster.

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1. Minute book, 4th November, 1875, pages 236 - 237.
2. Minute book, 1st April, 1857, page 120.

Candidates for admission were required to produce a certificate of health¹ and were placed under the care of a medical attendant whilst² in training. These regulations do not appear to have been taken too seriously in the parishes from which the young men came, or in Durham either. Mr. Jepson, who had acted as medical attendant for the Training School since 1856 was, in 1877, reprimanded by the inspectorate³ and asked to be more strict in his examinations. The impact of illness upon examination results was a sufficient prompt for the committee of management to consider measures to ensure sound student health, as can be seen in the annual reports for the period 1858 - 1862.⁴ In the earlier year the committee of management pointed out that the successful examination results were due 'in great measure to the better health enjoyed by the pupils during the year, which has thus enabled everyone of them to complete the full term of residence required by the Committee of Council on Education'. The report of 1862 opens with the statement, "One student was too ill to be examined, and has since been obliged to withdraw from the School from continued ill-health." The managers did, of course, have a genuine care for the health of the students but also needed to protect themselves against charges of extensive training and short service due to ill health.

The reports for 1858 and 1860 illustrate the more pastoral concern of the committee of management. In 1860 they complained that the health

1. Minutes, 24th February, 1842, page 40.
2. Minutes, 18th November, 1841, page 36, and 2nd May, 1856, page 106.
3. Minutes, 25th October, 1877, page 244.
4. Annual Reports, 1858, page 10, and 1862, page 5.

of the young men was markedly impaired during their service as pupil-teachers. -- 'sufficient care is not taken to see that these growing lads take a fair amount of active exercise in the open air.'¹ It has already been noted that in Durham the students were encouraged to tackle some out-door work, in the gardens, each day,² and that an attempt was made to develop cricket. Although in the period to 1860 the Training School was not faced with an epidemic, or with the need to isolate men for fairly lengthy periods, there are indications that the incidence of illness in term time was greater than the number of cases recorded in surviving documents. Two points illustrate the dread of infection. Between 1857 and 1860 Principal Cromwell was authorised by the committee of management to secure separate accommodation "where students afflicted with infectious or contagious diseases may be lodged."³ In 1860 a cottage in the garden-grounds was converted as "a hospital for sick students."⁴ Entries in the minute book, for a later period, suggest the main purpose to which such a hospital may have been put. In 1877 the committee agreed to ask Mr. Jepson, the medical examiner, "to be more

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1. Annual Report for 1860, page 5.
2. First mentioned in the Annual Report for 1849. Earlier accounts suggested that gardening was 'a pursuit so peculiarly belonging to the profession of Schoolmaster' (1849). An account of 1865 gives a much more realistic explanation. "there are ample facilities for recreation, while a large garden supplies the means for a knowledge of practical horticulture, which may be according to circumstances, either a solace or a support in later life."
A brief Sketch of Durham for the use of Visitors and others.
10th edition, Durham 1865, pages 94 - 95.
3. Minutes, 14th October, 1857, page 125.
4. Minutes, 3rd October, 1860, page 145.

strict in the examination of the health of students admitted and their condition of body, seeing that there have been three deaths from consumption this year." ¹ The case of William Irvin illustrates the concern shown by the committee, and also their ignorance of the true cause of the disease. "William Irvin, of North Shields, a young man of the highest character, and a most successful second year student, caught a cold in the Christmas holidays of 1866 - 67 which brought on consumption, and ended in his death in September, 1867." ²

With respect to student life in the period 1841 - 1860 there was throughout a concentration upon superintendence and a binding programme of work to keep the men occupied.

1. Minutes, 25th October, 1877, page 244.
2. Annual Report for 1887, page 7.

PART THREE: Trial by Code 1858 - 1872

Chapter One: The work of the Newcastle Commission in investigating the form of teacher training created by the Minutes of 1846.

During his secretaryship of the Committee of Council on Education Kay-Shuttleworth had regarded the churches as likely to put up more opposition to Council schemes than the House of Commons. By 1856 the situation had changed considerably: Shuttleworth had resigned and the parliamentary grant to education, originally regarded as a token, had risen astronomically. There was also the danger that the perplexities of the Council Minutes and the growth of the central administrative staff¹ would place the Committee of Council on Education in a form of technocratic independence. Parliament called for an enquiry into the education which was being provided by public grant, and the machinery for the administration of that grant. The work of the training schools was also placed under close scrutiny. The parliamentary committee of enquiry met under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle.

Since the creation of the Committee of Council the grant had risen steadily from £30,000 in 1839 to £663,000 in 1859.² The Newcastle Commission calculated that of a total grant of £4.3 millions in this period £2.5 millions had been spent on the training of teachers.

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1. In 1858 there were 63 employed in the Council Office and 60 in the Inspectorate. Newcastle Report Vol. I., pages 26 and 27.
2. Newcastle Commission Report Vol. I., page 20.

This sum included both the salaries of pupil teachers and grants to training schools¹ although the Commission noted that students in training schools had come to gain a status which made them essentially different from pupil teachers.² Recent modifications to the pupil teacher system³ and the fact that not all pupil teachers chose to complete their training⁴ gave some support to the argument that the training schools had cut themselves off from the elementary schools they had been designed to serve. The Commission argued that the effectiveness of the training schools must be judged largely by the work of certificated teachers in the elementary schools.⁵ The achievements of students during the course were of less importance.

Administratively the moment was opportune for a reform of the system. An order of 1856 had established the office of Vice-President of the Committee of Council. He was to be appointed by the Prime Minister to represent Council policy in the Commons. The first Vice-President, Robert Lowe, had already set about classifying the minutes which regulated the grants given to education,⁶ and had determined, before

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1. Newcastle Commission Report Vol. I., page 25.
2. Ibid, page 89.
3. Rich, op. cit., shows that after 1856 Training Schools had been able to award 10% of all their scholarships to men who had not been pupil teachers. Further, that in 1858 it was possible for 16 year-olds to take a two-year apprenticeship.
4. Newcastle Report Vol I., page 107. 11% of those who could have terminated their pupil teacherships with a Queen's Scholarship, and entry to a Training School, did not do so.
5. Ibid, page 89.
6. In 1858 the minutes were available as a parliamentary paper. (No. 192), in 1860 as a classified list or Code. Craik, H. The State in its relation to education. Pages 65 - 66.

the Newcastle Commission reported, to withdraw further building grants
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 to the training schools.

Asher Tropp, in his history of teachers' professional associations, gives an excellent summary of the forms of opposition to the system of 1846 which had developed by the eve of the Newcastle Commission. In particular he stresses the anxiety of the middle classes who thought that the education of the children of the poor had become so far advanced as to threaten their own position. He also stresses the contemporary view of certificated teachers as over-educated, ambitious, conceited, social climbers. The following quotation, taken from the report of Commissioner Foster, is indicative of the manner in which it was hoped to bring the salary and social ambition of the certificated
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 teacher to a true economic base.

"Where the schoolmaster's education has given him that refinement and elevation of mind which is the usual result of true civilisation, it is extremely painful for him to receive, almost as alms to himself, the money which has been subscribed to maintain him in his situation. And where he knows, or thinks he knows, his business as a teacher, he feels more or less impatient at the control which is exercised over him, whether by inspector, clergyman or lay committee, who know very little comparatively about the matter, but who, because they are the channel of the money, and responsible for it, claim a right to dictate. Moreover this mode of raising a guaranteed salary by supplementing the fees with subscriptions, instead of guaranteeing a certain fixed salary besides fees, precludes the healthful stimulus which a schoolmaster requires. Possessing as every man does, the instinctive desire of bettering his position, he has no mode of doing so except by removing to another school The truth is that they now occupy a false position. Their superior position has rendered it necessary to attach high salaries to their situations; but the work to be done and the social position it involves are not in keeping with these conditions. That is to say, a man

1. Tropp, Asher. The School Teachers, pages 61 - 62. He also gives an excellent account of the work of the Newcastle Commission in his chapters V and VI.
2. Report of A.F. Foster, Assistant Commissioner, to the Newcastle Commission, published in Vol. II of the Commission's Report, pages 361 - 362.

of such education commanding an income from one to two hundred a year, besides a free house, is out of place teaching a parcel of poor little children the very elements of knowledge, and comporting himself as the humble servant of those who collect from the charity of the public what he cannot realise from the weekly pence of his scholars."

This statement is by no means the most frequently quoted of the mass of evidence produced by the Newcastle Commission, nor is it from a commissioner noted for his impartiality.¹ It is, however, one which is appropriate to the area in which the majority of the Durham students taught, and one which exemplifies the manner in which the Training School was to be caught up in the government's re-organisation of the 1846 system. The integration of the Durham syllabus with the work of the elementary schools has been traced in an earlier part of this thesis and the view then expressed that the authorities of the Durham Training School did not realise how dependent they were upon state subsidies. The events of the period 1861 - 1871, which thrust this realisation upon the Training School, are clearly foreseen in the passage taken from Foster. Certificated teachers are taken to be over educated, socially hypersensitive, hostile to the control of their managers, a heavy burden upon the local voluntary agencies, and altogether too superior to be engaged in the elementary education of the children of the poor.

In the light of this quotation and the political background given at the opening of this chapter, four questions require an answer if the development of the Durham Training School, during the decade following

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1. Asher Tropp, op. cit., pages 66 - 67.

1862, is to be understood. These questions are;

- (1) What view of teacher training did the Commission put forward, and to what extent was that view true of Durham?
- (2) What view of the teacher in school was put forward, and to what extent was this true of teachers within the diocese, and especially of men trained at Durham?
- (3) Which views did the government choose to accept and what proposals were made in respect of training schools generally?
- (4) What was the impact of these recommendations upon the financial and curricular structure of the Durham Training School?

What view of teacher training did the Newcastle Commission put forward?

The commissioners recorded that they had "particularly enquired into the education given to the pupils of the training colleges, who may¹ justly be supposed to become the highest class of elementary teachers." Their report was really quite moderate, and impartial. While the press may have led people to believe that "we were over-teaching our masters and under-teaching our children,"² the Report itself did not damn the training schools in the same way that it did the attitudes allegedly shown by certificated teachers in elementary schools. It was the public who quickly established a cause and effect relationship. This the Durham Training School attempted to refute, and in the refutation a new and healthier relationship was established between the Training School and the Diocese it was designed to serve.

Another relationship was laid bare by the report. "The government contributes largely to the maintenance of Training Colleges"³ and "the course of instruction given in the Training Colleges ought to be

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1. Volume I of the Report, page 542.
2. Tropp, op. cit., page 78.
3. Report Vol. I, page 115.

entirely arranged with a view to the objects for which they are instituted, and for which the state supports them, that of forming good teachers for elementary schools." ¹ Should this piper-and-tune relationship not have been appreciated by the managers of the training schools, it was spelled out more exactly in the introduction to the Report. "The public money is not to be voted in order to give a certain number of young persons a sort of academical education." ²

The principal objection raised was that in training schools receiving a 75% government subsidy ³ the kind of course offered was quite unsuitable for teachers in state subsidised elementary schools. It was also suggested that the standards of the training schools were in some respects false, as parts of the course had degenerated into "mere exercises of verbal memory." Most unfortunate of all "the education which students receive tends to make them conceited and showy." ⁴

Finally, the Commission came to the view that the training schools were "sufficient to supply the whole of England and Wales with trained teachers, and to fill up the vacancies." ⁵ Consequently grants made to training schools could not be increased and might be reduced if the curriculum was not brought closer to the work of the elementary schools. The future success of the training schools would be judged from the achievements of those who had been trained in them.

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1. Report, Volume I, page 116.
 2. Ibid, page 116.
 3. Ibid, page 22.
 4. Ibid, page 130.
 5. Ibid, page 22.

To what extent was this view of teacher training true of the Durham Training School?

It was undeniably true that the Durham Training School had enjoyed considerable financial support from the government. The Commission found that on average the government contributed 76% of the total running costs of all Anglican Male Training Schools. ¹ In the case of Durham the grant amounted to 80%, a figure only exceeded by Cheltenham and York. This placed the Durham Training School on the defensive. All the managers could argue was that the government had received value for money, that the course offered was suitable for intending elementary school masters, and that the work of Durham trained men, in the schools, was much superior to that of untrained masters. The account of the curriculum already given should be sufficient to show that the course of studies had, until the new syllabus of 1855-56, tended towards an over emphasis upon the 'higher branches of instruction.' The defence, therefore, rested upon the performance of the students between 1855 and 1858, when, as is shown in table 3, the work of the students in the elementary school subjects was most satisfactory.

The reports of inspectors Cowie and Moncrieff support the training schools. Speaking of the Anglican Male Training Schools, ² Cowie suggested that the apparent over-education of the masters in training was a needless misconception on the part of those who had no direct experience

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1. Newcastle Report Volume I, page 115.
2. C.C. Reports 1861-1862, page 281, gives a much simpler explanation of the high mindedness of students in training.
 "The glimpse which they obtain of subjects just above the qualifications which are absolutely necessary may occasionally lead them to talk of their studies and use big words in such a way as to alarm the timid and stationary with the notion that the progress of these schoolmasters is too rapid, and that they are educated above their position."

of training school work. Moncrieff, writing on schoolmasters in the Durham Diocese, testified that men who had been awarded good certificates by the training schools usually proved themselves able masters of elementary schools. He quotes six schoolmasters as the holders of "original certificates in the first class" and considered that their schools were amongst the best, if not the best, in his district. ¹ Two of these men, Fish and Reid, had been trained at Durham.

The inspectorate had built up cordial relations with the Durham Training School, and it was with a quotation from H.M.I. Cowie that the defence was opened in the Training School Annual Report for 1860. Cowie had commented on the attention given to practical teaching and the committee of management urged that "this testimony is well worthy of being recorded, as it helps to prove that the most important duties are not here sacrificed to a mere desire to stand well in the Class List of the Annual Examination." ² Such a statement was obviously propagandist as the committee were quite aware of the findings of the Newcastle Commission. ³ Much the same line of defence was adopted in the report for the following year, ⁴ when the committee stressed that the Durham Training School "was primarily established not to make scholars but schoolmasters." Unlike other training schools, there was in Durham a resistance to "A natural disposition in all training schools to cut down the time devoted to this

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1. Collinson (Duke's School Alnwick) More (Alnwick Corporation School)
 Elliot (Lemesley) Fish (Durham Bluecoat)
 Reid (Barrington School) Mitcheson (Newcastle, St. Andrews)
2. 19th Annual Report for 1860, page 5.
3. Alluded to in the 20th Annual Report.
4. 20th Annual Report for 1861, pages 3 - 4.

purpose (i.e. practical work in schools) and to employ it in the study of the subjects required to pass with credit the Christmas Examinations."

This was a telling defence to the charges of the Newcastle Commission. The training schools had been led to coach their students for examinations because income was, in part, dependent upon examination success. The opening remarks of the annual reports for 1860, 1861, 1862 were designed to show off the performance of students in these examinations. The report for 1863¹ took a much more independent attitude. The specific proposals of the government were known, grants had been cut, and the Durham Training School now charged the government with duplicity. This suggests that the case made in 1861 had been tongue-in-cheek. The evidence shows that the Durham Training School was a fitting target for the shots fired by the Newcastle Commission, and was more susceptible than most to economic pressures.² As events were to prove the Durham Training School had to recover some measure of financial independence before it was possible to distinguish between those views of teacher training which were truly valued and those which were considered politic in 1860.

1. Pages 4 - 6.
2. See the Newcastle Report Volume I, page 576. 15 of the 23 diocesan schools had an income superior to that of Durham. The Durham income was £235. In three instances the income was £1,000 plus.

What view of the teacher in school did the commission put forward?

In describing the training schools the Newcastle Commission had recommended against their giving young persons "a sort of academical education." This stemmed from the view they adopted of what was the proper status of the elementary schoolmaster. Upon the acceptance or rejection of this view the whole future of the pupil-teacher system and teacher training would depend. The authorities of the Durham Training School were quick to appreciate that if the elementary school-master were put in his place there would be no need to await a direct attack from the government. Stripped of students and the grants they brought with them, all training schools would be faced with an inevitable decline.

The Newcastle Report harshly condemned young teachers who as sons of day labourers, earning ten shillings a week, found themselves at the age of twenty earning £80 to £90 a year. The Commission then gave their role prescription for future certificated teachers.

"We may observe in conclusion that the occupation of an elementary schoolmaster is not well suited for a young man of an adventurous stirring or ambitious character, and it is a misfortune than otherwise, when persons of that temper of mind are led into it, by the prospect which its earlier stages appear to afford of rising in the world socially as well as intellectually. It is a life which requires a quiet, even temper, patience, sympathy, fondness for children, and habitual cheerfulness. It wants rather good sense and quiet intelligence than a very inquisitive mind or very brilliant talents, and the prospects which it affords appear well calculated to attract a class of person best fitted for it. A schoolmaster is sure of a good income, a great deal of leisure, and moderate labour as long as his health lasts. and he fills a position, which if not socially all that he could wish, is universally recognised as respectable and useful. It can hardly be doubted that these prospects, if neither exaggerated nor deprecated, are sufficient to attract an adequate number of persons to the calling" Volume I, page 161.

The Commissioners proposed that in future schoolmasters' salaries, like those of other occupations, should be dependent upon "the market value of their services."¹ The training schools feared that even if there were sufficient candidates for entry they would be young men who had accepted the depression of the schoolmaster's office to that of a "reading, writing, and ciphering drudge."²

The report also pointed to three distinct limitations in the awarding and classification of teachers' certificates. The class of the certificate was "a doubtful indication of their comparative professional value."³ Certificated masters tended to scorn "the drudgery of elementary teaching." Lastly, in their statistical report, the commissioners suggested that certificated teachers did not remain very long in their first appointments.⁴

To what extent was this true of teachers in the diocese, and in particular of men trained at Durham?

⁵ Commissioner Foster reported teacher opinion in his area as "unanimous ... as to the too elaborate education of teachers, and the unnecessary amount of mere scholastic learning that is required of them in order to gain certificates of merit." He further reported that the most striking feature of certificated teachers was "their restiveness

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1. Newcastle Report, Volume I, page 161.
2. H.M.I. Cowie's phrase. C.C. Report 1861-2, page 281.
3. Newcastle Report, page 152.
4. Ibid. Table, page 640.
5. Newcastle Report, Volume II, pages 360-362.

and dissatisfaction." ¹ He also believed that trained masters tended to neglect the elementary education of their pupils.

If these "charges" are taken separately as teacher over-education, pupil under-education, and the desertion of trained masters from the elementary schools, then there is a considerable conflict of evidence on the state of education in the Durham area. Four of Foster's witnesses had personal connections with the Training School ² and their evidence does not support those views of Foster which have already been given. These witnesses felt satisfied with the work of certificated teachers although Principal Cromwell did seek to avoid the question on the grounds that he was an interested party. Cundill had no such reserve and, whilst agreeing that masters ought to be trained, expressed the view that "too many and too high subjects were taught. The intellectual element is too much attended to. Hence a distaste for the drudgery of teaching superficial acquirements, self-conceit and waywardness." Green and Lawson did not agree with such a criticism and argued that the men trained at Durham were "eminently fitted .. for the work of elementary instruction," and that they were not dissatisfied with their position.

Evidence produced earlier in this thesis supports Cromwell and Lawson against Cundill. A possible explanation of this apparent conflict is that Cundill viewed Cromwell's personal advancement with suspicion, and that he did not realise how much standards had improved since he

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1. When Foster's evidence was summarised in Vol. I of the Report the commissioners noted that on this point he differed from the majority of his colleagues.
2. Appendix 'M' of Foster's Report.
The witnesses were John Cundill, first Principal, Rev. J.G. Cromwell, present Principal, Rev. G.E. Green, a member of the Committee, and Joseph Lawson, master of St. Oswald's, one of the practising schools.

resigned the principalship. Given a majority of students who had been pupil teachers, a two year course of training, and higher entry requirements, it is difficult to find any valid reason as to why the Durham Training School should not give an intellectual approach, within the government syllabus, without jeopardising standards of teaching in the elementary subjects. The reports of the inspectorate support this interpretation and are highly critical of the findings of the Newcastle Commission. Moncrieff, in his report for 1861, was determined to reject the charge that the standards of work achieved in the training school was inconducive to good teaching in the elementary schools. "If I were to select in my own district a dozen schools as the best in higher subjects, and again another dozen for my marks in elementary subjects, I should find the two lists almost identical." It has already been shown that these schools were likely to be under the charge of masters who had gained a good class of certificate.

It was left to the committee of management to answer the charge that trained masters were lost to the district because they would rather leave teaching than accept a poor salary. They gave three reasons as to why they had found it difficult to place masters

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1. C.C. Reports 1861-2, page 106. Moncrieff stated "I have at different times stated the short-comings of the work done; but I differ widely from the inferences drawn" (by the Commission).
 2. Ibid. Pages 116-118.
 3. In the Annual Report for 1862, pages 4 and 5.

in rural parishes, especially those of Northumberland. Some managers were prejudiced against "Government Schoomasters". Others were unwilling to accept government inspection. Many showed "an inability or unready-ness to offer a larger stipend for a Schoolmaster, than had been found sufficient to secure the services of men who have had no preparation whatever for the discharge of the duties of their office." This statement helps explain the decision of the committee of management to allow men to take positions outside the diocese rather than have them earn less than the agreed certificated rate. ¹ An investigation completed in 1861, by the authorities of the Durham Training School, showed that between 1849 and 1861 less than 4% of the men trained at Durham had actually 'deserted' the profession. ²

1. This was a point of view which the Newcastle Association of British Church Schoolmasters would most certainly have accepted. In 1864 they withdrew from the National Association of British Church Schoolmasters rather than agree to a resolution in favour of the payment of grants to schools which were not under certificated masters.

Tropp. op. cit. Pages 99 - 100.

2. The return is worth quoting in full because of its apparent accuracy, the reasons it gives for men leaving teaching, and the follow-up surveys.

"Complaints have occasionally been made that young men trained at the public expense, desert that occupation for which they have had their education given, and carry their acquirements to a better market. Yet of 216 students trained at Durham between January 1849 and December 1861 only 12 have left teaching. 4 because of chronic illness. 2 showed such an inaptitude for the office of a teacher as could not be overcome. So that it turns out that there have been in thirteen years no more than six or eight ascertained cases of desertion out of 216."

Annual Report of the Training School for 1861, page 5.

The original, manuscript, calculations have been preserved.

Which views did the government choose to accept?

The Newcastle Commission had to report on whether or not the high level of expenditure on elementary schools was justified. The success or failure of the training schools, and the value they gave for the grants given, was to be measured against the success of their students in securing sound elementary instruction. As has been shown above, the general view of the commission was to bring the level of work achieved in the training schools much closer to that attempted in the elementary instruction of the children of the poor. The opinion of the inspectorate, and of those directly connected with the Durham Training School, was that the standard of the work in the training schools ought to set standards elsewhere, and not 'vice versa'. It was left to the government to determine what action should be taken upon the Report. Within the government much depended upon the recommendations of Robert Lowe.

Some historians have accused Lowe of pointless economy.¹ Others have claimed that he subordinated educational principles to administrative regularity.² A recent work accuses him of duplicity, and the suppression of evidence.³ All these points of view really emphasise that Lowe needed to take decisions at the political level, that he compromised, and that the opposition generally found it difficult at the time to pick out those issues which were later shown to be fundamental. One may sympathise with the committee of

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1. Tropp, op. cit., especially chapter six.
2. Smith, W.O.L. "To whom do schools belong?"
3. Leese, J. "Personalities and power in English Education."

management of the Durham Training School when they feared for some issues when the outcome was relatively innocuous, whilst at other times they failed to appreciate the real intentions of the government.

The Newcastle Commission did not recommend any major change in the way in which government grants were to be made to training schools. No major changes were recommended in the syllabus. It was the recommendations concerning the award of the certificate which caused most alarm amongst the training schools. For newly qualified teachers the class of certificate obtained would no longer determine the salary paid. The certificates would "bear no pecuniary but only an honorary value." Certificates would not be issued until newly trained teachers had served for two years in an inspected school and had received two favourable reports from the inspectors. Lowe, in drawing up a revision of the code for the administration of grants, chose to exert a much stricter control over the work and income of training schools. The Newcastle Report would have given little incentive for pupil teachers to enter full-time training, but did not otherwise threaten the income of training schools from government grants. Lowe's Revised Code promised a cut in income.

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1. Recommendations 14 and 15, page 546. Yet it was held that there ought to be an increase in private subscriptions.
2. Recommendations 16, 18, page 546.
3. Recommendations 19 (f).
4. The Revised Code. The principal version was published on May 9th, 1862. This version incorporated important minutes and regulations of July and September, 1861, and of February and March, 1862. The revised code is published in the Report of the Committee of Council for 1861 - 1862, pages xvi - xiiv, and contains 151 articles.

The Revised Code threatened the work of the training schools in four areas --- student recruitment, grants, syllabus, and the certificate of merit. Prior to 1862 most of the students who were admitted to training schools were drawn from the ranks of pupil-teachers. Three-quarters of all pupil-teachers completed their professional training in this way. After 1862 pupil-teachers were to be apprenticed to the school managers at a salary they must negotiate for themselves. On completion of their apprenticeship pupil-teachers could be given certificates permitting them to take charge of small rural schools. The effects of these regulations would be felt most in 1867-68 when the last of those admitted under the old regulations had completed their apprenticeship. This was expected to be the year in which training schools would have most difficulty in attracting suitable students.

Under the Revised Code, building grants to training schools were withdrawn, although annual grants were continued. This was a blow to any plans for expansion but not a serious threat to the 'status quo'. The real blow came in the Minutes of 1863. A more detailed account of this is given in Appendix 'D'. The most important of the Minutes were those relating to:-

- (a) limitation of the total number of students to those resident in 1862;
- (b) limitation of the government grant to 75% of all approved expenditure;
- (c) a maximum 'per capita' grant of £50;
- (d) retrospective awards, in terms of examinations taken in the preceeding year, set against an allowance calculated on the number of students whose certificates had now become substantive;
- (e) the abolition of Queen's Scholarships, each Training School being required to negotiate fees or award scholarships after candidates had been selected following admission procedures conducted by the inspectorate.

The purpose of the 1863¹ Minutes was to "make grants, which are wholly prospective in their character, retrospective" and to make the training school financially dependent upon "those of its students who are fairly launched in their profession ... (and upon) ... the demand for trained teachers."² The minute had the effect of bringing some training schools close to bankruptcy. Chichester and Highbury³ were forced to close.

Since 1855 there had been a common syllabus for the training schools. A new syllabus was published in 1863.⁴ Chemistry, physics, mechanics and literature were withdrawn as examinable subjects. Responsibility for drawing and the other science subjects was made over to the Department of Science and Art. Church History was also withdrawn from the certificate examination so that the 'higher subjects' were virtually excluded, as grant earning components of the syllabus.

The impact of the Revised Code may be summed up as a devaluation of the Certificate of Merit. In practice, if not by declaration, the government accepted the suggestion of H.M.I. Cowie, that the certificate should be regarded as "a certificate of competency rather than a certificate of merit." No longer was the appointment of a fully

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1. Committee of Council Minutes, 21st March, 1863, given in the Report of the Committee of Council 1862-63, pages xiv - xvii. See also Appendix 'D'.
2. Committee of Council Report 1862-63, page (xiii).
3. The total grant to all Training Schools fell from £113,000 in 1863 to £70,000 in 1867.
4. C.C. Report 1862-63, page 203.

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certificated teacher an indispensable condition of grant aid.

Certificates could be obtained by any teacher who, on the recommendation of his managers, was seen by the inspector and received two favourable reports. All certificates issued on the completion of a course at a training school were conditional, and in the lowest grade, so that for salary purposes there was no direct incentive to enter full-time training.² The lack of incentive can be seen in the falling off in the number of pupil-teachers. After 1863, in order to raise their 25% of annual expenditure, many training schools had to re-introduce fees and a pledge system. This, in itself, adversely affected recruitment, leading to a general failure to fill up places. The number of students in training fell by 20% between 1862 and 1866.³ Such was the background to developments in Durham during the sixties.

1. "While making a certificated teacher a condition of annual grant we have provided for the granting of certificates to young and humbler classes of candidates, for service in small schools." C.C. Report 1861 - 62, page x.
2. The Newcastle Commission found that the average salary for male, certificated teachers, was £95 p.a. The figure for 1866 was £87 p.a. Asher Tropp, op. cit., page 96.
3. The Newcastle Commission (Vol. I. pages 106 - 107) had suggested that only about threequarters of all pupil-teachers went on to training schools, and that there was no particular need to expand the number of training places. Tropp, op. cit., pages 94 - 95 shows that the government planned to offer only 80% of the exhibitions offered previously. This led to a fall in new apprenticeships, from 3,092, in 1861, to 1,895 in 1864. Rich, op. cit., pages 186 - 189, shows that the 3,000 students in training in 1862 had fallen to 2,400 in 1866.

Chapter Two:

What was the impact of the government's proposals upon the Durham Training School?

The committee of management learned of some of the sting of the 1863 Minutes through the circulation of an advanced draft.¹ Their first reaction to the limitation of government grant to 75% was to observe that the grant was still 'liberal'. They calculated the annual expenditure of the Training School to be £2,300 so that £575 would need to be found from local sources. The level of subscriptions had fallen from £475 in 1856 to £334 in 1863 which meant that the committee would need to find an additional £250 in the following year. These statistics on subscriptions give point to the case argued by the Newcastle Commission, that government assistance "discouraged private liberality." The Committee felt particularly strongly that the major towns of the Diocese, places such as Newcastle, Gateshead, Sunderland, South Shields, Darlington and Bishop Auckland, were not making adequate subscriptions. Not one of these towns, in 1862, raised subscriptions totalling more than £5 despite the fact that collectively they employed twenty-eight Durham trained men.

In the same report the committee contested the claim of the Newcastle Commission that there were sufficient masters in training.³ Such an argument remained quite academic as the actual demand for school-masters fell after 1861. The committee felt sure that this decline was

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1. Annual Report for 1862, pages 6 and 7.
2. Page 144. "the assistance given discourages private liberality the withdrawal of part of it would be compensated by an increase in private subscriptions."
3. Annual Report for 1862, pages 5 - 6. They argued that for Northumberland and Durham 25 new masters were needed each year.

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brought about by the Revised Code. They gave the immediate cause as a growing uncertainty, on the part of school managers, as to whether their funds would be sufficient to employ trained masters. Few new schools had been built; repairs were not completed promptly; and some schools were actually withdrawn from government inspection.

Although there were more applications for entry to training from outside the diocese than there had been in previous years, the total number of students seeking admission declined markedly. As early as 1864, there were only nineteen candidates for thirty-one places.² This fall in the number of potential students could have led to an accelerated decline in the share of the government grant earned by Durham men who had completed their probationary years satisfactorily. The gravity of this situation was not appreciated until the committee grasped the meaning of the Minute of March, 1863. Despite their familiarity with published government regulations, the committee of management were taken by surprise, not realising that in future the inspectorate would examine students applying for admission and would no longer sanction grants to all those recommended by the principal. They accused the government of duplicity when they learned that it would be impossible to arrest the decline in the number of students admitted.³

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1. Annual Report 1863, page 4. The number of enquiries after masters fell from 32 in 1861 to 26 in the following year, and was 'much lower' in 1863. This was particularly true of enquiries from within the Diocese.
2. Annual Report for 1863, page 4. The report, published early in the following year, contains some information on the 1864 position.
3. Annual Report for 1863, pages 5-6. The limitation worked in three ways.
 - (1) Only ex pupil-teachers could hope to qualify for grants.
 - (2) The award of scholarships no longer rested upon the recommendations of the Principal.
 - (3) The inspectorate were to implement a policy which was intended to offer fewer awards than there were candidates qualified to receive them.

An immediate result of the 1863 Minute was the introduction of the 'pledge'. Candidates seeking admission were informed that they would need to "sign an agreement to reside for the full period of two years and to become teachers in schools under government inspection." ¹ The same report gave a new description of the daily life of the training school, stressing the rigour of the course and the need for good behaviour and hard work. The description given of the course, together with a noticeable decline in the number of schools under government inspection, can hardly have helped in the campaign to attract more students. The stress upon the purely 'honorific' value of the certificate was also beginning to have its effect on the salaries offered to young schoolmasters. The average salary for the 18 students who left at Christmas 1864 was approximately £64. ²

The charge of the Newcastle Commission, that many masters subsequently deserted the profession for which they had been trained, led the committee to make much more detailed enquiries into the record of Durham trained men. Figures published in 1867 ³ showed that more Durham men had left the profession than had been thought, approximately one-seventh of the total number. Of more interest was the pattern of appointments which was revealed. Only 126 were employed within the Diocese. 60 were employed in the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cheshire. At least 24 were employed in the south of

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1. Annual Report for 1863, page 9.
2. Annual Report for 1864, page 3.
3. Annual Report for 1866, page 11.
385 men had completed their course at Durham. Of these 210 were practising schoolmasters. 32 were dead. 54 had left the profession. On the remainder there was no information.

England and the true number was probably greater as no information was available on 89 former students. Indirectly the Revised Code helped bring about increased teacher mobility, forcing the Training School to be less diocesan, more national, in its outlook. In 1865, for example, 18 of the students in residence came from homes outside the diocese. The committee felt this to be yet another instance of lack of diocesan support but the long term effect can only have been favourable to the growing reputation of the Durham Training School.

After 1864, and until the eve of the 1870 Act, the Training School passed through a series of financial crises, as the assistance given by the government declined. At first the committee had hoped to combat the decline in numbers by remitting the fees of men in their second year, but it was quickly realised that this would place too great a strain upon income.² Table 10 shows the independent income of the Training School for the period 1860 - 1870 and from this it can be seen that the real crisis came in 1869, the year when the cuts imposed in 1862 had been calculated to have their maximum effect. This caused the committee to sell out £500 of government stock.³ It should, however, be recorded that the greater part of this money had been invested during

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1. Annual Report, 1865, page 3.
2. Minute Book 23rd March, 1864, pages 164 - 165.
3. Minute Book 27th May, 1869, page 204.

the period of the Revised Code. Without in any way condoning the policy of the government it must be conceded that the managers of the Training School had followed the example of the Dean and Chapter by investing their funds against possible sequestration. The turning point came in 1871, when the managers were able to re-invest £500, "the present state of the finances seeming to allow it."¹ This improvement in prospects had been brought about by the 1870 Act, the details of which are considered later.

1. Minute Book 13th October, 1871, page 219.

Chapter Three:

Revival and the 1870 Act

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The arithmetic of the Revised Code¹ was calculated to establish a critical relationship between income and student numbers for the year 1868-69, and it has already been shown how critical a period this was for the Durham Training School. With the passing of the new Education Act there was a marked improvement in the prospects of most training schools and Durham was no exception to the general trend. The course of the recovery can be plotted in terms of financial liquidity and the number of students in training. This, however, would beg the question, 'Why did the Act improve the prospects of training schools?' and would give no criteria to help distinguish the improvement due largely to local initiative from that which was part of a larger, national movement.

Most historians of education stress the impetus to progress given by the 1870 Act, although some have attempted to temper earlier² enthusiasms. The compromise of 1870 placed the Church Training Schools in a strange position as the only possible training centres for both parts of the so called 'dual system'. The Act was two-edged. Each public elementary school needed to be placed under the direction of a certificated teacher if it was to receive a parliamentary grant. (Clause 7 (4)) Yet the Act (Clause 7 (1) (2) (3)) also stipulated that in Board Schools there should be no link with the doctrinal teaching

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1. See Appendix 'D'.
2. Vide Curtis, S.J. History of Education in Great Britain, 5th edition, 1963, pages 282 - 283, and Jarman, T.L. Landmarks in the History of Education, 2nd edition, 1963, page 266.

of particular churches. In 1870 the only centres able to train certificated masters were the voluntary training schools and, in this sense, the Churches gained ground. On the other hand once School Boards were able to promote pupil teacherships they gained a measure of control over entry into full-time training. How long would the Durham Training School be able to insist upon a distinctive Anglican background as a condition of entry? What, subsequently would be the pattern of recruitment in terms of men who could serve apprenticeships in either National or Board Schools? Would there, after 1870, be built up a reluctance, a willingness, or a plain indifference, on the part of the committee of management, towards the admission of non-Anglicans.

A second point to be established is that the 1870 Act did not rescind the Code of 1862. Foster did not drop the idea of publishing, annually, a code of regulations relating grants to the curricula and attainments of the schools which received them. The Code of 1873, for example, maintained most of the earlier regulations which applied to training schools. The 'per capita' grant remained fixed at the same figure and the total grant remained at a ceiling of 75%. What did change was the fixing of total student numbers at the figure which had applied on the eve of the Revised Code.

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1. This is well covered in Rigg, op. cit. Appendix 'B', pages 482 - 496.

The restoration of the older admission procedures, whereby grants could be paid to students on the recommendation of the principal, led to an increase in the numbers seeking admission.

The position of the training schools generally improved but they were nevertheless still faced with the unwelcome policy of the government with regard to the award of certificates. The government, realising that there would be a grave shortage of certificated teachers, proposed to meet the shortage in three ways: ¹ (a) by admitting students to the certificate examination after only one year of training; (b) by admitting to the certificate examination ex pupil-teachers of twenty-one and over who had received a satisfactory report from the inspectorate; (c) by granting a certificate without examination to those who had taught for more than ten years and who satisfied the inspectors. This forced the Training School into granting one year courses if it was to compete with other training schools and with other ways of gaining certificates.

With this brief sketch of the political background it is possible to show that the recovery made by the Durham Training School was part of a greater, national movement, if the number entering training is taken as the key factor. If the recovery is seen in term of financial liquidity, then it can be shown that here it was a personal triumph for the committee of management. Table 9 below shows the number of men admitted between 1862 and 1875.

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1. Articles 7b, 7d and 59 of the Code of 1873.

Table 9: Table showing the number of men admitted and the number leaving for the period 1862 - 1875. (1)

Year	Admissions	Leavers
1862	27	28
1863	24	27
1864	21	19
1865	17	16
1866	18	16
1867	19	13
1868	13	19
1869	9	11
1870	25	26
1871	21	26
1872	26	-- figures
1873	33	-- not
1874	25	-- avail-
1875	39	-- able.

From the table it can be seen that the year of crisis was 1868 - 69, and that after 1873 the number of admissions approached and passed the figure which had been reached on the eve of the Revised Code. A quotation from the Annual Report of 1869 shows how the committee of management were aware of the turn of the tide. "The Training College opened in January, 1870, with 31 students, all of them Queen's Scholars, from which it appears that the falling off in numbers which appeared last year has already been recovered ... and as the Principal expects a good entry in 1871, the College will be more full henceforward than
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for many years."

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1. The figures are taken from the register of the Training School, and from the Annual Reports for 1857 - 1871. After 1863 precise leaving dates are not given in the register, but named lists of leavers are given in the Annual Reports after 1863. The Annual Reports for 1872 to 1885 are missing.
2. Annual Report for 1869, published 1870, page 3.

The Durham Training School had coped with the crisis better than most. The number of candidates for training schools fell, nationally, from 400 in 1865 to 220 in 1868, while in Durham, during this period, numbers fell only from 17 to 13.¹ The increase in numbers after 1870 is attributable to three factors: the increase in the number of pupil-² teachers from which to draw; the restoration of what the Training School still chose to regard as the "Queen's Scholarship"; and a new³ demand for certificated teachers.

Something has already been given on the financial crises of the years 1861 - 1871. Table 10 overleaf shows that there was a consistent fall in subscriptions during the period 1856 - 1865, at a time when the overall income of the Training School was rising steadily. This is the period of over dependence upon government subsidies. The Table also shows the decline in total income after 1864, when the Revised Code was beginning to have its effect. The yearly balance probably

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1. The national, comparative, figures were quoted in the Annual Report of the Durham Training School for 1869, page 3.
2. The number of pupil-teachers increased, nationally, from 14,612 in 1870 to 29,245 in 1875 ... i.e. the number doubled in five years.
3. Rigg, James, National Education, London, 1873, fills an important gap here, in that he gives some reference to the Durham situation for the period when there are no Durham records. In his chapter VI. 'Forecast for the Future' he calculated that the supply of trained teachers would not meet the demand until 1878. In Durham there would be a particularly grave shortage as the literacy rating for Durham county (based upon marriage registers) was one of the lowest in the country, for men and women alike.

gives a better picture of the extent to which the committee of management were able to cope with the situation.

Table 10: The State of the Training School income as given in the Annual Reports for the period 1856 - 1871.

Year	Subscriptions £	Total income £	Balance £
1856	457	1,429	Credit 127
1857	453	1,798	Credit 105
1858	433	2,194	Credit 351
1859	---	-----	-----
1860	404	2,776	Credit 221
1861	401	2,725	Debit 218
1862	348	2,457	Debit 88
1863	343	2,567	Credit 323
1864	313	2,761	Credit 201
1865	207	2,110	Credit 180
1866	288	2,232	Debit 27
1867	290	2,089	Debit 185
1868	319	2,179	Debit 250
1869	368	2,205	Credit 34
1870	381	2,479	Credit 297
1871	264	2,497	Debit 363

From the Table it can be seen that there were apparently three financial crises, 1861-2, 1866-8, and 1871. In point of fact two of these were illusory. In 1861 the deficit was due entirely to a £500 investment in land, while in 1871 the debit balance was brought about by the purchase of £460 of Government stock. The real crisis was that of 1866-68 when £500 of stock had to be sold out before the Training School could be declared free of debt. Yet by 1871 the committee of management were sufficiently confident to risk a temporary debit balance to re-invest their money. The financial crisis was past and reserves could once more be built up.

Part Four: Prosperity and Progress 1870 - 1890Chapter One: The extension of influence

The thesis advanced in this section is that in the years 1870 - 1890 the Durham Training School developed into a college with a national reputation. It has been shown that in the early years the influence of the Training School did not extend to all parts of the diocese. It is with the extension of influence within the diocese that the growth of any national reputation is first traced.

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Rigg suggests that there was less need for elementary schools in Northumberland, than there was in Durham or in the country at large. Such a view is difficult to accept as an adequate explanation of the figures given in Table II. If the Northumbrians had a deep, traditional respect for education, they did little to further the work of the Training School. Even if one allows for differing rates of population growth² the contribution of Northumberland was poor compared with that of Durham.

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1. Rigg, op. cit., pages 450-452, claimed that an inspection of the marriage registers for 1870 showed 24% of Durham men and 36% of Durham women, signed with a cross. For Northumberland the comparable figures were 13% and 23%. He speaks highly of the independent Northumbrian, able to educate his children at home, a man with a traditional respect for education. The literacy rate in the Durham coalfields was one of the lowest of the country.
2. The census for 1851 (Division X) gives the following figures, a clear indication of a differential population growth between the two counties.

	1801 -1811	1811 -1821	1821 -1831	1831 -1841	1841 -1851
Durham	10%	17%	22%	30%	26%
Northumberland	19%	16%	11%	12%	14%
All England & Wales	14%	18%	16%	14%	13%

Table 11 : The subscriptions received from Northumberland and Durham, other than from the Dean and Chapter or the Diocesan School Society, 1865 - 1871.

(sums are given to the completed pound)

Year	County Durham	Northumberland
	£	£
1865	159	40
1866	143	40
1867	159	38
1868	166	43
1869	129	98
1870	129	98
1871	124	95

A much simpler explanation would be to attribute disinterest of the northern part of the diocese to difficulties of communication, and to a psychological distance from the diocesan administration based on Durham. During the financial struggles brought about by the Revised Code every effort was made to have the northern part of the diocese take an active interest, and these efforts gained some success. Two events helped make the break-through, a concerted drive upon Newcastle, and the election of Archdeacon Bland to the committee of management.

In 1867 the committee of management were able to attract the funds of the recently dissolved Northumberland and Durham Association for the Promotion of Education. ¹ Stirred on by such a windfall the principal ² agreed to canvass Newcastle for subscriptions. The clergy were invited

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1. Minute Book, 26th March, 1867, page 185 and 8th June, 1867, pages 189-190. The £160 offered was used to establish a prize fund for boys, from elementary schools within the diocese, who wished to enter training schools.
2. Minute Book, 23rd March, 1868, page 195.

to give sermons on behalf of the Training School, and to take up
¹
collections. The most important move was undoubtedly the appointment
of Archdeacon Bland, Archdeacon of Northumberland, as chairman of the
committee of management. He served the committee from 1869 until his
death in 1880, and although the annual reports for the period are largely
missing, it seems very likely that during this time Northumbrian
subscriptions and interest continued to grow. In 1876 Archdeacon Bland
personally paid off a debt incurred over building expansion, and it is
likely that his good example was communicated to subscribers north of
the Tyne.

Expansion beyond the diocese.

At the time the committee of management was attempting to spread its
influence to all parts of the diocese, there were parallel developments
which brought the Durham Training School closer to other church training
schools. There are three areas in which this extra-diocesan movement
can be traced; plans for inter-diocesan Training Schools, a growing
contact with national church agencies, and an exchange of staff with
other church training schools.

As early as 1839 Archdeacon Thorp had written to York, Carlisle,
and Ripon to "suggest a combined school." The details of the replies
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are not known but it is clear that there was little desire to found
a common school. York and Ripon were busily engaged with their own

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1. Minute Book, 27th January, 1873, shows that as late as 1873 the Rev. Berkley Addison of Jesmond, Newcastle, continued to preach sermons on behalf of the Training School, and that he was appointed a member of the committee of management because of the services he could give in this direction.
2. Minute Book, 24th May, 1839, page 17 and 17th June, 1839, page 19.

foundations. Carlisle, at first, agreed to subscribe to the Durham School, but proved an unreliable partner. In 1854 the Dean of Carlisle withdrew the subscription and indicated his intention of founding a Training School in Carlisle.¹ Twenty years later Durham was still trying to raise collections from Carlisle, and Carlisle was still without a training school.² The same lack of co-operation was shown when Durham attempted to interest Carlisle in founding a "Female Training School" to serve both dioceses. This idea of training school-mistresses in Durham had been suggested in 1853 to relieve the Durham Diocesan School Society of the need to send mistresses to the York and Ripon Training Schools. The attempt to found a single training school for the two northern dioceses must therefore be regarded as a failure.

The managers of the Durham Training School were nevertheless keen to maintain contact with other diocesan training schools, and through this contact influence the policies of the National Society in London. The Diocesan Training Schools had received much less help from the National Society than they had perhaps hoped for, and the two historians of the National Society³ have little to say on the relations between the central body and the Church Training Schools in the period between 1850 and 1870. The Durham records indicate that there was contact between the Diocesan Training Schools, that they did attempt to develop a distinctively anglican attitude towards the training of teachers, and that Durham had a part to play in creating the common viewpoint.

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1. Durham Minute Book, 5th April, 1854, page 74.
2. Ibid. 7th October, 1875, page 235.
3. Brown, C.F.K. The Church's Part in Education, 1833 - 1841, especially pages 92-98 and Burgess, H.J. Enterprise in Education, pages 116-125.

In 1854 the committee of management agreed that "the Principal of the Durham Training School be authorised to attend a meeting of Principals and Chaplains of Training Schools in union with the National Society ... the object of this meeting for the Principals and Chaplains of the Training Schools to confer and consider how these institutions can best act in mutual co-operation with each other, and on other matters which may be of mutual benefit."

Although there is no record, either in Durham or in London, of any subsequent meetings of principals and chaplains, it can be seen from the Durham records that the Training School was very much aware of what was being attempted in other Schools. It can also be shown that, with regard to two important aspects of the work and organisation of the training schools, Durham contested the lead ascribed to London. The committee of management in Durham read their Council Reports carefully, and were, in 1860, able to point out that better results were being obtained in Durham than in London, and this with students having limited backgrounds. The Durham records put the position quite clearly.

"The London Training Schools have for some time declined to admit any young man who fails to obtain a first class Queen's Scholarship (whereas) .. this Training School, being partially supported by diocesan funds, has always been unwilling to close its doors against such diocesan candidates as are well recommended, even if they cannot pass a very rigid examination at the time of admission ... A comparison shows that as large a proportion of candidates may attain the first rank in the Country as in Town."

The Annual Report for 1860, pages 3-4.

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Rich has shown that St. Mark's Chelsea was regarded by many as a training ground for training school staff. When the principalship of St. Mark's fell vacant, in 1864, Cromwell of Durham was appointed, the Vice-Principal of St. Mark's becoming a candidate for the Durham principalship. This reversal of metropolitan dominance is even more pointed when it is shown that William Lawson, student and lecturer in the Durham Training School followed Cromwell to St. Mark's, and that John Fish, a contemporary of Lawson as a Durham student and master of Blue Coat, was offered the post of master of the Chelsea Model School.

A lead was shown by Durham in another direction, the position of religious instruction in the Training Schools, after the 1870 Act. It has been shown, in an earlier section of this thesis, that religious knowledge and church history had long been a 'forte' of the Durham Training School. It was to be expected that the committee of management would seek to retain these subjects within the curriculum, even if they were not shown on the government certificate. In October, 1870, it was decided to petition the National Society on these lines:

"urging them to adopt measures for the management of religious studies in the Training Colleges, and as they already subsidised the Training Colleges, the subsidies should in future, be conditional on the Colleges submitting all their students to an examination in religious knowledge to be conducted by the National Society, and that the results of such an examination be certified in a Testament to be given to each student." (2)

The Durham authorities were amongst the earliest, if not the very first 'memorialists' to petition for what became known subsequently as the

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1. Op. cit., Page 108.
2. Minute Book, 20th October, 1870, page 209.

Archbishop's Certificate.

There is then some evidence to suggest that in the period 1850 - 1870 Durham exercised some influence over the general development of training schools. The Durham aim was not, however, simply a subscription to a common model for all training schools in union with the National Society. In a subsequent treatment of staffing and curriculum, for the period 1870-1886, it will be shown that in some respects Durham was quite distinctive. When, for example, in 1884, the inspectorate commented that the Durham students were "ten per cent above the average, and equal in some of the more important subjects to the best London Colleges"² they were really commenting upon developments largely made possible by the proximity of the Training School to the University.

1. Minute Book, 30th April, 1872. Letters were received stating that the Archbishops were favourable to the scheme, and would give parchment certificates.
2. Minute Book, 22nd October, 1884, page 274.

Chapter Two :

The Committee of Management and their work 1870 - 1890.

Something of the work of the sub-committee of management has been given in an earlier part of the thesis. The aim here is to suggest that the status accorded to members of that committee, after 1870, was indicative of the high esteem in which the Training School was now held, within the diocese.

In April, 1841, when the sub-committee first met, there came together three men who were to play a large part in directing the work of the School in the next forty years. They were the Rev. John Cundill, the Rev. J.D. Eade, and John Fogg Elliott. Cundill and Eade were relatively young and poor clerics, and Elliott, although a man of substance, had not reached anything like the peak of his influence in the county. Of the five clerics serving on the sub-committee only two were members of the Chapter, although Professor Henry Jenkyns was moving close to such powerful circles. How different was the situation in 1871! Then all five clerics on the committee were members of the Chapter, including Canons Cundill and Eade.¹

The recognition accorded to Cundill and Eade came after thirty years of work on behalf of the Training School. When Canon Eade retired, in 1879, and a successor had to be found, the secretaryship of the Training School was deemed sufficiently important to warrant the appointment of a cleric already ear-marked for promotion. In 1879 the Rev. Alfred Norman was elected to the general committee, with a view to his then succeeding Eade as secretary. Norman received his canonry within five years.

Canon Eade was forced to retire because of ill health, after an association with the Training School which had lasted for forty years.

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1. Minute Book. 31st March, 1871, pages 216-218.

The length of service given by Canon Cundill was even more remarkable,¹ since he did not resign from the sub-committee of management until 1887. Cundill thus lived to see the Training School grow from the humblest of beginnings. His own position as a member of the committee, after resigning the principalship, is indicative of the fact that the committee of management was the key factor in promoting the welfare and expansion of the Training School. The work of the committee, after 1870, is conveniently taken under two headings, the provision of new buildings and the appointment of senior members of staff.

On the eve of the Revised Code the buildings of the Training School were designed to accommodate fifty students and it was not until after 1870 that there was any need for expansion. The problems which did arise, once additional buildings were considered necessary, turned upon the government's decision that Training Schools could receive annual grants only. Put in another way this meant that although the extension of the number of places would eventually bring about an increased annual grant, the capital investment necessary to provide such places would be a charge upon the subscribers alone. How could the committee of management provide sufficient, out of income, to attract other subscriptions towards the building fund?

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In 1872 the committee of management decided to expand the Training School by twenty places. This was at a time when they had been criticised by the inspectorate because of high running costs and their aim may have been to reduce 'per capita' charges.³

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1. Annual Report for 1887, page 6.
2. Minute Book, 30th April, 1872, page 222.
3. Minute Book, 13th October, 1871, pages 218 - 219.
The Durham 'per capita' costs were £68 compared with a national average of 56.

First estimates ¹ suggested that the cost of extensions to provide twenty-four extra places would be £1,700. Further enquiries revealed that the sum promised as subscriptions to the special building fund totalled nearer £2,000 ² so that the committee felt confident in inviting tenders. The results were disappointing as the lowest tender submitted was for £2,400, and there were already signs that not all of the subscriptions promised would be forthcoming. In 1873 nearly £500 was still required to meet the building bill alone, and it was therefore decided to launch a second appeal to meet an overall deficit of £600. ³

When the building extensions had finally been completed, sometime in 1875, the cost had risen to £2,700 and only by selling the investment made in 1871 was there any prospect of settling the debt. The second appeal for subscriptions had little more success than the first. A year ⁴ after the completion of the new building the debt had still to be cleared, and it was not until 1876 that the debt was discharged, on behalf of the Training School, by Archdeacon Bland.

In 1871, when the enlargement of the Training School had first been mooted, the committee had thought that it might be necessary to demolish or re-site the Model School which had been opened in 1858. ⁵ In the event, probably because of the expense involved, the Model School was not demolished. Strangely enough the renewed campaign for a Model

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1. Minute Book, 4th June, 1872, page 223.
2. National Society £200, S.P.C.K. £400 subscriptions £1,400.
3. Minute Book, 29th October, 1873, pages 229-230.
4. Minute Book, 7th October, 1875, page 235.
5. Minute Book, 7th April, 1858, page 130.

School illustrates the admixture of secular to church values, for upon the outcome of the Model School project depended the prospects of the Training School having its own chapel.

In 1882 H.M.I. Sharpe reported that the existing Model School and the practising schools generally fell "below the level of the best" and that it was "important that in a Training College the practising school should be a model having everything of the best." ¹ He also put forward another criticism which caused the committee to look much more boldly at the estimated expense of £2,000. Sharpe pointed out that there was only one other Training School in England "without a Chapel, and it is very desirable there should be a special place for prayers and that they should not be said in rooms used for secular purposes during the day." Could not the old Model School be used as a chapel? This idea must have made an immediate appeal to the committee, for under the 1870 Act the Model School qualified for the full parliamentary grant whereas the Chapel could not qualify for any form of government aid. The committee welcomed Sharpe's advice and in 1884 accepted a first tender of £1,700, with a total bill of £2,000 if the conversion of the former Model School to a chapel were included. In this way the sale of stock to the value of £650 ² gave the committee their contribution to both projects. The Model School was opened in 1886 and still stands today. The chapel was completed and ³ dedicated in the same year.

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1. Minute Book, 5th October, 1882, page 266. Sharpe recommended a school with at least 150 pupils so as to give full classes within the ages and classes covered by the Elementary Code.
 2. Minute Book, 22nd October, 1884, page 274.
 3. Annual Report for 1886.

The details of these arrangements underline the gloss put upon this period by Brown when he wrote "The history of the Training Colleges after 1870 was uneventful, being happily little more than the evolution of the techniques of training and a steady growth in the provision of buildings." The inevitability of progress was not a point which the committee of management would have appreciated.

After buildings the next major concern of the managers was the appointment of staff. In an earlier part of the thesis the staffing situation was reviewed to the eve of the Revised Code, and it is therefore best to consider the position in the mid-sixties as a starting point to the present survey. In 1864 the inspectors reported that the three officers of the Training School were efficient and that a staff of three was adequate. In the seventies, by which time the government was more prepared to entertain increases in the size of staffs, the inspectors reported on the need to increase the staff of the Durham Training School. They found the staff "efficient but limited" and recommended the appointment of a fourth officer. This echoed an earlier report in which they had recommended that more than three officers should be employed in the education of sixty-nine students. The committee of management did not agree to make such an appointment until 1881 and the five years delay is best explained if one examines the meaning of the phrase "members of staff."

Towards the end of the period under review the Training School

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1. Brown, C.K.F. op. cit., pages 94-95.
 2. Pages 87-95.
 3. Minute Book, 15th September, 1864, page 167.
 4. Minute Book, 20th June, 1878, page 247.
 5. Minute Book, 6th October, 1876, page 240.
 6. Minute Book, 24th October, 1881, page 262. Whatever the explanation of the situation in 1881 the staff shortages were made good by 1884 when the Inspectors were able to report that "the staff of teachers is now completely efficient." Minute Book, 20th October, 1884.

staff consisted of a principal, a vice-principal, and two other tutors apart from the staff of the Model School. It was the task of the sub-committee of management to appoint a new principal in the event of a vacancy, to meet the salary claims of all members of staff, and, in consultation with the inspectorate, to assign teaching areas within the balance of talent on the staff. In all these matters they were required to gain the approval of the general committee, and this was not always an easy task, especially over the election of a principal. In 1864, for example, when Principal Cromwell resigned, the sub-committee of management found that they had a post worth £400 a year to advertise. They had less than three months¹ in which to find Cromwell's successor,² and their choice was limited to graduate members of the Anglican clergy. There were fifty applicants and, basing their decision entirely upon testimonials, they recommended the Rev. C.F. Eastburn, Vice-Principal of Chelsea. Eastburn later withdrew his candidature and the principalship was then offered to the Rev. A.R. Ashwell, a former Vice-Principal of St. Mark's, and Principal of Culham Training School. Durham was indeed fortunate in gaining the services of a clergyman who had previous training school experience. With fifty candidates to choose from, presumably all of them clerics and graduates, some with training school experience, it is likely that the Durham principalship was regarded as rather a plum.

The success of the sub-committee in 1864-5 was the probable cause of their overplaying their hand in 1870 and 1885. When Ashwell resigned in 1870, on his appointment to a canonry of Chichester, the sub-committee

1. Cromwell announced his resignation in September, 1864, for a January, 1865, appointment.
2. Minute Book, 5th September, 1864, pages 167-168.

asked the secretary to advertise the vacancy. His advertisement produced thirty-six candidates within a month and the sub-committee unanimously recommended the election of the Rev. S. Baradell Smith, of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, a "mathematical Tutor of Magdelene School." Archdeacon Bland, as chairman of the general committee, objected to this recommendation and insisted that rules be drawn up for the future election of the principal and other officers of the Training School. In 1885, when Baradell Smith resigned, the management committee appear to have ignored whatever rules were drawn up in 1871 and, without recourse to advertising, received several applications together with testimonials. This drew a rebuff from the general committee who nevertheless quickly elected the Rev. Thomas Baldall, of St. John's College, Oxford.

The appointment of three principals during a period of twenty years can hardly have led to a crystallisation of the procedures to be followed but the argument attendant upon these elections is indicative of the importance attached to the principalship and of the range of expectations different people had of that office. The principal was expected to be a clergyman and a graduate, a man of godliness and good learning. He was to be something of a propagandist and fund raiser. He needed to be a substantial lecturer within the course. He was also responsible for the admission of students and the appointment of some staff members.

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1. Minute Book, 27th October, 1870 (page 210) and 19th December, 1870 pages 210 - 212.
 2. Minute Book, 10th February, 1871, page 216. He doubted the validity of the testimonials which were offered.
 3. Minute Book, 20th July, 1885, pages 279 - 280.
 4. Minute Book, 23rd September, 1885, page 282.
 5. Minute Book, 15th September, 1864, pages 167 - 168.
 6. Minute Book, 25th January, 1871. Page 212 shows how the committee valued Ashwell's services in this field.
 7. In 1876 (C.C. Reports, page 701) he lectured for 16 hours a week.
 8. Subject to the general limitations of the Code. In the prospectus students were instructed to make application to "The Principal".

The ideal principal, therefore, was one who had done well at the University, and had subsequently become familiar with the work of church schools. He was to be a man able to lecture upon religious, academic and pedagogic topics, and one who, in all his work, was able to kindle in the diocesan clergy an enthusiasm for the work of the Training School.

The growth of the Training School between 1870 and 1886 made possible the development of specialist teaching, not simply because there were more members of staff, but because of the need to reduce the principal's share of the lecturing. At first the specialist teaching took the form of the assignment of staff to particular year groups.¹ Only later was it possible to arrange specialist teaching in the sense of each member of staff working in his own field. As Barradell-Smith was forced more and more to concentrate upon administrative matters his lecturing became confined to divinity, latin and mathematics. Arthur Watts, who had joined the staff as a science specialist, was promoted vice-principal in 1875,² and as vice-principal took charge of courses taken under the regulations of the Department of Science and Art.³ Adam Currie, his successor as third master, at first tackled a variety of subjects, but he was appointed primarily because of his experience as a practising schoolmaster.⁴ It is likely that the work of the third master and that of the master of the Model School were closely associated.

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1. In 1876, for example, both the principal and the third master, taught latin and algebra. C.C. Report 1876-77, page 701.
2. Minute Book, 14th May, 1875.
3. Minute Book, 23rd October, 1873, and 20th March, 1882.
4. Minute Book, 14th May, 1875. He had been master of a school at Aycliffe.

With three full time members of staff the limits of specialist teaching seemed to be for the principal to take divinity, classics, and maths, for the vice-principal to teach science and drawing, with the third master teaching a range of elementary subjects in addition to his work with the students in the Model School. After 1876, when the inspectorate¹ pressed for an increase in staff, a possible development would have been for the vice-principal to concentrate on science, with a tutor to teach the general arts subjects, and a fourth master to concentrate upon training the men in practical teaching, without having to act as head of the Model School. In 1878 the inspectors made a firm proposal for the appointment of a fourth master² and made a similar report in the following year, advising that Mr. Jennings, whom they described as 'Normal Master', should resign the mastership of the Model School.³ It was not until 1881 that the committee of management acted on these recommendations and then the remarkable thing was that they were determined that the increase in staff must be made whilst upholding academic standards. The fourth master was, "if practicable - (to) - be a graduate of a University."⁴

As had been true of so many Durham plans, the lofty intention of an all graduate staff was not at first fulfilled. Mr. Marsh was appointed fourth master and he was not a graduate.⁵ The aim of the committee was,

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1. The Inspectors complained that the teaching of science has been neglected because of the shortage of staff. C.C. Reports 1876-7. Page 701.
2. Minute Book, 20th June, 1878, page 247.
3. Minute Book, 23rd October, 1879, page 253. In the C.C. Report for 1874-5, page 253, Jennings is described as the Normal Master. In the C.C. Report for 1876-7 he is described as the Master of Method, lecturing nine times a week in the Training School.
4. Minute Book, 24th October, 1881, page 262.
5. C.C. Report for 1882, page 556. Mr. Sharpe's report on Male Colleges.

however, realised by 1886, as can be seen from the remarkable staff list¹ for that year. In addition to the principal and vice-principal there were two general tutors, a normal master and a mathematical master, all of whom were graduates. Arthur Bott had recently succeeded Jennings as normal master but remained nominal head of the Boys' Model School.²

Few other National Schools could boast of a head who was Master of Arts of both Oxford and Durham. This remarkably well-qualified staff is far from what one would expect if guided by the established model for the development of training schools. This challenge to the general model is discussed further in the last part of the thesis, that relating to curriculum and to the relationship between the Training School and Durham University.

1. Given in the Training School Annual Report for 1886, page 6.
2. The dual appointment as Normal Master and Master of the Model School was not ended until 1896. See the Report for 1896, page 8.

Chapter Three:

The Curriculum of the Training School, 1860 - 1890, and the life of the Student Body. 1

A basic aim of this thesis has been to show that the picture given in the reports of the Committee of Council was not necessarily valid in the case of each diocesan training school. Such caution is equally necessary when studying the curriculum after 1860. The distinction must always be maintained between courses which the government was prepared to subsidise and courses which each training school was entitled to offer provided that expenses were charged to non-government agencies. In the case of Durham, allowing for an agreed uniformity with regard to the certificate syllabus, the only difference in the course, as it was advertised to students between the years 1859 and 1863, was that in the latter year latin was added to the syllabus. The certificate did of course remain the most important single factor influencing the curriculum but one must not assume that the whole of the teaching of the training schools was registered in, and governed by, the annual publication of certificate results.

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1. For this period the sources of evidence are less Durham based than those used in the earlier chapter on the curriculum. The Training School Annual Reports for the years 1872-1885 have been lost. It is apparent that the entries in the Minute Book relate largely to changes. There is no full account of the curriculum offered for any one year. Fortunately these years are well covered in the Annual Reports of the Committee of Council, where there is usually a brief account of the work undertaken in each training school, in addition to the statistical returns. The Annual Reports of the Science and Art Department of the Privy Council on Education provide additional evidence on special subjects.

After 1870 the increased demand for certificated teachers meant that there was a temporary lowering of standards in the training schools, and this gave some opportunity to develop newer courses outside the certificate syllabus. In the present chapter it is hoped to trace, in the case of the Durham Training School, three areas in which the syllabus was extended. These areas are the work covered to meet the examinations of the Department of Science and Art, the attention given to the special examination of the National Society in religious subjects, and the measures taken to give a stronger theoretical underpinning to the course in practical teaching.

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In his evidence to the Cross Commission, Principal Cromwell expertly summarised the major developments in the curriculum for this period. The principals of training schools had always been opposed to the restrictions of the Revised Code and, after 1870, had been able to change the syllabus "so as to come back again to something like what it was formerly." ³ As Cromwell himself pointed out, the relationship between examination results and the government grant continued to have a cramping effect, even though the form and range of subjects might appear to have improved. In particular he thought that the grants from the Science and Art Department led to narrow specialisms without regard to the real needs of teachers of science in the schools.

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1. Rich. op. cit., pages 192 - 193.
2. He was then Principal of St. Mark's Chelsea. The summary of developments is given in his statements 12534 - 6, First Report, page 468.
3. A copy of the Certificate syllabus, for the period after 1870, is given in Appendix E.
4. Ibid, statement 12543, page 469.

The Durham Training School had been in correspondence ¹ with the Department of Science and Practical Art since 1853 but it was not until 1871 that Durham students first took the examination sponsored by that body. ² In 1871 all students took examinations in mathematics, geology, animal physiology and physical geography. The standard of work attained cannot have been very high for at that date there was no special syllabus for training school students, and precisely the same options, with the same syllabus, had been taught by Mr. Watts whilst he was employed at the Victoria National School, Chelmsford. ³ The appointment of Watts, initially, can only be interpreted as an extension of the training school syllabus towards the work of the elementary schools. Eventually, however, a better standard of work was achieved in the science options, a special training school syllabus being introduced in 1878. ⁴ The teaching of science was then shared between Watts, now promoted vice-principal, and the principal himself. ⁵ The Durham students offered mathematics and animal physiology as their two subjects from the prescribed list.

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1. Minute Book, 2nd March, 1853, page 84. The Committee had enquired about the purchase of drawing instruments as advertised in the printed collections.
2. 19th Report of the Department of Science and Art, 1874, page 147.
3. Ibid. Page 179.
4. 25th Report of the Department of Science and Art (1878, Appendix 'A'). Page 4. The subjects were:- mathematics, theoretical mechanics, applied mechanics, accoustics - light - heat, magnetism and electricity, chemistry, animal physiology, botany and physiography. The mathematics option must have been particularly useful to those students who wished to work towards the Durham B.A.
5. 25th Report, Appendix 'B', page 148.

After 1870 the Education Department took the view that government grants should in no way subsidise religious instruction. Consequently the Department excluded religious studies as a subject in the certificate examination. The management committee of the Durham training school were perturbed about such a development, and feared that exclusion from examination would undervalue the importance attached to religious instruction. For this reason the Durham committee was one of the first to press for a separate examination in religious studies, under the auspices of the National Society. In October 1870 Durham proposed that in future church grants to training schools should be conditional upon the success of students in 'an examination in religious knowledge to be conducted by the National Society.'¹ It was not until December, 1870 that the new position of religious studies was first discussed by the general committee of the National Society, and not until February, 1871 that the first moves were made in the appointment of an inspector to organise examinations.²

In an earlier part of the thesis it has been shown that the Durham Training School enjoyed a considerable reputation with regard to examination successes in divinity and church history. This prompted the Durham committee to press that parchment certificates should be given to students who passed the examination in religious studies, and that these certificates should carry the authority of the archbishops.

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1. Durham Minute Book, 10th October, 1870.
2. National Society, Minutes of the General Committee, Vol. 6. December, 7th, 1870, page 430, and February 1st, 1871, page 439. "Capitation grants from the National Society towards students in Male Training Colleges shall in future be limited to those who are classed in religious subjects by the Church Inspector of Training Colleges."

The Durham committee had apparently petitioned the archbishops for their support in this matter for in April 1872 they received letters from York and Canterbury supporting the granting of certificates on parchment.¹ There is no mention of such a scheme in the minutes of the National Society² until late 1873. In neither case does there appear any acknowledgement of the initiative shown by Durham but it is surely more than coincidence that the schemes of the National Society should so closely follow those earlier proposed by Durham.

The results of the first examination, conducted by Canon Norris on behalf of the National Society, were extremely disappointing, in the case of Durham men. By 1886 - 87, however, the next years for which results are available, two-thirds of Durham students were placed in the first or second divisions, and failures were exceptional.³ These results were more in keeping with the priorities accorded to different parts of the examinable curriculum --- first the divinity examinations, followed by those of the Science Department, and finally the certificate results.

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1. Durham Minutes 30th April, 1872. "Letters read from the Archbishops respecting the Parchment Certificate (Religious Knowledge) favourable to the plan."
2. National Society, Minutes of the General Committee, Vol. 7. December 3rd, 1873, page 87. The Committee agreed to finance the cost of parchment certificates. There are several previous mentions of the examination in religious knowledge but no mention whatever of the parchment certificates.
3. Durham Annual Reports for 1886 and 1887, page 12 in each case.

Arrangements for practical teaching.

In the earlier period to 1860 there had been a tendency for the master of the Model School to deal with the elementary subjects in such a way as to blur the distinction between pedagogics and a continuing personal education. After 1870 the situation was essentially different since those pupil-teachers who lacked strong academic interests could act as certificated teachers without attending a training school.¹ Conversely those who proceeded to the training schools had completed their personal education in the elementary subjects and could appreciate a more theoretical approach to the study of teaching methods.² In Durham this meant a moving away from the concept of training in practical teaching through mere school attendance. Much more use was made of lectures on teaching method away from the Model School,³ with greater emphasis upon school management and organisation exemplified in a variety of practising schools.

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1. Year after year the syllabus prescribed for the Certificate examination was prefixed with the qualification that "acting teachers may obtain certificates who can answer plain and simple questions confined to the following subjects, English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, English Composition, spelling and parsing, the management of a school....." The syllabus formed part of the Code, the example given being taken from the Code of 1876, but can be found in substance in each of the Codes from 1871 - 1886.
2. In 1873 the Inspectorate felt assured that Mr. Karn was able to give special attention to those students who had not been pupil-teachers. C.C. Reports for 1873 - 74, pages 252 - 253.
3. In 1871, Mr. Karn of the Model School, acting as Normal Master, gave "one lecture of an hour's length per week" to the students of each year. C.C. Report 1871 - 1872, page 180.

This study of teaching theory and technique was further helped by an arrangement whereby students of the first year spent a week on "teaching practice" in each of three schools.¹ The masters of these schools made reports to the principal and to Mr. Karn, who held discussions with the students on their school work. In the second year, as an addition to the lecture given by the normal master, each student in turn taught a lesson in the presence of his fellow students and the principal.² This was a marked advance on previous practice and an excellent preparation for the examination in practical teaching, the only way in which the syllabus for the second year of certificate differed from that of the first.

The whole approach to practical teaching may be summarised in the following quotation from the Inspector's Report for 1870.

"The Normal instruction continues to be given by the English master. The model school and the Blue Coat School being used as practising schools: the former being conducted by Mr. Karn, trained in 1868. The students have now the advantage of seeing the principles of school management inculcated in the classroom, carried through into practice in the school, a most desirable thing, which had been only partially attainable hitherto.

The amount of instruction in school management, though occupying only the same time as heretofore, has been considerably in excess of that of previous years, owing to a change in the style of lecturing. The students now always take rough notes of the lecture as it progresses and reproduce it afterwards, which plan has the further advantage of practising them in composition. Their note-books are periodically examined, and mistakes of whatever kind are pointed out to the students individually and privately."

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1. The three schools involved were the Model School, Blue Coat, and St. Oswald's.
 2. "The Principal afterwards points out to the teacher the chief features of the lesson, good and bad, and the students write out criticisms of the teaching, method, manner .. etc.. These criticisms are reviewed by the normal master, and talked over with the teacher."
- C.C. Reports for 1871 - 1872, page 180.

"The course of instruction in each year has been the same as heretofore regulated by the syllabus of the Committee of Council, and limited to class management in the first year, and extended to the wider field of school management in the second year.

A great number of specimen notes of lessons have from time to time been given to the students and drawn up with them in the lecture room, and from these notes the lesson has sometimes been given to them as to a class of children, and the plan has seemed to work extremely well markedly benefitting the students as well as interesting them.

Criticism lessons have been given by all the students from time to time, and written, detailed criticisms are then sent by each of the other students, and most carefully examined by the Normal Master.

The students have been watched with unusual care and conscientiousness in the model school, and one or more lessons given by them during their stay have been minutely criticised by the master of the school.

For certain times during the week the school has been left in the charge of the senior student, who has thus been exercised in the detail of handling a school." 1.

Throughout the history of the Durham Training School there had been an attempt to crowd the timetable, working on the premise that much needed to be learned, in a short space of time, with maximum supervision. In the 1870's, before the full development of supplementary studies in science, it would have been possible to reduce the timetabled hours, and still have given the men adequate preparation for the certificate. Durham, however, like so many training schools, was tempted to teach the extras. This meant that in the 1880's the inspectors were very critical of the number of hours committed to lecture attendance.

It is possible to trace the build-up in pressure from the Durham Minute Book and from the Committee of Council Reports. In 1870, for

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1. C.C. Report for 1870 - 1871, page 367.

example, there were fifteen hours of lectures each week and twenty hours¹ set aside for private study. In 1876 seven hours were spent in class² and three in private study each day. In that year the inspectorate³ recommended to the committee of management that the student lecture load should be reduced, and the time spent on private study increased. In particular they stressed that ten hours of "head work", for four days of each week was far too much time to be spent on sheer memorisation. In 1878 each student was expected to take two Science and Art subjects in⁴ addition to the long list of compulsory certificate courses. The detailed timetables given in Appendix 'B' show how the whole day was accounted for from six-thirty in the morning until ten at night. In 1880 the inspectors recommended that three hours of lectures a day should be adequate and that the real need was for the students to "have a greater⁵ content of their own time."

It should also be kept in mind that a considerable amount of time was taken up in practical teaching. It is probable that a new regulation

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1. C.C. Report for 1870 - 1871, page 367.
2. C.C. Report for 1876, page 701.
3. Minute Book, 6th October, 1876, page 240.
4. By 1882 the timetable must have been even more overcrowded. In that year 33 second year students took their final certificate examinations. They were all examined in thirteen basic subjects, algebra and mensuration, Euclid, grammar, composition, geography, history, school management, reading and repetition, penmanship, political economy, music, spelling and practical teaching. In addition thirty scripts were submitted in languages and fifty-three in science subjects for the examinations of the Science and Art Department.
C.C. Report for 1882-1883. Tables 5 and 6, pages 517 and 522.
5. Minute Book, 14th October, 1880, page 258. The Inspector complained that "The students do not have enough time to read by themselves and to this he ascribes the fact that the algebra and map drawing were bad."

was framed specifically to curtail the number of hours spent in lectures and to increase the time spent in school classrooms. After 1882 no student of the second year was to take his final examination "unless the Principal certifies that he has spent at least six weeks, or 150 hours, in the practising and model schools, under proper supervision during his residence, and at least half of that time in his second year."¹

In the 1880's sums of money were regularly donated to the library and it would have been possible for students to have devoted more time to private study, as the inspectors suggested. The committee were torn between genuine recognition that the criticism of the inspectors was valid and their immediate duty to maintain income through grant-earning examinations. They declined the advice given that a memorial to the Education Department could secure a reduction in the number of subjects offered for examination, and the annual report for 1886 shows that as many subjects as ever were being taken. The title page of that report gives a list of those giving financial support

The Education Department
 The Science and Art Department
 The National Society
 The Dean and Chapter of Durham
 The Diocesan Boards of Education
 Students' fees, and
 Private Subscriptions.

The list is in rank order of income value, and it is clear that as long as students' fees and private subscriptions constituted a relatively small part of income it was difficult to achieve a

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1. C.C. Report for 1882-1883, page 494.
2. Durham Minute Book, £20 in 1880, £25 in 1882,
 £25 in 1883, £20 in 1885.

reduction in timetabled hours.

Compared with other training schools the Durham timetable occupied a middle position in terms of committed student hours.¹ By Chelsea standards Durham men were subjected to the technique of the crammer, but it should be noted, by way of defence, that good results were obtained in some of the more advanced subjects, and that time was set aside for recreation. In 1882, for example, Durham was congratulated on "an excellent examination, especially in subjects such as mathematics and latin, which require a larger amount of study and application than most subjects."² The two subjects mentioned here must have been a genuine spur to those students who subsequently hoped to take a university course.

Recreation, like all other activities, was carefully organised. Shorter breaks in the timetable appear to have been filled with gardening, craft work, and drill. Wednesdays and Saturdays were half holidays. The half holidays were probably taken as an opportunity to escape from the Training School and enjoy a game of cricket, football or rugby with other local clubs. In the case of drill there appears to have been no escape. A study of the Committee of Council reports for the period 1870-1886 indicates that drill was regarded as a chore by staff and students alike. In 1870, for example, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the hour between

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1. C.C. Report 1882 - 1883, pages 552 - 560.
2. Ibid. Page 556.

6.30 and 7.30 was given over to drill. In fact this military drill was soon in danger of being dropped for "the want of attendance of a drill master,"¹ but this was remedied by assigning the responsibility for drill to Mr. Watts, the newly appointed tutor.² The inspectorate had hoped for a more regular arrangement and a closer association with the military. In 1874 their complaint was that the "students do not join any public volunteer corps, neither do they appear to be individually examined as to their efficiency."³ In 1875 the students did join the county militia as recently re-organised by Cardwell, forming a company of the 7th Durham Rifles.⁴ By 1886 membership of the Volunteer Corps had become established as a tradition, the prospectus advertising that "Every student is expected to join the Volunteer Company connected with the College. This involves no additional expense, and the benefits derived from it are obvious,"⁵ The anticipated benefits were orderly behaviour⁶ and good health.

This review of the timetable and curriculum for the period 1870 - 1890 shows that in the case of the Durham Training School the syllabus

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1. Minute Book, 20th October, 1870, page 209.
2. C.C. Report for 1873.
3. C.C. Report for 1874, page 251.
4. C.C. Report for 1876, page 702. For a very brief coverage of the educational and army reforms of the first Gladstone administration see Feiling, Keith, A. History of England, MacMillan, London, 1950, pages 937 - 943.
5. Durham Annual Report for 1886.
6. In the C.C. Report for 1876 it is significant that terse, successive, sentences refer to the maintenance of discipline, the formation of a volunteer company, and the dismissal of a student "For repeated acts of drunkenness," page 702.

taken in the Certificate examination did not preclude the possibility of advanced work in languages and science, nor did it seriously impair the health of the students. Within the limitations which applied to nearly all training schools, there is clear evidence that in Durham the committee of management felt that they were doing the best for the students both in terms of personal and professional education. Further, there was a genuine interest in secondary education. In most respects the Durham School was typical of the development described by Rich: the truly distinctive feature was the relationship between the Training School and the University.

Chapter Four:

Relations between the University of Durham and the Training School.

The notion of university participation in the training of teachers for elementary schools is much older than recent developments would suggest,¹ and certainly as old as the University of Durham. Although such participation had been discussed at the time of the Select Committee on Education, in 1835,² there had seemed little chance of a viable scheme for, as Rich points out: "Oxford and Cambridge were not enthusiastically interested in popular education - Durham and London had been established only a few years." Local records show that in the case of Durham there was, from the very founding of the University, a genuine effort to bring teacher training under University control. This can be traced in terms of founders, instruments of government, and participation in university courses. This was much more than a neighbourhood relationship.

The key figure in the early history of both institutions was Archdeacon Charles Thorp. His part in the founding of the University has been recorded elsewhere³ and his initiative in establishing the Training School has been shown in an earlier part of this thesis.⁴ The point to be developed here is that Thorp, before the Training School was established, had hoped to promote teacher training within the University.⁵ He had first approached the government in 1833, but had

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1. i.e. The introduction of the B.Ed. degree.
2. Quoted in Rich op. cit., pages 48-49, the source also of the quotation on Oxford, Cambridge, London and Durham.
3. In Canon Fowler's History of the University (1904) and in that of Professor Whiting. (1932)
4. In part One.
5. Whiting op. cit., page 230, and Fowler op. cit., pages 28-29, give some coverage of this point but miss the significance of the timing of Thorp's approaches to the government.

failed to secure a grant as he did not have the full backing of the Dean
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 And Chapter. His original plan was to have "a school for schoolmasters,"
 under the direction of the Dean and Chapter. In 1835 he approached the
 government again, this time suggesting that the "Normal School" should
 be "under the charge and government of the University," and this to
 include "the making of regulations for admission, discipline and exam-
 inations." He wanted a separate college "with distinct fellows and
 teachers under the Warden and Senate." In the early part of 1836² the
 Chapter did agree to placing such a college under the 'superintendence of
 the university authorities' but no specific plans were made.

In the first part of the thesis it has been shown how difficult it
 was to secure government grants for teacher training between 1833 and
 1839, especially when, as Whiting suggests,³ Senate planned to admit
 schoolmaster students to the faculty of theology. The most likely
 explanation of the delay in founding the School, and of the failure to
 establish the School within the University, is that Thorp, without a
 firm offer of a Treasury grant for his schoolmasters, needed to concentrate
 his attention upon the administration of those faculties already estab-
 lished. By 1839 he was free to float again his proposals for teacher
 training, knowing that by this time government grants were more readily
 available.

1. Letter of Thorp to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, dated 25th June, 1835. Letter No. 193. Vol. II, of the bound Thorp letters in the Durham University Library.
 This was his explanation; in point of fact the 1833 vote was not applicable to teacher training.
2. Letter of Thorp dated 13th February, 1836. Letter No. 201a in the Thorp correspondence.
3. In his History of Durham University, 1832 - 1932, page 30.

This background throws new light upon the events of 1839 - 41, and particularly upon the instrument of management for the Training School. The Professors of Divinity and Mathematics were to serve on the general committee; John Cundill, the first student of the University, and Fellow of University College, was to be the Director. The Bishop, Dean and Chapter, who acted as the first governing body of the University, also exercised a general superintendence over the Training School. This arrangement was very much in line with the earlier suggestions of Thorp who was certainly ahead of his times in the plans he made for the Training School.

The first students admitted were not of the intellectual calibre of John Cundill. Although the original syllabus provided for instruction in the 'higher subjects', possibly with a view to entry to the faculty of theology, it is clear that no Training School student followed anything like a university course. This is explained by the shortness of the stay in the Training School, the lack of initial attainments, and the increasing influence of the certificate examination upon the syllabus followed.

Whilst the work of students in the Training School did not extend beyond the simple Certificate syllabus, the School could not possibly be regarded as a constituent college of the University. Without this vital link in the curriculum followed, it could be argued that there is no ground for further discussion of Training School-University relations. This is not really the case. In the 1880's the inspectorate recommended that certain students of the Training School should attend lectures in the university and take university examinations. Since 1871 the staff of the Training School had been able to read for Durham degrees, and throughout the period the managers of the Training School had personal connections

with the University.

All of the members of the first committee of management had strong connections with the University. ¹ During the fifty years of the Durham Diocesan Training School such university dignitaries as Sir W.C. Armstrong, patron of the Newcastle Colleges, Temple Chevalier, registrar of the University, Arthur Beaulands, university treasurer, and C.T. Whitley, who held half a dozen university posts, --- were all members of the general committee. After 1871, when the university regulations permitted the registration of unattached students, ² at least two members of staff took Durham degrees. Arthur Watts was an outstanding student in the class for the Licentiate of Theology, and Adam Currie, appointed to the staff in 1875, was registered for the Durham B.A. Other members of staff ³ added Durham degrees to those which they had taken elsewhere.

In 1885, whilst giving their verbal report to the committee of management the inspectors made a recommendation which is worth quoting in full. "That an affiliation of the Students of the Training College with the University is desirable. He would suggest that if this was affected the students should, considering the present state of their usual attainments, be required to pass an examination not higher than that of the Senior School Examination, and having passed it should receive a recognised certificate." ⁴ This remarkable statement cannot be fully appreciated without reference to the Cross Commission, set up in 1886 to study the working of the elementary education acts.

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1. They are all noted by Fowler in his Appendices listing university office holders.
2. Whiting, pages 141 - 142 gives the basis of the regulation.
3. Thomas Randall, Arthur Bott, James Dall.
4. Minute Book, 23rd October, 1885, pages 232 - 254.

As early as 1845 the National Society had recognised the possibilities of a Training School situated in a university town¹ and it is true that Professor Johnston and Dr. Amies of the University, undertook some teaching for the Training School.² Of much more importance would be any evidence of Durham Training School students having entered the University. The possibility had always been there but few students, prior to 1870, can have had either the academic or financial background to make university entrance a possibility. There are only three recorded cases of men moving to university courses before 1870. John Coulson, who entered the Training School in 1853, later entered Cambridge, and in 1864 held the vice-principalship of Culham Training School. Thomas Archbold, who entered the Training School on the same day as Coulson, subsequently entered Durham University, and in 1861 was described as a Fellow. James King (1858 - 1859) entered the University of Durham in 1863. Three cases, out of the five hundred who had entered the Training School by 1870, hardly constitute a claim that all Training School men were capable of reading for degrees.

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1. "--- a town in which there is a university seems a peculiarly suitable place for the establishment of a Training School, as there can never be any lack of intelligent and duly qualified people to watch over it."
The quotation is taken from the 34th Annual Report of the National Society, pages 18-19, and refers particularly to the Durham Training School.
2. The men attended Johnson's lectures on "agricultural chemistry". Dr. Amies was Music Master in the years 1863-64.

After 1870, the new regulations for unattached students, and the chance of classics, science, and maths options within the Training School curriculum, meant that it was possible for the best Durham students to consider matriculation either at Durham or London. A succession of ex-students, between 1880 and 1886 were offered places in the Model School, encouraged to take their degrees, and eventually taken on to the staff of the Training School after graduating.¹

The position in 1886, therefore, was not that the Training School had developed into a University College, but that it offered a course which took some of its students to the level of university entrance. This is a much more optimistic picture than that given by Rich, and an indication that the appointment of ex-pupils to the staff did not in itself lower standards.

1. Robert Nixon (75 1880 - 1881) B.A. London, 1881
- James Dall (75 1882 - 1883) B.A. London, 1888
- Wilfred Urwin (75 1884 - 1885) London, unspecified degree
- David Elliott (75 1886 - 1887) London, unspecified degree

Chapter Five : Conclusion.

The developments traced in this thesis reached a significant point in the year, 1886, when the Durham Diocesan Training School for Masters became known as Bede College. The change in name was itself indicative of the great progress which had been made in the previous fifty years. The official explanation for the change of name is given in the annual report for 1886.¹

"The need for a brief distinctive name for this College, has long been felt. In Durham there are besides this Institution not only the College where the Cathedral dignitaries dwell, and University College, but also another Diocesan Training College, viz, that for Schoolmistresses, and many inconveniences have arisen from confusing these different Colleges with one another. The Committee therefore seized the opportunity afforded by the dedication of the Chapel, and unanimously recommended that the Durham Diocesan Training College for Schoolmasters should henceforth be known as Bede College, Durham."

In reviewing developments during the period, 1839-1886, it is hoped to give a digest of the most important of the changes which have been traced, to discuss those determinants of change peculiar to the situation in Durham, and finally to consider to what extent the detailed records of Durham challenge the established model.

.....

1. Durham Annual Report for 1886, page 6.

The Training School was founded as a diocesan enterprise, in 1839, after the failure of an earlier attempt to open a teacher training centre within the University. Students were admitted to temporary premises in 1841, and the first purpose-built accommodation opened six years later. The initial curriculum was pretentious if one considers the mean length of the course at nine months, and the meagre attainments of the students on entry. So humble were the beginnings of the Durham Training School that the managers were unable to obtain a government grant, and the School was not even listed by the National Society until four years after it had opened.

By 1860 the number of students had risen from five to fifty, the mean length of the course had been extended to two years, and very satisfactory results were being obtained in the certificate examinations.

The staff of three were appointed on a full-time basis, and had already gained for Durham a national reputation as one of the best training centres outside London. Unfortunately the measure of progress achieved had been all too heavily dependent upon Committee of Council grants, and a reduction of grant from 86% to 75% of total expenditure was sufficient to jeopardise the financial security of the School. Despite skilful management and a drive to raise new subscriptions, it is doubtful if the Durham Training School could have survived but for changes made within the Revised Code. Even so all plans for extension had to remain dormant until the increased demand for teachers brought about by the Education Act of 1870.

.....

1. Established October, 1841 but not mentioned in the Annual Reports of the National Society until 1845. See 34th Annual Report, pages 18-19.

After 1870 expansion was again possible and by 1886 the Training School was enlarged to take seventy students. A new Model School was opened, and part of the older building dedicated as a Chapel. In addition to the successes achieved in the certificate examinations students were also able to take courses under the regulations of the Department of Science and Art. The special interest of the School, in the teaching of religious subjects, continued, and old interests in latin and mathematics revived. In each case the teaching was undertaken by graduate members of staff. The standard of work achieved was sufficiently outstanding for the inspectorate to recommend that students be given the opportunity of participating in university courses. The change of name to Bede College was well timed to mark the closing of one major chapter in the history of the College and the opening of another in which Bede would move even closer to the University.

In reviewing the developments of the period 1839-1886 the aim has been not only to trace the changes themselves, but also to establish the pressures and ideals which brought change about. A second aim has been to compare the Durham Training School with the accepted pattern of development for training schools under government grant. In many respects the history of the Durham Training School follows the model given by writers such as Rich. This is especially true with regard to humble beginnings, the dominance of Council grants, and the apparent cramming imposed by the certificate in later years.

In other respects the Durham records show that there have been important omissions in previously published accounts of teacher

training. Of these omissions the two most important are the extent to which the Diocesan Training Schools had to shed their independence before achieving grant recognition, and the extent to which the later recruitment of staff was influenced by a desire to have university trained men.

In the case of Durham, it took from 1836 until 1846 before a government grant could be obtained. The cause of the delay was the inability of the Durham committee to move sufficiently close to the prescribed norms of the Committee of Council and the National Society.¹ There is general evidence to show that truly diocesan schemes, exhibiting the characteristics outlined by Rich and subsequently adopted by other writers, were too close to the monitorial approach to have any chance of earning grants from the Committee of Council. In particular the Durham records show that individual subscriptions, in the best tradition of the charity schools, were quite inadequate to raise a building fund, that the Durham committee relied increasingly upon subscriptions from corporate bodies, and that students' fees seldom met as much as one third of the total running costs. These same considerations which brought the Durham Training School into closer contact with the Committee of Council system were those which, prior to 1860, weakened its contacts with the diocese at large. In this sense the build-up of government financial control should be traced back to 1846-1859 rather than dated from 1860-1862.

Once within the Committee of Council system, the Durham Training School, or to be more precise, the committee of management thereof, in appointing staff consistently followed a policy which was contrary to that which Rich found to be general. Whereas many training schools

.....

1. It can be seen from Appendix 'C' that the National Society could not have regarded Durham as a proper Training School until after 1846.

appointed staff from their own students, Durham preferred University men. With the exception of William Lawson there is no record of any student having been directly appointed to the teaching staff of the School. After 1856 it is, of course, true to say that Durham trained men were appointed to the mastership of the model school, but there is no evidence to show that they participated in any major part of the work for the Certificate. There is some evidence, for the period 1875-1885, to show that Durham trained men, even if appointed to the Model School, were not accepted as college tutors until they had graduated. There is no support in Durham for the view that the Training School were staffed by certificated men, unqualified to teach anything beyond the elementary subjects. There is also some evidence, and more would be welcome, to show that cramming for the Certificate did not necessarily mean the abandonment of studies in depth. Even before the opening of the Day Training Departments there were some training school students capable of taking university courses.

In the time available it has been impossible to continue the story of Bede College beyond the year 1886, and a number of issues, for example, the impact of the School Boards on student recruitment after 1874, have not been explored to the extent which their importance merits. It is hoped that these studies will be continued after the submission of the present thesis.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A.Form of Application for a Committee of Council grant towards the erection of a Training School - 1843.

"QUESTIONS to be answered as a preliminary to the consideration of any application for a grant towards the Erection of a Normal and Model School.

1. The site on which the Normal School is to be erected is situated in or near Street (or road), being a plot of ground lying between or near.
2. State the extent of the site and how it is bounded.
3. Will the Model or Practising School be erected within the same boundary? If not, at what distance will the Model School be from the Normal School?
4. How many trustees will be appointed?
5. Give their names, professions, & c.
6. Furnish (on a separate sheet of paper) a brief but precise statement (not a regular abstract) of the title of the present owner of the site proposed for the Normal School; and if the Model School is to be erected on a separate site, then also a similar statement of the title of that site.
7. Describe the means whereby the site or sites will be drained; stating the distance which collateral drains will have to run, and the nature of the main drain.
8. Are any vitriol works, tanneries, size manufactories, slaughter-houses, or any other noxious trades situated near the site or sites?
9. Is it, or either of them, in the neighbourhood of any undrained marsh or swampy ground, any large uncovered drain, or large stagnant pool?
10. What is the nature of the soil and the superficial bed on which the foundations will rest?

BUILDING

11. Furnish detailed specifications of the structure of the building, or building if separate.
12. You are requested to furnish a plan of the proposed buildings, showing the accommodation which is to be provided :-

12. (Cont'd.)

1. For the residence of the Principal, Vice-Principal, and any masters.
 2. Explain the means provided for the inspection of the premises at all hours by the Principal and the masters.
 3. For the kitchen, scullery and domestic offices.
Show how the housekeeper and servants are to be lodged and to work, so as to be at all times separate from the school.
 4. For the class-rooms, library and dining rooms.
The arrangements for each class of students, while under instruction, should be drawn into the plan, as well as the position of the tables in the dining room.
 5. Dormitories.
Show the position of the beds, and the mode of lighting, and the arrangements for inspection at night.
 6. Washing room.
The modes of supplying water &c.
 7. Cloak and hat rooms.
 8. Shoe house.
 9. Knife house.
 10. House for domestic uses.
 11. Tool house.
13. Furnish also a model of the Model or Practising School, showing
1. The elevation.
 2. Ground Plan.
 3. Arrangement for classes.
 4. Mode of warming and ventilation.
 5. The play-ground.
 6. The Master's house.
 7. The out-buildings.
14. Ventilation. - State in what manner the school buildings are to be ventilated and warmed.
15. What extent of enclosed ground will be provided for the employment and exercise of students?
16. Which of the following subjects are to be included in the scheme of instruction?
1. Religious instruction
Under what heads?
 2. Reading.
 3. Writing and book-keeping.
 4. Arithmetic.
 5. Mensuration of planes and solids.
 6. Algebra.
 7. Whether any mathematics; and if so, in what form, and to what extent?
 8. English Grammar.
 9. Etymology.

10. English history.
 11. Geography.
 12. Explanation of natural phenomena.
 13. Whether mechanics; and if so in what form and for what subject?
 14. The organisation, discipline and management of elementary schools.
 15. What 'methods' will be taught?
 16. Will Latin be taught?
17. At what age will the students be received into the school?
 18. During what period will they be required to reside?
 19. What part of that period will they be required to devote to daily teaching in the Model or Practising School?
 20. What sum will each student be required to pay towards the expenses of his maintenance and training?
 21. Will any exhibitions be granted? If so, how many, of what amount and how will their distribution be regulated?
 22. What officers are to be appointed for the instruction and training of the students of the Normal School, and at what salaries?

Principal	£	per annum
Vice-Principal	£	
How many masters?	£	
Superintendent of house- hold and garden work	£	
Master of Model or Practising School	£	
 23. What is the scheme of expenditure likely to be annually incurred under the following heads?
 1. Salary of Principal and all Masters.
 2. Books, stationery, apparatus, and tools.
 3. Ground rent and repairs.
 4. Taxes and rates.
 5. Fuel and Lights.
 6. Supply of water.
 7. Clothing, linen, and furniture.
 8. Food.
 9. Servants' wages.
 10. Medical attendance and sundry incidental expenses.
 11. Exhibitions.
 24. State your reasons for expecting that the Schools will be efficiently and permanently supported. State the probable amount of annual income.
 1. Annual subscriptions and donations.
 2. Annual collections.

3. Annual produce of endowment.
 4. Annual payments by the patrons or friends of students trained as schoolmasters.
 5. Any other sources of income?
25. What is the estimated cost of the buildings? State separately the cost of.
1. The site.
 2. The Model or Practising School.
 3. The Normal School, including the apartments for the residence of the Principal, and of the students, and any Masters.
 4. The boundary fences.
 5. The amount of legal expenses.
 6. And any other expenses.

(The answers to the above questions must be signed by the builder, or by the architect and the builder, if the plans were not drawn in the Council Office.)

26. What is the amount now raised by subscriptions to meet this expenditure?
27. How much do the promoters expect to raise by subscriptions and donations, in addition to the above?
28. Have you applied to any society, or other similar source for aid; and if so, what has been granted or promised, or on what grounds has the application been refused?
29. Do you intend to apply to any society or other source for aid?
30. What will be the extent of the deficiency in the funds for the erection of the Normal and Model School buildings, after you have collected all your subscriptions and donations, and including any grant from the Committee of Council?

The above questions and the answers to them were read and signed at a meeting of the School Committee (or Trustees) of the School, duly convened on this day of 184 at

Source: Minute of the Committee of Council on Education, January 16th 1844. Published in the Report for 1843.

APPENDIX B.Timetables and the Daily Routine.Academic Timetable 1841-1842.

"The following scheme exhibits the mode in which the time of the pupils is employed.

<u>Sunday</u>	Sunday School and Church.
<u>Monday</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 8. - 12. and 1 - 4 Nat. S (ch) : $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 - 3 religious instruction from Director. Prepare for Martindale. 7 - 9 Martindale.
<u>Tuesday</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 8. - 12. and 1 - 4 Nat S (sc) 7 - 9 Freemantle.
<u>Wednesday</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 8. - 12. and 1 - 4 Nat Sch. : Prepare for Director.
<u>Thursday</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 8. - 12. Nat Sch. 7 - 9 Martindale.
<u>Friday</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 8. - 12. Nat Sch. $\frac{1}{2}$ 1. - 3 Director. 7 - 9 Freemantle.
<u>Saturday</u>	$\frac{1}{2}$ 8. - $\frac{1}{2}$ 10. Martindale. Prepare for Director on Monday.

Source: Training School First Minute Book, page 37
Undated, but clearly between November, 1841
and January, 1842.

Domestic Timetable 1841.

- "1. Let the young men be called at six in summer, and $\frac{1}{4}$ to 7 in winter; Between 6 and $\frac{1}{4}$ to 7 in summer, and $\frac{1}{4}$ to 7 and $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 in winter they can keep clean their shoes, the knives.
2. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 prayers read by Mr. Tuer in Common Sitting Room, out of Dr. Hook's selection from the liturgy. Before prayers the young men read by turns the second lesson for the morning service of the day.
3. At $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 breakfast, Bread and Milk, Tea and Coffee.
4. From $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight to 12 the pupils attend the National (Blue Coat) Schools in Claypath.
5. At $\frac{1}{4}$ past 12. on every day but Tuesday, and one on Tuesday, dinner; Meat, pudding, and on Sunday roast beef and plum pudding of a plain character.
6. One to $\frac{1}{4}$ past 4. National School.

7. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Bread and Milk; Tea or Coffee.
8. At nine, Bread, Cheese and Beer.
9. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine, the first lesson of the evening service and Prayers.
10. Let the young men retire to bed immediately after prayers: Mr. Tuer to go up after sufficient time has been allowed for undressing, and remove the lights.
Let the doors be locked at dusk: None of the pupils allowed to go out and an account kept of such as come in after they are locked, specifying the precise time at which they come in. This to be shown to the Director."

Source: First Minute Book of the Training School as an appendix to the minutes of the meeting held on November 18th, 1841. pp 35 - 36 of my pagination.

The General Timetable 1849.

"General Time Table

6 o' clock	Rise
6 to 7 - 15	Dress and attend to household matters.
7 - 15	Prayers
7 - 30	Breakfast
1.	Dinner, except on Tuesdays and Thursdays, on which days dinner is at 12 - 30.
5.	Tea
9 - 30	Supper
9 - 45	Prayers
10.	Bed

From Oct. 1st. to April 1st. morning prayers are one quarter of an hour later, and the hour for rising an half hour later."

Source: Minutes of the Committee of Council. Bound volume for the years 1848 - 1850, page 711.

Academic Timetable for 1849.

SUNDAY Attend the Sunday-School morning and afternoon in rotation. All attend divine service morning and afternoon; those not in the Sunday-School at the Church; those in the Sunday-School attend at the St. Nicholas with the scholars. Prepare divinity for Monday. Hours of study 2.

MONDAY	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 12, Model School; 12 to 1, General History (by the Vice-Principal); 2 to 3, the Articles (by the Principal) 4 to 5, 6 to 7, prepare mathematics for Tuesday; 7 to 9, music. Hours of study, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$.
TUESDAY	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 11, prepare divinity and history for Wednesday; 11 to 12 Geography; 1 to 4, Model School; 7 to 9 Mathematics. Hours of study 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.
WEDNESDAY	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 12, Model School; 12 to 1, Paley's Evidences, and Barnes' Exposition of Scripture; 2 to 3, English History; 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 9, prepare Grammar and Mathematics for Thursday. Hours of study 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.
THURSDAY	Prepare Divinity for Friday; 11 to 12, English Grammar, Recitation of English Verse, and Etymology; 1 to 4 Model School; 7 to 9 Mathematics. Hours of Study, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.
FRIDAY	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 12, prepare Geography, Divinity, and Mathematics for Saturday; 12 to 1, Ecclesiastical History; 2 to 3, Beren's History of Prayer Book, or Liturgy and Catechism; 7 to 9 Music. Hours of study 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.
SATURDAY	9 to 11, Mathematics; 11 to 12, Geography and Writing from Dictation; 12 to 1, Scripture History, Evening -- Prepare History for Monday, and Geography for Tuesday. Hours of Study, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Source: Minutes of the Committee of Council.
Bound Volume for the years 1848 - 1850,
Page 711.

General Timetable 1870.

"From half-past 6 to half-past 7 there is an hour's study every morning, except on Wednesday and Friday, when this time is given to Drill; from 9.30 to 12.30 every day except Saturday is given to lectures; on Saturday there is an examination; Wednesday and Saturday afternoons are half holidays; on other days there is instruction in drawing and music; and from 7 to 9.30 is a time of private study."

Source: Report of the Committee of Council
for 1870, page 367.

General Timetable, 1876.

"It appears from the time-table that the daily routine between 6.30 a.m. and 10. p.m. is as follows:- About 7 hours are spent in class, 3 in private study, $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours are allowed for recreation, meals &c. There are two half holidays on Wednesday and Saturday. 10 hours on each of the other four days of the week is spent in study."

Source: Report of the Committee of Council
for 1876. Page 701.

APPENDIX C.The form of the Training School outlined by the National Society, 1841.

"It is not the purpose of your Committee to detail minutely, on this occasion, all the rules and arrangements adopted in the Training Institution. Some remarks, however, will be expected from them, upon the general course of discipline and study to be pursued. An outline may be given of the measures in operation to secure the well-being, physical and intellectual, religious and moral, of the students.

As regards their physical condition they will be required, on admission, to bring with them a certificate of health; and every care will be taken to preserve to them this greatest of worldly blessings. They will be confined to plain, nourishing food. They will have, each of them, a separated and well ventilated sleeping room. They will have wholesome exercise, suited to their after life, in the extensive grounds which surround the College. They may acquire some practical knowledge of gardening and even of agriculture, in the cultivation of the soil, and their other recreations, such as boys require, will be fitted to invigorate the body without enfeebling or dissipating the mind.

Among their intellectual pursuits, the first will be to acquire a complete knowledge of their own language. Care will be taken, that in this manner, a perfect vehicle for the interchange of ideas between master and scholars shall be established. The same exertion will be used, and the same principles applied, in teaching English at the Training - College, as in teaching Greek or Latin at a well-ordered Grammar School. After this preparatory discipline the communication of knowledge will be comparatively easy. The main object will be, not so much as to give many as to give clear, ideas; not to confuse the youthful mind with more facts than it is able to arrange, but to instruct it according to its capacity: in short, not to load the memory, but to improve and develop understanding. What a man knows obscurely he cannot teach; what he knows clearly he can in general express readily. The subjects taught will be the following, though others occasionally may be introduced at the discretion of the Principal with the sanction of the School-Committee:-

RELIGIOUS

The Old and New Testament
 The Christian Evidences
 The Catechism
 The Liturgy and Articles
 of the Church
 Church History

GENERAL

English Grammar and Etymology
 Geography and General History
 Writing, Arithmetic and Book-keeping
 Elements of Geometry and Algebra
 Elements of Natural Philosophy
 Linear Drawing
 Music
 Theory and Practice of Teaching

The chief object of the Institution as the above list may serve to testify, is the formation and culture of moral and religious habits. Attention will be given to the choice of proper candidates for admission. The Principal will admit none without satisfactory testimonials, signed or counter-signed by the officiating minister of the parish or district, where the candidate has resided, stating that he is of unblemished moral character, is a member of the Church, has been religiously brought up, and either has been confirmed or is prepared to be so. By this means moral contamination among the pupils themselves will be as carefully guarded against as human means will allow, and from contamination by the world without they will be in a great degree preserved by the seclusion and regularity of the collegiate life. The Principal will exercise a paternal but strict discipline --- keeping always in remembrance the humble sphere of life to which they belong, and for which they are designed. He will train them to habits of religious worship, both public and private; and will, in general, personally direct the daily service in the College Chapel. He will give daily instruction in some branch of knowledge or practice of Christianity and by thus urging, day by day "line upon line" precept upon precept, will do all that can be done by man, in reliance upon the Grace of God, towards fixing indelibly in their minds and hearts the whole principles of Christianity, as embodied in the Catechism, Liturgy, and Articles of our Church.

The young pupils must not only themselves acquire the knowledge and habits above described, but must attain also proficiency in the art of communicating what they know to others. For this purpose they will regularly practise in the Model School upon the premises, wherein they will find the best system of teaching in operation. The wholesome discipline to which their own minds and tempers have been subjected, will give them naturally a facility in exercising the same discipline over the minds and tempers of future scholars. In teaching and admonishing others, they may be expected to recollect the lessons and admonitions they have themselves received and imbibed."

Source: National Society, 30th Annual Report,
London, 1841, pages 19 - 20.

APPENDIX D.The Financial calculations of the Revised Code. 1863.

This was the vital measure aimed at reducing the growing cost of teacher training. In the general introduction to the Minute (page Xl11) the Committee of Council outlined the way in which they had faced the problems of ever increasing grants to Training Schools. The solution proposed was to make the grants retrospective, related to the rate at which ex-students became absorbed into schools after their probationary year. In future grants would increasingly be paid for students only when they were "fairly launched in their professions as teachers ... thus the demand for trained teachers will in time regulate the sum which the state pays for training schools." The Committee suggested that the maximum 'per capita' grant should be fixed at £100 for the two years course of training. This money would be a credit, recoverable by the training school over a period of five years after the student had emerged from the probationary period.

This part seems to have been well understood by those who have written on the history of teacher training - but the actual minute of March 21st, 1863, has been generally misunderstood. The essence of the confusion is in paragraph three of the minute (give on page xiv.)

"If A is the average sum paid in 1861 - 3, and T the number of teachers on each of whom £20 is to be allowed, the following formula expressed the result.

Grant for 1864	4/5	A	£20	T	(1863)
for 1865	3/5	A	£20	T	(1863 - 64)
for 1866	2/5	A	£20	T	(1863 - 65)
for 1867	1/5	A	£20	T	(1863 - 66)
for 1868			£20	T	(1863 - 67) "

This did not mean, as some writers have stated, that the number of students admitted would be cut down to 80% of the places provided in 1862. Protection was afforded to those who had already been offered Queen's Scholarships, and provided that all of these completed their probation satisfactorily, then the Training School could continue to take as many students as before. It was other considerations, principally the independent fund raising ability of the Training Schools which would limit the number of students they could accept.

The ceiling fixed by the government was :-

- (a) 75% of the expenditure approved for 1862-3.
- (b) £50 per student.
- (c) The number of students for which accommodation was available in 1862.

The long term consequences of the measures did, of course reduce the amount of government grant below the 1862 figure. Any shortcoming, in terms of students failing to complete their probationary years, of failures in examinations, of the Committee failing to raise 25% of the overall expenditure, meant that the grant would be reduced and the reduction become an inescapable part of the calculation of grant for succeeding years.

The government justified its proposals on the grounds that it was acting in keeping with the views expressed by the Newcastle Commission. The key quotation was one in which the commissioners argued that "the assistance given (by the government to the training schools) discourages private liberality - the withdrawal of part of it would be compensated by an increase in private subscriptions," (Vol. I of the Report, pages 144 - 145)

APPENDIX E.The Government Syllabus for Male Training School, 1878.

"The Examination for Certificates will commence on Monday, the 12th of December at 3.0 p.m.

N.B. Acting Teachers attending the examination may, at their option, take the papers of the first or second year, subject to the provisions of the following Articles of the Code:-

Article 66. Candidates who at the examination of December 1883, have passed, or at any subsequent examination shall pass, successfully in the subjects for first year's students will receive certificates of the third class.

Article 67. Certificates of the third class do not entitle their holders to have the superintendence of pupil-teachers.

Article 68. Certificates of the third class can be raised to a higher class only by examination in the subjects for second year's students. Teachers cannot be examined for the purpose of raising their certificates more than once in every two years.

The following subjects for the second year will be formed into groups:- (a) School Management, (b) English, (c) Geography and History, (d) Algebra, Geometry, and Mensuration, (e) Science, (f) Languages. All candidates must take groups (a) and (b), and may take two other groups, but no more. Economy may be substituted for a second language by all candidates who are at liberty to take the language group.

A student who, at the end of his first year, has not passed with credit in either (or both) of the groups (c), (d) must take it (or them) up again in his second year.

Acting teachers who have not passed with credit in the preceding year in either (or both) of groups (c), (d) must take it (or them) up again.

Acting teachers who have not been examined in the preceding year, or having been examined have failed to obtain a certificate, must take up both groups (c), (d).

Notice will be given in the class list of those candidates who have not passed with credit in those groups.

READING AND REPETITION FROM MEMORY.FIRST YEAR

To read with a distinct utterance, with due attention to the punctuation, and just expression.

(First Year Cont.)

Each student must have learned at least 300 lines of poetry from the works of Milton, Byron, or Wordsworth, and will be called upon to repeat some part at the annual inspection of the training college.

SECOND YEAR.

Candidates will be expected to show improvement in the higher qualities of reading, such as expression, modulation of voice, and the correct delivery of long or involved sentences. Each student must have learned at least 300 lines of poetry from a play of Shakespeare, and will be called upon to repeat some part at the annual inspection of the training college.

PENMANSHIPFIRST YEAR.

1. To write a specimen of the penmanship used in setting copies of text hand and small hand.
2. To write a passage from dictation.
3. The general character of the writing in the examination papers will be considered in deciding upon the proficiency of candidates in this subject.

SECOND YEAR.

As in first year, but defects more severely visited with loss of marks.

SCHOOL MANAGEMENTFIRST YEAR

1. The methods of teaching the elementary and class subjects (Art. 109 e and f) and of cultivating the intelligence of children.
2. The form of school registers, the mode of keeping them, and of making returns from them. (This part of the paper is to be omitted by students of the first year, who are proceeding to a second years residence.)
3. The training of the senses and of the memory, and the order in which the faculties of children are developed.
4. Notes of lessons.

SECOND YEAR.

1. To teach a class in the presence of Her Majesty's Inspector.
2. To answer questions on the following subjects:-

2. (a) The different methods of organising and managing an elementary school.
- (b) The form of school registers, the mode of keeping them, and of making returns from them..
3. The processes of reasoning; the formation of habits and of character; -- all considered in their application to the methods of teaching and of moral discipline.
4. Notes of lessons.
5. Laws of health as applied to school premises, scholars, and teachers.
6. Educational work of Froebel.

ENGLISH

FIRST YEAR.

1. The elements of grammar.
2. To parse words selected from passages in the second and third of the prescribed books.
3. To analyse passages from those books.
4. To write plain prose upon a given subject.
5. An explanation of the meaning and words in the selected passages.

SECOND YEAR.

1. To paraphrase passages from the prescribed books.
2. To answer questions on the language, style, and subject-matter of the first three of those books.
3. To write plain prose upon a given subject.

GEOGRAPHY

FIRST AND SECOND YEARS.

1. Elementary knowledge of physical geography, with special reference to:-
 - (a) Shape, size, and motions of the earth.
 - (b) The atmosphere, rain, clouds and vapour.
 - (c) Winds, currents, and tides.
 - (d) Causes which affect climate.
 - (e) Effect of climate on industry, production, and national character.
 - (f) Distribution of plants and animals.
2. General geography of the British Isles, Europe, and the United States of America.

ENGLISH HISTORY

FIRST AND SECOND YEARS.

1. General outlines of English History from 1066 to 1815:-
 - (a) Dates and general knowledge of the most memorable events.

1. (b) Reigning houses and dynastic changes.
2. The Tudor period.

ARITHMETIC, ALGEBRA, AND MENSURATION

FIRST YEAR.

1. To work arithmetical sums, both mentally and on paper.
2. To prove and explain the rules.
The figures should be well formed and the work methodically arranged as a good model for children to imitate.
3. To answer simple questions, both theoretical and practical, in algebra, and the mensuration of plane surfaces.

SECOND YEAR.

More difficult questions and problems in algebra, and mensuration.

GEOMETRY

FIRST YEAR.

The first two books of Euclid, with simple deductions from the propositions and easy geometrical problems.

SECOND YEAR.

The first four books of Euclid, and the first seventeen propositions of the Sixth Book, with simple deductions from the propositions and easy geometrical problems.

ECONOMY

SECOND YEAR.

Elementary Questions in Political Economy.

VOCAL MUSIC

FIRST YEAR (STAFF-NOTATION).

1. NOTES

Their position on the treble and bass staves. All the major scales. Diatonic intervals. Relations as noted by the terms tonic, dominant, &c. Transposition from one major key to another.

2. TIME.

The value of notes, dotted notes, tied notes, and rests. Signatures of the simple times. Accent. Contents of measures (bars). Transcription from one time to another.

3. Terms in common use relating to expression, pace and style.

(Tonic Sol-fa Notation).

1. NOTES.

The common major scale: its chordal structure. Mental effects. Diatonic intervals. Octave marks. Relations as noted by the terms tonic, dominant, &c. The standard scale of pitch, and the relations (in pitch) of various keys.

2. TIME.

The accent of pulses. Two, three, and four pulse measure. Contents of measures. Continuations, rests, and simple divisions of pulses. Transcription by halving or doubling values.

3. Terms in common use relating to expression, pace, and style.

SECOND YEAR. (Staff-Notation).

1. NOTES.

Their position on the treble and bass staves. All the major and minor scales. Diatonic and chromatic intervals. Transposition.

2. TIME.

The value of notes, dotted notes, tied notes, and rests, Signatures of all the simple and compound times. Accent and syncopation. Contents of bars. Transcription from one time to another.

3. Terms in common use relating to expression, pace and style.

4. The compass and registers of the various voices of men, women, and children; general rules relating to voice training.

(Tonic Sol-fa Notation).

1. NOTES.

The major and minor modes. Diatonic and chromatic intervals. Names of chromatic tones. Removes of key; bridge-notes and distinguishing tones.

2. TIME.

All the measures in common use. Division of pulses into thirds and quarters. Transcription by doubling or halving values. Accent and syncopation.

3. Terms in common use relating to expression, pace, and style.

4. The compass and registers of the various voices of men, women, and children; general rules relating to voice training.

The series of exercises prescribed in the Art Directory of the Department of Science and Art, for a drawing certificate of the second grade.

LANGUAGES.

1. Latin
2. Greek

3. French
4. German

Candidates may take one or two (but not more) of these languages. Students

will be examined in those languages only for which a special course of instruction is provided in the timetable of their college.

FIRST YEAR.

This paper will contain grammatical questions, and easy passages in prose for translation from and into English.

SECOND YEAR.

This paper will contain more difficult passages (in poetry as well as prose), for translation from and into English prose, with questions upon the construction of particular sentences.

SCIENCE

SEE EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE OF 17th JANUARY, 1878.
AT WHITEHALL, THE 17th DAY OF JANUARY, 1878.

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

1. The Lords of the Committee of Council on Education consider the subject of science instruction in training colleges. They believe that the time has arrived when a special examination should be instituted at a period of the year better adapted to the training colleges than May; and that the nature of the examination and the payments made on the results should be modified to suit the circumstances of those colleges.
2. They therefore determine that in future a special examination in science shall be held in training colleges in December, immediately before the ordinary Christmas examination.
3. The examination will not be open to acting teachers. It will be held in those subjects only for which a special course of instruction is provided in the timetable of the college, and will be conducted by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, or by an office of the Science and Art Department.
4. No student in a training college will be allowed to attend the May examinations of the Science and Art Department.
5. The examination will be confined to the following subjects:-
 1. Mathematics.
 2. Theoretical mechanics.
 3. Applied mechanics.
 4. Acoustics, light and heat.
 5. Magnetism and electricity.
 6. Inorganic chemistry, including practical chemistry.
 7. Animal physiology.
 8. Botany.
 9. Physiography.
 10. Principles of agriculture.
6. No student will be permitted to take up more than two subjects in any one year. Women will not be permitted to take more than one subject in a year.

7. The examination except for mathematics, will be based on the syllabus of the several subjects given in the Science Directory. But the two stages, elementary and advanced, will be treated as a whole -- one paper only being set. These examination papers will be framed much as the present May papers are framed, that is to say, with a certain number of compulsory questions and a certain number of optional questions, some of the latter being more difficult, and more highly marked, than the rest. Questions will also be set on the method of teaching various branches of the subject. The syllabus for the mathematical examination is given in the Appendix.

8. The successful students will be placed in the first or second class, the standard for a second class being as high as that of a good second class in the present advanced stage, and for the first class of a good first class in the advanced stage.

9. All students who pass will be registered as qualified to earn payments on results and will receive certificates, but no prizes will be given.

-----oooOooo-----

APPENDIX

1. A student may in his first year take up two languages or two science subjects, or one language and one science subject, but no more.

2. A student will be required to present himself at the end of his second year for examination in any science in which he may have failed to obtain at least a second class at the end of his first year; such subject or subjects will be considered as the first of the science subjects in which he may be presented for examination.

3. Acting teachers, who attend the Christmas examination, will receive additional marks for any two of the specified science subjects, in which they may have obtained a first or second class in the advanced stage or in honours, at one of the May examinations held by the Science and Art Department.

APPENDIX F.The staff of the Training School 1840 - 1890.

<u>PRINCIPALS</u>	<u>VICE-PRINCIPALS</u>	<u>GENERAL or MATHEMATICAL MASTERS</u>
John Cundill (1841 - 1850)	T.P. Sproule (1847 - 1848)	J. Martindale (1841 - 1842)
J.G. Cromwell (1851 - 1864)	J.G. Cromwell (1848 - 1850)	W. Finlay (1842 - 1850)
A.R. Ashwell (1865 - 1870)	R.D. Dingle (1853 - 1856)	J. Wright (1851 - 1852)
S. Barradell-Smith (1871 - 1885)	W. Townson (1857)	
T. Randall (1886)	A. Sweeting (1858 - 1861)	
	W. Powley (1862 - 1874)	
	A. Watts (1875 - 1888)	
<u>THIRD MASTERS or SENIOR TUTORS</u>	<u>BLUE COAT MASTERS ACTING AS NORMAL MASTERS</u>	<u>MUSIC MASTERS</u>
William Lawson (1857 - 1865)	G. Goundry (1841 - 1849)	W. Freemantle (1841 - 1849)
C.C. Howard (1866 - 1870)	? Sullivan (1850 - 1851)	C. Ashton (1850 - 1862)
Arthur Watts (1871 - 1874)	James Reed (1852 - 1863)	W.H. Clark-Dawson (1862 - 1863)
Adam Currie (1875 - 1878)	John Fish (1854 until the opening of the Model School in 1857)	Philip Amies (1863 - 1864)
		John Jennings (1876 - 1885)

HOUSE SUPERINTENDENT

T. Tuer
(1841 - 1848)

LATIN MASTER

W. Engledow
(1843 - 1844)

DRAWING MASTER

W. Newton
(1853 - 1856)

MASTERS OF THE MODEL
SCHOOL, ACTING ALSO AS
NORMAL MASTERS

Thomas Preston
(1857 - 1860)

? . Smith
(1860 - 1863)

G. Hitchcock
(1864 - 1865)

G. Syder
(1866 - 1867)

D.J. Chisholm
(1868)

B. Karn
(1869 - 1871)

W.M. Adam
(1872 - 1873)

John Jennings
(1874 - 1886)

A.T. Bott
(1887 - 1889)

SENIOR TUTORS
PREVIOUSLY TERMED
THIRD MASTERS

J. White
(1886 - 1887)

R. Nixon
(1888)

J. Dall
(1889)

JUNIOR TUTORS
PREVIOUSLY TERMED
FOURTH MASTERS

W.B. Root
(1882 - ?)

J. Dall
(1886 - 1888)

APPENDIX G.Patterns of Student Recruitment and Placement on First Appointments
Shown by Regions, for the period 1869 - 1885.

Students	Location of home residence or first appointment								Queries
	Dur- ham	Northum- berland	Dio- cese	North	Mid- L'ds	South	Scot- land	Wales	
Homes, with students listed by register order.	<u>ADMISSIONS</u> (200 admissions covering the period January 1880 to January 1885)								
777 - 826	25	5	30	9	4	2	3	-	2
827 - 878	26	11	37	8	-	-	2	-	3
887 - 976	31	11	42	4	-	-	1	-	3
927 - 976	25	13	38	9	1	-	1	-	1
Totals as %	107 55%	40 21%	147 76%	30 16%	5 3%	2 1%	7 4%	-	9 (200) 4%
Appointments for those leaving in the year	<u>APPOINTMENTS</u> (104 recorded first appointments covering the period 1869 - 1887)								
1869	3	3	6	4	1	-	-	-	-
1870	2	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-
1871	11	7	18	6	-	-	2	-	-
1886	18	7	25	7	1	-	1	-	-
1887	12	9	21	5	-	2	-	-	-
Totals by %	46 69%	26 23%	72 69%	24 23%	2 2%	3 3%	3 3%	-	-(104)

APPENDIX H.The Form of the Records of the Durham Diocesan Training School.The First Minute Book.

This is the original manuscript of notes made during the course of meetings of the General Committee and the Sub-committee of Management. The period covered is from 1839 to 1886. The minutes occupy 287 pages in a quarto-sized book. A typescript of the original is now available, together with an index which was compiled during the writing of the thesis.

The minute book was the first source used as a lead to resolutions of the Committee, subscription lists, staff appointments, reports of the inspectors, and communications with the Committee of Council on Education.

The College Register.

The original has been preserved together with a copy made in 1891. The 1891 copy simply tidies up the entries and assigns to each student an admission number.

The entries in the register are continuous from 1841 to 1892, and cover 1,191 students.

The information given in the register is made under the following entries:-

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (1) | Date of entry ----- | throughout |
| (2) | Age of the student on entry ----- | throughout |
| (3) | Parish address ----- | throughout |
| (4) | Previous occupation of the student ----- | to 1873 |
| (5) | Parent's occupation ----- | to 1873 |
| (6) | Date of leaving ----- | to middle 60's |
| (7) | Place and salary of first appointment ----- | to middle 60's |

Annual Reports of the Training School.

Entries in the minute book show that reports were published annually and circulated to all subscribers. Copies of the reports have been preserved, bound in editions each covering a fifteen year period. The reports preserved are the 1st to 14th. (1841 - 1855) the 15th - 30th. (1856 - 1871) and the 45th - 55th. (1886 - 1896).

The reports for the period 1872 - 1885 are missing.

The reports give a review of progress made, lists of subscribers, a financial statement, and copies of the prospectus advertised to students.

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