The part played by civil servants in promoting girls' secondary education 1869-1902: some aspects of the administration of the Endowed Schools Acts

by

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A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Bedford College, London

1976
ABSTRACT

The attempts made under the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 to reorganise the grammar schools of England and Wales along lines suggested by the Taunton Commission have attracted comparatively little notice. Yet they represent not only a serious endeavour, many years before 1902, to construct the basis of a secondary school system, but a very important government lead in the matter of girls' education.

The Commissioners appointed to administer the Act were strongly committed to the principles behind it and vigorously wielded their considerable powers, including those under Section 12, which required provision to be made for girls out of endowments wherever possible. Though the application of Section 12 was often hindered by shortage of money, competing claims and local reluctance to diminish the resources available to boys, in total more than a quarter of the schools launched by the Endowed Schools Commissioners were girls' schools.

In 1874 the Endowed Schools Commission, which had been a child of the Liberal government, was disbanded by the Conservatives and its powers transferred to the Charity Commission which exercised them until 1903. This transfer to a body of administrators with a narrower, quasi-judicial tradition and no particular commitment to the girls' cause, was deplored at the time by the women's movement; as it proved, rightly, for the Charity Commissioners did less well with Section 12 and their entire provision of girls' schools was only 15% of their total.

There are certainly signs, towards the end of the century, that initiative in this particular sphere, as in secondary education generally, was already passing to the County Councils. In fact, the problem of providing for girls revealed in an acute form the wider problem of trying to base a secondary school system on endowments.
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BPP: British Parliamentary Papers
PRO: Public Record Office
SIC: Schools Inquiry Commission
INTRODUCTION

In no area of English social policy was change more marked in the late nineteenth century than in the field of education. Having begun in 1870 by simply filling gaps in the elementary system the State, by 1900, was making provision for nearly half the children in attendance. At secondary level, large powers had been taken in 1869 to reorganise the grammar schools. The exercise of these over the next thirty years and, in particular, the partnership which grew up from the 1890's with local authorities, prepared the ground for the Act of 1902. All in all, it is not too much to say that what had been a private enterprise system until the late Sixties had been largely transformed by the turn of the century into a system of public enterprise.

Behind these changes, it is generally held, lay a growing awareness in the governing classes of the need to educate a new electorate; anxiety lest England should lose her position as top industrial nation; and, at home, the demands of a labour market increasingly diversified and open to recruit to a wide range of white collar jobs. Whatever weight is attached to such factors they applied only obliquely to girls. Girls were not being educated as voters; nor, though more and more of them took white collar jobs, had they yet escaped from parental ambivalence about whether they should work at all, if it could be helped. The remarkable development of girls' education during these years, the creation from scratch of a system of secondary schools for girls has rather to be seen in the more specific context of attitudes which challenged the accepted role of women. On grounds of justice mingled with utility, it was being argued that women should have votes, that married women should have property rights and girls be given a decent education. The practical
achievements of pioneering women - of Josephine Butler, Emily Davies, Miss Buss and Miss Beale and Maria Grey - are naturally prominent in any account of girls' education at this time. But between these great individual achievements and the assimilation of girls' schools into the secondary system of the country is a gap which has hitherto aroused little interest, but which was occupied by the working of a measure highly advantageous to girls: the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.

One reason for the neglect of this area may be that the Act has so often been regarded as the disappointing outcome of the Taunton Commission. The voluminous Report of this Commission is famous. Appointed in 1864 to inquire into secondary education, it published accounts of decrepit grammar schools which were very startling to people at the time and have since been much quarried by historians. It also made strong recommendations for reforming these endowed schools to form the basis of an efficient secondary school system, and proposed machinery to keep it efficient by regular inspection and examination and by scrutiny of entrants to the teaching profession. The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 gave effect only to those recommendations which concerned the reform of endowed schools; nothing was done about the rest. In consequence, it has often been held, a great opportunity was lost. We might have had our secondary school system well-organised thirty years before 1902.¹ And in mourning this loss, attention has wandered from what the Endowed Schools Act did achieve.

¹ Fifty years ago R. L. Archer lamented 'that the Commissioners proposed a State system of secondary education and that the State refused to undertake the burden.' (Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century, 1921, p.175) More recently, Professor Burn described the Endowed Schools Act as 'a much emasculated form' of the Taunton proposals, which were 'infinitely more radical than anything that has come to pass in the interval of nearly a hundred years...since their report was published.' (The Age of Equipoise, 1964, p.201). The standard educational histories give the same impression. See H. C. Barnard: A short history of English education, (1947) p. 154 and S. J. Curtis: History of Education in Great Britain, (1949) p. 168.
Under it three Commissioners were appointed. They were effectively given carte blanche to reorganise educational endowments, to alter and add to them, divide and combine them, 'make new trusts, directions and provisions', in short, do almost anything to adapt the old grammar schools to meet the current needs of the middle classes. Governing bodies were to be reformed and religious exclusiveness terminated. By the powers given under this Act grammar school fees were imposed universally and the schools were settled into one of three grades, as the Taunton Report had recommended: the first grade was intended mainly for boys who would go on to university, the second for those who would leave at 17 and the third for those who might be expected to go out into low-level clerical jobs at the age of 15. Each of these grades had its appropriate fees and curriculum.

The tendency of this reorganisation is seen by Professor Simon and others as accentuating class divisions in education and edging out the poor from the grammar schools. Another analysis interprets the Act in terms of the struggle for control of these schools between different sections of the middle classes. But little has been said of the direct implications of so much government interference. The grammar schools

1 Most remarkable of all, the Commissioners were freed from the restrictions of the principle of cy-près which had hitherto governed all control of endowments. Section 30 of the Endowed Schools Act empowered them, with the consent of the Trustees, to convert doles, marriage portions, apprentice fees and other obsolete endowments to education.


emerged from it tied to new Schemes which prescribed their fees, age-limits and curricula, 'popularised' their governing bodies and practically extinguished the Anglican influence. They were very different from the schools of the Sixties. The whole operation is a prime example of that disposition of the State to intervene which, Professor Brebner long ago reminded us, was at least as typical of nineteenth century practice as the celebrated principle of laissez faire.

Some of the most vigorous intervention was carried out on behalf of girls. The Endowed Schools Act included a clause, Section 12, which specifically provided that

'In framing schemes under this Act, provision shall be made so far as conveniently may be for extending to girls the benefits of endowments.'

The very words suggest trouble in store, for endowments could not be extended to girls, generally, unless they were taken from boys, and when is it convenient to part with money? In 1898 this clause was described as 'the Magna Charta of girls' education.' At that time, as a result of its working, there were well over ninety endowed schools for girls where the Taunton Commissioners had found only twelve. That was the

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1 A Scheme made for each school under the powers conferred by the Endowed Schools Act and had the force of law. It represented the school's constitution. For an example, see Grays Thurrock Scheme in Appendix V(ii)

2 J. B. Brebner 'Laissez-Faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth Century Britain', E. M. Carus-Wilson ed. Essays in Economic History (1962) Vol. III pp 252-262. The article was first published in 1948. I have tried and failed to find some relevance to the field of the Endowed Schools Acts in Professor Macdonagh's well-known model of 'self generating bureaucratic growth' (O. Macdonagh, 'The Nineteenth Century Revolution in Government: a Reappraisal' Historical Journal, Vol. I (1958) pp 52-67) He himself seems doubtful of its bearing on education. Even if one could say, in this case, that the 'intolerable evil' had been recognised by the Taunton Commission, the procedure of creating a new Scheme for each school is essentially different from that, say, of an inspector who goes out to check that machinery is fenced. And this difference is particularly marked in the attempts made under the Endowed Schools Act to create something which did not exist before i.e. grammar schools for girls.

3 Alice Zimmern: The Renaissance of girls' education in England (1898) p.83
measure of State intervention over thirty years; of pressure brought to bear by civil servants on hundreds of grammar school trustees.

It is the purpose of the present study to show how this was done; an inquiry relevant to some of the main themes of Victorian social history since it leads directly into the area of attitudes concerning the position of women at a time when this was a burning topic, and deals with the initiative of public servants in a period when this seems to have been less in evidence, generally, than it had been in the Forties. These aspects are linked because of the way the Act was administered.

For five years after 1869 it was worked by a special Endowed Schools Commission, set up as the Poor Law Commission had been, in the 1830's, as a Board without a Minister, with all the freedom and the vulnerability that this involved. Further, like the Act of 1834, the Endowed Schools Act made few explicit statements as to the principles on which it was based. The preamble implied that these were Taunton principles, but it could certainly be said of them, as of the Poor Law's 'less eligibility', that they 'had to be brought into effective being by administrative interpretation.' The relative forthrightness of the girls' clause, Section 12, was diminished by 'so far as conveniently may be'. Much, then, would depend on the administrators.

The Endowed Schools Commissioners were appointed at a time when administrators in significant ways were beginning to resemble modern civil servants more than they did Kay Shuttleworth or Chadwick or others of the 'heroic' generation. The work of those men, the founding fathers

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1 p 12 below  
2 From the 1830's to the middle of the century administrative Boards of this type had been common; but after the scandal of 1847 which led to the disbandment of the Poor Law Commission they were less favoured. See F. M. G. Willson, Ministries and Boards: Some Aspects of Administrative Development since 1832, Public Administration 1954, Vol. XXII, pp. 43-58. Also Henry Parris Constitutional Bureaucracy (1969) Ch. III.  
of Victorian social policy, had been distinguished by expertise, intense commitment to investigation, publicity and a flair for polemics which was by now uncommon. And since the 1830's, when the efflorescence of statistical societies had thrown up a host of brilliant investigators who pushed themselves into central government, investigation was becoming institutionalised in government itself where its vital principle could no longer be guaranteed, as appeared in Public Health after 1872 and in Education many years earlier when Lingen took over from Kay Shuttleworth. Recruited long before Northcote and Trevelyan set a new style for the civil service, Lingen was a Northcote and Trevelyan type of man, straight from Balliol and uncommitted. Whatever may have been its other merits, his control of Education was characterised by a 'total retreat from policy making.'\(^1\) Nor did the great events in education - the 1870 Act and its consequentials - owe much to the initiative of his successors.\(^2\)

If it is possible to generalise when government departments remained as individual as they did at least until the First World War, there are signs that after 1870 government servants were inclined to be more passive. In spite of the existence of various exceptions\(^3\) the general picture, it has been said, 'is of a bureaucracy gently ossifying, concerning itself primarily with pushing out again the paper that came in ....'\(^4\) Whatever the reasons that lay behind this - whether the development of formal

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\(^2\) Gillian Sutherland's Policy-making in Education 1870-1895,(1973) examines closely the dynamics of change in such central areas as compulsory school attendance, free education and the grant system. In none did any significant initiative come from civil servants.

\(^3\) The Introduction to Gillian Sutherland ed. Studies in the growth of nineteenth-century government, (1972) from which this argument is taken, cites those sections of the Local Government Board dealing with health, and the Labour Department of the Board of Trade.

\(^4\) Sutherland ed., op. cit. p. 8
career structures, the social homogeneity of the service, the growth of effective Treasury control, public aversion to expenditure, or others - the picture is greyish; and against this grey the Endowed Schools Commission makes a small red splash.

Almost from the start it was controversial and managed to upset the Church and other powerful interests. The three men who were appointed Commissioners - Lord Lyttelton, Arthur Hobhouse, Canon Hugh Robinson - and their Secretary, Henry Roby, were none of them career civil servants of the new type. Their background is discussed in detail later. Here it is necessary only to say that they had taken an active part in the work of a dynamic investigative body - the Social Science Association - which at this time gathered up at national level the activities of the earlier statistical societies; that Lyttelton had been a member of the Taunton Commission, Henry Roby its Secretary and that almost all the Assistants they appointed had taken part in that great inquiry. Unlike most civil servants in the Seventies these were men who had helped to formulate the principles which they were called on to apply. Whether it was this alone which made them zealots, whether their commitment to girls' education originated simply in their experience of investigating its grave deficiencies is hard to say. But the fact is that Lyttelton had written the girls' chapter in the Taunton Report; he had urged in the Lords the girls' claim to endowment; and he was now chief of a group of men who set themselves, so far as was possible, to fulfil the aspirations of Josephine Butler, Frances Buss, Emily Davies and others for good schools for girls of the middle classes.

1Ch. I below

2Henry Farris: Constitutional Bureaucracy (1969) pp 138-140 distinguishes between 'professionals' and 'zealots' in the Victorian civil service. The role of the Endowed Schools Commissioners as 'zealots' is discussed briefly at the end of this thesis pp.416-417 below.
What they attempted was in fact circumscribed by just those factors which, in the long run, made it impossible to create a system of secondary schools on the basis of endowments: lack of money, uneven distribution, the need to compensate or appease many interests, even the Commissioners' own acceptance of the non-local status of the public schools. Such things whittled down the prospects of girls every bit as much as direct opposition to the very idea of giving them grammar schools. In other words, the working of Section 12 did not depend simply on feminist zeal.

But it is the aim of this thesis to show that feminist zeal was very important, and that the change made in 1874 to a less zealous administration was far from advantageous to girls. In that year the Endowed Schools Commissioners were dismissed and their work transferred to the Charity Commission, which carried it on until 1902. More Schemes were made to establish girls' schools but their share in the reorganised endowments fell and they were in fact worse off at the end of the century, relative to the provision made for boys, than they had been in 1875. In the 1860's when Sir James Kay Shuttleworth urged upon the Social Science Association the need for a department of public charities with wide powers to reform educational endowments and, among other things, extend them to girls, he did not recommend the Charity Commission. Its defect was, he said, that it was isolated.

1Ch. II and Chs. IV, V below.

2Ch. VII.2, below

3See especially Ch.XI below.
It forms no part of the executive government, represented by a responsible minister in Parliament. Consequently it is apt to be forgotten by the Cabinet, and the growth of its powers is prevented by its obscure position and the absence of the direct interest of a minister of state in its affairs.1

It was, in fact, a Board without a Minister, in exactly the same way as the Endowed Schools Commission. The difference here was not in constitution but in commitment. It was the quality of radical commitment which brought the Endowed Schools Commissioners down. This was what was lost in 1874, deliberately, by the action of government, and girls' education was one thing that suffered.

The methodology of a study of commitment presents some problems. How is zeal to be measured? The present study is based on a scrutiny of individual case files2 which record the work of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, and, after them, of the Charity Commissioners, in making Schemes under Section 12 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, to extend the benefits of endowments to girls. As a guide to administrative endeavour this source is open at once to the objection that formal records reveal only part, and perhaps the least part, of the process of decision making. It is such records, nonetheless, which civil servants leave to later generations and by which, along with their statements of policy, evidence to Committees and so on, they are bound to be judged.

A more serious problem arises over the extent of the data. In order to observe the Commissioners thoroughly and to see how hard they pressed

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1 What Central and Local Bodies are best qualified to take charge of and administer Existing Endowments for Education, and what Powers and Facilities should be given to such Bodies? By Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, Bart. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1866, p. 339

2 Mainly in the Ed 27 category of the Public Record Office.
the claim of girls the preparation of all their Schemes, involving
perhaps two or three thousand files, would need to be considered. This
has not been practicable. Instead, about 500 files relating to
'successful' cases—those in which some provision was made for girls—
have been scrutinised. On the face of it, it seems unlikely that the
whole corpus of material would reveal attitudes quite at variance with
those which emerge from the 'successful' sample; and this view is
confirmed by research for Chapter II which covered the files for every
Scheme establishing a secondary school in the West Riding of Yorkshire,
whether or not it provided for girls. Judgement in the end must depend
on combining what seems to have been thought with what was actually
done. The only measurable element here is the provision that was
made for girls and it is on this that conclusions must be based.
CHAPTER I

SETTING UP THE ENDOVED SCHOOLS COMMISSION

'The Session has come in like a lamb...' wrote The Times, of the opening of that triumphantly Liberal Parliament which assembled on 16 February, 1869. And it went on to say that the Message from the Throne was so precisely as anticipated that little comment was necessary. A Session of 'predestined languor' lay before them, hardly to be ruffled, in the editorial view, by that tremendous question of the hour, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

While this forecast proved over-sanguine, the Irish Church Bill did distract attention from other controversial matters and the Endowed Schools Bill passed through the Commons with an ease which people were surprised to recall, later, when its working had become so contentious.¹

'The public had been prepared for a measure of this description by the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission,' said W. E. Forster, who introduced it. He himself had sat upon that Commission and strongly favoured its recommendations, as indeed did many who took part in the debates. The picturesque revelations of Taunton had bitten deep into the public mind and if there were pleas that particular schools should be exempt from the Bill's jurisdiction, nobody denied there was a need for reform. This was seen as something to be carried out quickly and Part I of the Endowed Schools Bill provided for a temporary Commission to do it.

¹Hobhouse, who became an Endowed Schools Commissioner, suggested that the Bill would never have passed 'had not people's attention been absorbed by the Irish Church Act.' L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond: Lord Hobhouse: a Memoir (1905) p. 46
Part II, which would have set up a permanent Council to examine scholars and issue certificates to prospective schoolmasters, was another matter, striking some people as too authoritarian. The Bill, in fact, was divided in Committee. The plan for an Educational Council was relegated to an Endowed Schools (No. 2) Bill, consideration of which was deferred, while the main Bill dealt with the temporary Commission which was concerned solely with reorganisation. Various amendments had been made in Committee, in deference to the conservative element but there had been no sacrifice of principle. The Commissioners were still to have very wide powers. Indeed, in one respect the Bill had grown more radical. In addition to the general clause which empowered them to advance the education 'of boys and girls or either of them' they were now specifically required to make provision 'so far as conveniently may be for extending to girls the benefits of endowments.'

In June the Bill went to the House of Lords where the Lord President introduced it saying he anticipated no opposition. Nor was there much. Two of the Bishops required reassurance on the clauses relating to religious education. Two of the Dukes fought a rearguard action to have

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1 Forster did nothing to allay such fears by making a doctrinaire speech in Leeds while the Bill was at the Committee stage, in which he seemed to regard the Educational Council as a step towards more systematic control. His own ideal, according to the Times, smacked of the continental system 'which brings a whole people into one machine.' Times 24 May 1869, p. 8

2 Probably the most important change was that the trustees' consent was now required for the conversion of obsolete funds to education (Section 30 Endowed Schools Act 1869). Others ensured the trustees' control over the non-educational part of 'mixed' endowments and gave to the trustees of wealthy foundations the right to originate Schemes themselves.

3 Section 9, Endowed Schools Act, 1869

4 Section 12, Endowed Schools Act, 1869
Christ's Hospital excepted from the Bill. But by mid-July it was through
the Lords and in August it received the Royal Assent.

'A well-drawn measure,' the Times had called it, 'with a purpose on
which all honest people must be unanimous.'

This view had prevailed, but at times in the debates, and especially in
the last one in the House of Lords, there was apparent great uneasiness
about the wide powers to be given to the Endowed Schools Commissioners
and the way in which these would be exercised.

Forster at an early stage had countered the objection that there
was no need to create a new Commission to reform the endowed schools.

'There is the Court of Chancery and there is the Charity Commission.
But to put a school into Chancery would be very much like what
would be thought of putting oneself in Chancery. It is a process
slow, cumbrous and costly... Then there is the Charity Commission...
It has been acting persistently, most laboriously... but it is in fact
overworked, and its powers are insufficient... We thought it useless
to attempt to meddle with the matter at all unless we took strong
powers...' The new Commissioners, he assured them, were 'merely
officers assisting the Government.... the Commissioners alone have no
power whatever...'

And he described the procedure they must follow. When they had prepared
a Scheme for a school they must send it to the governors and headmaster
and publish it in the locality; after a statutory interval for objections,
and after further inquiry, the Scheme in its final form must be submitted
to the Education Department; only if approved would it be laid before
Parliament; and only at the end of forty days, if neither House objected
would it become law.

The Times found all this 'highly characteristic of English legislation...
like the Romans of old, we arm our public officer with perogatives almost

1 Times, 29 June, P.9.
2 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 194, 1369, 1370
3 Ibid. 1371
despotic, but create another public officer with a right of intervention so extensive as to render the abuse, and sometimes the legitimate use of those prerogatives, almost impossible.'

But Mr. Beresford Hope drew a different parallel from Roman history.

'An all-powerful triumvirate,' he called the Commissioners, 'appointed by the direct exercise of the Prerogative' with power 'to initiate, to reform, to alter schemes, subvert constitutions and re-cast the whole arrangements of the...Endowed Schools of England.'

He was right. They would certainly have this power and the government's case was an awkward one, depending as it did on maintaining both that great power was needed and that it would not amount to much.

'Everything the Commissioners do,' said Forster, 'will be mere waste paper until it has passed the ordeal of Parliamentary assent.'

The procedures were clear; but Members were not clear in what relation the Commissioners stood to Parliament.

They were 'but the creatures of the Government,' said the Home Secretary, 'who would be responsible to Parliament for their proceedings.'

There is no sign that his words were reassuring. It was just this close connection with the Government of the day that aroused Conservative suspicion; the Commissioners in fact would be Liberal nominees. Further, their identity was not yet known. The fact that the Bill did not name the Commissioners was a constant irritant as it progressed through the Commons.

'...three anonymous gentlemen,' Beresford Hope called them, who would be able to send inquisitions up and down the country and to arraign and depose the trustees of the most flourishing, just as much as of the deadest and most paralysed school.'

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1 Times, 15 March, p.8.
2 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 194; 1383
3 Ibid. 1371
4 Ibid. 1411
5 Ibid. 1383
'...three persons not named,' said Raikes, 'who were to exercise greater functions than Parliament itself ever exercised in former times...'

This was during the second reading. The Select Committee met and reported and still the Commissioners were not named. Gladstone was moved to make his only intervention to explain that this was according to precedent. Commissioners were not usually named in a Bill if, as here, they were responsible to the Government and not directly to Parliament. He gave as parallel, the Poor Law Act which had appointed Commissioners 'much more independent of the Government than the present Commissioners but they were not named in the Act.' It was not, perhaps, an auspicious comparison.

The names of the three Commissioners, Lyttelton, Hobhouse and Robinson, were announced four days later, on June 18th. The following week, in response to a Question, it was stated that Roby would be Secretary of the Commission. The names attracted no special interest at the time. But on July 15th, the Lords' debate on the Endowed Schools Bill opened with an out-and-out attack on Lyttelton.

1. The Commissioners

George William, 4th Baron Lyttelton, was 52 years old when he became Chief Commissioner. He was by temperament unceremonious. Writing to Gladstone about the appointment he himself used the phrase 'First Commissioner'. The Endowed Schools Act, as he later pointed out, made no distinction between the three Commissioners. '...we are entirely on a level...'

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1 Ibid. 1415
2 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 196; 1747
3 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 197; 516-7
4 Gladstone Papers, B. Mus. Add. MSS 4420, ff 97, 98
5 BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee on Endowed Schools Act (1869) Q. 1231
But officially he was Chief Commissioner and Hobhouse and Robinson were juniors.

Lyttelton was Gladstone's brother-in-law. For a man of high rank and great intellectual capacity he had made very little mark, till now, in national affairs. Years earlier, his performance at Cambridge, where he won the Chancellor's Medal and was bracketed senior classic with Vaughan, had inspired the Bishop of London to compliment him on 'talents which may enable you to render important service to your country in the station which you are about to occupy....'

The station which Lyttelton was then about to occupy was that of Lord Lieutenant of the county of Worcester. Perhaps this was what the Bishop meant. At all events, Lyttelton took small part in politics. Apart from a few months in 1846 when he was under secretary of state for the colonies he never held office. He pursued no career. But he had that high conception of the duties of a landowner of which his colleague, Hobhouse, wrote that there was 'no more noble or useful life... Such men are the very cement of the society in which they live...'

From his estate at Hagley, near Stourbridge, 'a lovely spot on the edge of very unlovely country' Lyttelton fulfilled all the conventional obligations of a local magnate and went far beyond them in his concern for the education of the young miners and factory workers of North Worcestershire. He started numerous clubs and societies; he gave lectures; he spent hours on committees to get support for night schools.

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1 They married sisters, Catherine and Mary Glynne, at a double wedding on 25 July, 1839

2 C. J. Vaughan, later Headmaster of Harrow

3 Lyttelton Papers, Worcester Co. Records, Bulk Accession 586, Ref. 705;104 Parcel 9: No. 140.

4 Quoted in L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond op. cit. p.2

5 Times, 26 April, 1876, (from a letter following Lyttelton's death).
and working men's institutes.

'One of the most earnest labourers on behalf of the working class,' said Henry Solly, 'that ever sacrificed time, ease and self-gratification to a great cause.'

To contemplate in Lyttelton a pleasure-loving temperament subdued by moral principle, a life-long conflict 'in which conscience was incessantly victorious' impressed Solly as it did many others. Lyttelton seemed always immersed in the struggle of pleasure versus duty.

'I daresay,' he privately admitted to a son, 'I had as strong passions as anyone else; but I never fell into vice, not once, nor did it even occur to me as a question of possibility at all.'

The same moral conflict reveals itself in his attitude to official business. To Gladstone he describes the Clarendon and Taunton Commissions, on both of which he served, as being 'great bores' but at the same time resists the suggestion that he should give up Taunton, pointing out that he has never missed a day's attendance and 'cannot think of shirking it.'

Offered the charge of the Endowed Schools Commission he at first refused. His reasons illustrate that strange blend of principle and indolence which ran through his nature: he thought himself unfitted because of his close identification with the views of the Taunton Commission, but he argued also that 'the inconvenience would be very great', especially as he had recently remarried; the work 'would take up nearly the whole of my time for a year and keep me in London a very large part of the year...'

Lytelton often said he envied the men he saw lying in the sun in St. James' Park with their hats over their faces. But he took the job, though he

1 Times, 26 April, 1876
2 Lyttelton Papers, Worc. Co.Records; Bulk accession 5467, Ref. 705: 658 Parcel 73 (i)
3 Gladstone Papers, B. Mus. Add. MSS 44240 f.5
4 Ibid. ff 97, 98
5 Edward Lyttelton: Alfred Lyttelton (privately printed, 1916) p. 8
had no career to make and plenty to do that he enjoyed doing.

Lyttelton liked hunting, cricket, chess, Latin and Greek and the company of his children. He combined all these at Hagley.¹ His manner was rough. His appearance struck George Otto Trevelyan at a chance meeting as almost uncouth though this did not prevent him taking Lord Lyttelton on the same occasion for 'a church dignitary of eminence, on account of the great power and goodness of his face.'² A wild sense of humour gripped him sometimes; he wrote comic verse and compiled a glossary of the family's private language with a kind of mock scholarship running alongside the serious scholarship in Greek and Latin where his skill was outstanding. He shared this devotion to the classics with Gladstone, collaborating with him in published translation. Scraps of Greek verse went back and forth between them, the scholarly interest, in Lyttelton's case, seeming always to predominate over the political except where politics concerned the Church.

Like Gladstone, he was a devout High Anglican. The moral principle 'so lofty, unbending and severe' that Solly discerned at war in him with indolence, came from a deep faith to which he strove always to give practical expression. For thirty years a sense of duty led him to teach in the parish Sunday School though he never liked doing it. He restored Worcester Cathedral. He wrote on religious subjects. He was a friend of Archdeacon Denison. And in 1874, faced with the end of the Endowed Schools Commission, the destruction of his policy and his own dismissal, Lyttelton

¹Sometimes to a remarkable extent. One of his sons describes him hunting: 'While cantering towards the largest fences with a loose rein he was translating Milton into Greek iambics. If there was a good deal of running he would get about fifteen lines done in the day...' Edward Lyttelton, op. cit., p.9. There are vivid glimpses of Lord Lyttelton and Hagley in this and other memoirs by his children. See esp. John Bailey ed. The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish (1927) 2 vols.

was substantially absorbed in drafting a Bill to increase the episcopate. It suggests more detachment than the professional civil servant could afford. Yet his way of working as Endowed Schools Commissioners and his suicide two years after dismissal suggests much less.

Lyttelton's credentials for this post were strong; he had been involved in many ways with education, with Sunday Schools, the National Society, working men's institutes, teacher training, the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations; above all, the Clarendon and Taunton Commissions. Nonetheless, his appointment as Chief Commissioner and that of Hobhouse and Robinson as his colleagues underlines the temporary nature of the Endowed Schools Commission as envisaged in the Act. These were not men who were already civil servants nor of whom it could be predicted that they would stay long at the job. Men of standing, middle-aged, with experience and interest in relevant fields, they belonged rather to that pool of talent from which members of Royal Commissions were drawn. And in some ways the new body resembled a Royal Commission: its tasks were well-defined and expected to be soon disposed of.

The least well-known of the three was Canon Hugh Robinson, for some years Principal of the York and Ripon Diocesan Training College and at this time Rector of Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire. He was an old friend of W. E. Forster who saw him as the perfect complement to the other two.

'Hobhouse being narrow or rather thin and somewhat fussy and Lyttelton being cool chatty and unbusinesslike, the third man we want,' he told de Grey, 'is a man...more up to hard driving practical work. He ought to be an educationist and better a school than an Oxford man. I know of no one so fit for the

1Hobhouse in fact left the Commission in 1872 to become Law Member of the Council of the Governor General of India.

job as Robinson, but it may be hard to make Gladstone or the country understand this.'

Robinson's interest in middle class education went back before Taunton. In 1864 he had delivered a paper to the Social Science Association at York which substantially anticipated the Taunton proposals, suggesting that Parliament should divert the 'surplusage' of endowed schools to serve the middle classes 'as a great national work', that the country should be divided into districts, the schools graded appropriately in each and arrangements made for regular inspection.

Four years later, when the Association met at Birmingham, Lyttelton as president of the education department gave an address which covered much the same ground but was related in detail to the Taunton Report which had by now been published. He also came out 'without scruple', as he put it, in support of a principle that was fundamental to the prospect of reforming educational endowments: that reform should not be hindered by the will of the Founder.

'...the supposed obligation on posterity for all time ...ought not to be recognised as necessarily binding...when it conflicts with, or falls materially short of, the best public use to which the property might be put...'

And he quoted from a lecture which Arthur Hobhouse had given earlier that year at Sion College: 'Property is not the Property of the Dead but of the Living.'

Hobhouse was at this time a Charity Commissioner. After a most

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1 Ripon Papers, B. Mus. Add. MSS 43536 ff 216-219
2 Trans. of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1864, pp. 367-379
3 Ibid. 1868, pp. 38-74
4 This lecture, and others on the same theme, Hobhouse later reprinted in The Dead Hand (London 1880)
5 Arthur Hobhouse, 1819-1904. Charity Commissioner 1866-69. Endowed Schools Commissioner 1869-72; legal member of the Council of India 1872-77; member of Judicial Committee of Privy Council 1881-1901. Baron 1885
promising start at the Bar ill health had forced him, at the age of 47, to look for some less strenuous employment and in 1866, amid the condolences of his friends, he went to the Charity Commission. Dis-satisfied with the limited powers which that Commission possessed under the Charitable Trusts Act Hobhouse campaigned for the reform of a law which paid so much deference to the intentions of dead men. His address at Sion College in March 1868 was followed by another in May 1869, read at a meeting of the Jurisprudence Department of the Social Science Association, in which he once again attacked the 'misplaced and superstitious worship of the Founders...' That his words had special relevance to education was obvious for the Endowed Schools Bill at this time was on the point of returning from the Commons Select Committee to the Committee of the whole House.

'If...(it) should pass in its present shape,' said Hobhouse, 'it would be a more satisfactory symptom of a change of spirit. That Bill does propose to apply to certain classes of Foundations authority enough to make them really useful, according to the needs of the present day...'  

The Bill passed the Commons with this authority intact. By July, 1869, when Hobhouse delivered the third of his lectures on the same theme,

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1 See L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond, op. cit. pp. 18-23

2 The authority in question lay partly in the Endowed Schools Commissioners' having explicit powers under the Act to alter and add to existing trusts, to consolidate or divide endowments, to amend the powers of governing bodies and in certain cases to ignore cy-près; partly also in the relatively simple procedure by which a scheme could become law. The Charity Commissioners' initiative was very severely limited; their procedure for making schemes, at least for large endowments, involved application to Chancery or a Parliamentary marathon equivalent to the passing of a Bill and they themselves welcomed the new jurisdiction' emancipated from the legal impediments... which have embarrassed and often effectually obstructed the action...of our Board". BPP 1870 XVII Annual Report of Charity Commission. For a comparative account see A. S. Bishop: The Rise of a Central Authority for English Education Cambridge, 1971.
this time to a joint meeting of the Social Science Association and the Society of Arts, the Bill was well on its way through the Lords and his own appointment as one of the three Endowed Schools Commissioners had been announced. It was the kind of appointment for which, in the eyes of those of his friends who were concerned with the reform of middle class education, he was peculiarly fitted. The previous year, having read in pamphlet form his address to Sion College, Benjamin Jowett wrote enthusiastically,

'I hope that this is only a beginning...and that you won't let the matter drop...It has often seemed to me that it was not worth while for you to give up the prospects of the Bar unless you meant to undertake something of this sort...You have the knowledge of the law, and the experience of the facts, and the liberal mind that is not enslaved by long practice of the law. These meet in very few persons.'

It was just such qualifications which appealed to Edwin Chadwick. During the discussion of Hobhouse's paper at the Society of Arts, in which Lyttelton came forward promptly to declare his agreement with the principles expounded, Chadwick congratulated the government on the 'sound and honest appointments' made for the new Endowed Schools Commission, comparing these favourably with the appointment, in the fields of the poor law, public health and elementary education of

'persons who are uninformed or half informed, as to the principles of the measures with which they have been entrusted, or...apathetic or positively antipathetic to them....'

Support from this quarter was not surprising. Chadwick himself, in 1834, had hardly been more powerfully convinced of the evil tendency of outdoor relief than Hobhouse now was of the bad effects which followed from

1 Quoted in L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond, op. cit. pp. 31-32

2 Journal of the Society of Arts, July 16, 1869, p. 686
unalterable endowments. Chadwick, like Lyttelton, had worked on a Commission whose report then formed the basis of an Act which he himself was called on to administer. Now, he welcomed Hobhouse and Lyttelton

'coming forward before their appointments are confirmed, and expounding clearly, and in a manly way, the principles and views upon which they are prepared to act, and courting discussion upon them.'

What pleased Chadwick did not please everyone. Hobhouse's well-known contempt for founders was alarming enough to conservative elements but he at least took the trouble to make clear that no personal opinion, however strongly held, would affect the impartial spirit in which he would strive to administer the law. Lyttelton's approach was far more alarming. He embarked now on a public exercise of conscience, an open demonstration of that sense of duty which was his distinctive characteristic. In view, he said, of their 'peculiar position' as two of the three named Endowed Schools Commissioners, he felt it

'incumbent upon him to state clearly and publicly the manner in which he should feel it his duty to use the power committed to him... He expressed doubt if the government were wise 'in entrusting such large powers to men who were already publicly committed to the manner in which they would exercise them...' He reminded his listeners that for this reason he had at first declined the post of Chief Commissioner... and he still doubted whether the managers of endowed schools had not some cause

1Ibid.
2Ibid. p. 694
3Ibid. p. 683
4Gladstone Papers, B. Mus. Add. MSS 44240 ff 97, 98. Lyttelton wrote to Gladstone: 'It seems to me essential that the new Commissioners should set about their numerous and very delicate negotiations with minds unfettered and free from all previous conclusions...I therefore regret that I must decline what I should feel as a false and awkward position.'
of complaint in not being placed under the control of men of less pronounced views on this subject than himself (who had taken so prominent a part in the School Enquiry Commission) and Mr. Hobhouse.' Lyttelton went on to warn school governors that if the Commissioners were allowed to do 'what they certainly would feel it their duty to attempt, in very many cases the "pious founder" would go to the wall...'

At the time of this speech the Endowed Schools Bill was still under consideration in the Upper House. The Lords reacted sharply. Fears were expressed which had lain dormant during the uneventful second reading. The Duke of Richmond, a champion of Christ's Hospital, described himself as

'somewhat apprehensive... the noble Lord having such strong views on the question he feared the present government of Christ's Hospital was likely to suffer at his hands...'

The Duke of Cambridge, whose fears for Christ's Hospital had previously been soothed by de Grey and Forster, found them all revived.

'He had a strong faith in his noble Friend's honest and straightforward discharge of any duty assigned to him under the Bill; but this very faith in his honesty made him the more alarmed...'

Lyttelton replied to the House of Lords as if it were the Social Science Association.

'He felt the force of the objections to his appointment owing to his connection with the Report of the Commission of Inquiry... He could not pretend to say that he had changed his opinions... But he pointed out that nothing had been said by himself or Hobhouse that went beyond the views of the Taunton Commission. He recalled again how he had refused the appointment in the first instance. 'The Government, however, took a different view and he did not think it was for him to press the objection...' He promised to act with 'as little bias as possible' and reminded them that the Commissioners' powers were 'by no means absolute.'

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1 Journal of the Society of Arts, July 16, 1869, p. 683
2 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series. Vol. 197; 1868
3 Ibid. 1870
4 Ibid. 1872
In the event, the Bill went through the Lords virtually unaltered.

An amendment proposed by Lord Salisbury who 'desired to restrict the area over which the destructive action of his noble Friend was to range' was defeated. But Salisbury was not alone in his view that 'considering the known opinions of two out of the three Commissioners, it would be necessary to watch very jealously the large powers which the Bill proposed to intrust to them.'

2. The Secretary and the Assistant Commissioners

The Commissioners from the first resolved to treat their Secretary, Henry Roby, as an equal and to consult him as they would each other though they alone were responsible for decisions. '....he is exactly like one of ourselves,' said Lyttelton and this was true in more senses than one. He was exactly their sort of person: a scholar, a reformer, an active member of the Social Science Association and above all, deeply involved with the Taunton Commission, of which he had been Secretary. Wherever he went he had made his mark. As a young Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, he had initiated college reform; when he left Cambridge and became a master at Dulwich College he published

1Ibid. 1877
2Ibid. 1875
4BPP 1873 VIII; Select Committee on Endowed Schools Act (1869) Q 1237
32.

a Latin Grammar that was widely acclaimed. From his Cambridge days, as the first secretary of the Local Examinations Syndicate, he had been interested in middle class education. Temple praised him so warmly to Granville that Granville even considered for a moment making him a member of the Taunton Commission but Roby was not old enough, nor well enough known, nor in a position to work unpaid. They made him Secretary. In addition to the massive task of running an inquiry into 800 grammar schools he wrote what were perhaps the two most significant chapters of the Taunton Report: Chapter II, by far the longest section of the whole document, which summarises the evidence on the 'Present State of Schools for Secondary Education' and so constitutes the basis of the case for reform, and Chapter IV on 'The Law of Charities as affecting Endowed Schools', which shows the inadequacy of existing machinery to achieve that reform.

'These two chapters furnished the brief on which Mr. W. E. Forster convinced the House of Commons of the necessity for the Endowed Schools Act, 1869."

There can have been nothing surprising, therefore, in Gladstone's announcement in June, 1869, that Roby's 'previous experience, knowledge and skill' qualified him for the post of Secretary to the Endowed Schools Commission.

The connection of the Commission's staff with the Taunton Commission is very striking. Lyttelton, the Chief Commissioner, had previously

1 Granville Papers PRO 30/29/4; nos. 40, 46, Temple to Granville.

2 While employed as Secretary of the Taunton Commission Roby was also Professor of Jurisprudence at University College, London.

3 'Perhaps the first official use of that much misunderstood phrase' Times, 5 Jan., 1915; Roby's Obituary.

4 Ibid.

5 Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 197; 516-7
served as a Taunton Commissioner. Roby, the Secretary, had been Secretary of Taunton. D. C. Richmond, the Assistant Secretary, had been an Assistant Commissioner on Taunton. Of the seven Assistant Commissioners appointed in the first two years of the Endowed Schools Commission, five had been Assistant Commissioners on Taunton. The principal members of the clerical staff had been employed on Taunton. The connection was deliberate. However Lyttelton might urge in his own case that 'one of the Commission of Inquiry ought not to be on this new Commission' it seemed to him 'a very great advantage' to use the previous experience of others.

'in fact, we did not select them at all,' he said of the Assistant Commissioners 'they were, so to say, ready to our hand if we were fortunate enough to obtain them...'

Perhaps he felt that the very continuity which might be unacceptable in policy-makers was a plain advantage among those who worked under them. If so, his judgement was based on a distinction easier to draw on paper than in practice. It was, of course, the job of the Assistant Commissioners to present information and carry out instructions, and of the three Commissioners to make policy. The Commissioners assigned the areas to be investigated; and the Assistant Commissioners went out into the field, dealt with trustees, tested local opinion and fed back the results. It was the Commissioners who agreed the draft Scheme,

2 C. H. Hall, the Senior Clerk and J. H. Allen, the Junior Clerk.
3 Gladstone Papers, B. Mus. Add. MSS 44240.ff 97, 98
4 BPP 1873 VIII; Select Committee on Endowed Schools Act (1869) Q 1240
5 Ibid.
considered the objections and finally sent it to the Education Department. At all points of procedure laid down in the Act the initiative lay with the Commissioners.

But in practice the discretion of the Assistant Commissioners was tremendous. Upon their tact, judgement and courage the outcome in any given case might depend. Working for the Schools Inquiry Commission they had often found it difficult simply to inquire, so mistrustfully were they regarded. Now they were to seek facts and form opinions which would almost certainly lead to great changes, upset vested interests and arouse opposition at the local or even the national level. The work of the Commission was in their hands to a very large extent as Lyttelton acknowledged when he explained to a Select Committee why it was no longer necessary to issue printed circulars outlining policy:

'The Assistant Commissioners are so entirely in our confidence, and so thoroughly understand the work, and we work so very much through them...'

They worked, then, through men who were as closely identified with Taunton policies as they were themselves. This was especially true of Fitch. J. G. Fitch stands out as the oldest and as the only Assistant Commissioner who had been neither to a leading public school nor to Oxford or Cambridge. He came from a lower middle class background,

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1 Ibid. Q 1236. The same point had been made by Roby who told the Select Committee, Ibid. Q 918: 'Our Assistant Commissioners are mainly persons who served under the School Inquiry Commissioners and we have very great confidence in them and we therefore do not find it necessary to give the same precise instructions to them as we should give to persons unfamiliar with the subject.'

2 He was 46; Stanton was 44, Hammond 42, Fearon 35, Latham 34, Elton 31
was an elementary school teacher and took his degree at University College, London. In 1850 he joined the staff of Borough Road Training College and six years later became its Principal. In 1863, on Matthew Arnold's recommendation, he was made an Inspector of Schools. From this work he was later seconded to serve as an Assistant Commissioner with Taunton. Among the reports of the Assistant Commissioners none is more empirical, vigorous and creative than Fitch's on the West Riding of Yorkshire. None is so enlivened by practical comment, based on personal experience of teaching; none more revealing of personal commitment. Fitch is always looking beyond things as he found them to what they might be. He ends his report: '...our English education is not a system. It is a chaos...' And adds at the last that he has found the inquiry 'unspeakably disheartening.'

Earlier in the sixties he had turned his attention from the major controversy in the elementary school world to middle class education, speaking to the Social Science Association in 1864 on the problems which would face the proposed Schools Inquiry Commission. In 1869, with the weight of his work for that Commission behind him, he published views on 'the dead hand' and educational endowments every bit as strong as

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1 The best account of Fitch's life is still A. L. Lilley: Sir Joshua Fitch (1906)

2 See his article: Why is a New Code wanted? London Quarterly Review, 1861

3 National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Trans. 1864, pp 380-93. The proposed Royal Commission of Inquiry into Middle Class Education Fitch had addressed the Association in 1858 on Examination Schemes and their incidental effects on public education and in 1859 on The Professional Training of Teachers
Hobhouse's.

'I think he is worth thinking of,' wrote Forster to de Grey, debating the appointment of the third Endowed Schools Commissioner. 'He has great knowledge of the schools and the classes with whom we have to deal, and would be a concession to ... middle-class dem generally.'

Robinson and not Fitch was appointed but Fitch was made an Assistant Commissioner.

At first glance the rest of the appointments are thoroughly conventional, exactly of a type which by now was almost standard in the Education Department itself. Like that Department's Examiners and Inspectors, the Assistant Commissioners were men of good family, highly educated in the traditional manner and appointed on recommendation.

C. H. Stanton was from Rugby and Balliol, D. R. Fearon from Malborough and Balliol, C. J. Elton from Cheltenham and Balliol; W. Latham was from Harrow and Trinity, Cambridge; J. L. Hammond was from Christ's Hospital and Trinity, Cambridge; J. E. White was from New College, Oxford. Among them, as among the Examiners and Inspectors, was a high proportion of 'firsts' and prizewinners. If the standing of a job can

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1 See his article Educational Endowments, Fraser's Magazine Vol. LXXIX, 1869, pp. 1-15, where he is scathing about 'founder's intentions' and the ludicrous contortions involved in applying the principle of cy-pres: 'Here is money for the relief of Barbary captives,' says the court, 'But there are no Barbary captives. Then let us see how near we can go to a Barbary captive.'

2 Ripon Papers, B. Mus. Add MSS 43536, ff 216-219


4 Patronage survived here, as in the Education Department. For example, D. C. Richmond, the Assistant Secretary, was launched on his career with the Taunton Commission and later the Endowed Schools Commission after serving as tutor to one of Lyttelton's sons.
can be assessed by salary, then work in the two offices ranked roughly equal. The Assistant Commissioners were paid £700 p.a.; they were all considerably older than the average young entrant to the Examiner class and most would have qualified, or nearly qualified, for the Examiner's maximum of £650.¹

On the face of it, then, there is not much to choose between them. The same sort of person might have worked either in the Commission or the Education Department. But there were in fact significant differences: a difference in the experience brought to these appointments and a difference in the nature of the work to be done. As has been abundantly shown,² the Examiners in the Education Department, and even the Inspectors, brought to their work no previous experience or the slightest interest which could be held relevant to the business of elementary education. Socially and temperamentally remote from it all, men of talent in search of salaries, they took the appointments and thought of other things. In this they were encouraged by the nature of the work which was limited, mechanical and far beneath them, involving no more than the routine preparation of grant agenda. It is therefore not surprising that they had little influence on policy.

The Assistant Commissioners were quite another case. Five of them had worked for the Taunton Commission. By any reckoning, this was a group of experts, quite different from the recruits to the Education

¹B.P.P. 1870 XLVIII. Estimates Class IV.
²see Sutherland op. cit.
Department and different also from the Northcote-Trevelyan concept of the professional civil servant. Experience apart, the nature of their duties stands in the greatest possible contrast to the mechanical tasks of the Examiners. Great responsibility rested upon them and they worked to a large extent on their own. There is no particular reason to suppose that these Taunton men, any more than Lyttelton, came to their work 'with minds unfettered and free from all previous conclusions'. Indeed, it was upon their previous conclusions that the Report of the Taunton Commission had been based.

All in all, the office in Victoria Street, unlike the major office in Whitehall, seems to have housed a very tight little group, united in support of the principles embodied in the Act they were called on to administer. Their first step was to devise procedure for putting those principles into practice.

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1On the casuistry to which the Education Department was reduced to justify appointment by patronage on the grounds that its officers had some kind of 'specialism' see esp. pp 268-269 in Gillian Sutherland 'Administrators in Education after 1870', Sutherland ed. Studies in the Growth of nineteenth-century government. (1972)

2Gladstone Papers, B. Mus. Add MSS 44240 ff 97, 98 Lyttelton to Gladstone
CHAPTER II
THE COMMISSION AT WORK

1. General organisation

The three Commissioners and the Secretary were formally appointed by the Queen on 3 August, 1869, the day after the passing of the Endowed Schools Act. As they later explained,

'At that time of the year it was impossible to enter upon regular or detailed business; but before separating, we considered the general outline of the system upon which the work should be carried out.'

They decided to adopt the method of the Taunton Commission and concentrate first on a few selected districts, despite the fact that, for the time being, this would mean postponing urgent cases in other parts of the country. Whether or not they would have liked 'to cut up the country into so many squares and have so many schools in each square' as some people feared, they had not the means to do it. Proceeding by selected districts they brought their work within a narrower compass and something of the kind was essential for the staff of the Commission was

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1 BPP 1872 XXIV Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Lords of the Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on Education, para. XII et seq.

2 They later came to question the wisdom of this approach and to some extent modified it, see esp. Richmond's evidence to the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts, BPP 1887 IX Q 65, where he describes how it led to "a good deal of disappointment on the part of those who hoped for prompt action, and something like resentment on the part of those who hoped their turn would not come for a long time."

3 BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee on Endowed Schools Act, Q 1414

4 Ibid. Q 1537
very limited. Apart from the Commissioners, Secretary and Assistant Secretary, the Victoria Street office in 1870 consisted only of Hall, the Senior Clerk, Allen, the Junior Clerk, two supplementary clerks and a messenger; out in the field were the Assistant Commissioners, each with his clerk, but there were never more than five in full time employment. This modest combination was allotted three years under the Act to reform 3000 educational endowments.1

Through the autumn of 1869 the Commissioners settled among themselves what were to be their general principles.

'I do not know that, at first at any rate, there was marked difference between one Commissioner and another in their general view on the reform of the schools or on the application of the Act in detail,' Roby recalled

They had very wide discretion. The Act consisted largely of lawyers' clauses defining the field in which they were to operate and laying down procedures. Within these limits they were virtually free to do what they would 'in such manner as may render any educational endowment most conducive to the advancement of the education of boys and girls or either of them'.2 Behind the Act, of course, as its preamble stated, was the Report of the Taunton Commission and this the Commissioners never lost sight of - almost literally; the appropriate page reference to the Report was usually-inscribed by Hall at the front of each file. As they said,

'...the previous history of the question before us, would...have plainly required us to pay much deference to the recommendations of the Report.....even if the preamble of the Endowed Schools Act

1 BPP 1872 XXIV op. cit. para. IX, and BPP 1873 VIII op. cit. Q 1062
2 Quoted L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond: Lord Hobhouse: a Memoir p. 48
3 Endowed Schools Act, Cl. 9
had not indicated the objects so recommended as those which it is the intention of the Act to attain.\(^1\)

They did not think themselves bound to 'a precise observance' of everything in Taunton; but, on the other hand, 'we have to a very great extent accepted their conclusions.'\(^2\) In fact, the Report, as they constantly asserted, was their principal guide 'on those points on which the Act itself does not speak.'

They first used this phrase in the statement of general principles which they drew up at the start and called Paper \(^3\). It was largely meant for the guidance of Trustees and sets out the ideals dear to the Commissioners, chiefly: that schools should be appropriately classified as first, second or third grade\(^4\) to meet the needs of different social groups; that Governing Bodies should combine ex officio, representative and co-optative elements; that free education should not be provided except as the reward of merit. Not one of these objects is required by the Endowed Schools Act; all are strongly recommended in the Taunton Report.

The printed Instructions to Assistant Commissioners\(^5\) approach such questions from a practical standpoint. Assistant Commissioners are warned, for instance, that the attempt to do away with indiscriminate gratuitous

\(^{1}\)BPP 1872 XXIV op. cit. para XVII

\(^{2}\)Ibid.

\(^{3}\)This paper is printed in full in Appendix 2. to the Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, BPP 1872 XXIV op. cit.

\(^{4}\)As explained on p. 9 above, the grade of a school was expressed in terms of the fees, leaving age and curricula which the Taunton Commission considered appropriate for different strata of the middle class.

\(^{5}\)These Instructions are printed in Appendix 3 to the Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, BPP 1872 XXIV op. cit.
education 'will, in many cases, be eagerly combated.' When this happens they must be 'firm, but conciliatory', ready to quote the relevant arguments but open to any proposals of compromise.

'The same course should be followed in all cases in which real or apparent pecuniary interests, or attachments to existing customs, or simple ignorance and prejudice, or exceptional local circumstances, come into conflict with sound general educational principles.'

There was no doubt in the Commissioners' minds where these sound general principles could be located.

The Instructions were meant to be read with Paper F and are a meticulous directive on procedure. The Assistant Commissioner is told how and when to contact Trustees, exactly what guidance to obtain from the Commission and exactly how to hold a public inquiry. He is told the questions that will have to be settled, among which 'the most important is the constitution of the Governing Body.' Three paragraphs are devoted to this topic before his attention is directed to others: the advantage of consolidating endowments, the need to ascertain that the school is suitably graded, and suitably housed, the problem of vested interests and mixed endowments and the importance of providing for the education of girls.

This last is not mentioned in Paper F, possibly for the same reason that the Paper itself, as time went on, was handed out less often: '.... we found that it rather frightened the trustees.' The Assistant Commissioner, however, was instructed that

'The importance of providing for the education of girls, and the express provisions of the Act on this point must not be forgotten... the Assistant Commissioner must seek to ascertain in each case what is required in this respect, and what in his judgment can be done....'

There is nothing in the words 'what is required' to show that this

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1 BPP 1873 VIII op. cit. Q 305
was an awkward area; not, perhaps, more contentious than the rest (for the Commissioners expected opposition to almost all their 'sound general educational principles') but much more cloudy. 'What is required' is hardly an advance on the words of the Act itself: 'so far as conveniently may be'; and behind this are no Taunton certainties, such as appear on gratuitous education or the composition of governing bodies. The Taunton Commissioners, when they admitted the principle of appropriating endowments to girls, had said that they preferred leaving such appropriation 'to the administration of the new authorities of which we have advised the constitution.' But these new authorities had not been constituted; The failure to create them brought within the judgment of Assistant Commissioners such questions as 'what is required' for girls, just as they had to judge that other awkward matter, the grade of school required for the locality.

They worked, of course, to the Commissioners' instructions. When the Commission was well under way, with five regular and two occasional Assistant Commissioners, North Wales and the north of England fell to Canon Robinson, South Wales and the Midlands to Lord Lyttelton, and the South, including London, to Roby. Of the five regular Assistant Commissioners, Fearon and Hammond worked to Robinson, Stanton to Lyttelton and Fitch to Roby, while White was mainly employed on legal work.

1 Schools Inquiry Commission Vol. I p. 568. The Commission's proposals for establishing Provincial Authorities are set out on pp. 637-644 of the Report. It was hoped by this means to reduce local opposition to the changes contemplated and to gain the benefit of expert local knowledge. In particular, the duty of fixing the grade of the schools in any one district was to devolve on the Provincial Authority.

2 Who succeeded Hobhouse as a Commissioner in 1872. Richmond then took Roby's place as Secretary.

3 BPP 1873 VIII op. cit. Qs. 11, 12.
But in the early days, at the beginning of 1870, the Commissioners started with two districts only, one of which was the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is worth showing their efforts here in detail since what they tried to achieve for girls needs to be seen as part of their main task of remodelling the grammar schools on Taunton lines, with all the difficulties this involved. To some extent, too, a survey of this kind serves to correct the imbalance inherent in a study based mainly on 'successful' cases.

2. The West Riding

Canon Robinson had charge of the West Riding. Apart from local knowledge – and he came to this work straight from the living of Bolton Abbey – Robinson's principal source of information was the survey made by Fitch for the Taunton Commission some four or five years earlier. Like all the reports on selected districts this took the form of a Special Report and a General Report. The first dealt individually with every endowed grammar school in the county, describing its history, its state at the time of the Assistant Commissioner's visit, and giving a digest of information derived from the reports of the Commissioners who had inquired into charities earlier in the century. Added to this was a tabular digest of returns made by trustees and headmasters. In the General Report, which covered proprietary and private schools as well as endowed schools, Fitch sought to interpret what he had learned of the state of...
secondary education in the West Riding and to make recommendations. The map which he included to show the distribution of Grammar School Endowments suggests many problems. Not only, as Fitch himself pointed out, were schools scattered about the country in a haphazard way, quite unrelated to population, but half of the sixty or more endowments in the West Riding were worth less than eighty pounds a year and a quarter less than thirty. The poorest place was Wragby, with only £6, though relatively, perhaps, the poorest place was Sheffield, with £300 p.a. for a population of 185,000. Among several large towns without grammar school endowment was Huddersfield with 35,000 people. The map shows a wealthy foundation at Leeds and Fitch seemed to think that good use was being made of it but he had become progressively more dissatisfied as he advanced up the valley of the Aire, passing through

"Bradford, Bingley, Keighley, Skipton, Giggleswick and Sedbergh. The united annual revenue of the grammar schools in these towns... approaches £5000....Yet at this moment it cannot be said that the whole six schools are imparting to twenty boys preparation for university life ...It will be seen that the total number of scholars in these six schools is 195 ...""}

The general principles of salutary change had been agreed between the three Commissioners. But in deciding which schools to tackle first they usually acted separately, 'each in the section of England allotted him.' To the Select Committee of 1873 Robinson described his own method of instructing Fearon on the West Riding:

'I placed in his hands for his own guidance a memorandum containing an attempt at a complete scheme for the organisation of that

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1See Appendix I (i) in pocket
2SIC IX 212
3SIC XVIII 167-171
4SIC IX 110-112
5Roby, quoted in L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond, op. cit. p. 47
division of the country; it was a scheme which was not official at all; I was personally and privately responsible for it, and I drew it up for his use and my own.¹

The scheme gave Fearon,

'a general view of the grade and character of the schools, which prima facie it appeared desirable to establish; and the written instructions went more into detail as to the particular school and as to the mode in which he should conduct his interview with the trustees, and as to the different persons and public bodies upon whom he was to call.'²

2.1. The Bradford Circle

There appears to be no copy extant of Robinson's complete scheme for the West Riding but its outlines can be guessed from an explanation given by Fearon to the people of Dewsbury in December 1870. The Leeds Mercury reports him as saying that 'The riding was divided for the purposes of his inquiries into seven districts.'³ It goes on to name them, by some inadvertence listing only six:

'Sedbergh and Giggleswick, Leeds and Ripon, Halifax and Huddersfield, Sheffield, Doncaster, Dewsbury and Wakefield,'

and omitting Bradford, which was in fact the first to receive attention. For this, as it happens, a detailed scheme survives in a minute and a table on the Bradford papers.⁴ The minute, which is headed Bradford Centre⁵ defines the area related to Bradford and proposes a system of secondary schools for it. Almost identical information is included in the table headed Bradford Circle⁶ but the tabular form reveals more clearly the Taunton principle of gradation on which the scheme is based. If the needs

¹BPP 1873 VIII op. cit. Q 1525
²Ibid. Q 1526
³PRO Ed 27/5782. He gave a similar explanation at Batley in Feb. 1871; see PRO Ed 27/5653
⁴PRO Ed 27/5722
⁵See Appendix I (ii)
⁶See Appendix I (iii)
of a district, Fitch had asserted, were looked at as a whole,

"it would not be difficult to set before us the ideal of three
distinct classes of schools, and to assign to each its own character."¹

This is attempted in the Bradford Circle. The population, endowment and
distance from the 'centre' of each 'affiliated' town is noted. The
schools are seen not only in relation to Bradford but in some sort of
relation to each other.

'Query whether we should not make Keighley and Bingley work together,'
asks the minute. The table, by assigning to Bingley a second grade boys'
but a third grade girls' school and to Keighley the opposite, gives the
answer.²

There was, as Fitch's reports had shown, no endowed school giving
secondary instruction to girls in the West Riding at this time. The
greatest innovation in the Bradford Circle is the proposal to establish
three girls' schools as well as five mixed schools for this district alone.
It is a novelty even in a plan which is itself novel – for it must not be
forgotten that this unpretentious table in effect made claims as staggering
to some as the felicific calculus. It was exceedingly novel to suppose
that grammar school provision could be plotted in this way, lowering
grades and raising grades to suit some notion of what ought to be provided³;
it was just a bit more daring to bring in girls. And the question remained,
what would happen when the Circle impinged on the locality?

¹ See esp. the Bradford Circle: 'If the proximity of Leeds made a First
Grade School at Bradford unnecessary or unadvisable lower each of Boys'
Schools a grade.....'

² It is not possible, in fact, to say exactly how the minute and the table
relate to each other; both are undated. Where their proposals are not
identical, however, as for Bradford and Bingley, those in the Bradford
Circle correspond more closely to the instructions given on the individual
case.
It was up to Fearon, as Assistant Commissioner, to put it to the test. A stranger to Yorkshire, Fearon had reported for the Taunton Commission on London, one of the selected districts, as well as inspecting endowed schools in Berkshire, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire; he had also made a special inquiry into Scottish burgh schools. He was the first Assistant Commissioner to be appointed under the Endowed Schools Act and started work early in 1870, holding conferences in February, March and April with the Trustees of all the places in the Bradford Circle except Guiseley.

He began with Bradford.

'What does Bradford want?' Canon Robinson had asked himself. 'It wants and can well afford to pay for high Education but it must be adapted.'

By this he meant not only adapted in grade to the needs of Bradford but also in curriculum. As the Bradford Centre and the Bradford Circle show, whatever the ultimate decision on grade, the reorganised school was to be modern, not classical, with European languages in place of Greek. But Greek was being taught in Bradford Grammar School and the governors told Fearon they did not want to drop it. From London came back Robinson's

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1 His own description of himself, writing from Drighlington to Robinson on May 9, 1870. PRO Ed 27/5815

2 PRO Ed 27/5722 'Notes by H.C.R.'

3 The Centre and the Circle show that the Commissioners had not definitely decided the appropriate grade for Bradford though they were thinking of a first grade school. Fearon opened discussions with the governors on this basis. Later there was a change of mind and the draft Scheme published in June 1870 was for a second grade modern school with a leaving age of 17; ultimately the Commissioners were persuaded to make the school first grade, with a leaving age of 19. See p.50 below.

4 The Taunton Commissioners had suggested that while most first grade schools would make classics their staple, 'It would seem expedient, provided that district appeared to desire it, that some should...replace the study of Greek by more instruction in modern languages, in mathematics or in natural science.' Schools Inquiry Commission Vol. I p. 581

In June 1870 Lyttelton tried unsuccessfully to persuade the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to modify their requirements as to Greek in the case of candidates offering 'modern' subjects. BPP 1872 XXIV Report of Endowed Schools Commissioners, Appendix 4.
assurance that 'the arguments in favour of a Classical School are not likely to be very strong and the general expression of opinion would, I think, be against it.'\(^1\) He was mistaken. For over a year the Commissioners found themselves fighting to sustain their own interpretation of the Taunton view of suitting the school to the locality. 'For a District teeming with modern industries...full of the life of the present age,' they told the governors, 'it certainly appears that a School of a modern scientific type is the sort of Institution most to be desired...\(^2\) If Greek were offered they knew what would happen. It would dominate the school course, 'force all other subjects into a subordinate place, and... fix in a classical mould the type and character of the school...\(^3\) The Headmaster would be chosen for his classical attainments and 'A large amount of School time would probably be devoted to Greek and Latin.' Thus, the introduction of Greek, in their opinion, 'must involve the sacrifice of much that is necessary to make the Institution really suited to the conditions of the place.' Let Bradford, they urged, 'accept the mission of proving the value of an Education based mainly on Modern Languages and Literature and Natural and Modern Science.' It would then have before it 'a career of great and almost untried usefulness, and may take no mean place among the Educational Institutions of the country.'\(^4\)

But Bradford did not want to accept the mission. Against it the Governors argued with some force that Greek was still an entry requirement 'for any British or Foreign University'; they spoke with pride of the.

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\(^1\)PRO Ed 27/5722 Private Instructions

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/5721 Endowed Schools Commissioners to Governors, 12 Nov., 1870

\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)Ibid

\(^5\)PRO Ed 27/5721 Governors' account of their deputation to End. Schools Commission on 12 Oct., 1870
wealth of their city\(^1\), quoting huge assessments for rates and income tax, and showing that they paid out more than Leeds, which had a first grade school teaching Greek. Thus they sought to prove that Bradford should possess and could well support 'a School such as is to be found in every third and fourth rate town in Germany.'\(^2\)

The Commissioners were not shaken. They agreed, in the end, to hold a public inquiry and this took place in Bradford on Jan. 10, 1871 with Fearon presiding.\(^3\) Witness after witness came forward to testify to the local demand for Greek. The Vicar spoke for the 80 clergymen and ministers who wanted their sons to learn it; the Mayor felt that without it, 'Bradford would be placed at a great disadvantage compared with Leeds and other large towns...'\(^4\) The President of the Chamber of Commerce spoke for the merchants and manufacturers, others spoke for doctors, others for poor boys whose advancement in life would be hampered without it. The Commissioners gave in. The fact was, they had misjudged Bradford. It was one thing for them to smile at Colonel Tempest, a Bradford governor, who came especially to tell them that 'As an Etonian, he feels, and has felt, in military service for 25 years, the value of Classics...'\(^5\) and another for them to ignore an Inquiry where even a warehouseman could be brought to say 'that clever boys over 16 years of age should learn Greek if they were intended for the universities or the professions.'\(^6\)

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\(^1\)PRO Ed 27/5721 Memorial of the governors.

\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)This was the first public inquiry to be held under Section 35 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869

\(^4\)PRO Ed 27/5722 Report in the Bradford Observer

\(^5\)PRO Ed 27/5722. Interview Memorandum of March 28, 1870. Lyttelton scribbled alongside it, 'I know this ancient person, and take him to be of the foggy order and his classics small.'

\(^6\)PRO Ed 27/5722 Report of Inquiry in Bradford Observer
But the eye-catching nature of the Bradford Inquiry can easily obscure the events that led up to it. Before they got the length of an Inquiry, at different points along the line the Commissioners made concessions and it is interesting to see what these were. At an early stage they accepted that Greek would have to be admitted as a vested interest for boys already learning it; then they debated whether other boys might be allowed to learn it as an extra, in place of German; then, after receiving a deputation from the governors, and a long Memorial, they conceded in a letter of 12 November that Greek might be allowed as an extra 'whenever twenty pupils desire to learn it'. Further than this they could not go without admitting Greek to the regular curriculum, which they would not contemplate, although they now accepted that Bradford should have a first grade school with a leaving age of nineteen. But in the same letter they made other concessions, offering them with the rest, 'as a proof that, in discharging the difficult duty entrusted to them, the Commissioners while insisting on the principles which they regard as vital and essential, are desirous of giving all due weight to representations and suggestions made to them by persons of influence and intelligence in the locality.'

The chief of these concerned the education of girls.

A second grade girls' school on the Bradford foundation was proposed in the Circle and Robinson's earliest instructions to Fearon drew his attention to it. Fearon raised the question when he met the Trustees. Reporting back, he received more detailed instructions which proposed for girls 'a second grade (school) of a somewhat elastic type...(in) separate buildings away from the boys' school' and sketched out its 'at the same hours (and no others) as the German lessons. This would really protect the modern character of the school better than an extra payment for Greek.' PRO Ed 27/5721 "Paper read by Mr. Robinson at a Meeting of the Board"; like so many of Robinson's minutes, undated, but probably April, 1870.

PRO Ed 27/5721. Endowed Schools Commissioners to Governors, 12 Nov. 1870

PRO Ed 27/5722 'Private instructions for Bradford' received Feb. 26, 1870
possible organisation. The local response was not unencouraging; Fearon, indeed, was approached by a group specially concerned to press for female education\(^1\) and in June, when they published the draft Scheme, the Commissioners included a firm requirement that £250 p.a. should be set aside for girls, with a further £50 when certain pensions fell in. The publication of a definite figure roused the Governors to protest. Their formal objections included one about the omission of Greek and another that they could not afford £250 for girls.

'The principle of Girls' education is approved of but the Governors consider it of much more importance to have a first rate boys' school and until that is established would prefer not to cripple the funds...'

They suggested that in any case £200 was sufficient, payable not from the date of the Scheme but when funds were available.\(^2\)

A meeting of 'gentlemen, inhabitants of Bradford' also wrote lamenting the omission of Greek, also approving of girls' education but preferring 'to postpone the operation of the Clause until the newly emancipated Grammar School for Boys is fairly afloat.'\(^3\) The Memorial submitted by the governors in October pleaded for Greek but insisted also that the foundation of a girls' school was 'dangerous to the success of a really efficient Boys' school...they therefore request your Honorable Board to postpone the claims upon the endowment for the education of Girls until the Boys' School shall have become firmly established.'

In the letter of 12 November their wish was granted. Offering their ultimate concession on Greek, the Commissioners also accepted that the girls' appropriation should not take effect 'till some progress has been

\(^1\)For more on this see Ch. X, section 2.1. below.

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/5722 Suggestions submitted by the governors, July 30, 1870

\(^3\)PRO Ed 27/5722 Letter of 15 September, 1870
made in the establishment of the Boys' school.' This was one of the concessions they offered 'as a proof' of their willingness to meet local opinion; for on the 'vital and essential' principle of Greek they could go no further.

The Scheme as it was finally approved set aside for girls £200 p.a. (the figure which the governors had suggested instead of the £250 in the published draft) and provided that payment might be deferred for three years after the Scheme took effect.¹ The concessions which the Commissioners offered did not buy off the Governors' opposition, yet they had been made and the girls lost by it.

The public inquiry brought back Fearon into the thick of the Bradford case though from the spring of 1870 his main responsibilities had lain elsewhere.² 'I go to Otley tomorrow; Ilkley, Thursday; Bingley, Friday; and Haworth, Saturday,' he wrote to Robinson at the end of March.³ These were second visits; the first had been accomplished alongside Bradford; indeed, his first meeting with the Bradford Trustees and the Trustees at Keighley occurred within the same week.

Keighley was the other place in the Bradford Circle for which a second grade girls' school was planned. The grammar school there was achieving very little. The great glory of Keighley when Fearon visited it in February 1870 was the new Mechanics Institute, almost completed, which was to contain

¹In the event, it was four years before a Scheme for a girls' school was made. Ed. 27/5711

²Though Fearon made comments on the draft scheme published in June, 1870 and was present in Victoria Street in October when the Commissioners received the governors' deputation, his main responsibility for Bradford had ended when he sent in his final report in April 1870. After that the onus lay in London.

³PRO Ed 27/5721
a trade school, well-equipped for science.\textsuperscript{1} It was hard to see what the endowed school could offer, even when reformed, to compete with such a place. Fearon's approach to the problem was ingenious. He suggested that the grammar school should be used for girls and the boys' trade school receive help from the endowment. The whole thing went through with little opposition. Possibly the grammar school had sunk so low or the trade school stood so high that nobody minded. At all events, the first school for girls established under the Endowed Schools Act was this at Keighley and Robinson could boast, two years later, that though some people had 'thought it was a hazardous experiment' it contains now 56 girls who are paying fees of from £4 to £8.\textsuperscript{2}

It was a great departure. Nonetheless, the process of negotiation shows the same tendency to erode the figure set aside for girls which was apparent at Bradford. The endowment income from various sources totalled about £300 p.a. The draft scheme assigned £200 to girls. Fearon then suggested £150.\textsuperscript{3} The Trade School Trustees asked that it should be £100 and this was agreed to.

The majority of schools recommended in the Bradford Circle were schools of the third grade, designed for those classes whose need, said the Taunton Commissioners, was greatest\textsuperscript{4}. In all the places shown in the 'Third Grade' column the endowment was very small; in three of them at least the school had sunk to something barely elementary. 'This worthless school,' said Fitch of Drighlington, appalled by its 'squalor, dis-

\textsuperscript{1}For this and what follows see PRO Ed 27/5957
\textsuperscript{2}BPP 1873 VIII op. cit. Q 1559
\textsuperscript{3}It is not clear why. He simply records that 'for reasons which I have stated in conversation with Canon Robinson, I recommend that the sum to be appropriated to the Girls' School be £150.' PRO Ed 27/5957
\textsuperscript{4}Schools Inquiry Commission Vol. I p. 79
order and ignorance...rickety and dirty desks...little supervision...’

'Vost unpleasing,' was the school at Ilkley, 'nothing has been effectually taught.' The Trustees of Thornton school never went near it so were 'probably unaware of the depth of discredit and ignorance to which it has been suffered to fall.' From such unpromising material the Bradford Circle sought to conjure third grade secondary schools.

Could it be done?

'The main difficulty,' said Fearon, writing from Drighlington, 'is that of all Third Grade cases that I have hitherto touched, viz. the difficulty of deciding whether there is in such a place a sufficient constituency to warrant the continuance therein of a Secondary School.'

He debated whether they should move the endowment.

'But is an extremely difficult matter, especially for me, a stranger to Yorkshire, to decide this in each case. And I confess that I mistrust the opinions given me.'

Should such schools be mixed? Canon Robinson wondered, with regard to Thornton.

'This is a point on which it seems desirable to test local opinion. The question is how far small tradesmen, shopkeepers and farmers will use a mixed school higher in type than an elementary school.'

At Haworth similar questions were raised but they ran into the sand and nothing was settled. At Otley the endowment brought in £26, plus £40, from letting half the building. There was little point in Robinson calling it 'a locality entitled to have a second grade school.' After two meetings with the Trustees in March, 1870, Fearon simply noted, '...no progress was made.'

1 Ibid. Vol XVIII pp. 83-4
2 Ibid. Vol XVIII p. 145
3 Ibid. Vol XVIII p. 283
4 PRO Ed 27/5815 Fearon to Robinson, May 9, 1870
5 PRO Ed 27/5737 Instructions to Fearon. For a more extended treatment of this question see Ch. IV. 2 below.
6 Until 1886 when the endowment was converted to Exhibitions. PRO Ed 27/5878
7 The Endowment was converted to Exhibitions in 1888. PRO Ed 27/6016
A comparison of the Bradford Circle proposals with what was achieved\(^1\) shows, as might be expected, that the weakest area was for schools of the third grade. Where there were only trivial endowments the practical solution was to combine them and the Commissioners certainly had power to do this but local feeling was too strong. '...The obstacles,' said Fearon, 'to removing and consolidating endowments belonging to different districts have in most cases been found to be practically insuperable...'\(^2\)

They salvaged what they could. In each of these cases the intention had been to do something for girls. At Ilkley they failed.\(^3\) At Thornton they succeeded, though the Trustees persuaded them to omit a provision that the endowment should be applicable equally to the education of boys and girls.\(^4\) At Drighlington, where the best that could be done was to turn the endowment into Exhibitions 'for education of a kind higher than elementary' both boys and girls were eligible for them.\(^5\)

In 1873 some kind of stocktaking of what had been achieved had to be gone through for the Select Committee but long before that the Commissioners' attention had turned to another part of the county.

2 ii. **Sedbergh and Giggleswick**

Speaking at Horton in December, 1870, Fearon explained 'the reorganisation which is proposed for this part of the West Riding, called the Sedbergh and Giggleswick district.'\(^6\)

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1. See Appendix I (iv)
2. PRO Ed 27/6016 Fearon to Otley Trustees, 7 July, 1874
3. PRO Ed 27/5935 It is not clear why.
4. PRO Ed 27/5737 Trustees' letter, 18 April, 1871: 'The meaning of the word "equally" in this clause appears uncertain and as it is apprehended that all that is intended is that girls should not be excluded from the benefit of the school, the word should be omitted altogether.'
5. PRO Ed 27/5815
6. PRO Ed 27/5900
Horton, with scarcely more than 400 people, had an endowment worth £200 yearly and the Commissioners were determined that it should not all go on elementary education. Ideally, it was desirable, they thought, 'to have a 3rd grade Boarding School for this district with a view to give completeness to our organisation.' This organisation centred round two schools, Sedbergh and Giggleswick, which were among the richest in Yorkshire.

Apart from this they had little in common. Giggleswick, with new and active Governors, handsome new buildings and improved curriculum was, as the Commissioners said, 'fitted to take its place as one of the great Public Schools of the country,' if once it could be emancipated from an obligation to educate local boys free of charge. Sedbergh, Fitch had found too painful to dwell on, meeting there a dozen boys in dirty schoolrooms whom he soon abandoned all attempts to examine. Things were no better there in 1870. Though the Headmaster was a scholarly man he had somehow failed. The School was 'almost in abeyance'.

The Commissioners looked at Giggleswick and Sedbergh and toyed with the idea of two first grade schools, one classical, one modern; but a

1*As they explained in their Report of 1872 to the Education Committee, there was considerable pressure from Trustees in rural areas to use endowment money to enable them to fulfil their anticipated obligations under the Elementary Education Act, 1870. BPP 1872 XXIV Report...para. XLIV.

2PRO Ed 27/5900 Instructions to Fearon, 10 May, 1870.

3Giggleswick was worth £1200. p.a.; Sedbergh nearly £800. Sedbergh also had a very valuable endowment of exhibitions, including six to St. John's College, Cambridge.

4Of whom the chairman was Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, and Mr. C. S. Roundell a leading member; both of them, as Fitch said, 'honoured far beyond the limits of their own neighbourhood for their special knowledge and zeal in educational matters.' Schools Inquiry Commission Vol. IX p. 150

5PRO Ed 27/5834 Instructions to Fearon, 28 April, 1870

6'while the school is filled with children of this class it offers no attraction to parents at a distance who desire a classical education for their sons...' Schools Inquiry Commission Vol. IX p.150 Fitch.

7Ibid. Vol. XVIII p. 245

8PRO Ed 27/5834 Instructions to Fearon, 28 April, 1870

9Ibid.
few weeks later they conceived the idea of combining the endowments. Robinson explained this over dinner to Roundell; Fearon explained it to Sir James Kay Shuttleworth. They met a warm reception and it is easy to see why. Whatever form the amalgamation took - and the precise details of it were not yet settled - it seemed clear that Giggleswick would come out on top. Ultimately, it might be, the Commissioners had in mind two confederated first grade schools, classical and modern, on adjacent sites; but there was every prospect that these would be at Giggleswick. In the meantime, the Giggleswick governors were ready to support the proposed amalgamation and the establishment of a First Grade Boarding School which they concur with the Commissioners may aspire to become "the principal Endowed School of this part of the North of England".

The Giggleswick governors were happy, also, to support the idea of providing for girls. It had been made clear to them from the first that something of this sort must be done. 'Is there scope for a Second Grade Girls' Day School in Settle?' the Commissioners asked Fearon, 'Or will it be expedient to entertain the notion of providing somewhere in that part of the West Riding a Second or Third Grade Girls' Boarding School and taxing Giggleswick, Sedbergh, Skipton and one or two minor Foundations to maintain it?'. The Giggleswick governors echoed this in words worthy

1 On the grounds of 'the proximity of the two foundations, the identity of the objects for which they were created, the loss that would ensue to education by allowing them to stand in anything like an attitude of rivalry to each other...' PRO Ed 27/6114, Commissioners to Fearon, 28 June, 1870

2 PRO Ed 27/5834, Robinson to Fearon, 4 June, 1870

3 My italics. These words were inserted by the governors in place of the phrase 'in some very eligible situation' used by the Commissioners to Fearon and presumably passed on by him to them.

4 PRO Ed 27/5834. Governors' Resolution at a special meeting held 10 Aug., 1870

5 PRO Ed 27/5843 Instructions to Fearon, 28 April, 1870
of the Commissioners themselves, listing local foundations and suggesting 'That....the funds of the whole of the foregoing system of Endowed Schools be equitably taxed'\(^1\) to provide a girls school, preferably at Skipton.

The Sedbergh governors were a different proposition. They would not hear of amalgamation. Fearon reported them as strongly against it, 'if such a plan involves the removal of the School for Sedbergh'\(^2\) Though it had only 25 boys, it seems that local people were proud of the school. 'and would lose all their pride and pleasure in it if it were removed... the whole parish will resist its removal...'\(^3\) There was another problem, and a very grave one. Under the terms of the foundation the Sedbergh Headmaster had a vested interest. Failure as he was, he could not be removed without a substantial pension for life. He was then forty.

Although they wished not to burden the endowment, although they hoped for amalgamation and indeed at one time had insisted that nothing could be done for Sedbergh without it\(^4\) the Commissioners had no choice. They made separate Schemes, one for Giggleswick, one for Sedbergh, establishing each as first grade schools, providing for third grade schools in both places\(^5\) and doing something for girls. The Giggleswick governors were required to set aside £100 p.a. for girls' education. The Sedbergh Scheme

\(^1\)Ibid. Resolution of Special Governors' meeting, 10 Aug., 1870. My italics

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/6114 Fearon's report of conference with Governors on July 14, 1870. His underlining.

\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)Ibid. Commissioners to Fearon, 28 June, 1870

\(^5\)The third grade school at Settle was intended to compensate the locality for the loss of their right to free places at Giggleswick.
pensioned off the Headmaster at £400 p.a. and provided that as soon as
the pension ceased a yearly sum of £200 should be applied 'in promoting
the education of girls in the West Riding.' The Headmaster lived for
another thirty years. He cost the endowment twelve thousand pounds, and
the girls six thousand. 1

This part of the country, as Fitch's map shows, had its scatter of
small endowments. It is hard to see what Fearon could have done with
the £10. at Arncliffe, the £15 at Gargrave or the £30 endowments at
Linton and Long Preston. There is in fact no evidence that he did anything;
if so, this is in line with the advice given at the start to Assistant
Commissioners to postpone inquiry into the smaller Village Schools. 2

Somewhat larger endowments, as at Horton and High Bentham, were viewed
initially in the light of their bearing on the Sedbergh-Giggleswick
proposals. Horton, it was thought, might 'help in solving for us the
difficulty about providing 3rd grade education in Settle... 3 Bentham
might be combined with Horton; Dent and Slaidburn 'might join the con-
federacy'. 4 A later thought was to use Bentham for girls, 'and to establish
there a Second Grade Girls' Boarding School to which Giggleswick might
be made to contribute... 5 Horton was also thought of for girls but action
at Horton was blocked for many years by the problem of compensating the
vested interest of the Headmaster. 6

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1 See PRO Ed 35/3034. Date of 'cesser of the said pension' is given as
10 Feb. 1900. An amending Scheme to use £200. p.a. of the money for
girls was made in 1902.

2 BPP 1872 XXIV Report of Endowed Schools Commissioners to Committee of
Council for Education. Appendix I para. 22

3 PRO Ed 27/5900. Instructions to Fearon, 10 May, 1870

4 Ibid.

5 PRO Ed 27/5677 Instructions to Fearon, 24 Nov. 1870

6 PRO Ed 27/5900, 5902
2.iii. Leeds and Ripon

Before they took the measure of this obstacle at Horton the Commissioners had thought in terms of a school there, whether for girls or boys, that should be partly boarding. Sedbergh and Giggleswick were both day and boarding; the girls' school which the Commissioners hoped to establish by 'taxing' these two was to be boarding. It seemed the only answer to the problem of great distances and local populations too small to support a grammar school. Or, if a grammar school could be supported, as at Skipton, boarding was desired because 'the value of the Endowment and the salubrity of the neighbourhood, the facility of access justify us in believing that the School should be made much more extensively useful.'

The same considerations applied at Ripon. The endowment was worth £670 p.a. and Ripon School, the Commissioners decided,

'may be expected to do for the middle classes in the East and North-East part of the West Riding what Skipton school will do for those of the West and North West quarter.'

They met a good deal of local opposition. The inhabitants connected the proposal to admit boarders with the discontinuance of gratuitous education and protested against it. But the Scheme went through swiftly, supported by Lord Ripon who was chairman of the governors.

The sparsely endowed north-east area of the West Riding was as difficult to deal with systematically as the north-west had been. The

1PRO Ed 27/6159 Instructions to Fearon 28 April, 1870
2As cf. £761. p.a. at Skipton
3PRO Ed 27/6038 Instructions to Fearon, 8.12.70
4And not just local. As Robinson told the Select Committee in 1873, Ripon was the only Yorkshire school which had been contested in Parliament, "and it has been referred to about once a week on the average for the last 12 months as being a flagrant instance of the way the Commissioners interfere with good Schools." BPP 1873 VIII op. cit. Q 1579
5PRO Ed 27/6038. Report in RIPON GAZETTE
Commissioners, for instance, had at first conceived of Ripon as a second
grade school because they thought the schools at Richmond and York quite
adequate to meet the demand for classical education in the North Riding
and the north east of the West Riding. But the Corporation, the
Bishop of Ripon and most of the governors favoured first grade and the
Commissioners gave in, influenced, perhaps, by the result of the Bradford
Inquiry which took place three weeks before the Ripon Scheme was published.

Where there was money there was at least room to manoeuvre.

Harrogate was quite without grammar school endowment; nothing could be
done there. Knaresborough Grammar School had an income of only £20;
Fearon met the trustees and seems to have considered combining it with
another endowment, but to no effect. He struggled at Tadcaster to decide
if a grammar school 'constituency' existed; the question was not settled
in 1874 when the Endowed Schools Commission came to an end.

In the greatest possible contrast to all this was the wealth and
teeming population of Leeds. With an annual income of almost £2,500.
Leeds had the second richest grammar school in Yorkshire, one made famous
by Lord Eldon's decision and the Act that overturned it, a school to suit
the age. Fitch in his Report had written admiringly of its stately and
commodious buildings. It was well staffed and taught a modern curriculum
as well as the classics to 200 boys. In September 1869 the trustees had

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1PRO Ed 27/6038 Instructions to Fearon, 8 Dec. 1870

2A scheme which did this was approved for Knaresborough in 1895. PRO Ed
   27/5968.

3PRO Ed 27/6192
exercised their right to submit a draft scheme to the Endowed Schools Commission. The Commissioners were not ready then to deal with the case but against the time when they should be free to do so, they sent a detailed commentary, largely based on Taunton, in which, among other things, they urged the trustees to reflect on the need to make provision for girls.\(^2\) The governors spent little time on reflection, answering promptly that all their resources 'will be needed for the proper support of the school...and that it is not possible to make any provision for girls.'\(^3\) The Commissioners ignored this. The following year their instructions to Fearon expressed the view

>'that so wealthy a foundation ought to do something for the education of girls and you will take the opportunity of discussing this matter with the Governors, and ascertaining how it can best be carried into effect.'\(^4\)

For the moment the action stops here. Once again, there is reason to believe, progress was frustrated by the vested interest of a headmaster hostile to change.\(^5\) At all events, no more was done with Leeds in the seventies. When the case was taken up again, the eighties the main point at issue was provision for girls and the struggle lasted till the end of the century.\(^6\)

2.iv. Halifax and Huddersfield.

Though it is clear from their public utterances and from the instructions the Commissioners issued that they thought in terms of 'districts' and were reluctant to take an endowment 'out of turn' it must be borne in mind

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\(^1\)Under Section 32 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, the governing body of any endowment worth more than £1000 p.a. was entitled, during the six months after the passing of the Act, to submit a draft scheme which the Commissioners were bound to consider before preparing a scheme of their own.

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/5976 Commissioners to Leeds governors, 3 Feb. 1870

\(^3\)Ibid. Governors to Commissioners 5 March, 1870

\(^4\)PRO Ed 27/5976 Instructions to Fearon, 20 Jan. 1871

\(^5\)PRO Ed 27/5981 Sir George Young, 7 Feb. 1884, suggests this.

\(^6\)See Ch. VIII below.
that they were never able to finish one district before starting the next.\footnote{It is possibly misleading to talk of 'the next'. The evidence suggests that the Commissioners began with the Bradford Circle and turned their attention next to Sedbergh and Giggleswick. After that the pattern is less clear. On 23–24 Nov., 1870, for instance, they issued instructions on Batley, Halifax and Bentham.}

The work was overlapping. As yet another ball was thrown into the air in the shape of instructions from Victoria Street the Assistant Commissioner juggled harder. At the end of March, 1871, for instance, Fearon had not shaken off the \textit{Bradford Circle} for he once more met the Bingley trustees; yet he had made a start with Leeds and Ripon and was well advanced with the first round of inquiries in the Halifax area, which included endowments at Rishworth, Hipperholme, Sowerby, Rastrick, Heptonstall, Elland and Mirfield.\footnote{Mirfield, for some reason, is not included on Fitch's map, though he issued a report on it.}

Out of these, as a result of his activity, came small third grade schools at Sowerby, Rastrick and Mirfield, each with the power to admit girls.\footnote{PRO Ed 27/5997} He was less successful at Heptonstall. The remote hill village with its tiny endowment, the stone-floored schoolroom, the master struggling with a crowd of half-timers yet keeping a few boys to Latin and Greek seem to have prompted from him mainly the suggestion that the school might be removed to somewhere more accessible, but nothing was done.\footnote{PRO Ed 27/5882}

An intractable problem of a different kind was presented by Huddersfield which, for all its size, had no secondary school endowment. There is no sign that the Commissioners tackled this. Rather, though they called the district 'Halifax and Huddersfield' most of their attention was centred on Halifax.
Fitch had praised the Heath grammar school there. Robinson admitted it was 'fairly good' though as it had only 64 boys 'it cannot be contended that it was providing adequately for the educational requirements of so large and populous a town as Halifax.' The Commissioners, he recalled, had dealt with this endowment as part of a Scheme for the complete reorganisation of all the Halifax Foundations which had therefore been 'taken collectively and dealt with in some relation to one another.' The Scheme included Hipperholme, Elland, Rastrick, Sowerby and the charity at Rishworth. The relationship between them, there seems no doubt, was conceived in terms of grades, as with the Bradford Circle. The Heath Grammar School at Halifax was to be the classical first grade school; Hipperholme, second grade, 'with prominence given to scientific teaching'; Rishworth should also provide second grade schools and the rest would be third grade.

As might have been expected, the Commissioners had a fairly straight run in Halifax. It was different at Hipperholme. The Trustees objected to what they saw as the degradation of their school. Quite unmoved by Taunton principles, they wished it to be first grade and could not understand why Halifax and Hipperholme should not both have schools which were first grade and both classical and modern. Another, more exceptional factor appeared. An opposing group, keen that the school should be adapted to cater for both boys and girls, contacted Fearon. They assured him there was room on the site for both sexes and that 'there is a large

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1 PRO Ed 27/5854 Robinson's minute of 17 July, 1873
2 PRO Ed 27/5887 Outlines of Proposed Scheme, 6 Dec. 1870
3 On this issue, anyway. The Trustees of the Heath Grammar School claimed, unsuccessfully, that it came within the scope of Section 19 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, and so could remain distinctively Anglican. Ed 27/5854
demand in Hipperholme for this class of Education.' Fearon was convinced. As the man who had reported for the Taunton Commission on the Scottish burgh schools he was perhaps the more open to conviction for he had seen mixed education at its best. Now at Hipperholme he seems for a moment to have abandoned that narrow path which Assistant Commissioners were bound to tread, between opposing factions, and aligned with the progressives. The first grade boarding school which the trustees wanted would, he thought, confer no benefit on Hipperholme. 'The issue...' he said, 'can be very simply put viz...aristocratic Governors and an unpopular Headmaster with their boarders their Greek and their high fees, versus middle class education and moderate fees for the benefit of the Township, with local governing body and extension of foundation to Girls. We are not likely,' he urged the Commissioners, 'to have a more favourable occasion for trying the mode of procedure by public inquiry... a public victory won in support of such principles which are not at present very popular in Yorkshire, might have a very valuable effect...'

No inanity was held. The Hipperholme case dragged on well beyond 1874. Alongside it Fearon was investigating Elland, where the Commissioners tried unsuccessfully to convert an endowment to girls, and Rishworth.

With the exception of Leeds, Rishworth was possibly the greatest burden the Commissioners ever bore in the West Riding. It was a Hospital School and they came to consider it at a time when, amid some publicity,

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1 PRO Ed 27/5887 Fearon's report of Oct. 14, 1871
2 He was accused, in a letter from the Headmaster to the Commissioners, of having shown gross prejudice. See PRO Ed 27/5887 Fearon to Commissioners, 21 Nov. 1871
3 PRO Ed 27/5887 Fearon to Commissioners, 21 Nov. 1871
4 i.e. it clothed and boarded as well as educated children.
they were involved with the Emanuel Hospital in London. The rejection of the Emanuel Scheme by the House of Lords in June, 1871 was not lost on Rishworth. The Trustees clung to the will of John Wheelwright as if time had stood still since 1724. They saw nothing at all unsuitable in the fact that this endowment, the wealthiest in Yorkshire, with an income of nearly £3000 a year, should educate only 55 boys and 15 girls. Naturally, the Commissioners could not take this view. 'They now do some harm and little good,' was the Taunton opinion of Hospital schools. The Commissioners saw the chance of Rishworth providing substantial boarding schools for boys and for girls as well as day schools in Halifax. The Trustees opposed them. Above all else, they disapproved of and resented the idea of doing more for girls than they did already. The battle went on long after the Endowed Schools Commission was disbanded. The difficulty of settling Rishworth hung over all discussions on the Halifax district. And beyond it, for the Wheelwright endowment also supported a school in Dewsbury.

2.v. Sheffield; Doncaster; Dewsbury and Wakefield

It was at Dewsbury, in December 1870, that Fearon had listed the seven districts into which the West Riding was divided for the purpose of his inquiries. The audience was receptive until people realised that

1 PRO Ed 27/6074 in Oct., 1871, Fearon noted alongside a list of objections from the Wheelwright Trustees: 'This is intended to prepare the way for a campaign à la Emm. Hospital.'

2 Among its more inappropriate provisions, by Taunton standards, was the preference it gave to children of tenants on the Wheelwright estates and the income it paid out to Founder's kin.

3 Further, they were not above pointing out that as recently as 1869 Robinson, who had examined the school on behalf of the Archbishop of York, had told them 'that if all Charities were managed in the same manner as Wheelwright's Schools there would be no need for any Commissioners.' PRO Ed 27/6074 Trustees' objections, no. VII

4 Schools Inquiry Commission Vol. I p. 215

5 This was not much. The girls received an elementary education while the boys had the chance to learn Latin and Greek.
the Commissioners' plan for Dewsbury involved their sharing a school with Batley. This they would not contemplate.  

At Batley and Wakefield, schemes went through without much difficulty, each of them making provision for girls. But for the other endowments in this district — Hemsworth, Normanton, Pontefract, Royston and Wragby — nothing was achieved by the Endowed Schools Commissioners and there is no sign that anything was attempted. For one reason or another, their impact on the east, south and south east areas of the West Riding was relatively slight.

Sheffield was 'untouched by any enquiry' wrote a Charity Commissioner in 1884, and he surmised that the long tenure of office by the headmaster and his personal influence had led to this important field being neglected. At Rotherham, where the need was great but the endowment 'very trifling', as Robinson put it, no progress was made before the 1880's. At Saddleworth, in November, 1871, they were told it would probably not be long 'before Mr. Fearon who is at present and has for some time past been at work in the West Riding will be able to pay a visit... There is no sign that he ever did. Darfield's £40 attracted no scheme while the tolerable endowments of Barnsley and Penistone did not receive attention till much later.

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1 PRO Ed 27/5782
2 PRO Ed 27/5653, 6224
3 Except at Pontefract where Fearon met the governors in June, 1873. Ed. 27/6022
4 See Appendix I(V)/g 'Day-to-day work was hindered to some extent by the demands on the Commission's time made by the Select Committee of 1873, and also by the changeover to the Charity Commission in 1874.
5 PRO Ed 27/6139. Sir George Young, 15 Aug. 1884
6 PRO Ed 27/6094
7 PRO Ed 27/6108
8 No record survives
9 Ed 27/5641, and 6018
Fitch had praised Doncaster, recently revived, and re-housed by the 1870's in buildings designed by George Gilbert Scott. From what was said in 1871 to the inhabitants of a nearby village it seems that Fearon hoped 'to turn his attention to the neighbourhood of Doncaster soon after Easter'. If he ever did there is no trace of it; the Doncaster Scheme was not made for another 27 years. Of the other endowments in the Doncaster area, some had attention later from the Charity Commission. Some apparently never did.

In 1874, then, when the Endowed Schools Commission came to an end and its work was transferred to the Charity Commission, a good deal remained to be done in the West Riding, a district which had received the earliest attention under the Act of 1869. To break off consideration of what was attempted in 1874 is, of course, arbitrary in that it ignores that the work went on. Robinson and Fearon still dealt with the West Riding and it cannot be supposed that the inhabitants of Tadcaster or Bentham, for instance, where work was still outstanding, noticed much difference. On other grounds, however, the achievements of the period up to 1874 must be seen as a whole.

It is clear from the files which relate to the West Riding that the application of the Endowed Schools Act amounted to a major bureaucratic intrusion into the secondary school field in the Seventies. The Commissioners' approach was extremely systematic. They proceeded by

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1 PRO Ed 27/5870. Commissioners to inhabitants of Hatfield.
2 PRO Ed 27/5796
3 Hatfield, Kirk Sandall, Thorne, Fishlake and Drax.
4 Snaith and Adlingfleet. No record survives.
districts. In a general sort of way they estimated supply and demand
and arrived at a Taunton equivalent in grades. Though there were
obstacles in every area they had fair success in imposing this pattern.\(^1\)
What they could not get round was lack of endowment. Where there was
practically no money, as at Otley, or none whatever, as at Huddersfield
and Harrogate, paper plans were useless. Fitch's map of endowments
arguably says more about the West Riding in the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries than in the nineteenth and the Endowed Schools Commissioners
overcame only to a limited extent (by boarding schools, for instance)
the basic problem of distribution. Draconian measures, such as moving
the endowment right away from Sedbergh, were not considered, though the
power for them existed.

This predictable failure affected the interests of girls as well as
boys. Within the limits it imposed, however, the Commissioners forwarded
the claims of girls substantially.\(^2\) There had been no endowed girls'
grammar schools in the West Riding in 1869. The Schemes of the Commissioners
created four, at Keighley, Bradford, Bingley and Wakefield, as well as a
school for both sexes at Thornton. The substantial endowments of Sedbergh
and Giggleswick were to be 'taxed' towards the cost of a new girls school\(^3\)
and it was provided that girls might be admitted to the local schools now

\(^1\)Robinson told the Select Committee in 1873, 'We had very little opposition
in Yorkshire...''BPP 1873 VIII op. cit. Q 1592.

\(^2\)Details of the West Riding Schemes which benefited girls are included in
the tables in Appendix III (i.) and (j) which summarise all such Schemes
made by the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

\(^3\)The Giggleswick money was used to endow a girls' school at Skipton in 1886.'
When the Sedbergh money became available in 1900 plans were made to devote
some of it to Skipton.
to be maintained on these foundations. Giving the governors power to admit girls was in fact the Commissioners' expedient when they were concerned with low grade day schools; Mirfield, Sowerby, Rastrick and Batley are other examples.

All in all, eleven of the sixteen Schemes which the Commissioners made to establish boys' secondary schools in the West Riding included some kind of provision for girls. It was not always as much as they had hoped. Hard negotiation preceded most Schemes and in the course of it concessions were made to achieve the main purpose. It is clear from Paper F and from the Instructions to Assistant Commissioners that establishing the school in its appropriate grade with a reorganised governing body was the main purpose; Section 12 was subordinate to this. In practice, then, the girls' claim was liable to erosion between the beginning of a case and the end. At Bradford, as we saw, the strong demand for Creek, at Sedbergh the problem of a vested interest had repercussions unfavourable to girls; at Keighley the sum which was to be assigned to them dwindled during preparation of the Scheme. In effect, the practical interpretation of those words 'so far as conveniently may be' which restrict the application of Section 12, was something which could only be tested by trying it. And what is most marked is the readiness to try it shown by the Endowed Schools Commissioners. In all but two of the sixteen cases where they made a Scheme for a secondary school in the West Riding they 'tried' Section 12. And in every single instance where they started to prepare such a Scheme but had not completed it when they were disbanded they had raised the question of providing for girls. This argues very strong commitment

1 The exceptions are Skipton and Halifax. Halifax they saw as part of a broad design which included Hipperholme, and at Hipperholme they hoped to do something for girls.

2 These uncompleted cases were Bentham, Tadcaster, Hipperholme, Rishworth and Leeds.
to the cause and before reviewing their work in other areas it is worth considering how the Commissioners came to be so strongly committed.
CHAPTER III
SECTION 12 OF THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACT

Section 12 of the Endowed Schools Act was itself the product of commitment and this accounts largely for its presence in a measure which, like the Poor Law Act of 1834, was mainly designed to set up machinery. Just as the Act of 1834 makes no reference to 'less eligibility', though the whole system which it established was based on that concept, so the Endowed Schools Act says nothing at all about grading schools or abolishing free education or adding a representative element to governing bodies. For those who understood it such things were implied in the brief preamble which alludes to the Report of the Taunton Commission, and in Section 9 which bestows such wide powers 'for the advancement of the education of boys or girls or either of them.' All that was needed for reform of the schools could have been covered by this umbrella, including the extension of endowments to girls.

Yet there is, in addition, Section 12, which, almost uniquely among fifty-nine clauses, converts one of the Taunton recommendations into a specific provision. The Bill, as de Grey said when he introduced it in the Lords, took 'particular notice' of the education of girls. This

1In framing schemes under this Act, provision shall be made so far as conveniently may be for extending to girls the benefits of endowments.

2Sections 15-19 which relate to the religious character of the schools also do this but they make definite requirements e.g. that masters shall not be required to be in holy orders, and are quite different in character from Section 12.

3Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series Vol. 197; 607
'particular notice' marked the existence of something which really had no parallel where the grading of schools or other Taunton principles were involved: an ever-increasing body of opinion amounting by now almost to a pressure group devoted to the better education of women. From being the concern earlier in the century mainly of eccentric or advanced individuals this subject by the Fifties attracted support from a broad group of those interested in public questions, including the future Endowed Schools Commissioners and their Assistants.

1. Criticism of girls' education in the first half of the nineteenth century

Girls' education was generally seen as an aspect of the status and position of women. It is easier to see that there was a 'Woman Question' in the nineteenth century than to say when it began. Its roots are often traced to Mary Wollstonecraft, though it has been pointed out that while her book caused a temporary sensation, 'nothing like a true debate was started in the journals of the time and no books appeared to support or refute its argument.'¹ Like other revolutionary works of the period her Vindication of the Rights of Woman was soon forgotten and over fifty years passed before the emergence of anything 'which would entitle us legitimately to speak of the woman's question or of feminism as recognisable social phenomena.'²

Be this as it may, in the first half of the century the role of women was constantly discussed and few discussions proceeded far without some reference to their education. That boys and girls should be educated

¹J. A. and Olive Banks: Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England (Liverpool 1964) p. 15
²Ibid. p. 27
together as Mary Wollstonecraft had suggested was far from being the sentiment of most writers on this subject. Indeed, among those concerned with female education, as distinct from those who wished to take society to pieces, the tone is more justly set by Hannah More who viewed with distaste the 'phrenzy of accomplishments' raging in her day through the middle classes. 'Study,' she asserted, 'is to be considered as the means of strengthening the mind, and of fitting it for higher duties.'

The fundamental defect, then, of girls' education was its lack of seriousness, expressed in a profusion of 'little, amusing, sentimental books,' and in 'swarms of Abridgements, Beauties and Compendiums.' Her complaint against the tendency to trivialise girls and to forget the Christian purpose of all education was combined with the view that they should 'move contentedly in the plain path which Providence has marked out to the sex' and not attempt to imitate men. 'Was it not far better,' she asked them, 'to be the best thing of one's own kind, rather than an inferior thing even if it were of an higher kind? to be excellent women rather than inferior men?'

This desire for a more serious education within the traditional female sphere is echoed repeatedly by later writers. Though she did not question their subordinate part, 'Women as well as men,' wrote Mrs. Sandford, 'have high and holy duties...' and they must decide 'between the short butterfly existence of a few seasons, and a life worthy an

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1 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London 1792) Ch. XII p. 380
3 Ibid. Vol. II p. 11
5 Ibid. Vol II p. 22
6 Mrs. John Sandford: *Female Improvement* (London 1836) Vol. I. p. 21
intellectual and immortal being.'¹ Mrs. Sarah Ellis through the
eighteen forties poured out admonitions to The Women of England, The
urged them to accept their inferiority 'but, above all, not to live for
this world, so much as for eternity.'³ At a much later date a much abler
writer with weightier expectations of girls' education prefaced them by
saying, 'I have no hesitation in declaring my full belief in the
inferiority of woman, nor that she brought it upon herself.'⁴ The vein
runs through the century.

Yet quite early on there had been signs of a different approach. One
of the coolest appraisals ever made of the whole question appeared in
1810 when Sydney Smith dismissed the apparent disparity between the
understandings of men and women.

'As long as boys and girls run about in the dirt, and trundle hoops
together,' he told his readers, 'they are both precisely alike. If
you catch up one half of these creatures, and train them to a
particular set of actions and opinions and the other half to a
perfectly opposite set, of course their understandings will differ.'
And whatever differences there ought to be, 'It is not easy to
to imagine that there can be any just cause why a woman of forty
should be more ignorant than a boy of twelve years of age. If there
be any good at all in female ignorance, this (to use a very colloquial
phrase) is surely too much of a good thing.'⁵

Sydney Smith did not trouble himself with speculations on the role of
women but based his case for their higher education on the grounds that

¹Ibid. p. 23
²published in 1838, 1843, 1843 and 1846 respectively.
³The Daughters of England (London 1846) Vol. I p. 16
⁴Charlotte M. Yonge: Womankind (London 1877) p. 1
they themselves would enjoy it and society would benefit. Similar arguments were taken up by others. In the 1820's the young Frederick Maurice arraigned an educational system which 'but for the original and native excellence which it has had to contend against, would have changed the sex from rational beings into a tribe of insects...' Harriet Martineau, while still a girl in Norwich, pleaded the case for female enlightenment with an earnest little picture of young women 'spending a few minutes daily from their breakfast hour to study the Greek tongue...'

The impact of all this is hard to estimate. To some people it was probably alarming. Critics who scrutinised girls' education without paying respect to the womanly role seemed likely to raise more dangerous issues. John Stuart Mill was already raising them. At worst they represented that threat to the family associated in the Twenties and Thirties with Socialists and wild men like the Saint Simonians who rejected the traditional Christian idea of female subordination to man and wished to free woman as they freed the proletariat. Members of this movement came over from France to meet the followers of Robert Owen. They had much in common. The Owenites, attaching such importance to early conditioning, naturally regarded the elevation of female nature as a major function of the New Society. Women, said an advocate of Owen's views on marriage, 'when the lever of education should be applied to them...would stand erect like men with their faces heavenward...'. Owen's newspapers printed

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3. In an article in the Westminster Review in April, 1824, he accused husbands of deliberately preferring to keep their wives ignorant.
feminist articles associating women with 'the spirit-soiled weaver, the soul-subdued tailor' as victims of the old world. But things were changing. 'The moral sun,' as one contributor put it, 'now rising with stronger and stronger light, day by day upon the world, is penetrating the dark places, and making the very spiders of prejudice ashamed of their sullen work.'

It was a slow business. The gradual movement of opinion has been plotted and the tide seems to have turned in the 1840's. Reviewers noticed it, taking as a sign the outpouring of works on the condition of women. Not that these by any means were all 'enlightened'. The 1840's, after all, saw the great popularity of Mrs. Ellis. But many revealed a growing awareness of incongruity between the ideal of the womanly role and what actually happened. The publication in 1842 of the Royal Commission's revelations on women and children in the mines may have encouraged this or touched a nerve that was already sensitive. For while the anxiety of the middle classes about the prospects of their own 'surplus women' had not yet reached the pitch it was to reach later some writers already drew a practical moral: women must fit themselves for honourable work. And they could not do this unless they were educated.

1 Mrs. Leman Grimstone: 'Female Education.' The New Moral World 21 Feb. 1835 p1 33
2 Ibid.
3 See Killham op. cit., to which I am much indebted. Chs. V. and VI discuss the feminist controversy as it appeared in the periodical literature of these years.
4 'We have counted on 'our library table' within a short period, not less than sixteen....' The Athenaeum, March 2, 1844, p. 189.
'It is becoming every day more difficult,' wrote a reviewer in 1841, 'to provide for daughters as mere ladies; and as opinion... conforms to necessity, to have nothing to do, and to do nothing, will cease to be considered essentially ladylike.'

Even those, he thought, 'who are fond of a fixed sphere for woman's duties' saw the need now to open to women more 'sources of pecuniary emolument'.

The ten works which he was reviewing all concerned women. Their standpoints varied from the plain feminism of Harriet Martineau's Society in America to the platitudes of Woman's Mission. But on one point he found general agreement: 'that there is no good in female ignorance.'

Some writers were ready to be more specific.

'In almost every town,' wrote Mrs. Hugo Reid, 'there are endowed schools for the benefit of the sons of citizens; but in almost every case the daughters are entirely neglected....'

Her point was taken up by the Athenaeum reviewer.

'...is it not of some consequence in these days that a girl should learn some one thing well enough to maintain herself? Has it not become a question with a girl as with a boy, what she shall do? - what she shall be?'

The week before he had described enthusiastically, as proof of 'the change in opinion and in feeling, which has gradually taken place relative to the true social position of one half of the human race...' the decision to add a girls' high school to the Liverpool Institute. The Committee of the Institute, said the reviewer, had asked themselves,

'Why should one of the sexes - one half of the human race - be refused participation in the advantages so liberally offered to the other? Why should not girls, whose education is of at least equal importance with that of boys ...be also provided with similar means of instruction and improvement?'

1 Westminster Review, Vol. XXXV, Jan-April 1841, p.33

2 Quoted in The Athenæum, March 9, 1844, from Mrs. Reid's book A plea for Woman, pub. 1843. Mrs. Reid was one of those who took account of the report of the Royal Commission on employment of women and children in the mines. See Killham op. cit., p. 127


4 Athenæum, March 2, 1844, p. 189

5 Athenæum, March 9, 1844, pp. 215-217
The Liverpool Institute is indeed interesting. Early in 1844 a general meeting of members and friends, egged on by Mr. Thomas Wyse M.P., who told them 'It is on the household hearth that the pyramid of empire rests,' voted unanimously to have a girls' school and started that moment to raise a subscription for initial expenses. But 'a change in opinion and in feeling' in the country as a whole is another question. It was not, at least, to this that Frederick Maurice appealed when he introduced his own project, Queen's College, Harley Street, four years later. His audience were offered no high-flown arguments about the claims of women; rather, an account of the sad discoveries made by the Benevolent Institution set up to alleviate the sufferings of governesses. Governesses - 'a class so indispensable and yet so unhappy' as Harriet Martineau called them were pathetically ill-educated women. Queen's College would attempt to educate them.

It was a very practical aim, barely controversial. And though Maurice envisaged a college, not just a girls' school, he took pains to dissociate it from the 'splendid, but transitory foundation' established by the heroine of Tennyson's Princess, which had just been published. This curious poem had a great vogue. The story of a princess who rejected

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1. H. J. Tiffen: A history of the Liverpool Institute Schools 1825-1935 (Liverpool 1935) p. 103. Speaking at a soiree of the Institution a month later Dickens congratulated them on the step they had taken. 'I cannot say to you with what pleasure I heard of the formation of a girls' school' Ibid.

2. F. D. Maurice: Queen's College, London. Its Objects and Method. A Lecture delivered in the Hanover Square Rooms on Wednesday, March 29th, 1848

3. Their sufferings are recorded in the Annual Reports of the Institution from 1843 and arose from the same cause as the sufferings of seamstresses: there were too many of them. 'It is a platform,' as the English Woman's Journal put it in 1858, 'on which middle and upper classes meet, the one struggling up, the other drifting down. 'They were trapped. For although, at this very time, Kay Shuttleworth was directing his major efforts to getting teachers trained for the elementary schools, social considerations, apart from any other, would have ruled this out for the average governess.
marriage to found a female university but in the end yielded to her suitor seems to have conveyed a very pertinent message, though it is not quite clear what it was.¹

In the actual world, Queen's College, Harley Street, with its Royal Charter and Anglican backing, made a better start than Bedford College, founded a year later by Elizabeth Reid, a friend of Harriet Martineau. Mrs. Reid was a Unitarian. The connection of Bedford College with Dissent, the fact that there were women as well as men on the governing body, and that it aimed, not to train governesses, but 'to provide for ladies...a liberal education'² may have tested to the limit whatever 'change in opinion and in feeling' had yet taken place. The College Council certainly attributed their troubles in part to the fact that 'the importance of a high kind of female education is as yet very imperfectly recognised...'.³

A less high kind of female education - a school, that is, and not a college - was aimed at by Frances Buss when she launched the North London Collegiate School in 1850. In fact the nomenclature is misleading. Nothing like a college in the university sense was achieved by Maurice or by Mrs. Reid, while the North London Collegiate School and Cheltenham Ladies College, founded not long afterwards, offered education of an intellectual rigour hitherto unknown in girls' schools. It is in this, in the setting of new standards, that all four institutions are important.

¹'We dare not...undertake the exposition of all Mr. Tennyson's hidden meanings,' said the Edinburgh Review. 'In these cases every reader is best contented with his own discoveries.' The poem - especially the passage beginning 'For woman is not undeveloped man' - was quoted a good deal by conservatives, from the Saturday Review to the Archbishop of York at the Social Science Association. Killham op. cit. gives a detailed and most interesting interpretation.

²M. Tuke: A History of Bedford College for Women (1939) p. 21

Yet the light shed at the time by this novel constellation must not be exaggerated. Looking back from the Seventies, Lady Stanley of Alderley, who had experienced decades of public apathy on the subject of girls' education, decided that 'however great the service done by a single institution, its influence was limited.' Three of the new foundations were in London. None of them impinged on a wide clientele. Such public willingness as now developed to give more serious attention to girls may have owed less to these remarkable schools than to the achievements of Florence Nightingale or even to the Census.

Certainly, people began to feel disquiet about the problem of 'surplus' women. The number of girls who could not find husbands was steadily increasing and the disparity was thought to be greatest at the top of the social scale. Some people felt the main contributory factor was the tendency of middle and upper class men to postpone marriage till their early thirties; others, that the problem was caused by emigration which certainly attracted fewer women than men. Whatever the cause, there were grave implications for an ideal based on the assumption that every woman married. What were these girls to do? They were, quite literally, trained to do nothing. 'Work' was the word they used for embroidery. The 'Daughters of England' found no guidance here in the pages of Mrs. Sarah Ellis.

1 'Personal Recollections of Women's Education' By Lady Stanley of Alderley Nineteenth Century Vol. 6, Aug, 1879 p. 311

2 'In Great Britain in 1851 there were 2,765,000 women aged 15 and over. By 1861 this figure had risen to 2,956,000 -and by 1871 to 3,228,700 - an increase of 16.8 per cent over the twenty years. It is true that this increase was less than for the population as a whole...but it was the absolute numbers which bothered the Victorians, especially as these figures contained an increase of from 72,500 to 125,200 surplus single women, or 72.7 per cent over the twenty years.' Banks, op. cit. p.27;

3 W. R. Greg: 'Why are Women Redundant?' Literary and Social Judgments 1869, pp. 280-316.
We have seen that aspects of this problem concerned the Governess Benevolent Institution and that certain individuals were alive to the importance of improving the education of girls. But until the late eighteen fifties there was no public forum in which such questions could be aired effectively. Such a forum was created in 1857 by the foundation of the Social Science Association.

2. The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science

The idea that those concerned with social problems should meet to pool their interest and experience had underlain the local statistical societies. Now, 'by an almost spontaneous effort of the social reformers scattered through the whole country,' a national Association had been formed, under highly distinguished patronage, which hoped to embrace the entire spectrum of social enquiry. The President was Lord Brougham. The General Committee included every name in the forefront of reform: Shaftesbury, Chadwick, Southwood Smith, Farr, Kay-Shuttleworth, Kingsley, Simon, Maurice, Yann and J. S. Mill. It also included Lord Lyttelton. Every social problem could be brought within the ambit of one or other of the five Departments:

Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law; Education; Punishment and Reforma-

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1For reasons well-demonstrated by Miss Buss in a letter acknowledging a donation to her school, October, 1870: 'The cases of distress that I meet with are of continual occurrence. A Bank failure, the father is ruined, all his girls must maintain themselves...while, there is a fair amount of work for women...it is impossible to suit the workers to their work, owing to the entire want of an ordinary education...A few years ago there appeared an advertisement "Wanted, by a young lady, recently bereaved, music pupils." Her claim was not based on professional training, simply on the recent bereavement.' Archives of North London Collegiate School, T.F.2.

2Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (hereafter Transactions) 1858 Introd. xxvii. As yet there has been no full-scale appraisal of the work of this important body. An article by Brian Rodgers appears in Manchester School of Economic & Social Studies xx, 1952, pp. 283-310.

3'one enormous bore prating about jurisprudence, another about statistics, another about education, and so forth...'Thomas Love Peacock: Cryll Grange (1861) p. 59.
tion; Public Health; and Social Economy. But the aim, in fact, was to harmonise and unify, to bring out the common element in diverse enquiries, to break the isolation of separate research. With the interested societies and individuals assembled in conference once a year the aim would be

'to elicit by discussion the real elements of truth, to clear up doubts, to harmonise discordant opinions, and to afford a common ground for the interchange of trustworthy information on the great social problems of the day.'

In the words of the newly-launched *English Woman's Journal*, 'The new Association was felt to be an expression of the highest want of the age, the want of united effort in social advancement.' And well might it say so for few social questions stood to gain more from being brought into the mainstream of debate than those which concerned women.

At last they had a platform. The origins of the Association guaranteed that for it sprang largely from the Law Amendment Society, a body at that very time engaged in promoting a Married Women's Property Bill. A Society for the Employment of Women, launched by supporters of the Bill, was soon affiliated to the Association which, at its very first annual meeting, debated female employment in industry. This was promising.

Better still, in the eyes of the *English Woman's Journal*, was

'the fact that the Association has assumed the right of woman to sit in an assembly deliberating on social affairs - nay, to express her opinion in that assembly if she chooses.'

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3 G. W. Hastings, Secretary of the Law Amendment Society, became Secretary of the Social Science Association. In 1864 the two bodies merged.

The coterie of active women connected with the Law Amendment Society had not spoken at its public meetings. Now several women contributed papers while one, Mary Carpenter, the Journal proudly noted, 'sat surrounded by the first men of England, Brougham, Russell, and Stanley among the number, raised her own voice and was listened to with equal interest and veneration.'

Mary Carpenter's claim to be listened to was, as befitted such a gathering, that she knew a good deal about her subject. From the Fifties to the Seventies she contributed papers on the care and education of destitute children. When Florence Nightingale spoke on hospitals or Louisa Twining on workhouses they too were not speaking for the woman's cause but the fact that they were women was hardly indifferent. Similarly, those who dealt with women's questions offered an area in which they were expert. Bessie Parkes talked about female employment out of the experience of the Society for the Employment of Women which she had founded. Emily Faithfull described the work of the Victoria Press which she had sponsored to train girls as compositors. Maria Rye spoke about her Female Emigration Society. In the Association's first five years women contributed to all the main Departments except Jurisprudence. At the great London meeting in 1862 they produced eight of the forty-one papers

1 Ibid. See Also Transactions 1858, Introd. p.xxxi '...the number of the gentler sex among our list of authors is one sign among others that women are beginning to exercise a more active influence for social improvement.'

2 She started a society for visiting the poor in Bristol in 1835 and in 1846 opened a ragged school. She founded several industrial and reformatory schools. She contributed papers to the Social Science Association in 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1869, 1871 and 1873.

3 Transactions, 1858, 1859 and 1861

4 Ibid. 1859 and 1861

5 Ibid. 1859, 1860 and 1862

6 Ibid. 1860

7 Ibid. 1862
on different aspects of Social Economy.¹

Most of these women were associated with what one must now call the women's movement.² Not surprisingly they had something to say about girls' education which was early seen to be a highly relevant topic for debate.³

In a scathing critique of middle class girls' schools Barbara Bodichon urged that what passed for education in them ought to be investigated and money raised to provide something better.⁴ At the same meeting Jessie Boucherett contrasted the endowed school provision for the two sexes. In the Lindsey district of Lincolnshire, she said, there were ten endowed grammar schools for boys,

\[\text{'all very cheap and...made use of...by tradesmen and farmers, and even occasionally by the clergy and professional men; but for}\]

¹All on women's subjects. viz. Bessie Parkes: The Progress of Public Opinion on Woman's Work; Emily Faithfull: On some of the Drawbacks connected with the present Employment of Women; Mary Tabor: On the Condition of Women as affected by the Law; Emily Davies: Medicine as a Profession for Women; Maria Rye: Report on Female Emigration; Florence Hill: The Emigration of Educated Women examined from a Colonial Point of View; Anne Jellicoe: Woman's Supervision of Woman's Industry; Barbara Colett: Some Account of the Dublin Society for the Employment of Educated Women.

²The best general account of the movement at this time and of the interaction between the various pressure groups is still Barbara Stephen: Emily Davies and Girton College. (1927) esp. Chs. I - XII

³"If any question in the whole world is suitable for the consideration of an Association for Social Science, it is the inquiry into the kind of education which our women receive in their girlhood." Transactions, 1859 p.308. The Rev. J. S. Howson: 'On Schools for Girls of the Middle Class'

⁴Transactions 1860, pp. 432-433. She anticipated the argument that charity would undermine middle class independence by asking why this principle should only apply to girls. "Magnificent colleges and schools...costing thousands and thousands of pounds, rich endowments, all over England, have been bestowed by past generations as gifts to the boys of the higher and middle class...and they are...not a whit pauperised..." Madame Bodichon (nee Leigh Smith) ran a progressive school, helped to found Cirton College and was very active in the women's movement. See Stephen, op. cit., and W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann: The educational innovators, 1750-1880 (1967) Part Two I.18.
girls of the same rank there is no endowed school at all.'

As the boys had so much, all future endowment ought, she thought, to be devoted to girls, many of whom needed to be self-supporting and suffered distress through their 'unfitness for any occupation requiring intelligence.'

In 1862 she again drew attention to

'the remarkable fact of the almost entire absence of Girls' Endowed Schools in England and proposed the partial application of the income arising from useless or mischievous charities...to the establishment and support of girls' schools.'

For the moment there was no follow-up from this. The Association's attention was diverted to another problem: the question of providing some kind of external criteria whereby girls' education could be judged. At the London meeting in 1862 Frances Power Cobbe delivered a paper on 'University Degrees for Women' and the question was sympathetically discussed. In the end, something more modest was attempted: to gain for girls admission to the University Local Examinations. The prime mover here was Emily Davies who conducted a vigorous campaign with support from various members of the Social Science Association, including Lyttelton, Roby and Fitch. In 1863 she persuaded the Cambridge Syndicate to hold a girls' examination experimentally. This was a success but 'a mere beginning', as Lyttelton put it. He had agreed to chair a special meeting of the Association called to discuss the result of the experiment and began by telling them that 'hopes were entertained that the examinations might be extended to the rest of the country... The means to achieve this was

1 Transactions 1860, pp. 433-434.
2 Transactions, 1862, p. 357.
3 Ibid. pp. 339-342
4 The Oxford and Cambridge Locals, sometimes known as the Middle-Class Examinations, had been introduced in 1857-8 to provide a useful external standard for secondary schools.
5 See Stephen, op. cit. Ch. VI.
6 Girton College Archives LOC 250. 'Report of a Discussion on the Proposed Admission of Girls to the University Local Examinations held at a Special Meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science on Friday, April 29, 1864'
suggested by Roby. The Syndicate, he thought, would not take so bold a step unless urged to do so by influential memorials; but if a strong desire from without were thus shown to exist, I think— at any rate, I hope—they will not decline the task.

Influential memorials were accordingly prepared. Lyttelton pledged Mrs. Gladstone's signature and urged the cause with the two members of the Council of the Cambridge Senate whom he knew well. But the best propaganda came from Fitch who wrote a pamphlet skilfully taking apart the main objections to examining girls.

The Senate gave in. And while all this was happening the Association had moved decisively on the great question of the need to investigate middle class schools. Lyttelton was one of a small deputation from the Association's Council which went to see Palmerston in June, 1864 and persuaded him to set up a Royal Commission. Brougham, when he opened the Association's meeting at York in September, was able to report the Prime Minister's agreement; and at this meeting papers on the topical problem followed thick and fast. Canon Robinson offered a blueprint for the reorganisation of endowments. Fitch surveyed the problems which

1Ibid. But he also annoyed Miss Davies very much at this meeting by suggesting that girls should have a separate syllabus from boys. See Stephen, op. cit, p. 91.

2Girton College Archives LOC 250b

3Ibid. LOC 137 vii

4Ibid. LOC 157

5'The proposed admission of girls to the University Local Examinations'. Ibid. LOC 255. Emily Davies was delighted with this pamphlet 'in which our question is, I think, very judiciously treated. We have ordered a large supply for distribution and it has occurred to me that it might be a good plan to send them round at Cambridge, ' she wrote to Potts, Secretary of the Local Centre there. Ibid. LOC 171

6Transactions, 1864 p.4

7'Suggestions for the Improvement of Middle-Class Education' Transactions 1864, pp. 367-379. He came very close to what the Taunton Commission eventually recommended. See p.26 above.
would face the new Commission. But the most arresting paper came from Emily Davies who broke in upon the speculative mood of the education department with a plea for girls. It was mainly an indictment of the dull, languid existence of young ladies which she thought not only damaging to themselves but to all the highest values of society. As for the Commission,

'We are taught to expect great things from a reform in secondary instruction, and...it is surely reasonable to ask that such reforms...shall be on the widest basis, not omitting any really important section of society.'

Girls got virtually nothing from endowments.

'The 547 ancient grammar schools scattered throughout England are...almost entirely filled by boys...It may be a question for consideration whether some of these endowments might not, without much divergence from the intention of the original donors, be used for the foundation of a few first-rate girls' schools...'

So the question of using endowments for girls had cropped up again and it was raised more than once while the Taunton Commission was sitting.

Thus this Commission had been appointed was itself proof that the

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1 Ibid. pp. 380-393. 'The proposed Royal Commission of Inquiry into Middle-Class Education'

2 Ibid. pp. 394-404. 'On Secondary Instruction as relating to Girls.' The paper was actually read by Fitch. Like many more conventional women Emily Davies was diffident of speaking on a public platform. Two years earlier her paper on 'Medicine as a Profession for Women' had been read by Russell Gurney.

3 See p. 46 above

4 See esp. Transactions 1865, pp. 32-43, 'Address on Education' by Thomas Chambers Q.C., M.P. 'Thoughtful persons have suggested that the absolute monopoly of all public and private endowments by the boys is unfair...It has been well said that inasmuch as the education of a girl does not command the same pecuniary reward as that of a boy...it all the more requires some public encouragement, such as some share of grammar school endowment would supply.' And Transactions 1867, pp. 368-378 'Advanced Education for Girls of the Upper and Middle Classes' by Isabella M. S. Tod. 'There is no reason for the intervention...of the State in the education of young men of the upper and middle classes which does not apply to young women of the same classes.'
Association was something more than a talking shop.\(^1\) And the women understood this. Emily Davies later recalled how they had gained by being given a platform from which to bring their views 'before the sort of people who were likely to be disposed to help in carrying them out.'\(^2\) One such person was Lyttelton. The York meeting was not long ended when Emily Davies wrote to him asking

> 'Whether it is intended to embrace girls' schools in the investigations of the Royal Commission. I presume there can be no objection to including these schools, but we are anxious that they should not slip thro' by inadvertence and in some similar cases it has been found that the whole question has turned upon a doubt as to whether certain pronouns are to be interpreted as masculine or common. We are very desirous, therefore, that the Instructions should be framed as expressly to include girls, and we should be greatly obliged if you would have the goodness to bring the matter before Lord Granville...I venture to trouble you on the subject as we understand that you are about to act as one of the Commissioners.'

She ended with news of the Memorial about admitting girls to the Cambridge Locals, with which he had been actively concerned.\(^3\) Lyttelton replied that he had no doubt 'girls are to be included in our Commission which is to enquire into the education of the middle class' generally: but I will mention it to Ld Granville.'\(^4\) He did so the same day.

That was in October, 1864. In December, having heard nothing definite, Emily Davies wrote to Acland, to Matthew Arnold and to Grote on the same subject.\(^5\) And in the end, she and a colleague from her

\[^1\text{It was satirised by Peacock as practising the science of Pantopragmatics, 'a real art of talking about an imaginary art of teaching every man his own business. Nothing practical comes of it...'}\text{Peacock, op. cit. p. 59}\]

\[^2\text{Girton College Archives, Family Chronicle p. 259}\]

\[^3\text{Granville Papers, PRO 30/29/18/11 No. 11}\]

\[^4\text{Girton College, Archives SIC 2 Oct. 11, 1864}\]

\[^5\text{Ibid. SIC 3, 4 and 6.}\]
Committee for securing admission to the Local Examinations got up a Memorial in which they urged the newly appointed Commissioners 'that the Education of Girls and the means of improving it are within the scope of your inquiry.' It seems more than likely that up to this moment it had never struck the Commissioners that this was so. Nonetheless, they answered through their Secretary, Roby, that they would 'endeavour to embrace in their inquiry the education of both sexes alike.' Roby had already passed news of this decision on the day that it was made to Emily Davies with the assurance 'that he himself will be glad to aid the inquiry in any way he can.'

In this way the first of two essential initiatives in securing a share of endowments for girls was taken.

3. The Taunton Commission

The lady who, according to Fitch, 'insisted on regarding the Commission as a branch of the Social Science Association' was not entirely wide of the mark. Five of the twelve Commissioners had particular connections with that body. Lyttelton, as we have seen, formed part of the deputation from the Association to Palmerston which led to the Commission's being set up; Sir Stafford Northcote had submitted a paper as had T. D. Acland.

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1 SIC II 192. For full text see Appendix II
2 Ibid.
3 Roby passed on the message through her brother. Girton College Archives, SIC 10. Letter of Feb. 22, 1865 to Emily Davies from her brother.
4 The other was getting Section 12 into the Endowed Schools Act. See Section iv below.
5 SIC IX 278-9
6 'On competitive examinations for the Civil Service' Transactions of the National Association for the promotion of Social Science 1859, pp. 279-286
7 'On the Education of the middle-classes' Ibid. pp. 299-286
Lord Stanley lent his name to various committees. Among the Assistant Commissioners the performance of Fitch was enough in itself to justify the remark that he quoted: he had given four papers. Nor would his correspondent have been reassured by the numerous references to the Association's Transactions which appeared at last in the girls' schools chapter of the Taunton Report.

That chapter, in the eyes of the Quarterly Review, had a feminist bias. It certainly seems that, well before they heard evidence on girls' schools or read the very telling reports of their Assistants, some of the Commissioners had leanings this way. Acland had conducted a sympathetic correspondence with Emily Davies on the question of admitting girls to the Local Examinations. W. E. Forster was interested enough for his brother-in-law to think of sending him a copy of Emily Davies' paper on 'The Secondary Instruction of Girls.' Lyttelton was active in the campaign for the Locals and had been approached by Emily Davies as the

1. 'Address on Education' Transactions 1865, pp. 44-56. Hook, in fact, had been elected President of the Education Department for that year but owing to his illness his place was taken by Thomas Chambers. Hook's Address is printed, after Chambers', in the Transactions.

2. 'Examination Schemes and their incidental Effects on Public Education' Transactions 1858, pp. 220-226; 'The Professional Training of Teachers' Transactions, 1859 pp. 411-417; 'Educational "Results" and the Mode of Testing them' Transactions 1862 pp. 258-267; 'The proposed Royal Commission of Inquiry into Middle-Class Education' Transactions pp. 380-393


5. Delivered at the Social Science Meeting at York in 1864. See p. 53 above Matthew Arnold wrote to her on Oct. 14, 1864, 'I shall send your paper to my sister Mrs. Forster - she and her husband are much interested in such things, and he is beginning to take an active part in educational matters, in the House and elsewhere.' Girton College Archives LOC 151
likeliest person to help in bringing girls within Taunton. When this question was discussed by the Commissioners, Frederick Temple was 'decidedly in favour' of their taking girls' schools in. If others were against it Sir Stafford Northcote, judging by his later championship of girls in the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Bill can hardly have been one of them; nor, perhaps, Lord Stanley, whose interest in social questions extended to divorce and revision of the law with regard to married women's property.

It looks as if at least half the Commissioners could be reckoned well-disposed to girls from the start while Roby, the Secretary, made good his promise to aid the inquiry in any way he could by keeping Miss Davies minutely informed on every matter that could possibly concern her. She was sent a list of the Assistant Commissioners and a copy of their Instructions ('You will see that it is marked confidential'). She was invited to propose the names of witnesses who 'would be best able to speak and able to speak best' about the state of girls' schools. A few days later, 'I should be glad to discuss with you, 'wrote Roby, 'if you could spare the time, the questions addressed to girls' schools.'

She was busy now researching for a paper to be given to the Social Science Association on the theme that the word 'children' in ancient charters had

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1 See p. 89 above

2 Memoirs of Archbishop Temple by Seven Friends ed. E. G. Sandford, 1906, p.142. The comment is Roby's. Unfortunately there seems to be no surviving record of the Commissioners' discussion.

3 Dr. Storrar, perhaps, whom Emily Davies said had been described to her by Bryce as 'our bitterest foe'. Girton College Archives, SIC 17, draft of a letter from her to Roby, 8.11.65. But either she was misinformed or Storrar was converted for, in fact, she found him very friendly; his questions as a member of the Taunton Commission suggest a concern for girls' education and he later became interested in the North London Collegiate School.

4 See p.104 following. 5 Dictionary of Nat. Biography.

6 Girton College Archives, SIC 11, Roby to Emily Davies 18.3.65. 7 Ibid.

8 Girton College Archives, SIC 12, same to same 21.3.65
not been intended to exclude girls. Her source was the reports of the old Charity Commissions and Roby assures her 'I will take care that the case of the girls gets its due consideration so far as that Report goes.'

On the question of witnesses,

'I will put down Mark Pattison and Huxley among the list...and if the Commissioners approve will summon them when the time comes... I hope to get Mill examined.'

At the end of April, 1865, though 'more than usually occupied with the despatch of the forms and of the Assistant Commissioners,' he offers to look over a paper she has drafted, 'if you think I can be of any service.' Three days later he sends his detailed comments with a plea that

'you must not consider it a disparagement of the importance of the schools for girls that I have not yet sent out the Circulars to the Endowed and Proprietary Schools for Girls. I shall get the proofs from the press today or tomorrow and the papers will be sent out next week I believe.'

The first witness to be examined at any length on the girls' question was Dr. Hodgson, who had been instrumental in starting the Liverpool Institute School for Girls. Roby let Miss Davies see the Evidence, which brought from her the comment 'The Commissioners seem better disposed than I had imagined.' She went on to make half-humorous suggestions about the priming of possible witnesses, adding 'I have thought of several things

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1Ibid., SIC 14. Her paper, 'The Application of Funds to the Education of Girls', was read to the Education Department of the Association on May 3, 1865

2Ibid. Pattison gave evidence but not Huxley. Mill's only contribution was a reply to a circular letter on general questions sent out by the Commissioners in May, 1866. It said nothing about girls.

3Girton College Archives SIC 15, same to same 25.4.65

4Ibid. SIC 16, same to same 28.4.65

5Ibid. SIC 17, draft of letter to Roby dated 8.11.65. On Dr. Angus of Bedford College, 'If they put questions that he could not answer, he could say, "That is for the statesman, not for the scholar."'
since seeing you, that I should like the Commissioners to recommend if they are likely to do it.1 Her own evidence was called for 30th November and Roby was solicitous on every detail.

'If you will draw up some list of heads under which your evidence could best fall, it will contribute much to the good order of the Examination. You must be able to to form a better idea than I can as to the points of most importance, but at any rate I shall be glad to do anything I can.' Would you prefer the 12th December? I think perhaps I could manage that.2

Her examination and that of Miss Buss 'went off capital,' he told her later.2 Indeed, so far as girls were concerned, all the evidence was capital for it pointed plainly to the need for far-reaching reform. The superficiality of girls' education, its lack of purpose and deference to accomplishments, the apathy of parents and the ignorance of teachers all came up again, indeed so abundantly and with such consensus that there was some difficulty in selecting references when it came to writing up the final Report.3 If little was said that would have surprised an interested member of the Social Science Association, the people who said it were not always those who might have figured there. Miss Davies, of course, was well-known in such circles; Miss Beale, by the time she appeared before the Commission, had already given a paper to the Association on the subject of Cheltenham Ladies

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1Ibid. SIC 18. Roby to Emily Davies 16.11.65

2Ibid. SIC 20, same to same 5.12.65. This seems to have been the first time that women gave oral evidence before a Royal Commission. See Stephen op. cit., p. 137, f.1

3Schools Inquiry Commission, I,"546, footnote: 'We must observe that the evidence is so abundant, and for the most part to consentaneous, that these references must be taken as generally made by selection.'
College, covering much the same ground as her evidence. Miss Wolstenholme had also addressed the Association. The views of such witnesses could be predicted. What perhaps could not was that William Torr, a gentleman farmer from Lincolnshire, should admit a greater want of education in girls than in boys, even; or that Mr. E. Edmunds, an ironmonger from Rugby, should concede that girls' education was imperfect. The view that girls' schools mattered was perhaps less surprising in Dr. Hodgson of the Liverpool Institute than in Mr. Twells of Codolpham School, Hammersmith, or Mr. Evan Davies of a private school in Swansea.

The question of endowments was raised many times. Emily Davies had a chance to reiterate her view that endowments originally intended for 'children' were not meant to exclude girls. 'Girls should have some share in the endowments,' said Miss Buss. 'I think,' said Miss Wolstenholme, 'that female education needs the help of endowments most, because parents and the public care least about it.' 'I regret extremely,' said Dr. Hodgson, 'that in the endowments for education...

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1Transactions 1865, pp. 274-287. In 1864 she had given a paper on 'University Examinations for Women'.

2Ibid. pp. 287-291. 'What better Provision ought to be made for the education of girls of the upper and middle classes.

3Schools Inquiry Commission V. Q 12081.

4Ibid. Q 13823

5Ibid. Q 10156

6Ibid. Q 12554 et seq.

7Ibid. QQ 11267-8. And see pp92-3 above.

8Ibid. Q 11490

9Ibid. Q 16229
Support for this view came also from others who brought it to the weight of their official persona.

'Do you believe,' said Lord Taunton to Lingen, Secretary of the Education Department, 'that it would be reasonable and right that the benefits of endowments should be extended much more to girls than they now are? - Yes, I think so certainly. They are half of the community. I cannot understand, if these endowments are treated at all as public funds, why the girls have not as good a right to share in them as the boys.'

The legal aspect was put to Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls.

'In any deed of endowment where sex is not mentioned, and where perhaps the more general term "children" is used, would that exclude the claims of girls?' - No, Certainly not.

From his experience in Chancery Sir William Page Wood, Vice Chancellor, suggested that the time must come when small dole charities were converted to education. When that happened, '...if you do apply any part of them to the middle class teaching at all, then I say do not forget the girls.'

From the women's point of view, then, the oral evidence could hardly have gone better.

'I feel very hopeful about things in general,' wrote Miss Davies to Madame Bodichon, '...We had a gathering last week to meet some of the Commission people. We put Dr. Hodgson in the Chair and he conducted very nicely. To my surprise, several of the schoolmistresses spoke, and did it very well. The best speech was from Mr. Roby, Secretary to the Commission. He said he thought there was a great ferment going on about the education of women, and he hoped it would go further and be helped by the investigations of the Commission.' She added that, 'with scarcely an exception' the Assistant Commissioners 'go in for the girls.'

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1 Ibid. Q 9129
2 Ibid. Q 13150
3 Ibid. Q 13481
4 Q 12894
5 Undated letter, quoted Stephen op. cit. p. 138
The Assistant Commissioners' reports bear her out. But after half a century of speculation and all the polemics of interested parties here at last was the judgment of outsiders, men who, if they 'went in for the girls' had nonetheless formed their standards elsewhere. Mostly 'men of brilliant degrees,' Roby told Miss Davies, 'some of them are rather young but they are an unusually able collection.' Right Assistant Commissioners were originally appointed. Four others were brought in later when it was decided to extend the inquiry, so far as endowed grammar schools were concerned, to cover the whole of England and Wales. Half of this dozen went on to work for the Endowed Schools Commission as Assistant Commissioners or, in the case of Richmond, as Assistant Secretary, bringing the experience of 1865 to bear on the duties of 1869. The unusual nature of this experience was not lost on contemporaries. To the Quarterly Review the enterprise seems to have been comparable almost to that of the young men in Tennyson's Princess.

'...it is...touching, though somewhat diverting too, to read how the first advances of these 'heralds of progress' were received by the fluttered mistresses when their secure repose was first startled by the Assistant Commissioners, as by something dropped from the clouds. Was it quite wise to put this delicate task in the hands of so many young Fellows of Colleges fresh from the University, and knowing little more about girls than they could gather from novels?'

Miss Pinkerton's Academy in Vanity Fair might, in fact, have been no bad introduction to some of the girls' schools that were visited.

'We have always been private in our home,' wrote one headmistress, 'and desire so to remain, in spite of the march of intellect in the 19th century.'

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1 Girton College Archives, SIC 11, 18.3.65
2 SIC I, 8
3 Fearon, Fitch, Stanton, Hammond, Elton
4 Quarterly Review, Vol. 126, 1869, p. 450
5 SIC VII 69
It was not then surprising, as Stanton said, that resistance should have been aroused by the arrival of 'eight sheets of questions' (but) I was not prepared for its intensity.¹ Hammond's application to inspect a school at Yarmouth was met, he reported, with 'undisguised derision'² and there was a poor response in Norfolk generally. He moved on to Northumberland. Fearon, from the start, found himself baffled, though surrounded by the myriad girls' schools of London, by problems of classifying girls' education. Where did their secondary education end? Where did their superior education begin? 'Is there indeed in this country any regular system of superior education for girls?'³ Fitch began his report more pragmatically by noting how small the girls' schools were, compared with the boys', and how expensive.

These reports could not have been a total revelation to anyone who had seriously followed the debate on girls' education in the preceding years. But they provided facts. They established once for all that virtually there were no endowed schools for girls. To a small extent the they did for girls' education what Chadwick's Report on Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population had done for public health: they offered hard data, combined with those impressions gained from first hand experience which are sometimes more persuasive than any statistic. In such a field, Fearon's careful analysis of a hundred out of the 200 answers he received to 350 forms of inquiry, Hammond's tabulated account of the response to printed examination papers sent to 50 Northumberland

¹Ibid. p. 68
²SIC VIII 482
³SIC VII 381
schools, Fitch's conclusions based on inspecting 30 girls' schools in Yorkshire were memorable. This kind of evidence was new. But just as memorable was the 'faint clapping of hands, irrepressible by ushers' which followed the departure of Stanton from a class of girls whose almost total ignorance had brought him to a standstill, the pianos which 'resounded all day long and in every room' the bad French so solemnly reported by Fearon, devotion to which in 'that half of the population which spends most of its time at home' Fitch reckoned as 'one of the unsolved Mysteries of our English educational system.'

No other chapter of the Taunton Report has the dense, multiple footnotes which characterise the chapter on Girls' Schools and on no other question was there greater consensus than these footnotes reflect. The Assistant Commissioners were as much convinced as the oral witnesses of the deficiencies of female education and it would hardly have been possible thereafter for men such as Fearon, Stanton, Hammond and Fitch, who had done the digging in the heat of the day, to go on to work for the Endowed Schools Commission 'with minds unfettered and free from all previous conclusions'. They would not have claimed it. In their reports the line between fact and opinion is often a thin one.

'I am certain,' wrote Hammond, 'that there is no natural inferiority in the mental powers of girls which prevents them from mastering the difficulties of grammar and arithmetic; for in mixed schools taught by masters there was no noticeable difference of attainments in the two sexes.'

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1 SIC VII 74
2 SIC VII 73
3 SIC VII 401
4 SIC IX 297
5 Richmond and Elton had little opportunity to observe girls' education as their inquiries were confined to endowed schools.
6 Lyttelton's phrase. See p. 18 f.5 and p. 23 above.
7 SIC 525
'It was very seldom,' Stanton recorded, 'that music was so scientifically taught as to form a real training to the mind. The time wasted on this accomplishment is deplorable.'

Fearon's report contains a mass of factual data both in the text and in the string of appendices but he cannot forbear to praise Queen's College, Harley Street, despite its bad arithmetic, for 'doing a noble work'; he cannot observe the ignorance of teachers without offering the cure; he cannot reflect on 'the very imperfect character of the inquiry which I have been able to make into girls' education' without consoling himself that a movement to improve it has begun 'which is being pushed with so much vigour and discrimination, so much spirit and judgment, that it is not at all likely either to be suppressed or to die out for the present.'

When we come to Fitch we are back with the women's movement. It is not that his tone is polemical or his report deficient in facts; but that he never shrinks from expressing the principles to which the facts lead him. Like Fearon, out of an HMI background he makes comparisons with the elementary schools. Unlike Fearon he offers where appropriate what can

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1Ibid. VII 72

2He had been an HMI since 1860 and so was able to make comparisons: 'I have examined several of these schools in accordance with the standards of the revised code...and have carefully tabulated the results, so as to be able to compare them with those which I used to obtain from elementary schools in Cumberland...' Ibid. VII 398-9

3Ibid. p. 394

4'We must begin by teaching not only all the actual but all the possible teachers, that is, women at large.' Ibid. p. 394.

5Ibid. p. 383

6'In inspected schools under the Privy Council the same instruction, with the single exception of sewing, is given to children of both sexes...' Ibid. IX 278
only he described as statements of faith.

'Some day perhaps we may be in a position to map out the whole region of human knowledge, and to say how much of it is masculine, and how much feminine. At present such an attempt would at least be premature.'

What is the difference between such a statement, printed in a government blue book, and his writing for the *Victoria Magazine*, 'After all, intellect is of no sex...' Or, 'there is...no sort of right knowledge...which is in its essence unfeminine...'? While others are ready to link the faults of girls' schools with the apathy of parents and leave it at that Fitch contemplates the whole middle class ethos in a way which anticipates Matthew Arnold.

'There is no hope for the middle classes, until the range of topics which they care about includes something more than moneymaking, religious controversies and ephemeral politics: nor until they consider that mental cultivation, apart from its bearing on any of the business of life, is a high and religious duty. When they come to consider this, they will set as great a value on evidence of intellectual power or literary taste when they are put forth by a girl as by a boy; and they will feel that the true measure of a woman's right to knowledge is her capacity for receiving it, and not any theories of ours, as to what she is fit for, or what use she is likely to make of it.'

It is little wonder that the leading women thought so well of the Assistant Commissioners.

'I think it would be pleasant,' wrote Miss Fuss to Miss Davies, 'and useful too, to meet the Assistant Commissioners and hear some of their experiences. Such a meeting might be annual... I mean a mixed meeting of men and women - for the Annual, because after the Commission ceases to sit, I suppose the Assistant Commissioners will disappear...'

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1 Ibid. IX 283
2 'The Education of Women' by J. C. Fitch, M.A., one of H.H. Inspectors of Schools. *Victoria Magazine*. 1864 p. 441
3 Schools Inquiry Commission Vol. IX p. 301.
4 Girton College Archives SIC 22, 5.12.65
The work of shaping all the evidence on girls' schools into Chapter VI of the Taunton Report was done mainly by Lyttelton. Characteristically, he seems to have identified intimately with it and to have found it a very great chore.

'Births' he announced with laborious whimsey. 'At 21 Carlton Terrace, on July 11th, after a painful and protracted labour, Lord Lyttelton of a chapter on Girls' schools. Friends at a distance will be glad to hear that this long expected event has taken place and that parent and child are charming well.

The Infant Chapter has a strong likeness in features and deportment to its parent. It is uproarious —squalls incessantly — and hopes to make much noise in the world.'

More conventionally, the following year, as president of the education department of the Social Science meeting at Birmingham, he spoke at length on the Taunton Report, concluding with the earnest hope, as to girls, 'that if nothing else follows from the Schools Inquiry, this may follow: some substantial measure in rectification of what I conceive to be one of the grossest instances of injustice — one of the most unrighteous deprivations, that can be mentioned, that of, it may almost be said, the whole female sex of England, for a very long time past, of any benefit from the ancient educational endowments of the country.'

The Endowed Schools Act was passed the next summer. The change that Lyttelton envisaged was made possible and he himself was appointed to take charge of it. The 'substantial measure of rectification,' in the event, was Section 12.

1 Memoirs of Archbishop Temple by Seven Friends ed. E. G. Sandford, 1906 p. 135. Roby here describes him as one of the Commissions leading spirits. He was also one of its most regular attenders, present 111 times out of a possible 115. Ibid. p. 136.

2 Quoted Betty Askwith: The Lytteltons (1975) p. 155

3 Transaction of the National Association for Promotion of Social Science, 1868, p. 70. It was at this meeting that Lyttelton came out strongly against 'the dead hand'. See p. 26 above.
Getting Section 12 into the Act

The Endowed Schools Bill as originally drafted took no particular account of girls beyond the fact that it empowered the Commissioners to do what was necessary 'to render any educational endowment most conducive to the advancement of the education of boys and girls or either of them.' And girls were not mentioned during the debate on the First Reading. On March 15, 1869, the Bill was committed to a Select Committee and there, on May 11th, a young Liberal M.P., Henry Winterbotham, proposed a new clause:

"In framing schemes under this Act, provision shall be made, so far as conveniently may be, for extending the benefits of endowments equally to boys and girls."

From first to last Mr. Winterbotham attached great importance to the word 'equally'. One could wish to know why, and how he came to be responsible for that provision of the Endowed Schools Act which was of paramount importance to women. But he seems to have left few traces. In 1873 at the age of 36 he died suddenly, cutting short a career which showed every sign of promise. At the time of the Select Committee he had only been in the House two years. Two years later, in 1871, he became Under Secretary of State at the Home Office. And that is all. His background, certainly, was not incompatible with 'equally'. He came of a distinguished Nonconformist family. In his maiden speech in 1868 he spoke-

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1 BPP 1868-9 II 331 Bill to amend the Law relating to Endowed Schools
2 EPP 1868-9 VIII Report from the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Bill, p.xx
3 Boase gives the outlines: he was educated at Amersham School and at University College, London. He was a barrister and M.P. for Stroud from 1867 till his death. It appears that as a lawyer he was distinguished enough to be offered the post of legal member on the Council of the Governor General of India (which Arthur Hobhouse later accepted). See Illustrated London News, Jan 17, 1874, p.43
4 His grandfather, the Rev. William Winterbotham, 1763-1829, was imprisoned in Newgate for preaching that the 1688 Revolution established that the right of Kings derived from the people. See The Rev. William Winterbotham by Sir W. H. Winterbotham (1893).
on the Oxford and Cambridge Bill, arguing against the exclusion of Dissenters with a good deal of eloquence and passages from Milton. In 1870, on the Second Reading of the Elementary Education Bill, he similarly pleaded the cause of Dissent. His speeches give the impression of a man who was not afraid to stand up and be counted. This is what he did in the Select Committee.

But the word 'equally' was voted down. Sir Stafford Northcote then proposed an amendment to provide that endowments should be extended to girls 'so as to give them as nearly as possible advantages equal to those given to boys.' This, supported only by Northcote, Winterbotham and James Howard was also rejected and the amended Bill, as it returned to the House, contained the wording which at length became law.

But Winterbotham did not give up. He fought for 'equally' in the House of Commons; Lyttelton fought for it in the Lords. As might have been expected, the efforts in Committee had attracted the interest of the women's movement. But the link now was not with Emily Davies, who at this time was very much occupied with opening her new college at Hitchin, but with the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of

1 BPP 1868-9 VIII Report from the Select Committee etc. p. xx
2 Liberal M.P. for Bedford. A noted agriculturalist but interested also in education.
3 P. 72 f 1 above
Women founded in 1867 by Anne Clough. The Council's main function was to organise lectures in the principal northern cities at which girls could have the benefit of advanced education. The lecturers were sympathetic Cambridge dons, and a number of other men gave their support. One of the men on the Council was Fitch.

In these years, at almost every juncture, the women's movement was faced with the necessity of steering a course between what they could have hoped for and what they thought attainable in education. Should there be a special examination for women? Fitch, alone of all the men canvassed, opposed it.

'I dread, above all things,' he told Miss Clough, 'the manufacture of a masculine and a feminine course of study, as distinct things, until we have a great deal more knowledge than we at present possess to justify the distinction.'

Should the Council press for 'equally'? They held their fourth meeting just before the amended Bill returned to the House and a letter was read from Mr. Winterbotham asking for a memorial supporting the word 'equally' 'on the ground that if we do not gain that we gain nothing.'

The Council discussed it, reminded by their President, Josephine Butler, that 'a word too much...may be in danger of damaging our cause...'
Bryce pointed out that 'equally with boys' had already been thrown out in the Select Committee. T. H. Green gave his opinion that the Endowed Schools Commissioners would have all the power they needed, 'if they would exercise it - the main drift of the memorial should be simply to urge Parliament to pass the 12th clause.' Fitch supported this. Without more detailed information he thought they could hardly know what was feasible. And he reminded them 'that in four cases out of five the revenues of the Endowed Schools are far too small to allow of their being divided.' In his view, Parliament

'should be asked to confer large powers on the Commissioners as a whole, without defining any proportion...between boys' and girls' schools...'

So they gave up 'equally'.

But Winterbotham did not. On 14th June when the Bill returned from the Select Committee, he moved to insert the phrase 'equally with boys' on grounds of common justice. He spoke very well, sometimes dwelling on the value of education for its own sake, 'for the mental wealth, for the dignity of character, for the intense yet pure enjoyment it confers'; sometimes reminding them of the

'thousands of women...sent adrift every year to struggle for themselves and earn their bread as best they may',

and sometimes of the crying need for teachers. He quoted Census -figures

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2Their Memorial began by rehearsing the 'meagre, unsound and superficial' nature of middle class girls' schools, then drew attention to the large number of unmarried women who had to support themselves but were unable to do so 'owing to their defective education', and finally urged the House to give wide powers to the Commissioners 'to apply to the education of girls such reasonable portion as the Commissioners may think fit.'

3For this and what follows, Parliamentary Debates 3rd series, Vol. 196, 1752-1765.
and he looked to a future where the country's greatness could only depend on

'the intellectual culture and the moral elevation of the people' for, as to commerce, 'younger and more favoured countries must sooner or later pass us in that race.'

The matter before them was no trifle, he told them. 'It is the education of half the people.' And the present Bill was

'only half a measure. Hudibras wore but one spur because he thought if he could make one side of his horse go, the other would not be far behind. That is what you are doing here. You think if you educate the men the women will not be far behind. But history belies your expectation...'

Reactions to all this ran true to form. Forster said 'he was bound to consider how they could get this measure...carried out.' Fawcett and Bright were sympathetic. Beresford Hope took fright at the notion of 'arithmetical equality'. Stafford Northcote pointed to the danger of forcing a division on such an issue though, he said, they must impress on the Commissioners

'that they should not be satisfied with throwing a few crumbs to the girls,......but...should really give them such a substantial proportion as would tell upon their education.'

Winterbotham withdrew his Amendment.

A month later, in the Upper House, Lyttelton proposed an Amendment 'for the purpose of extending more fully to girls the benefit of certain endowments. So far as the two sexes were concerned,' he submitted 'there was no reason why endowment should not apply to both, and...it should be dealt out as fully to one as the other.'

The wording he suggested would have benefited girls 'on equal terms with boys, so far as the circumstances of the case shall admit.' But the Amendment was negatived.

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1Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 197, 1876
It is possible, therefore, that Section 12 of the Endowed Schools Act was a less substantial 'measure of rectification' than Lyttelton could have wished. Yet it seems doubtful whether any of the alternatives suggested would have served much better. The problem was, as Forster said in the debate,

'that a good deal of the enormous endowments we possessed were already appropriated. If they had to set to work to deal with a fresh fund, he quite agreed....that they ought to divide it between girls and boys; but at the present, the endowments were, for the most part, possessed by boys.'

The Endowed Schools Commissioners, when they set to work, soon came up against the implications of this. Prising funds for girls out of boys' school endowments called for the same kind of zealous commitment which had brought Section 12 into the Act.

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1Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 196. 1760-1761
CHAPTER IV

THE APPLICATION OF SECTION 12

Unlike those who dreaded the approach of the Commission the pioneers of girls' schools had everything to hope for at the hands of men who, as Lyttelton put it in an official draft, were bound by the Act 'not less than prompted by their own convictions' to do what they could to get endowment for girls. Proof of these convictions lay not only in the links which had existed between them and the Taunton Commission but in their current involvement with projects designed to extend the range of girls' education.

In the first years of the Endowed Schools Commission Lyttelton played a leading part in setting up the Girls Public Day School Company. The inspiration here came from Maria Grey, but in November, 1871, Lyttelton presided over a meeting at the Society of Arts at which she launched her National Union for Improving the Education of Women of All Classes. He became a Vice-President; and it was he who secured as President the

1 The hour-to-hour anxiety felt by Dr. Thring in face of what he saw as the encroaching Leviathan comes across poignantly in Parkin's Life.

2 PRO Ed 27/5124 Commissioners, 13 Jan. 1870, to memorialists at Ambleside.

3 These, as has been shown, were very strong in the case of Lyttelton, Roby and the Assistant Commissioners. Hobhouse, though more active on Married Women's Property, was also sympathetic to girls' education and gave support later to Somerville College. Robinson's sympathy plainly appears in his evidence to the Select Committee of 1873.

4 Mrs. William Grey, née Shirreff (1816-1906). With her sister Emily, also active in this field, she published in 1856 Thoughts on Self Culture which made some criticism of girls' education. She was interested in the College at Hitchin, a candidate for the London School Board in 1870, and an early supporter of women's suffrage. But her main work was the Girls Public Day School Company (see Ch. X below) and the founding of a training college.
Princess Louise. In June the next year he chaired a meeting in the Albert Hall held under the auspices of the National Union to inaugurate the Girls Public Day School Company, a limited liability company which aimed to establish secondary schools for girls. The difficulties which he had by now come up against in working the Act had not diminished his zeal for, it appears,

'he argued forcibly in favour of giving a liberal education to the women of this country, of whom many were obliged to support themselves by their own intellectual exertions.'

Fitch, who was on the platform at this meeting (as, it seems, on almost every similar platform) seconded a resolution approving the plan to open the Company's first school in South Kensington. He was among their earliest shareholders. The scheme for the organisation of the new school was sent, at Princess Louise's suggestion, to the Endowed Schools Commission to be vetted by Canon Robinson. He wrote back at length to Maria Grey about it, ending with good wishes for the success of her venture which, he said,

'will...supply a great want. I should be very glad if we could help you with Endowments in the form of Exhibitions or otherwise.'

Another enterprise in women's education - the founding of Girton College - drew support from these men. Roby had been involved from the first with Emily Davies in the College at Hitchin, helping to draft its constitution, design its scheme of studies, set its entrance papers

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1On Lyttelton's death, Maria Grey recalled that he 'was one of the earliest, and remained to the last, one of the staunchest friends of this Union. It is difficult for the writer to express what his strong and cordial support was to her in the first arduous struggle to form and establish it.' Journal of the Women's Education Union, Vol. LV, 15 May, 1876, p.70.

2Times 8 June, 1872

3Minutes of Girls Public Day School Company, 2 August, 1872

4Archives of the Girls Public Day School Trust, 'Autograph' letters to Mrs. Grey....relating to Women's Education Movement, 1871-76' No. 10.
and stock its library.¹ Now, in the midst of his official duties, he
gave enormous help over the move to Girton.² Lyttelton and Fitch took
part also in the necessary fund-raising campaign and Fitch from the first
was on the governing body.³

Their official duties involved them meanwhile in the continual
empirical process of trying to implement Section 12. In the debate on the
Endowed Schools Bill the Solicitor General had persuaded Winterbotham to
drop his Amendment, 'equally with boys', on the grounds that the House
was not asserting principles but 'directing certain persons. The terms
of these directions should be definite,' he said, urging that 'equally'
would make them confusing.⁴ But in fact it is hard to think of anything
less definite than the wording of-the Section as it stood. The Taunton
Commission had glossed over this problem. Whether or not, as Lyttelton
suggested, their lack of definiteness 'was in a great measure unavoidable
from the nature of the subject',⁵ the statutory phrase 'so far as
conveniently may be' merely reinforced it, though giving, of course,
great freedom to the administrator.

Possessed, theoretically, of power 'to take a girls' school in
Northumberland and make it a boys' school in Cornwall,⁶ or the reverse,
the Commissioners as we observed in the West Riding did not approach
their work in this way. On the contrary, they thought in terms of locality.

¹See Stephen op. cit.
²See his obituary by Emily Davies in the Girton Review, Lent Term, 1915.
In 1871 he attended no fewer than 19 meetings of her Executive Committee
as well as serving on various sub-committees. She here describes him and
H. R. Tomkinson as the "two pillars" of the College.
³See Stephen op. cit.
⁴Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 196, 1764-5
⁵Transactions of National Association for the Promotion of Social Science,
1868, p. 70. See also p. 43 above.
⁶Quoted by Roby to Select Committee, 1873, EFP 1873 VIII, Q 262.
Where a school had a more than local reputation, as at Giggleswick, local claims had still to be met; and when grammar school funds were tapped for girls it was to provide for a sister school, or a school in the region. The same local principle guided all their work with Section 12: except in one case. And this exception, like the efforts made on behalf of Girton, marks the continuance of links formed through the Taunton Commission between the administrators and the women active in girls' education.

(I. The North London Collegiate School.

When Miss Buss gave evidence in 1865 she not only impressed the Commission but, it seems, was herself impressed and began then to think of ensuring the permanence of the school she had started as a private venture by forming a trust. This was done in 1870. The North London Collegiate School moved to new premises; a lower school, the Camden School, was launched and a struggle began to get funds for endowment. Everything was tried. Miss Buss approached philanthropists, Maria Grey wrote letters to The Times, appeals were made to City Companies, the Lord Mayor spoke at the Camden prizegiving, but little came of it. A shabby piece of business, when £5000 subscribed in the City to start a girls' school was diverted to a boys' school for which £60,000 had already

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1In 1878 at the North London prizegiving Earl Granville congratulated Miss Buss on her work and recalled that 'the first announcement of its taking a public character was at a public dinner presided over by the late Lord Lyttelton, one of the best and most disinterested men he had ever known, who had devoted himself to the promotion of every kind of education in the country.' Journal of the Women's Education Union Vol. VI, p.1C

2For this and what follows see Annie E. Ridley: Frances Mary Buss (1895) p. 91 et seq.
been collected, aroused some sympathy. Five thousand, after all, was what the Camden School needed for new buildings. But it was no nearer getting them. At this point an unhopeful situation was transformed by the work of the Endowed Schools Commission.

There are signs that already for some time Lyttelton had been casting round to see what could be done. In the summer of 1871, the chairman of her governors read to Miss Buss

'a private, but very encouraging note from Lord Lyttelton, saying that we should have some endowments as soon as they can lay their hands on any.'

This seems to have been in answer to the formal Memorial in which the governors set out their case. The Camden School, they said, provided education for a neighbourhood consisting largely of

'shopkeepers, city clerks and railway officials. There is no educational endowment of any kind in the district available for the classes above the poorest.'

Both their schools, they pointed out, met the recommendations of the Taunton Commission.

'We therefore respectfully urge our claim to help, by the foundation of scholarships and prizes out of any endowments for which you may have to frame Schemes, and which may be suitable for the purpose.'

And they ventured to suggest a source.

'The Brewers' Company derive a large income from the Platt Estate, which is in the district where the lower school is established.'

The Brewers were the trustees of the Grammar School at Aldenham. They had acquired additional wealth quite recently by selling part of their estate in St. Pancras for the building of St. Pancras Station and were spending generously to lift the grammar school into the class of schools

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^1 Quoted Ridley op. cit., p. 109

^2 PRO ed 27/3191, Memorial of 7 July, 1871
of national repute. Thus when Fearon went there in 1866 on behalf of
the Taunton Commission he had found that day boys were discouraged, as
tending to drive away the higher class of boarders, a large new wing had
just been built and the school was all set to 'add another to the list
of our great and rich public schools.' The other idea which the
Brewers had for disposing of their wealth was to set up two lower, or
elementary, schools. They were well satisfied with these arrangements and
the suggestions they made to the Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1870
aimed to preserve the status quo. The Commissioners' initial comments
on these (for they were not ready yet to take action on Aldenham) were
made in February, 1870, long before the Camden School was started, and
make no reference to girls, nor indeed to any detail concerning distribution
of the Brewers' great income; such aspects would await fuller inquiry.
They were here concerned to make clear to the Brewers that under any
new Scheme they could not expect to have sole control of the governing
body, nor to give free schooling to the sons of Freemen without regard
to merit, and other such things.

Two years later they were ready to proceed and in May, 1872, instructed
William Latham as Assistant Commissioner, to take on the case. Rejecting a notion that Fearon had sketched out to the Taunton Commission

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1 Sic XII 65

2 For this and what follows see PRO Ed 27/1637

3 Latham was a barrister. Unlike most of the Assistant Commissioners he
had not been employed by the Schools Inquiry Commission but, as Lyttelton
told the Select Committee of 1873, he had done work 'very analogous' to
it, being engaged for a long time on reforming the statutes of Christs
Hospital. BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee & etc Q. 1240
of making Aldenham the centre of an elaborate secondary school system for the whole region, they accepted that it should remain a first grade boarding school, not tied to the locality; but even such a school did not need an income of £4000 p.a. There was Watford, they pointed out, not far away, and totally lacking in secondary school endowment; and there were girls.

'The Trustees must be reminded of the emphatic assertion in the Schools Inquiry Commission Report and in the Endowed Schools Act, of the claims of female education and the Commissioners must say plainly that they cannot consider it consistent with their duty, when dealing with so wealthy a foundation, to overlook those claims.'

The Instructions continue in terms reminiscent of the governors' Memorial.

'The parish of St. Pancras is a large and poor one and from circumstances within the Commissioners' knowledge it appears highly probable that a substantial sum might be most advantageously spent in establishing and permanently supporting Schools for Girls in that quarter.'

Latham put all this to the Company. The Brewers approved and asked for definite suggestions. By July the matter was settled in principle.

'Public schools,' Roby had written to Miss Buss, 'wisely conducted, are I believe quite as useful for girls' education as for boys, and far more needed because at present they are so few. You and your coadjutors are highly to be praised for your energy in developing the Camden schools and sincerely to be congratulated on the success which you fully deserve.'

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1 The Commissioners in fact developed this argument in such a way as to add to the claim under Section 12 the moral claim of tenants of an absentee landlord. In a similar case, that of the Bedford Harpur Foundation, they had discussed, April - May, 1870, whether there was not some obligation (which ought to be acknowledged in terms of educational aid) towards that part of Holborn from which the income came. See PRO Ed 27/8A

2 Archives of the North London Collegiate School, T.P.2, letter of 25 July, 1872
He was able to crown that success a week later with news of the Brewers.

Though nothing was yet settled,

'I hope to get a handsome sum towards building so as to complete with what you have collected all that is necessary, and also some annual endowment.'

The Assistant Commissioner was now dispatched to visit Miss Buss and her Trustees. For Latham this seems to have been a new experience. He was a practising barrister, employed as an 'occasional' Assistant Commissioner, who had no links with Taunton nor any special involvement with girls' education. This he now developed. Friendship with Miss Buss and devotion to her schools became a major factor in his life. He progressed from this first examination of finances to become the schools' advocate in every quarter. By the time he died the North London girls had become 'my girls' and he had been for eighteen years chairman of the governors. The tenor of his letters to Miss Buss in the Seventies over the Brewers' money is reminiscent of Roby's correspondence with Emily Davies at the time of Taunton: there is a strong sense of alliance.

'The Brewers, as I think you are aware, are with us; and...will be probably in time of need, not only neutral but active supporters. I think we can rely on them.'

This was in March, 1674. The 'time of need' which Latham anticipated concerned the opposition which had now emerged locally to the diversion of

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1Ibid., Letter of 2 Aug. 1872 in Governors Minutes. 1870-75.

2See his 'Reminiscence', p. 138 of the Frances Mary Buss Schools Jubilee Record (1900) where he describes making crucial decisions over the siting of the schools and implies too that he played some part in persuading the Clothworkers Company to give a large subsidy.

3See his obituary written by Sophie Bryant, Miss Buss's successor, in the Archives of the North London Collegiate School. He was specially interested in the girls who did classics. 'The science girls are your girls,' he wrote to her once, 'the classical girls are mine'. Latham became interested also in the G.P.D.S. Co. and was elected to its Council in 1879. Minutes of G.P.D.S. Co., 25 June, 1879.

4Archives of the North London Collegiate School, T.F.2. Letter of March 20 1874.
of large sums from Aldenham. The Commissioners' proposals far exceeded anything that the Camden governors had originally aspired to. Latham at an early stage had recommended that here was an admirable opportunity for establishing on a permanent footing these two most successful schools carried on in hired houses. They needed buildings. He advised a subvention of twenty thousand pounds.¹ The Commissioners first proposed forty thousand but came down to twenty again when Latham represented that in the eyes of some of the Brewers forty seemed 'a monstrous demand on the Trust.'² The Draft Scheme as published provided for twenty thousand. There would be prospects of more, said Latham, when the Commissioners came to deal with Dame Alice Owen's foundation of which the Brewers were also Trustees.³ In the meantime, in addition to the capital, they were willing to pay out £600 p.a. to the North London Collegiate School.

This was splendid. But in the eyes of the Headmaster of Aldenham it was unjust. The withdrawal of thousands from the school estate, 'lavishing such sum on Schools in no way connected with Aldenham is not warranted by the Act as I read it.'⁴

The Headmaster's motives were probably complex for at this time he was at variance with the Brewers and with the Commission over his own vested interest. But, for whatever reason, he came forward to champion the cause of the lower schools on the Foundation which provided

¹PRO Ed 27/1637, Latham to Commissioners, August, 1872
²Ibid., 9 April, 1873
³The Scheme made for this foundation in 1878 gave large benefits to the North London Collegiate School. See PRO Ed 27/3117
⁴PRO Ed 27/1637 Letter of 8 Nov. 1873. The capital withdrawn was also to include over £1300. to establish secondary schools in Watford.
elementary education in the district. These were to receive £5000 under the Scheme but the Headmaster suggested £20,000. The vicar, ratepayers and inhabitants of Aldenham also protested that the proposed allocation was 'unequal and unjust' towards the elementary schools and 'excessive and unnecessary' towards the North London Collegiate. ¹

Writing to Miss Buss in March, 1874, then, Latham saw this discontent as cause for anxiety. The Headmaster or the ratepayers might block the Scheme by appealing against it. Further, there was ground for apprehension for political reasons. The Liberals had lost office.

'With the present Ministry in power the great thing to be gained is to send up unopposed Schemes. ² If the Aldenham Scheme is opposed by the Headmaster and parishioners I cannot avoid a doubt whether the Duke of Richmond will approve it. If on the other hand we endeavour to convince (or convict of error) the parishioners, the process will be long.'

But he had faith in the Scheme, he told her. And faith in the Brewers.

He was anxious, nonetheless. Ten days later he had to admit,

'We are in ignorance of the policy the new Government will adopt. If they mean to approve none but unopposed Schemes, Aldenham is doomed.'

Yet he advised against action.

¹Ibid. Letter of 28 October, 1873.

²Under Sec. 17 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1873, which amended the Act of 1869, the powers conferred by the original Act were to continue as regards unopposed Schemes up to 31 Dec. 1874 and as regards Schemes against which a petition had been presented, up to 15 August, 1874, i.e. to the end of the Parliamentary Session. But Latham was presumably thinking also whether, in the changed political climate, the Lord President would wish anyway to approve a scheme which was opposed.

³Archives of the North London Collegiate School, T.F.2., Letter of 20 March, 1874.
'I do not think you can do any good at present by moving. If it ever comes to a contest in either House of Parliament you and your friends can then do good service. At present the struggle lies between the "interests" and the Commissioners, the Brewers being clearly on the side of the Commissioners. If the local interests can be defeated your claim....is not only undisputed but warmly supported in most quarters.'

Meanwhile he thought the Brewers should not be pestered.

'Dealing with Companies is slow work because they meet but seldom. The Brewers are trotting along so steadily in the right direction that I am for leaving them alone...My own impression is that we shall carry the Aldenham Scheme but it needs good generalship and in Carnot's phrase, "surtout point de zèle" - that is to say, until we reach the moment for fighting. Then we must all do our best.'

Whether she took this advice is not clear for in June he was offering to give her a note of introduction to influential members of the Brewers' Company.

The Scheme had now gone forward to the Education Department and the Aldenham parishioners, as Latham had feared, immediately sent in objections. They submitted a list of elementary schools which existed in the district, or which they thought were needed, with the estimated cost of building and maintenance. They asked for £15000. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, invited to comment, said that the Scheme was already over-generous in that it not only transferred to the locality the buildings of the two lower schools on the Foundation but also assigned £8000, instead of the £5000, first specified, to meet the needs of elementary education.

While this was going on the Scheme got caught up in the procedures of the third Endowed Schools Act which came into force on 7th August. Latham, in the midst of his summer holiday, took a moment to explain to Miss Buss, 'The Education Department would approve no Scheme during the

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1 Ibid., 30 March, 1874
2 PRO Ed 27/1637
pendency of the Bill.\(^1\)

In fact, the new Act caused the Scheme to be re-published and a further period allowed for objections. The Aldenham parishioners returned to the charge. The Vicar came up to see the Lord President. But the Scheme survived. The Lord President was swayed not only by the views of the Endowed Schools Commission but by the Brewers, whose 'hearty approval', expressed in a formal resolution of support, had reached the Education Department by almost the same post as the objections from Aldenham.\(^2\) The Lord President gave his approval in January, 1875, but there were still more hoops to be gone through and four months passed before the Royal Assent. As Latham recalled later, the endowment of the two Camden Schools had been 'one of the main ambitions of the Commissioners from their first appointment.'\(^3\)

By the time it was accomplished the original Commission had been disbanded and Lyttelton and Roby sacked. But in the last stages Fitch and others in Victoria Street continued to keep Miss Buss informed at critical points of the progress of her Scheme.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Archives of the North London Collegiate School T.F. 2 Letter of 2 August, 1874

\(^2\) PRO Ed 27/1639 (Education Department file)

\(^3\) Frances Mary Buss Schools Jubilee Record, p. 138

\(^4\) Ridley, op. cit. pp. 151-2.
Places where the endowment was particularly small.

To find endowment for the Camden schools may not have been easy but at least in this case one part of the Commissioners' problem was solved to start with: they knew there was demand. 'The actual success achieved by these Schools - 254 girls in the Upper and 286 in the Lower School' was part of the case put forward by Latham for giving them endowment. In fact this meant that the parents of 254 girls were willing to pay £10–15 per annum and the parents of 286 girls £4–8 per annum, to have their daughters educated along lines which the Taunton Commission had recommended, for these schools were almost prototypes of what the Commission thought first and second grade girls' schools should be. But was it possible to know how many parents in the country at large would follow this example?

The main purpose of endowment was to secure and maintain school buildings; other costs were to be met by the fees. And attempts to assess the demand for secondary education were attempts to assess how many parents would pay fees to send their children to 'schools above the primary'. In the case of boys it was difficult enough, though the

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1 The Schemes referred to in the rest of this Chapter and in Chapters 5 and 6 are listed in the tables in Appendix III (1) and (2). These are based on data the Commissioners appended to their Report of 1874 (BPP 1875 XXVIII Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners &c., Appendix A, B.) plus details from the files in the Public Record Office.

2 PRO ed 27/1637, August, 1872, Latham to Commissioners

3 Fees in School Prospectus, 1871

4 'Above' meant 'offering a superior education', not, 'educating children superior in age'.
Taunton Commission had tried to do it; in the case of girls it was simply guesswork. In all the Taunton evidence on girls' education no category appears in a worse light than parents. The richest of them squander their money and their daughters' youth on meretricious accomplishments; the less rich slavishly imitate the rich; the still less rich keep their daughters from school on the least provocation. Parents, the Report says,

'will not pay for good teaching when they might have it...oppose what is not showy and attractive...are themselves the cause of deterioration in competent Teachers...their own want of cultivation hinders it in their children.'

'What is desirable,' said Dr. Hodgson in evidence, 'is that the notions of the parents should be altered; and of course no legislation can do that.' Yet the financial viability of endowed girls' schools depended on its being done, or at least on sufficient parents coming forward to pay fees for the new style of schooling.

Time and time again the Commissioners were told that the demand did not exist.

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1 SIC I pp. 97-99. D. C. Richmond, then their Registrar, had based his calculations on statistics for Suffolk and arrived at an estimate not very different from that of Dr. Farr of the Registrar General's Department who proposed to the Commission a demand for 12.55 boys per 1000 population. There were problems, of course, in allowing for the difference between town and country. As a rough guide the Commissioners decided that 'there should be provision ultimately in towns for not less than 16 boys per thousand population' and that 'in every town large enough to maintain a day school....there should be at once provision for 10 boys per thousand population.'

2 The most vivid account of how middle class parents of varying affluence educated daughters was written by Bryce, SIC IX 823-9.


'This is a poor place,' wrote the Rector of Elland, in Yorkshire, 'the manufacturers and shopkeepers are themselves quite uneducated, and while they would make a certain extra effort for their sons, in the hope that they may ultimately be of some additional assistance to themselves, would scarcely be disposed to spend £4 or £5 on the education of their daughters.'

At March, in the Fen country, most people, Fitch said, felt very doubtful whether a girls' school would be appreciated.

'It is said that the National Schools are freely used by the lower class of tradesmen for their daughters; and that the classes above the, as soon as they can afford it send their girls away to boarding schools...'

A group of gentlemen resident in Bedford gave as their opinion that 'even if proper Buildings and establishments were provided for the superior education of Girls they would not be availed of by the great majority of Parents having Girls, whose position in life required such education.'

While at Rishworth the Wheelwright Trustees asserted that the school proposed for girls was impracticable.

'...the Trustees from their long residence in and acquaintance with the neighbourhood being convinced it will be a failure and that it is not required.'

All these predictions were made at about the time that the Camden School was first proving itself. They were not necessarily disinterested. Yet they might be correct. Fearon, new to the West Riding, had written, 'I mistrust all the statements they make to me about the non-existence of a sufficient constituency to support a school in any place.'

The problem of judging a sufficient constituency was of course inherent in working the Act yet where girls were concerned it was particularly difficult. There was so little to go on.

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1-PRO Ed 27/5819, May 4, 1871
2-PRO Ed 27/173, July 14, 1872
3-PRO Ed 27/8A Memorial forwarded by Latham to Commissioners, Jan. 13, 1871
4-PRO Ed 27/6074 Trustees' objections, Oct. 12, 1871.
5-PRO Ed 27/5815 Fearon to Robinson, May 9, 1870.
Assistant Commissioners were reminded by their general instructions to ascertain in each case what was required for girls. They picked up impressions on this as on other things by talking to people and getting the feel of the locality but were rarely offered anything precise. More often than not, in the last resort, the question of demand was a question of faith, a point well taken by some of the Vestry of St.-Martin-in-the-Fields who thought there was no great demand for a Middle Class girls' school in that parish but added shrewdly, 'The Commissioners seem to think that the want exists and that if the School be supplied, the demand for it will be developed.'

The greatest amount of faith was needed in places where the endowment was small. Although, in 1873, in evidence before the Select Committee, the Commissioners spoke of local opposition as the major hindrance to their efforts for girls, a year earlier, in their Report to the Education Department, they had spoken mainly of the practical aspect. Where an endowment was enjoyed by boys and was no more than adequate for them it was difficult to divert any of it. In certain ways, as they gained experience, the Commissioners modified their printed instructions. Thus, in November, 1870, when Stanton embarked on his first inquiry they told him that while as a general rule he should inquire into provision for girls this 'may often be obviously impossible from the smallness of the endowment or from other local reasons, and the inquiry would then be a waste of time.'

1See p. 43 above

2PRO Ed 27/3322 Memorial of 2 April, 1872

3BPPE 1872 XXIV Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners & etc. pp.23-4

4PRO Ed 27/4217
We have seen that the Commissioners' plans for the West Riding were sometimes frustrated by lack of endowment and that they failed, in particular, to set up all the third grade schools they had in mind. Perhaps because circumstances varied so much they seem to have laid down no hard-and-fast ruling about the minimum sum that should be looked for, but to have assumed, in a general way, that a third grade girls' school, in addition to buildings, needed something of the order of £100 p.a.1 One of the things this £100, had to cover was the fixed stipend of the headmistress which, where the leaving age was 15 and the fees ran from £2.3 to £5., might be £40. p.a.2 or £50 p.a.3 Where the leaving age and therefore the grade was slightly higher4 the stipend might be £75. or £80. p.a.5 On top of this, the headmistress was entitled to a capitation fee on every pupil. At a third grade school this could be as little as 10 shillings or as much as £2.; the exact amount, within the range laid down by the Scheme, was left for her to settle with the governors. But one effect of the capitation fee, apart from giving the headmistress an incentive, was to tie the school's finances closely to the existence of a sufficient constituency.6

1See Robinson's advice to Fearon at Tadcaster: 'To make a satisfactory third grade School for 30 or 40 girls we should have a capital sum of £600. to build a school and a yearly income of £100. to pay the mistress and work the School.' This was written in 1879 but is consistent with earlier practice. PRO Ed 27/6194.

2As at Thornton and Taunton Huish.

3As at Ilminster and West Ham, Sarah Bonnells.

4The Commissioners were less rigid over grading girls' schools than they were over boys'. See p. 175 below.

5As at Wallingford and St.-Martin-in-the-Fields.

6Schemes were not uniform. In the preliminary negotiations fees were a frequent subject for debate and the outcome varied. At Wallingford, for instance, the headmistress's stipend was £75. p.a. plus 15 shillings capitation, while at St.-Martin-in-the-Fields it was £80. plus 10-30 shillings capitation. Both Schemes were made in 1873 and imposed tuition fees of £2.-5. and an age range of 7-16 years.
Payment of assistants was not fixed in the Scheme but it usually assigned money for repair of buildings. Ideally, also, some provision was made for scholarships, to bring in bright children from the elementary schools¹ as well as for leaving exhibitions to take the best pupils on to some school of a higher grade.

These were the main recurrent expenses. They assume, of course, a school building in existence and in nine cases out of ten a building would have had to be built, or hired, making further demands on an endowment already strained, perhaps, by the need for alterations to make existing premises adequate for boys. Sometimes, where new buildings were built for the boys the girls could use the old ones but this still meant large demands on capital. ² It is not surprising, then, that frequently a Scheme for even the lowest grade of girls' school was out of the question. In some places, as at Kirkby Malham, where the income was £124 p.a., secondary education was not provided for either boys or girls but the Scheme established a new elementary school with an upper department. At Rastrick, where the income was £100 p.a. Yalding (£126.), Sowerby (£135.), Great Baddow (£190.) and Mirfield (£220.), the Commissioners were content with a Scheme which directed that girls might be admitted to the school if desired. 'If and so soon as the funds admit', or some similar phrase, occurs very

¹As the Commissioners explained to the governors of the Greycoat Hospital, it was intended to offer a ladder 'by which some even of the poorest class may (if industrious) rise out of the primary schools into a higher region of education. 'PRO Ed 27/3284, letter of Feb. 1, 1871.

²At Keighley the double burden was avoided by co-operation with the Mechanics Institute. The girls used the old grammar school and the boys moved to the Mechanics Institute, which received a grant from the endowment. In this way it was possible to establish two schools in Keighley with a gross income of £336. p.a. At Bingley there was similar co-operation. At Uffculme, in Devon, where the boys' school was defunct, the Commissioners tried the experiment of establishing a girls' school on the foundation, which had good buildings, but an income of only £45. p.a. It did not succeed.
Governors might then be empowered, as at Burnley (£276) and Audley (£350) to set up a department or school for girls or to provide them with Exhibitions; or simply, as at Gillingham, Dorset (£283), 'to make the endowment available for (their) secondary education.' Usually the direction was in general terms but the Scheme for Newport, Essex (£300) contained full details for the arrangement of the girls' school, when it should exist, because Latham hoped this would give 'a reasonable measure of encouragement to such trustees....as might desire a Girls' School.' In other cases, while the Scheme looked forward to the establishment of a girls' school eventually, it made some modest, immediate provision. At Beaminster (£200), £20 a year was to be set aside for Exhibitions to enable girls at elementary schools to advance to something higher. At Shaftesbury (£300), when money was released from the compensation of vested interests the trustees were to establish a girls' school; meanwhile, they must assign a sum for Exhibitions. Similarly, at Holbeach (£300), £40 p.a. was set aside for a pension but was eventually to provide Exhibitions. Here and at Bideford (£174) the trustees' obligation was confined to Exhibitions and there was no reference to the prospect of a girls' school.

The Commissioners considered Exhibitions second best. Sometimes, as Fitch told trustees at Wells, because the endowment would not suffice for two schools they did not see any better plan. In other cases, as at

\[1\] PRO Ed 27/1186, Latham to Lyttelton, April 8, 1873

\[2\] PRO Ed 27/4181, letter of 2 August, 1871
Shaftesbury and Bideford, they started with the idea of providing two schools but found the endowment would not stretch to it and made the Scheme for a boys' school only, with girls' Exhibitions. The expedient of making the money go further by establishing a mixed school for children of this class was also considered. Mixed elementary schools were common enough and some grammar school foundations, especially in the north, were admitting girls at the time of Taunton but only, Fitch found, when they had ceased to be grammar schools in anything but name. He thought the girls gained little, educationally; in fact, were worse off than in a National School. But when such endowments came to be reorganised the presence of girl scholars seems to have created a presumption favourable to their remaining.

'There are at present 39 boys and 7 girls on the Books,' wrote Fearon from Dent. 'No harm whatever appears to arise from the admission of girls; and, with proper premises, the practice might be continued.'

At Thornton, where the income was £120 p.a., the fact that there were girls there already, 'many of them apparently of the Third Grade Class', influenced the Commissioners towards making a Scheme for a third grade mixed school. With other small foundations the Scheme contemplated that girls might be admitted, one day, on this basis.

1The Instructions To Assistant Commissioners directed them 'to collect opinions as to the possibility, in Third Grade Schools at least, of introducing the plan of teaching boys and girls together.'

2SIC IX 197

3PRO Ed 27/5777

4PRO Ed 27/5737
Attempts to make the most of limited resources by combining endowments were successful at Keighley where the income was brought up to £336 p.a. by amalgamating Drake's and Tonson's foundations, and a girls' school was established. At Elland, on the other hand, the Commissioners' idea of amalgamating Brooksbank's and Ramsden's charities had to be abandoned because one of them came under Section 19 of the Act and the other did not. This failure was one factor which contributed to nothing being done there for girls. At Beaminster, where £20 annually was to be set aside for girls' education, it had at first been hoped to provide a school for them, as well as one for boys; but that was at a stage when it was also hoped to combine the foundations of Beaminster and Netherby. The Netherby headmaster was an awkward man who turned out also to have a vested interest which it would have been expensive to compensate, so the plan was given up.

There could be many obstacles, apart from unwillingness in the locality, to amalgamation.

Another expedient on which high hopes had been built by those interested in girls' education was the conversion, under Section 30, of obsolete charities. The printed Instructions drew attention to this resource, though warning that initiative must come from the trustees, and on individual cases the Assistant Commissioner was often advised of

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1 Section 19 enabled schools which could prove their denominational character to give distinctive religious education and to require distinctive religious qualifications of their governors and masters.

2 Money assigned for doles, dowries, ransoms, apprentice fees and other antique purposes could be used for education, with the trustees' consent. The Report of the Fifth meeting of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, held in June, 1870, quotes the President, Josephine Butler, as saying: 'Mr. Hobhouse, one of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, writes that we 'must not expect to gain from the readjustment of an endowment where anything would be lost to boys.' But on the side of misapplied charities he hopes, and we all hope, for a great deal.
local charities which might be available. At Kingston-on-Thames the small grammar school endowment was more than doubled by conversion of doles and this made possible the founding of two third grade schools, Tiffins Day Schools, for boys and girls. The Kendrick Schools at Reading, of a similar type, were founded entirely from a dole charity. At Barnet a very small grammar school endowment was supplemented by the Jesus Hospital in a scheme which set aside £100, p.a. for girls. But apart from these examples there is little sign that in the many places where educational endowment was small Section 30 did very much for girls. The Commissioners' inquiries into obsolete charities often came to nothing or brought trivial results.\(^1\)

When all expedients had been considered there might be no way of raising a gross income higher than £100, p.a. or less. If it was much less it might be impossible to maintain a grammar school of any kind and the decision might be taken, as at Drighlington (£60.), to convert the endowment to Exhibitions for children of both sexes. The mixed school established in the Thornton Scheme was backed by only £120, p.a. The smallest foundation for which the Commissioners made a scheme distinctly for two separate schools was for Kendricks, Reading, which had an income of £200, p.a. More commonly, with an income of this order, if a boys' school was maintained the girls, as we have seen, were assigned a small amount for Exhibitions.\(^2\)

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1. At Sherborne, for instance, a large number of endowments for shifts for the poor, bread, doles, apprentice fees and loans to tradesmen were converted and together made less than £50, p.a. See P.R.O. Ed. 27/886. Doles formed an element in the finances of much larger schemes, as at Warwick, Wakefield and Grantham, but we are here concerned with foundations which, financially speaking, were on the margin.

2. See also Lyttelton's instructions of 11 May, 1872, to the Assistant Commissioner on Lutterworth: 'If we assume that £200 a year remains the best application for it may perhaps be a mixed 3rd grade school for boys and girls (see Thornton Scheme). If the fund be materially below this amount the School must be for boys only, or Upper Depts. may be attached to the Elementary Schools (see Schemes for Kirkby Malham and Abbots Bromley).' PRO Ed 27/2460.
3. Places where money was available for girls

At the other end of the scale from these small endowments were foundations with incomes running into four or even five figures. From some of them whole school systems were established, including substantial provision for girls.

The Haberdashers Company (£8,000 p.a.) promoted four new day schools, two of them for girls. The Merchant Taylors increased their allocation of funds to education and provided a girls' school in addition to their boys' school at Crosby. The Grocers Company appropriated £1,000 pra. to education under Section 30, for boys in the first instance, but taking power under their Scheme to convert the schools for girls if expedient. All these Schemes went through without difficulty, partly, if not mainly because they were dealing with money which was uncommitted. There had been enormous increases in income.

There was a limit to the amount which the Brewers, or the Haberdashers, for instance, wished to spend on their almshouses. Both these Companies approached the Commission with schemes to do more for education, and while their schemes might not come up to Taunton standards they could be, and were, licked into shape. For the Companies on the whole were very co-operative. Such cases, in fact, came nearest to meeting

1. They reserved certain privileges for the sons of Freemen and assumed that the Company would continue to monopolise the governing body.

2. And not unsympathetic to girls' education. Counting what the Brewers did in Camden, five girls' schools were endowed by Companies under Schemes promoted by the Endowed Schools Commission. Later, the Brewers endowed Dame Alice Owen's girls' school, having abolished the almshouses on that foundation; the Clothworkers gave further endowment to the North London Collegiate School; the Skinners endowed a Middle School for girls and the Mercers provided endowment for St. Paul's Girls' School.
the Commissioners' ideal of starting from scratch: they were not encumbered with existing claims.\footnote{In their Report of 1872 the Commissioners pointed out the practical difficulty of apportioning existing endowments between the two sexes 'on principles which might be held sound in themselves and would be applicable if the matter were res integra.'}

Other relatively unencumbered cases were those, such as Roan's Charity at Greenwich, or Palmer's at Crays Thurrock, where there had been a large increase in an income hitherto spent on elementary education. The Trustees were eager to have new Schemes. They did not think at first in terms of secondary schools but once they were persuaded to it by the Commissioners,\footnote{Latham's masterly letter of persuasion to the Roan Trustees may be taken as a model of the Commissioners' views in this delicate area. He points out that, since the passing of the Elementary Education Act, the cost of elementary education in Greenwich should fall, in the last resort, on the rates of the Metropolis. Some free places in elementary schools may still be preserved as the reward of merit - thus the poor of Greenwich will not be deprived of the benefit which the Founder intended for them. And, if secondary schools are established, they may rise up into them by winning exhibitions. 'A wealthy Endowment can however supply the schools needed for the rising children of the poor, and can admit at least some of them free of cost, provided its Managers be willing to take advantage of the public demand for secondary education. They must sell education to those who can afford to pay for it, at the same time that they give it freely to those who deserve it but cannot afford to pay.' PRO Ed 27/2023, 17 January, 1872.} the field was very favourable for girls.

'The place is insignificant,' wrote Roby of Grays Thurrock, 'but the Endowment is large...The School has hitherto been only an Elementary one; and the Trustees have judiciously postponed attempting to reconstitute it with their larger means pending the action of this Commission. It may be looked on, therefore, as practically a new case, unembarrassed by what has previously happened.'\footnote{My italics. PRO Ed 27/1147, Roby to Cumin, 13 June, 1870.}

The prospects of girls, he went on to say, were favoured by the freedom...of the fund from existing claims. There can be no more obviously strong case than such a one as this for the inclusion of Girls' Schools. The Schools Inquiry Commissioners and the present Commission have expressed decided opinion that in all important cases the claim of Girls is in itself fully equal to that of Boys; the practical difficulty is to withdraw any part of a fund already and for a long time enjoyed by boys, and not more than enough for them. This difficulty is absent here.'
It was possible, then, to divide the endowment at Grays Thurrock equally between boys and girls and build a new school for each. At Greenwich no specific apportionment was made but the boys' and girls' schools built were to be equal in size, both to hold as many as 300 pupils.

There were other places where increased wealth and willing Trustees gave scope to the Commission. Orme's foundation at Newcastle-under-Lyme was gaining large revenues from coal and ironstone; yet Orme's school was only elementary. The print was hardly dry on the Endowed Schools Act when one of Orme's trustees wrote to the Commission urging that the fund should be made the basis of a system of schools of various grades. And this was done. The Scheme provided for a first and a third grade boys' school, and a school for girls.

At Stamford it was not mineral royalties but the addition of the surplus funds of Browne's Hospital which brought the income up to well over £2000. p.a. Here again three schools were established: first and third grade for boys and a third grade school for girls. In Leicester two second grade schools were established, one for boys and one for girls, out of the funds of Wyggeston's Hospital newly turned over to education. In Burton-on-Trent the grammar school endowment was amalgamated with Alsopp's Charity, which had lately increased its income, and this made possible the foundation of the Alsopp's Schools for boys and girls. The enormous Harpur revenues at Bedford which contained in themselves no expansive element were effectively increased in regard to education

PRO Ed 27/4255

In fact, a net income of £12000. p.a. was overstrained at the time of Taunton. See SIC VIII 694.
by being re-allocated. The Trustees abolished marriage portions, reduced their almshouses and developed their schools, creating first and second grade schools for girls.1 At Wakefield, converted apprentice fees and doles helped to transform an endowment income of £400 p.a. into one of £3000. Three schools were projected, one of them for girls, and each supplied with entering and leaving exhibitions. At Warwick no fewer than 13 separate schemes, chiefly made under Section 30, combined to create an endowment income of £2,500; this again was to supply three schools, one of them for girls, plus generous exhibitions. In the case of the Mary Datchelor Foundation the transfer was not made under Section 30 but doles and apprentice fees had been recently converted by a scheme made under the Charitable Trusts Act. All that remained for the Endowed Schools Commissioners was to make another scheme enabling the Trustees to spend their money building a girls' school in Camberwell instead of in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft.

In places, then, where there was an increase of income it was relatively easy to apply Section 12.2 In others, endowment seems to have

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1The educational resources of the Harpur Foundation were also dramatically 'increased' by the imposition of school fees. It was of course a Taunton principle that fees should be charged unless they were remitted as the reward of merit and the Endowed Schools Commissioners stuck to this absolutely, though few things brought more odium upon them than imposing fees on a 'free' grammar school. What distinguished the Harpur Foundation from others was the scale on which free education had been given. There were six Harpur schools, all free. Widows and half pay officers from all over England settled in Bedford to benefit from this. But, as Mr. Wright reported for the Taunton Commission, if the privilege were abolished it would allow 'of other extensions of the education...such as so rich a foundation ought to supply. Chief among these would be a school for girls of the middle class, for whom there is at present no provision.' Ibid. p.698

2This is the impression given by the records of those cases where provision was made for girls. It is not inconsistent with Robinson's statement to the Select Committee of 1873 that 'in one or two cases where a new endowment has become available we have provided that girls should have a reasonable share of it.' BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee & etc. Q. 1747. But in their final Report the Commissioners said they often met determined opposition 'even where an Endowment was large, and had improved or was likely to improve greatly in value...' BPP 1875 XXVIII Report & etc., p.7. A valid comparison could only be made by studying the records of all their cases, not just the ones in which they were successful.
been available for girls mainly because it was being spent on them already. Bonnell's School in West Ham was a girls' elementary school before Latham went down and put to the Trustees that 'the real present want of the parish is a good middle class girls' school not an elementary school.'\(^1\) The Lady Eleanor Holles foundation maintained an elementary school and an industrial school for girls; the Trustees themselves were interested in moving into the field of secondary education. The Trustees of the Coborn Foundation in Stepney, who had elementary schools for boys and girls, agreed to establish third grade schools instead. The Trustees of the Holborn Estate Charity made a similar change.

But places where, for one reason or another, money seems to have been regarded as available for girls no more represent the whole work of the Commissioners than do those where the endowment was so small that they were forced to bid for crumbs. Between these two extremes lie the many cases in which it was hard to say how much was to spare. Sometimes, the ground was already pre-empted by the claims of a distinguished school; sometimes the money was locked within a system utterly at variance with Taunton principles. To such cases we must now turn.

\(^1\text{PRO Ed 27/1223, Latham to Commissioners, 8 January, 1872.}\)
When the Commissioners spoke of the difficulty of diverting money to girls' education where, as in the majority of cases, 

'an Endowment is actually enjoyed by Boys' Schools, and is not more than enough for the local needs of male education'\(^1\), they clearly were not thinking of such a case as Aldenham; not only because the money available there was more than twice what they considered necessary, even for a great school,\(^2\) but because they deliberately excluded at Aldenham any thought of 'local needs of male education'. It was to be a first grade boarding school.\(^3\) Not that the Commissioners regarded boarding as appropriate only to schools of this type. But where they specified boarding provision in schools of lower grade it was usually with an eye to the needs of the locality, broadly considered. The Taunton Commission had drawn attention to the usefulness of boarding schools in country districts\(^4\) and in this they only followed an existing pattern. The Endowed Schools Commissioners did

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\(^1\) BPP 1872 XXIV Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners & etc., pp. 23-4.

\(^2\) They allotted the school £2,000 p.a. out of an income of over £4,000.

\(^3\) The Scheme, in fact, was for a day and boarding school but there were very few day boys there.

\(^4\) 'For those tenant farmers who desire to give their children an education of the second grade or, in some cases, of the first, for the professional men scattered about the country, the clergy for instance, the medical practitioners in the villages...it would be impossible to provide day schools since they are too thinly scattered to fill them. For them boarding schools as cheap as is consistent with efficiency ought to be provided if possible.' SIC I 48.
the same. When the little grammar school at Thame, for instance, was set on its feet again as a second grade school for 120 boys, including 60 boarders, it was not supposed that the 60 boarders would come to Thame from all over England. When the Barrow Trustees at Borden discussed suggestions for a second grade school they wished it to be 'mainly a farmers' school' taking 80 day boys and 50 boarders. The two third grade schools established at Grays Thurrock were both to take boarders. The Trustees made a point of this, even for girls, for, they said, 'the population is so scattered that a Boarding as well as Day School is absolutely required.'

At Stamford it was not thought sufficient that the Grammar School alone should take boarders; for it was of the first grade. A lower class of parent, sending boys and girls to the new Middle Schools was expected to need this facility. 'The Dean of Stamford was in favour of a hostel and all agreed that some provision must be made for boarders.' There are many other instances where boarding was favoured to meet the needs of a rural locality.

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1 PRO Ed 27/1792, Fitch's account of discussion with Trustees on 30 March, 1874.
2 PRO Ed 27/1147, Note of Assistant Commissioner's meeting with Trustees on 14 June, 1870.
3 PRO Ed 27/2612, Hammond, 16 April, 1872, reports meeting with Trustees.
4 But not of an urban one. The Trustees at Batley were slapped down when they suggested taking boarders. The Commissioners, they were told, 'can hardly think that Batley is a place well suited for a Boarding School. The sites of such Schools should be at a distance from great centres of population rather than in thickly peopled neighbourhoods or in the heart of a busy and rapidly increasing manufacturing town.' PRO Ed 27/5653, February, 1872.
But this was not why boarding was provided at Aldenham. Fine Buildings and a fine site already existed and the Commissioners assumed from the beginning 'that an important school will certainly remain on the spot.' Having dismissed as over-ambitious the idea of making Aldenham the centre of a regional network of secondary schools they took up what they saw as the other alternative:

'to divest the School of all local bearing, and promote its continuance or even extension as a great national Classical School of the First Grade'.

They applied themselves then to making sure that the surplus endowment, beyond what was needed to support such a school, should be suitably employed; with results which we have seen.

It was mainly wealth which distinguished Aldenham from other schools of a similar kind for which Schemes were made. Giggleswick and Sedbergh, Repton, Sherborne and Uppingham were all first grade schools, all in the country, all taking boarders and all with connections, or aspirations, beyond the locality. Yet none had entirely shaken it off. At Aldenham, as we have seen, large sums of money were assigned to local claims. If there had not been a great deal to spare it is arguable that the Camden Schools would have had to wait for their endowment. The claims of the locality varied in each case but always tended to depress the claims of girls.

(1) Public schools and the locality

1.1. Giggleswick

'We have here a revenue of nearly £1,200, good buildings, a healthy situation accessible by railway from all parts

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1 PRO Ed 27/1637. Instructions to Latham, 16 May, 1872. See also pp. 112-113 above.

2 The process whereby such schools cut loose from the locality well before the Taunton Commission reported is analysed in F. E. Balls: The origins of the Endowed Schools Act 1869... Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1964.
of Yorkshire and the North, together with some degree of prestige from the past history and associations of the School. These are the conditions out of which there should arise a school of the First Grade, offering an education of the most advanced and liberal kind, and fitted to take its place as one of the great Public Schools of the country.\(^1\)

So began the Commissioners' instructions to Fearon on the foundation at Giggleswick. The status of the school they regarded as given and maintaining it was the first charge on the endowment. That being so, it would hardly have served to propose dividing the £1,200 equally, for a boys' school and a girls' school as was done at Grays Thurrock on £900. Yet the Commissioners were clear that 'something ought to be done out of the Giggleswick Endowment for the education of girls.'\(^2\) The Scheme they made eventually assigned to this purpose £100 a year; not, it seems, on any theoretical basis which made this a suitable proportion of £1,200 but rather because £100 could be spared when steps had been taken to secure to Giggleswick its appropriate future.

For the school was at a crisis. It was as yet only on the brink of greatness. By means of a recent Chancery Scheme its narrow and parochial governing body had yielded to one of larger distinction under the chairmanship of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth; new buildings had been built and a new Head appointed, all with an eye to developing the school on more than local lines. Yet progress was blocked by its obligations to the locality. For 300 years the inhabitants of Settle had sent their sons to Giggleswick free. The result, Fitch said, when he reported for Taunton,

\(^1\)PRO Ed 27/5834, Instructions to Fearon, 28 April, 1870
\(^2\)Ibid.
was that many boys went there for whom a national school would have been more fitting and their presence discouraged boys of a higher class, especially boarders. Meanwhile, the inhabitants "fought stoutly" for this free education to continue. The Taunton Commissioners heard in evidence from one of the governors how all attempts to reach a compromise had failed. There was an impasse. In 1870, when they turned to Giggleswick, the Endowed Schools Commissioners set themselves to find a way out. That the school must be enabled to fulfil its potential as a great public school was never in question. But it would not be easy.

'We can maintain the principle of no gratuitous education except as the reward of merit,' they told Fearon, 'But while maintaining this principle how can we meet local requirements and conciliate local feeling?'

They did this in the end by providing that a third grade day school should be built in Settle. Though it was never built the £100 assigned for its construction was part of the arithmetic when the Scheme was made and one of the factors to be borne in mind

1§IC XVIII 93. 'It may be hoped', said Fitch, 'That there is a great future before this wealthy school, but its past history is full of warning.'

2Charles Roundell M.P. gave a long and detailed account of the struggle, (School Inquiry Commission Vol. XIII p. 307 et seq.) pressing upon them 'the absolute necessity of dealing with this question of free education in the most decided manner' i.e. by legislation. The Taunton Report came out strongly against indiscriminate free education and the Endowed Schools Commissioners stuck to this line, though there was nothing specific in the Act.

3PRO Ed 27/5834, Instructions to Fearon, 28 April, 1870.
when it was decided that £100 a year was the amount available for girls. Girls may have lost by it but the projected day school enabled the public school to pursue its destiny.\(^1\)

1.ii. Sedbergh

On the face of it, as we saw, Sedbergh was quite a different case. Its pitiful state had been distressing to Fitch when he reported to the Taunton Commission and nothing had improved by 1870 when the Commissioners told Fearon it was 'almost in abeyance.'\(^2\)

One of their aspirations for the West Riding was to accumulate from local foundations sufficient endowment to establish a girls' boarding school.\(^3\) Sedbergh School at this time was doing nothing, either for the district or the public at large. The Commissioners had the power to downgrade schools and sometimes used it. In theory, at least they could have made Sedbergh a third grade school to serve the locality and assigned a large part of the endowment to girls. There is nothing to suggest that such a plan was considered. As at Giggleswick they preserved the public school and added a day school to the foundation to compensate for the loss of local privileges. Further, they determined to remove the Headmaster who had been responsible for the school's decline. The price of buying him out of his freehold was part of the price of reconstituting Sedbergh: £400 a year to a man then 40. If they had not paid it, there seemed reason

\(^1\) Which it did most successfully. Where Fitch, in 1865, found only 37 boys, including 4 boarders, the returns made for the Bryce Commission show that in 1893 there were 210 boys, of whom all but 23 were boarders.

\(^2\) PRO Ed 27/5834. 28 April, 1870.

\(^3\) See pp. 55-58 above.
to suppose, the school would have gone under. It might even have lost that classic hallmark of the public school - its string of Exhibitions to the University. 1 Local landowners drafted a memorial expressing their anxiety lest this should happen. 2 Some of the governors came to see Robinson.

'There appears to be a general consent,' he noted, 'that the school should be a first grade school. This therefore must be done.' 3

Though daunted by its problems the Commissioners seem never to have thought of Sedbergh as anything other than a great school menqué. Its low state was regarded as an aberration. 4

In the event, there could be nothing for girls until the cessation of the Headmaster's pension. Long before their £200 p.a. was released Sedbergh had revived as a public school. 5 The Scheme which achieved this did not ignore the girls' claim but certainly treated it as secondary.

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1 Sedbergh was exceptionally well-endowed in this way, see p. 56 above. Thring explained to the Taunton Commission how the endowment of a few Exhibitions at Uppingham gave him the necessary drawing power to work that school up; the Rev. H. D. Harper, Headmaster of Sherborne, explained to Stanton when he visited the school for the Taunton inquiry that its advance was hampered by lack of Exhibitions.

2PRO Ed 27/6114, 5 March, 1873.

3Ibid. Interview Memo., 5 March, 1873.

4Fitch had described it to the Taunton Commission as a famous and wealthy school which had often produced scholars of eminence. 'It is unfortunate that at the time of this inquiry the school was in a temporary and wholly exceptional state of inefficiency...'

5The returns to the Bryce Commission show that it had 6 day boys and 195 boarders in 1893. The girls' money did not become available till the Headmaster's death in 1900. A Scheme was made for it in 1902.
In comparison with Sedbergh and Giggleswick, which, at the time their endowments were reorganised, had still to establish themselves securely as leading schools, the position of Repton had long been acknowledged. Indeed, in his report to the Taunton Commission the Assistant Commissioner drew attention to the fact that Repton,

'almost from the time of its foundation...appears to have been less a day school than a considerable public school for boarders, the sons of gentlemen.'

There were when he wrote only 26 day boys but 180 boarders who belonged entirely to the upper classes. The day boys usually left the school at 15 and did not take the whole course. Their presence there was irksome.

'It is said that the day boys do not mix well with the gentlemen boarders...and lower the respectability of the boarding school.'

It was hoped to free the school from its local connections by building 'a separate subsidiary school....in which the village boys should receive a more national or commercial education....' and in fact in 1867 a Scheme was made by the Charity Commission which provided for the building of elementary schools in the villages of Repton and Etwall. When the Endowed Schools Commission came to deal with the case an elementary school had been built at Etwall but not at Repton, and this was complained of.

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1 SIC XVI 506

2 At the time of the Taunton inquiry it seems to have been thought that the subsidiary school might also offer Latin and serve in some degree as a stepping stone to the grammar school but nothing came of it.
In another way, also, the public school was involved with the locality. Sir John Port, the founder, had made his bequest for a Hospital as well as a Grammar School. In 1872 the Etwall Hospital with its old almsmen and Hereditary Governors survived in a style which might have interested Trollope but which did nothing to forward the prospects of the School.\(^1\) It now appeared essential to apportion the endowment between the claims of alms and of education. The School, it was accepted, would be of the first grade\(^2\) but more must be done for local education since only one of the two elementary schools which were the price of emancipating Repton from a handful of day boys had yet been built. In such a case, how strong were the claims of girls?

The answer seems to have been, Not very. Correspondence went back and forth between the Commission and the Hereditary Governors over the amount due to Etwall Hospital and other complications associated with it. It was decided to appease the

\(^1\)The almsmen had some seats on the governing body. A report made to the Charity Commission in the 1860's described them as "a troublesome and rather insubordinate body...quite incapable of taking any useful part in the management of the property. Most of them were illiterate and many were intemperate....drawn from the class of ordinary labourers. They were required to attend service in Sir John Port's Chapel in Etwall Church twice daily but they did not appear...to value the privilege or profit by the practice." Quoted in Mr. Selby Bigge's report of a public inquiry held Dec., 1900, on PRO Ed 27/551.

\(^2\)See Commissioners' letter of 14 Feb. 1870 to Trustees: "as regards Repton Grammar School, its position and well-established reputation distinctly marking it out as a school of the first grade..." PRO Ed 27/550.
locality by building an elementary school at Repton and assigning £50 a year to the maintenance of the school at Etwall. The endowment produced over £2,000 a year but as the Scheme revealed, there were nine claims upon it; and the £100 set aside for girls came ninth.¹

1. iv. Sherborne

At the time the Commissioners embarked on the West Riding they also started work in Somerset and Dorset and Fitch was instructed to report on Sherborne. The Kings School had a very able Headmaster, the Rev. H. D. Harper² who by his own efforts had made it one of the leading schools of England.

'What might have been a provincial grammar school', wrote Stanton, when he reported for the Taunton Commission, 'bids fair to rank among our great public schools. If intended originally as a mere local school, it has completely outstepped the circle of such intention, and outgrown the limits of its early constitution.'³

The need to emancipate the school from these limits was something about which the Headmaster felt strongly and upon which he

¹'If the income of the Trust is sufficient for the purpose'. Rather unusually, but sensibly, no doubt, Clause 34 of the Scheme informs the governors of the order of priority of claims upon their income:

First. They shall pay the interest on loans, if any, raised by them...
Secondly. They shall defray the expenses of management...
Thirdly. They shall pay what may be due in respect of any interest hereby saved.
Fourthly. They shall pay the hereditary Governors the annual sum of £900 for the purposes of the Hospital at Etwall.
Fifthly. They shall make provision for the maintenance of the Grammar School.
Sixthly. They shall make provision for scholarships tenable in the Grammar School.
Seventhly. They shall make provision for aiding the Elementary Schools.
Eighthly. They shall make provision for exhibitions for the promotion of higher education.
Ninthly. They shall make provision for the education of girls...'

²Roby's cousin, and very sensitive to the position of public schools such as Sherborne which had not been included with the Clarendon Schools. He later took part, with Dr. Thring, in the foundation of the Headmasters' Conference; he was chairman 1869-77.

could speak with eloquence. The situation was the familiar one: the school now relied heavily on boarders but could not get rid of the privilege of day boys, though the education given, as Stanton had observed, was 'entirely unsuited to the conceived wants of any but quite the upper tradesmen.'

Once again, the decision as to grade was a formality. The Commissioners went through the motions of assuming that it would depend on the results of comprehensive inquiry but the Governors took this for what it was worth. As their school was the largest in the West of England and sent the most boys to the university, they told the Commissioners, they had no doubt as to the grade which would be assigned it.

But it was easier to persuade the Commissioners that Sherborne should be launched as a major public school than to convince the town. The local press was quick to spot the implications, noting with surprise that the Assistant Commissioner:

'thought it the correct thing whilst here to be the guest of the Headmaster. It is said Sherborne is to be the great School for the Western district.....But supposing Sherborne becomes a great school, cui bono? It may be a very fine thing for the masters but will it help the town?'

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1 PRO Ed 27/906. See especially the cuttings from local papers reporting a public meeting held on 23 Sept., 1879. His theme was that the time had come when local restrictions were being removed everywhere. 'He held that if they went back to local limitations they would make fools of themselves'.

2 PRO Ed 27/906, To Trustees, 18 Jan. 1870.

3 Ibid., 16 Feb. 1870.

4 Sherborne Journal, 2 June, 1870.
Who would benefit, they asked, 'if our Kings School can be
made a small Harrow.' The problem here had of course occurred
at Harrow, and the Harrovian solution was adopted: to found
a lower school.

It was hoped to do this by using other charities in Sherborne.
Fitch began to investigate them. The Scheme, he admitted, would
deprive the town of some privileges. But 'opposition would be
disarmed if a good Third Grade School could be set up simultaneously.'
Meanwhile the temper of the opposition was carefully studied by
Mr. Harper. The crucial point came at a public meeting when by
his shrewdness and good humour his opponents were dissuaded
from blocking the Scheme and went away pacified under the impression
that £100 p.a. would be devoted to Exhibitions at the Kings
School for boys from the lower school. In this way, with the
help of the Commissioners, the Kings School was at last free of
the town.

The Scheme did nothing whatever for girls, nor were their

1PRO Ed 27/906, Fitch to Commissioners, 12 June, 1870.
2Ibid., especially his letter to Fitch of 22 Sept., 1870.
3Exactly what was understood at this meeting later became a
matter of dispute and there was bitterness and talk of bad faith.
There seems to be no evidence of bad faith - indeed, Mr. Harper
assured Fitch plainly that the meeting understood what the Scheme
would provide - but undoubtedly his main concern was the future
of the Kings School. The provision in the Scheme that boys 'from
such lower schools as the governors shall settle' should compete
for a quarter of the Exhibitions seems flat, though, beside
Harper's picture at the meeting of "a boy who had abilities, taken
from the plough-tail" to work his way up to the Kings School.
claims discussed. What it did do was to throw back upon minor charities the whole burden of endowing secondary education, of whatever kind, for the people of Sherborne. It turned out in the end that there was not enough money. The funds upon which so much reliance had been placed were Foster's and Woodman's, totalling together little more than £100 p.a. Moreover, half of Foster's charity was assigned to girls' elementary education, and remained so. The Commissioners scratched together a host of little dole charities which were converted under Section 30 and brought £48. So the income of the middle school was tiny from the start and it soon ran into financial difficulties. The Scheme for the middle school included a provision that at some future time a scheme might be made for the money assigned to girls from Foster's Charity. But this was never done. On the contrary, this income was absorbed for a period to bolster up the boys' school.

The lack of even girls' Exhibitions in Sherborne can be traced then, indirectly, to the Commissioners' decision to launch the public school and to their framing a Scheme which assigned no part at all of an endowment income of £1,400 p.a. to other secondary education in the town.

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1PRO Ed 27/886

2For this and what follows see PRO Ed 27/887. Fearon, who had to sort them out in 1880, expressed doubt 'whether such a School as this ought ever to have been established in Sherborne; at any rate with so small an endowment.'
One or two details of the Sherborne Scheme were copied later in the Scheme for Uppingham but in most respects Uppingham School was unique. A sixteenth century Archdeacon of Leicester had founded grammar schools at Oakham and Uppingham and attached to each a Hospital for poor men and women, with a single Trust in control over all. The schools survived the centuries without distinction. Placed in villages six miles apart they were naturally rivals but concern with their rivalry hardly went beyond the boundaries of Rutland. It was as much as anything the rivalry of squires, for the landowners and parsons who formed the Trust came about equally from the neighbourhood of each. This was the locality where Edward Thring set out to establish a great public school. He took over Uppingham in 1853 and began at once to mould it on his own lines. He was outstandingly successful. By 1869 the 25 pupils with which he began had increased to over 300; numerous boarding houses had been built; a large new schoolroom and a chapel had been added, as well as features quite new then in public schools; a gymnasium and a carpentry shop. Thring had been invited to describe his work in evidence before the Taunton Commission. All he had achieved had been done by himself under the continual burden of debt.

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1As Dr. Thring put it to the Taunton Commission, 'The tradition always was Uppingham up, Oakham down, Oakham up, Uppingham down.' SIC XIII, Q 9923.

2Feeling very strongly the need to give each boy individual care Thring limited the size of boarding houses to 30 and classes to 25. The school, in his view, should meet the needs of every pupil, not just the cleverest. The working out of his ideals, bound up as they were with his passionate Christianity, is carefully described in G. R. Parkin: Edward Thring, Life, Diary and Letters (1898).
and the unremitting hostility of the governors.

At Uppingham, in fact, the relevant 'locality' was not so much ordinary people, such as claimed their rights at Repton and Sherborne and had enjoyed the free schooling of Giggleswick; it was the county, the landowning class who formed the Trust of Archdeacon Johnson's Schools and Hospitals. With the exception of General Johnson, descendant of the founder and hereditary patron, all these men resented Thring's attempts to raise the Uppingham school above Oakham.¹

Whatever its position before Thring went there the status of Uppingham was not now in question, Hammond submitted, after visiting the school as Assistant Commissioner in 1872. It had, he said been practically settled by its recent history and must, I conceive, be accepted as so settled by the Commissioners.¹ The school took very few local boys.

'It has become a comparatively expensive and exclusive institution for the sons of well-to-do people all over the world. Still the work accomplished at so much cost of money and labour is too firmly consolidated to be now undone...²

Thring was sure the Commissioners would try to undo it, one way or another. They would 'unchurch' the school; they would

¹"If I understand your wish and intention rightly," wrote General Johnson to Thring in 1856, "it is to make Uppingham a first class and more extended school, and Oakham a second or minor one. Now, my dear sir,...you will never be able to obtain the governors' sanction to such a distinction. You are not aware of the very strong local feeling not only of the governors, but of the two towns of Oakham and Uppingham, and of the jealousy that has always existed between them. I do not think either the governors of the Trust...or the inhabitants of the county at large, are very anxious for a further extension of either school than the locality so clearly defined by the statutes." Quoted Parkin, op. cit. p. 83.

²PRO Ed 27/3928, Hammond to Commissioners, April 1872
insist on entrance examinations; they would give excessive power to the governing body. He awaited their approach like a man in mortal dread.

'What would you feel,' he wrote to Lyttelton, 'if you stood alone as I do here, at seeing all you cared for once more at stake?'

Yet in many ways what Thring needed was exactly what the Commissioners could give him. It was 'these powerful and practised red-tapists.....matched against poor me' who could settle for ever the eternal up-and-down of Oakham and Uppingham. And meant to do so.

'Oakham School,' said Hammond, 'must no longer profess to be a rival of Uppingham School.' It was not likely, the Trustees were told,

'that two places in such close proximity, and working among a population so scanty and so homogenous as Uppingham and Oakham each require schools of all the grades and of practically the same character with one another.'

Oakham School was accordingly downgraded, despite the protests of the vicar.

The Commissioners, also, disliked on principle a governing body so narrowly constituted as Archdeacon Johnson's. The Scheme they made for Uppingham supplied a set of governors

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1Quoted Parkin, op. cit., p. 179.


3PRO Ed 27/3928, Hammond to Commissioners, April 1872.

4Ibid., Commissioners to Trustees, Jan. 15, 1870.
appropriate to a great school: that is, in addition to the hereditary patron, and, ex officio, the Lord Lieutenant, there were representatives of county M.P.'s, of Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities, of the Council of the Royal Society and of the Headmaster and Assistant Masters.

The Scheme was not made easily. Thring was hard to deal with and there were, after all, many points of principle on which he and the Commissioners were opposed. Negotiations on the ultimate ordering of the very special world that he had created went on for four years and it is hard to imagine an extraneous question such as girls' education ever cropping up; there is no sign that it did. The two schools shared in the endowment equally but the girls' assignment was fastened on Oakham. When the pension to the Oakham headmaster ceased £200. p.a. was to be set aside for girls. The governors objected but the Commissioners overruled them. They were here dealing with lesser men than Thring. As for girls, it could be said,

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1 One complication was that a great deal of money had been put into the school by him and by some of the assistant masters, compared with what had come from the foundation. On the strength of this the Commissioners refrained from 'unchurching' the school although they 'unchurched' Oakham. With regard to the powers of governors, a form of words was found which was acceptable to Thring. A conflict arose between him and some assistants over the right of assistant masters to appeal to the Governors against dismissal. This was usually included in Schemes but Thring would not have it.

2 The gross income then was £4,200. Three sevenths was assigned to the Hospitals, and two sevenths to each of the schools.

3 PRO Ed 27/3928 Governors' suggestions and objections, received 21 Nov. 1873.
as of Sedbergh, that a claim on a pension put them well down the
queue, The Oakham headmaster survived till 1902 and in fact
no money was ever paid over.

The public school schemes, in their particular way,
demonstrate what we saw at the beginning: that establishing
a school in its Taunton grade with a reorganised governing body
was the main purpose of the Commissioners, to which, despite
their strong commitment, the working of Section 12 was secondary.
The only difference here is the readiness they showed to take
the status of such schools as given; and to remove whatever
obstacles stood in the way of their free development. The
removal of such obstacles made claims on the endowment which
were always prior to the claims of girls.

Indeed, one cannot really say of such cases that the
education of girls was an issue. The Schemes provided for it in
such a way as to have a minimal impact, financially, on the
great schools. The only one, for instance, on which an immediate
levy was made was Giggleswick which assigned £100 yearly out
of an income of £1,200. At about the same time, though, Bradford
was expected to assign £250 p.a. out of an income of only £800.²

¹Ch. II above

²In negotiation the amount was reduced to £200.
Allowing for the fact that a 3rd grade school also came on the Giggleswick endowment there is still a big difference. The Schemes for Uppingham and Pocklington were both submitted to the Education Department in 1874 and their incomes were not dissimilar.\(^1\) Nothing was assigned to girls from Uppingham; £200 was assigned from Pocklington. At about the same time, £100. p.a. was assigned to girls from the endowment at Mansfield which was worth £926 p.a.

Since individual circumstances varied greatly there are obvious pitfalls in making such comparisons. Nonetheless, the impression remains that the great schools had less to fear from Section 12 than those whose standing was inferior or uncertain. Both the Trustees and the inhabitants of Pocklington greatly resented the assignment to girls and felt that it threatened the success of the boys' school\(^2\) for which they fought to gain first grade status. Protesting right through to the Education Department, they succeeded in getting the assignment deferred. At Bradford also the argument was pressed that to give so much to girls would damage the boys' school. Here as we have seen the amount was reduced\(^3\) but it remained substantial. When the Trustees at Mansfield argued that it was inadvisable 'that any

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\(^1\) Pocklington had about £1,300 p.a.; Uppingham had \(^2/7\) of £4,280 = about £1,220.

\(^2\) Of which they had high hopes. Unlike the Commissioners they did not see it simply as a school for the sons of farmers and tradesmen but as the school where "the great and good Wilberforce studied under the great elms that overshadowed the playground." PRO Ed 27/5534, letter of 7 May, 1872 to Commissioners.

\(^3\) See p.52 above.
money be devoted to (girls) education before the Boys School is in full working order.¹ they were simply told

'there seems no sufficient reason why the small provision... made for the education of girls out of so substantial an endowment should be postponed....'²

It would be hard to translate this into the context of Repton or Sherborne.

Hospital Schools

But if some schools had a standing which, consciously or not, the Commissioners seemed reluctant to disturb there were others of which it can only be said that it was the very pith of Taunton philosophy that they should be changed. These were Hospital Schools.

'The principle of these institutions appears to be the entire relief of parents from the cost which children bring with them, not only as to education but almost everything else. They are usually found in great towns among dense populations; and from this circumstance and the fact that they commonly have rich Endowments, they may, if rightly handled, be turned into most efficient instruments of Education....'³

But as the Commissioners went on to point out, reform at these schools disturbed too many interests not to be strongly combated.

In point of fact, this type of mixed endowment, in part educational, in part providing a supplement to the local Poor Law, was not

¹PRO Ed 27/3792 Letter to Commissioners, 18 Dec., 1873.
²Ibid., letter of 4 Feb. 1874.
³BPP 1872 XXIV Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners & etc. p. 25.
only directly at variance with Taunton principles but very hard to deal with. Efforts to adapt it were liable to produce in an extreme form the type of confrontation which had arisen earlier in the century when eleemosynary provision was at stake. The cry went up of 'robbing the poor'.

At an early stage the Commissioners had decided to reorganise the Emanuel Hospital and the Greycoat Hospital in Westminster. The fight over Emanuel became notorious and in 1871 the Lords rejected both Schemes. For formidable interests had been challenged. Behind the 20 old people and 64 children sustained at Emanuel on a revenue exceeding £4,000 a year was perhaps the most powerful complex in England: the City Corporation. After three centuries the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were faced with a Scheme which would have curtailed their exclusive trusteeship. Emanuel would have been joined with other charities and the 64 children who had learnt to pray that they might meet the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Heaven would have been replaced by

1...these endowments...were given to promote education...They now act largely though indirectly in discouragement of education..." The main concern was that there were no admission tests (with the result that parents did not bother to give their children any early education), that admissions were made at the whim of trustees (very often from the children of their servants) and that parents were demoralised by being relieved of all responsibility for maintaining their children. SIC I 214-15.

2The fierce battles that raged from the 1840's between educational and eleemosynary interests in connection with the Harpur Trust at Bedford and Sir Thomas White's Loan Charity at Nottingham are discussed in F. E. Balls; The origins of the Endowed Schools Act 1869... Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1964.

3It is discussed in detail in Balls, op. cit. The following account is based on L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond; Lord Hobhouse A Memoir. (1905) p. 42 et seq.
600 children in two London day schools and another 300 boarding in the suburbs. As Roby put it later, the City solicitor sounded the tocsin. Circulars were sent out to governors of endowed schools and municipal bodies all over England enclosing forms for petitions to Parliament. The press joined the battle; City members were lobbied and opposition in the House of Lords was led by Lord Salisbury 'with spirit and enjoyment.' The whole success of the Commission seemed at issue. Lyttelton spoke badly in the critical debate and the taint of 'robbing the poor' hung around the Liberals in the next Election.

The cry of 'robbery' was based on the fact that fees would have been charged at the reorganised schools. No provision of free places could conceal that here were two principles utterly opposed. Hospital Trustees had it in their power to award a valuable form of charity - clothing, board and education - to 'deserving' cases. That the cases were so few seemed to them no drawback and they usually took for granted that the education given should be merely elementary. 1 The Commissioners, on the other hand, envisaged a system of graded schools and some chance of promotion for the brightest children; indeed, they always argued that a graded system, though based on fees, was in the very best interests of the poor, whose clever children could

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1 "Hewers of wood and drawers of water would still be wanted and in properly educating such to gain their living by their honest labour...Emanuel Hospital is fulfilling its proper function in the work of education." Quoted from a statement of the Emanuel Trustees, Hobhouse op. cit. p. 42. Some Hospitals gave a higher education to boys. For more on this see Ch.XII below which deals with Christs Hospital and the Wheelwright Foundation at Rishworth.
rise through exhibitions.¹ They held this view for girls as well as boys and it is this aspect of the Hospital battle which mainly concerns us for such views were in conflict with the ingrained prejudice of Hospital Trustees. It might be true, as Lord Salisbury said, that the Hospitals were among the very few endowed schools which admitted girls at all² but they were generally opposed to giving them any form of secondary education.

The Emanuel and the Greycoat Hospitals had children of both sexes. The Commissioners' plan was to use the Emanuel endowment for boys and the Greycoat for girls. The education given to the Greycoat Hospital's 66 boys could have been described as superior elementary, in that such subjects as Algebra,

¹It is impossible to doubt their moral fervour on this question. See, for instance, on PRO Ed 27/3284, Roby's letter of 1.2.71 to the Greycoat Trustees in which he talks of offering a ladder "by which some even of the poorest class may...rise...into a higher region of education..." And again, in a letter of 2.3.72 (Ed 27/3289) he contrasts the time when the Hospital was founded with the present day when "elementary schools are provided for the whole community...apprenticeships are looked upon with disfavour...the spirit of independence and equality has widely spread, and in all classes...there is a greater disposition to accept nothing as a favour which can be claimed as a right; and to open the roads of advancement to those who prove themselves most likely to use them...The Commissioners are clear that they would not be doing their duty if...they did not...propose...no longer to spend money on giving board or clothing gratuitously to a few, but at once to convert the Endowment for the purpose of providing good day schools." As to robbing the poor, "the answer is that the educational interests of the poor are best served by providing as good Schools as it is possible to provide for them; that Hospital Schools are not found to be as good as it is possible to provide..."

²They were, he said, "in advance of their time, for they had long seen the advantage of female education, and the Court of Aldermen were among the few - the very few - trustees of schools in this country who have not forgotten the girls." Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. CCV, 1355.
Euclid, Mensuration and Roman History were added to the 3R's. The 30 girls, in contrast, had 'Needlework and Domestic work in Kitchen; House and Laundry; the principal object being, to fit them for Domestic Servants.' While Roby noted that the boys, on the whole, rose somewhat in the world as the result of their Greycoat training this could hardly have been said of the girls, who came from and returned to the servant class.

The Commissioners' proposals would have changed this entirely. First, they wished to replace the Hospital with a large day school to cater for the daughters of that 'vast number of persons within reach of this spot, artizans, clerks, keepers of small shops, (who) stand in need of but do not find good secondary education.' Their Scheme would have given the school's headmistress considerable independence vis-a-vis the governors with regard to its internal organisation. They wished to add women to the governing body. Their proposed curriculum amounted to more than a preparation for domestic service and they provided for Leaving Exhibitions to take some girls on to 'a place for the Higher Education of women, or...any Training Institution for School-mistresses.' Finally, it was their intention that the boarding element should be continued as a small school in the vicinity of London, based, as was the day school, on the payment of fees.

1 PRO Ed 27/3284, details submitted by the Greycoat Hospital in Feb. 1870.

2 He compared the jobs they went on to, which were substantially clerical, with the noticeably artizan jobs of their fathers.

3 PRO Ed 27/3289 Roby to Trustees, 2 March, 1872.
The Greycoat Trustees reacted strongly. Their attitudes were perhaps less proprietary than those of the Aldermen over Emanuel¹ but they had firm views about the schooling of (their) children. A Hospital, Fearon had commented earlier, in his report to the Taunton Commission,

"may, fact, be regarded as standing to (the children) in place of a new parent...To all practical purposes... they become the children of that hospital..."²

And the Greycoat Trustees' reactions now were not dissimilar to those of a parent told by an outsider how to bring up his family. They protested that the school was healthy and well-managed. They disliked the idea of converting it to girls. The thought the powers assigned to the headmistress would make her 'almost irresponsible'³ and that the idea of women governors was absurd.⁴ In the curriculum which they outlined they omitted science and modern languages - that is, the two subjects proposed by the Commissioners which would have raised it above the elementary. It was not by such means nor by Leaving Exhibitions that they saw themselves fulfilling their trust to the poor but by keeping their free boarding school

¹Though they too were men of high position and influence. They included the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Buccleugh, the Archbishop of Dublin and the Dean of Westminster.


³PRO Ed 27/3285, Letter of 14 Feb. 1871 to Education Department.

⁴"The Committee had no objection to a number of lady visitors... but they objected to any mixture of Ladies and Gentlemen as members of the Governing Body and they...thought it absurd to have ladies concerned with administration of Estates..." PRO Ed 27/3284 Roby's note of his meeting with Trustees on 25 May 1870. The question of women governors figured largely in this case. See Ch.VI below.
in Westminster. Boarding education, at least for girls, was of especial value to the poorer classes.

'Anyone,' they argued, 'who regards education as something more than book-learning...knowing how the children of the poor are brought up, can appreciate the advantage of seclusion from the unfavourable influence of their crowded homes....'¹

When the Greycoat Scheme was rejected in the Lords in April, 1871 the Commissioners re-wrote it. Concessions were made, reducing the power of the headmistress (though they would not budge over women governors) and increasing the number of entrance scholarships to orphans and poor children in Westminster. At length, despite continued resistance from the governors, the Scheme for the 3rd grade day school was approved and the Hospital's identity was buried in it, and in the boarding school established outside London.²

There were many battles over Hospital Schools, of which the longest lasted 20 years³ and that over Emanuel was the most notorious. But provincial Hospitals were just as troublesome to the Commissioners as those in London. At Exeter, for instance, elaborate proposals to reorganise the city's educational endowments were vilified because they involved the extinction of 25 Blue Coat boys. The plan embraced a number of foundations, of which St. John's Hospital was one, and a proportion of the Hospital endowment was to be used to found a high school for girls.

¹14 Feb. 1871. PRO Ed 27/3285 Trustees' letter to Education Department.

²Queen Anne's, Caversham, 1894. It started off as 3rd grade school with a third of its scholars admitted free from Westminster. Later it went up in the social scale.

³Christ's Hospital, see Ch. VIII below.
The argument on both sides would have been familiar to anyone who followed the debate on Emanuel, and the Commissioners' great friend on that occasion, Frederick Temple, Bishop of Exeter, spoke for them again. In a letter to the Mayor he strongly backed the girls' school proposal.

'I cannot see how it is to be maintained that the middle classes, from the shopkeepers upwards, do not need efficient schooling for their girls, as well as for their boys, nor how provision for it is inconsistent with the purpose of a Foundation which aims at the good of the citizens generally.'

As to the argument of robbing the poor,

'Consider what benefit the Hospital now confers. We bring a child in and give it a great boon. But meanwhile, what have we done for those whom we have left outside? Is there any single soul the better besides this child and the relations that are no longer burthened with it? The sum total of the benefit is, that out of this large City, you have taken care of twenty-five children.'

The Commissioners got their girls' high school at Exeter, with the backing of the Hospital endowment, but at Bristol they failed, defeated in the end by the absolute refusal of the Charity Trustees to do anything ambitious for girls.

Bristol presented a complex situation. In addition to the grammar school there were three wealthy Hospitals: Queen Elizabeth's, Colston's and Red Maids, the first two supporting schools for boys, the last a girls' school. These were all elementary. Stanton, reporting for the Taunton Commission, had taken the view that, 'with some little alteration, greater and more worthy results might follow' from such endowments and he

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1 Printed copies of this letter are on PRO Ed 27/695. It was also published as Appendix 6 to the Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Education Department, 1872.

2 The school maintained by Queen Elizabeth's Hospital was called the City School.

3 SIC XV, 176.
Commissioners perceived that here were resources equal to providing a system of secondary schools for the city. A Schedule to demonstrate how this could be done was drawn up in December, 1870, and sent by Fitch to the Charity Trustees.¹ Like the Bradford Circle² but worked out in more detail and accompanied by meticulous Explanations³ it is a model of bureaucratic planning. The idea was to combine the endowments⁴ and provide a system of graded schools for boys and girls. It is of the greatest interest that here, quite unusually, the Commissioners attempted a precise assessment of the secondary education required by girls in a population of 180,000, and published their arithmetic.⁵

But fierce hostility had been aroused by Fitch's preliminary inquiries in Bristol, months before this Schedule was drawn up. It resembled an attempt to present a reasoned statement in an argument already out of control. Nobody was listening. The cry had gone forth in the Bristol papers that the Hospitals were threatened. The Commissioners' plans, said the Western Daily Press, would

¹See Appendix IV (I)
²See p. 47 above.
³For the first page of these Explanations see Appendix IV (ii)
⁴This was to be done in 2 groups: the Grammar School, Queen Elizabeth's and Red Maids in one; Colston's in another, because Colston's Foundation came under Section 19 of the Act.
⁵Appendix IV (ii); para 2 of the "Explanations...."
'take away the breath of old Bristolians.... These old citizens, familiar in their boyhood as in their manhood with the quaint dresses of the children in our three great hospital schools, will find it difficult to believe that these schools are on the eve of dissolution.'

'Breach of faith with the dead and with the living' was a headline designed to link the ancient founders with the deputation of Bristol Trustees who, it seemed, had been assured by Mr. Forster that they need not fear the Endowed Schools Act. Both were now betrayed. 'An Assistant Commissioner was sent down with plenipotentiary powers to pull about and change everything...'

But the Trustees were determined that some things should not be changed. They did not want the Grammar School endowment combined with the Hospitals, preferring rather that the three foundations should 'develop within the limits of the classes for whom they were intended.' In the case of the Hospitals, this meant they would provide nothing higher than secondary education of the lowest grade. It therefore ruled out the second grade boys' school proposed in the Schedule and it certainly ruled out the higher school for girls. On this last point the Trustees were adamant: there was no need whatever for the Queen's School.

1 PRO Ed 27/1289, cutting of 7 June, 1870. The Press was the least hostile of the Bristol papers.
2 Ibid. cutting from Bristol Times and Mirror, 17 May, 1870.
3 Ibid., letter of 13 Nov. 1871.
4 The reorganised City School.
This school, according to the Explanations was seen by the Commissioners as following the style of the Ladies College at Cheltenham. It might, they thought, fittingly bear a name 'which associates it at once with Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, from which it will derive its revenue; with Queen's College in London, which it may hope to emulate; and with the Sovereign in whose reign this great reform has been enacted.'

This was not how the Trustees saw it. A deputation to the Commission protested that there was no necessity 'for providing instruction adapted to the sisters of boys now in the Grammar School.' The Commissioners rejoined that

'in a large community like Bristol, great need exists for good Schools adapted for the sisters of such scholars... For the present, however, in deference to the strong representations of the Trustees they will not urge the trial of this important experiment...'

So the Draft Scheme of December, 1871, did not require the high school to be set up immediately but stipulated that until it did exist £200 p.a. should be assigned to girls. The Trustees took the view that the endowment would not stand it and told the Commissioners that they 'objected to appropriate any portion of the Trust income preferentially in support of such School.' The Commissioners persisted. They had made large concessions, accepting that the Hospital endowments would be used solely for 3rd grade schools and abandoning their plan to combine these funds with those of the Grammar School. But they were determined to secure provision for the high school for girls.

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1PRO Ed 27/1289, Explanations, para. 5
2Ibid., Fitch's note of deputation, 15 June, 1871
3Ibid., 12 August, 1871
4PRO Ed 27/1291, Jan. 1872.
In the Grammar School Scheme they allowed for an assignment of £200. p.a. and in the Hospitals Scheme £300 for this purpose, feeling bound, as they told the Trustees,

'to give effect, so far as they reasonably can, to the plain requirement of Section 12 of the Act, and... wholly unable to agree with the Trustees... that the requisite endowment for this purpose... does not exist.'

They pointed out that recently the Trustees had decided to make available for education a large loan charity, Felloquin's, from which they were proposing to bestow upon the Grammar School no less than £16,000.

When Fitch had begun his inquiries in Bristol, three years earlier, the Commissioners had assured him that they had no reason to fear publicity. 'On the contrary they will look to the public to support an enactment which brings them great benefits.'

But there was no sign of this public in Bristol. The Commissioners found themselves unsupported, faced with a species of Morton's Fork. They were told that the Grammar School would be impoverished if it gave up £200. p.a. to girls; the Hospital endowments, on the other hand, were said to be endowments for the children of the poor and it was not fitting that they should be diverted to provide a girls' high school.

PRO Ed 27/1291, 31 March, 1873.


3 The Grammar School has earned for itself a well merited reputation, and is a credit to the City, and the Trustees can be no parties to impair its usefulness by the alienation of any portion of its already too restricted Income - whilst, as to the Red Maids School, the Trustees feel they cannot, with due regard to their obligations, consent to the alienation of any portion of the Endowments to provide Education for a 'higher class'...."

PRO Ed 27/1291, Trustees to Commissioners, 26 March 1873.
When faced with the fact that they were themselves prepared to divert substantial funds from the Peloquin charity to aid the Grammar School,

's an institution already endowed with £1,400. p.a.; and nowise more nearly akin to the original object of loan charities than a grammar school for girls;¹

the Trustees had no answer. But they did not need one. The conversion of this charity under Section 30 depended absolutely on their consent.

In the end the assignments for a girls' high school were deleted from the Grammar School Scheme and from the Scheme for the Hospitals. The Commissioners continued to press the Trustees to assign more to girls from Peloquin's charity but without success.² They were the losers in what had long been seen in Bristol as a

'burgher battle, in defence of what truly belongs to us, against a central body in London, who seek to get the control of all provincial endowments into their hands and recast them after fancies of their own which have no relation...to the 'main designs of the founders'..."³

As for the girls' high school, the conservatism common among Hospital Trustees was reinforced here by pride in the Grammar

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¹Ibid. Fitch, 1 April, 1872.

²"(The Trustees) fail to recognise either the principle or the justice of the requirement of the Commissioners that no such appropriation shall be made for a deserving school such as the Grammar School unless a corresponding appropriation is made to promote the establishment of a new school for girls." Ibid, Trustees' letter of 10 Feb., 1874.

³Ibid, cutting from Bristol Times and Mirror, 18 Nov. 1873.
School, which was again a form of civic pride. The new Schemes reorganised the Hospital endowments much on the lines of the Greycoat Hospital, to provide day schools as well as boarding, with a 3rd grade curriculum. Otherwise, comparatively little was changed. The schools still contained a large number of foundationers, clothed, maintained and educated free. And old Bristolians could still see the Red Maids in their red cloaks in the streets of the city.

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1 The grammar school was particularly sensitive of its standing in relation to Clifton College. A decision by the Master of the Rolls in 1860 to disallow boarders at the Grammar School, followed, two years later, by the foundation of Clifton, was felt to have placed the school at a disadvantage which the Commissioners' original proposal to combine its endowment with those of the Hospitals could only have made worse.

2 A separate Scheme was made for Colston's Hospital of which the trustees were not the Charity Trustees but the Merchant Venturers. After some insistence by the Commissioners on Section 12 a Scheme was agreed which provided inter al. for a girls' 3rd grade day school.
The Commissioners made their first attempt, publicly at least, to assess their own progress when they reported to the Education Department in February, 1872. Having touched on the problems inherent in trying to make new Schemes for 3000 endowments, and on their own procedures, they gave a brief summary of the work as it then stood: 24 Schemes had passed into law; 34 had been submitted to the Education Department but were not yet law; in 84 cases Schemes had been published and about 1000 others were either being 'actively worked' or had been the subject of correspondence. In a later paragraph the Commissioners observed, as a matter of regret, that they were still compelled to treat the application of endowments to girls' schools as exceptional; and indeed, from the detailed returns attached to their Report of 1874 it is clear that only 4 of the 24 Schemes approved in 1871 related to girls' secondary education. It is also clear, however, that only 10 of

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1BPP 1872 XXIV Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners & etc.
2These were approved in 1871. No Scheme reached approval stage earlier than that and none were approved in 1872 before February when the Commissioners reported.
3EPP 1872 XXIV op. cit., para. XXI.
4Ibid. para. XXXIX
5EPP 1875 XXVIII Report to the Lords of the Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on Education, Appendix A.
the 24 Schemes related to secondary education at all.¹ Eleven concerned
the appropriation of doles under Section 30 (some for elementary, some
for secondary education), two were to establish elementary schools and
one concerned certain College exhibitions. In other words, a good deal
of the Commissioners' work did not relate to Schemes for secondary
schools. They themselves complained that much of their time had
unexpectedly been taken up with cases of Elementary Schools.² And in
fact the figures show that secondary school cases were only part of
their load in any year.³

Disregarding those aspects of their work which are extraneous to
this inquiry there remains the problem of assessing the provision which the
Commissioners made for girls. How many girls attended the new grammar
schools? This apparently simple and most relevant question is surprisingly
difficult to answer. Some Schemes specify the number of pupils, some
do not. Where a number is specified it may have been exceeded in actuality,
or never reached. The numbers in attendance are usually available for
some date or other but not for the same date in every school. At what
date should they be counted, in any case? A salient feature of an
endowed school is that it goes on. Circumstances change, numbers rise
and fall but the school continues — unless, in extremis, a Scheme is made

¹See Appendix V (1)
²EPP 1872 XXIV op. cit., para. XLIV
³See Appendix V(1). The 57 cases for which Schemes were approved in
1872, for instance, included 26 which related solely to elementary
schools.
to close it. This longitudinal dimension, while clearly important, must here be subordinate to the need to find some measurable unit which can be used to make comparisons: first, between what the Endowed Schools Commissioners (and their successors) provided for girls, as against their provision for boys; secondly, between the provision made for girls by the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the Charity Commissioners respectively. Only by such means can one gain an impression of the commitment and drive of the administrators.

From this point of view the most convenient unit seems to be the school as established by Scheme. Bricks and mortar usually came later. Many schools launched by the Endowed Schools Commissioners during their very short term of office did not actually open their doors until after the Commission was disbanded. With a view to giving credit where credit is due it seems best, therefore, to assess provision at the time when it was made on paper.

On this basis, the Endowed Schools Commissioners between 1869 and 1874 launched 90 boys' schools, 27 girls' schools and one mixed school. That is, girls' schools were almost a quarter of their total secondary school provision.\(^1\) It took a long time to complete a Scheme.\(^2\) In fact, at the end of 1874 when the Commissioners were disbanded there were a number of Schemes in the pipeline on which their work was finished but which had not been approved. Their final Report includes a list of those which were at that moment awaiting the approval of the Education Department\(^3\)

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\(^1\) See Appendix V(i). For details of the girls' schools established see the summary of Schemes in Appendix III (i).

\(^2\) The Commissioners in their first report reckoned that a year was 'a short time to allow even for a simple unopposed case.' BPP 1872 XXIV op. cit. para VII.

\(^3\) BPP 1875 XXVIII op. cit. Appendix B.
and which provided, among much else, for the endowment of a further 20 girls' schools. This group of Schemes, which one sympathetic writer called 'the legacy of the late Endowed Schools Commission', brings up the Commissioners' total achievement from 27 girls' schools to 47 - just over a quarter of their total overall.

Many of their Schemes made provision for girls other than by establishing a school. There are 28 such cases among the Schemes which had become law by 1874 and another 7 among those Schemes which had been submitted to the Education Department. They are very difficult to evaluate, partly because there is almost nothing similar on the boys' side with which to compare them but mainly because they are so diverse. Some of them, such as the assignment at Bradford, led to the foundation of important girls' schools; others offered £20 for Exhibitions or simply the power to do something for girls 'when the funds admit'. What was the relative value of the assignment of £200 p.a., to take effect on the death of the Headmaster of Sedbergh, and the immediate assignment of £100 p.a. at Repton, but only as the ninth of nine claims on the foundation?

1The Schemes in this category which provided for girls are summarised in Appendix III (ii) below. Though not all these Schemes received the Royal Assent in exactly the form in which they were submitted, only one girls' school was lost by amendment. This was at Dulwich, where the 1882 Scheme endowed one girls' school while the Scheme submitted in 1874 had provided for two.


3See Appendix V(i), col. 7; and details in Appendix III (i).

4For details, see Appendix III (ii).

5The later history of such assignments is traced in Chapter IX, section 3 below.
However we look at it, the provision for girls, though geographically following the same pattern as the boys' provision, amounts to much less. Not only are there fewer girls' schools but they are often smaller than the corresponding schools for boys. Even where schools of the same size are projected, as with the Bedford Modern Schools, it does not follow that the same provision is made for both sexes. The assignment to these schools from the Harpur foundation was to be apportioned according to the average number of scholars,

'reckoning....three boys as earning the same amount as five girls.'

There is a difference, too, in the type of school provided. The girls' schools do not fall into the three Taunton grades. Whereas every boys' school the Commissioners listed in their Report of 1874 is labelled 1st grade, 2nd grade or 3rd grade, the grade of girls' schools is only given where they are on foundations with parallel boys' schools. Otherwise either there is no indication or the school is rather loosely described as 'of like character' with the boys' school, or as a school 'for higher education.' There is nothing vague, of course, in the Schemes, where all the significant criteria of grade - age limits, curricula and

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1 That is, it lies mainly in those districts which the Commissioners had worked systematically: London, the West Riding, the Midlands and North Midlands and parts of the West Country.

2 The Middle Schools at Stamford were for 150 boys and 100 girls; the schools at Cray Thurrock, for 140 boys and 75 girls; the Wyggeston schools at Leicester and the Haberdashers' schools at Hatcham, for 300 boys and 200 girls; St. Clement Dane schools, for 250 boys and 150 girls.

3 Clause 29 of Bedford Scheme on PRO Ed 27/8A. The 3:5 formula was not discarded until 1969.

4 Harpur's Roan's, Haberdashers, Wyggeston, Walter Biggs, Taunton Huish and Thornton.
fees - are clearly stated, for girls as for boys. But with the girls, as the Commissioners themselves said,¹ they did not attempt fine classification.

Their policy here should not pass without notice for the concept of gradation was absolutely central to Taunton ideology and the Commissioners wholeheartedly endorsed it. Time and time again they quibbled over grades² and it seems more than likely that the reason they adopted two broad ones, instead of three precise ones, for girls was the reason why so often, in the case of boys' schools, the grade became a matter of dispute: that the concept of strict grading assumed a society far more static than actually existed. For despite the importance attached to Exhibitions and the idea of the educational ladder, the Taunton dogma of three distinct grades implied that boys would follow in their fathers' footsteps. Though they were defined in educational terms, the grades related broadly to future occupation. The third grade school was for the rising generation of skilled artisans, small shopkeepers and clerks; the second grade for business and professional men; the first grade for graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. The grade imposed a ceiling which

¹Para XXXIX of their Report of 1872.

²The most fruitful subject of dissension was probably Greek which was the hallmark of the first grade. In some Schemes it was only allowed as an extra; in some it was specifically forbidden. The second and third grade were divided by the leaving age. For example, the Commissioners refused to allow the Coborn Trustees to raise their boys' leaving age above 15 because "to do so would...militate against an important principle much dwelt on in the Schools Inquiry Report, that the different grades of schools would be carefully kept distinct by the respective ages beyond which boys should not be allowed to remain." PRO Ed 27/2347, letter of 2 Jan., 1873.
often seemed cramping. The tradesmen of Bradford or Bath, for instance, though not necessarily flying high for their sons, did not wish to be deprived of the option that they might learn Greek and go on to university. In these and other cases grades aligned strictly to presumed occupations imposed a framework which seemed too inflexible.

If this was true for boys it is not surprising that the Commissioners could not impose three grades on girls. What occupations were they to be aligned to? In whose footsteps were these girls to follow? This was an enormous area of uncertainty, very different in scale from anything the Commissioners faced over boys but perhaps not so totally different in kind as they seem to have supposed. Their solution to the problem was to elide one of the grades.

'I think,' wrote Lyttelton to Maria Grey, 'you are not quite aware that we do make a difference between boys' and girls' schools in that we do not make this sharp distinction between 1st and 2nd grade in the latter which we do in the former. We think the facts of the case are sufficiently met by a provision of schools for girls which shall provide for the class of gentry and upper middle class together.'

At the other end of the social scale the Commissioners made Schemes which prescribed a higher leaving age in those girls' schools which paralleled the 3rd grade schools for boys.

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1 At Bath the deprivation was resisted strongly because the private schools there would not admit the sons of tradesmen and the grammar school was their only path to the highest education. There were similar reactions at Stourbridge, Exeter, Grantham and many other places.

2 Archives of Girls Public Day School Trust, letter of 4 Nov., 1872. See also Bishop Temple's letter of 12 Nov., 1872 to Fitch about the schools at Exeter, PRO Ed 27/695: "The Commissioners do not, as I understand it, establish three grades of girls schools but only two, upper and lower, each covering a somewhat wider range in the scale of education than than the grades of Boys' Schools, that is, the upper Schools for girls coming down somewhat lower than the First Grade, and the Lower Schools for girls taking in an education somewhat higher than the Third Grade...."

3 In the Coborn Schools, Stepney; Tiffins Schools, Kingston; the Biggs Schools, Wallingford, and others, the boys were to leave at 15, the girls at 16.
(1). The organization of girls' schools.

It was, of course, something entirely new to seek to impose on girls' education, above the elementary, the strait-jacket of a Scheme. Even the boys' schools now experienced more comprehensive regulation than had usually obtained in the past. In the case of girls' schools the change was profound. Like home-workers entering the factory system they were being disciplined; notionally, at least, for it was not the actual schools where the Taunton Commissioners had found such 'want of thoroughness and foundation; want of system...want of organisation' which were now being brought into line. The endowed girls' schools were new schools. Nonetheless, on June 29th, 1871, when the Queen assented to the Schemes for Crays Thurrock and for Keighley, she established a prototype highly significant in girls' education whether for schools which were endowed or not.

The Schemes speak for themselves. The opening clauses outline the constitution of the governing body and define its powers. This puts the school at once on a different footing from a private school.

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2 See Appendix V(ii) for Crays Thurrock Scheme. It was one of the earliest drawn up by the Commissioners and they seem to have used it as a model for others, sending it sometimes to Trustees who asked for guidance. Part V (The Girls School and its Management) has to be read in conjunction with Part IV (The Boys School). It is of interest that Cl. 28 divides the endowment equally between the two schools though they are of different sizes (Cls. 29 and 62); also that the representative governors are to be elected by boys' school parents only. (Cl. 5).

3 Ibid. Part II; also esp. CIs. 31, 32 and 38.
whose Headmistress is answerable to no one. The powers of the
Headmistress, the amount of her salary, the fees to be charged, the
age of the pupils, the subjects they shall study are all laid
down.\footnote{Ibid. Cl. 69 (in conjunction esp. with Cls. 38-42); and Cls. 63-66.} There are rules as to how the income shall be spent; and
if there is a residue, how that shall be spent.\footnote{Ibid. Cl. 74-77.} Such a Scheme,
down to its smallest particular, has the force of law. It is
extremely restrictive. The Headmistress cannot, as in a private
school, raise her fees as her school becomes more popular, sack
her assistants without appeal, take in children without examination
or let them stay on indefinitely.

A main purpose served by these restrictions is stability. An
endowed school is not here today and gone tomorrow because the
headmistress has overreached herself, or died or decided to retire
on her profits. This was something new in girls' education.\footnote{...a model school should on all accounts possess elements of
permanence and development. But these important elements cannot
be secured by private schools, however efficient...Private schools
pass away...’ Manchester Association for Promoting the Education
of Women, Report for 1872, p. 7.} Another purpose is to guarantee standards. But what kind of
standards? In the first instance the Commissioners had to establish
them.

What qualifications was it reasonable to lay down for the
Headmistress of an endowed school? In the case of boys' schools of
any standing it was usual to require that the Headmaster should be
graduate. There were no women graduates. Emily Davies advised the
Commissioners that there were as yet no qualifications for women
which were worth considering.
'I do not think that the possession of any of the certificates mentioned...would be a qualification of much value and the provision might operate in such a way as to exclude some of the best women...it might happen that in any given district, some one or two women, holding say a Coll. of Preceptors or a Soc. of Arts Certificate, would be willing to act, tho' personally quite unfit, and the governors might be obliged to appoint them, to the exclusion of some cultivated lady, in whose case it would have been altogether infra dig. to think of going in for such exams...The same reasons apply against attaching this qualification to the Mistress-ship. The very small numbers of women of full age who have as yet passed any exam. at all, to say nothing of the quality of the examn., seems a fatal objection to make it a necessary condition at present.'

The Schemes, then, said nothing about qualifications but merely required that the post should be advertised to invite competition and secure the best candidate.

Once appointed, it was not intended that the Headmistress should be a negligible quantity. The Scheme made her responsible, like the Headmaster for 'the whole internal organisation, management and discipline of the school' and except in schools of the lowest grade.

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2. Grays Thurrock Scheme Cl. 31 (This applied to both Heads. With a 3rd grade boys' school as at Grays Thurrock the Scheme did not insist on a graduate Headmaster.) The Girls Public Day School Co. tackled this problem by deciding that the attainments of their first Headmistress should be tested by examination. Two Council members, Miss Russ and Mr. Bryce, were deputed to do this. Archives of G.P.D.S.T., Council Minutes, 26 Feb. 1872.

3. As can be seen from the Grays Thurrock Scheme, (Cl. 38) the governors settled the curriculum from the subjects listed in the Scheme, fixed fees, holiday dates and the salaries of assistants. But at least the Headmistress had her own governors to deal with and not, as with the G.P.D.S. Co., a Council in London which in these early days determined centrally not only the holidays but also the arrangements for hats and umbrellas. Archives of G.P.D.S.T., Council Minutes, 2 Oct., 1874.
she was to appoint and dismiss her assistants. The power of dismissal was usually subject to appeal to the governors (though this was not the case at Grays Thurrock); and in 3rd grade schools it was usually the governors and not the Headmistress who had the power to appoint and dismiss. Again there were exceptions.

The Greycoat Trustees complained to the Education Department that

'The Scheme of the Commissioners is stated to be to make the Mistress...supreme within the walls of the School; but the result of their proposals is to make her almost irresponsible, as well as supreme. She is to have absolute and uncontrolled nomination of the assistant mistresses, to be allowed to expel any pupil at her will and pleasure...

She herself, however, could not be dismissed unless two thirds of the governors concurred. Lyttelton, according to Maria Grey, believed in giving full powers to Headmistresses and she tried unsuccessfully to persuade her Council to take the same line.

The financial position of the Headmistress, often so uncertain in private schools, was secured by those clauses of the Scheme which laid down the amount of her fixed stipend and the capitation fee to which she was entitled. Generally speaking, her stipend

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1This seems to have been the general rule for girls' schools of approximately 1st and 2nd grade, though there were exceptions. At Loughborough, for instance, the Scheme as first drafted gave these powers to the governors of the girls' school, which was broadly 2nd grade, until it was made known that the Headmistress elect 'wished to have the same powers in her School as are granted to the Head Master of the Grammar School.' At Wakefield, a Scheme which established three schools gave these powers to the Headmaster of the Grammar School, which was 1st grade, but not to the Heads of the boys' technical school (leaving age, 16) or of the girls' high school (leaving age, 18.).

2PRO Ed 27/3284, Lr of 14 Feb. 1872. This was the Scheme rejected in the Lords. The Scheme which passed eventually gave to the governors power of appointment and dismissal.

3Archives of the G.P.D.S.T., Council Minutes, 27 Nov. 1872. Though Headmistresses were consulted, the Council of the Girls Public Day School Co. retained the power to appoint and dismiss assistant teachers. See their evidence to the Bryce Commission, QQ 1687-1690.
was lower than the comparable figure for a Headmaster. But as those interested were quick to point out, the endowed schools opened up for women employment prospects of a totally new order. At a meeting of the North of England Council in 1874 Miss Clough drew attention to the careers in the new girls' schools and illustrated this by a table showing what could be earned in certain cases. Some of the figures were very impressive. At the Bedford Schools the maximum was £700 p.a. At the Haberdashers' School at Hatcham it was £900. Miss Buss found even more dazzling rewards.

'St. Paul's is the greatest prize in the profession...Do you see, the salary might be £2,000 a year. Ours is second, with a hundred more pupils and therefore more work and less pay than St. Paul's.'

The North London Scheme envisaged up to 400 girls; the stipend was £100 p.a., the capitation fee £3. On this reckoning Miss Buss could

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1 See Grays Thurrock Scheme, Cls. 43 and 63. But the Heads of Tiffins Schools at Kingston were to have the same, £75 + capitation. Latham here resisted the Trustees' proposal to give less to the Headmistress, pointing out that "there will be no higher girls' school in the place." PRO Ed 27/4611, summary of objections, 6 June 1873. Tiffins girls school was in fact an example of a girls' school straddling the 2nd and 3rd grade while Tiffins Boys school was 3rd grade only, and there was a 2nd grade grammar school for boys. A similar situation obtained at Stamford where the Heads of the two Middle Schools were each to have £100 p.a., plus £2—4 capitation.

2 Report of the Ninth Meeting of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, p. 9 The table calculates the maximum and minimum salary, on the basis of the number of pupils, the stipend and the capitation fee.

3 Equivalent to the salary of an Assistant Commissioner for the Endowed Schools Commission.

4 In fact, it was not, for some time. The Scheme on which she based this was submitted to the Education Department in 1874 but there were complications and subsequent Schemes. The girls' school was not opened until 1904.
have earned £1,300 p.a., only £200 short of Lyttelton's salary as Chief Commissioner. It is no wonder that she concluded,

'Such prizes are not be had elsewhere. Look at Scotch girls' schools. At Germany also. We women owe a deep debt to the Endowed School Commission.'

Even in the lower range, in 3rd grade schools where the stipend was only £50 p.a. and the capitation fee perhaps £1—2, the Headmistress was assured of a respectable income,\(^2\) indeed a very good one if the numbers were large. At Bonnell's School, West Ham, where such figures obtained, the school was meant to take 200 pupils. The Headmistress then might expect to earn anything from £250 to £450 a year. The larger the school the more unimportant was the fixed stipend, relatively, and the more important the capitation fee.

Most of the new schools were very large indeed compared with what people were used to for girls. Fitch had reported to the Taunton Commission that ladies' schools averaged 25 pupils and at that time the North London Collegiate, with over 200, was quite exceptional. But many of the new schools were as large as this.\(^3\) Some were much larger.\(^4\) On this score alone they were bound to be

\(^1\)Quoted Ridley op. cit. p. 11.

\(^2\)And a pension if the governors set up the pension fund for which the Scheme provided. See Cl. 75 Grays Thurrock Scheme.

\(^3\)Bedford Modern, Wyggeston, Coborn, the Haberdashers' School at Hatcham, and Bonnell's West Ham, were all for 200. Lady Eleanor Holles was for 250.

\(^4\)Colston's School at Bristol, Roan's School at Greenwich, the Haberdashers' School at Horton were all for 300, while St. Paul's and the Camden Schools were for 400.
different from the private girls' schools; less intimate in character and much less casual. The mere obligation to keep a register speaks of a world that is poles apart from that of the headmistress who confessed to Fitch that 'she never counted her pupils; she had a feeling that it was unlucky to do so.'

Because they were larger the new schools were cheaper. Fitch in his report to the Taunton Commission had pointed out that small schools had to be expensive if the headmistress was to make a living; it was not uncommon for two thirds of the fees to be attributable to 'extras.' In Schemes for endowed schools there is seldom any reference to extras. At the top of the scale there might not be much difference between the fee in the best endowed schools and private school fees. But the parent of a High School girl at Bedford, paying the maximum of £20 p.a. at least knew that when he had done that he had finished whereas the £22 he might pay to a private school in many cases was only a beginning. £20 a year was a very high fee, applicable only to the highest grade of

1. Persons whose opinions are entitled to respect have expressed their preference for small girls' schools and their fears of large schools such as that under Miss Buss in Camden Town and other schools where the numbers reach to three hundred.' Manchester Association for Promoting the Education of Women, op. cit. p. 9.

2. Grays Thurrock Scheme, Cl. 50.

3. Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. IX, p. 281. There is evidence, though, that the strain died hard. When Fearon reported on the endowed school at Uffculme in 1877 he asked the Headmistress to produce school registers. "She said she kept no registration...I inquired...as to the course of instruction pursued in the School: and asked her to let me see the Time-table. She said there was no Time-Table. I asked how then could a regular course of instruction be pursued. She said they all carried it in their heads." PRO Ed 27/817, Report of 10 April, 1877.

4. SIC IX 282-284.

5. SIC I 558.
The maximum for a 2nd grade school with a leaving age of 17 was commonly £5—6 p.a. At a lower grade school such as Greycoat, or Thornton, it could be £4 and the minimum £2 or 30 shillings.

Whatever the school's grade the Commissioners' aim was that it should offer value for money and it was they who had to decide now in fairly precise terms what should be offered. The burden of evidence to the Taunton Commission had been that far too much was attempted in girls' schools and very little well done. School mistresses were distracted, Emily Davies wrote to Lyttelton,

'by the contradictory advice they get from educational reformers, each pressing his favourite subject. It is almost pitiful to hear them constantly asking how all the things are to be got in, each being evidently good in itself. They really need guidance, and I believe that a curriculum recommended by authority might be of great use to private schools.'

She did not entirely approve, however, of the curriculum drawn up by the Commissioners in the early drafts they showed her.

'The list of subjects seem to me rather too much like the ordinary ladies' school prospectuses, in extent and vagueness. The course proposed for boys has a more thorough and practical look about it...Is it because girls are more - or less - prosy than boys that they are to be specially taught poetry? Some one Modern language and one branch of Phys. Science, and some branch of History, would surely have a better chance of being well taught than so many languages and sciences.'

'I am rather disappointed,' Lyttelton told her, 'that you do not like the list of subjects, about which we took much pains, and I think you do not enough notice that the Governors

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1 Girton College Archives, SIC 31, draft letter, March, 1870.
2 Ibid. SIC 29 Draft letter to Roby, March 1870.
are to choose from the list. My idea is that the subject of instruction fit for girls is still so unsettled that it is quite essential to give a large range of selection and if so it is impossible to avoid the appearance of 'flashy' multifariousness. I shall be very much obliged, however, if you will take the trouble to put the whole section into accurate language such as you would approve.\(^1\)

The hand of Miss Davies is perhaps apparent in the form the Commissioners eventually chose — poetry has gone — but the Grays Thurrock Scheme\(^2\) lists no fewer than 3 modern languages as well as such subjects as Moral Philosophy which she had advised against.\(^3\)

There appear also, flanked by Domestic Economy and Needlework, 'the Laws of Health', of which she thought little\(^4\) but which

Lyttelton rated highly for girls.

'I added the Laws of Health,' he told her, 'which are of course useful to both (sexes) but which on the whole I think girls have a special aptitude for, in themselves and in their circumstances....'\(^5\)

'Domestic economy, the Laws of Health and those other matters which I may say form the science of women,' was how Fearon described those subjects with which the Commissioners ended their list in

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\(^1\)Ibid. Letter of 17 March 1870. He added a P.S. 'The special reference to poetry was a suggestion of Mr. Robinson's...It is because girls are not more but less prosy than boys that we put it in: we wish specially to draw out and encourage the imaginative and poetical faculty, which we believe is more available and will answer to the whip better in their case than in boys.' Ibid. SIC 30.

\(^2\)Cl. 66.

\(^3\)'there would be a risk...of their being superficially taught, either by catechisms or by popular lectures, which may be useful for grown-up people, but are not good as mental training...' Girton College Archives, SIC 31.

\(^4\)'I asked Miss Garrett's opinion...about teaching the Laws of Health. She believes very little in direct teaching but very much in enforcing healthy habits.' Ibid.

\(^5\)Girton College Archives, SIC 30.
virtually every curriculum for girls. They did not, as we see, exclude on that account 'some one or more branches of Natural Science.' 'In all these schools without exception, whether for boys or girls,' Lyttelton had stated, 'we propose to require as a substantial and indispensable part of their course of instruction, at least one branch of Physical Science....' 

Broadly, in an area where they were beset, as were most other people who gave thought to it, by much uncertainty and conflicting advice, the Commissioners followed the Taunton guide-line that 'the main and leading elements of instruction' should be the same for children of both sexes. The curriculum they usually employed for girls' schools was rather less fussy than the one for Grays Thurrock, which was drafted early on. It included (apart from the three domestic subjects and the basic skills) English, history, geography, French or German, mathematics and some form of science. There was also Latin. Taunton opinion had favoured Latin as part of the curriculum in almost any school and recommended it for girls 'as a means of mental culture and strengthening of the intellect, and of mastery of grammar and language.' The Commissioners were very much of the same mind.

1PRO Ed 27/2282, report of meeting at St. Helens in April, 1874. Sometimes these subjects were offered as counterpart to certain 'boys' subjects: Mensuration and Land Surveying at Thornton, Taunton Hushi and others, Algebra and Geometry at Warwick.

2His letter to the Duke of Devonshire, chairman of the Commission on Scientific Instruction, which was printed as Appendix V to the Commissioners' Report of 1872.

3SIC I 553.

4SIC I 551.
'I recommend the addition of Latin', wrote Fearon when they drew up the Keighley curriculum. 'I think instruction in this language at least as important in second grade schools for Girls as in those for boys. Even if there should be some difficulty in securing a Principal Teacher who can teach Latin, which it may be reasonably hoped, will not long be the case, the proximity of Bradford, Bingley and Skipton will enable a visiting Master for Latin to be provided at little additional cost.'

Latin, then, was usually included, even for schools with the lowest leaving age but Greek, which for boys was the principal feature distinguishing a 1st from a 2nd grade school, does not appear in any girls' curriculum. Lyttelton was decidedly against it.

'Is it not hard,' wrote Emily Davies, 'to exclude Greek, which, tho' rare, is not unknown in existing girls' schools... And, when he maintained the objection, 'I am sorry you object to Greek. Judging by the number of ladies who study it for mere pleasure, it would seem specially congenial to the female mind.'

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1 PRO Ed 27/5957 report on draft scheme, 30 July, 1870.

2 But not always. It was listed for Taunton Huish, Thornton, and the Ilminster Town School but not for the Greycoat, though all had a leaving age of 15. The Wallingford and the Coborn Schemes had Latin for boys (leaving age 15) but not for girls (leaving age 16). At Wakefield, the Trustees deleted Latin from the draft girls' curriculum (leaving age 18) and the Commissioners did not restore it. At Loughborough Latin was not prescribed for girls in what seems to have been a second grade school. When Arthur Leach inspected in 1890 he drew attention to the hardship arising from the fact that girls who needed Latin in order to be teachers had to learn it as an extra.

3 Girton College Archives, SIC 29.

4 Ibid. SIC 31. The Girton Archives contain nothing from Lyttelton setting out his reasons. But he felt very strongly that Greek should not be started in any school unless prolonged study could be given to it and this may have been the root of his objection. 'It is because I know Greek - because I know something of its beauty, its value, its difficulty,' he told the Lords in the debate on the Act of 1874, 'that I protest against the degradation of the most illustrious language ever spoken on earth, by a wretched smattering of it being presented to be learnt by boys who have to leave school at that early age.'
Lacking Greek, and with age limits more flexible than those for boys, the difference in fees is often the main distinction between different grades of girls' schools in the Schemes. It could no doubt be assumed that Latin would be taught to more girls and to a higher level at the Bradford High School or North London Collegiate than at Taunton Huish where they left at 15; but the Schemes say simply, Latin.

For all grades of school, the curricula were designed to give a general education and vocational subjects are rare. Very occasionally the Commissioners considered offering girls some form of technical education. At Newcastle-under-Lyme the first grade boys' school was deliberately given a scientific bias suited to the needs of the Pottery district and Stanton was instructed that if there was comparable employment for young women the school might admit them. His inquiries revealed that girls worked mostly in the worst jobs in the trade, very commonly in manual labour, and nothing came of it. Book-keeping appears in some curricula and the Trustees of Bristol Red Maids were allowed to include telegraphy, or other branch of science having a bearing on skilled industry suitable for women. But in general the courses were academic.

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1 See pp. 175-76 above.

2 All master potters agreed on this. Some few are employed in painting flowers and conventional artistic types, filling in spaces or lines with colour, burnishing gold, and such like mechanical work; but all the higher branches of painting were done by men. PRO Ed 27/4255, Report of Jan. 11, 1871.

3 For schools of quite different grades, as Bradford, Stamford Middle and Great Baddow.

4 When the school was inspected in 1890, teaching and telegraphy were listed as the main occupation which the girls went on to.
Drawing and music were usually included but very little notice had been taken of Fearon's strictures to the Taunton Commission on the lack of physical education for girls. The curricula of the Camden Schools and Bradford included Callisthenics and the Governors of the school at Great Crosby were to arrange for a course of physical training for the girls, but these were exceptional.

The wish had been expressed by some of those concerned with girls' education 'that merely elegant accomplishments be excluded from the curriculum.'¹ This had been done.² A grammar school course applicable to girls had now been devised, different in character and certainly in spirit from those which had drawn from Fitch the observation:

'Everywhere the fact that the pupil is to become a woman and not a man operates upon her course of study negatively, not positively. It deprives her of the kind of teaching which boys have, but it gives her little or nothing in exchange.'³

The seal was set upon the new-style schooling by provision for examinations. Children were to be examined on entry.⁴ After that,

¹PRO Ed 27/5722, Memorandum of 2 April, 1870 from Committee in Bradford.

²Though in one or two cases the Commissioners still had to contend with the Piano. "We would insert instrumental music in the list of subjects," wrote the Trustees of Uffculme. "All the poorer gentry and even the richer farmers and tradesmen have pianos and Harmoniums and expect their daughters to play them. The knowledge of instrumental music is often of the greatest value in country parishes in conducting divine service; organs exist in most chapels and churches in this part of the country....." PRO Ed 27/814, letter of 28 Hay, 1873. The Trustees of Wakefield also asked for instrumental music.

³SIC IX 290.

⁴CIS. 51, 52 Grays Thurrock Scheme. With 3 exceptions, the 20 private schools for which Fitch submitted detailed returns to the Taunton Commission imposed no entry requirement whatever. SIC IX 403-423.
they were to be examined annually by an independent examiner who had to make his report to the governors. The question of examinations for girls was at this time still controversial. Despite their admission to the Cambridge Locals the debate went on about the wisdom of subjecting them to a system which many felt was bad in itself. Some of the most ardent advocates of girls' education took this view. Against it however, the Schemes bore inconspicuous but powerful witness.

(2. Female Governors)
Responsibility for seeing that a school was managed in accordance with the provisions of the Scheme rested on the governors and from the outset the Commissioners insisted, in the case of girls' schools, that some of these governors should be

1Grays Thurrock Scheme, Cl. 56.
2See pp. 36-7 above.
3See, for instance, the letter from F. D. Maurice about the evil of competitive examinations which Kingsley read to the Social Science Association in 1869, entreating his audience "to consider very seriously the material with which they have to deal... it is very easy to warp and to break. Those who advocate a similar education for boys and girls...must recollect that there is some difference between a boy and a girl, as there is between a cart horse and a race horse, between English heart of oak and delicate spun glass..." Transactions, 1869, pp. 360-361.
4The Taunton Commissioners had come to the conclusion that examinations need not be harmful to girls provided that publicity could be avoided. Lyttelton discussed with Emily Davies whether some such caveat should go in the Schemes (Girton Archives, SIC 29,30) Most of them say nothing but the Scheme for Great Crosby insists that "in the conduct of all examinations of the girls the Governors shall be careful to provide that too great publicity or mental strain shall be avoided." PRO Ed 27/2086.
One of their earliest statements of this principle was made in response to the Greycoat Trustees who had asserted 'that a body of male governors ought to be in supreme command, and that females should only act under their directions....' The reason was that 'opinions would not be so freely expressed when women took part in the discussions.'

'The matter is one,' - the Trustees were told 'on which the Commissioners do not presume to dogmatize. It is to a great extent one of novelty; it is and always must be one of delicacy and uncertainty depending much on the qualifications of individuals, and nobody ought to be surprised if it fails in some or even in many instances. But the same thing may be said of other changes in the composition of Governing Bodies which are being introduced under...this Act. And there is at least equal reason for trying the introduction of female Governors as for trying any other new ingredient.'

The Commissioners then referred to the Taunton evidence which showed how

'endowments common to the two sexes have gravitated to the male. It is difficult to suppose that such would have been the case had women been on the Governing Bodies; nor is it easy to devise any durable remedy except to recognise their capacity to serve.....'

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1 Grays Thurrock Scheme, Cls. 6 and 10. The Taunton Report was silent on this question. Miss Davies and Miss Buss had both urged in evidence that women should take part in the management of schools where girls were concerned, and that they should be on exactly the same footing as the men, not just members of a ladies' committee. SIC V. §§ 11430-32, 11494-96.

2 e.g. the addition of a representative element.
The main thing was that

'the Government of an institution is apt to be moulded according to the minds of the Governors; if therefore female minds ought to take an influential part in organising girls' Schools they should share in the government and not be in a subordinate position.'

Finally they pointed to the new School Boards upon which women were eligible to serve.

'The Commissioners do not insist on this as conclusive because the experiment is still untested. But they think the enactment of such a provision shows at least that the present Legislature considers either that the presence of women, in assemblies much more numerous and public than such a Governing Body as this, is not embarrassing; or that the mischief of such embarrassment will be overborne by the advantage of having the help of women in the Government of Schools.'

The Greycoat Trustees stuck to their guns. They urged upon the Education Department that women should not actually serve as governors but should form a subordinate committee. When the first Scheme had been rejected in the Lords and another was prepared the dispute went on. There must be women governors, the Trustees were told.

'The Commissioners... do not think that Girls' Schools can be effectively worked otherwise. That there must be female Committees is hardly disputed. To make such Committees simply the servants of the male Governors will, as the Commissioners think, place both parties in a false position.

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1 PRO Ed 27/3284, Letter to Trustees, 1 Feb., 1871. As women were now eligible to sit on School Boards they might even find themselves ex officio on governing bodies. Hammond pointed this out in connection with King Edward VI School, Birmingham, where it was proposed to include School Board representatives on the governing body. PRO Ed 27/4893, Report of 21 April, 1871.
If the women are to do good service, they must have power, and power and responsibility must go hand in hand. The Commissioners see no middle course between requiring women Governors and total silence about the matter. Of these alternatives they are clear in preferring the former.¹

The Commissioners won. But the Trustees objected to co-opting the women named by the Commission and the Education Department backed them in this.

The issues in this question were very simple. For the Commissioners it was a matter of principle on which they never yielded and which they proclaimed many times though perhaps never better than to the Greycoat Trustees. In their Report of 1872 they insisted that it was

'hard to maintain... that women are not in very many cases, admirably qualified to take part in any educational work; in which cases not to use their assistance is a waste of resources where resources are scanty enough...'²

The matter was raised in the Select Committee.

'It has been made the subject of ridicule', Lyttelton was told, 'that you have thought it right in the case of girls' schools to provide for women governors... but I presume you are still fully of opinion that it is desirable? I do not think we have been so unfortunate as to be ridiculed for providing women governors in the case of girls' schools. I think the great unwillingness which I have found, with some surprise, to admit women to be governors has hardly been carried to the extent of openly denying the justice and propriety of their being part of the government of girls' schools. We have often been asked (I think very unreasonably, and from nothing but the prejudice of long habit) not to put them upon an equal footing with the governing body but to associate them in what is called a Ladies Committee. That we have invariably refused to do, and in every case where a girls' school is part of the Scheme we require that a certain number of ladies should be governors.'³

¹Ibid. Letter to Trustees, 2 March, 1872.

²BPP 1872 XXIV Report etc. p. 18.
He then added,

'I wish to go beyond that, and to make women eligible
on the Governing Body of almost any school. I believe
women often are highly qualified for it, and when I see
the admirable part which such women as Miss Davis (sic)
and Mrs. Anderson take in the highest educational questions,
I cannot tell that there may not be ladies equally qualified
in many parts of the country.'

There are signs that Lyttelton's readiness to have women on
almost any governing body was not widely shared. With a large
foundation, maintaining several schools, the general provision
'Women may be governors' was seen to involve the unprecedented
risk that they might, perhaps, become governors of boys' schools.
The masters of Bristol Grammar School complained that there was
no other classical boys' school in England.

'on the governing body of which it is proposed that women
shall have a place. For this arrangement no reason of any
kind has ever been given: and against it objections both
numerous and weighty must present themselves at once to
any equitable mind.'

The Headmaster shared their view and the Trustees crossed out

'Women may be governors' from the draft Scheme for Queen Elizabeth’s
and Red Maids.' Again at Exeter a similar clause relating to the
governing body of the whole Trust was objected to. A memorial
from the Mayor and Councillors protested;

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1 BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee & etc. Q 1375.

2 PRO Ed 27/1289 Summary of objections, 1 April, 1872. The clause was
included in the original draft Scheme which would have combined the
Grammar School endowment with Queen Elizabeth's and Red Maids.

3 "Of the special subjects and system of a first grade boys' school
there can be but very few women qualified to judge." Ibid., 19 May, 1873.

4 For Red Maids only, as it was a girls' school, they were prepared to
have women on a sub-committee.
'that the feminine pronoun should be struck out of all clauses relating to the governing body of the Grammar School and St. John's Hospital.'

The Stourbridge Trustees expressed a hope 'that the three women named as Governors would at all events have nothing to do with the Grammar School' while those at Beaminster, where it was planned to have a girls' school eventually, took care to make the point, 'That Women may fairly be nominated to act on management of a Girls School but not otherwise.' When the City Council at Bath suggested that women should not be eligible as Governors until a girls' school had in fact been established, Fitch pointed out that the two things were connected.

'One of the objects of the Scheme is to establish a Girls' School as soon as circumstances permit, and the question is more likely to be fully and maturely considered, if the Governing Body contains some of those who will naturally feel the strongest sympathy with this object. It may seem strange,' he said, 'that in such a matter there should be any diversity of interest between the sexes, but the history of a great number of endowments has convinced the Commissioners that it is so, and that in this case as in others, it is necessary to have some representative on the government in order to secure full and equal attention. It is not that bodies of male governors have any thought of doing injustice to women; but that the interest which is out of sight, almost inevitably falls out of mind.'

But the Trustees insisted that no women governors should be appointed

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1PRO Ed 27/695 Fitch's minute of 31 July, 1874. Again there was no objection to women being governors of the girls' school.

2PRO Ed 27/5431, Stanton to Lyttelton, 9 July, 1872.

3PRO Ed 27/824, note of Fitch's meeting with Trustees on 22 April, 1870.

4PRO Ed 27/4049 March, 1871.

5Ibid, letter of 3 May, 1871.
for at least five years from the date of the Scheme. The Commissioners found it hard, in the last resort, to require the appointment of women governors where there was no immediate prospect of a girls' school.

Where there was such a prospect, the appointment of women went through in some cases without opposition, but in others was resisted. The degree of resistance could vary from a simple proposal to make a mandatory clause permissive to the long drawn-out struggle of the Greycoat Trustees. It was not confined, as might have been expected, to those who took a low view of girls' education. The Trustees of King Edward VI School, Birmingham, were in favour of establishing a high grade girls' school but greatly disliked the idea of women governors. In the end they had to accept it but would have preferred a ladies' committee.

Lyttelton, as we have seen, put such resistance down to prejudice. It could not, certainly, have arisen from the fear of being outvoted for the number of women appointed on any governing board.

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1 As at Wakefield, Warwick, Lady Eleanor Holles, Haberdashers, Wallingford, Bonnells, Bedford.

2 The Coborn Trustees, reading that 'Three of the places of co-optative Governors....shall always be filled by....women', crossed out 'shall always' and substituted 'may'. PRO Ed 27/3247.

3 PRO Ed 27/4891 Hammond's report of meeting with governors 5.12.70. See also his report of local feeling about this 21 April, 1871 on Ed 27/4893.
body was to be a very small proportion of the whole.¹ Few objections rose above the level of those put forward by the Loughborough Trustees, who saw

'great practical difficulty in having....Women as Governors of the Girls School for they must attend all meetings of the Governors inasmuch as business connected with the Girls School would nearly always arise and it might crop up at any stage.....so that the Ladies would really have to be present throughout.....'²

The headmaster at Ilminster informed the Commissioners that 'it is not feasible to obtain women governors in this neighbourhood; it differs much from a large town....³

In one form or another the argument was that women governors were not necessary and that it would be best, if the Commissioners insisted that something must be done, to have a Ladies Committee. This they would not hear of. In their first Report they had described such an arrangement as

'tending to place both the Governing Body and the proposed Committee in an embarrassing position. Such Committee will soon cease to work with energy and interest if attention is

¹The proportion was 4:16 at Grays Thurrock (See Clauses 3, 8 and 10 of Scheme). At Lady Eleanor Holies and Bonnells it was 3:12, at Wallingford 3:11; at Reading, Kendricks 2:10, at Roan's 2:16.

²PRO Ed 27/2440, Objections received Aug. 20, 1874.

³An objection which perhaps could not be wholly discounted. But towns had their problems. 'In a fastidious city like Bath,' Fitch told the Commissioners, he would have to take pains 'to ascertain what Ladies were of the right social position. PRO Ed 27/4049, letter of 28 Dec., 1870. There are other indications of the difficulty of obtaining women governors. 'I am not able to recommend, with any degree of confidence, the names of four ladies who should be appointed.' wrote Robinson to Fearon, with regard to Keighley, "If half the Co-optative Division is necessarily to consist of women, I see no way but to provide they be elected by the rest of the Governing Body." PRO Ed 27/5957.
not paid to their recommendations...."1

The Commissioners came down on the Committee idea whenever it was raised.2 Indeed, from the moment they instructed their Assistants3 to the point where they were ready to submit a Scheme for the approval of the Education Department the appointment of women governors was a matter on which they exercised great vigilance.

One of the last letters to go out from Victoria Street at the very end of their term of office made it clear to the Loughborough Trustees

'that the Commissioners attach so much importance to the services of women in the administration of a girls school, that they cannot comply with the wish you express to erase this clause altogether...'4

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1 EPP 1872 XXIV Report & etc., p. 18. The Commissioners, in fact, had had brought to their notice just such a situation, at Queen's College, Harley Street. There, as Richmond explained to Lyttelton in connection with Grays Thurrock, the committee plan had failed. 'The Ladies having no authority were reduced to mere puppets, and all the best of them resigned....' PRO Ed 27/1147, 23 Dec., 1870.

2 As at Burton-on-Trent, Loughborough, Greycoat, Ilminster, Bristol; though Fearon, at least in 1871, was not entirely on the side of the angels. 'I recommend,' he wrote of Thornton 'as I have in former cases, that it be made imperative to have women governors... It is in my opinion sufficient in such cases as this to provide for the eligibility of women on both sections of the Governing Body. It may very well happen in some localities that local wishes may be better satisfied, and the interests of the education of girls at least as well secured, by the Governors being enabled to work their Girls School through a Women's Committee...' PRO Ed 27/5737, letter of Nov. 18, 1871. The Scheme provided for women governors, however.

3 As a girls' School will be part of the plan, you will not forget to impress on all minds the importance of having the assistance of ladies on the Governing Bodies, and that not as a sub committee, told off merely to superintend the affairs of the girls' school, but as possessing an equal share in the general management with their male colleagues.' Hobhouse to Fitch on Ilminster, 4 Nov., 1870. PRO Ed 27/4129.

When the Conservatives returned to office in February, 1874 the existence of the Endowed Schools Commission became, as Richmond put it later, 'a rather burning political question.' Early in August an Act was passed disbanding the Commission and transferring its powers from the end of that year to the Charity Commission. The events that lay behind this will be examined shortly. For the moment it suffices to say that during the debates much play was made of the Endowed Schools Commissioners' unpopularity. By their rough and doctrinaire behaviour they were said to have caused widespread alarm, to have dried the springs of charity at source, even to have lost the Liberals the Election. As Sandon put it when he moved the Second Reading they were 'slain by the force of public opinion' and their supporters did not so much deny it as argue that it could hardly have been otherwise, given the duties they had to perform. Parallels were drawn with those earlier public servants - the Poor Law Commissioners - who were so much detested for doing good. And the good which had been done by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, but which had helped to make them unpopular, was seen to include their work for girls. They had been blamed, said Lyon Playfair, for grading

1 Richmond to Select Committee on Endowed Schools Acts, 1886: Q. 1046.
schools to suit different classes, popularising Governing Bodies, and finally, because 'they had the audacity to convert superfluous schools for boys into much needed schools for girls.'\(^1\) Henry Fawcett listed five causes of the Commissioners' unpopularity, all of which he said were enjoined by the Act or by the Report of the Taunton Commission; they included the assignment of money to girls.\(^2\) The same case was made by A. H. Brown who saw 'giving a share of the endowment to girls, the grading of schools and extending their usefulness' as reasons why the Commission was disliked.

The Commissioners, for their part, more than once stated that the application of Section 12 was highly unpopular. Hardly anything they did, Roby told the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act in 1873, met with less support from trustees.\(^3\) Local unwillingness, Robinson asserted, was the reason why they had done less for girls than they could have wished.\(^4\) And in a final Report before they were disbanded the Commissioners emphasised that it required 'much firmness of purpose' to give effect to Parliament's intentions here.\(^5\)

The files bear this out. But they also reveal that there were many different ways of saying No; that even what Maria Grey described as

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\(^1\) Ibid. 1687. It is not clear what schools he was thinking of. At Uffculme in Dorset a defunct boys' school was re-established as a girls' school but no other case answers his description. The Scheme for Blandford which supposed just such a change had not yet been drafted and did not achieve notority for another ten years. See Ch. III below.

\(^2\) Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 221, 311.

\(^3\) BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee on Endowed Schools Act, 1869; Q 186.

\(^4\) Ibid. QQ 1750, 1751.

'the state of strong prejudice in the public mind against applying endowments to the secondary education of girls'\textsuperscript{1} gained much variety from local circumstance; and that sometimes the girls' claim had local support.

1. **Opposition and Support**\textsuperscript{2}

We have seen that an attachment to the interests of the poor, defined in ways which were incompatible with the ideal of girls' secondary education, formed part of what might be called the 'Hospital mentality',\textsuperscript{3} The interests of the poor, too, were often invoked when it was proposed to use for secondary school purposes funds which had hitherto maintained elementary schools.\textsuperscript{4} The Commissioners' Scheme for a girls' school at Ambleside was denounced by their principal opponent as 'a robbery of funds left solely for the poor.'\textsuperscript{5} The same cry arose at St. Helens in Lancashire. Fearon began well, expounding in public the proposals to use the Cowley Foundation to provide secondary schools for both sexes. He enlarged on the meaning of Section 12,\textsuperscript{6} described the curricula for girls and for boys and was praised for his tact and courtesy. Then everything

\textsuperscript{1}BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee & Etc. Q 4180.

\textsuperscript{2}Most, but not all, the references in this Section are to cases (summarised in Appendix III[i] and (ii)) where the Endowed Schools Commissioners completed Schemes.

\textsuperscript{3}Ch. V above.

\textsuperscript{4}The classic case of this kind of opposition was that of Scarning in Norfolk where the whole community revolted against a Scheme which imposed fees on the endowed elementary school while assigning part of its endowment to provide exhibitions for secondary education. See Balls op. cit., Ch. 5, Dr. Balls examines various aspects of 'robbing the poor' very fully in his Thesis.

\textsuperscript{5}Letter from Wm. Donaldson in Westmorland Gazette, May 1873 on PRO Ed 27/5124.

\textsuperscript{6}'I think that if ever there was a case in which convenience could be established this is one...' PRO Ed 27/2282, Report in St. Helen's Standard, 18 April, 1874.
changed. A movement got up to resist

' the PRESENT FOUL ATTEMPT to spoliate the Funds of the Trust, and to Deprive the Children of the Poor, and the Artizan Classes, of the Present Cowley Schools....'\(^1\)

'An outrageous scheme of plunder' was one description of the Commissioners' proposal to provide girls' and boys' secondary schools from the Orme Foundation at Newcastle-under-Lyme. Here too they were supplanting an elementary school and it was 'most infamous and dishonest, and savoured much of a den of thieves'.\(^2\) In response to the Trustees' objection 'that the great working class to whom an elementary education would be the greatest boon are ignored,' and to complaints from the School Board and inhabitants, the Commissioners made a substantial assignment for elementary schools.

'It will be expedient to make some concession to the cry of robbing the poor,' Latham advised on Bonnell's School, West Ham, which was to be transformed from a girls' elementary school into a secondary school for girls. And in due course the vicar and churchwardens protested against the charity being used in this way.\(^3\)

The passing of the Elementary Education Act reinforced feeling for the interests of the poor with feeling for the interests of the ratepayers. As we saw\(^4\) the Vicar and parishioners of Aldenham were

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\(^1\)From title of pamphlet, marked 59 on PRO Ed 27/2282.

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/4255 Report in North Staffordshire Advertiser of July 22 1871. The phrase recalls the reported comment of a dissident at the meeting on the Kings School, Sherborne, (p. 147 above, f. 3 ) that 'he did not see much difference between the midnight burglar and the School Commissioner'.

\(^3\)PRO Ed 27/1223, Jan. 1, 1872.

\(^4\)pp. 12.0 above.
very anxious to avoid a School Board and urged in detail on the Education Department the prior claims of their elementary schools to that surplus of the Platt endowment which the Scheme directed mainly to the North London Collegiate. The girls' endowment was also at risk from a similar claim made by the people of Bushey while yet another came from the vicar of Frogmore who asked for help towards meeting the requirements which the Education Act imposed on his parish.¹

At March a School Board had already been established and its chairman, who was also a Charity Trustee, led a determined and successful struggle to get a substantial capital assignment as well as an income for the elementary schools. He was opposed to establishing a girls' school² and did not hesitate to threaten the Commissioners that unless the elementary school proposals were accepted,

'the Trustees would pass a similar resolution to that of the School Board declaring that in their opinion a "Girls Grammar School"....is not required and that it....would not be in accordance with the Founders desires to benefit "the poor" & etc. of the Parish of March.'³

¹PRO Ed 27/1639, letters of 15 Sept. 1874 and 17 Dec. 1874. The vicar's reactions were typical of many. F. E. Balls, op. cit., p. 476 considers that 'Perhaps the biggest obstacle to the administration of the Endowed Schools Act was the difficulty of applying endowments to higher education when there was such a strong movement in the country in favour of using them to evade the obligations imposed by the Elementary Education Act of 1870.'

²'because an upper school for girls is not required in the parish which is purely an agricultural one...and I wish to point out that in larger Towns...where large Manufacturing businesses are carried on, no schools of such a nature exist....' Alongside this last remark Lyttelton pencilled 'So much the worse.' PRO Ed 27/173. November, 1872.

³Ibid., letter of Oct. 30, 1873, which Elliott wrote from his London hotel after a stubborn interview with Richmond and Fitch. Richmond wrote back unofficially pointing out that Elliott's proposals would cut to the bone what was available for girls; but the Trustees here were in a strong position as they had to consent to an apportionment between aims and education under Section 24 of the Endowed Schools Act.
The upshot was that the Commissioners' first proposal to establish a girls' grammar school in March was watered down to the mere possibility of providing one as soon as practicable after 3 years from the date of the Scheme.

Demonstrably, the claims of the poor were likely to run counter to the claims of girls. On a broader front, the range of argument — not explicitly anti-feminist — which might be advanced against Section 12 is shown in the response which came from Gillingham in Dorset.

The Trustees told Fitch that they were

'fully sensible of the importance of making provision for the improved education of Girls but they do not consider that the funds at their disposal are sufficient to enable them to do anything towards attaining that object, and they fear if they were to attempt it that they would.....injuriously affect the interests of the proposed Boys School. The Girls of the lower middle class now obtain instruction either at local schools.....or from Governesses at home. The Trustees do not think that a day School, established here for Girls would be likely to succeed - the population is widely scattered, and the roads in Winter dirty.'

The points made here — that funds are insufficient, that the boys' school is likely to suffer and that there is no demand for a girls' school — crop up time and time again. Where the endowment was small, as at Gillingham, the first was very difficult to counter. Lack of money was a major problem and it soon became clear to the Endowed Schools Commissioners that, as the Taunton Report had predicted, however well endowments were reorganised, they would go 'but a short way towards putting a sound education on reasonable terms within the reach of every parent in England.'

1 PRO Ed 27/866, letter of 2 June, 1871.
2 Sur 652.
were reduced by the need to compensate vested interests; sometimes money which seemed to be available was suddenly withdrawn.¹

Demand for a girls' school was, as we have seen,² very hard to establish. Cases where it had been established already, as with the North London Collegiate School, were quite exceptional. The dirty roads near Gillingham were simply a variant on a common theme, which amounted generally to claiming that, from the social point of view, an endowed girls' grammar school would fall between two stools: the better classes would not use it; the lower classes did not need it. Those parents, as the Trustees at Mansfield pointed out, who wanted an extended education for their girls 'will also make their Selection of the persons with whom they would place them',³ while, as the Wheelwright Trustees said of Dewsbury, 'what is wanted for the Girls working at the Mills is a good plain practical education...⁴

Comments of this kind, which dispute the relevance of endowing day secondary schools for girls, were no doubt partly what Maria Grey meant when she spoke of strong prejudice existing against them. But Trustees were inclined to rationalise their prejudice; overtly, at least, their main preoccupation seems to have been to cherish their boys' school, and their first argument against the claims of girls.

¹Section 3 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1873 (which amended the original Act) withdrew from the Commissioners' jurisdiction elementary school endowments worth less than £100 p.a. and brought them under the Elementary Education Act. Wheeler's Charity at Stourbridge and the Ramsden Charity at Elland were two which the Commissioners had hoped to use for girls' education but which were lost to them as a result.

²Pp. 122-4 above.

³PRO Ed 27/3792, Trustees' letter 10 April, 1872.

⁴PRO Ed 27/6074, Trustees' objections to Scheme published August, 1872.
as at Gillingham, was that if these were admitted the prospects of the boys' school were bound to suffer. The Gillingham Trustees, 'whilst admitting in the abstract the desirability of providing... for girls' feared to jeopardise the future of the boys' school, 'the success of which they had so much at heart.'\(^1\) As Robinson told the Select Committee, disinterested persons felt very strongly that endowments should contribute more to girls' education, 'but amongst those who have to manage individual endowments there is a feeling that their particular endowment ought to be exempt from the liability.'\(^2\)

Such a feeling may even have been strengthened by the very circumstances arising from the Act. Its operation, however unwelcome, was calculated to awaken Trustees to a sense of trustee-ship. The summons to meet the Assistant Commissioner, the prospect of his looking over school premises, examining old deeds and recent accounts was enough in itself to rouse the lethargic and send the alert to their prepared positions. The school became the subject of local editorials, the Founder's intentions a topic for debate; between public meetings and private lobbying Trustees were as likely to feel more proprietorial, more jealous of the prospects of their own foundation as they were to contemplate depleting its resources in the interest of girls.

\(^1\)PRO Ed 27/866, letter of July, 1871. My italics.

\(^2\)BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee & Etc., Q 2043.
At Bristol, as we saw, strong local patriotism centred on the Grammar School, which at that time was struggling to maintain its position in relation to Clifton College. At Stourbridge, Stanton said, the Trustees expressed no marked approval of the plan for a Girls' School.

'None were enthusiastic,' he wrote, 'most of them reserved, some hostile. They desired they said before all things to promote the interests of the Grammar School and required that those interests should be fully provided for before considering the wants of Girls education in Stourbridge.'

When the Scheme was drafted the Stourbridge Trustees, out of what Stanton called their 'exuberance' in regard to the Grammar School, proposed an amendment to make quite clear that its efficient conduct and maintenance should have precedence over the assignment for girls' education, a provision which, as he explained to Lyttelton, could have the effect of wiping out the money for girls altogether.²

The Commissioners' dealings with the Berkhamsted Trustees show very well how this could come about. Here, too, there was great determination 'to make the School thorough, attractive and efficient before any portion of the income is abstracted to establish a Girls' School,'³ and the Trustees sent in a list of those appliances which the school lacked but which 'most good schools now possess viz. Chemistry Laboratory, covered tepid swimming bath, Fives Court, Carpenters Shop and Smithy, Reading Room and Library, Museum, gymnasium....'⁴

¹PRO Ed 27/5431, Stanton to Lyttelton, 9 July, 1872.
²Ibid., summary of objections, 31 March, 1873.
⁴Ibid., letter of July 28, 1874.
He did not object to assisting a Girls' School when funds were sufficient, wrote the Berkhamsted Headmaster, adding in a memorable phrase, "but I think we ought to be just to the boys before we are generous to the girls."1

No one at Pocklington was ready with a list but once the Scheme was published the inhabitants protested that the £200 it assigned to girls 'would be better used for paying the Headmaster a larger salary and for providing for Assistant Masters,'2 while the Trustees asked for some modification of a clause which gives nearly one sixth portion of the whole income to purposes alien to the wish of the Founder and distasteful to themselves and the Inhabitants generally. At least while the School is being first formed the clause (even when modified) should be held in abeyance for a period of three or five years.'3

The Commissioners agreed to three years' deferment but would not go further.

"Considering the richness of the endowment and the smallness of the population this is a case in which they are bound to give substantial effect to the injunction in Section 12 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869....'4

But the Trustees felt very strongly indeed, protesting to the Education Department that the income of the school had been over-

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1Ibid., letter of 21 Aug., 1874. The endowment was worth over £1,400 p.a.; the proposal at this stage was to assign £250—350 p.a. to girls.

2PRO Ed 27/5534, Memorial of 28 August 1873.

3Ibid., letter of 24 Nov. 1873.

4Ibid., letter of 5 June, 1874 to Education Department, submitting Scheme.
estimated and would not permit of an assignment to girls if the boys' school was to be well kept up. They got what amounted to indefinite deferment.

At Mansfield the Trustees were scarcely more willing to set aside any money for girls, 'before the Boys School is in full working order.' At Bradford the Trustees went so far as to claim that they approved the principle of girls' education but, considering the boys' school much more important, 'would prefer not to cripple the funds,' until it was established. At Ashby-de-la-Zouch the Trustees also approved the principle but wished not to have to put it into practice till the Grammar School was launched. Some of these schools, in fact, were struggling to recover from a period of eclipse. Not many years previously Pocklington had been sadly neglected; the Grammar School at Mansfield was about to be re-opened after a period in abeyance; the school at Ashby, according to its Trustees, had been going downhill for want of a new Scheme. Naturally their governors clung to the endowment. At Berkhamsted, further on the road to success, the governors, if anything, clung even harder. After well over a hundred years in Chancery the school was building up a reputation; this was no time to split the endowment.

Whether such a time could ever arrive in the mind of a Trustee is the question suggested by the reaction of those who could claim no loyalty to a boys' school actually existing but claimed it to the one

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2 P. 51 above.
they hoped to establish. This had been the case with the Trustees at Gillingham and it was the case at Borden. The Borden Trustees proposed to establish a school for boys and did not wish to hamper its chances of success by acceding to the Commissioners' proposal that surplus income should be set aside for girls.

'The Trustees bad always looked to the surplus...to increase the efficiency of the Boys' School and possibly to have built a Chapel for the School. It is not believed that the better class of Farmers and Tradespeople for whose Sons the Boys School is intended will be at all disposed to avail themselves of a School of this description for their Daughters.'

There is no lack, then, of examples to confirm the Commissioners' own account that they had an uphill task in attempting to prise away endowment for girls. Not all Trustees were hostile, however. Some were responsive, making proposals which were in tune with the Commissioners' thinking. The Governors of Giggleswick, for instance, put forward the suggestion that a number of boys' schools in the West Riding should be 'equitably taxed' to support a girls' school.

When one sees that the chairman of this governing body was Sir James Kay Shuttleworth and that Mr. Charles Roundell was one of its members, it is tempting to conclude that their influence counted. This was certainly the case at Dulwich where Roundell fought to get a girls' school of the first grade established on that wealthy foundation.

'I succeeded yesterday at Dulwich beyond expectations,' he wrote

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1PRO Ed 27/1792, Trustees' objections 1 September 1874.
2PRO Ed 27/5834, Resolution passed at Governors' meeting, 10 Aug. 1870.
3Both were strong supporters of girls' education and active from the first in the Girls Public Day School Company. Roundell was chairman of the Council of the G.P.D.S. Co. for some years.
to Lyttelton, describing how his girls' school proposal had been
carried unanimously.

'When therefore the Scheme again comes before you, you will
find that we are prepared to establish a thoroughly
equipped first-rate School for Girls. I am anxious to
mention this, and especially the favour with which our
Governors regard the proposal, because a unique
opportunity is thus offered for establishing a School
which may be a model for others, though perhaps no other
Foundation can offer such pecuniary means. I shall not be
afraid of asking for any sum, however large, which may be
necessary for carrying out thoroughly this proposal.'

The Biggs Foundation at Wallingford, possessing one sixtieth
of the income at Dulwich, had also on its board a Trustee anxious
to do something for girls. Mr. Carey Tyso sent to the Commissioners
his own draft Scheme based on detailed information acquired in
answer to questionnaires which he had addressed to grammar school
headmasters and interested persons all over England. He proposed
that the endowment, worth £260 p.a., should support a girls'
school as well as one for boys and justified this at length and in
terms which might have come from the Commissioners themselves.

1PRO Ed 27/2830, 30 Nov. 1872.

2According to his preface, Mr. Tyso had amassed "above 1000 pages of
MS and printed matter, of great value to persons about to found a
modern Endowed School." He acknowledged advice from Roby and Thomas
Hare of the Charity Commission, inter al. PRO Ed 27/93.

3His reasons were set out under seven separate heads: that there
had once been an endowed girls' school in Wallingford; that the
proposal to establish one now would widen the area of advantage
from the charity; that there were more girls than boys in Wallingford;
that women now had Municipal rights and therefore ought to be
educated; that Sections 9 and 12 of the Endowed Schools Act favoured
such a plan; that certain London charities hitherto entirely devoted
to boys had now been applied to girls; that the funds were adequate
to provide for both sexes.
Mr. Carey Tyso and Mr. Roundell cannot be presented as typical Trustees, in their attitude to girls' education. Yet between their missionary zeal and the antipathy expressed, say, at Pocklington, lies a whole range of degrees of acceptance. It has already been suggested\(^1\) that where there was uncommitted money girls had a chance. Thus at Burton-on-Trent the Alsopp Trustees approved without difficulty Stanton's proposal to establish two Schools.

'I should be wrong in saying they were enthusiastic about them, but I think they were anxious to see them established.'\(^2\) The idea that one should be a school for girls, was, he said, very favourably received.

'The proposed Girls' School gave satisfaction,' Hammond reported of the Trustees at Stamford.\(^3\) The deputation which came up from Rivington to discuss a draft Scheme with Canon Robinson appeared well pleased with the proposal for girls\(^4\) while the Trustees at Grays Thurrock were described as 'unanimously in favour of trying the experiment'\(^5\) and at Bedford the Harput Trustees were even ready to boast about it. The Commissioners, they hoped, would approve their proposal

'to establish for the first time out of the endowments a school for the higher education of girls...Although the attempt must be considered to a certain extent tentative the Trustees think that the experiment could not be tried under more favorable circumstances than at Bedford where there is a large population resident for the sake of the educational advantages and where the presence of the boys' schools and the proximity to London and Cambridge offer facilities which few places possess.'\(^6\)

\(^1\)pp.\(^\text{M-5}\)above

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/4217, Stanton to Commissioners, Jan. 1871.

\(^3\)PRO Ed 27/2612, minute of 16 April, 1872.

\(^4\)PRO Ed 27/2264.

\(^5\)PRO Ed 27/1147, report of meeting of 14 June, 1870.

Cambridge, of course, possessed them in large measure and it is not surprising to find that the idea of allocating something to girls from the Perse endowment was well received, both by the Trustees and by leading inhabitants. The Charities Committee of the Town Council reported at length on the Commissioners' proposals, pointing out that the fathers of families suffered from the lack of an endowed school for girls.

'Considering, too, the provision now being made by the University in various ways for raising the standard of girls' education, there appears some reason for affording by exhibitions and otherwise increased opportunity enabling girls to take advantage of this provision.'

When the Council came to discuss this Report opinion on the whole was warm towards girls and the principle that something should be done was conceded, even by those who were opposed to doing it if it meant raising the fees at the boys' school.

The issues which divided Town and Trustees in Birmingham did not extend to the provision for girls which was generally favoured.

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2 The most lyrical speaker was Mr. Goodman who "did not believe... that the parents of the middle classes of this country wished to furnish.....to occupy such important positions in the world... articles so beautiful and polished, and useless, that they appeared to be brought out - like the pedlar's razors - to sell and not to use; or that they at Cambridge were content that their daughters should acquire accomplishments...which usually consisted in piano drill...and in the acquisition of French such as is not spoken or understood in any nation of articulate-speaking men, much less in the country called France...." Ibid. Report of Council Meeting in Cambridge Independent Review of 10 Aug. 1872.
The earliest proposals received from the Trustees contemplated an upper girls' school, a project which was warmly endorsed, Hammond reported, when he met a committee of the Grammar School Reform Association. The Birmingham Morning News rejoiced in the idea. 'In no point of the education system, it told its readers, is there more pressing and urgent necessity for reform than this. The Branch Schools of King Edward's foundation have done some good work in this department; but there is still much more to be done, and no system can be said to answer the wants of the time which does not afford equal facilities for the education of both girls and boys.'

If they did not fly so high as equal facilities, in a number of places both Trustees and inhabitants were 'not unwilling to try the experiment'.

The Loughborough Trustees agreed with Fitch that they ought to develop the Upper Girls School on their foundation, a view which was supported when he met the Committee of Inhabitants. A public meeting in the village of Northleach voted unanimously to have a girls' school and here there was support from the grammar school headmaster who, most untypically, was interested enough to speculate on ways in which the boys' and the girls' school, if established, 'would mutually keep and strengthen each other.' The Trustees of

2Ibid., 19 Jan. 1871.
4PRO Ed 27/2440, Fitch to Commissioners 16 July, 1872.
5They would interchange masters for languages and music; the girls' school would get help in Latin and Mathematics; they would draw their pupils from the same class. Mr. Lowry was clearly most unusual. Elton reported that he upset the farmers by chairing a meeting addressed by Joseph Arch. PRO Ed 27/1426, report of April 27, 1874.
Lady Eleanor Holles foundation, moved, perhaps, by falling demand for their industrial school in Cripplegate, launched an inquiry into local attitudes to the prospect of a girls' secondary school. The response to their circular was extremely favourable. At Ilminster, a meeting of inhabitants reacted to the prospect of establishing a girls' school, already accepted by the Trustees, with the practical reflection that

"There were as many girls to be educated as boys, and would it not be as great an inducement to persons having girls to educate to come to Ilminster so as to have them educated at that school?"

For obvious reasons the Commissioners' dealings were mainly with Trustees but they did what they could to sound out local opinion generally and in some towns Trustees and inhabitants were divided on the question of girls' education, the inhabitants being the more progressive.

In Stourbridge, we have seen," the Trustees were grudging, anxious at all costs to look after the boys' school. At the same time the Stourbridge Improvement Commissioners forwarded to London a string of resolutions which began by rehearsing that endowments in the past had been almost wholly devoted to boys 'while the education of Girls

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1 PRO Ed 27/3037. Three hundred parishioners replied 'Yes' and only 5 or 6 were against it. It is only fair to add that a second circular, setting out much more detailed proposals and asking how many scholars would attend, brought few favourable replies.

scarcely less important,' and went on to express their earnest hope that the Endowed Schools Commissioners would use their power under the Act 'for founding and maintaining in Stourbridge a good school for Girls.'

Stanton said that almost all the people he consulted were in favour of a girls' school and at his suggestion the moving spirits formed a committee with which he kept in touch. For external reasons the girls' school proposal was eventually abandoned and at this point it was due to the committee that anything at all was salvaged for girls, for it was they who 'respectfully' advised the Commissioners,

'that it would be most desirable if a clause could be inserted in the Scheme empowering the Governors at any future time, should the funds permit, to establish such a school....'

A clause of this kind, they suggested, 'would tend to keep the subject before the Governors, and might lead to some future gift of funds for the special purpose.' The clause was inserted.

More than once the election of a special committee to represent the interests of inhabitants suggests that it was by no means assumed that these would be identical with Trustees' interests when the endowment came to be reorganised. In Mansfield, the Grammar School

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1 PRO Ed 27/5431, Resolutions of 4 Dec. 1871.

2 Supplying them, for instance, with a copy of the Grays Thurrock Scheme 'as a model for the School which the Commissioners hope to establish at Stourbridge....' Ibid. letter of 18 May, 1872.

3 PRO Ed 27/5431, letter of 7 May, 1874.
Committee was elected at a public meeting to discuss the school's reopening after it had been some years in abeyance and the attendance was addressed by their local Member, J. E. Denison, Speaker of the House, on the need to make provision for girls.¹ By the time the Commissioners came to deal with Mansfield the Grammar School Committee had drafted a Scheme which envisaged, among other things, a third grade girls' school as well as classes for 'Upper Female Instruction'.

The Grammar School Trustees told Elton, however, that they did not want to entertain the question of educating girls, 'the original trust having been founded for the benefit of boys.'²

When the Draft Scheme was published, assigning £100 yearly to girls and looking to a girls' school in the future when another local fund should have become available, the Trustees stuck to their point of view in the face of pressure not only from the Commissioners but from opinion in the town.

'So decidedly did the town's meeting concur with the recommendation of the Committee that provision for female education should be included in the Scheme,' one paper reported, 'that no amendment in a contrary sense was ever proposed.

¹There was one thing he wished to lay before them, and as it was a matter which concerned the whole population he should have been glad if they had been honoured with the presence of ladies.... In Nottingham there were one or two middle class schools but neither there nor in any other district was there a similar school for girls. The importance of this branch of the subject could not be over-estimated but in the distribution of endowments a very inadequate share had been devoted to the education of girls.... Not only were girls' schools inferior in number to those for boys but they were inferior also in the quality of instruction afforded, although the essential capacity for learning, at least at that early age, was equal in the two sexes. Considering the position of the town, its salubrious qualities, its dry and healthy soil.... there could be no doubt that it would be a choice place of education and if a good girls school was founded it would add to the credit and character of the place.... PRO Ed 27/3792. Nottingham and Midland Counties Daily Express, Jan. 1870.

²Ibid., Elton to Commissioners, July 15, 1872.

³Ibid., Mansfield and North Notts Advertiser, March 21, 1873
'The Committee and the Trustees were not as one,' another said, 'as to the education of girls.'\(^1\) The Trustees, dwelling on the cost they would incur in building a new boys' school, simply denied that what the Commissioners described to them as the 'clearly expressed local want' for girls' education actually existed. 'It was,' they maintained, 'the expression of a few only and not many persons here.'\(^2\)

In spite of them, the clauses remained in the scheme.

At Hipperholme in Yorkshire girls' education was also an issue between two factions. The Trustees (who were predominantly Anglican) wanted to preserve a first grade boarding school. The Grammar School Inquiry Association wanted to have governors representing the locality (which had a strong Dissenting element) and a grammar school adapted to local needs, among which they included provision for girls. The idea of establishing a girls' school was scouted by the Trustees as quite unnecessary, 'there being, first, no element in the District to avail itself of such a School and second, there being no funds....for the object.' To set aside any part of the endowment they thought 'a heedless...limitation which may operate with great disadvantage to the working of the existing school.'\(^3\)

The reformers wanted a second grade mixed school and argued that there was a large demand for it. As opinion polarised, the girls' cause was urged as the cause of the locality, a girls' school

\(^1\)Ibid., Mansfield Reporter, 21 March, 1873.

\(^2\)Ibid., letter of 14 Feb. 1874.

\(^3\)PRO Ed 27/5887, letter of Nov. 23, 1872.
became 'the great want of the district' and 'our girls at home left to get an education as best they may' were contrasted with 'the sons of gentlemen at a distance' whom the Trustees were eager to admit as boarders. 'The better education of "the daughters of England" is now admitted on all hands to be of equal importance to that of the sterner sex,' wrote a correspondent to the Halifax Courier, no doubt sincerely; but in fact the girls' issue was also another stick to beat the Trustees with: It appears in the same light at Brentwood where there was considerable resentment about the way the Wardens of Brentwood School had administered their trust. The school, it was contended, had become little more than a private boarding school and should be reformed to meet the needs of the locality, which were not interpreted as solely masculine. On the contrary,

'It was the anxious wish of the committee that some arrangement should be made for the education of girls. All who were parents were no doubt anxious that their girls should have as good an education as their boys. Girls had to fight their way through the world as well as boys and there was no reason why boys should have the advantage in matters of education.'

Such battles were not new — the struggle between lower and upper middle class for control of the grammar schools can be traced back to well before 1869 but the girls' question was a new factor

1Ibid., letter of Nov. 23, 1871, signed PUBLICITY AND RIGHT in Bradford Observer.

2The publisher of the Courier was active in the Grammar School Inquiry Association.


4See Balls, op. cit., Chl. 1
in them. In Berkhamsted it added another dimension to the long-standing friction between school and locality. When the Endowed Schools Act was passed the Headmaster, Dr. Bartrum, had come forward with suggestions which included 'the great need' of Berkhamsted for 'a good Middle Girls School' but he seems to have been thinking in terms of provision from another endowment. Certainly he came to resist very hard the Commissioners' proposals to tax the grammar school. The struggle lasted five years and the lines were drawn, as in the past, between the School and the Vestry. Here, as at Hipperholme, the headmaster and governors wanted to build a good boarding connection. The town resented it. A Vestry resolution 'that the Grammar School does not meet the educational requirements of the Town,' led to the appointment of a Vestry committee to watch local interests. The suggestions made to the Endowed Schools Commissioners by its secretary, Henry Nash, resemble those urged upon Fearon at Hipperholme: any new Scheme should be designed with a view to 'the practical wants of the Town and neighbourhood', Parishioners should elect a fair proportion of governors; and,

1 In 1865, as the result of a petition from the headmasters and governors who were eager to admit fee payers as boarders, and in the face of much local opposition, the number of free scholars was reduced by Chancery from the 114 stipulated by the founder (a number far exceeding what the locality had ever been able to supply or the endowment could by this time support) to a maximum of 50. For details of this conflict in its wider context of the transformation of free grammar schools to public schools before the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, see Balls, op. cit. Ch. 1.

2 PRO Ed 27/1657, letter to Commissioners, Dec. 1869.

3 Dr. Bartrum suggested that the local need for middle schools could be met from the Bourne Foundation.

4 p. 207 above.

5 Berkhamsted Vestry Minutes, 4 May, 1870.
'considering the large income of the School and the limited number of Boys in the parishes of Berkhamsted and Northchurch... provision should be made for the establishment of a Girls School in connection with the Grammar School and under the same management.'

Once again, local requirements were defined no longer simply in terms of boys.

When the Scheme was drafted so as to assign £300 p.a. for girls' education, as soon as funds permitted, the governors told Hammond that they would not have it, while on the other hand the Vestry Committee assured him there would be strong feeling in Berkhamsted in favour of such an appropriation. In the Vestry itself, Dr. Bartrum and his friends tried unsuccessfully to put through a motion which would have postponed the allocation to girls until the requirements of the boys school had been met. In a letter of protest he told the Commission of all the facilities now provided at the Bedford Modern School.

'We have not one of them. We have been looking forward for years to some such additions and had hoped the Commissioners would have assisted us in obtaining them.'

Both sides came up to Victoria Street. The Vestry Committee stuck to their view that a girls' school was badly needed and that the governors' objections were flimsy. The governors stuck to theirs, that the grammar school would suffer. No way out of this impasse had been found at the time the Endowed Schools Commission was disbanded.

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1 PRO Ed 27/1657, letter of July 1, 1872.
2 Ibid., report on meeting of April 28, 1874.
3 Berkhamsted Vestry Minutes, July 23, 1874.
4 PRO Ed 27/1657, letter of 21 Aug., 1874. Dr. Bartrum's list included all those things described by the governors (p.206 above) plus an infirmary.
That the Commissioners worked very hard for girls cannot be disputed. As early as 1873 Maria Grey acknowledged the 'deep debt of gratitude' which women owed them. 'They have done, I believe, as much as the state of public feeling permitted....' To prove or disprove this is probably impossible. The category of 'successful' cases which forms the basis of the present study is likely, anyway, to over-state the amount of public support that existed. But it is interesting that very occasionally the prospects of girls appear to have been hindered in consequence of attitudes held not by local people but by the Endowed Schools Commissioners themselves: first, as regards the importance of grading, and secondly as regards the suitability of mixed schools.

As to grading, the suggestion has been made that the Commissioners respectful approach to the public schools impinged incidentally on the resources available for girls. In other cases their concern for proper grading led them to over-provide for boys. At Brentwood they might have had strong local backing for making the boys' school second grade and providing one for girls; but having decided that a first grade modern school would fit in best with their wider plans for Essex, they then felt obliged to establish also a Third Grade Commercial School to suit the locality. What was left for girls was simply the power to provide a school sometime. The requirements of Grantham

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1 BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee & Etc. Q 4335.
2 pp. 153-4 above.
3 PRO Ed 27/1060.
they first thought to satisfy by establishing a second grade boys' school and allocating £200 p.a. to girls; having come round to the Trustees' opinion that a first grade school would be more appropriate, and to the view of their Assistant, Hammond, that this would relate well to the second grade school at Oakham, they felt obliged to offer a lower school at Grantham to fill the gap in the educational ladder. The girls' provision was reduced by this time to a reference in the clause which dealt with residue and such provisions, as it turned out, were almost worthless. For various reasons neither Brentwood or Grantham got their second boys' school but the theoretical need to supply it had in fact blocked the provision of a girls' school at a time when it might have been made.

As to mixed schools, the Commissioners were ready, as we know, to think in terms of mixed education in Third Grade School but not any higher. In this respect, generally, they may have been in line with public opinion but at Burnley they were well behind it. Here they found themselves in the unusual position of having Section 12 quoted at them by the ratepayers who asked that the school should take girls as well as boys. Their argument was that since women might be governors.

1And to satisfy the Town Council who from the first wanted a cheaper, second grade school. When the Scheme for two schools went to the Education Department it was remitted under pressure from the Grantham councillors and amended to provide for one, second grade school. PRO Ed 27/2597.

2See Ch. IX below.
'it seems only reasonable that Girls should share in the instruction—that Ladies are now living who were educated there—and that to pass the...Draft Scheme as it now stands, would be, without assigning any reason for the change to exclude the Girls of our town from a valuable means of education formerly enjoyed.'

The Commissioners, champions as they certainly were of the girls' cause against local reluctance, did not scruple to assign a reason: the school was second grade.

'It would not...be expedient,' they told the Trustees, 'expressly to provide for the admission of Girls on the same footing as Boys in a school of the grade and character of Burnley Grammar School where a considerable number of the pupils may be expected to continue their attendance until 16 or 17 years of age.....'2

It was the Commissioners who now suggested adding to the Scheme 'when funds admit.'——the provision more commonly forced upon them when better things had failed. And the girls of Burnley were shut out of the grammar school for nearly thirty years.3

Mixed education as an expedient for stretching endowment and providing for girls was hardly explored by the Endowed Schools Commissioners. A generation later it was seen in some cases as an alternative to closing a school4 but, in spite of Burnley, there is little to suggest that it could have been pressed in the early Seventies without bringing down upon the Commissioners even more of the considerable odium under which, in 1874, they succumbed.

2. The changeover of 1874

Resentment at the Commissioners' efforts to apply Section 12,

1^PRO Ed 27/2053, Memorial of 5 Sept. 1872.

2^Ibid., letter of 22 Nov., 1872.

3Under an amending Scheme of 1899 the school was reorganised as a Dual School in two departments. PRO Ed 27/2056.

4^pp. 323-4, below.
taken overall, was probably no more than a minor tributary to the
flood of anger aroused by what seemed the high-handed exercise of
all their powers. Almost from the start they upset great interests
and having done so they did not repent. In 1871, when the fight
over Emanuel brought them defeat in the House of Lords they were
not 'cowed by turmoil or obloquy' to surrender their principles,
Roby said later.¹ On the contrary, they published them. The
Commissioners' Report of 1872, their 'Apologia pro Vita Sua' as
an opponent derisively called it,² was indeed a work of justification
appropriate as they came to the end of the three years for which
they had been appointed. The task they had embarked on was far
from done and the Commission's life was extended for twelve more
months by Order in Council under the terms of the original Act.
But 1873 was a precarious year. Beyond it no further extensions
could be granted, except by another Act of Parliament, and for
nearly half of it a Select Committee, appointed to assuage their
enemies' resentment, sat in judgment on them. Its proceedings
make clear that Anglican interests were foremost among those deeply
affronted by the workings of the Act.

The Endowed Schools Act contained specific provision against
religious exclusiveness. No one, henceforth, was to be disqualified
from sitting on a governing body by reason of his religious opinions
nor from becoming a master in a school by reason of his not having
taken Holy Orders. But Section 19 allowed exceptions where it
could be shown that the founder had expressly required instruction

¹Quoted L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond:  Lord Hobhouse. A Memoir
(1905) p. 49.

²Beresford Hope, in the debate on the second Emanuel Scheme, May, 1873.
in particular doctrines. 1 When the Act was framed it had scarcely been realised how many schools which considered themselves Anglican would fail to meet the stipulations of this clause. The Endowed Schools Commissioners interpreted it strictly, as they felt bound to. As a result, in the eyes of some Churchmen they were practically equivalent to Antichrist. 2 and the answers given by Roby at least in evidence to the Select Committee did little to erase this impression. It was not just that he expressed the view that the modicum of religious exclusiveness retained in Section 19 should be abolished; that there was no reason why the founder's intentions should hold firm for religion more than anything else. 3 His whole approach recalled that desire 'to assert the civil influence for education' which had landed Kay Shuttleworth in

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1 Instruction 'according to the doctrines or formularies of any particular church, sect or denomination' had to have been required expressly in the original instrument of foundation or in statutes made by the founder in his lifetime or within fifty years after his death. In a city such as Birmingham where half the population was Nonconformist but Non-conformists had always been excluded from the governing body of King Edward VI School the importance of interpreting Section 19 could hardly be exaggerated. When the Commissioners ruled that it did not apply to Birmingham their Scheme was rejected in the House of Lords.

2 Both national and local press are full of evidence of the very strong feelings aroused among those who regarded the Commission's appointment as one of many "hate-inspired onslaughts" on the church. C.S.M. writing to the Cambridge Chronicle, Feb. 21, 1874, sees Gladstone as having paid in this coin for the allegiance of secularists and radicals. "...the Church was to be harassed, humiliated, robbed. If there was no chance yet of the grand final coup of disestablishment and disendowment, there were many ways of inflicting insults, indignities and wrongs..." As to the Commissioners, "Those gentlemen have not shrunk from the open avowal of views in relation to the sacred law of bequest and to the place to be assigned to religion in education—if admitted to any place at all—such as have shocked...almost all members of the Church, both lay and clerical...The clerical profession...has been discredited. Holy Orders have been made a positive disqualification for offices of great moral trust...to my mind it is absolutely monstrous that this great national wrong...which...I am bound to believe, threatens a very large portion of the coming generation with the darkness of heathenism...should have been inflicted upon the people of England..."

3 BPP 1873 Select Committee & etc., Q =233. Lyttelton told them much the same.
difficulty thirty years before. Insistence that instruction should be Anglican, he said,

'has a constant tendency to hold out a flag of strife to the people of the place; whereas I should like to point to that which is most likely to conciliate rival parties, namely to the life and teaching of our common Lord.'

Perhaps not even this would have damned him. But just as in his office he could not resist pencilling humorous comments on files, so, on the third day of his long interrogation, he dared to give a not wholly serious answer. Gathorne Hardy, a doctrinaire Churchman, pressed him on the power which the Commissioners bestowed on governors to regulate religious instruction. Did this not mean that they could, if they chose, teach 'a diametrically opposite religion' to what was taught formerly? Roby admitted it.

'...if...they became Mahomedans they could teach the Koran?'
'Yes, if they became Mahomedans they probably would.'

The outcome of the Select Committee was an Amending Act of 1873 which re-defined the scope of Section 19 in a way more favourable to the Anglicans. It also trimmed the powers of the Commissioners by enlarging the procedures for objecting to Schemes, and, most

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1 Ibid. Q 1129
2 Ibid. Q 969. The Times obituarist, 5 Jan., 1915, suggests that by this single answer 'Roby...sealed the doom of himself and the Commission.'
3 Schools founded after the Toleration Act, i.e. at a time when it could reasonably be supposed that the testator had a choice of denominations, were brought within the scope of Section 19 if it was required that the governors, the master or the pupils should belong to a particular church. The Anglicans also stood to gain by provisions in the new Act which exempted elementary schools with endowments worth up to £100 p.a. from the Endowed Schools Acts; and which made it possible for clergy to continue as governors ex officio.
4 Objections could now be made not only during a 2 month period when the Scheme was published by the Endowed Schools Commission but during a second period of 2 months when it was published by the Education Department.
important, continued them in office for one year only. This one year limit was a Conservative and Anglican triumph. The Select Committee had recommended three years, with power for extension by Order in Council, and three years was the period provided in the Bill. It was cut down to one in the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury and his Friends, as Lyttelton put it,

'expected to come into power soon, and it was not unreasonable that they should say—we shall not allow our political opponents to deal for the next three or four years with these important subjects which have so long been discussed and many of which still remain undecided. We shall limit the operation of the Commission to one year and then perhaps we may have our turn...'

Their turn came in February, 1874. But the Conservatives, back in office and quite determined to get rid of the Commission, could not make up their minds how to do it. There followed months of uncertainty. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, whose work for the past year had been delayed and interrupted by the demands of the Select Committee, who had to put off difficult decisions because of the doubt which hung over their future, struggled on.


2See for instance their letter of 3 April, 1873, to a master at Oakham: "The Commissioners cannot attend to such questions as yours so promptly as usual, their work being greatly interrupted by the sittings of a Select Committee...on the operation of the Endowed Schools Act..." PRO Ed 27/3928.

3As at Tideswell in Derbyshire, where, 'until...the intentions of the Legislature...are known, the Commissioners do not think it would be expedient to publish the draft of a fresh Scheme...' A year passed before they took up the threads again and the Tideswell Scheme, which included girls' provision, was not approved till 1876. PRO Ed 27/601. At Newport similar explanations were given. In Westminster, the scheme for the Burlington School was put on ice, in the event, for two years. The awkward case of March was shelved. Forster, when consulted, told the Commissioners that he would not be able to approve the Scheme during the sitting of the Committee. 'It must therefore lie by for the present' they decided. PRO Ed 27/173.
now in what seems to have been an almost punitive isolation.

Sandon, the Conservative appointment as Vice President for Education, took care to avoid them.

'Never once, from the day they took office to the time when I had a private note...informing me that the Commission was to be abolished, was there any direct Communication from the heads of the Education Department to the heads of the Commission,' Lyttelton said later. 'Sometimes, when from want of information they could not help themselves, they sent their Secretary to see ours, or instructed him to write a note; but that is all.'

The kind of speculation which now went on in Victoria Street and its impact on decision making is well illustrated in the Bristol case where the Commissioners hoped that £10,000 from the non-educational Peloquin Charity might be assigned to girls. The Trustees, whose consent was essential to the conversion of such funds to education, offered £5,000. From a letter which they wrote on February 10th, 1874 it seemed clear that they would not compromise. The Commissioners who had been ready in January to let the case take its chance with the Education Department, now thought very carefully about their next step. Ought the Scheme to be submitted? asked Robinson.

'On the decision arrived at on this point the nature of the reply to the Trustees must depend...As things were on Jan. 21 we (believed) our Schemes would have to be decided by a Minister who had already approved Schemes of a similar character and, if laid before Parliament, would be judged by a House of Commons which had by a substantial majority passed a vote in support of our policy in relation to Hospital Schools.

All this is now changed.
The Bristol Schemes must now seek approval—if they are

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1Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 221, 1124.
to be approved at all—from a Minister of whose views on the subject we know nothing and whose policy has yet to be disclosed and very possibly to be shaped. By 'submitting' at once we force him to an immediate decision which may probably affect all his future policy with respect to the Endowed Schools Act. The appeal is made to him before he has had time to make himself familiar with his office and its responsibility. Moreover, he has to decide with the knowledge that his decision commits his whole party in a sense in which it could not be said that the Liberal Party in the case of Emanuel Hospital was committed by Mr. Forster's approval of that Scheme. On the other hand let us consider the advantages of delay. In the first place we shall know with whom we have to deal and whoever he is must ere long find himself in communication with us. If he shows a disposition to make the best of the Act and its administrators we may be able to find an opportunity of informally raising the question of the Hospital Schools. He certainly would not take it ill that we were not in a hurry to commit him in a point about which there has been so much controversy.

Lyttelton agreed that it would be unwise to allow so important a case to be brought at issue before a new and unfriendly Government burdened with the open opposition of the Trustees in possession.

In effect, the Commissioners decided to climb down over the conversion of the Peloquin Charity. As Latham found himself explaining to Miss Buss, 'With the present Ministry in power the great thing is to send up unopposed Schemes.'

From February to July they worked in the dark. Then at last a note came for Lyttelton from the Lord President, the Duke of Richmond, informing him curtly that it had been decided to abolish

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1 PRO Ed 27/1289 Robinson's Minute, as usual, is undated. It precedes Lyttelton's of 23 Feb.

2 Ibid., minute of 23 Feb., 1874.

3 See p. 118 above.
the Commission.¹ The note's directness belied the confusion of
debate behind the scenes. The government had threshed about a
good deal with different plans for getting rid of those Commissioners
who had ridden roughshod over their friends, especially Roby,²
while at the same time avoiding what Lord Salisbury described as
'the extreme inconvenience of breaking up a piece of administrative
machinery which would occupy some time in the repairing.'³

Should the work be transferred to the Charity Commission? Or
to the Education Department? Sir Stafford Northcote advised the
latter.

¹Betty Askwith: The Lytteltons (1975) p. 185, gives the text of
what she rightly calls "this icy letter."
'Dear Lyttelton,

The Cabinet have decided to bring in a Bill to amend the Endowed
Schools Act.

It is proposed to transfer the powers of the Endowed Schools
Commissioners to the Charity Commission, three new Commissioners to
be added to the existing Charity Commissioners.

I am sorry to say that this arrangement will if carried out
bring your Commission to a close.

Under these circumstances I feel it is best just to give you
the intimation before the Bill is introduced.

The Bill is not quite complete or I would send you a copy.

Yours truly,

Richmond'

²The decision to get rid of Lyttelton as well seems to have come
later. On June 26 Sir Stafford Northcote wrote to the Lord President:
"I wish you could make Lyttelton the victim instead of his subordinate.
Indeed I would rather we sacrificed the whole Commission as a body
than we picked out the one man." Goodwood Papers 866,2112. In the
same letter Northcote says that Roby thought it hard to be singled
out as the scapegoat for Lyttelton and Hobhouse. "The policy of
the Commissioners was settled while he was Secretary; and though he
signed all the letters which expounded it he did not write them.
At the same time....he did not wish to conceal that he agreed with
the policy; and he defended it in his answers before the House of
Commons Committee.

³Parliamentary Reports, 3rd series, Vol. 217, 1315.
But Cumin, at the Education Department, thought that there were many objections to this and set them out in a long Memorandum. He advised transfer to the Charity Commission. As late as late June nothing had been settled. Then, at the very end of the Session, the Government produced its Bill. The Endowed Schools Commission was to be abolished and its powers handed over to the Charity Commission. Further, the provisions of Section 19 were yet again to be re-defined in favour of the Established Church, indeed so much in favour as to have the effect of turning most Grammar Schools

1 Northcote to Lord President, June 26, 1874. Goodwood Papers 866.2112.

2 The text is given in Appendix VI. The Memorandum is undated, full of abbreviations and much amended. It appears to be a rough draft. Patrick Cumin was at this time an Assistant Secretary. He became Secretary of the Education Department in 1884.

3 On June 20th Sir Stafford Northcote wrote to the Lord President: "I think an arrangement may be made for giving Roby a place, though not at the Colonial Office. If this can be managed, Salisbury suggests that our wisest course would be, to prolong the existence of the non-contentious powers of the existing Commissioners till the early part of next Session, leaving their contentious powers to expire on the 1st August as at present provided; to make no change whatever in the law, but to promise that the question shall be dealt with at the commencement of next Session; then quietly transfer Roby to another sphere, and put in a man in whom our friends have confidence; full up the third Charity Commissionership and rest on our oars till next year. What say you to this?" Goodwood Papers, 866; 2108. On June 26 he wrote again, having come to the conclusion that nothing could be done "in the way of quietly removing Roby" and recommending that the work of the Commission be handed to the Education Department. Ibid. 2112.
over to the Anglicans. At this prospect the disunited Liberals rose as one man. The religious clauses were shown to be not only retrograde but unintelligible, even to Ministers. The Government's majority fell appreciably between the vote on the Second Reading and the vote on an amendment proposed by Fawcett that

"it is inexpedient to sanction a measure which will allow any one religious body to control schools that were thrown open to the whole nation by the policy of the last Parliament."

Even before this there were signs of retreat. Not long afterwards the clauses were withdrawn, albeit with the Prime Minister's pledge that they would be brought forward again next Session. What

1The criteria whereby the denominational character of a school could be established were greatly widened and held now to apply to all schools. The effect of this would have been to sweep into the Anglican net the majority of grammar schools, for most had been founded before the Toleration Act at a time when the donor could hardly have stipulated attendance at a Nonconformist church.

2"The noble Lord (Sandon) has achieved something of which many of us began to despair. He has re-united the Liberal Party."Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 221; 345 (Mr. James).

3On July 18th, Sandon, whose speech introducing the Bill had been far from impressive, wrote to Disraeli: "There is one part of our Endowed Schools Bill which I am confident will do us politically infinite danger in the Country, and only gain the admiration of the smaller and most bigoted clergy. It would be a great satisfaction to me if you could kindly see me for a few minutes on Monday before the Cabinet meets..." Hughenden Papers B/XXI/S/38.

3They never were. Having escaped from a situation which had damaged the credit of his new Government Disraeli did not make the same mistake again. On Nov. 12th he reported to the Queen: The Cabinet met today, and sat two hours, and did a great deal of work, and all satisfactory. In the first place, not in order, but in importance: the Question of the Endowed Schools was brought forward; so that there might be no future misconception on the subject. Lord Salisbury spoke with much moderation, and said, that he would be satisfied with a compromise; wh: Mr. Hardy had suggested in the Cabinet at the end of the Session. This was conciliatory but not satisfactory to those who deprecated any further legislation at all. To our great surprise and relief, Mr. Hardy said, that he thought it, on the whole, best not to take any further action in the matter, particularly as there was a new Commission, whose views we ought to become acquainted with. The Lord Chancellor strongly supported Mr. Hardy, and as one then speaking, Lord (sic) said, that neither in this, nor any subject, did he wish to urge his views against a majority of the Cabinet, and one apparently unanimous. He was prepared, therefore, to do nothing. Upon which Lord Derby exclaimed "Thank God, we have got rid of the only rock a-head!" PRO CAB 41/6/16.
remained was the rump of the Bill. Mr. Cathorne Hardy made no secret of his view that 'what was really material' had ceased to be in it.\(^1\) It passed to the Lords as nothing more than a Bill to abolish the Endowed Schools Commission.

Here, then, the debate again assumed the character with which it had opened before it ran aground in religious controversy—— as the trial, in a sense, of Lyttelton, Roby, and the ghost of Hobhouse. For while it was two years since Hobhouse had left the Endowed Schools Commission to go to India,\(^2\) the opinions he and Lyttelton expressed, even before they became Commissioners, were brought up now as part of the indictment. Like any outraged trustee or Saturday Reviewer the Duke of Richmond began by harking back to their speeches at the Society of Arts five years earlier on 'founders' wishes.'\(^3\) To those opinions, he suggested, 'is a very much to be attributed the evils complained of in the working of the Commission.'\(^4\) The Government case against Lyttelton, in short, was that he had admitted such opinions; that, when given power to carry them out, he had carried them out; that he had not changed them; and that many people in the country did not like it.\(^5\) As

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1Parliamentary Reports 3rd series Vol. 221, 650.

2He was made Law Member of the Council of the Viceroy of India in 1872.

3p. 28 above.

4Parliamentary Reports, 3rd series, Vol. 221; 1115.

5"It is not a pleasant thing to have to express an opinion which in the judgment of the vast majority of the people of this country is not only wrong, but impious and sacrilegious." Lyttelton to Select Committee, Q 1263—
was to be expected, he answered the charge, for the last time, by re-stating those opinions.¹

'I have been supposed to mean all sorts of follies; that a trust should be respected as long as given trustees are alive; that it is right to respect it for exactly 50 years... whereas all I have ever said is to deny the perpetual right, or what would be equivalent to it... My Lords, people may call me what they like, as they have done——revolutionary, impious, sacrilegious, I know not what——I cannot depart from what I have maintained——that this supposed right of perpetual bequest has no foundation in right reason, in the principle of law, or in any other sound ground....'²

From this it followed,

'As I could not work on the principle of absolute deference to the Will of dead founders, so I could not on that of absolute deference to the wish of living trustees. My Lords, here, too, I must speak plainly....too often trustees of schools are the enemies—the natural enemies—to the reform of those schools.... Then it is asked, why meddle with Governing Bodies which are working well? My Lords, as I conceive, the question is not whether a given system is at a particular time working well, but how best to insure that it shall continue to do so....'³

In their efforts to insure this, he said,

'I am told we have neglected the great principle of compromise. Compromise! Where, I should like to know in the Act of 1869, is there any indication of compromise? What I find there is not compromise but thoroughness.'⁴

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¹With more eloquence than usual. Much of Lyttelton's reported speech makes indifferent reading. His delivery was poor. Journalists and Hansard reporters complained that he was inaudible. "It is said that no one can report what I say, and no one can read what I write," he said once, "Truly a deplorable predicament... I have often acknowledged, and am willing to acknowledge over and over again, that those errors in my reported speeches, which are such that if posterity reads them I shall be believed to have been half-witted, are from my own fault. I am too old to mend." Letter to the Birmingham Post, quoted in the Times, May 6, 1871.

²Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, Vol. 221; 1129-1130.

³Ibid. 1133-4.

⁴Ibid. 1136.
On his own prospects he touched very lightly.

'Moribundus vos saluto; but I am certainly not about to make any Jeremiad on the subject. I like £1,500 a year as well as anyone else: I have more cause to like it than most people. But the official work I do not like at all, nor this particular work. As Falstaff says, Rebellion lay in his way, and he took it: so I suppose I must say, Confiscation lay in my way, and I took it but not from any particular pleasure I have in it.'

He was not so light about the experience of working as they had had to work since the previous year when Lord Salisbury's motion had cut their life to 12 months.

'We were of course then, as we are now, wholly at their mercy; and he told us how they had, for a time, as it were, held the Commission between their finger and thumb, hesitating whether or not, then and there, to pinch us out of existence. They resolved, however, not to do so, but to leave us—— as I believe it was expressed by one of the right rev. Bench—— "to live for a year with a halter round our necks, and be hanged at the end of it"—— precisely what has happened.... No one doubts the benevolence of the noble Duke and his Colleague Lord Sandon....but...nothing is more painful than a lingering death inflicted by benevolent men....'

In the end, as always, he stood upon the Act. If, in striving to do what it required of them,

'——as we fully expected—— we have been as a forlorn hope, and fallen victims to our own exertions, I am content that it should be so. For ourselves and our reputation, if I cared for that, I might venture to indulge in some hopefulness. However ill a savour our doings may have in the nostrils of

1 Lyttelton always felt hard-up. Asked to sit on the Taunton Commission he replied to Lord Granville that he could not refuse. 'If you really think it desirable, but it is hard to sit so often for nothing. Allow me to suggest that at least it might be provided that no one with more than 10 children should serve on more than two Royal Commissions without a grant from the Secret Service Fund. Gladstone, I am sure, would consent.' Granville Papers, PRO 30/29/18/12 No. 9.

2 Parliamentary Debates 3rd Series, 221. 1124.

3 Ibid. 1124.
some of Her Majesty's Ministers, of many newspaper writers, and of many Governing Bodies in the country, I venture to believe that there will be hereafter a change in this respect; and that we may even be reckoned among those just persons, I do not say who need no repentance, but of whom it is said that——

'the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.'

The demise of the Endowed Schools Commission was received by different people according to their lights. Not everyone was jubilant. The Postmaster at Oakham added to the end of a routine inquiry addressed to their office,

'I greatly sympathise with the Endowed Schools Commissioners and I think they have been very harshly used by the present Government. They have been doing an excellent work and on the whole doing it well and as they necessarily became unpopular with Trustees whose abuses they wished to correct, the House of Commons ought to have manfully stood by them and not offered them up as a sacrifice.....'

The women's movement viewed the situation sadly.

'We do not hesitate to say that the loss of Lord Lyttelton is a serious blow to the cause of women's education...he has been a friend, and an open friend, to those who are striving to secure girls their fair share in the endowments of the country.'

Two years later, when Lyttelton was dead, Maria Grey wrote of the 'irreparable loss' suffered by their cause.

1Ibid. 1136-7-

2PRO Ed 27/3928, letter of 24 Aug. 1874. Lyttelton pencilled at the end of it 'Doth not this make amends?'


4He killed himself on 19 April, 1876. The depressive illness from which he suffered may well have been made worse by the strain of his years at the Endowed Schools Commission, the attacks upon it and its final overthrow. No biography of Lyttelton exists, perhaps because no one has yet brought themselves to face, except in small doses, his appalling handwriting, but he figures prominently in Betty Askwith; The Lytteltons, (1975)
'To Lord Lyttelton... as Chairman of the Endowed Schools Commission... we owe the steady endeavour made by that Commission to redress, as far as possible, the enormous injustice done to girls in the distribution of educational endowments, an endeavour which, no doubt, contributed largely to swell the opposition and unpopularity under which the Commission finally succumbed.... A younger generation may forget what they owe to him, but we, whom he helped through the heat and burden of the day, can never forget....'

If the women's movement saw Lyttelton as 'a man in advance of his time' others applied a similar judgment to the Act he had administered. The Commissioners themselves, in their first Report, had stated that the country was hardly ready for it and Hobhouse described it in 1873 as highly premature.

'I knew that its effects had not been discussed and were not understood by those who passed it, and that if it ever was worked at all honestly, let the moderation in working it be what it might, there would be a great row.'

Of the Commission he said,

'I always looked upon ourselves as missionaries sent to lighten the heathen, and to be persecuted and perish at their hands; as a forlorn hope told off to die in the ditch, and who are successful if those who come after can mount the wall.'

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1 Journal of the Women's Education Union Vol. IV, 15 May, 1876, No. 41, pp. 69-70.

2 Ibid., Vol. II loc. cit.

3 Though Roby, before the Select Committee, would not entirely go along with this. "...my impression is very strong that a very great portion of the opposition with which we have met is not due to any particular want of preparation on the part of the country, but to those deliberate and determined efforts which have been made by certain parties to disturb the actions of the Commissioners." This opinion probably did him no good.

4 Letter of 7 Sept., 1873, quoted L. T. Hobhouse & etc. op. cit., p. 46. He also made, yet again, the comparison with the Poor Law Commission "who tried honestly to work the law, encountered great unpopularity and was broken up. The consolation is that their brave and sincere attempt to put in action a law sound in principle but new and distasteful in character, produced a distinct balance of good, and so I hope it may be found of the E.S.C."
Those who came after were Charity Commissioners. Two new ones—Lord Clinton and Canon Robinson—were specially appointed for Endowed Schools work. They were to have some help from Henry Longley, transferred from the Local Government Board to fill that place at the Charity Commission which had been vacant since Hobhouse left it. Overall the changes meant a weaker executive, since there would be only two full-time Commissioners concerned with Endowed Schools though much had been said about the slow progress made when there were three. As to experience, the loss was obvious and, in a sense, not unintended. It was the breaking of the link with the Taunton Commission. No one was likely to be able to say again

'that the Endowed Schools Commissioners intended to carry out the ideas of the Endowed Schools Inquiry Commissioners, instead of doing what was required of them by the Act of 1869.'¹

Lord Clinton, whose appointment was 'quite unexceptionable,'² had sat on the Commission which inquired into the property of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge but had no other special concern with education.³ Canon Robinson's connection with Taunton had simply been that of a significant witness. His views were mainly the views of his colleagues but without their touch of iconoclasm.⁴ And on one important matter he stood alone: he

²Lyttelton's words in the last debate.
³He had been Under Secretary of State for India in the late Sixties.
⁴He was just as keen to make a secondary school system out of the old grammar schools. His Taunton evidence, and the paper he gave in 1864 to the Social Science Association, contained proposals to amalgamate endowments, even to "get rid of them altogether"—which implied a disregard of founder's intentions. But he did not brandish emotive phrases.
approved the principle of Section 19. His evidence to the Select Committee included a paper in which he examined the practical difficulties of working this clause and suggested the compromise which was incorporated into the Act of 1873.¹

The Assistant Commissioners were to be transferred to the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission. Meanwhile, until 31 December, the Endowed Schools Commission carried on, its authority to some extent impaired in these last months by the certainty of closure as it had been for some time by the uncertainty.² Some Schemes, like the one for Aldenham, got caught in the procedures of the new Endowed Schools Act and had to be republished. But the law had not changed and, as Fitch said, he was not without hope 'that the work of reorganisation and improvement will go on without substantial alteration.'³

¹That a distinction should be made between endowments dating from before the Toleration Act (when there was effectively only one Church) and later ones. See p.226 ¹ above. Robinson's paper was Appendix No. 9 to the Report of the Select Committee.

²The Highgate Trustees, who were disputing the position of their foundation under Section 19 had been told in March it would be better to wait "to see whether the Endowed Schools Acts are likely to be continued in their present form." In August it was said to be "better for all parties that this case should be dealt with next year by the Charity Commissioners." PRO Ed 27/3501.

³Letter, Aug. 5, 1874, to Archdeacon Fearon PRO Ed 27/2440.
CHAPTER VII

THE CHARITY COMMISSION: THE WORK OF MAKING FIRST SCHEMES CONTINUES

The Endowed Schools Acts were administered by the Charity Commission from 1875 until 1903 when this work passed to the Board of Education. The transfer of powers at the beginning of this period was accompanied by very little outward change. Not only did the new Endowed Schools Department contain the former staff of the Endowed Schools Commission (with the exception of Lyttelton and Roby) but for two years they continued in Victoria Street because there was no room for them in the main office. Whatever their feelings may have been it is unlikely that outsiders noticed much difference.

'I am still acting as Assistant Commissioners in charge of the case,' wrote Fearon reassuringly to the Trustees at Bertham. The law had not changed nor was any change made in it over the whole period. Moreover, they entered on a period of peace which lasted into the early Eighties and during which, as Fearon said later, 'the Commission was working in a quiet and comparatively unopposed way', since people were getting used to those principles which had once been strongly resisted and the battle of denominationalism had largely died down.²

As a major source of friction the religious question was succeeded in the 1880's by the question of the rights of the poor. This controversy,

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1 Richmond told the Select Committee of 1886 that 'at the time, being a servant of the Endowed Schools Commission, I naturally regretted very much the change'.

2 See his evidence to the Select Committee of 1886, especially Q 5904 where he quotes an unsolicited testimonial to their work and alleges that such thorny questions as the reconstruction of Governing Bodies and the abolition of Headmaster's freehold were no longer troublesome.
which had never been absent from the working of the Endowed Schools Acts and had underlain the bitter struggle over Emanuel Hospital, now entered a new phase through the activities of Jesse Collings, the Radical champion of land reform and the claims of the rural poor. His work to get allotments for farm labourers led him to become the most prominent defender of rural charities against the Commissioners' attempts to use them for secondary education. 1 He was a notable witness before the Select Committee appointed in 1884 to inquire into the Charitable Trusts Acts, a Committee which found that most of the feeling that the poor were being robbed by the middle classes had arisen not in connection with these Acts but with the Endowed Schools Acts. 2 The Charity Commissioners were just as unwilling as their predecessors had been to subsidise the maintenance of elementary schools and equally disposed to reject indiscriminate free education. Because of the deep resentment this aroused the Committee proposed that another be appointed to inquire into the working of the Endowed School Acts. For over 12 months, then, during 1886-7, a Select Committee looked into this. It was especially concerned with the provision made in Schemes for scholarships and exhibitions, 3 with the position of endowed elementary schools, the

1 He had promoted the Allotments Extension Act of 1882 which aimed to place charity lands in the hands of labourers in one acre allotments. Lands devoted to ecclesiastical, educational and apprenticeship purposes were excluded but lands left for doles etc. were available. This was a category also of interest to the Charity Commissioners working the Endowed Schools Acts. The Select Committee which reported on these Acts in 1887 recommended that the principle of the Allotments Extension Act, 1882, should be applied to agricultural land belonging to an educational charity provided that the charity's income did not suffer.

2 The Charity Commissioners now administered both.

3 Jesse Collings alleged that these, although nominally available to the poor, were actually carried off by the richer classes.
diversion of endowments from particular localities and particular purposes —— all questions touching on the rights of the poor.

The examination of the Commissioners by this Committee and the tone of its report upon their work was low-key by comparison with the earlier confrontation of the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the Select Committee of 1873. There was no hint of personal censure; nor was any change proposed in the law. The main Taunton principles were reaffirmed and their application was not held generally to have injured the interests of the poor. The work of framing Schemes, though still incomplete, seemed likely to end 'within a calculable distance' and it was urged that extra staff be appointed to inspect the working of Schemes already made.

The Select Committee's preoccupations reflect the changing times. On the one hand, they were concerned with problems which effectively harked back to 1869; on the other, they were conscious of needs which had hardly been felt then. The chief of these was the need to provide more technical education. Commending the Commissioners' efforts in this area they nonetheless perceived that what could be done for technical instruction out of endowments was extremely limited; their Report looks forward to a local rate as it looks to the establishment of county auth-

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1 For that matter, such opposition as the Charity Commissioners provoked seems not to have been focussed on them as individuals. Cf. The Globe headline: 'Lord Lyttelton's Defeat' when the Birmingham Scheme was thrown out by the Lords in 1873.

2 Though the Commissioners were advised to go gently on converting elementary endowments in rural areas into scholarships to secondary schools and on abolishing free education in elementary endowed schools which, they were told, was only justifiable "when the imposition of fees gives a higher and more useful character of education to the working classes than they formerly enjoyed."

3 See p. 224 below. 4 The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction had reported in 1884 and the Charity Commissioners' Report for 1884-5 shows that they were already anxious to provide for technical education in their Schemes.
orities which would 'at once and without special legislation acquire an important influence over the work done under the Endowed Schools Acts.'

In 1888, the following year, county councils were created and acquired this influence. Almost at once they were given power to raise a rate for technical education and to subsidise secondary schools by grants made out of the 'Whiskey Money'. The Annual Reports of the Charity Commissioners from this time reflect their awareness of 'the quickening effect' of County Council intervention which for many an impoverished grammar school "opened up a new future". These Annual Reports however, also reflect the growing confusion in the field of secondary education. As far back as 1883 the Commissioners had drawn attention to the competition which 3rd grade endowed schools were meeting from the Higher Grade Elementary Schools established by School Boards. In 1895 they were pleading

'that the line of demarcation between the work committed to School Boards...and...to the Governing Bodies of Secondary Schools, should be either clearly drawn or else rendered unnecessary through the adoption of a single system. Otherwise serious evils must arise....'

The Report of the Bryce Commission published this same year illumined the whole jungle in which, at one point or another, the Charity Commissioners, the Department of Science and Art, the Education Department, the Board of Agriculture, as well as County Councils, School Boards and Endowed School Trustees had a hand in secondary education. It revealed also the pitiful

\[1\] BPP 1887 IX Report of Select Committee on Endowed Schools Acts, para. 19
\[2\] BPP 1894 XXVIII Forty-first Report of the Charity Commissioners...para. 34
\[3\] BPP 1893-4 XXV Fortieth Report & etc. para. 41.
\[4\] BPP 1895 XXVI Forty-second Report & etc. para. 46.
extent to which, after 25 years of effort, endowments were providing a secondary school system. The case for administrative simplification and for some more effective method of supplying the country with secondary schools could not be ignored.

The central authority suggested by Bryce was not created until 1899 when the Board of Education was set up; local rate-aid for secondary schools was not achieved until 1902 and, by a curious rearguard action for which Fearon seems to have been mainly responsible, the Charity Commissioners hung on to their work under the Endowed Schools Acts until 1903. There ended a tenure which in some respects had always been uncertain. The powers which they had held for over 25 years had never been made permanent but were renewed annually under the Expiring Laws Continuance Act. As the need for some fundamental change in educational administration was more and more acknowledged the Charity Commission came under scrutiny from a whole

1 Scholars in endowed schools in selected counties amounted to only 2.5 per thousand population (Bryce Commission's Report, p. 48). The Taunton Commissioners had recommended ultimate provision in towns for not less than 16 boys per thousand population and immediate provision for 10 per thousand. (Taunton Commission's Report, p. 99).

2 In 1898 the Charity Commissioners were still lamenting 'the multiplicity of the Local Authorities which have been endowed with statutory functions independent of each other in matters of Secondary Instruction' and urging legislation 'not for the purpose of systematic interference by a central authority with the education given' but to remedy evils 'which have themselves been caused by legislation...'. BPP 1898 XXI Forty-fifth Report & etc. para. 30.

3 See P. H. J. H. Gosden: "The Board of Education Act. 1899", British Journal of Educational Studies, XI, I (1962) pp. 44-60. Fearon was by this time Secretary to the Charity Commission.

4 'I think it is a misfortune, an unfortunate and anomalous thing,' Richmond told the Select Committee on the Charity Commission in 1894, '.....I do not think that there is anything parallel to that now in the whole of the Civil Service.....'
series of government Committees. The Annual Reports of later years show the Commissioners' work impeded, as the Endowed Schools' Commissioners had been, by the imminent prospect of legislation and reveal their similar tendency to avoid contentious cases in what they called 'this period of expectancy which is also a period of transition'. In this and other ways the Reports communicate the somewhat dismal aura of an office running down.

1. The further extension of endowment to girls.

After the changeover of 1874 the pioneers of girls' schools were certainly anxious lest the girls' claim to endowments should suffer and

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1 In 1884 the Committee on Education, Science and Art Administration had recommended that a Minister of Education should be appointed and should supervise Endowed Schools. In the same year the Endowed Schools work was touched on by the Select Committee on the Charitable Trusts Acts and in 1886-7 it was exhaustively examined by the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts. This Committee endorsed the view that the Commission should be made directly responsible to Parliament through a Minister of Education. In 1893 the Treasury appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into the constitution of the Charity Commission and in 1894 the Commission was investigated not only by the Bryce Commission but by a Select Committee appointed to consider whether it was desirable 'to bring the action of the Charity Commissioners more directly under the control of Parliament.'

2 Annual Report, 1897. See also the Report for 1900 in which they talk of "the hindrances to effective work" due to the prospect of administrative changes foreshadowed in the Board of Education Act, 1899, and explain that they have thought it expedient to carry through urgent work under the Charitable Trusts Acts rather than under the Endowed Schools Acts.

3 D. C. Richmond and Sir George Young, the two Commissioners appointed under the Endowed Schools Acts, were transferred to other posts in 1896 and 1899 and were not replaced. The number of Assistant Commissioners also dwindled.

4 The Schemes made by the Charity Commissioners in which endowment was extended to girls are listed in the table in Appendix VII. Apart from any details taken from individual case files in the P.R.O., the material in this table, for Schemes made by 31 December, 1894, appears in the Roby Return submitted to the Bryce Commission, and for Schemes made after that date, in the Annual Reports of the Charity Commission.
drew no consolation from the fact that the powers of the new administrators were exactly the same as those of the old.

'...the tradition of the one body, short-lived though it had been, and the traditions of the new authority were so different, 'they pointed out, 'that the whole mode of administering the reformed endowments would in all probability be changed.'

As early as 1876 they were lamenting 'that our fears are likely to be most seriously realised.' And in the long run they were right.

The length of the run is very important. In certain cases, as we shall see, the Charity Commissioners fought very hard for girls. But the number of girls' schools which they established in Schemes made between 1875 and the end of the century no more than equalled the number established by their predecessors in the previous 5 years. They were, it will be argued, much less zealous in applying Section 12. But the sense of their lack of zeal is something which emerges more clearly from the total than from following developments on individual files.

There the picture continues much the same. The Commissioners seek to apply Section 12 and are faced with the old familiar problems: shortage of funds, the claims of the poor, the great reluctance to take anything from boys.

Money remained crucial. There was still no easy way to get it for

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1 Journal of Women's Education Union, Vol. IV, 15 April, 1876, p. 53
2 Ibid.
3 Section 3 below
4 See pictogram in Appendix XI.
5 Chapter XI below.
girls except, as before, through the occasional liberality of the great Companies who, as Richmond said of the Skinners, had accumulated income 'which they cannot spend on their own members in the ordinary way of their trusts; so they come to us voluntarily. They asked us simply, "Where can we best act on behalf of girls' education by means of this charity?" They were willing to receive suggestions of any kind from us.'

The Skinners endowed a girls' school in Hackney; the Leathersellers offered a site for one in Lewisham; the Brewers' Company provided endowment for Dame Alice Owen's girls' school in Clerkenwell.

Other accessions of 'uncommitted' money gave girls a chance. The most notable, perhaps, came from the Hulme Trust Estates which provided an endowment of £500 p.a. for the Manchester High School for Girls, and a similar income plus £6,000 capital to initiate a girls' school at Oldham. The conversion of non-educational funds under Section 30, though apparently less common as time went on, remained a useful source. The Trustees of Municipal Charities at Ipswich endowed a boys' and a girls' school in this way. The Wardens and Assistants of Rochester Bridge endowed the Maidstone Grammar School for Girls. Two hundred pounds a year for girls' education was assigned from the endowment of Nottingham High School which had been increased by the conversion of part of Sir Thomas White's Loan Charity. At Hastings and at Yardley, where Schemes were made which included contingent provision for girls, doles and apprentice

1 Ch IV 3 above.

2 Select Committee, 1886, Q 1659.

3 Ch II below.

4 Annual Report of the Charity Commission, 1895, para. 53.
fees were converted and at Lewisham they added to the girls' school endowment.

The Lewisham school had its origins, unusually, in a recent bequest to found a grammar school for girls. In such a case, at least, the application of funds to girls' secondary education was incontrovertible, as it was at Salisbury where the Godolphin School for 12 young orphan gentlewomen received its new Scheme in 1886. But such cases had little bearing on the main problem which continued to be how to admit the claim of girls where endowment incomes were low, or if not low, already preempted by interests very hard to resist. On small foundations, if girls were squeezed in it was, as before, through provision to admit them 'if the Governors think fit' or by assigning a sum for exhibitions. Elsewhere, as before, the provision they secured was usually what survived in the face of powerful interests, not least the claim made in the name of the poor to endowment for elementary schools.

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1 Dr. Prendergast, Headmaster of Colfe's Grammar School, who died in 1875, left his property for 'the formation and support of a Grammar School for Girls at Lewisham...in which school I desire that thirty-one poor girls...shall be instructed entirely freely in the Greek Latin French and English Languages and in Arithemetic Algebra and Geometry...' Ed 27/3141a, Dr. Prendergast's will.

2 The Godolphin School dated from the early 18th Century and was one of the handful of endowed secondary schools for girls listed by the Taunton Commission. It was very genteel and the Trustees were much exercised in their discussions with Stanton on the Scheme as to whether tradesmen's daughters should now be admitted.

3 pp 126-7 above.

4 As at Lanteglos-by-Camelford (£37. p.a.), Upholland (£47. p.a.), Kirkby Stephen (£78. p.a.), Longwood Huddersfield (£83. p.a.) and Bakewell (£70. p.a.). A similar provision was made at Penistone (£334. p.a.) and Bentham (£462. p.a.), though at Bentham the upper age limit (17) was higher than the Commissioners usually thought appropriate in a school which might be mixed.

5 As at Clee (£272 p.a.) where £50. p.a. was set aside for this purpose.
Four such schools had come to depend upon the grammar school endowment at Penwortham, worth about £1,000 p.a., and in the early days of the Endowed Schools Commission Robinson had expressed great hopes of restoring the endowment to its proper purpose and also of giving 'a large share' of it to girls.¹ Later he came round to the view that the claims of the elementary schools would have to be acknowledged but even then expected to set apart £100 p.a. for girls. In 1875 when the Charity Commissioners published their draft scheme the local people pressed them to increase the assignment of £400 p.a. proposed for elementary schools. The Commissioners yielded, offering £500. Girls, in the end, got £50 p.a. for exhibitions.

At Cirencester, also, the girls' claim was eroded during the course of negotiations which increased the amount for elementary education. The Yellow and Blue Schools, as they were called, provided a substantial part of the elementary school provision of the town; but under the 1870 Act more places were required and both Trustees and inhabitants wished to finance these from the endowment, which, they said, was intended by the Founder, 'to be applied for purposes directly benefitting the Poor...'.² The Charity Commissioners, taking on the case, were unwilling to allow this but they did allow themselves to be pressed to finance more new places than at first proposed.³ They also agreed to reduce the secondary provision of the Scheme from 'an Upper School with Boys and Girls Depart-

¹PRO Ed 27/2229 Robinson to Fearon, undated; No. 25 on file.
²PRO Ed 27/1344 Letter of 17 March 1874.
³Ibid. Letter to Trustees, 19 March 1875.
ments' to an Upper School for boys alone, the girls to get their school 'whenever...funds admit', and meanwhile to have £50 p.a. for Exhibitions.

Vast in comparison, the assignment to girls from the rich foundation of St. Olave's, Southwark, 1 was the outcome of a struggle which might well be represented as Section 12 Versus the Elementary School. The Scheme was made in 1890 after 15 years of intermittent debate as to whether or not this School should continue. The governors at first were inclined to close it, since similar provision could be made by the School Board, and to concentrate on developing their Grammar School. At the same time, they themselves volunteered to set aside £500 p.a. for girls. But their attachment, and that of the locality, to the free Elementary School was very strong. The governors could not make up their minds about it; they also came to think that it might be better if the assignment of £500 for girls were made permissive and not mandatory. Deadlock was reached and nothing happened for 4 years. When the case was picked up again in 1883 the governors seemed lukewarm about the Elementary School and the Assistant Commissioner advised that if it were closed there would be sufficient surplus to start a Girls Middle School. 2 But when the draft Scheme provided for this closure there was uproar in Southwark and objection from the governors. Nonetheless, by the Scheme which they submitted to the Education Department in April 1886 the Commissioners, in the words of a local memorialist, 'take away the

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1 £500 p.a. for 3 years from the date of the Scheme; then £1000 p.a. or more, up to a maximum of £2000 p.a. The endowment approached £8,000 p.a.

2 PRO Ed 27/2760, printed memorandum by Murray of his meeting with governors on 19 July 1883.
money now expended on the Elementary School and give £2,000 a year towards the maintenance of a girls school.\textsuperscript{1}

At this point some prominence was given to St. Olave's by the Select Committee of 1886 which, as we saw,\textsuperscript{2} was much concerned with the claims of the poor and with the propriety of abolishing free education in endowed elementary schools. The Committee heard the arguments in favour of a girls' school\textsuperscript{3} and also examined the Warden of St. Olave's who told them that the governors were willing to help girls but unwilling to deprive the Southwark boys of their birthright in the free Elementary School.\textsuperscript{4} Eventually the Charity Commissioners decided, under pressure from the Education Department (which was under pressure from Southwark) that the Elementary School

\textsuperscript{1}PRO Ed 27/2765 Memorandum signed by Edric Bayley et al. Mr. Bayley was clerk to the Vestry of St. John's Horselydown and very keen indeed to get a girls' school started. The £2,000 he quotes was a maximum; the minimum was £1,000 p.a.

\textsuperscript{2}p.24\textsuperscript{1} above.

\textsuperscript{3}From Mr. Edric Bayley.

\textsuperscript{4}He expressed the view, so vigorously put forward by Jesse Collings, that scholarships did not compensate the poor for what they lost in a free Elementary School. "If our boys, who are children of very poor people, are put into competition with the children of the middle class, they are not likely to obtain scholarships." Q 4396. The loss was particularly feared in Southwark where the connection of the free Elementary School with the Grammar School had seemed to offer a poor but clever boy access to a ladder which could take him up to the university.
should be maintained on the endowment.¹ The governors then appointed a committee to work out the financial implications of this change. Their suggestion was that the extra money needed could be found partly by reducing the assignment proposed for girls from £1000 p.a. to 'a sum not exceeding £250 p.a. ... should funds admit.' This item, they argued, 'would appear to be one that would most readily admit of reduction.'² The Charity Commissioners accepted a reduction to £500 p.a. for three years from the date of the Scheme 'or such longer period as the Board may approve.'

In Southwark the entrenched position of the poor masked that obstacle to girls' advancement which throughout remained commonest of all: namely, the entrenched position of boys. The Highgate governors, like those at Berkhamsted, wanted boarding houses, labs., swimming pool and gym. The complaints made to the Endowed Schools Commissioners by Trustees at Pocklington and Mansfield and many other places that no money could be spared, at least without damaging the prospects of the boys' school, were paralleled by complaints to the Charity Commissioners of just the same kind; and they produced the same result: a watering down of the provision for girls.³ Usually the boys' school was long-established but this was not

¹ But no longer as a free school.

² PRO Ed 27/2765 Governors' circular forwarded from Education Department to Charity Commissioners on 12 Feb. 1889.

³ At Kirkham the Charity Commissioners began by proposing £200 p.a. for girls and ended by accepting that this should be postponed for 3 years from the date of the Scheme 'or such further period ... as may be allowed.' PRO Ed 27/2109, Scheme approved 31 July, 1880, Cl. 59. At Rochester they allowed the assignment of £100 p.a. to be deferred for 5 years. PRO Ed 27/1935 Scheme approved 27 Nov. 1878, Cl. 59. At Handsworth they accepted that provision for girls would only be from the residue of income. PRO Ed 27/4869, Scheme approved 1 May, 1890, Cl. 59.
always so. The case of the Whitgift Foundation at Croydon shows how rapidly, in certain circumstances, an entrenched position could be thrown up.

When Bryce went to Croydon in 1870 he had reported that the case for a girls' school seemed 'as strong a one as is likely to be found in nineteen cases out of twenty'\(^1\). But, by the Scheme made in 1881, all that was gained from the Whitgift revenues which, even after provision for the Hospital, amounted to £2,300 p.a., was the pledge to extend their benefits to girls 'when the income is sufficient.' The reason for this was that the money was pre-empted: first by the demand for a high class boys' school in an expanding and wealthy suburb, and then by the need to satisfy the claims of those who were entitled by an earlier Scheme to have a boys' school which was less high class. When Bryce went to Croydon in 1870 neither of these schools existed. The Hospital maintained an elementary school and had obtained a Chancery Scheme which authorised the building of a middle school. A site had been bought and a school of that type seemed to Bryce to suit the needs of a district where he could detect 'no distinct demand' for a school of the first grade.\(^2\) Either he was at that time unobservant or the demand became conspicuous almost overnight. For less than three months later he changed his mind.

'The parish is not only a very populous and rapidly increasing district — in 1861 it had 30,229 people; in 1869, 62,180 —- but it is one whose population is in large measure composed of wealthy people, living in houses whose rental is between £70.

\(^1\)PRO Ed 27/4517, minute of 29 June, 1870. James Bryce worked for a short time as an Assistant Commissioner for the Endowed Schools Commission.

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/4517, April 4, 1870.
and £120 a year while a considerable number occupy handsome villas whose rents must be from £120 to £200 or even higher... There are...118 professional men residing in the parish in some way connected with it, besides...say 50 or more, who reside there and pursue their avocations in London. Over and above these there are retired military and professional men in easy circumstances and a great many commercial people, bankers and merchants wealthy enough to keep their sons at school till eighteen and send them to the Universities.1

The draft Scheme prepared in 1870 therefore provided for a first grade school. The case then got bogged down in long disputes over the apportionment of revenues between the Hospital and education. But meanwhile, in 1871, the long-awaited middle school had opened. There was never from the first the least pretence that it would be other than a first-grade school 2 and as such it was extremely successful. But many Croydon people were aggrieved that their need for an inexpensive secondary school had not been met. They complained of deviations from the Chancery Scheme and pressed for an inquiry by the Charity Commission. They had a strong case, Fearon decided when he held the Inquiry in 1878.

"The question then arises, how shall this claim be met, shall it be by altering the course of instruction and lowering the fees at the North End School?"3

He thought not. On his recommendation the Scheme of 1881 provided for the Whitgift Grammar School (first grade) and for the Whitgift Modern School (second grade) but contained nothing for girls beyond promises.

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1Ibid., 29 June 1870.

2It was opened ostensibly under the Chancery Scheme of 1856 but deviations from that Scheme allowing for higher fees and higher salaries were sanctioned by the Charity Commission.

The claims of girls had been discussed at the Inquiry but it would, said Fearon

'be abundantly evident that the resources of this foundation are not, at the present moment, sufficient for the erection and maintenance of a girls' school....and therefore that no provision can conveniently be made....'¹

In general, then, before and after 1874, a typical reaction to the claims of Section 12 was that expressed to the Charity Commissioners by the Vicar and Mayor of Wotton-under-Edge who were reported to be 'strongly in favour of doing something for girls but à la bonne heure ----it could not be done now.'²

2. Effects of the changeover on the working of Section 12

Granted that the relatively inferior performance of the Charity Commissioners in regard to Section 12, as compared with that of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, must lie in what they failed to achieve and is therefore least likely to be apparent in cases where provision was made for girls, it is yet possible to glimpse in such cases signs of a less committed approach. It was certainly not true, as the women's interest feared, that 'the whole mode of administering the reformed endowments' underwent a change. The Charity Commissioners were held

¹Ibid. para. 150. He also took note of the fact that the Girls Public Day School Company had established a school in Croydon. See p. below.
²PRO Ed 27/1468, report of deputation, 11 Feb. 1885.
in the grip of the same problems that had faced their predecessors and their room for manoeuvre was equally restricted. The business of Scheme-making went on in many cases without any noticeable change of course and a number of Schemes which benefited girls were the work of both sets of administrators. But here and there the evidence suggests that a girls' school was lost through the change of owner.

Newport in Shropshire is a case in point. Since 1871 the Endowed Schools Commissioners assisted by Stanton, had been working on a Scheme for a boys' and a girls' school. In 1876 negotiations were resumed and Stanton went back to confront the problem which had so far halted progress: the claims of the poor, in the shape of the 80 free places provided in Adams Grammar School. To talk of abolishing this free education and yet to spend money on a school for girls 'would be an act of Vandalism' it was held locally. Stanton now conveyed to the Vestry Committee, in terms the women's movement could hardly have faulted, that in the opinion of the Charity Commissioners girls' education ought to be encouraged.

'Where an endowment was large,' he said, 'they endeavoured to give effect to their belief by appropriating a part...to that object. As the Newport people appeared to be sticklers for adhering to the founder's will, he might remind them that Mr. Adams left his charity to educate children, and that of course

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1 Inter al., those which provided boys and girls' schools at Thetford, Tiverton, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Deptford; those which provided for some benefit to girls at Walthamstow, Tideswell, Wells, Wellingborough and Bentham. The main loss to girls in 1875 came through the Education Department which deleted one of the two girls' schools proposed in the Dulwich Scheme which the Endowed Schools Commissioners had already submitted to them as well as the girls' school in the Scheme for Borden.

included girls. The Commissioners thought therefore that here, if the boys were well provided for, and funds remained, something should be done for the education of girls.¹

A tolerable measure of agreement was reached. To compensate the loss of free education a large number of scholarships would be provided. The Scheme for a boys' and a girls' school was published. The only objections now to the girls' school came from certain influential inhabitants who, as Stanton pointed out, would not be likely to use it, and the Visitors appointed by the Haberdashers' Company. Yet at this stage the girls' case was lost. A powerful deputation from the Company came along to the Charity Commission and saw the Chief Commissioner, as well as those concerned with endowed Schools work — Lord Clinton and Canon Robinson. Six years earlier the Master of the Haberdashers had told Stanton they were keen on a girls' school; now they said they thought the funds would be inadequate and there would be no demand for it in Newport.² In response to this the Commissioners decided to make the provision of a girls' school conditional "if the funds admit".

This change, as we shall see,³ was as good as striking out the school altogether. Would it have been made if the Haberdashers Company had come to see Lyttelton? Nobody can tell.

At Ashby-de-la-Zouch the Endowed School Commissioners, through Fitch, had worked for acceptance of a girls' school. The Trustees rejected their Scheme out of hand. When the Charity Commissioners took over the case the Trustees told Stanton that the girls' school provision was the reason why they had rejected the Scheme. They would like a Scheme made,
but 'on the understanding that the Commissioners would not make the establishment of a Girls' School part of it.'\(^1\) These clauses were deleted and the Scheme went through.

For Wimborne in Dorset the Endowed Schools Commissioners had drafted a Scheme which would have shared the endowment, insofar as it belonged to education, equally between boys and girls. The governors opposed this, eventually consenting that some provision for girls should be made when certain pensions ended; and this they agreed to, not, as they later told the Charity Commission, because they desired it, but 'in the hope that the Commissioners would fall in with their views on other points.'\(^2\)

At this stage came the transfer to the Charity Commission and it was decided to hold an Inquiry. Few witnesses supported the provision for girls. After examining the school's finances Fearon concluded that they were unequal to it and therefore decided it was not 'convenient' within the meaning of Section 12.\(^3\)

Such instances might well have been used in illustration of the women's view expressed in April, 1876 that 'our fears are likely to be most seriously realised.'\(^4\) In fact they were not cited. But the writer drew attention to something which was clearly interpreted as a straw in the wind: the Charity Commission did not provide for women on governing bodies.

'They not only exclude them from the boys' schools but, strange as it may seem, in all those schemes which have

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\(^1\)PRO Ed 27/2359, Stanton's report of 21 Jan. 1876.

\(^2\)PRO Ed 27/936, Letter of 19 May, 1875, quoted in Fearon's Report of the Inquiry which he held at Wimborne in July, 1875. Unfortunately the files which relate to the drafting of this Scheme seem to have been lost.

\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)p. 246 above.
been published, and which relate to girls' schools, has the provision made by the late Commissioners for securing that women should be represented on the Boards, been carefully excluded. It is true.....that this omission....does not strictly debar women from serving. Taken, however, in reference to the former provision it is obvious that such is its intent...

It was noted, moreover, that the Charity Commissioners made provision,

'by which the governors may appoint a ladies committee to assist in the internal management of the school in such matters as the governing body may entrust them with. This clause shows that the omission of the clause securing a place for women on the governing body was not an accident.'

The evidence to back this was given in a Memorial to the Charity Commissioners drawn up by the Women's Education Union. Lyttelton was one of the signatories and a number of instances were cited where Schemes made since the Charity Commissioners took over provided only for a Ladies Committee. Such Committees, it was pointed out again, 'can do nothing but what they are told' and, in endowments shared between the sexes,

'Past experience gives too good reason to fear that if the girls' schools have no women to defend them...their interests will be systematically and most unjustly sacrificed.'

The Memorialists went on to observe that even the general and permissive clause — 'Women may be governors' — was left out of the new Schemes.

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1 Journal of the Women's Education Union, Vol. IV, 15 April, 1876, p. 53

2 Full text in Appendix VIII

3 The Thetford, Newcastle and Clerkenwell Schools came into this category.

4 They could have cited Tideswell, Tiverton, Upholland, Birmingham and others as examples where the published Scheme omitted this and also omitted any provision for a Ladies Committee.
In some of these, though they did not say so, the change was the more marked because an earlier Draft published by the Endowed Schools Commissioners had provided for women governors, sometimes in the face of opposition.

At Tideswell, where the difficulty of making a Scheme was in inverse proportion to the size of the endowment, the Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1871 had published a Draft which included women governors in the face of an objection that this might operate to give some men two votes. Four years later, the Charity Commission, which made the final Scheme, did not include this provision. In Birmingham the feeling against women governors had been surprisingly strong and not confined to the Trustees but the Endowed Schools Commissioners included them. Their Scheme, in the event, was rejected in the Lords. Early in 1875 the governors wrote to the Charity Commission with suggestions for a new Scheme; their main concern, as it had been throughout, was that the governing body should not be overloaded with representatives of the Town Council but they also took care to omit all reference to women governors and the Scheme the Charity Commission now published omitted it also, a point not lost on at least one of the local papers. In consequence a foundation which

1 Mr. Ashton, freeholder, Edinburgh graduate and one of the more articulate inhabitants urged that 'No married woman ought to be chosen a governor: if her husband be already one; as in that case, he would be sure to exercise a controlling influence over her and thus virtually have two votes.' PRO Ed 27/601. This was one argument against the female franchise.

2 p. 195 above. Hammond noted '.....there is no local enthusiasm in favour of Women Governors; on the contrary the feeling is rather against them in Birmingham, where at the late School Board election no female candidate ventured to come forward.' PRO Ed 27/4893, Report 21 April, 1871.

3 PRO Ed 27/4899, The Birmingham Weekly Post, 17 July, 1875, commented on the fact that as the School Board representatives had disappeared in the new Scheme 'so again does another possible class' i.e. women.
provided one of the leading girls' schools in England as well as four other grammar schools for girls had no women on the governing body.

The Charity Commissioners, as their Minutes show, paid attention to the women's Memorial to the extent of deciding 'as a general rule' that Schemes which provided for girls' education should contain a clause enabling women to be governors.\(^1\) Some of their later Schemes include this provision; some do not\(^2\) and this is consistent with the evidence they gave to the Bryce Commission.\(^3\) It seems beyond doubt that they did not feel the importance of the question as Lyttelton had done. With him it had been a matter of principle\(^4\) and it is in just such areas, arguably, that one may glimpse the difference between zealots and

\(^1\)Charity Commission, General Minute Book 9 June, 1876.

\(^2\)At Louth, Oldham, Wells, inter al., there were to be women governors; also at Hitchin, where in 1884 the vicar was told that such provision would be made 'in accordance with the usage of the Commissioners in Schemes...providing for the education of girls'. The Scheme made for the Girls' School at Lewisham, however, at about this time had no such provision.

\(^3\)Sir George Young, who was one of the Commissioners appointed under the Endowed Schools Acts, told them that the plan 'usually followed' was to have women governors but the alternative of a ladies' committee had sometimes been adopted. Q 159.

\(^4\)p. 192 above
professionals. But the Charity Commissioners were certainly not conscious of any lack of zeal towards the interests of girls. On the contrary, in 1886 the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts heard that they had favoured girls' education, 'as indeed under.....Act we are bound to do'. At that very time they were engaged in a struggle of the kind so often forecast by opponents of the Act, so rare in practice: at Blandford in Dorset they were trying to change a boys' school into one for girls.

3. The best work of the Charity Commissioners for girls.

3.1. Blandford

The opportunity arose because the endowed school at Milton Abbas had fallen into disuse. In 1870 when Fitch first saw it it was in a poor state and he recommended that it might most advantageously be adapted as a girls' boarding school since Dorset had as yet, no public schools for girls. He was advised to make careful inquiries but no effective action was taken until 1875 when the Charity Commissioners instructed Fearon. The girls' school idea was taken up again for, as Robinson said 'there have been few cases....where such a conversion of a Grammar School appeared less open to objection.'

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1Evidence of Sir George Young, Q 621.

2Its history was unusual. Though the Blandford people expressed such attachment to it, it had been moved to Blandford from Milton by Act of Parliament in the 18th century because Lord Milton did not choose to have it sitting within 37 yards of his mansion.

3PRO Ed 27/838, Dec. 28, 1870.

Fearon met the Trustees who promised to consider it and sound out the locality; the Grammar School Master said he was 'decidedly in favour' of the change. But as often happened, when it came to the point, more conservative attitudes prevailed. By 1877 the school had closed down but petitions came in from Blandford people begging that it should reopen as a boys' school. When the Trustees were reminded that Schemes for boys' schools had already been made at Shaftesbury, Gillingham, Sherborne, Beaminster, Dorchester and Wimborne they simply answered that they did not wish to change —'the present character of the school.' The Commissioners had backing from the Secondary Education Committee of the Diocesan Synod which had itself reported the absence in Dorset of any public secondary provision for girls. They got qualified support from some of the gentry and vigorous encouragement from a radical educationist who kept a school in Blandford. Mr. T. Holford Bastard was passionately interested in co-education and his only complaint was that the Commissioners did not propose to

1To the Select Committee in 1886 he said the school had dwindled because of the uncertainty regarding its future; and also because in the 1870's there were very few professional men in Blandford with boys of the right age. He had no doubt at all that there would now be an adequate supply.

2PRO Ed 27/338, 1 January, 1878.
introduce it.  

Perhaps the first sign of the intensity of opposition which might be expected came when one of the local Members called to complain to the Chief Commissioner of 'a crotchet which one of your colleagues has started for turning Blandford School, now closed, into a Girls' School.'  

Sir George Young, whose appointment in 1882 seems to have infused a good deal of spirit into Endowed Schools administration, simply stated that

'The entire absence from the district of a girls' secondary school possessing the advantages of a public character coupled with the increasing desire on all hands for an improvement in girls' education are, it is believed, sufficient answer to the allegation that a girls' school at Blandford is unnecessary and unlikely to succeed.'

In Dorset, it seems, the desire for better girls' schools had not increased much for the only parent who ventured to support the Charity Commission asked that his letter should be kept private, 'or it will bring down a storm of vilification upon me.'

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1 Stanton had reported for the Taunton Commission on Mr. Bastard's school where he heard a good lesson on the structure of the human tooth. Established in 1863, it was undenominational, boys and girls were taught together and great stress was laid on physiology and on Political Economy. 'Its plan is marked by much originality,' said Roby, 'and it contains an element particularly interesting to us, viz. the condition that a certain no. of the Trustees shall be women.' PRO Ed 27/832, 12 January, 1871. Mr. Bastard was most interested in girls' education; he was one of the early shareholders of the Girls Public Day School Company and presented a scholarship to Girton.

2 PRO Ed 27/238 Sir George Young's minute, 19 April, 1883.

3 Ibid. 7 December, 1883.

4 Ibid., 28 January, 1884. The writer said he was obliged to send his daughters to Miss Buss at the North London Collegiate School.
At a very hostile public meeting the three County members pledged their resistance. Questions were asked, there were Petitions in the Lords but the Charity Commissioners approved the Scheme for submission to the Education Department. From this point it passed out of their hands, and in more ways than one, for early in 1886 the Select Committee began its inquiries. Evidence was heard from the inhabitants of Blandford. The Mayor spoke about the strong opposition, which included that of a mother of three daughters who had told him she would never use the girls' school if it were established.¹ The Rector agreed. His opinion was clearly that the very ethos of a girls' high school would be alien to Blandford.² With people in the north, who were 'sharper and more brilliant than the southern people' it might go down but he would not commit himself as to whether the existence of such a school would produce a sharpening of the Dorset people.

In 1888 the Education Department rejected the Scheme. The Trustees went ahead with plans to re-open the school for boys.

When the Assistant Commissioner met them he reported that

¹Q 5040 'Are there no enlightened mothers in Blandford that desire to see a high school formed for girls? — — I am afraid there are not.'

²Of such a school recently established at Weymouth he said 'They have a B.A. or M.A. or whatever it is from Girton, or elsewhere, as headmistress; it has the whole high pressure system.'
'The interview was conducted without any sign of irritation and the only reference made to the contest recently terminated in their favour was an appeal to me by Mr. Portman as to whether the Girls' School Scheme, a copy of which he held in his hand, might be considered dead and, on my reply in the affirmative, its quiet but significant reading in pieces.'

3. ii. Leeds Grammar School

The Blandford case shows that the Charity Commissioners could, on occasion, fight very hard for girls; or that they had recruited a very hard fighter, which is not quite the same thing. Sir George Young was appointed a Commissioner under the Endowed Schools Acts in 1882 on the death of Robinson and he continued to administer them until the work was run down at the end of the century. Even by the high standards which obtained among civil servants engaged in education at this time his talents were impressive. He seems also to have had a zest for battle which recalls Hobhouse and Roby in the early days.

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1 PRO Ed 27/838, 7 April, 1888.

2 See especially his obituary in The Times, July 5, 1930. He was born in 1837 and went from a brilliant career at Eton, where he was singled out for congratulation by the Prince Consort, to distinction at Cambridge among a group of distinguished friends (G. O. Trevelyan, Richard Jebb, Henry Sidwick and others). He embarked on politics with Gladstone's support but gave this up after the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish (Lyttelton's son-in-law) whose secretary he was to have been. By the time he joined the Charity Commission he was marked out not only by able work as secretary to various Commissions but as a climber, swimmer and explorer. He was also a scholar. The Everyman Library used his verse translation of Sophocles and he became a leading exponent of the genre. What comes across most in the official files is his tremendous vigour. It is easy to see in them the great vitality and zest of the man who in his youth climbed the North face of the Jungfrau and in his old age still dived in the Thames. When well over 80 he devoted himself to the cause of establishing Reading University; its first Vice Chancellor described the scene when it was announced that a charter had been granted and 'this man of 85 was the first in an audience of 1000 people to leap to his feet, with uplifted arm.'
'To make such schools... is worth a fight,' he wrote of Rishworth, during the long struggle with the Wheelwright Charity. At Blandford he dismissed the tepid support of a local acquaintance with the comment to Fearon: 'Sir Talbot Baker's croak proceeds from timidity.' At Skipton he vigorously entered the lists in what an Education Department official described as 'the great "Latin" or "no-Latin" case on which Sir G. Young and Mr. Roundell are at direct issue.'

The issue at Skipton was whether it was worth teaching Latin to girls in a school with a leaving age of 17. Mr. Roundell, Chairman of the Girls Public Day School Company and a leading local figure, thought it was not, and backed his opinion with letters from 'experts'. In deference to the views of such a champion of girls' schools, the Education Department dropped Latin from the Scheme. Young would not stand for that. He referred the Department to the view taken by the Taunton Commission of the deficiencies of girls' education and showed them at length why the teaching of Latin was essential as a means to improvement: Latin, by its accidence and syntax was well-suited for teaching children to distinguish 'between thought and the expression of thoughts'; it was a most important linguistic reservoir; and, above all, a guarantor of standards. To provide for its teaching

'is to take security that the teaching of language shall not degenerate into the mere art to chatter in a foreign speech. It is to secure that the principal teacher, at all events, shall have had a training in this respect suitable for her position.'

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1PRO Ed 27/6171, Minute to Cumin preceding his of 3 January, 1886 to Lord President.

2Ibid., 20 May, 1885.
Latin was retained in the Skipton Scheme.

But the value to the girls' cause of Young's tenacity is shown best of all in the case of Leeds Grammar School. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, many years before, had made little progress here and gave up the case, owing, Young suggested, to strong opposition from the headmaster, who had a vested interest. Their attempts to draw attention to the claims of girls had not been well received. A few years later when a Scheme was made by the Charity Commissioners to convert certain doles to education the girls' claim was put forward again but those who supported it in Leeds were outmanoeuvred and all the money went for the Grammar School. Young reopened the case of Leeds Grammar School in 1884. Something should be done for girls, he told Stanton. It was even true that the founder's will, which spoke of 'young scholars, youths and children' did not actually exclude them.

When he saw the Trustees Stanton found them very wary. There was even an attempt to intimidate him with a memorandum purporting to record an interview between the Headmaster and Canon Robinson many years back at which an assurance had been given that the Commissioners

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1 p. 62, f5 above.

2 For details of this struggle over the Leeds Poors Estate see Ch. X below.

3 PRO Ed 27/5981, 14 March, 1884.
would not proceed with a Scheme unless the Trustees wished it. On the subject of girls, 'the Trustees were studiedly reticent and would make no statement committing themselves to any opinion.' They admitted they had once thought of making an assignment out of further dole funds but the Vicar stated....that he failed to see that Girls' education in Leeds needed such assistance.' There were girls' schools in Leeds already, none of them full.

A year went by in further inquiries. In 1885 Young was able to record that

'The Board took a strong view of making provision for girls out of this endowment and decided to insert a clause setting aside £500 a year....' When this was known the Trustees reacted sharply, pointing out that their funds were not unlimited, 'as appears to be supposed,' in fact, barely sufficient for the needs of the Grammar School. But the clause appeared unaltered in the published draft. Young dismissed the idea of making it conditional for, as Stanton said, there was not much doubt 'that the time at which the Foundation could, in the opinion of the Governors, afford to pay the £500 would be a very distant one.'

As might have been expected, publication of the Scheme brought

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1This was more or less promised during the debate on an Address against the Scheme for the Poors Estate in March 1878.

2PRO Ed 27/5981, Report of meeting with Trustees on March 14, 1884. Young pencilled alongside 'And if they were full, we should hear that better could not be.'

3Ibid., 15 July, 1885.

4Ibid., 2 Dec., 1885.
hard pressure. Mr. Denison M.P. called to see Young and was very belligerent. According to him 'It was some Extreme Radicals who had professed to think Girls were neglected.' The Commissioners stood firm. They invited the Trustees to submit a financial statement to show why they could not find £500 for girls. When none was forthcoming they put the Scheme forward in due course to the Education Department.

From the girls' point of view, to have reached this stage without the fatal accommodating phrase — 'when funds admit' — was a great thing gained. But as we saw at Blandford, they were not safe yet. The Leeds Scheme was submitted by the Charity Commissioners in the summer of 1887; it took eleven more years to gain the Royal Assent, most of them spent in parrying assaults on the assignment to girls. At this point, naturally, the outside pressure came upon the Education Department. The Trustees wrote denying they grudged anything to girls but stating that to divert £500 a year 'whether the funds will allow or not, is going beyond the requirements of Section 12 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, which only direct that provision shall be made for girls "so far as conveniently may be".'

They went on to show why it was not convenient to make such a claim on the endowment of the school and why it might be better to divert

1 Apart from the girls' question, what was resented was the substantial representative element now proposed for the Governing Body. There were two Town Councillors on the present Board, said Denison, and they never opened their mouths. It was "mere moonshine to talk of popular representation giving greater interest in the School. You get from Town Councils and School Boards men without intelligence or position and stick them into office. Let Oxford and Cambridge rather nominate some governors." When Young countered this Denison retorted, 'In other words you are afraid of popular outcry and give way to it but pay no attention to what I say.' He threatened then to upset the Scheme in the Commons. Ibid. Stanton's note, 12 April, 1886.

2 PRO Ed 27/5982.
to girls some of the money from the converted dole fund, which after all had once given doles to both sexes. ¹

The Charity Commissioners' comments were invited and their reply, drafted by Stanton and Young, was that the money could be found. There was no case, they said, which had ever come before the Charity Commissioners where it had seemed 'more peremptorily incumbent on them to make a permanent and substantial provision under Section 12.....'² When they answered the Trustees the Education Department stood by this but there was growing pressure from M.P.'s. The Vice President was approached by one of the Leeds Members and also by the Grammar School Headmaster. Why £500.? the headmaster wondered. The schools at Bradford, Giggleswick and Sedbergh had only been required to give £200.

'Nor does there appear to be any real need for such a sum for the education of girls. There is no question of founding a new school in Leeds: to say nothing of a Higher Grade School, started not long since and now in process of rapid development, we have two excellent middle-class girls' schools ....both charging very moderate fees; there is also an excellent High School (Limited Company).....'³

Following all this, the Education Department received from the Trustees their views on the financial implications of making such a preferential charge on an income 'which, being partly derived from

¹This last was a tremendous bit of cheek. The argument that the Poors Estate had been a charity to benefit both sexes was one of those urged ten years earlier when it was hoped to get some of it for girls. The Grammar School Trustees were indifferent to it then. See Ch. X below.

²Ibid., 15 Nov. 1887. The gross income from endowment was £4428. p.a.

³Ibid., memorandum addressed to Sir W. Hart Dyke, Dec. 1887.
Real Estate must be more or less fluctuating and liable to diminution by accidental causes...\(^1\)

The £500 was by now one of two points outstanding. The other concerned the Headmaster's stipend and on this Cumin\(^2\) did not wish to yield. But he made clear to Young he wanted some agreement and Young accepted this. It was finally settled that the Charity Commissioners would be ready to approve a provision whereby the Trustees, with their consent, could reduce the five hundred to four hundred pounds in any given year.\(^3\)

The Trustees were not satisfied. A deputation came to see Cumin and said £250. was the most they could afford, and this they thought should come from the converted dole fund and not the main endowment.\(^4\) Cumin came back to the Charity Commissioners. The girls' assignment now was the only point outstanding. He invited comments.

But did he really invite them? Was the point submitted to them really open, or had the Education Department decided to yield to the pressure of the Leeds M.P.'s? These were Young's speculations.\(^5\) The Charity Commissioners could give a reasoned answer.

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\(^1\)Ibid., 9 Feb., 1888.

\(^2\)Secretary of the Education Department.

\(^3\)This was Young's idea. Stanton feared 'the friction and Parliamentary pressure' of such a plan. He would have preferred 'an automatic rateable reduction' to match the assignment to any change in income but Young thought this unworkable.

\(^4\)PRO Ed 27/5982, note of deputation, June 5, 1888.
'But our reasons do not seem to weigh with the Education Department while somebody on the other side remains in an attitude of general opposition.'

He had judged correctly. Stanton heard unofficially from Cumin that unless they accepted the reduced sum for girls the Education Department would suspend further action. In its present form, opposed by all the Leeds Members, there was no chance of getting the Scheme through Parliament. '...besides, they expected a fight in respect of Christ's Hospital and did not want to multiply their battles.'

The Charity Commissioners considered all this but would not give in. It was impossible, they said,

'to accept the statement of the Trustees to the effect that under no circumstances can any additional endowment to a greater amount than £250. be devoted with advantage to girls' education in Leeds.'

Deadlock had been reached and the Scheme was put aside. For four years, apart from desultory inquiries, the occasional Question or deputation, Leeds was disregarded.

In 1894, mainly at the instance of the Leeds School Board, the Scheme was taken out again and dusted down and the Grammar School Trustees, much to their astonishment, were told that the Education Department proposed to approve it. Eventually a deputation was

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1 PRO Ed 27/5981, minute to Stanton 13 June, 1888.

2 Ibid., 14 June, 1888.

3 Ibid., to Education Department, 10 July 1888.

4 A note made later by Lindsell of the Education Department records that 'After an interview with the Vice President in June, 1890, it was decided that in view of the opposition to the Scheme (which must have been much more formidable than can be inferred from the official correspondence) further consideration was practically dropped, a course in which the Charity Commissioners concurred. PRO Ed 27/5982.

5 PRO Ed 27/5982, letter of 30 June, 1894.
arranged to see the Vice President. The written submission which preceded it showed that the Trustees, in the intervening years, had lost nothing of their ingenuity. They said that the revival of the Scheme was untimely, because of the appointment of the Bryce Commission; it was also out-of-date; things were different in Leeds and in just such ways as to make the girls' assignment even more unnecessary than it had been before. As for finance, any balance in hand would be needed to supply gymnasium and swimming baths. They might even have to reduce their fees in order to compete with the Higher Grade School and any reduction would be impossible if they had to make the assignment to girls. 'This is a special Example,' they said, 'of the untimeliness of the proposal....'

It was now for Kekewich to advise the Vice President. He inclined to allocating £400 while the income remained at its present level, and giving girls a share of any increase or decrease. Acland, a supporter of girls' education, thought they should have £500 and share in increase only. But nothing was settled.

In all this time the state of the Grammar School had been declining; numbers had fallen. The Bryce Commission made unfavourable comparisons with Bradford and Manchester. Leeds was now conspicuous as one of the very few foundations in the West Riding still unreorganised, governed, in fact, by a Chancery Scheme of 1855. In 1897 the

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1. The position of girls requiring secondary education is quite different now. The Higher Grade School gives Education on the North of the River Aire to nearly 1000 girls and there are many scholarships given by private donors...On the South side of the River the Board School in Bewerley St. is coming rapidly to hold the same position there that the Central Higher Grade School does on the North, and will no doubt have its share of scholarships.

2. He succeeded Cumin as Secretary in 1890.
Trustees gave in. They approached the Education Department and said they were willing to accept the Scheme. As for the girls' clause, they would very much rather that it should be expunged altogether. 'If, however, no Scheme would be approved which failed to make any provision for that purpose,' they suggested, instead of an annual payment, that £12,000 should be set apart from capital at such time as a girls' school was established. This was acceptable but for one thing: Sir George Young insisted that the allocation should date from the date of the Scheme and accumulate interest for the benefit of girls. On this basis, in 1898, 14 years after he re-opened the case, the Scheme for Leeds Grammar School was finally approved.

3. iii. Christs Hospital and others.

The case of Leeds Grammar School was unique; the only one in which for two decades the application of Section 12 was a major (in the end, the main) bar to settlement. Apart from that it was in no way unusual, demonstrating yet again what Stanton had once called the 'exuberance' of Trustees in regard to a foundation hitherto devoted to boys, a proprietary and conservative pride, for the existence of which it was not even necessary that the boys' school should be in working order.¹

This pride was nowhere stronger than at Christs Hospital, which indeed possessed almost every characteristic likely to make it

¹Blandford, Mansfield, among others.
difficult to handle. Its government was controlled by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; its President was a Royal Duke. Little could be done without challenging the patronage of five hundred Donation Governors, breaking with traditions which went back to the Renaissance and moving the school from its congested site. It was, as was often claimed, 'sui generis', not least in the fact that its school for girls was perhaps the oldest girls' school in England. But in regard to girls it had become a byword. Since the Taunton Commissioners had drawn attention to the huge disparity between the sexes\(^1\) and had described it as an injustice even worse than total exclusion, Christs Hospital had become for reformers a classic illustration of their argument.\(^2\) Was there not, after all, a Holbein painting which depicted Edward VI giving the Charter with 15 boys and 15 girls kneeling in the foreground?

It took 20 years to redress the balance. The first move was made in 1870 when the governors exercised the right of wealthy foundations to send in their own Scheme and, among much else, ignored the Taunton recommendation that they should sell their Hertford property\(^3\) in order to provide for girls' education. In 1890 a Scheme was approved which provided for a girls' school for 350 boarders and a boys' school for 850. The intervening years were not spent, by any means, entirely on this issue. There were many difficulties in making the Scheme: great unwillingness to reform the Governing Body

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\(^1\)18 girls against 1192 boys.

\(^2\)See Lyttelton to the Social Science Association, 1868, Kingsley to the Social Science Association, 1869, Maria Grey, letter to The Times, 15 Jan. 1875.

\(^3\)Where at this time the handful of girls and all the younger boys were educated.
and to reduce the patronage of Donation Governors; an attempt to withdraw substantial endowments from the Commissioners' jurisdiction; resistance to the idea of moving out of London. But the girls' school remained an issue till the end. Its enlargement was accepted with great reluctance and in the face of continued pressure. Unlike the Harpur Trustees at Bedford, the governors of King Edward VI School, Birmingham, or the governors of Dulwich College, the governors of Christ's Hospital, wealthiest of all these wealthy foundations, showed no interest in trying the experiment of setting up a first grade school for girls. Why was this? Perhaps, it is suggested, because in this respect, if in no other, Christ's Hospital was not so much 'sui generis' as of the genus 'Hospital School'.

The Endowed Schools Commissioners, as we saw, had met special problems with Hospital Schools. They had been accused of robbing the poor; and the same charge was made against the Charity Commissioners when they tried to close the Schools at Gloucester and Lincoln. Where girls were already on a Hospital endowment, as at the Greycoat School and Red Maids, there was a reluctance to provide for them anything that savoured of 'superior' education. Boys, in the unreformed Greycoat Hospital, got something rather better than girls.

1 At Gloucester, Stanton held a Public Inquiry in response to the popular outcry against the proposal to change the character of the Blue Coat School; in this case the loss of apprenticeship fees was especially resented. At Lincoln the idea of using the Christ's Hospital building for a girls' school (providing for the boys' education elsewhere) was regarded as perverting the Founder's intentions, both by applying the endowment to girls and by replacing with a school of higher grade one which was intended for the orphaned and indigent. The Commissioners tried to buy off opposition by postponing part of the provision for girls.

At Rishworth, near Halifax, the contrast was more marked. Boys maintained on the Wheelwright Foundation could follow a grammar school curriculum while girls were trained as domestic servants. The Rishworth Trustees saw nothing wrong with this. Long before the Charity Commissioners took over they had made clear that they thought it pointless to establish a school where girls would learn 'Mathematics and the Natural Sciences, Latin, French and German, Drawing, Drill and vocal music with other accomplishments.' What the local girls required was 'a good plain practical education, with a knowledge of Domestic economy, Needlework, Housework and Cooking.' It was illusory, they said, to imagine that this class of girls would find employment as Governesses after leaving School as the Scheme seemed to contemplate. Accordingly, their own idea was that the schools, when enlarged, should provide for boys a grammar school curriculum, including Greek, while girls should be offered a course of education 'such as will fit the Scholars for their probable future positions in life.' This meant the three R's. 'They may also be employed to assist in the domestic duties of the Establishment.'

These opinions they seem to have shared with the governors of the wealthiest foundation in England. In 1875 a committee of Almoners of Christ's Hospital considered the report of the sub-committee which had reviewed the school at Hertford. Though the Endowed Schools Commissioners' proposal that girls should have at least one third of the endowment had been rejected out of hand it

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1 PRO Ed 27/6074 Trustees' objections to Scheme published 1872.
2 Ibid.
seems to have been recognised that change must be made. What the committee recommended was that the present number of 23 girls should be increased to 50, and that these should receive 'a course of sound and useful instruction' consisting of the usual elementary subjects. They thought that in the mornings the older girls should help with 'sweeping, cleaning and the like' and that

'one or two afternoons each week might be occupied by such Girls as are old enough to do it, in making or repairing their Clothes etc. Some of the Girls should also assist in the lighter laundry work... and should be taught cooking... All the above-mentioned duties should be made a part of the regular Girls' School course....'¹

Taking everything into account, it is hard to say which set of Trustees was more resistant to the operation of Section 12: those at Rishworth, their outlook bounded by the local mills, or the highly sophisticated governors of Christs Hospital. The Rishworth Trustees objected less to raising the number of girls on the endowment than to raising the standard of their education. They repeated to the Charity Commissioners the arguments in favour of domestic training, urging that

'the application of the Funds of the Charity to providing a high class education for girls would from the circumstances of the case be inexpedient and... disappointing.'²

They knew that such a girls' school as the Scheme proposed would be 'an utter failure'.³ But the Charity Commissioners, like the Endowed Schools Commissioners before them, set themselves to change 'the low character of the Education given to Girls'⁴ and in the end

¹PRO Ed 27/4717, Part II, report submitted 3 March, 1875.
²PRO Ed 27/6074, 12 June, 1883.
³Ibid., 30 March, 1885.
⁴Ibid., Fearon. 17 Aug. 1882.
succeeded. The Wheelwright Charity was eventually devoted to establishing boys' and girls' grammar schools in Dewsbury.

In its later stages, the struggle with Christ's Hospital over girls centred less on what they should be taught than on the number which should be admitted. The sub committee had suggested 50. The Commission published in 1880 a scheme for 400, organised in two schools, the Upper of which would have a first grade curriculum and leaving age of 19. The progress of this Draft was checked by the need for an Inquiry to determine whether certain parts of the Hospital revenues were exempt from the scope of the Endowed Schools Acts. When a new Draft was published in 1885 the proposal was to take 500 girls and the governors reacted strongly. They did not object, they said, to benefiting girls.

'They have indeed shown already their loyalty in this matter to the Act of 1869 by increasing their Girls' School at Hertford to a complement of 90 but they do strongly object to the present proposal. The registers of the Hospital, which commenced very soon after its foundation, and its other records, show the very small number and slender amount of the Endowments specifically given or bequeathed in favour of girls....the girls....were always much fewer in number than the boys, and donors....deliberately intended the far larger share of their gifts to be applied in favour of boys. Not that they disregarded the interest of girls; for they probably felt, as many feel now, that the taking of the whole charge of a boy out of a family leaves in the hands of the parent what the saved expense of the boy represents, to help in the education of the girls and other children...'

1 As against 1000 boys.

2 Compare with a statement made at a public meeting in Newport, Shropshire, where objection was raised to abolishing free education for boys and yet starting a girls' school. 'Take, for instance, a family of children, 3 boys and 3 girls, now if the amount of capital at command were equally divided among those 6 children, it would not...be sufficient to purchase an education such as the parents would think suitable. And then (the Founder) steps in to their relief. He says, I will relieve you from the payment of the boys, and that will enable you to devote the whole amount of your educational fund to the education of your daughters in private establishments, which are the proper places for your daughters to be placed in....' PRO Ed 27/3977, 17 Aug. 1872.
The idea of a boarding school for 500 girls they thought 'hazardous... impolitic and very costly.' They knew of no other such school in the kingdom and to provide one, they were advised, would exceed what could be --- 'conveniently' --- required of them under Section 12. Nor would it meet any known demand.

With regard to the education of girls, the formation of their principles, and their training for domestic life, it may be asserted that female opinion leans very much to home education.'

The idea of 'a multitudinous Boarding School for Girls' where perhaps five or six hundred females would be assembled on one spot led them to hint at 'other grounds of objection, moral, social and physiological' on which they felt it unnecessary to dwell.¹

Apart from the numbers, the Governors objected to the provision that future presentations by Donation Governors should be shared equally between boys and girls. A boy's presentation was worth more, they said, and was more sought after. They also objected to the obligation to appoint a committee of women to oversee the girls' school.

The size of this school was debated over years. A deputation which came to see Richmond in June 1885 seemed to contemplate 250. But the Charity Commissioners stuck to 500 in the Scheme which they submitted to the Education Department in February, 1886. As with Leeds, it was now a question of what the Education Department would support, Lindsell suggested 300 to Richmond, who told him 'the

¹PRO Ed 27/4726, objections forwarded 5 Sept. 1885.
A few months later the Lord President of the Council and the Vice President, attended by Cumin, met the Chief Charity Commissioner and Richmond, to see what could be settled. 300 was agreed on, with power to require 200 more 'if funds suffice'.

They had met on a Friday. The following Monday they met again and settled on 350, a figure which the Board of Charity Commissioners formally endorsed a few days later but with the proviso 'that proper precautions be taken in the Scheme that the number of girls...shall ultimately be 500.' The next day the Board revised this decision and amended the Minutes of their previous meeting to cut out the reference to an ultimate 500. In the Scheme as finally approved the figure was 350 and the presentations, instead of going equally to boys and girls, were to be in the proportion of 2:1.

In 1902 when the boys moved to Horsham the Hertford buildings were renovated and given up to girls entirely. From the Scheme in 1890 to the move in 1902 the maximum number of girls at Christs

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1 PRO Ed 27/4727, memo. of 25 March, 1887.
2 Ibid., 10 June, 1887.
3 Ibid., 17 June, 1887.
4 Ibid., 18 June, 1887.
5 Only 150 of the total number of places (350 for girls and 850 for boys) were now to be reserved to the Donation Governors. The rest were to be filled in a number of ways, but mainly by competition from the elementary schools.
6 From the mid 18th century the younger boys had been there.
Hospital was 139. After it, the governors maintained their tradition of making haste slowly where girls were concerned. The Scheme had contemplated provision for 350. In 1910 H.M. Inspectors recorded that

'with the consent of the Board of Education provision has in fact been made for 280 only. Very wisely the numbers have been raised gradually ....and there are still 27 vacancies.'

\[ \text{\footnote{PRO Ed 35/2522 B, Report of First Inspection of the Girls' School at Hertford, October, 1910.}} \]
CHAPTER IX

THE CHARITY COMMISSION: THE MAINTENANCE OF SCHEMES

In 1869 the assumption had been that the work of reorganising endowments would be got through in three or four years. It was just a first step. More permanent importance attached to the proposed Educational Council which was to have power to examine the pupils and register the teachers in secondary schools. In fact, no such guarantor of standards was created; and as for the first step, the Charity Commissioners were still making first Schemes in 1900. Long before this they had drawn attention to one of the anomalies of their position: they were making Schemes on an unprecedented scale, and in conformity with a statute, yet without any regular means of knowing how these Schemes worked out, beyond what could be gleaned from the annual reports of independent examiners. In their own Reports they argued strongly the case for systematic inspection, and in 1887 this view was endorsed by the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts which recommended that Assistant Commissioners should be specially appointed for the purpose. None were appointed, but the Charity Commissioners decided to use those already employed and launched an inspection of reorganised schools in certain counties. So far as staff

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1 In 1889 the Commissioners explained that 'for some years past' they had required copies of these reports. BPP 1889 XXVIII Thirty-sixth Report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales para. 42.


3 BPP 1887 IX Report of Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts, para. 16.

4 BPP 1889 XXVIII op. cit. paras. 30-37 gives a full account, including the directions to Assistant Commissioners and extracts from their reports.
could be spared to do it, this work went on from 1888 till it was transferred to the Board of Education.

1. The new girls' schools.

The inspection of the new girls' schools, 'a class of institutions,' in the Commissioners' own words, 'called into existence for the first time by the operation of the Endowed Schools Acts,' did not give rise to any special comment in their Annual Reports. Nonetheless, it revealed in many cases the decided success of what had quite recently seemed a very hazardous undertaking.

'How is the school regarded in the neighbourhood?' was one of the questions the Assistant Commissioner had to answer after an inspection. 'Very favourably indeed,' wrote R. E. Mitcheson of James Allen's School in Dulwich. 'Apparently favourably,' wrote Arthur Leach of the new girls' school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 'by the rapidity with which it is filling.' Of the Wyggeston Girls' School at Leicester he stated, 'The School is full to overflowing.' 'The Governors think, and rightly,' it was said of Lewisham, 'that the school has had a wonderful measure of success for the short time it has been opened.' The governors of the Maynard High School at Exeter appealed to the numbers seeking admission as evidence of its popularity while all five grammar schools for girls on the King Edward VI

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1 BPP 1878–9 XX Twenty Sixth Report of the Charity Commissioners, p. 10, para. 5.


5 Ed 27/3144, Report 6 March, 1894.

foundation, Birmingham, were admitting more in the 1890's than they were designed to accommodate.¹

Many pairs of new schools had come into being as a result of the Endowed Schools Acts and mostly both the boys' and the girls' school prospered. The governors of Tiffins Schools at Kingston claimed that they could double their intake if only there were room.² The Coborn Schools in Stepney,³ the Endowed Schools in Watford,⁴ the Simon Langton Schools in Canterbury⁵ all made a good start. Sometimes the governors had been specially nervous about the girls' school. What if it didn't fill? Latham's suggestion in answer to this query from the governors of the Roan foundation at Greenwich was that they begin by building for fewer than the Scheme proposed and enlarge the school later. In fact, it did well.⁶ One of the earliest Schemes to be made had endowed the Orme Schools at Newcastle-under-Lyme. Less than ten years afterwards Stanton reported that the girls' school, which had been seen as an experiment, 'acquiesced in locally with many misgivings....is at present a complete success....A short time since, for 17 vacancies, there were 42 applications.'⁷

¹Ed 27/4943, Mitcheson's Report, 23 May, 1893.
²Ed 27/4615, Report 20 Nov. 1889.
⁴Ed 27/1752, Report 5 Aug. 1890.
⁶The Scheme (1873) assumed 300 of each sex, ultimately. Latham advised building for 100 girls. The Inspection Report of 1894 showed well over 300 girls on the books. Ed 27/3026.
⁷Ed 27/4258, Report July, 1881. The Scheme was made in 1872 and Stanton's visit, which came well before the Commissioners introduced systematic inspection, occurred because the governors had financial problems.
While the level of success of the new 'pairs' varied, in only one instance, Wallingford, did the girls' school do markedly less well than the boys.¹

Sometimes it did better, as at St. Helen's, where Durnford said the boys' school was worked at a loss whereas the girls' school had always paid,² or at Newcastle-on-Tyne where the reports on Allan's Girls' school were 'more favourable all round' than those on the boys'.³ The Alsopp Boys' School at Burton-on-Trent was seriously threatened by the Higher Grade School but 'the numbers and success' of the Alsopp Girls School had been little contemplated, Stanton wrote, when it was first established.⁴ In other cases, where the boys' grammar school was an old one and a girls' school had been added to the foundation, similar comparisons could be made. When Leach went to Mansfield in 1889 he found the two Queen Elizabeth Grammar Schools in very different shape. The boys' school, re-opened in 1875, had a poor reputation, the girls' school, 'in spite of a ten years later start, inferior hired buildings, with no recreation ground, and no boarders, and higher fees,' was a great success.⁵

¹see p.239 below.
²Ed 27/2283, Report 16 April, 1889.
³Ed 27/3758, Leach's Report 23 December, 1890.
⁴Ed 27/4219, March, 1882. These remarks were not made in an Inspection Report but during the course of an inquiry into the proposed amalgamation of the Grammar School and Alsopp's Boys' School. The original Scheme (1872) had, it seemed, established one too many boys' schools in Burton.
⁵Ed 27/3784, Report of 13 April, 1889, made on his inquiry into Brunts' Charity.
A few months later, making an inspection of the schools at Loughborough, he found the same thing. The boys' grammar school was second rate but the girls' was

'most creditable to the Headmistress and the Governors. It....is already nearly as large as the Boys Grammar School, and contains actually more from the twon of Loughborough.'

Trying to assess the demand for a girls' school nearly always meant a leap in the dark. It was doubtful, the Assistant Commissioner had advised, 'whether the demand for a girls' middle class school which in theory ought to exist in Maidstone is practically to be relied on.'

Some years later his doubts were answered. 'There are private schools for girls in Maidstone but the Girls Grammar School,' said the Inspection Report, 'seems to be steadily advancing in face of them.' Competition from the private sector was something to which the endowed girls' schools were more susceptible than the boys'. Girls' education, after all, had hitherto been almost wholly private. Important social distinctions were involved and the argument of trustees at Maidstone that 'those above the tradesmen were and would be very jealous of allowing their daughters to mix with those of inferior social position' came up repeatedly as Schemes were being made. The choice of site had social implications and in

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1 Ed 27/2445, Report 20 March, 1890.
3 See Reports on Watford, Tiverton, Barnet, Thetford, Wells inter al.
5 "...much will depend on the choice of proper sites, ' wrote Frederick Templ to Fitch about Exeter, 'It is essential that the place for the girls' school should be quiet....Anything which tends to make the girls rough and noisy will be a fatal impediment to success; and whatever tends to soften and refine will be a great aid.' Ed 27/695. letter of 12 Nov. 1872.
practice a poor choice, as at Leicester, could lay the school open to competition.\(^1\) The site, however, was only one factor.\(^2\) More disabling could be the presence of children from the elementary schools. The attendance of such girls was 'strongly objected to' by many parents in Tiverton, and was enough in itself, said Eddis, to make the private schools serious competitors.\(^3\) This problem was not felt in the boys' school, it seemed. But the ambience of a grammar school for girls — 'all butchers and bakers and candlestick makers'\(^4\) — was something which the better class families of Tiverton evidently had not yet come to terms with. At Wallingford, where the girls' school was a failure, the governors blamed it on private competition while the headmistress spoke of 'social grounds', suggesting that the fees and grade of the school were too low to attract the middle classes.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) The Wyggeston girls' school stood in Humberstone Gate which led to a 'not very good' part of Leicester. Markets and rowdy fairs were held across the road and Leach thought that although the school was successful these inconveniences had given a foothold to the Church Schools Company whose rival establishment had succeeded in drawing off some pupils. Ed 27/2418, Leach's Report of 28 October, 1889.

\(^2\) And not the chief one, according to an old lady who told the writer that when her father, a clergyman, sent her to the Church Schools Company School instead of to the Wyggeston "the site of the school was far less considered than the social status".

\(^3\) Ed 27/799 Report 11 May, 1900. An inspection report of 1888 had also drawn attention to the private schools threat. The Tiverton endowed girls' school was a small one and had to work hard to assert itself, as against the private school next door, by making plain in its prospectus that it was "the only school for girls in Tiverton which is conducted in a building expressly erected for the purpose."

\(^4\) This contemptuous phrase was used by Charlotte M. Yonge of a High School in her novel Beechcroft at Rockstone, first pub. 1888.

\(^5\) Ed 27/95, Report July 1891. The Scheme (1873) had established two third grade schools, each to take 50; at this time the boys' school had 48 pupils while the girls' had sunk to 18.
Her solution was that both should be raised, and such expedients, if not the cause, were often the hallmark of success in endowed schools. Attention has been drawn to the general tendency for such schools to become more expensive, and more ambitious educationally, after they were reorganised. In what was effectively an open market, with rising demand from the better-off classes Trustees applied to have the leaving age raised and to raise the fees. Girls' schools were no exception. Here too, it seems, as time went on, the poorer classes were being left behind. In the 1890's the Scheme for Mary Batchelor's was amended to introduce the leaving age of 18 and fees of up to £9 appropriate to a school which Mitcheson described as doing much more advanced work than had ever been contemplated 20 years earlier. By the end of the century, at Dame Alice Owen's the work was described as 'high second grade' though the Scheme had envisaged 3rd grade schools with a leaving age of 15. By now the demand was for a leaving age of 17 with power to extend to 18 if necessary and Mitcheson advised that this should be permitted. The dominant group of parents in the girls' school by this time were 'poor professional people e.g. church clergy, dissenting clergy doctors, teachers; clerks of all kinds, including civil servants and managing clerks of lawyers....'

1 F. E. Balls, op. cit. p. 457.
2 Balls, op. cit. p. 383, draws attention to the complaint of the West Ham School Board in 1883 that poor girls were discouraged from applying for Exhibitions at Bonnell's School because it had become snobbish. Lefroy was sent down to investigate and after observing the girls' dress and demeanour, speaking to the Headmistress and other local people, decided there was no need for action. See his report of 30 Octo. 1883 on Ed 27/1229.
3 Ed 27/2903, Report 5 April, 1894.
while the artisans of Islington, who, it seemed, had utilised the unreformed school on this foundation, were in a minority. The upper age limit at the Roan Schools in Greenwich was raised in 1878, five years after the Scheme had been made, and Mitcheson described the work of the girls' school as 'high second grade' in 1894.\(^1\) Even the third grade orthodoxy of the Hospital Schools was being modified. The leaving age for the Red Maids at Bristol was raised to 16 in 1882 and to 17 ten years later.\(^2\) Girls at the Greycoat day school in Westminster were staying on to 17 in 1900 while the boarders at Caversham stayed to 18, three years more than the Scheme allowed.\(^3\) As in other cases the Scheme was amended to authorise what was already happening; it allowed a fee of £12 at Caversham and up to £8 a year in Westminster which was double the limit of 1873.\(^4\) The higher leaving age and fees approved in 1884 for the Alsopp's Girls' School at Burton-on-Trent were not as high as the Headmistress asked for. Miss Rutty held a First Class Honour Certificate in the Cambridge Women's Examination and combined a sense of what the market would bear with a passion to raise the school's academic standards.\(^5\) In her eyes — — and there were others like her — — the gap

\(^1\) The Roan Schools originally were elementary schools and the endowment had not been made available to the middle classes without some persuasion. See p. 132 above, f. 2

\(^2\) Ed 27/1296, 1297.

\(^3\) Ed 27/3292, Report 27 Feb. 1900.

\(^4\) Ibid Scheme approved August, 1901.

\(^5\) 'The low fee keeps away from the school many of those to whom the education provided is best suited.' Ed 27/4219, objections submitted 1882.
between the leaving age imposed by a Scheme and the age at which a girl could go on to higher education was something to be closed as soon as possible. In other words, the endowed girls' schools were not only being pushed up from below, as were the boys', by the demands of the market, they were being drawn up from above by the influence of Girton and Newnham and the other new women's colleges.¹

A good beginning was sometimes checked by the influence of factors which had not been foreseen. Ten years after a successful start Mary Datchelor's had money troubles caused partly by the opening of comparable girls' schools and partly by the trade depression.² At Wells the Blue Schools, boys' and girls', suffered a severe fall in income from the Eighties because of the depression in agriculture.³ The two schools at Loughborough were similarly affected,⁴ while at Framlingham the Scheme to establish a girls' school had to be amended five years later to provide merely for exhibitions owing to 'the great fall in rents of landed property.'⁵

Problems were created by shifts of population. Two years after

¹This aspect is discussed in more detail in the next Chapter.
²Ed 27/2903 Murray's report on visit of 21 February, 1890.
⁴Ed 27/2445 Leach's Report of 20 March, 1890 gives a reduction of endowment income from £2,100 in 1876 to £1,550 in 1888 as a result of the agricultural depression.
⁵Ed 27/4372, Commissioners' letter of 26 June, 1894 et seq.
opening in 1878 the Lady Eleanor Holles School had 270 girls; by 1893
the number was reduced to 148, chiefly, it seemed, because the middle
classes were deserting Hackney. Few people above the lower middle class
could still be found there, Mitcheson observed, and many of these, shop­
keepers and the like, were sending their children to the excellent
Board Schools. With a dwindling indigenous middle class the school had
also lost its power to attract those more distant, especially since the
Skinners' endowed school for girls had been opened at Stamford Hill.
There were other problems: an awkward Headmistress, a lack of support
from the governors; but apart from these, the basic situation was one
in which the school was almost sure to go under. The governors pressed
hard to move it out of Hackney and after long resistance the Commissioners
agreed. The drift from central London hit St. Clement Danes also. The
decline in numbers, the governors explained in 1890, had been continuous.
Since the clearing of the site for the new Law Courts the population of
the parish had fallen from 16000 to about 9000,

'and if the proposed 'Betterment Scheme' is carried out there
will be further reduction. The better-class tradespeople
prefer to send their children away and the rest are content
with Board Schools.'

Here also the governors hoped to move out but there was strong feeling
against it in the parish. A Scheme to close the schools was published
but in the face of local opposition it was modified to close the boys'
school only. The girls' school continued. A different predicament faced
the endowed schools at Grays Thurrock. When the Scheme was made in 1871
the local population was about 2000. Twenty years later it had reached

1 Ed 27/3039 Mitcheson's Report on visit of October, 1893.

12000 and what had been mainly a farming community was dominated by the manufacture of cement.\(^1\) The schools, which had been built outside the town —— in point of fact, on the opposite side from the direction in which it developed, were too remote and too expensive to serve the industrial population and 'of no more value to the Neighbourhood,' according to the School Board, 'than a private School.'\(^2\) The best that could be done now, it was decided, was to amend the Schemes to increase the allocation of scholarships for children in the elementary schools.

If the girls' schools, naturally, were not immune from hazards that affected endowed schools in general there is little to suggest that they were seriously hampered by prejudice against them as schools for girls. On the contrary, the evidence is that, despite snobbish parents, inferior buildings and a tendency of governors to favour the boys,\(^3\) it was no longer an open question whether the demand for such schools existed. Section 12 was repeatedly justified, not only in the formal Inspection Reports but casually, in the normal course of business. The governors of the girls' school at Warwick, for instance, were making plans to treble its capacity only three years after it had opened.\(^4\) The Queen Elizabeth

\(^1\) Ed 27/1153, Eddis' report of 27 June, 1891.

\(^2\) Ibid, Letter of April, 1891 from School Board to Commissioners appealing for inquiry.

\(^3\) Mitcheson reported a gross disproportion in the way the governors of Dame Alice Owen's shared their funds between the boys' and the girls' schools. Ed 27/3119, 14 August, 1899. Leach commented on the inadequate salaries paid at Loughborough to teachers in the girls' school and added that the girls were 'shabbily treated in the matter of playing fields. The boys have 3 or 4. I think the Girls ought to have one good one assigned to them... ' Ed 27/4381, 20 March, 1890. The governors at Ipswich were devoted to the Boys' Middle School and ready to extend it while they felt unable to improve the very cramped accommodation of the girls. Ed 27/4381, Eddis's report on visit of 20 July, 1892.

\(^4\) Ed 27/5108, Stanton's report on visit to Warwick, 29 July, 1882.
trustees at Barnet, who could not afford a purpose-built girls' school, applied to be allowed to appropriate capital to enable them to erect 'an iron building' in the garden of the house they had rented. From Gloucester came pressure for urgent approval of a site for the upper girls' school because the lower girls' school had been so successful and was 'so thoroughly appreciated that the inhabitants are anxiously looking forward to the establishment of the Upper School.' At Rochester, a year after the opening of the girls' school, its position and prospects were said to furnish 'the most satisfactory justification of the policy of utilising for its endowment part of the surplus funds of the Rochester Bridge Estates.'

In 1892, then, the Charity Commissioners were able to assure the Education Department on a case where the founding of a girls' school was contested that 'from their experience in similar cases' they had little doubt that a girls' school in Walsall 'would be almost immediately successful and would indirectly assist the growth of the Boys School.' Again, they were right, for the school had hardly started when the Governors were applying to extend it, and Leach, who had fought hard to get it established, wrote to Young that its immediate success 'so amply justified the forcing of the scheme through in spite of the opposition... that you may like to see this....'

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1 Ed 27/1695, Note of interview, 22 October, 1888.
2 Ed 27/1407, 13 July, 1885.
4 Ed 27/4326, Part II, letter 8 Nov. 1892.
5 Ed 27/4330, 16 February, 1894.
2. **New schools in embryo**

Actual provision for a girls' school in a Scheme bound the Trustees in law to establish it, and they usually did. But the exceptions make plain that a Scheme was not the same thing as bricks and mortar. It could be amended or even ignored. At Ilminster, where the Endowed Schools Commissioners with their devotion to the principle of grading, had included a High School for girls and a girls' Town School in the original scheme it was later amended to drop the High School.\(^1\) A similar result, without the sanction of law, was accomplished by the Trustees at Louth who for a period of over 20 years ignored their obligation to provide a girls' school.\(^2\) At Bristol, it was pointed out in 1886, the Trustees of Colston's Hospital and Red Maids had done nothing whatever to provide the new girls' schools envisaged in Schemes approved 11 years earlier.\(^3\) Though the Colston school opened in 1890, 15 years from the date of the Scheme, the two new girls' schools on the Red Maids Foundation were never established.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Principally for financial reasons but the viability of a High School in this small town had been disputed when the Scheme was made; and when it was amended Fearon commented 'I have never seen a more unpromising place in which to try a new and expensive experiment.' Ed 27/4131, report 9th June, 1876.

\(^2\) This case is discussed in detail in Section 4 of the present Chapter.

\(^3\) BPP 1886 IX Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts, Mr. J. G. Talbot, QQ 5367-5378.

\(^4\) There was a fall in income attributable to the agricultural depression; there was also great reluctance on the part of the Trustees to move the Red Maids boarding school out of Bristol. An Amending Scheme of 1892 absolved them from the obligation to do this, watered down the requirement to establish Whitson's Day School by adding "as soon as conveniently may be" and only required the second day school to be set up "if and when the Trust funds suffice". Ed 27/1297 Scheme of 1892.
'Knowing what I do of Bristol,' said a witness to the Select Committee of 1886, 'I think that one or two large day schools for girls might have been established some years ago, if there had been any proper machinery for expediting and promoting it.'

The absence of any such machinery, at least before 1888 when inspection was introduced, was relevant not only to the working of Schemes like those made for Bristol, which established girls' schools, but to the equally large number of those which had clauses designed to benefit girls. Many of these provisions were trivial: giving power to do something 'when funds admit', or setting aside a few pounds for Exhibitions; but some were substantial and involved the allocation of £100. or more out of annual income with a view to a school's being started later. Such benefits were sometimes made to depend 'on the occurrence of a certain event' — the end of the headmaster's pension, as at Sedbergh, or of certain vested interests, as at the Perse. Sometimes a definite sum must be accumulated, as at Rivington in Lancashire, before a girls' school Scheme was applied for, or payments were to start, as at Macclesfield and Clee, within a stated number of years. In other cases very broad conditions were laid down: the governors at Berkhamsted, for instance, were not obliged to act until their income was sufficient 'after providing for the purposes of the Grammar School'.

Whether broad or specific the value of these clauses depended on their being observed, but for much of the time the Charity Commissioners

1 BPP 1886 IX op. cit. Q 5378.

2 These Schemes are summarised in the table in Appendix IX.

3 BPP 1886 IX Select Committee on Endowed Schools Acts, Q 161. (D. C. Richmond)
were in no position to swear to that. In the case of the earlier Schemes the gap before inspection was a very long one. Not till 1889 did they learn by this means that the Rivington Trustees had never set aside the £200 assigned annually to girls under the Scheme of 1875. Not till 1893 did it emerge, in the same way, that the Trustees of Nottingham High School had also neglected to put by for girls £200 p.a. required by the Scheme made 11 years earlier. Under such conditions the actual development of schools for which the Schemes provided in embryo was bound to rest in part on the response of the locality.

In Cambridge the Scheme was 'warmly taken up by University and town residents' and the Perse Trustees were ready to subsidise a girls' school, as they said themselves, 'before the time when their legal obligations to set apart £150 p.a. for that purpose would commence.'

The initiative had come from influential people who had formed a committee

1 Trustees were obliged to publish accounts and in theory this provided the Commissioners with a means of checking what went on. That they did not make full use of it in practice is shown by the remark of the Nottingham governors, caught out in a violation of their Scheme over 15 years, that 'they had always furnished accounts and thought that gave the Commissioners sufficient opportunity of detecting any irregularity.' Ed 27/3848 Selby-Bigge's Report, 10 June, 1898.

2 There were several other deviations from the Scheme which came to light on Durnford's inspection. He also found that the income had fallen, due to falling rents. Ed 27/2270, Report 14 August, 1889.

3 Ed 27/3848, Mitcheson's Report, 24 Nov. 1893.

4 English Woman's Review No. XCI Nov. 15, 1880, p. 512.

5 Ed 27/150, Governors' letter of 2 April, 1880. Their legal obligations commenced when the interest of Foundation scholars came to an end.
to promote a girls' school and had the offer of a suitable house capable of taking 50 scholars.

At Barnet pressure came from the Poor Law Guardians. The Scheme of 1873 required that £100 p.a. be set aside to be spent on Exhibitions or a school for girls. The governors began by providing Exhibitions but then decided to accumulate the money towards setting up a school, although they were nervous lest there should not be sufficient demand. From time to time they sought the Commissioners' advice as to whether they continue to accumulate the fund and matters had gone on like this for over ten years when they were brought to a head by the Poor Law Guardians requesting an Inquiry. The girls' school was only one of the issues on which Governors and Guardians had been wrangling — charges that the Grammar School was socially exclusive and badly organised came into it as well — but the Inquiry gave publicity to the Guardian's disappointment, shared, it was said, by many local people, that 'those portions of the...Scheme which distinctly stipulate that girls shall be educated...as well as boys have never been carried out.' The result was that the

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1The prime mover was Professor Clark who had called a preliminary meeting in December, 1879 'to consider the desirability of taking steps to establish a Public Day School for girls in Cambridge'. This meeting appointed a committee which approached the Trustees who approached the Commissioners. J. M. Gray: History of the Perse School (1921) p. 1. Later they got Fitch to address a public meeting (See the report in the Cambridge Chronicle May 22, 1880).


3'We want some enterprising persons to begin with a few dozen comfortable semi-detached houses with a bit of garden like those which have grown up in such numbers round Bedford for the sake of the school....The Governors of Queen Elizabeth's school would then very soon have the opportunity they want of setting up a good Girls Public Day School.' Letter in The Barnet Press 10 June 1876 from H. E. C. Stapylton, Chairman of the Governors.

4Ed 27/1688 Part II, Lefroy's Report of Inquiry held in Barnet 26-28 Jan. 1886. The passage quoted is from the evidence of Dr. Turle, a vociferous campaigner for the rights of the girls, of the Guardians and of himself.
Scheme was amended to provide for the immediate establishment of a girls' school and one was opened in 1888.

At Watford, pressure came from a leading citizen, Dr. A. T. Brett, who mounted a campaign to get hold of the money promised for endowed schools by the Brewers' Company in the Aldenham Scheme. Under this Scheme, made in 1875, the Brewers had undertaken to endow the North London Collegiate and Camden Schools and to provide over £135,000 to start a boys' and a girls' school in Watford. The Camden Schools got their money straight away. So far as the schools at Watford were concerned, the next move was up to the Charity Commissioners. They had to make a Scheme. Eventually, no doubt, they would have got round to making one though, left alone, it is hard to say when.

Dr. Brett would not leave them alone. 'When are we to have our 3rd grade School in Watford?' A few days after this inquiry from him the Commissioners received a Petition, numerously signed by professional men, which asked the same question. Ten days after that Dr. Brett

1Dr. Brett was prominent in Watford affairs from the time he came there, in 1850, to his death in 1896; not only professionally (as Poor Law Medical Officer and Medical Officer of Health) but through his vigorous promotion of many local causes: the new bridge over the Colne, the Public Library, the Cottage Hospital, as well as the Endowed Schools. He is described in the centenary issue of the Watford Observer, 1963, as 'Watford's greatest benefactor'.

2Chapter IV Section 1 above.

3The terms were that endowment should be forthcoming 'If and so soon as a Scheme...shall take effect.' A Scheme for the Camden Schools was made alongside the one for Aldenham, and had indeed been a prime object with the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

4Ed 27/1750 Dr. Brett to Commissioners, 26 Oct., 1879.

5Ibid. 30 October, 1879.
headed a deputation on the same theme, and after some delay the Charity Commissioners approached the Brewers to ask when the money would be available. The Brewers were evasive and the Charity Commissioners had to fend off a request from the Watford Member to lead another Brett-inspired deputation. In March 1881 Brett came himself, 'anxious to know if nothing could be done to hasten the Brewers.' He despatched cuttings from the local press through which the Commissioners could inform themselves of the Public Meeting, chaired by Lord Clarendon, at which he had been a prominent speaker and of the battle he was conducting on the local front. For there was strong opposition to the Commissioners plan of combining with the money from the Brewers the endowment of the Fuller Charity School. Brett was one of the Fuller Trustees and the only one who had been keen from the first on using its endowment for the secondary schools. His aspirations were realised in the Scheme to

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\[1\] Ibid. 10 Nov., 1879.

\[2\] Ibid. April 1880.

\[3\] Ibid. 7 July, 1880. Henry Cowper M.P. proposed to bring the Public Library Committee, of which Brett had been a leading promoter. By this time it had set up an Endowed Schools Section, of which he was secretary.

\[4\] Ibid. 7 March, 1881.

\[5\] His speech was pure Taunton. 'It is usually said that we have in this country three classes. The higher classes ...can and do provide for their own education. The lower classes are provided for by the State...But the important middle class is left in a great measure without any systematic method of teaching.' Watford Observer 21 May, 1881

\[6\] The other Trustees felt this was robbing the poor and seem to have hoped that some of the Brewers' money could be used to sustain the Charity School which was in decline. In August, 1878 when Latham went to discuss its future with them he found Dr. Brett the only Trustee who favoured reform. Ibid. Report 7 Dec. 1878. There was certainly no doubt where his loyalties lay. He did not scruple to inform the Commissioners of any action of his fellow-trustees 'prejudicial to the interests of the schools about to be formed' Ibid. 12 July, 1881, and of the steady decline of the buildings. 'The school looks most deplorable. I thought you might like to know.' Ibid. 4 Nov. 1881.
establish the Watford Endowed Schools which was approved in 1882.

For the Watford Schools the money had been earmarked, if it could be got at. The problem at Berkhamsted was that the allocation to girls of £250 p.a. was mandatory only 'so soon as the income of the Foundation, after providing for the purposes of the Grammar School .... in accordance with this Scheme shall be sufficient....' Who was to judge this sufficiency? At the time the Scheme was being made the governors had suggested that it should be the governors and since they had always been very reluctant to do anything for girls it comes as a surprise to find Richmond explaining in 1886 that the Berkhamsted governors had 'urged us to provide by scheme for the establishment, as soon as possible, of a girls' school.' When he refers to their 'very keen wish' to see it started and their desire to anticipate the Scheme, he seems to be talking about different people. As, of course, he was. Changes had been made in the governing body in pursuance of the Scheme of 1877 and there now sat upon it representatives of the Berkhamsted Vestry, including Henry Nash, the man who had lobbied more than anyone else to get a grammar school for girls. He resumed his lobbying, now on the inside, nine months after

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1 Ed 27/1657 Scheme of 1877, Cl. 61.

2 Ed 27/1657, Governors' letter 17 July, 1876: 'It is presumed that the Governors are to be the judges of what is the "proper time" for initiating a Girls School.'

3 BPP 1886 IX Minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts, Q 1594.

4 pp. 219-220. above. He had raised the question in 1872 as secretary of a Vestry Committee formed to watch the interests of local people, had supported it in the Vestry and on a deputation to the Endowed Schools Commissioners and had opposed the idea of deferring this provision until the endowment income was "sufficient".
the Scheme had been approved. At a meeting where a principal item of business was the decision to construct a Fives Court Nash gave notice of intention to move that they act on the provisions of the Scheme for girls.\(^1\)

At the next meeting when this motion came up the governors decided to defer the matter to the end of the financial year.\(^2\) When that time came they declared it impossible to find the money for a girls' school at present but resolved to consult the Charity Commissioners as to the priorities imposed by the Scheme.\(^3\) After that the matter rested for three more years till Nash raised it again.\(^4\) The governors by now were preoccupied with paying for the Fives Court and with a proposal to build a sanatorium. Nash gained nothing more than a financial statement.\(^5\) Two years later he pressed them again, urging 'that immediate application be made to the Charity Commissioners requesting them to prepare a Scheme for the Secondary Education of girls....'\(^6\) This time it was decided to make such an approach, thought not, as had been provided in the Scheme, and as Nash proposed, to spend £250 p.a. The governors said they could not spare it, nor would be able to 'for many years to come.' They thought a school could be started with less and asked if the Commissioners would sanction a reduction from £250 to £100 p.a.\(^7\) This is not the eager, almost feminist approach

\(^1\)Minutes of the Governors of Berkhamsted Grammar School, 12 July 1878.
\(^2\)Ibid. 1 Oct. 1878.
\(^3\)Ibid. 1 April, 1879.
\(^4\)Ibid. 3 Oct. 1882.
\(^5\)Ibid. 6 Oct. 1882.
\(^6\)Ibid. 3 Oct. 1884.
\(^7\)Ibid. 20 Oct. 1884.
which Richmond's statement seems to suggest, and indeed the governors were still divided, as the Assistant Commissioner found out when he came down to investigate. The Headmaster, who was one of the governors, thought £100 'too sanguine an estimate'. Nash suggested raising the fees at the boys' school. That would be 'very dangerous' said Dr. Bartrum. He told the Assistant Commissioner later that 'there was no crying need for a girls' school.' As for the governors' meeting that morning, it had largely been composed of 'Vestry men'.

Undoubtedly it was the — 'Vestry men' —- in Berkhamsted, especially Nash, who got the girls' school started. He had brought the question to a head. There was, as the Assistant Commissioner observed, something in the view that the Grammar School, 'especially while its Headmaster is a governor, will continue to spend its income on itself as long as there is no other tangible object to spend it on...'; and little to suggest when this process would have been halted through spontaneous action of the Charity Commission.

The Berkhamsted girls' school Scheme was made in 1887 and this was the

1 Ed 27/1665 Lefroy's Report, 20 Feb. 1885. Dr. Bartrum had no changed since his earlier opposition to the Scheme. Inviting the Assistant Commissioner to lunch (the invitation was prudently declined) he once more trotted out his favourite motto: 'Be just to the boys before you are generous to the girls' adding, 'as it is very adviseable that I should not appear to be acting in any way in opposition to the good people of the town or to the Governing Body I shall be obliged if you will regard this letter as private.' Ed 27/1665, 31 Jan. 1885.

2 There were 4 Vestry representatives out of a total 17 governors. Another of them, Mr. W. Wilson, had presented the governors with a petition on behalf of the local people calling attention to the girls' school clause. Governors' Minutes, 31 Dec. 1878.

year in which the Charity Commissioners decided to introduce systematic inspection. Here, it seems, they at last had the means of bringing into actual existence the embryo girls' schools in the Schemes, or at least of ensuring that they did not die. The Scheme for Walsall was a case in point. As approved in 1873 it provided that there should be a girls' school 'so soon as funds admit'. Staffordshire was one of the counties chosen to try out inspection and Leach went to Walsall. He found the endowment had benefited greatly from mineral rights and building development since the Scheme was made. The income was now £1,400 a year and, as he records,

'I strongly pressed upon the Governors that the time for establishing the Girls' School had now arrived if it had not indeed arrived before. I pointed out that large increases of endowment were not yearly coming in and that all future capital incomings ought to be applied for the purpose.'

The Governors appeared to be not unwilling and admitted that a girls' school was badly needed. 'I venture to urge that the matter should be taken up at once, wrote Leach. And it was taken up. There was a lot of opposition and an inquiry had to be held before the girls' school was established, but it was established, directly as a consequence of the initiative that followed inspection.

Unfortunately the inspection procedure was not designed to achieve such an outcome in every case. For one thing, there were never sufficient staff for thorough inspection of reorganised endowments.\(^2\) For another, the timing


\(^2\) The Annual Reports of the Charity Commissioners from time to time pay tribute to the value of inspection while deploiring that Assignant Commissioners cannot be spared for it because of other work. See especially BPP 1890-91 XXVI Thirty-Eighth Report of the Charity Commissioners, p. 22 and 1892 XXVII Thirty-Ninth Report & etc. p. 36, for references to the way inspection was affected by pressure of work under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889.
of inspection, in regard to a particular school, seems to have been largely arbitrary. The decision to inspect Staffordshire schools brought Leach to Walsall when the Scheme was well established, the income had increased and the moment was ripe to press for a girls' school. The following year, the decision to inspect Leicestershire schools brought him to Alderman Newton's, Leicester, at a moment much less opportune. Here the Scheme was only four years old. It had established a boys' elementary school while making very substantial provision for girls' exhibitions with a view to founding a girls' grammar school later. The Scheme had authorised re-building which was only just complete when Leach arrived. In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that, despite his commitment to girls' education his Report does not touch on the Newton exhibitions which were to be offered them. Eleven years followed in which Alderman Newton's, whether the Commissioners knew it or not, became very successful. Indeed, so successful that in 1900 the Headmaster of the Wyggeston Grammar School, Leicester, wrote to say the Grammar school was 'bleeding to death' as a result of competition from what was supposed to be an elementary school but was in fact worked as a secondary school. This led to an Inquiry, at which it was discovered that those responsible for Alderman Newton's had been playing fast and loose with the Scheme and had financed their secondary teaching not only by grants from the Science and Art Department to which they had no claim but by utterly ignoring all the

1 Ed 27/2412, Scheme of 1885. It provided £100 -£150 p.a. for Exhibitions. When the income exceeded £832. p.a. the balance was to be invested to establish a girls' school.

2 Ch. XI, Section 2 below.

3 Ibid., 25 October, 1900.
provision that the Scheme made for girls. In point of fact they had got away with the kind of thing inspection was meant to prevent. Had they chanced to be inspected five years later this perhaps would not have happened; or perhaps it would, for the case of Nottingham throws a poor light on the Commissioners' capacity to follow up delinquencies revealed on inspection.

The Scheme they made for Nottingham High School in 1882 provided that £200 a year should go to girls. In 1893 the school was inspected and Mitcheson reported that the clause had been ignored. It was, he said, 'a serious violation of the Scheme. Not a penny has been put aside out of the £200 a year appropriated....for the education of girls. The Governors allege want of means, but with an income ....over £4,000 the plea is hardly valid.'

It took six months for the Commissioners to write to the Trustees drawing their attention to this dereliction, and another nine months for the Trustees to answer. When they did they dealt with a question concerning exhibitions which had been raised between themselves and the Commissioners and completely ignored the reference to girls. Thus fifteen months passed

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1 Leach gave them a rough ride at the Inquiry but even he was bound to admit that 'Tortuous as are the courses by which the School has been made a Secondary School, it is one,' and to suggest that the best thing now might be to open it to girls. Ed 35/1468, Part II, Report Feb. 1901.

2 The Commissioners had first pressed the case for inspection after finding that certain 'imperative directions ...are suffered to be wholly inoperative.' BPP 1883 XXI Thirtieth Report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, p. 13.


4 Ibid. 22 May, 1894.

5 Ibid. 8 Feb. 1895. There is no sign that the governors at this stage even discussed that part of the Commissioners' letter. See Minutes of the Governors of Nottingham High School, 4 July, 1894.
after Mitcheson's Report; the girls lost another £200 and no effective action was taken. Once again initiative came from the locality. Close upon the governors' reply to the Commission came a letter from one of them, Mr. G. B. Rothera, a local solicitor, who asked for a ruling on whether the girls' clause was mandatory or not. Despite a reminder from him four weeks later the Commissioners seem to have sat upon this letter for all but five months before sending a copy to the Clerk to the Governors and drawing his attention to their own letter of the previous year which, in regard to girls, was still unanswered. Rothera himself was given no information on the point he had queried, though the answer was clear; he was simply referred to the governors' Clerk. The peculiar futility of this rejoinder did not deter him from continuing the attempt on which he had embarked to persuade his fellow governors to honour the girls' clause. He had raised the question on the general body and at a meeting of the Finance Committee but without success. They were not to be shaken. In their correspondence with the Charity Commission they made no mention of Rothera's letter nor of the girls' clause. For almost a year between 1895 and 1896 the governors' apathy on this topic was only equalled by that of the Commissioners, if this may be judged by their inactivity. In June 1896 Rothera once more moved a Resolution that the £200.

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1 Ed 27/3848, 12 February, 1895.
2 Ibid., 2 July, 1895
3 Minutes of the Governors of Nottingham High School, 3 April, 1895.
4 Ibid., 1 May, 1895.
5 Ed 27/3848, Governors to Commissioners 6 Aug., 1895.
'be henceforth set apart' for girls' education. It was negative two to one and a month later Rothera resigned.

He sent a copy of his letter of resignation to the Charity Commissioners. Its argument was plain: that Section 59 of the Nottingham Scheme seemed to him to constitute 'an absolute trust for the Higher Education of girls' and its non-observance was a breach of trust, as well as 'an injustice to those beneficiaries for whom the ... provision is directed to be made.' In view of the emphatic decision of his colleagues he no longer felt justified in remaining a governor 'and so making myself responsible for a policy which I feel to be at once illegal and unjust.'

The Commissioners at last were roused to act with something like appropriate urgency. They asked the governors to send in accounts, reaffirmed that the clause must be honoured and sent down another Assistant Commissioner to bargain about the payment of arrears. Eventually, after long discussion about the best use of the money for girls, a Scheme was approved in 1900.

3. The provision in Schedule E.

The Charity Commissioners were asked to provide for the Bryce Commission details of endowments recorded in their books as subject to the Endowed Schools Acts. They did so in January, 1895 and included four

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1 Minutes of the Governors of Nottingham High School, 5 June, 1896.

2 Ed 27/3848 Letter of resignation 17 June, 1896, forwarded to Commissioners 12 December, 1896.

3 They accepted £2,000. from the governors in lieu of arrears amounting to about £3,700.

4 It provided scholarships for girls at Higher Grade elementary schools, at the G.P.D.S. Co. School in Nottingham and to universities.
schedules relating to girls¹ which showed not only what schools had been established (Schedule B) but also what provision had been made for girls in Schemes which did not establish a school (Schedule E.). From this last schedule it could be gathered that £200 a year at Nottingham, £100, a year at Alderman Newton's and other sums elsewhere had been assigned to girls.² But we have seen that at Nottingham and Alderman Newton's this money was not paid. The Schedule, of course, purports to summarise what was in the Schemes and not to show what was actually happening.³ Nonetheless it can hardly be doubted that it must have seemed to indicate a measure of provision sufficient to justify presenting such data.⁴ Unhappily it did not. In only 8 out of 59 cases had any attempt

¹ SCHEDULE B: List of SECONDARY GIRLS' SCHOOLS regulated by schemes under the ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACTS. SCHEDULE C: Lists of SECONDARY GIRLS' SCHOOLS not regulated by schemes under the ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACTS. SCHEDULE D: APPORTIONMENT OF INCOME between BOYS' and GIRLS' SCHOOLS on the same foundation. SCHEDULE E: PROVISION for the EDUCATION OF GIRLS in various foundations governed by schemes under the ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACTS. BPP 1895 XLIX Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Appendix A.

² See the table in Appendix IX which incorporates Schedule E.

³ Apart from the entry for Penistone which tells us 'No girls educated at School at present time' the Schedule confines itself to the wording of the Schemes. (In contrast, Schedule B makes clear that at Louth, Gloucester and a few other places schools envisaged in the Schemes have not yet been established.)

⁴ Attention is drawn to it in the Bryce Report which refers to the 80 girls' schools regulated by Schemes made under the Endowed Schools Acts and to 'other endowments under those Acts which are, or under certain circumstances may become, available for the Secondary Education of girls.' BPP 1895 XLIX Royal Commission on Secondary Education, p. 76.
been made to carry out the girls' clause and in only 6 had girls actually benefited.\(^1\) By and large, the various provisions in their favour, often inserted with considerable effort, were practically worthless. Thus, only two of the 15 schools which had been given power to admit girls had done so.\(^2\) Nothing whatever had accrued from those Schemes which linked the girls' provision with the ending of a pension. Either the pensioners were still alive\(^3\) or, though the money had become available, the Trustees had added it to general funds.\(^4\) Apart from this, out of 14 cases where a definite sum was assigned to girls, in only five had anything been paid and in only two cases the full amount.\(^5\) The fifty pounds a year they were

\(^1\)There are 61 entries in Schedule E, but records survive for 59. The 8 cases are: Macclesfield, Coggeshall, Upholland, Hinckley, Welton, St. Olave's, Giggleswick and Longwood. (see Appendix IX). At St. Olave's and Coggeshall some money had been accumulated but nothing had been done with it.

\(^2\)Upholland and Longwood. The numbers involved were very small. At Upholland in 1889 there were 51 boys, day and boarding, and 3 day girls. Ed 27/2299, Report 20 May, 1889. The schools which might have taken girls but did not were Lanteglos, Crosthwaite, Great Baddow, Yalding, Wellingborough, Kirkby Stephen, Batley, Bentham, Peniston; Mirfield, Rastrick and Sowerby (Appendix IX) The school at Bakewell had not yet re-opened when Schedule E was published.

\(^3\)At Sedbergh the pension awarded in 1875 did not cease till 1900, when the money was used for girls. At Oakham the pension of 1875 ended in 1902 and the money was not used for girls. At Northleach, Bruce reported in 1889 'the pensions....have almost crushed the life out of the school. When they fall in it will be useless to think of establishing the girls' school for which the Scheme provides...' Ed 27/1428, Report 18 Nov. 1889.

\(^4\)The Trustees at Brigg sought permission to do this in 1883 (Ed 27/2634, Durnford's Report, 5 April, 1886) and the Trustees at Bury St. Edmunds in 1889 (Ed 27/3326, Eddis's Report, 14 June, 1892). At Shaftesbury, Lefroy found in 1897 that the pensions had lapsed but the girls' clause was ignored and the Trustees wanted it rescinded. (Ed 27/883, Report 14 June, 1897).

\(^5\)Macclesfield and Giggleswick paid the full amount. Hinckley, Welton and St. Olave's paid something.
supposed to receive from Lutterworth, Penwortham and Wotton-under-Edge, the
hundred pounds from Clee and Repton, the two hundred from Pocklington,
Kirkham, Nottingham and Alderman Newton's had not been handed over. The
residue of income assigned to them at Handsworth, Yardley, Stepney and
Dulwich had not materialised.

In the great majority of these cases it was clear from reports on the
Commissioners' files at the time that Schedule E. was published that the
clauses it summarised had not been acted on; indeed, in certain cases
that they could not be. The Commissioners themselves had closed the school
at Great Baddow some five years earlier; at Lutterworth they had suspended
the Scheme, while they had prepared an amending Scheme for Yardley which
proposed to repeal the relevant clause. Yet the old words went in. And
the same thing applied to the 20 Schemes which imposed an obligation to do
something for girls 'when funds admit.' The Commissioners, no doubt, could
not have expected to check the funds frequently. Nonetheless, not one of
these foundations had yielded a penny for girls' education by 1895, and
as to at least three quarters of them this fact was perfectly apparent from

1 The school, which was in decline, was closed by Order of the Board on
20 Dec. 1889. The governors applied to reopen it in 1898 and discussions
went on for several years as to whether it should reopen for boys or for
girls. The L.E.A. were only prepared to assist it as a girls' school. Ed
27/1161.

2 The school ran into financial difficulties and the Scheme of 1874 was sus­
2 pended for 4 years by an altering Scheme of 24 June, 1892. Ed 27/2469, 2467.

3 An Amending Scheme which repealed Clause 44 of the principal Scheme and
devoted to elementary education the funds there assigned to secondary
schools was published on 27 April, 1894 and submitted to the Education
Department on 13 December, 1894 Ed. 27/4959.

4 Audley, Bath, Burnley, Cirencester, Croydon, Dorchester, Gillingham,
Grantham, Hastings, Highgate, Latymer, Newport (Essex), Newport (Salop),
Parmiter's, Repton, Stourbridge, Thame, Tideswell, Walthamstow, Wood­
bridge.
the files. One is bound to conclude that for all practical purposes Schedule E was pointless if not misleading, reflecting in the office of the Charity Commissioners possibly a certain disingenuousness; more probably indifference; an inability to perceive the subject as active. In its careful summary of ineffective clauses Schedule E epitomises lack of zeal.

That the clauses were not acted on seems less surprising than that it should have been thought that they would be. The governors of Pocklington were no more likely to be converted to the girls' cause overnight than those at Berkhamsted; and they lacked a Henry Nash. The Whitgift governors had their two schools to think of and were preoccupied with buildings and sites; Highgate was bent on remaining a public school, Wellingborough on becoming one. 'Robbing the poor' was the cry at Yardley

1 **Worse, at Stourbridge, the money from Wheeler's Endowment which Lyttelton had hoped to use for girls (p.204, flabove) had been converted to exhibitions to the boys' grammar school by a Scheme made in 1884 under the Charitable Trusts Act, Ed 27/5428, Scheme, 19 February, 1884.**

2 **The Scheme of 1881 provided that the Middle School should have new buildings; the business of procuring a site at Selhurst, abortive proposals to build on it and the need to extend the Grammar School filled their thoughts in the late nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. See Ed 27/4544, 4552, 4554, 4582 and Ed 35/2396. It is only fair to say that in November 1895 the Charity Commissioners did draw their attention to the girls' provision and their main reaction was that the need was not urgent, especially as Croydon had a G.P.D.S. Co. School.**

3 **The only reminder of other claims here came from the Hornsey Vestry which in 1888, and again in 1889, proposed to the Commissioners that the moment had come to implement Clause 59 of the Scheme. They were told there was not enough money. Ed 27/3512. In 1897 after an investigation on the spot, Mitcheson decided that the time had not yet come when Cl. 59 should be put into operation as the school buildings were still inadequate for a first grade school. Ed 27/3515.**

4 **The Scheme of 1876 envisaged a second and a third grade school at Wellingborough. By the 1880's the second grade school, under its ambitious Headmaster Henry Platt, was forging ahead, attracting boarders, taking the lion's share of the endowment. A major problem was its relationship with the lower school. Girls did not come into it. Ed 27/3713, 3719, 3720.**
which finished off the hope of doing anything for girls. In short, the girls' clauses were not acted on for much the same reasons as had made it difficult to get them into the Schemes in the first place.

And once again, the underlying problem was money. 'You cannot have more of a cat than its skin,' a leading inhabitant of Cirencester had commented when that Scheme was being made; he went on to suggest that the 'upper girls' clauses might be deferred 'till a convulsion of nature gives us enlarged funds.' That time never came. And Cirencester is a good example of a Scheme which was perhaps overloaded from the start. It had a heavy elementary school commitment and the governors only came to take the girls' claim seriously when the 1902 Act relieved them of most of this.

Almost any Scheme involved a calculated risk. With hindsight it is natural to wonder whether the Commissioners were not oversanguine to suppose that the very slender endowment at Bideford could ever spare anything for girls' education; or that the crumbling school at Wotton-under-Edge, though well-

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1 By 1886 the governors had accumulated the £7,000, required by clause 44 of the Scheme and began to discuss with the Commissioners the provision of boys' and girls' secondary schools. In 1888 the case was taken up by Jesse Collings and for the next five years there was considerable pressure (culminating in a visit to Sir George Young by Austen Chamberlain) to use the funds in some way or other for the poor. In the end, Clause 44 was repealed by an amending Scheme. Ed 27/4959.

2 Ed 27/1344 Part II, letter from Mr. Wilfred Cripps, 16 Feb. 1876.

3 see p. 249 above.

4 Ed 27/874 Governors' letter to Commissioners, 6 Dec. 1902 Penwortham is a comparable case. In 1889 inspection showed a fall in income owing to the need to pay off debts incurred in building new elementary schools. Ed 27/2231.

5 When the Scheme was made in 1873 the income was given as £174 p.a.; the Exhibition assignment to girls was £20 p.a. The Roby Return to the Bryce Commission gives the income as £91 p.a. When the school was inspected in 1889 no girls' exhibitions, no repair fund, no scholarships of any kind existed. When it was seen again in 1898 the Headmaster was not receiving his full salary and the school was 'sadly crippled through want of funds.' Ed 27/635, Reports 3 Jan. 1889 and 13 March 1899 (Owing presumably to a clerical oversight Bideford does not appear in Schedule E.)
endowed, would ever flourish sufficiently to provide the new buildings it badly needed plus an annual £50 for girls' exhibitions.\(^1\) Why did they make a Scheme for two schools at Coggeshall when they knew about its many paupers, empty silk mills and falling population? In the event, the girls' school project had to be sacrificed to save the boys.\(^2\) But however cautious the Commissioners had been there were some things they could hardly have predicted; one of them was the depression in agriculture which in the Eighteen Eighties and Nineties had a considerable effect on endowments.

When the Scheme was made for Bentham in 1877, as Dumford explained at a later Inquiry into its finances, 'they were not faced with the serious agricultural depression which had prevailed since.'\(^3\) The fall in rents had in fact embarrassed the foundation to the point where it could hardly run a viable school and continue its subsidy to almshouses; there had been no move for the admission of girls. The Kirkham governors excused their inability to assign £200 p.a. for girls' education 'in consequence of depreciation in the rents of the school lands'.\(^4\) In 1886 the vicar of

\(^1\)The viability of any Scheme depended on fees as well as endowment. Stanton described Wotton in 1883 as a place which had outlived its day. 'Not a sound reached my ear from its empty streets beyond the occasional football of a few stragglers on the pavement.' Ed 27/1468, 3 May, 1883. In 1881, at Lefroy's inspection, there were some 22 boys in the school. Ibid. 17 Feb.1891.

\(^2\)Reporting on a visit to Coggeshall in 1887, in which he examined the endowment's finances, Dumford quotes an earlier account given by Hammond, before the Scheme was made, of the very depressed state of the town. As a result of Dumford's inquiry the original Scheme was revised in 1890 and the girls' allocation reduced to 'residue' but the foundation remained depressed and though a little was accumulated nothing ever seems to have been paid out. Ed 27/1172 and Ed 35/750.

\(^3\) Ed 27/5686, Report in Lancaster Observer of Inquiry held 21 Nov. 1893. Dumford apparently based this view on the report of the Duke of Richmond's Commission which seemed to show that the depression was not felt in the West Riding up to 1890. More recently, however, historians have suggested that the membership and witnesses of this Commission had a certain bias towards the south and midlands.

\(^4\) Ed 27/2114, Commissioners' letter to Drapers' Company, 27 March, 1896.
Lutterworth came to see the Commissioners about the money troubles of Sherriers Foundation. Their income from Churchover Farm had been halved, he said, the tenant could not make it pay and meant to give it up unless the rent were further reduced.\(^1\) Leach on inspection three years later found things in a bad way and the £50 for girls not the only provision of the Scheme which had been neglected.\(^2\) Some foundations were fortunate in drawing income from a variety of sources. The fall in farm rents on Parmiter's, for instance, was more than compensated by the rise in income when leases were renewed in Bethnal Green\(^3\) but at Great Baddow, where the only income came from a farm, the rent of which had fallen from £190. to £100 p.a.\(^4\), or at Northleach, where the charity's resources derived from tithes, a farm and two cottages, there was no way to make up the deficit.

'Owing to the diminution of income,' wrote Bruce of Northleach, 'the teaching staff is starved, the scholarship clauses are almost ignored, and advertising, which is of importance to a school so situated, has been abandoned.'

It would, he said, be useless to think of establishing a school for girls when the pensions fell in, 'unless the income from tithes also revives.'\(^5\)

From the Guildhall Feoffment at Bury St. Edmunds the income available for education plummeted from £700 a year in 1880, when the Scheme was made, to £325 two years later.\(^6\)

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\(^1\)Ed 27/2467, interview note 29 July, 1886.


\(^3\)Parmiter's had problems, however; a third of the income was assigned to almshouses and in 1898 the educational account was heavily in debt to the eleemosynary. Ed 27/2797, Report 14 Nov. 1898.

\(^4\)Ed 27/1161, Report 6 Nov. 1885.

\(^5\)Ed 27/1428, Report 18 Nov. 1889.

\(^6\)Ed 27/4426 Minute of 18 April, 1882 to Lord Colchester.
'The Rents from which the Feoffees derive their income have
during late years so materially decreased on account of
the agricultural depression, that the Balance they have to
pay over to the Governors is seriously decreased accordingly.'

In these circumstances, naturally enough, the governors 'seized upon
anything that they could lay hold of for general school purposes', including,
when it fell in, a headmaster's pension intended to contribute towards a
school for girls.

Reduction of income was an obvious effect of the fall in land values.
Less directly, the grammar schools were hit by the farmers' need to economise.
'The number of scholars would probably be larger if the agricultural industry
were not so depressed,' wrote Durnford of Grantham in 1888. The same thing
had struck him elsewhere in Lincolnshire. At Brigg, for instance, conditions
were quite different from what they had been when the Scheme was made.
The headmaster told him that,

'10 years ago a meet of Lord Yarborough's hounds would be ordinarily
attended by 100 horsemen of whom two thirds would be tenant
farmers. Now on an average there are not more than 20 in the
field and scarcely a farmer among them. So it is with education.
The farmers now will either be content with the elementary school
of the village in which they live or will send their sons to the
cheapest boarding school they can find in the district.'

The Trustees had already applied more than once to have the girls' clause
of their Scheme suspended and Durnford adds to his report on this occasion,
'I assume....clause 57 will be further suspended.' A similar account
was given of Holbeach when Eddis went there in 1892.

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1Ibid. governors' letter 15 Aug. 1887.
2Ibid. Eddis's report, 14 June, 1892.
4Ed 27/2634 Report 5 April, 1886.
'In many cases neighbouring farmers, whose sons would have formed the nucleus of the scholars, have had to give up their farms and the farmhouses are now in the occupation of mere farm labourers.'

These labourers, he noted, sent their children to the elementary schools.

When the income and numbers of a school fell badly there was very little the Commissioners could do. It is ironic that one thing they did do was suggest, in some cases, the admission of girls. Here they often relied on the support, or even the initiative, of the County Councils.

4. The County Councils.

The files of the endowed grammar schools bear witness to that 'quenching effect' of County Council intervention more than once referred to in the Commissioners' Reports. Time and time again the original Scheme is amended during the 1890's to provide for the admission on the governing body of County Council representatives. Sometimes this is done individually, and as a kind of rescue operation; sometimes by means of an omnibus Scheme.

The aim is always to enable the school to benefit from grants which the Council could make under the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, and from the

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1 Ed 27/2540, report on visit June 8, 1892.
2 Ibid. June 9, 1895.
3 p.243 above.
4 Leach found the school at Kirkby Stephen in a very poor way in 1898 and suggested that the introduction of County Council representatives "might do something". The governors were told that the foundation could benefit as "the County Council now possesses large educational funds and functions" Ed 27/5213.
5 See, for instance, the Scheme to admit LCC representatives on the governing bodies of 16 London schools (Ed 27/5213, Ed. Dept. file 56806) or the Scheme to add County Council representatives to the governors of 11 schools in Cheshire (Ed 27/277).
'There is something almost comic,' wrote Mrs. Armitage in her spirited report to the Bryce Commission on the state of girls' education in Devon, 'in the accident which put it in the power of the County Council to provide technical instruction and the educational ladder but not secondary education.'

One consequence of this bizarre situation was that 'technical instruction' was interpreted so broadly as to cover almost everything but English, History and Latin. Girls' as well as boys' schools could benefit and in fact survival of the girls' school at Wells depended on the large grants made to re-house it by the County and the City Councils. Even where money was restricted to science its benefits were not: if the new lab. at

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1 Such help was often doubly productive; equipped, by this means, with a laboratory the school might then be eligible to apply for recognition by the Department of Science and Art as an Organised Science School, and earn grant from that Department.

2 BPP 1895 XLVIII Royal Commission on Secondary Education, p. 98

3 'generally technical instruction is interpreted to mean instruction in drawing, various branches of mathematics, various branches of science, and modern foreign languages....there is not as a rule any condition that there shall be any actual teaching....of the application of those principles to a trade or manufacture. They are treated just as branches of ordinary Secondary Education.' BPP 1895 XLIV Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Q 2879, (Director of Technical Instruction in Somerset).

4 Though in fact, as the Bryce Commission noted, 'by far the larger share' of the grants went to boys. BPP 1895 XLIV Royal Commission on Secondary Education, p. 77.

5 The Blue School Trustees had been obliged to reduce rents to their tenants by some 20%; the girls' school had poor premises and numbers were falling; the grants seem to have come in the nick of time. Ed 27/4184, Report 17 Jan. 1894 and Ed 27/4188, Governors' letter, 14 July 1899.
Wellingborough helped the school to fill its boarding houses, the advent of Miss Lake, 'Registered Science Teacher, South Kensington', and paid for by Somerset County Council, gave welcome relief at the Taunton girls' school where two mistresses had had to cope with 60 children.

In some areas girls came off badly in regard to the scholarships awarded by the Council. 'In Somerset and in some other counties,' the Bryce Commission learned, 'it has not been found possible to institute a system of scholarships for girls owing to the general absence of good secondary girls' schools.'

This kind of evidence highlighted the absurdity, deplored by Mrs. Armitage, of Councils 'making ladders' while, as she put it, 'the children on the shelf to which it is proposed to climb are educationally starving.'

The problem of finding girls' schools was acute, as we shall see, in parts of Lincolnshire. In London, where there were schools available, the scholarships were awarded to boys and girls in proportion to the number of competitors, which meant, in a ratio of two to one.

But if girls got less than boys through the Technical Instruction Act there is no doubt that they had much to gain from what the Bryce Commission called the 'organic relation' between the County Councils and the secondary schools which developed in the last years of the century.

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1 Ed 27/3713, Interview Note, 23 March, 1892.
3 BPP 1895 XLIV op. cit. Q 3035
4 BPP 1895 XLVIII op. cit. p. 98
5 p. 324 below.
6 BPP 1895 XLIV op. cit. Q 2580. The Bryce Commission noted that a three to one ratio was also common.
7 BPP 1895 XLIII Royal Commission on Secondary Education, para. 55.
During the 1890's it was commonplace for the Commissioners to consult with the county authority where an endowed school was embarrassed. Thus, the LCC was involved in discussions on the future of the Lady Eleanor Holles school and was prepared to pay for a laboratory and an arts and crafts room to keep it going in Hackney.¹ But grants were not offered without some reflection on the role of the school in its neighbourhood. At Burnley the County Borough Council was persuaded to give support to the Grammar School; indeed, to bolster it up against the School Board; but it was to run as a Dual School in future, admitting girls —— a change that had been authorised when the original Scheme was made but which had been put off for 25 years.² The Education Committee in Essex advised that to reopen Great Baddow grammar school solely for boys would not be justified 'and should not in any case be allowed.' They reasoned that there was a boys' school at Chelmsford, whereas,

'a public Secondary School for Girls available for the district is greatly needed, and the Committee strongly recommend.... that the School Endowment would, in the interest of the District, be best applied for the purpose of the establishment of a good Public Secondary School for Girls.'³

¹Ed 27/3039.

²Very elaborate consultations went on here between the Commissioners and the Science and Art Department, as well as with Burnley Council and School Board. As a result, the School Board was checked in its attempt to set up an Organised Science School and the Grammar School allowed to achieve this status. See the printed Report of Bruce's Inquiry, October, 1897, on Ed 27/2056.

³Ed 27/1161 Letter from Technical Instruction Committee, 14 Feb. 1899. Having suffered, among other things, from the agricultural depression, the school had run down to such an extent that it was closed by the Commissioners in 1889.
The school on Sherrier's Foundation at Lutterworth ought to be mixed, it was decided in 1898 when a new Scheme was made. Like Great Baddow this school had run down till the Commissioners had suspended the original Scheme. The County Council had been much consulted and the outcome was to admit girls as pupils on a foundation which had never paid a penny of the money assigned to girls in 1874.

At Lanteglos in 1900 Eddis was urging that the governors should exercise the power the Scheme gave them to admit girls, and so enlarge their constituency; otherwise, in such a small population, he did not see how the school could survive. The same point had been made in a Report by Bruce the previous year.

"...the rural grammar schools will find increasing difficulty in maintaining themselves in a respectable state of efficiency unless they open their doors to girls as well as to boys." He went on to say that this had been done successfully in Wiltshire and Hampshire and that he had advised the Technical Instruction Committee of Herefordshire to try it as well.

The Derbyshire Committee needed no such advice. At least, in Bakewell, where a Scheme for Lady Manners' School had yet to be made in the 1890's, they pressed very hard that girls should be admitted. They were ready to pay out £100 a year to make the school viable but they wanted it mixed, and it opened as a mixed school eventually.

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1 Ed 27/2467, 2471; Ed 35/1488.
3 Quoted in BPP 1900 XVIII Forty Seventh Report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, p. 38.
4 Ed 27/483. There is interesting correspondence from the Secretary of the Local Technical Education Committee, who negotiates with the County Committee on the one hand and the Commissioners on the other.
But as Leach found at Clee, in 1901, it was not always sufficient to suggest to governors that girls should be admitted. He was met here by a barrage of objections: there was no room, local feeling was against it, it would be expensive to provide the lavatories and 'the County Council no longer pressed it'. This was the argument he took most note of. When, after making his own enquiries, he was assured that 'the Council was now satisfied not to ask for the admission of girls' he recommended leaving the question in abeyance. What this suggests is that the time had now come, in Lindsey at least, when on such a question the County Council was the arbiter.

There is in fact good reason to believe so. We have seen that some endowments in Lincolnshire were hit by the agricultural depression. For Brigg and for Louth, among others, in the Eighties, this was offered, and accepted, as a reason why the provision for girls had been neglected. In the late Nineties it was another matter. The Charity Commissioners, in 1899, were not prepared to approve yet again the application of the Brigg Trustees to suspend the assignment of £100 to girls since, as they said, they were

'in correspondence with the Educational Committee of the Lindsey County Council upon the subject of the admission of girls to some of the Endowed Grammar Schools of the County....'

1 Ed 27/2652, Report 26 June, 1901.

2 After Durnford reported on Brigg in 1886 (p. 317, above) it was decided to suspend the girls' clause for a further 5 years. Ed 27/2634. At Louth, the Commissioners drew attention to the girls' clause in 1884; the governors pleaded reduction in rents; the Commissioners asked for details; these were submitted and there the matter seems to have rested; after an inspection in 1888 Durnford noted that nothing had been done but the question was not pursued. Ed 27/2706 Report by Eddis, March, 1899.

3 Ed 27/2634, letter of 17 April, 1899.
They quoted with approval the Council's view:

'...that in many cases the admission of girls is the best if not the only method of resuscitating a Grammar School which for want of a sufficient number of boys resident in the neighbourhood, for want of a sufficient endowment or otherwise has ceased to be capable of being carried on successfully as a school for boys only.'

In fact, the views which Lindsey Council had conveyed to them went further than this. It was not just a question of reviving poor schools; the Council now had arrived at the conclusion that it was obligatory on them to make provision for the secondary education of girls in the County, and one way to do it was to see to what extent girls could be admitted to existing grammar schools. The Lindsey Council had come up against the problem defined by Mrs. Armitage: they were making a ladder but it led to nothing. Forty-four per cent of their scholarships, they said, were being taken up by girls and where were they to send them?

The Council's difficulties were epitomised in their struggle with the governors of Louth.

The Louth Scheme dated from 1878. It had established a first grade boys' school, day and boarding, and a second grade girls' school, the

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1 Letter from Lindsey Education Committee, 20 Jan. 1899, to the Charity Commissioners, quoted by Eddis in his Report of March, 1899, on the Louth case, Ed. 27/2706.

2 Ibid. This point was urged upon Eddis by the Chairman and Clerk to the Lindsey Council in Jan. 1899. The only suitable schools, they said, were the Girls' High School at Lincoln, Grimsby Higher Grade School and Magdalen College School, Wainfleet. The first two were outside their administrative area. Also, because of the shortage of schools, they had to increase the value of their scholarships very substantially, to cover railway fares. (The Council looked, naturally, to something better than the hand-to-mouth expedients adopted 10 years earlier by the Trustees of the Welton Charity, Lincoln. Their first Exhibition was held by a girl 'who first went to a school at Wallingford where her brother was a Clerk in a Bank; then at Carshalton where her sister was married to a gardener; and lastly at the High School, Oxford to which place her brother moved from Wallingford. On her brother leaving Oxford and going to Banbury she had to resign the Exhibition.' Ed 27/2725, Durnford's Inspection Report 1889).
organisation of which was specified, with the proviso (Clause 56) that

'At the expiration of three years from the date of this Scheme
or at such other time as the Charity Commissioners shall
direct or approve, the Governors ... shall provide proper
school buildings for not less than 80 girls.'

It was also provided (Clause 73) that £200. a year would be assigned to
the girls' school. Here was not a case, then, for Schedule E., but a
girls' school in embryo; and further advanced than anything at Barnet,
Berkhamsted or Nottingham in that, so far as legalities went, nothing
more was needed to bring it to life. The Commissioners were reminded
of its non-existence, first, in 1884, when the boys' school governors
asked to be allowed to award more exhibitions than the number in the
Scheme, and again, four years later, after an inspection. But nothing
was done. Submitting Schedule B to the Bryce Commission in 1894 they
duly recorded 'Girls' School contemplated under Scheme not yet established.'

and so it might have gone on had not Lindsey Council, in 1898, resolved
to seek grammar school places for girls.

Some schools, it seems, responded favourably. Louth was not one of
them. The governors' reaction was to lay their case before the Charity
Commissioners and ask them to suspend the girls' school provision since there
was hardly enough money for the boys. This appeal, however, was
followed by a visit to the Commissioners from the Organising Secretary
of Lindsey's Technical Education Committee who put the Council's view.

The Commissioners sent Eddis to investigate.

1 see p.323, above, footnote 5.

2 BPP 1895 XLIX op. cit.

He came to Louth in January, 1899, not many days after a meeting of the Education Committee at which it was resolved to inform the Commissioners of their 'strong opinion' that the provision for girls in the Louth Scheme had been 'too long delayed and should become operable at the earliest possible moment.'\(^1\) The Council, he was told, was not hostile to the school, but the endowment was substantial and the directions of the Scheme had been continuously neglected. Eddis said that he thought the Governors had no wish to evade their obligation 'provided only that they do no injury to the Grammar School, which has attained a very high position, and in which they take great pride...\(^2\) He pointed out that, for all its success, the school's finances were very finely balanced and its site was cramped. There was some discussion of the idea that a private girls' school in Louth should be incorporated with the Grammar School, using the premises of a Technical Institute which was being built nearby.

The Commissioners' response then to the next pressing letter they had from the Council was simply to ask them what they thought of this arrangement, and also what they would be willing to contribute. One hundred and fifty pounds a year was suggested; the grammar school finances, the Commissioners said, would make it difficult to devote to girls 'so large a yearly sum as the £200 prescribed for that purpose by the Scheme.'\(^3\) A sharp reply came back from the Clerk. To say that the express provisions of the Scheme could not be carried into effect because the income was otherwise appropriated seemed, he said, to be no sufficient answer.

\(^1\)Ibid.
\(^2\)Ibid.
\(^3\)Ed 27/2706, letter of 28 June, 1899.
'...if the Governors would rearrange the staff and dispense with the services of some of the existing Masters and otherwise effect economies which could readily be done the funds appropriated to girls' education would then be available.'

The Council could not be expected to contribute until the governors had put their house in order.

'...and unless they do something themselves in the direction required by the Scheme I am authorised to say that the Chairman will take steps to get the sanction of the County Council for compelling the governors to carry out the Scheme so as to provide for the education of girls as thereby contemplated.\(^1\)

The Commissioners could hardly have had time to realise that they were being threatened before they learned, through Eddis, that the Clerk had written without due authority.\(^2\) But the Education Committee's reaction, when it did come, was not much better. They asked point blank if the Charity Commissioners were prepared to require the Governors 'to definitely set aside £200 a year for the education of girls in accordance with the provisions of the Scheme.' adding that they knew the school's financial position but could not agree that it need be crippled by the setting aside of this sum. In any case, they thought it was

\(^1\)Ibid. 13 July, 1899.

\(^2\)Ibid. Letters of 15 and 24 July 1899 from Maudson Grant, Organising Secretary of the Technical Education Committee, to Eddis. It seems that the Clerk had consulted the Chairman of the County Council but at the time he wrote neither the Council nor the Education Committee had yet seen the Commissioners' letter.
'the obvious duty of the Governors to carry out their obligations with regard to the education of girls --- a duty that has been neglected for now some 17 years.'

At this juncture there are signs that the governing body began to think seriously how to extricate itself from a position in which not only the County Council but Louth Town Council was breathing down its neck. It ruled out a reduction of the masters' salaries or of the scholarships and Exhibitions but thought the Headmaster's stipend could be cut. An amending Scheme, to give effect to this suggestion when the next appointment was made, was duly drafted by the Commissioners but it did not please the Education Committee. They pointed out that there was no indication

'of any determination on the part of the Charity Commissioners to see that the provisions of the existing scheme with regard to the education of girls shall be promptly carried out'

and they asked to be informed

'whether it is the intention of the Charity Commissioners to enforce these provisions, as, in the absence of some assurance on the point, it will be necessary for the Committee to reconsider their position with regard to the School'

What was here implied they stated explicitly on a deputation to the Charity Commissioners. Unless the governors could give some assurance that they would try to implement the Scheme 'the County Council grant of £50. p.a. would be cut off and when once cut off would not probably be

1Ibid. 12 Sept. 1899.

2Mr. Palemon Best, a member of the governing body who sat as representative of Louth Town Council, wrote to the Commissioners on Oct. 19, 1899 to forewarn them of the various and, as he thought, unsatisfactory expedients which the governors had in mind. In April 1900 he wrote again enclosing press cuttings which report a very low-level debate of the Town Council on this matter. The Council had a stake because it subsidised the school Ed 27/2706.

3Which 'could only, ultimately result in lowering the school to a second grade one' Ibid. Governors' letter of 20 Oct. 1899.

4Ibid. letter 20 April, 1900.
again assented to.¹ There were, it seemed, some members of the Committee opposed to making grants to Grammar Schools anyway, 'particularly a Grammar School so well endowed as Louth.'

Nine months passed with very little to show for it. The Charity Commissioners were certainly unwilling to force the governors to take any action that would tend to downgrade the school² though they ventured to remind them, when a new Head was appointed, that this would be a good time to do something for girls.³ For their part, the governors put forward the suggestion that £50 p.a. now applicable to scholarships might go towards the girls' fund.⁴ In April 1901 the Lindsey County Council at last lost patience and decided to withdraw their grant, adding in their explanation to the Commissioners the humiliating rider that this course had been adopted 'because it would seem that the Commissioners have also been powerless to secure the observance of the scheme made by them.'⁵

The Council's letter led to relatively brisk negotiations,⁶ the outcome of which, in 1902, was a Scheme which provided for a girls' school at Louth. Without a doubt it owed its existence to the pressure, over four years, of Lindsey County Council.

¹Ibid. Interview note, 21 June, 1900.
²See Sir George Young's remarks to the deputation. Ibid. loc. cit.
³Ibid. Letter 16 Oct. 1900. Even as to this they were prodded into action by the Lindsey Education Committee.
⁴Ibid. 21 March, 1901.
⁵Ibid. letter 15 April, 1901.
⁶The County Council really meant business: see especially their telegram of 13 June, 1901, asking the Commissioners to write that day and say what response they had had from the governors. The Commissioners wrote that day. PRO Ed 27/2708.
This is a far cry from 1869. That the point had come when the girls' cause was championed not by an Anne Clough or Maria Grey, not by a Rothera or Henry Nash, but by an elected local authority is of great interest. There are signs that Lindsey was not the only County Council to promote secondary provision for girls before 1902 but this is an area in which more research needs to be done. And might be rewarding. These Councils, after all, were elected by parents, more of whom, we may suppose, now thought seriously of educating daughters as well as sons. From the administrative angle, too, the field is worth exploring. Lindsey's statement that their grant would be withdrawn 'because......the Commissioners have also been powerless to secure the observance of the scheme made by them' points up the fundamental dilemma in the thirty year attempt to convert the old grammar schools into effective secondary provision: there were no sanctions. The Endowed Schools Commission and the Charity Commission were not spending departments. In certain ways they could stop things happening but they could not make them happen, or only to a very limited extent. It was high time the County Councils took over.

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1 For the initiative taken by Leicestershire County Council in this period see Malcolm Seaborne 'Education in the Nineties: The Work of the Technical Education Committees', Brian Simon ed. Education in Leicestershire (1968).
CHAPTER X

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF SECTION 12

If the women's movement had its beginnings in the field of education it had far outgrown them by the time the Endowed Schools Act was passed. In 1866, while the Taunton Commissioners were turning over their evidence on girls' schools, the House of Commons received for the first time a Petition for female enfranchisement. In 1868 when the Commissioners' Report affirmed that girls were entitled to endowments this almost certainly seemed less portentous than the ruling of the Court of Common Pleas that women were not entitled to vote. Similarly, after 1870, Parliament's approval of various Schemes to found girls' grammar schools was probably less noticed than its failure to approve the women's suffrage Bills which cropped up every year.

The feminist papers informed their readers of the progress of these Bills and of anything else that seemed to be relevant. There was a great deal. The 1870's produced an Act to change the law on Married Women's Property; another which gave wives some claim to Custody of Infants and another which introduced judicial separation. In this decade women were elected Poor Law Guardians for the first time, and members of School Boards; they became students of London University, clerks in the Post Office Savings Bank and delegates to the Trades Union Congress. In the mind of J. F. Maguire M.P., whose fantasy novel The Next Generation appeared in 1871, they became Cabinet Ministers too, and doctors and barristers, on a par with men. All this, and more, was taken note of in the Englishwoman's Review which ran articles and printed news items on various aspects of girls' education as part of the increasingly diverse record of women's opportunity. The Women's Suffrage Journal, as its name suggests, was narrower in scope and a good deal of its space was given over
to reporting the activities of the very large number of suffrage societies.

What it liked best in education was the election of women to School Boards; this was a suffrage question and endowed school matters were sometimes treated from a suffrage point of view. Thus, the Journal noted that Bath City Councillors had rejected a provision that women should be eligible for appointment as grammar school governors by the Quarter Sessions and the City Council. But whereas Fitch, who was dealing with the case, had seen this in its bearings on the prospect of a girls' school the Journal chose to see it as a franchise matter.¹

Reporting the speeches of Lord Frederick Cavendish and W. E. Forster at the opening of the Bradford endowed school for girls, what the Journal noticed was their disposition to disclaim any link between girls' education and the right to vote.

"Men must be wilfully blind," it said, "if they suppose it will be possible to provide for girls the same intellectual training which is given to boys, and to maintain the disability which precludes women from qualifying as Parliamentary electors.....We would remind Lord Frederick Cavendish that the pride and public spirit in their school which he desires to see cultivated in girls, will as inevitably lead in their case, as in that of boys, to pride and public spirit in their country; that such girls, when they grow up, are not likely to rest content to be political ciphers; and further, that the only thoroughly effectual means of overcoming the stubborn opposition to do justly by girls is the recognition of the political rights of women."³

This last point of view did not find favour with those who campaigned actively for girls' education and who, whatever their own views on the suffrage, were generally reluctant to associate their cause with one which

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¹ p. 194 above.

² Or rather, as a matter of disenfranchisement, "not so much.....of women as a disenfranchisement of the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions and the Town Council....." Women's Suffrage Journal. March 1, 1871, p. 24.

³ Women's Suffrage Journal Nov. 1, 1875, p. 141.
attracted so much odium, 1 Most of them would have seen little wrong in W. E. Forster's remark at Bradford that there were

'questions with regard to the sexes which were now exciting a great deal of attention and which they did not want mixed up with the education of girls. They did not want to have the right of women to vote, or to be doctors, mixed up with this subject. 2

They were not disposed, though, at least in the period immediately following 1869, to feel that they could sit back and let matters take their course now that the Act was on the Statute Book. The way ahead had been pointed by Miss Wolstenholme, a suffragist, interested in education, when the Endowed Schools Bill was being debated. It was, she admitted, an incomplete Bill.

'But taken by itself.....as a promise of the future, no one who cares for the real advance of education can afford to be indifferent to it. Least of all can women be so. If that measure, or any modification of it, whilst retaining the saving clauses which secure to women a share in its advantages, should ever become law, it will be the fault of women themselves, if they do not use it as the most powerful lever ever yet applied to raise the education of women. It will be their duty under the provisions of the temporary part of the Act to claim for girls, wherever grounds of right or of expediency can be shown, their share in any and all educational endowments, to insist that the necessities of girls shall not be forgotten.' 3

These sentiments were echoed a few weeks after the Act became law by Charles Kingsley, President that year of the Education Department of the Social Science Association, who urged his audience to

1 'In the first place,' Maria Grey wrote in The Times, describing the Women's Education Union, 'I must clear the ground by again emphatically asserting that this is not a woman's rights movement in the political sense of the Term.' The Times, 23 May, 1872. Emily Davies took a similar line, although she had helped to draft the Petition for women's enfranchisement in 1866. See Constance Rover: Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain, 1866-1914 (1967) p. 2.

2 Women's Suffrage Journal, Nov. 1. 1876, p. 141.

'support the motions which will be submitted to you, pressing upon the notice of the Commissioners the necessity of not allowing the 13th (sic) section of the Act to become a dead letter.'

A resolution along these lines was put and carried unanimously. Three years later the Address on Education by the then President, George Woodyatt Hastings, called again for

'hearty support to the work of the Endowed Schools Commission. That body,' he said, 'has peculiar claims on the sympathy of this Association, for it was our Council which obtained from Lord Palmerston's administration the issue of the Schools Inquiry Commission, out of which grew... the commission which is now dealing with endowed schools.'

In these quarters it was well understood that

'Lord Lyttelton wishes, not only to make the best possible use of all endowments, but also to devote as large a portion of them as possible to improving the education of girls.'

On more than one occasion there were pledges of support. But, in practice, what did they amount to? Apart from the passing of resolutions, what use did the women's movement make of Miss Wolstenholme's 'powerful lever'? What follows does not claim to provide the whole answer, which would require research beyond the scope of this thesis. It is rather a pointer to certain areas in which the efforts of the feminists and the administrators overlapped.

1'That the Council be requested to recommend to the Endowed Schools Commissioners the special consideration of girls as well as boys; to apportion in such cases, where practicable, an equal share of the endowment for each of these classes of scholars; and to arrange schemes of education for girls in addition to those prepared for boys, so as to carry out in a practical manner the provisions of clause 12 of the Endowed Schools Act.' Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1869, p. 344.

2Ibid. 1872. p. 59.

3Ibid. loc. cit. p. 278.
1. The North of England Council

Founded by Anne Clough in 1867 and with its first President Josephine Butler, the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women brought together some of the most forward-looking women in the great provincial cities\(^1\) along with men of experience and prestige who were sympathetic to their cause.\(^2\) In its first two years the Council succeeded not only in organising lectures for women in a large number of northern centres but in persuading Cambridge University to launch a special women's examination of a more advanced character than the Locals.

The Council's Fourth Meeting, in 1869, coincided with the final debates on the Endowed Schools Bill and there was discussion whether to support Mr. Winterbotham's attempt to extend the scope of Section 12 by inserting the word 'equally'.\(^3\) Apart from that, members were invited to look ahead and consider what was the best thing to do, once the Bill became law, to make Section 12 effective. Mrs. Butler saw a great need 'to collect and diffuse information throughout the country, wherever endowments exist and the educational wants of girls are pressing' and suggested that the Council was 'a very proper body to undertake such work.' Although any claims must come from the locality,

\(^1\) Bradford was represented by Mrs W. E. Forster and Manchester by Elizabeth Wolstenholme, a founder of the Manchester Suffrage Society who had also spoken and written a good deal about girls' education.

\(^2\) Bryce and Fitch, fresh from their work for Taunton, Thomas Markby, Secretary of the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Examinations, and George Butler, Josephine's husband and Principal of Liverpool College, were members from the start.

\(^3\) pp. 105-6 above.
'somebody will be wanted,' she said, 'to show people how to claim help for girls. I think it possible we could devise some plan whereby our Council would be the means of stirring up and helping the local people to claim and to act, and also of aiding the Commissioners themselves, by giving them suggestions... and information....'  

It was resolved to form a committee to collect information about endowments and suggest the best ways of applying them. Fitch, who seconded the resolution, thought that 'nothing could be more judicious' while Butler described it as 'a service to the public.'

It is disappointing to find, in the end, so little to suggest that this service was rendered. Certainly, the committee was set up and Mr. E. G. Herbert, a barrister, 'a very clever man and a great friend of Mr. Winterbotham' was appointed secretary at £100 a year. The committee published a paper of suggestions on the application of endowment to girls but these suggestions were exceedingly general and did not really face the awkward problem of money. If 'means could be found' to get a building for girls in every town which had a boys' grammar school, and if the grammar school trustees would take it on, then a corresponding girls' school 'might be easily founded, and still more easily supported...'

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2 Miss Clough told the Council when it met in 1870 that 'Some members of the Council, in conjunction with several friends who took an interest in the subject met in London last November, when a Committee and an Association were organised.' Report of the Fifth Meeting of the North of England Council & etc., June, 1870, p. 7.


4 I am assuming, as does Lemoine op. cit..., that this is the pamphlet entitled "Suggestions on the Application of Endowments to the Education of Girls," printed for the Committee of the Association for Promoting the Application of Endowments to the Education of Women and dated 1870 which survives in the Fawcett Library, (Women's Education, Pamphlets Vol. I).
Co-education on the Scottish model might, in other cases, 'be made to meet at once, and almost without expense the wants of the district.'

Chiefly, what the paper reveals is the great difficulty which anyone was under at this time in trying to imagine how Section 12 could be worked in practice. Fitch himself admitted to the Council that he thought it remarkable the Taunton Commissioners had thrown so little light upon the question of what endowments would be available for girls and exactly how they could be made so. In four cases out of five, he said, endowed school revenues were far too small to allow of them being divided.

In the event, as we have seen, the problem was as difficult as Fitch anticipated. The Commissioners' battles were local battles, fought from scratch over every foundation, and they badly needed local support. It had been perspicacious of Josephine Butler to foresee this in the summer of 1869 but it does not look as if her lead was widely followed. In only three cases where a girls' school was established does it appear from the Commissioners' files that the women's movement played a significant part. These files, of course, are only one sort of evidence. There may be other sources, particularly local ones, which tell another story. Yet for various reasons, it would not be surprising to find that comparatively little was done.

1 Report of the Fourth Meeting of the North of England Council & etc. June, 1869, pp. 11-12.

2 Ambleside, Leeds and Manchester; see section 2 below. On the Greycoat papers there is a letter to D. C. Richmond from Elinor Bonham Carter on notepaper with the printed heading 'Association for Promoting the Application of Endowments to the Education of Women' in which she thanks him 'on behalf of our Committee' for sending a copy of the Greycoat Scheme and comments, inter al., on the small number of women governors and low pay for the Headmistress which was proposed. PRO Ed 27/3284, evidently summer, 1870.
For one thing, there was the problem of time. There is no sign that the North of England Council more than anyone else in 1869 had the slightest idea that this was the outset not of a campaign but of a Thirty Years' War.\(^1\) The Council's early aims had been quickly fulfilled. In 1868 their Prospectus listed them, reporting at the same time that the first one --- to run lectures for women 'has been so far successfully attained.'\(^2\) The second --- to promote a girls' examination higher than the Locals --- was in process of attainment; indeed, there was only an interval of months between the work of drafting Memorials to Cambridge and the news that they had been favourably received.\(^3\) With hindsight it is clear that any movement to promote the application of Section 12 would have had to proceed on very different lines.

It began quite briskly. The London Committee, members learnt in 1870, had endeavoured

'in different parts of the country to draw attention to the fact that the Commissioners were willing to devote a portion of the endowments to the establishment of girls' schools....'\(^4\)

The Committee, it seemed, directed their efforts to 'those places where the Commissioners sent Assistant Commissioners' and tried to encourage public feeling in support. Their secretary was in correspondence with sympathisers all over the country while, more specifically,

\(^1\)Mrs. Butler said she had been told by 'one of the Endowed Schools Committee' that 'the Commissioners appointed by the government will have to be at work at this business for ten years if they are at it a year....' (Report of the Fourth Meeting of the North of England Council, June 1869) But the Council's minutes do not give the impression that it was ready to dig in for ten years. In fact, in 1875 it ceased to exist.

\(^2\)Prospectus and Rules of the North of England Council & etc....1868.

\(^3\)Approximately April - October, 1868.

\(^4\)Report of the Fifth Meeting of the North of England Council & etc., June, 1870, pp. 7-8.
'Miss Boucherett in Lincolnshire, has been preparing the minds of people in her neighbourhood to be ready to offer suggestions when the Commissioners come. The subject is being taken up in Bristol and Cheltenham and in Yorkshire; the Yorkshire Board is prepared to act.'

In Westminster, also, the Committee had been trying to encourage a public expression of sympathy with the work the Commissioners were 'so ready' to do for girls, feeling that this would be a valuable help. As, of course, it might well have been if it could have been sustained. In Westminster the struggle over Greycoat and Emanuel took three years; five years were spent on Bristol; the work in the West Riding was not complete when the Endowed Schools Commission was disbanded; as for Lincolnshire, the people there whose minds had been prepared by Miss Boucherett would probably have had to wait a long time to see the Commissioners for only two Schemes had been made in that county for secondary schools by 1874. Not long after that the Council was disbanded.

'*In every part of England we want local action.*' This was the message Josephine Butler read to her Council in 1870.1 Its author then went on to delineate precisely what the women ought to do. They must investigate local endowments,

'look into the original deeds or charters, and ascertain whether girls were omitted or included in the terms of these, and so whether a claim can or cannot be preferred for them, on historical grounds....It will be necessary also ....to investigate the present state of the funds...and to prefer claims for girls on the ground of expediency and natural right. A definite statement should, in each case, be made out for the Commissioners (some of the data for which it will be difficult to get.)'

Manchester was taken as an example.

'*We must make to the Commissioners a clear statement as to what educational endowments there are to within certain distinctly defined limits, whether for girls or for boys or for both. The

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1 Report of the Fifth Meeting of the North of England Council & Etc., p. 15. Unfortunately she did not say who wrote the spirited letter which she quoted.
relative proportion of boys and girls thus provided for, and the
groups of both belonging to the class for which the endowments
were intended...and finally, we must be prepared with specific
suggestions and recommendations as to the best mode of applying
such endowments as may be held to be so applicable to the
education of girls.'

These suggestions were very near the mark; so near, in fact, that they
describe fairly closely the duties of an Assistant Commissioner. Untold
hours, as the files make plain, were spent by such men poring over
charters, examining 'the present state of the funds' and drafting
'suggestions and recommendations.'¹ This was the professional occupation
of a number of skilled men over many years. It took too long and
required too much system to make it likely, except in odd cases, that it
could be well done by amateurs.

As well as under-estimating the time and effort required to back up
Section 12 it seems likely that the women over-estimated what could be
 gained through Section 30. Not unnaturally, the conversion of funds from
obsolete charities seemed a good prospect --- perhaps the best --- when
it came to finding money for girls. Mrs. Butler began the Fifth Meeting
by reading a note she had had from Hobhouse who warned that they 'must
not expect to gain from the readjustment of an endowment where anything
could be lost to boys.' But, she added,

'on the side of misapplied charities he hopes, and we all hope,
for a great deal. We must make a practical effort this year to
secure our share in the readjustment of misused, now useless
charities.'²

¹These could run to many thousands of words. See, for instance, Fearon's
mammoth report after visiting the Dorchester charities in Feb. 1877.
(No. 97 on R.O. Ed 27/857) or Hammond's on King Edward VI, Birmingham,
written in 1871 in three parts, each of some 7-9000 words (P.R.O., Ed.
27/4893).

²Ibid. pp. 11-12.
Her idea was that they should get details of any charity which any of
them believed to be really misused 'and then attack local governors and
Trustees whom we must try to influence...'. Here was the rub. Nothing
could be done without the Trustees' consent. In the discussion which
followed it was pointed out that this might not be easily secured; and so,
of course, it proved. It is difficult to say how much influence in
general the women brought to bear; what appears from the files is
that in one important instance --- that of the Poor's Estate at Leeds ---
they were dramatically unsuccessful.

2. Leeds, Ambleside and Manchester

2.1. Leeds

The Poor's Estate was an amalgam of charities hitherto
expended on doles for the poor. The rapid growth of Leeds
had enhanced its income and the Trustees were ready to convert
the surplus under Section 30 of the Endowed Schools Act for
the advancement of education; or at least, for the advancement
of the Grammar School. A Scheme was prepared to effect this
transfer and all the usual formalities complied with --- but
somewhat rather quietly. No Assistant Commissioner, for instance,
was employed to make local enquiries; and when the Commissioners

1Ibid. p. 14.

2T. R. Green drew attention to the claims of the poor and thought
governing bodies would be very unwilling to convert funds for
middle class education.

3Presumably because none seemed necessary; as Stanton pointed out
to Sir George Young later, the Poor's Estate Scheme of 1878
appeared to have been entirely negotiated between the Commissioners
and the Grammar School Headmaster. P.R.O. Ed 27/5981, 14 March
1884. Unfortunately, no papers relating to the preparation of
this Scheme survive in the Public Record Office.
published Notices in 1877 no one seems to have read them. At least, not a single objection was raised. The Scheme then went to the Education Department, who published it in turn and a few days later the Leeds Mercury set out its provisions: the considerable sum of £700 a year was to be diverted from the Poor's Estate to the Leeds Grammar School where it would finance a number of scholarships and a university exhibition. Attention was aroused now; protesting Memorials descended on the Education Department and the most urgent of them came from a women's group: the Leeds Ladies Educational Association.

It is easy to see why. Leeds had been involved for some time with the movement to extend girls' education. It was one of the four cities where Anne Clough's experiment of lecture courses for girls and women had first been introduced and it was represented on the North of England Council. After waiting in vain for something to be done under the Endowed Schools Act.

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1 It is hard to say why not, except that, unless publication was expected, the few lines of small print would hardly catch the eye alongside columns on Russia and Turkey or the trial of Bradlaugh and Annie Besant. When the question was eventually discussed by the Town Council regret was expressed 'that the Commissioners who were interested in the matter had not made it better known.' Leeds Mercury 2 August, 1877.

2 PRO Ed 27/5979 Richmond's covering letter on submission of Scheme to Education Department.

3 Leeds Mercury, 16 June, 1877.

4 In the winter of 1867 James Stuart of Trinity College, Cambridge, lectured on the History of Science in Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds.

5 At the North of England Council's meeting in 1874 Miss Wilson spoke of the efforts made in Leeds to obtain endowment for girls and said they had been waiting four years for the Endowed Schools Commissioners to come. The Commissioners, as we know, had tried to make a start there in 1871 and hoped to get some of the Grammar School endowment for girls' education but gave up the case. Young took it up again in 1884. See p. 62 and p. 268 above.
the enthusiasts had formed a proprietary company and launched the Girls' High School in 1876. Alongside the Grammar School's endowment of over £4,000 a year its resources were negligible and in particular it lacked the means to offer scholarships to bring up girls from the elementary schools. How its promoters read in the paper that out of a dole charity devoted to both sexes the Grammar School would secure 16 Senior Scholarships of £20 in value, 16 Junior Scholarships worth 10 guineas each, 8 Junior Scholarships worth £20 each and one exhibition of £50 a year tenable at the university.

There is every sign that the news dumbfounded them. Members met hurriedly, under the impression that the time for objections was about to expire, and composed and posted a memorial that night. Also that night a deputation was sent to a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Leeds Educational Council. The alenderness of the educational ladder in Leeds at this time may be judged from the fact that in 1877 one girl was awarded an exhibition by the Leeds Educational Council to go to the High School. It was then announced that the Council could not offer any more exhibitions until 1879, for want of funds. Report of half-yearly meeting of Leeds Educational Council in Leeds Mercury, July 3, 1877.

Their Memorial of 16 July, 1877 to the Committee for the Execution of Charitable Uses (P.R.O. Ed 27/5979) describes their subsequent actions at length and is the basis of the account which follows.

A copy of the Scheme had by now been obtained and as it was dated May 29 it was thought that the limit was June 29, i.e. the day after the meeting. The Memorial to the Education Department shows every sign of having been written in a hurry.
some of the trustees of the Poor's Estate, and consulting them before posting the Memorial. The only one they met was Dr. Gott, the vicar of Leeds, a man very strongly committed to the Scheme and very influential in Leeds education. Dr. Gott disapproved of the Memorial, but it was sent, and the ladies' deputation, anxious always to do the right thing, also posted a letter to the Trustees explaining why they had had to be so hasty. They then had the idea of bringing the matter before the Leeds Educational Council, due to meet on July 2, but

'In deference to the adverse opinion of Dr. Gott and to the feeling that the matter should not be made absolutely public before the letter of the Memorialists had been acknowledged by the Trustees this was not done.'

The Council had its meeting and, at the end of it, Dr. Gott and Dr. Henderson, the Grammar School Headmaster, spoke to Mrs. Lupton, the Ladies' representative, and asked that the Association's Memorial against the Poor's Estate Scheme should be withdrawn. They put it to her that

'the Scheme was a good one, the result of the Expenditure of much time and labour and that opposition now might prove fatal to it as an Educational fund. They further said that they would use their influence in any future disposition of increased funds that the Higher Education of Girls should be provided for.'

The grounds of this appeal were well-chosen. The women did not wish to seem sectarian or hostile.

'As Mrs. Lupton felt that the aim of the Memorialists was to enlarge the Educational advantages of girls by pressing the justice of their Claim and not to obstruct those of boys she consented to ask that a meeting of the Memorialists should be called to consider the question of withdrawing the Memorial.'

At this meeting letters from Dr. Gott and Dr. Henderson were read and the Memorialists considered their predicament. As they later put it to the Trustees, they felt 'great unwillingness to render
futile your efforts in the cause of Education as they are told
they will if they do not withdraw their Memorial....' On the
other hand they felt very strongly

'the justice of the claim which Girls have to participate
in the funds in question and...the responsibility which they
would incur if they were to abandon such claim without
having some information with regard to the Trust....in
support of the statement of some of the members...that there
will be another considerable surplus of income at no very
distant date. And an assurance so far as the present...
Trustees can give it that when such surplus arises, the
Claims of Girls to participate in the benefits of the Trust
shall be duly recognised.'

The Trustees replied that they were unable to bind their successors
but that 'when the Committee are in a position to do so they will
be glad to give the subject of Girls' Scholarships their full
consideration.' And with nothing more than this the women wrote
and withdrew their Memorial.

In retrospect it is a sad little story. They had a good case,
the strength of it attested by the support it received from
other groups. Following their Memorial to the Education Department
came others from the School Board, the Poor Law Guardians, the
Town Council, and the Inhabitants of Leeds. The gist of all of
them was the same: that since the Poor’s Estate applied to men
and women it was unjust that girls should be excluded from the
benefits of the converted fund; and further, that the interests
of working class children ought to have been more fairly represented
in a Scheme to deal with money intended for the poor.3

1PRO Ed 27/5979 Memorial to Committee for the Execution of Charitable
Uses, July 16, 1877.
2Ibid. Letter, 20 July, 1877.
3Comparatively few of the scholarships to Leeds Grammar School were
to be reserved for boys from elementary schools. The female Memorialists said they felt strongly 'the benefit which would accrue to
girls of the working class if they are permitted to participate in
the advantages of these scholarships...'
The problem was that the justice of the case had very little to do with any Scheme made under Section 30 of the Act. Such Schemes could not be made without the Trustees' consent. It was one thing for the North of England Council to talk about attacking 'local governors and Trustees whom we must try to influence' and another to assail such men as those connected with the Poor's Estate at Leeds who made it very clear to the women that they would not consent 'to any alteration in their scheme and that no alteration could be made in it without their assent.'

This had been the crucial factor in the decision to withdraw the Memorial since the women were reluctant to do anything to prejudice the application of the funds to education and had been told that unless they withdrew it the money would probably be lost.

No doubt it might have been. For while Dr. Gott could hardly put pressure on the Leeds School Board, the Poor Law Guardians and the Mayor and Aldermen as he had on the Ladies he made sure that the Memorials from these bodies to the Education Department were followed by a letter which left no doubt that the Trustees would not budge. And as for the Department, there is nothing to suggest that any of these protests made the slightest impact. The Scheme went forward. An Address against it in March 1878 was easily defeated though Sandon's supporting speech was weak, resting mainly on the question of the Trustees' consent. Hints were

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1 p.341 above.


3 Ibid. loc. cit.

4 Ibid. Letter of 7 Aug. 1877

dropped that something might be done for girls in future.

That future, as we know, was a long way off. But in the struggle with the Grammar School Trustees which led to the Scheme of 1898 the Poor's Estate crops up now and then; never more ironically than in their suggestion that it would be better to relinquish to girls a portion of the Poor's Estate Scholarship fund than any of the School's more ancient endowments since this charity had, after all, been 'intended equally for persons of both sexes.'

2. ii. Ambleside

Clearly, the Poor's Estate was not a fair field. At Ambleside and Manchester the women's interest intervened more effectively. Nonetheless, in different ways, both cases illustrate the difficulties of taking local action.

Since Westmorland was not one of those areas where the Commissioners set to work immediately after the passing of the Act, when they were approached by Trustees at Ambleside as early as September, 1869 they simply returned the routine promise to come as soon as possible. The Trustees' letter was followed by a Memorandum from inhabitants which called for a more individual reply. The death of the schoolmaster, they wrote, made possible a new disposition of the funds of Kelsick's Charity.

'...we therefore take this opportunity of pressing upon your consideration the great need of a good school in Ambleside for the education of girls whose parents are both able and willing to give their daughters more varied instruction and the benefit of more personal influence than can be obtained in a National School.'

1 see p.27/1, f.4 above.

2 P.R.O. Ed 27/5124, Trustees' letter of Sept. 1869 and Commissioners' reply.

3 Ibid. Memorandum from Inhabitants, 11 Jan. 1870.
Whoever first read this in Victoria Street, wondering at the radical temper of Ambleside, must surely have turned now to the list of signatures and found them headed by a cluster of women: Mrs. Harrison of Scale How, Miss Emily Napier of Gale Bank, Harriet Martineau, the Knoll, Mary Arnold and Frances Arnold of Fox How and Margaret Anna Morse of Gale Lodge. After these there followed joiners, drapers, grocers, plumbers, a letter carrier, bobbin turner, hotel keeper, painter, photographer, nurseryman, gardener, shoe maker, plasterer, waller and others, all proposing that 'the interests of the community would... be best promoted by giving encouragement to the education of girls as well as boys,' and trusting the Commissioners would act accordingly. Received on the same day was a letter from Miss Clough also referring to the death of the master and increase in value of the endowment.

'The townspeople wish for a better School, and many of the most respectable inhabitants would be very glad if a portion of the increased revenue were devoted to the Education of Girls.'

She estimated that in Ambleside there were 50 boys and 30 girls who would want secondary education and suggested that 'a portion of the money be given to support a day school for girls or to help in providing a suitable building.' The official response was prompt and sympathetic. The inhabitants were told that the Endowed Schools Commissioners were 'very sensible of the importance of the subject to which the memorial relates and... prepared to give it the fullest consideration.' They were indeed bound by the Act, added Lyttelton, 'no less than prompted by their own convictions' to extend endowments to girls as far as possible.

1 Ibid. 11 Jan. 1870.

2 Ibid. Letter of 13 Jan. 1870 to Mrs. Harrison of Scale How.
At this time Kelsick's school was providing free elementary education for boys and the Trustees regarded it as part of the provision that would have to be made in Ambleside under the Elementary Education Act. The Commissioners strove to turn their attention to the local demand for superior education, urging in support the inhabitants' memorial. But they were not convinced. The proposal put to them that Kelsick's should be used for the secondary education of both boys and girls was strongly resisted, as was the suggestion that as much as three eighths of the endowment income should go to the girls' share. What they proposed was an elementary school with an upper department and the Commissioners eventually agreed to this, though they held to their decision, in accordance with the provisions of the 12th section of the Endowed Schools Act 1869, and in deference to a very numerously and influentially signed petition from the Parish, to extend the benefit of the Foundation to girls. A draft Scheme was now published according to which the school would remain a boys' elementary school, but with an upper department attached, and a secondary school would be built for girls, to take 60 scholars. The pressure exerted by this Lakeland group of exceptional women had therefore paid off.

1. Girls and infants went to the National School.

2. Ibid. Trustees to commissioners, 23 Nov. 1870; Commissioners' reply 5 Dec. 1870.


But at this point there are signs of a different kind of pressure. Organised by Mr. William Donaldson who had property in Ambleside though he lived in Reading, a group of ratepayers mounted a protest against 'robbing the poor'. There would always be private schools for girls in Ambleside, Donaldson argued, and if money from Kelsick's were to go to girls it ought surely to be spent on providing free elementary education for the daughters of the poor. Public meetings were held. A Committee of Ratepayers expressed their surprise

'at the large amount of funds set apart for...Girls, more especially as the proposed Girls' school is thought to be one of an experimental character, and also considering the...scanty facilities for the education of boys in Ambleside.'

There were two good private schools for girls, they said, but no kind of boys' school above the elementary. It is worth noting that this Ratepayers' Committee included four men who, two years previously, had signed the memorial promoted by the women. Their opinion now, it seemed, was that the Girls' School ought to be deferred until the boys' was well started, and this, they thought, would meet the wishes of a very large majority of the people of Ambleside.¹

As there was a risk, according to Fearon, of overloading the Scheme financially² the Commissioners amended their final draft

¹Ibid. Report of Committee of Ratepayers forwarded with Trustees' letter of 1 Nov. 1872.

²See his recommendations of 16 Jan. 1873; he suggested that, rather than defer the girls' school they should defer the provision of Exhibitions.
to defer the girls' school provision for 3 years. This was accepted by the women's group and welcomed by Donaldson who saw it as an interval 'which will probably produce great changes in the composition and principles of conduct of the Endowed School Commission...'. Though the Scheme was nearly settled he still sought means to check the robbery of the poor. The girls' school was opposed by all the ratepayers, he argued, apart from a section of that part of our population to which our gallant devotion and unquestioning deference were at one time freely and loyally given, on the plea that they were too gentle and refined to fight their own battles in this rough world....'

Some prospective governors had declared they would resign if theScheme's provisions ever came into effect: in which case, perhaps, it could still be frustrated, 'unless the commissioners put co-optative ladies in their places. I do not think there are any of the stupid, lag-behind-the-times sex who would be willing to occupy them.'

It is not necessary to assume a conspiracy on the lines that Mr. Donaldson suggested to account for the fact that by 1880, 7 years after the Scheme was approved, no upper department had been organised for boys and no girls' school had been built. It seems fairly clear that this had never been a popular Scheme.

1See Trustees' letter of 24 March, 1873 saying that both the rate­payers' committee and the chief promoters of the girls' school have agreed to the postponement.

2Letter to Westmorland Gazette, May, 1873. He was encouraged no doubt by the critical investigation of the Commission's work by the Select Committee, then on the point of reporting.

3Ibid.
Inertia, lack of funds and of supervision are probably enough to account for its neglect. The governors' excuse when Durnford went to see them was that they had always assumed

'the initiative of seeing to the due observance of the Scheme should be left to the Commissioners and...they had for some time been expecting an inquiry upon its operation.'

What about the women's group? The governors argued that some of the 'influential ladies in the neighbourhood' who had pressed for a girls' school in the first place 'have since come to the conclusion upon further observation that it would not prove successful'. No pressure, they maintained, had ever been put upon themselves as Trustees, either by the inhabitants of Ambleside 'or by the persons who signed the memorial, for the establishment of the Upper Department or the Girls' School.' and, in their opinion, public opinion had altered materially since the Scheme was made. Miss Morse, who seems now to have been the correspondent on behalf of those who signed 'the ladies' petition' told Durnford that

'the reason why no pressure had been put upon the Governors to carry out that part of the Scheme affecting the education of girls was because it was generally believed that the Governors were financially embarrassed...'

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1 P.R.O. Ed 27/5127, Durnford's Report, 7 July, 1880. "The case is instructive," he wrote, "as showing how a most respectable body of men may be content to evade their patent obligations and quiet their consciences under the impression that sooner or later the central authority will intervene."

2 Ibid. Letter of 5 July, 1880, to Durnford from Chairman of governors.


4 Ibid.
She denied that public opinion had changed and that a Girls' School was not wanted. As to that, she had gathered the opinions of those who signed the original petition and of Miss Clough and found it 'generally thought that a High School for girls would be useful here...'. Yet there were doubts. Private schools had failed in Ambleside from lack of numbers 'and for this reason I have felt doubtful, as I said, about success, not thinking it a sufficiently large centre...'. But she came back to the view that a school would succeed 'if a superior mistress were appointed — it is hoped that the original Scheme may be adhered to.'

With this not very confident backing the Commissioners now faced pressure from the Trustees to amend the Scheme to exclude the girls' school and substitute for it girls' Exhibitions. Miss Morse wrote again that the former petitioners 'still hope that a middle class school for girls may eventually be established as, however small it would be a great boon to the children (30 or so perhaps) who might be expected to attend and the moral influence of a higher and better tone of education is the great aim we have in view.'

The new draft Scheme retained the girls' school. The Trustees protested it was 'utterly opposed to the feeling of the inhabitants.'

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1 P.R.O. Ed 27/5127 Miss Morse's letter of 19 May, 1880 to Durnford.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. Letter of 13 July, 1880.
This feeling found expression once more at a meeting which reaffirmed the old priorities: first, to spend the funds on elementary education; then, to spend the surplus on a school for boys.\textsuperscript{1} The Commissioners found themselves in a dilemma. They were "somewhat embarrassed" they told Miss Morse,

"by the divergence between the views of the Governors... and those of yourself and your friends, as well as by the absence of any expression of opinion in support of the liberal provision made by the Scheme for the higher education of girls...."\textsuperscript{2}

They had made such provision bearing in mind the correspondence of 1870 on this very topic and, "relying expressly upon the assurance which they had received from yourself and others interested in promoting the higher education of girls," had prepared a revised Scheme which appropriated £300 a year to the support of a girls' school. "...the difficulty of securing these benefits must be greatly enhanced." they concluded, "if the effort now made for that purpose fails to receive some local support."

Here, surely, was a situation which the North of England Council could never have envisaged. The administrators were out on a limb and that limb was Section 12, and they had ventured onto it with every encouragement, 10 years earlier, from local activists who, Miss Morse admitted, were "a very small minority in Ambleside."\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid. Scheme of Reorganisation proposed by the Committee appointed at the Public Meeting, June 17, 1881.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. Letter of 14 July, 1881; my italics.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid. Letter 30 July, 1881. "There is no doubt whatever that the promoters of the higher education of girls are a very small minority in Ambleside."
One cannot help feeling sorry for her. It is not clear who formed the women's group now but Harriet Martineau had died and Miss Clough, whom she describes in this letter as 'the originator of the petition on behalf of the girls', had long been established as Principal of Newnham. From her Miss Morse now reported the opinion that it was a pity that girls' education should not receive attention but it would be difficult, 'indeed useless, to oppose the wishes of the people --- they are set on improving the boys.'\(^1\) And so, Miss Morse concluded, they had come to believe

> 'that it would be wiser to wait even a little longer, allowing the upper department for the boys to be carried out first, if only a certain proportion of the fund can be secured for...girls in the future...'

These were hardly fighting words; and perhaps, to Miss Morse, there seemed little room for fighting. 'My own personal impression,' she wrote a few months later, 'is that Ambleside is too small a place for a school to answer...having only a population of 200 ....'\(^2\) As Durnford put it, she had

> 'very much receded from the position which she originally took up and is now opposed to sinking money in building, thinking whatever is given to girls should be in the form of....exhibitions.'\(^3\)

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\(^1\)Ibid. loc. cit.

\(^2\)Ibid., letter of 29 Nov. 1881

\(^3\)Ibid. Durnford's report of 7 Dec. 1881
He admitted that he would have been disposed to endorse this
"If it were not for the total absence of endowed schools for
Girls in the North of England..." And so the fight to get a
girls' school continued, though, ironically, initiative had
passed from the women's group to the Charity Commissioners.

In spite of the Trustees they pressed ahead with a Scheme
which assigned over half the endowment income towards the provision
of a school for girls. The Trustees protested to the Education
Department, urging that after allowance had been made for the
elementary education of both sexes, the residue should accumulate
towards secondary schools for both boys and girls. Their
Memorial was signed not only by Donaldson, as Chairman of the
Ratepayers' Committee, but by Miss Morse on the women's side.
A deputation led by W. E. Forster put to the Vice-President
that after the assignment to the elementary school, the residue
of income ought to be divided equally between boys and girls.
But the Charity Commissioners refused to accept this. They urged
their obligations under Section 12 and said they were unwilling
to sacrifice the prospect of establishing a girls' school by means

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1Ibid. loc. cit.

2£100 p.a. was to maintain the elementary school. A further £100 p.a. was for the higher education of boys. And the residue, some £230 p.a. was to accumulate for a girls' school.

3P.R.O. Ed 27/5127 Memorial 23 June, 1882.

4His connection with Ambleside began with his marrying into the Arnold family. He later bought a holiday cottage there.

5P.R.O. Ed 27/5127 Education Department to Commissioners, 7 Aug. 1882.
of this endowment. As for the proposal to divide the residue, the amount available could not suffice for both boys' and girls' schools unless the income increased.\textsuperscript{1} Forster eventually came up with a compromise: £100 p.a. for boys' higher education and the residue up to £300, for girls.\textsuperscript{2} The Commissioners endorsed this, with modifications, of which the chief was that the limit on the residue should be raised to £400 p.a. and in these terms the Scheme was approved.

It was in all essentials, said Donaldson, 'a Scheme for establishing a high class ladies college in Ambleside...'.\textsuperscript{3} He need not have worried. Ten years later Leach found nothing had been done about a girls' school.\textsuperscript{4} In 1907 a new Scheme was made providing for a mixed school — probably an excellent, and, by that time, an acceptable solution.\textsuperscript{5} But it had taken forty years to reach it. The women's group can hardly be blamed if they were no longer active in the matter. But their judgement when they were active is open to question. The Trustees' opinion — "Miss

\begin{itemize}
\item[Ibid.]
Commissioners to Education Department, 18 August, 1882.
\item[Ibid.]
Education Department to Commissioners, 28 May, 1883.
\item[Ibid.]
Donaldson to Mundella, 18 Feb. 1885.
\item[P.R.O. Ed 27/5148]
Report of Leach's visit, June, 1895.
\item[The Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1871 had considered a mixed school for Ambleside on the lines of the one at Thornton but no one took to the idea.]
\end{itemize}
Clough was said to 'wish to make every one a lady'.\(^1\) --- can no doubt be discounted. Yet at the outset too little attention may have been given to what could be achieved in a place like Ambleside. And secondly, when they had taken a stand, it was perhaps a pity that the women fell back — probably not from lack of courage so much as from a kind of ladylikeness which here, as at Leeds, was ready to defer to what was presented at the public weal.\(^2\)

2. iii. Manchester

It is hard to imagine a greater contrast than that between the position of the feminists in Ambleside and in Manchester.

The drive for women's suffrage began in Manchester as early as anywhere. It was led by Lydia Becker, who in 1870 launched the Women's Suffrage Journal, and by Jacob Bright who for four years running promoted a women's suffrage Bill. Manchester's M.P.'s voted for the suffrage and Manchester's Councillors petitioned for it. Manchester elected Miss Becker to the School Board and if everyone in Manchester did not agree with her that women teachers should be paid the same as men\(^3\) there were many

\(^1\)P.R.O. Ed 27/5127, Durnford's Report, 7 Dec. 1881.

\(^2\)See, for instance, Miss Morse's response when pressed by the Commissioners. She was grateful for the liberal provision made for girls. 'At the same time we feel that there is some reason in the very strong opposition raised against it...for if £300. a year were devoted to a school for girls the present elementary school for boys would suffer seriously.' In the same letter she quotes Miss Clough 'it will be extremely difficult indeed useless, to oppose the wishes of the people.' Ibid. 30 July, 1881. This reaction is not inconsistent with Miss Clough's readiness at Cambridge to take what she could get for women students — a readiness in contrast with the more uncompromising approach of Emily Davies.

\(^3\)She made this point in her paper 'On some Maxims of Political Economy as applied to the Employment of Women and the Education of Girls' delivered to the British Association in September, 1871.
influential people in the city who made great claims for girls. The Bishop of Manchester supported the movement to start a High School; the Dean was chairman of the High School Committee; C. P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian, Bryce from his Taunton Commission days, Mrs. Gaskell's daughter and Roby's wife were among those most deeply concerned.

'We are all today agreed,' wrote a pioneer headmistress, 'that the school must rise out of the life of the community....Of this principle no better illustration can be found than the story of the Manchester High School for Girls.'

Unlike Cheltenham Ladies College, she went on, or the North London Collegiate School --- both of them 'the creation of great teachers' ---- the High School was created by a body of citizens, a product of Manchester's remarkable vitality in the 1870's.

The pressure group behind it was the Manchester Association

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1 The Bishop of Manchester at this time was James Fraser, well-known for his interest in education. He had been an assistant commissioner for the Newcastle Commission and had reported to the Taunton Commission on education in the U.S.A. and Canada. As for the education of girls, it was Fraser who proposed the motion to launch the Girls Public Day School Company at a meeting held in June, 1872 by the Women's Education Union. See p.370 below.

2 Bryce became Professor of Law at Owens College in 1868 but before that, while he was an Assistant Commissioner inquiring into Lancashire schools, he is said to have been constantly in Manchester meeting those interested in girls' education. See Sara Burstall: Manchester High School for Girls (1911), pp. 5-6. His own sharp critique of existing girls' schools in his report to the Taunton Commission attracted much interest.

3 When Roby was sacked from the Endowed Schools Commission he became a partner in his father-in-law's firm of sewing cotton manufacturers in Manchester. His wife's contribution to the founding of the High School is described in an interesting account of Founders given in the school's centenary magazine, published in 1974.

4 Burstall, op. cit., p. 3. Miss Burstall was Headmistress of the High School, 1898–1924.
for Promoting the Education of Women, by 1871 no longer content
with its initial task of organising lectures. The Endowed
Schools Commissioners had not yet come to Lancashire, though
one of them had written an encouraging letter in which he
referred to 'the battle which has to be fought for Women's
Educational Rights' and summarised what the Commissioners had
already done, promising that they would do 'a good deal more'
if the promoters of girls' education would 'bestir themselves
and make a strong public opinion'. Informed in this letter of
Schemes already made for girls' schools at Keighley, Bedford,
Burton-on-Trent, and other places the Manchester people could
only hope that Lancashire,

'and Manchester in particular, will not wake up suddenly some
day to find itself behind all other parts of Great Britain
in the ideas of our generation and in the education of
its women.'

The following year their proposals took shape. Though
they had fought shy of becoming involved in Mrs. Grey's plan for
a National Union what they had in mind was a public day school

1 It is quoted on p. 9 of the Association's Report for December
1871 but unfortunately the writer is not named.


3 On the National Union, see section 3 below. On the attitude of
the Manchester Association see p. 8 of their Report for Dec. 1871
where they offer rather wary support. 'Centralisation is, doubt­
less, often most valuable; but sometimes Localisation — if we
may coin such a word — is even more valuable... And nothing
is rendered more certain by experience than that no local
Association could flourish which allowed itself to be absorbed
or superseded by one in London.'
very much on the lines of hers. They looked to their city

'to be true to itself, to show that it is not behind the
times, and to prove that where the interests of its own
daughters are involved it will be no laggard nor wait
until missionaries from other towns come to stimulate
its liberality...'\(^1\)

A Scheme was drawn up and they invited subscriptions.

The school, which opened in adapted houses in January, 1874,
was successful from the first. No question whatever but that the
dem-and for it existed in Manchester. The original 60 pupils rose
in two terms to 150 — all that could be taken — and many
applicants were turned away.\(^2\) But those 'elements of permanence
and development'\(^3\) which, the Association well understood, were
essential to the kind of school they wished to establish, could
not be achieved without buildings and endowment. Miss Buss had
faced a similar problem. But by 1875, when the High School
Committee were appealing to fellow Mancunians 'to provide for
Manchester's daughters what has been provided without stint for
Manchester's sons,\(^4\) Miss Buss had got her endowment from the
Brewers. It is not too much to say that the Endowed Schools
Commissioners had seized upon the chance to provide it\(^5\). No

\(^5\) 'This is an admirable opportunity for aiding and establishing on
a permanent footing the Trust for the North London Collegiate
School and Camden School for girls.' This comment made by Latham
in August, 1872 after he had discussed with the Brewers the
disposition of their surplus funds, sets the tone for the handling
of the case. See Chapter IV, Section 1 above.
comparable sympathy activated the Charity Commissioners when it came to Manchester High School. It is not that they excluded the High School's claim to some share of the surplus of the Hulme Trust Estates; just that they did nothing to advance it.

'One would have supposed,' said the Women's Suffrage Journal, 'that the Charity Commissioners would have availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the surplus revenues of the Hulme's Estate to rectify the balance of inequality against women by devoting the major part, or at least an equal part, of the income to them.'

Only the Journal, perhaps, would have supposed that. To give women more than men, girls more than boys because they had so much less already would have been an act of positive discrimination hardly likely to have been attempted even by the Endowed Schools Commissioners. It is true, they attempted it at Ambleside and the Charity Commissioners there supported the allocation made by their predecessors. But the Hulme Estates Scheme was one of enormous importance and publicity. There was nearly £7000 a year to dispose of. The scholarships at Brasenose College for which the endowment had been instituted no longer used up all its income and the Trustees wanted to endow a hall of residence at Owens' College, Manchester, as well as professorships; they also had in mind provision of a middle school for boys.

Owen's College, the Journal pointed out, though empowered to take women had not yet done so; and as for schools, there already existed Manchester Grammar School for Boys. There is no sign that such considerations had carried weight with the Endowed Schools Commissioners to whom it first fell to consider these plans; and, to that extent, they showed no disposition to

1Quoted Englishwoman's Review, September 15, 1879, p. 412.
'rectify the balance of inequality' as this was understood by the Journal. But they did recommend the Hulme Trustees to assign 'a substantial sum' to girls education and it is hard to doubt that if the Manchester High School, with its able backers and overflowing registers, had existed in 1873 they would have guided the endowment there.

In 1875 when the Charity Commissioners took up the case the High School had been flourishing for over a year but the Commissioners' advice to the Hulme Trustees was that they should aid girls in one of two ways: by establishing a girls' school of their own, similar to the boys' school they had in mind, or by subsidising 'some existing girls' School.' It was not even certain that 'existing' meant the High School for a later draft spoke of aid to the High School 'or...any other School...in...Manchester' which educated girls to the appropriate standard. Understandably, the High School Committee protested that endowment which was subject to withdrawal in favour of 'any other similar school' or of a girls' school established by the Trustees could only be 'a very doubtful benefit'.

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1 P.R.O. Ed 27/2181, Fearon's meeting with Trustees and Nominators of Hulme's Charity, 19 Dec. 1873.

2 P.R.O. Ed 27/2182 'Proposals for a Scheme' 19 March, 1875.

3 Ibid. 'Draft for Consideration' April, 1877.

4 P.R.O. Ed 27/2183, Memorial, May, 1877.
endowment was backed by Memorials from Owens College, the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Manchester and the Manchester School Board.¹

In the event, the Commissioners agreed the endowment should be permanent but at this point they came across a legal difficulty. Since the Draft Scheme had been published the High School Trust had been incorporated and as it was now a Limited Company it could not come under the Endowed Schools Acts.² The promoters had apparently been badly advised;³ in itself surprising — but could such a thing have happened if there had existed any kind of rapport between them and the Charity Commissioners? Would Latham ever have allowed Miss Buss to disqualify her school accidentally?

The problem was surmounted in the end by a Scheme which made a temporary assignment to the High School with the prospect after three years of permanent endowment if the Company was converted to a charitable trust.

So the High School, after a considerable struggle, was to get endowment from the Hulme Trust Estate comparable with what

¹P.R.O. Ed 27/2182, Objections and Suggestions, summer, 1877.
²P.R.O. Ed 27/2184, long legal minute by J. E. White, 30 Nov. 1877.
³See the memorandum from the Treasurer of the High School, Ibid. Feb. 1878, saying they can't understand why organisation as a Company disqualified them since this is exactly the type of organisation which struggling educational institutions often adopt.
the Camden Schools had been given by the Brewers. But, as the Women's Suffrage Journal pointed out, it would have a good deal less than the boys' school. For girls there would be £500 - £1,000 p.a., for boys £1,000 - £1,500 p.a. Site and buildings were to be provided for 300 boys but for 200 girls. The Journal saw the Scheme as an illustration of the 'seemingly unconquerable indisposition' to do justice to girls in the matter of endowments. Jacob Bright called upon the Charity Commissioners to urge the importance of doing more, while the High School pleaded the claims of girls to 'at least equal pecuniary support from the Trust funds; the more urgently because the claims of the other sex have long received large recognition.' It was not only the feminists who thought this. Salford Town Council submitted a proposal that the boys' and girls' endowments should be equal. The Manchester School Board took the view that they should have equivalent accommodation, while a memorial from Owens College and another signed by a group of citizens argued the need for more schools for girls.

1 By the Hulme Estates Scheme of 1881 (which assigned £2,000 p.a. for Hulme Exhibitions, £1,000 p.a. for the hall of residence, and £500 - £1,000 p.a. for professorships at Owens, as well as £1,000 - £1,500 p.a. for a boys' school) the High School was to have £500 - £1,000 p.a. plus money for buildings. When a Scheme was made to endow the school in 1884 the income was settled at the upper limit of £1,000 p.a. and £1,500 was allowed for buildings. The Camden Schools got £600 p.a. plus £20,000 for buildings.

2 By the summer of 1879 when the Charity Commissioners settled the Scheme there were 350 girls in the High School and approaching 100 in the prep. department.


4 P R O. Ed 27/2185, Memorial 18 August, 1879.

5 P R O. Ed 27/2185, Memorials submitted to the Education Department, 1879.
All in all, the Scheme was ungenerous to them. Scholarships for children from the elementary schools were envisaged for boys but not for girls. Nor were girls to share in any ultimate residue, which would go to augment the Exhibitions at Brasenose despite the High School's pleading the need for scholarships tenable at Girton and similar places.¹ There were some odd distinctions in curricula: boys were to be taught 'natural science,' girls, 'some branch of natural science' while, very strangely, from the girls' curriculum mathematics was omitted.

In no case where provision was made to endow a school under Section 12 was opinion better organised or the need more established than in Manchester. It should, in theory, have been a case to demonstrate Section 12 to perfection. Somehow, it did not. The explanation may be simply that Manchester was far from Victoria Street; or that Miss Day² was not Miss Buss; or, most credibly of all, that the Charity Commissioners were not the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

³ María Grey, the Women's Education Union and the Girls Public Day School Company

When the North of England Council met in York in 1874 what it heard from local members about their attempts to get endowment for girls was that 'the Commissioners had not yet come to York.'³ In Leeds and Manchester,

¹Ibid. Memorial, 18 August, 1879.
²First headmistress of the Manchester High School.
³Sixth Report of the North of England Council & Etc. p. 17
as we have seen, the women's groups grew tired of waiting for the Endowed Schools Commissioners to come and sponsored girls' schools on their own. By far the most impressive and successful initiative taken in this line by the women's movement was the foundation in 1872 of the Girls Public Day School Company.

This Company embodied the second of the ten aims Maria Grey had set before her National Union for Improving the Education of Women, namely that it should 'promote the establishment of good and cheap day-schools...'.

This was to be done on the joint stock principle which had proved so effective in launching the new public schools and which represented a quite different approach to the problem of supplying educational needs than that implied in the reform of endowments. The Endowed Schools Commissioners were bound, more or less, to gamble that supply would create demand, especially in the case of girls' schools. Maria Grey's company, on the other hand, looked first to demand. They would not start a school before a certain number of shares were taken locally and a certain number of pupils guaranteed. Everything had to come from the locality.

To that extent the Girls Public Day School Company exemplified the private enterprise principle so much admired by Robert Lowe who had expected little.

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1 The objects of the National Union are fully listed in Appendix X.

2 The Minutes of the Council of the Girls Public Day School Company for 6 Nov. 1873 show yrs. Grey moving a resolution that the Company would maintain schools in provincial towns 'provided that share to the amount of not less than £1,000 be taken up in the town...and that 60 pupils are guaranteed to start with.' This resolution was withdrawn because Kay Shuttleworth, the Council's chairman doubted whether it was legal. But at the same meeting it was agreed to write to the Norwich Committee requiring shares up to £1,500. At the Company's Annual General Meeting on 19 Feb., 1876 shareholders were told that 'In every instance the Council have adhered to their plan of requiring a local subscription of 400 shares ....as a condition precedent to the establishment of a School.'
from reform of endowments but thought that if things were left to take their course, 'There would be schools wherever there is a demand for education, just as there are ironmongers' shops wherever there is a demand for hardware.'\(^1\) It was not to be expected that Maria Grey, or anyone concerned with girls' education, should be quite such a committed Free Trader. Indeed, 'To endeavour to restore to....girls the endowments originally intended for their benefit' was another aim of the National Union\(^2\) and in the early 1870's Maria Grey was a staunch supporter of the Endowed Schools Commissioners' efforts.

This was not surprising. The Union had effectively been launched by Lyttelton who 'gave his great authority in support of the infant society,' presiding over its inaugural meeting in November, 1871, and securing for President the Princess Louise.\(^3\) In the following half year before its great offshoot, the Girls' Public Day School Company, was formed, Maria Grey kept the striking disparity between boys' and girls' endowments before readers of The Times. From her they learnt that Miss Buss's appeal to endow the Camden Schools had brought in only £47 while £60,000 had been readily donated to found a boys' school in the City.\(^4\) A few months

\(^1\)Endowment or Free Trade' by the Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe M.P. (1868). Speaking in Cambridge in 1880 to those interested in establishing the Perse Girls' School Fitch touched on the characteristic drawbacks of different ways of founding schools: "If they only had an endowment they might force on the public some school it did not want. In the case of the joint stock Company the school might get into the hands of a few people out of sympathy with the public." Cambridge Chronicle. 22 May, 1880

\(^2\)It comes sixth out of the ten. Maria Grey was advised, apparently, by the Committee of the Society of Arts to whom she first outlined her plan 'that the question of endowment, which is unfortunately in danger of becoming a party question, should not assume so prominent a place in it, but be classed with others on which evidence was to be obtained.' It seems that she yielded the less reluctantly because she was growing interested in co-education and thought that if this gained wider acceptance 'it will change altogether the question of endowments, and, instead of claiming for girls new endowments or a share of the old, we shall have to work for the opening of the old and the foundation of the new for girls and boys alike.' Report of the Sixth Meeting of the North of England Council & etc. p. 26

\(^3\)Journal of the Women's Education Union, 15 May, 1876, p. 70

\(^4\)The Times, 1 January, 1872.
later, in 'painful astonishment not unmixed with bitter feelings' she
drew attention to the sleight of hand that transferred to this boys'
school a further £5,000, which had been subscribed for the benefit of
girls.\(^1\) Next, in an article to demonstrate the need for a body like
her Women's Education Union, she looked beyond the supposed equality
of the Elementary Education Act\(^2\) to the 'monstrous' inequality of
grammar school endowments. The country was covered with endowed boys'
schools, their annual income nearly £300,000, while the few endowed
girls' schools had a hundredth of that sum.\(^3\) Accused by The Times of
covetousness,\(^4\) of robbing Peter to pay Paul, Maria Grey denied it,
'Surely it is not robbing the boys to restore to the girls what was
originally intended for them?' The reform of endowments was sanctioned

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\(^1\)The Times 30 March, 1872. What happened, apparently, was that the
Middle Class School Corporation, having expended their £60,000 on site
and buildings for a boys' school in Cowper Street, found that it lacked
an assembly hall. They had previously entertained the idea of a girls'
school but only £5,000 was subscribed for this purpose and the project
was set aside for want of funds. At this point it appeared that the
Trustees of Mary Datchelor proposed to build a girls' school. The £5000
was regarded then as no longer needed for that purpose and was spent on
building a hall for the boys. The Middle Class School Corporation's
behaviour attracted unfavourable comment in The Times and The Spectator,
inter al.

\(^2\) 'I hear, however, that some of the School Boards are trying to introduce
inequality by voting that a threepenny education is good enough for girls
while a fourpenny one must be given to boys...'

\(^3\) The Times, 23 May, 1872.

\(^4\) 'It may seem very rude to say this but...the sooner the National Union...
cares to cast longing eyes on any of the hundreds of thousands of pounds
which are devoted to, but which are still hundreds of thousands of pounds
below the need of male education, the sooner it will find favour in the
public eye and funds from the public purse..." The Times, 11 June, 1872.
On the whole, this Leader was sympathetic to the Union which it praised
as redeeming 'the vagueness, the inconsistency and the incoherence' of
women's rights theorists.
'We do not ask for equality of endowments for girls....but when we find it shown by the last Census that the proportion of women supporting themselves by professional work is to men in professions as 1 to 7, and their share of educational endowments is as 1 to 92, it does not appear unreasonable or extravagant to ask for some rectification of this enormous inequality at the hands of the Commissioners intrusted to carry out the Act.'

Maria Grey had been advised by The Times to proceed 'in a shrewd and practical spirit, with no overstrained notion of turning the sexes topsy-turvy.' The advice could hardly have been more superfluous. A few days earlier, in the Albert Hall, the public had been presented with a scheme which was exceptionally shrewd and practical: the forming of the Girls Public Day School Company. Lyttelton and others had discussed the prospectus of the Company's first school with Princess Louise 'paragraph by paragraph' and Lyttelton presided at the Albert Hall meeting. From him the audience, 'composed principally of ladies', heard what some may have discovered already from the Report of the Endowed School Commissioners published earlier that year: that it was proving far from easy to allocate endowment to girls. In some senses it was true, he admitted, that the hope of endowment was a remote one. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, like Taunton before them, felt strongly that such assistance should be given,

'but the Act of Parliament they had to administer was one of considerable complication, and the work was difficult. They might not be able, therefore, to do as rapidly as they wished all they had to do.'

1 The Times, 13 June, 1872.
2 The Times, 11 June, 1872.
3 The Times, 7 June, 1872.
4 The point had evidently been raised in connection with the Girls Public Day School proposal.
5 The Times, 8 June, 1872. Lyttelton alluded to their difficulties with London which were 'greater than in other parts of the country'. The Commissioners at this time were in the midst of their battle over Greycoat and Emanuel.
It was against this background of difficulty in working Section 12 that Maria Grey's project, the Girls Public Day School Company was launched. Here at last was a practical answer to a question which had occupied some of the feminists.

'Thailing any State action, and whilst waiting for the development of the Endowed Schools Act to meet the case of girls... What could be done... by voluntary effort?'

One of those who had early gone on record as doubtful what could be expected from endowments was J. C. Fitch, and after two years' work helping to apply the Act his views had not altered. In 1872 he told the British Association that too much importance was attached to endowments. However well organised by the Commissioners they would be inadequate, as well as suffering from 'a want of elasticity... not to be found in voluntary enterprise.' At a meeting the following year held by the Women's Education Union he spoke of the difficulties being experienced by the Commissioners in their struggle with trustees.

Very few endowments, he pointed out, envisaged the higher education of girls.

'....therefore they must not look to that source for the supply of the want which they felt. They must rely on private and individual effort and especially on that kind of corporate effort which came from meetings like the present... It was the first time that the people of England had become alive to the vast importance of the higher education

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1Mary Gurney, 'What are the Special Requirements for the Improvement of the Education of Girls.' Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1871, p. 368.

2He reminded members of the North of England Council in 1869 that 'in four cases out of five' the funds of endowed schools were far too small to allow of their being divided. See p. 106 above.
of women; and he hoped that they would bear in mind that the comparatively small sum from endowments available for this work must be supplemented by considerable local efforts...  

One of the earliest actions of the Union had been to set up a sub-committee to keep an eye on progress under Section 12, and, in January, 1873, this committee acknowledged gratefully 'the favour with which the Commissioners themselves regard the cause'. It also recognised that it was very difficult to carry a scheme against determined opposition and that victory in such cases would be futile since people would not use schools 'which may be said to have been given to them against their will.' The result of all this, as the report showed in detail, was that girls had many fewer Schemes than boys. The Committee's next report again lamented the adverse state of public opinion which neutralised the Commissioners' sympathy and a few months later in the Union's Journal Emily Shirreff herself inveighed against the progress of inequality.

'...how can we hold our peace when day by day additions are made to the old reckoning; when the feast is still liberally prepared for boys, and the crumbs grudgingly dropped to the girls?'

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1Journal of the Women's Education Union, 15 Oct. 1873, Vol. I No. 10, p. 166. Fitch was followed at this meeting by Mr. James Heywood who spoke of the need to give public support to the Endowed Schools Commissioners in their efforts for girls. 'He thought...the ladies ought to look for themselves and endeavour to keep public opinion up to the point.'

2First Annual Report of the National Union for improving the Education of Women, 1871-72.

3Journal of the Women's Education Union, 15 Jan. 1873, Vol. I, No. 1 pp. 10-

She gave as example a newspaper account of the new endowed boys' school at Newcastle, handsomely equipped. For girls, by comparison,

'Here and there the Endowed Schools Commissioners are able to open a school...on what scale, as compared with the above, we will say nothing now. More often they are able to promise that something shall be done when sufficient funds shall be accumulated, after the boys' wants have been fully satisfied...'

The women were grateful but disappointed; that is the impression overall. Not only were there fewer girls' schools than they had hoped for but none of them were first grade. In November, 1872 Maria Grey raised this question in the Times in connection with the Scheme for Dulwich.

The draft just published did girls full justice in what were called Middle Schools, she admitted, but while a magnificent first-grade boys' school was to be supplied in Dulwich College there would be no similar school for girls though local feeling would have favoured one. In February, 1873 the Women's Education Union sent a Memorial to the Commissioners on this case. They were grateful for the girls' schools proposed in Camberwell.

'But while in no way underv aluing the good which will undoubtedly be effected by these Schools, we cannot but feel deeply disappointed that the beneficent action of the Scheme has stopped at this point and that Girls are not to share with Boys the provision made for a higher class of education. We have noticed with regret that this has been generally the case in the schemes framed by the Commission; and this only increases our anxiety that advantage should be taken of what seems to the Union a fair opportunity of making a really considerable step towards supplying the want, which, it will not be denied, exists.'


2 The Times, 1 Nov. 1872. Lyttelton took her up on this in a letter explaining that in girls' school Schemes there was no sharp distinction between first and second grade. "...in fact, such girls' schools as we have proposed in Camberwell are much more first than second grade...I think if you look at the curriculum you will see that it includes all that anyone would wish for upper class girls up to 18. After that they should go to Girton or some suchplace." Letter, 4 Nov. 1872, Archives of the G.P.D.S.T., package labelled 'Letters to Mrs. Grey on women's education given to the Trust by H. W. T. Bowyear her nephew in 1927'.

3 P.R.O. Ed 27/2835 Memorial, 29 January, 1873.
Giving evidence a few months later before the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act Maria Grey again expressed the wish for first grade girls' schools. So far as Dulwich was concerned, and so far as draft Schemes went, her wish was granted. As a result of pressure from the Union and from one of its foremost supporters, C. S. Roundell, a governor of Dulwich, the Scheme was amended to include a girls' high School.

That this amendment was in fact deleted in 1875 (though actually by the Education Department) may have helped to confirm the Union's forebodings about the change of administrators which took place at this time. For whatever disappointment they had hitherto expressed about the extension of endowment to girls they understood very well who their friends were.

'The existence of the Endowed Schools Commission is secured for a time,' the Union's Journal had pointed out in April, 1874, 'but the period is not a long one; and those who feel how valuable is their support will do well to use any influence they possess in getting their terms of power prolonged.' This was especially important to women, the article went on, for the Endowed Schools Commissioners had considered their claims 'in a way they have never been considered before.' When the crisis came and the powers of the Commissioners were to be transferred to the Charity Commission the Union petitioned against the Bill. The departure

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1BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee & etc. Q 4316

2Roundell fought hard to persuade his fellow governors. See his letter of 30 Nov. 1872 to Lyttelton on P.R.O. Ed 27/2830 'I succeeded yesterday at Dulwich beyond expectations in carrying unanimously a proposal for establishing... a first-rate School for Girls with full equipment with Scholarships and Exhibitions.

3Journal of the Women's Education Union, 15 April, 1874, Vol. II, No. 16

4Third Annual Report 1873-4 of the National Union & Etc.
of Lyttelton they recognised as 'a serious blow' to women's education while their endowments sub-committee dwelt in its report on 'all these hopeful projects' - the Schemes designed to benefit girls — which must now remain for a time in abeyance. Whatever happened, there was a resolve that girls' endowments would not be forgotten if efforts on the part of the Union will prevent it.

In some respects, certainly, they were not forgotten. The Union made a formal protest against the Charity Commissioners' practice of establishing a ladies' committee instead of women governors in girls' schools. Its sub-committee continued to report on the output of Schemes which benefited girls and its Journal commented on individual cases.

Yet it is hard to resist the impression that after the Charity Commissioners took over, the Union lost much of its interest in endowments. Maria Grey's last letter to the Times on this subject was written in November, 1874.

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2. Third Annual Report 1873-4 of the National Union & Etc. The Committee went on to record its obligations to "all the members and officials of the Commission, both for the substantial aid which they have, to the utmost of their power, rendered to the cause of the Union, and for their uniform courtesy and readiness to give information to the Secretary."


4. p. 259 above.

5. For instance, in 1877, it drew attention to the fact that a boys' school was being built at Borden in Kent out of the funds of Barrow's Gift, bequeathed for the use of widows and poor men. Why should the money be used for boys only?

6. The Times 30 Nov. 1874. It covers the familiar ground: the inequality of distribution, the opposition faced by the Endowed Schools Commissioners in their attempts to redress the balance, the need of many girls to earn their own living because of the increasing disproportion of the sexes, concluding, 'I can only trust that what I have said may be enough to draw the most serious attention of those who have any direct influence on the application of endowments.'
In the New Year the Journal opened by warning those interested in women's education:

'not to expend too much energy in attempting to secure even their rights from the old endowments of the country.....It may be tempting to secure these loaves and fishes.' the article went on, 'but greater results may be obtained by an expenditure of far less effort, and with infinitely more personal gratification in other ways.'

Indeed, if the efforts of all the people who formed the Girls Public Day School Company had gone instead into trying to secure 'slices of existing endowments for girls' schools, was it likely that in two and a half years they would have been able to point to four schools, and to schemes for many more waiting to be started? 1 Again, in October, 1875, the way in which 'the liberal schemes of the late Endowed Schools Commissioners' had been thwarted as the result of local opposition was compared with the success which had followed the energetic work of the Company,'proof of how much may be done without endowments.' Those interested were once more warned against concentrating all their effort on endowments 'and...doing nothing else.' 2

Understandably, as time went on, the Union took pride in the part it played in helping to form a public opinion more interested in girls' schools. In 1880 the Journal looked forward to restoring gradually to girls their lost privileges, or, significantly, 'what perhaps may be better', raising new funds to secure the same end 'without depriving the boys of what they have enjoyed often so long, though.....so wrongfully.' This article wound up with the reminder that Educational Endowments were not large. People thought them larger than they were. 3 As to what was actually being done

1 Journal of the Women's Education Union, 15 Jan. 1875, Vol. III, No. 25, pp. 1-3. The article was written by George Bartley who edited the Journal with Emily Shirreff and was a member of the Council of the C.P.D.S..Co.


with them, the Journal's readers were kept informed by the reports of the endowments sub-committee and these were not cheering.

'Very little has been done towards establishing schools for girls by the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission during the past year,' they learnt in 1877. 'Enquiries have been made how far the schools for which Schemes have been framed and passed have been actually set on foot. The result is not very encouraging.'

Two years later,

'The claim of women to a share in Educational endowments has not received much more consideration in the year under review than we were able to record last year. Still something has been done.'

And in 1880,

'No new Schemes containing provisions for Girls' Schools were framed by the Commissioners during the past year and very little progress has been made in those already published.'

The Women's Education Union ceased to exist in 1882. Two years earlier subscribers had been asked to say if they thought it should continue or not as some of its principal aims had been accomplished. It was not suggested that retrieval of endowments for girls' education was among these successes. Nonetheless, such pressure as the Union had exerted in this area now came to an end.

'Guerilla warfare will not do in our times in any contest,' Maria Grey had stated, in an address to the North of England Council, 'We must have disciplined troops, a systematic plan of campaign.'

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The fine flower of all this discipline and system was the Girls Public Day School Company which could point, after twenty-one years, to 36 schools and 7000 scholars. But it had little to do with endowments, beyond ensuring that its own schools did not suffer in proximity to those of the Charity Commissioners. During the last twenty years of the century, so far as pressure from the women's movement went, Section 12 seems to have been worked in a vacuum.

4. Women Governors and Headmistresses.

There remained, however, certain pressures from within. In 1874 the newly-formed Association of Head Mistresses voted its thanks to the Endowed Schools Commissioners 'for the Position given to Women as Head Mistresses and Members of the Governing Boards of girls' schools'. How much influence did such women exert?

Certainly those interested in girls' education were eager to get women onto governing bodies. Maria Grey spoke very forcibly to the Select Committee:

As well as great influence, 'I think we are beginning to establish in England something of the feeling that there is in the great boys' public schools,' Mary Gurney told the Bryce Commission 'it is not for us to say whether other people could do the same, but we have had a remarkable effect on the education of girls throughout the country.'

High School fees were rather higher than fees in endowed grammar schools for girls and so the clientele was not quite the same. However, it is clear from the evidence given to the Bryce Commission on behalf of the Company that it was concerned with the threat of competition. At an early stage its Council had decided, whenever the founding of a new school was in question, to find out whether the Charity Commissioners were likely to establish one in that locality. (G.P.D.S.T. Archives, Minutes of the Council, 10 Dec. 1874) Where a High School was already established and the endowed school came along later the Company did not take --- could not afford to take --- the global view appropriate to the Union and welcome the arrival of reinforcements in the great battle for girls' education. It begged that the threat might be averted. The Headmistress of the Blackheath High School was nervous about the proposed Lewisham endowed school and the Headmistress of the Nottingham High School resisted the idea of an endowed school for girls.

Association of Head Mistresses of Endowed and Proprietary Schools, Minutes Dec. 22, 1874.
of 1873 about the importance of their being full members. The 'ladies committee' in the feminist view was a very poor substitute and as we have seen the Women's Education Union memorialised the Charity Commissioners against it. When it was proposed to have such a committee for the girls' school at Christ's Hospital objections were raised by the women most prominent in education and by the Association of Head Mistresses. On the Dulwich Scheme 'grave objection' was expressed to the provision for appointing women governors on a different basis from men and in other cases there was disappointment that they were to be so heavily outnumbered. Five women out of twenty governors was far too few, suggested Elinor Bonham Carter in commenting on the Greycoat Scheme. She proposed that half the governors should be women and a similar proposal was made some years later in Manchester by the High School Committee who attributed their school's success 'to the active participation of many women in its management.' To form a governing body for a girls' school by adding 3 women to 15 men seemed to them wholly unsatisfactory and they referred

1 BPP 1873 VIII Select Committee on Endowed Schools Acts (1869), QQ 4188-9.
2 P.R.O. Ed 27/4726, Memorial, April 24, 1885. The signatories included Lady Stanley of Alderley, Maria Grey, Emily Shirreff, Emily Davies, Frances Buss and Millicent Fawcett.
3 Ibid. Memorial Aug. 12, 1885.
4 P R O. Ed 27/2839, Letter to Endowed Schools Commissioners from Women's Education Union, 12 March, 1875.
5 P R O. Ed 27/3284, summer 1870. She was writing on behalf of the Association for Promoting the Application of Endowments to the Education of Women, whose views the Commissioners had invited.
6 P.R.O. Ed 27/2183, Memorial May, 1877.
the Charity Commissioners to the 'much more enlightened provision' at Bradford where it consisted of men and women equally.¹

Seen by the feminists, and also perhaps by the Endowed Schools Commissioners as a kind of Trojan Horse, there is nothing to suggest that the female governor actually opened the gates of the citadel. But while it would need a good deal of research to evaluate a role so largely expressed in terms of influence and difficult to measure there are signs that it was not insignificant. Mrs. Kitchener, an Assistant Commissioner reporting to the Bryce Commission on Lancashire, went out of her way to praise women governors. Speaking, as she said, 'with the hearty concurrence of many headmistresses' she saw their contribution in:

'The kind use made by such lady governors of their special knowledge and experience in all details of organisation affecting the health and comfort of teachers and pupils, their personal friendship and sympathy with the teachers...and the encouragement afforded by their co-operation in any social gatherings or entertainments organised by the pupils...'²

Reporting on Devonshire where girls' education suffered from the rigid divisions of society Mrs. Armitage looked on women governors as evangelists.

'It is from them that we may chiefly expect the personal influence which alone can overcome the difficulties presented by the caste problem. And many Devonshire Ladies have already shown that they can bring both ability and devotion to the service of the cause of education.'³

¹ P R O. Ed.27/2184, Memo. from Treasurer of High School, Feb. 1878.
² BPP 1895 XLVIII Report of Mrs. Kitchener, p. 322.
While the Commissioners' files do not show what influence was exercised by Emily Davies as a governor of the girls' school at Hitchin\(^1\) or by Maria Grey at the Greycoat School\(^2\) or by Emily Shirreff at St. Martin-in-the Fields,\(^3\) they offer a glimpse of Mary Gurney trying to get the leaving age raised at James Allen's\(^4\) and of other women governors, such as those at Gloucester, staunchly supporting the interest of girls. The Gloucester case, in fact, provides a good illustration of the way in which women's influence could count.

The Crypt Grammar School, Sir Thomas Rich's Boys' School and a lower school for girls had been established under a Scheme of 1882; an upper girls' school was to be provided when funds allowed. Five years later the governors were anxious to move the Crypt Grammar School to new buildings; they were very proud of it, anxious to take boarders and give it all the trimmings of a public school. The women governors took the view that to spend money on provision for boarders would be prejudicial to the interest of girls, whose single school was badly overcrowded and for whom an upper school was not yet in sight.\(^5\) They also pressed, against opposition from some other governors, to raise the upper age limit in the girls' school so that girls could stay to 18 and take the Higher

\(^1\)P.R.O. Ed 27/1710, Scheme approved May, 1888.
\(^2\)P.R.O. Ed 27/3285, Scheme approved March, 1873.
\(^3\)P.R.O. Ed 27/3322, Scheme approved March, 1873.
\(^4\)'Miss Gurney...would like the ordinary limit of leaving age to be relaxed, considering that 17 is too late an age at which to enter a new secondary school, and that the only possible step at that age from James Allen's school is to a College; but the majority of the Governors do not support her.' P.R.O. Ed 27/2809, Mitcheson's Report, 12 Dec. 1894.
\(^5\)P.R.O Ed 27/1408, Durnford's Report of 2 May, 1887.
Locals. 'Each of the ladies,' Dunford recorded, 'spoke with a great deal of warmth on this point.' The age limit at the girls' school was raised. Boarding at the Crypt School was dropped in the end. But not surprisingly, the women's influence did not suffice to correct the governors' tendency to treat the girls' school as a Cinderella. The Crypt Grammar School got its new buildings while the girls made do with an 'iron room' extension. When the schools were inspected in 1889 the Lady Governors complained to Bruce that the very small income allotted to girls was 'a violation of the spirit of the Scheme.'

The excellent start made by the girls' school at Rochester was largely due, in the Headmistress's opinion, 'to the influence and exertions of the Lady Governors.' and the Assistant Commissioner reported 'that the association of women in the management is a valuable feature of the Scheme.'

At Christs Hospital where important decisions were made being at the turn of the century about the siting of the enlarged girls' school the Ladies Committee played an active part. The question was whether to keep the school at Hertford or move it to share the boys' school site at Horsham. With one exception the ladies favoured Hertford, though one or two, it seems, would have supported the move 'if it could have involved

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1Ibid. For further references to the girls' school at Gloucester see Ch. XI, section 3 below.
4The representations of prominent women did not achieve their aim of getting female governors here. With some encouragement from H.M. Inspector's Christs Hospital managed this by 1921..PRO Ed 35/2522B.
really mixed education as in America.\(^1\)

To judge from Christ's Hospital, a Ladies Committee was better than nothing; and this conclusion seems to gain support from the case of Ipswich where nothing was provided.\(^2\) The Scheme resembled the Scheme for Gloucester: it established two boys' schools and one for girls. Again, the girls had much the worst premises and the least claim upon the interest of the governors.\(^3\) Again, there was a desire to raise the leaving age, fixed at 16 for the two middle schools. While boys, in theory, could go on to the Grammar School, there was no higher school for girls, apart from one run by the G.P.D.S. Co. with its relatively high fees. As the local paper put it, for girls

>'The ladder is cut off short....and it is not likely to be lengthened till the interests of female education are guarded on the governing body by those well able to urge their views....'

>'The ladies who get excited over 'women's rights' in the sense of political rights would do far better to turn their attention to a practical point such as this.'\(^4\)

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\(^1\)&nbsp;But this being acknowledged to be out of the question and it being admitted that the Girls' School if placed at Horsham at all must be on a site at a considerable distance, not less than a mile, from the Boys' School... the majority of the Ladies Committee agreed that they could not recommend the removal, especially as the opinions both of the Head Mistress and the Head Master were, on social and moral grounds, strongly adverse to placing the two Schools on the same site....' P.R.O Ed 27/4772, Council of Almoners to Charity Commissioners, May 21, 1900.

\(^2\)&nbsp;When the Scheme of 1881 was being made Latham suggested a Ladies Committee but the Charity Commissioners did not follow this up. P.R.O. Ed 27/4379 9 July, 1879.

\(^3\)&nbsp;P.R.O. Ed 27/4381. Eddis, inspecting in 1892, found the boys' Grammar School much enlarged and the boys' middle school — formerly a Hospital — about to add new classrooms while the girls were cramped in the old Hospital buildings in a rough neighbourhood next to the brewery. When the Headmistress asked for better buildings the governors said they couldn't manage it.

\(^4\)&nbsp;East Anglian Daily Times, 3 July, 1894.
The Ipswich paper no doubt over-estimated what women governors could achieve. They did not even always want to wave a flag for girls. But they did constitute one of the mechanisms designed to keep a Scheme on course. Maria Grey wanted them as governors of boys' schools; so did Lyttelton and Fitch. Can one believe that if there had been women on the governing bodies at Nottingham and Louth the requirement in those Schemes to establish girls' schools would have been flouted for a generation?

To turn from women governors to Headmistresses is to move from a hazy territory to one thickly planted with school histories and memoirs from which these pioneers emerge as persons of remarkable vigour and purpose. The files of the Commissioners sustain this impression.

In the 1890's James Allen's school is thriving under an 'energetic and capable' headmistress; Miss Rigg, the first Headmistress of Mary Datchelor, has gained for it a great reputation and in five years the girls' school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch has trebled its numbers under Miss Hogg. The governors look forward to its prosperous future as 'one of the centres of Girls Education in the Midland Counties' while the Assistant Commissioner

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1 The only governor of the Girls' School at Ashby-de-la-Zouch who opposed a move to new buildings in 1899 was Lady Maud Hastings who, apparently, was able to reconcile her own position with the view that the original appropriation of endowment to girls was an 'unjustifiable interference with the Trust.' P.R.O. Ed 27/2367, Selby-Bigge's Report, 6 Dec. 1899.

2 See her evidence to the Select Committee of 1873.

3 pp. 193-4 above.

4 P.R.O. Ed 27/2809 Mitcheson's Report, 12 June, 1894.

5 P.R.O. Ed 27/2903, Mitcheson's Report, 5 April, 1894.


7 Ibid. Governors' letter to Commissioners, March, 1899.
fears that 'so successful a teacher and organiser' will not stay unless the buildings are improved.¹ Three years after the Warwick school opened the governors applied to enlarge the buildings, influenced, said Stanton, 'by a desire to so improve Miss M. J. Fisher's position as to permanently secure her services.'² Inferior buildings were a handicap which had very often to be overcome, as at Mansfield, where the 'tact, energy and intelligence,' of Miss Crossland made her school so much more successful than the boys.³

It has already been suggested that the standard of the girls' schools tended to rise⁴ and in this the Headmistresses played a large part. If the lower school for girls at Gloucester was covering a range much wider than intended it was not just that the high school had not yet been built but that Miss Hickey on her appointment,

'plainly stated that her experience was derived from service under the girls' public day school company and her aim would be to conduct this school on similar lines. The result,' said Bruce 'has been the lifting of the school above the type contemplated.'⁵

Miss Hall, of the Maynard School at Exeter, possessed by an 'almost excessive ambition' to make it a phenomenal success, had also worked in a Company school ⁶ as had Miss Easton of Rochester, who wanted more class-

¹Ibid. Selby-Bigge op. cit.
³P.R.O. Ed 27/3784, Leach's Report, 13 March, 1889.
⁴P. 290 above.
⁵P.R.O. Ed 27/1408, Bruce's Report on visit of Nov. 5, 1889.
rooms and a laboratory and drew up a closely-reasoned memorandum on
the need to raise the upper age limit to 19. There was, she said, no
local college where girls could go after leaving at 17; many became
Pupil Teachers just to stay on. They could not be admitted to Oxford
or Cambridge or Holloway College, nor take advantage of the £60.
scholarship offered to girls by the Kent County Council.¹ 'I think she
has made a good case,' said Young, minuting to the Chief Commissioner.²

It was in fact the case of many Headmistresses faced with the gap
between rising aspirations and the old Taunton view of well-defined grades.
In 1869 there had been no women's colleges connected with any university.
The foundation not long afterwards of Girton and Newnham raised the
sights of teachers not only in such places as Bedford where there was a
first grade school but in places such as Burton-on-Trent where there was
not. Alsopp's Middle Schools, Burton-on-Trent, had been founded on a level
well below the Grammar School. Now, in 1881, the governors of the girls'
school were very anxious to 'push it up higher and make it a place where
girls could be directly prepared for Girton College.'³ Behind them was
Miss Rutty, the new Headmistress, with her First Class Honours Certificate
(Cambridge Women's Examination)⁴ and standards formed teaching in the

¹P.R.O. Ed 27/1922, Memorandum, Feb. 1898.
²Ibid. April, 1898.
⁴The paper qualifications of Headmistresses varied greatly. Some, like
Miss Beck at Grays Thurrock (1890) appeared to have none; others, like the
Headmistress at Thetford (1891) and Miss Fisher at Warwick (1882) had the
Cambridge Higher Local; Miss Bebbington of Tiffins (1889) had the History
Tripos, Miss Hamm of Simon Langton (1896) had been to Newnham, Miss Creak
of King Edward VI School, Birmingham (1893) had also been to Newnham and
was B.A. London, while Miss Hall, Headmistress of the Maynard School
Exeter (1888) had declined a scholarship to Newnham because she preferred
to study in Paris.
first grade school in Bradford.

'Since I think it necessary to raise the standard of work,' she had explained not long after her appointment, 'I should suggest that in the list of subjects 'Elements of Algebra and Geometry' should be changed to 'Mathematics' so that we may take this subject as far as we please. I should also much like to add Greek, for, although it is at present impossible to take this, it may at some future time be desirable to do so, seeing it is required for the London degree, and for the Girton entrance examination.'

She hoped to establish a prep. department, to raise the leaving age and fees and also to change the name of the school which, to her chagrin, many local people tended to associate with Allsopp's, the brewers.

'I myself incline to the title of 'The Girls Grammar School' as ranking us at once with the Grammar School and avoiding all confusion with the Higher Grade School.'

Exhibitions, of course, were desirable,

'to assist some of the pupils in continuing their work either at the Skinner Street Training College, or at one of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. A dining room is very essential. I cannot at the present time think of anything else that is urgent but I will note down anything fresh that may occur to me.'

Miss Rutty addressed these views to her governors; by such means individual Headmistresses might hope to influence the Charity Commission when it came to amending a particular Scheme. But Miss Buss had early on recognised the need of what was in effect a new profession to formulate standards and speak collectively. The Association of Head Mistresses

1P.R.O. Ed 27/4219, Letter of 26 July, 1881 to Mr. Wardle, a governor.

2The quality of Miss Rutty is well seen in her letter of 5 Jan. 1882 to Mr. Wardle setting out the reasons why her school needs better buildings. One is that 'the higher classes....require to be...divided for certain subjects, according to the careers for which the different girls are destined....'
which she founded in 1874\textsuperscript{1} pressed upon the Charity Commissioners such matters as their wish to see Assistant Mistresses covered by the pension arrangements of Schemes,\textsuperscript{2} their 'strong conviction' against over-large boarding schools\textsuperscript{3} and their preference for women on governing bodies rather than on separate Ladies' Committees.\textsuperscript{4} Most of what they say has the stamp of experience. Thus, when they object to the omission of Latin from the curriculum for girls at Christs Hospital their grounds are more professional than educational: Latin is so much required from teachers and if these girls enter the teaching profession they will be placed at a disadvantage compared with pupils from other schools.\textsuperscript{5}

Not surprisingly, the Head Mistresses' concern was with the working of schools in existence rather than with the means of creating them; and while they were ready to pass a resolution that 'all endowments left for "children" should be applied in a fair proportion to girls as well as...boys'\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Its full title was The Association of Head Mistresses of Endowed and Proprietary Schools; those present at the inaugural meeting on Dec. 22, 1874, were evenly divided between the two types of school and when approached in 1895 by the Committee of Head Mistresses of Endowed Schools in London to form a close link its reaction was 'that it was the function of the Association to deal with the questions that affect all schools,' and not only schools of a special class'. (Archives of Headmistresses' Association, Minutes of Conference, June, 1895).

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. Special Meeting of Executive Committee, June, 7, 1879.

\textsuperscript{3} P.R.O. Ed 27/4726, Letter from Association of Head Mistresses to Charity Commissioners about Scheme for Christs Hospital, 12 August, 1885.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{6} Archives of Headmistresses' Association, Minutes of an Extraordinary Conference called on 7 April, 1896 to consider the new Education Bill.
they did not make it their business to scrutinise the working of
Section 12 in the style of the endowments sub-committee of the Women's
Education Union. Indeed, when a member pointed out

'what great work was to be done in watching the application of
endowments and grants to girls, and it was shown how in some
counties especially in Shropshire and Essex many valuable
endowments....available for girls were being lost to them
through neglect,'

the response was that 'members of the Association were far too busy to take
up such work.'¹ What they did take up was the claim of girls' schools to
receive grants for technical education. In December, 1890 at a special
meeting they discussed

'The almost total omission of any provision of technical
instruction especially adapted to the needs of girls' in
London's proposals for spending the Whiskey Money.²

This, they concluded, did not arise out of any opposition to women

'but rather from oversight, and it seemed most important that
women should show that they are very much in earnest in wishing
to share the advantages of technical instruction.'

Their Committee had sent observers to a conference arranged by the National
Association for Promoting Technical Instruction at which the County Councils
reported their plans. Startled to find that girls were being ignored,
the Head Mistresses pledged themselves to work in their localities and
try to stimulate governing bodies to apply for grants. Since a grant now
would constitute a claim for the future the matter was felt to be
particularly urgent. At subsequent meetings they heard reports on how

¹Archives of Headmistresses' Association, Special Conference, 7 March, 1891.
²Ibid. Special Conference, 6 Dec. 1890.
matters stood under different authorities and drafted a Memorial to the County Councils listing the objects for which aid was needed.

In a recent study of girls' education it has been pointed out that the late nineteenth century saw comparatively little advance and that the impetus given by the Taunton Commission was not sustained into the 1890's. Undoubtedly the change made in 1874 in the administration of the Endowed Schools Acts contributed to this. There seems to have been also, from about the same time, a waning of that interest in girls' secondary schooling which had preoccupied the women's movement at national level since the middle Sixties. These two factors are surely connected.

The removal of their friends from Victoria Street had something to do with the National Union's apparent loss of interest in endowments. But apart from this, there is the larger question as to what the 'women's movement' may be said to have consisted of, nationally, towards the end of the century. In the sphere of secondary education there is the Girls Public Day School Company pursuing its own line with great success; there is the Headmistresses' Association mainly concerned with the problems of headmistresses. But there is no pressure from an organised movement for a vigorous application of Section 12 comparable with that which in the 1860's helped to bring that Section into being. The reason may be that a 'women's movement' in the earlier sense no longer existed.

1 In Bradford, the headmistress of the girls' school reported, 'everything had been given to the boys'; in Bristol the grant was to be equally divided between boys and girls and applied to science teaching; in Birmingham it seemed that the money could be spent on establishing new institutions rather than aiding those already in existence. Ibid., Special Conference, 7 March, 1891.

2 1. The Erection or enlargement of Studios and laboratories and the purchase of apparatus. 2. The salaries of teachers of art, scientific and commercial subjects. 3. Scholarships for continuance in secondary schools and from secondary schools to places of higher technical instruction. 4. Reduction of fees for technical instruction.' Ibid. Conference, June, 1892.

3 Rita McWilliams Tullberg: Women at Cambridge (1975) p. 101
CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION: A COMPARISON OF THE WORK OF THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSIONERS AND THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS

Future generations, said the Charity Commissioners, in a report which marked the quarter-century since the Endowed Schools Act was passed, would look back on this period in girls' education as 'an epoch in the creation and application of Endowments...similar to that which is marked, for the Education of Boys and Men, by the Reformation.' The Bryce Commission found this passage worth quoting and pointed out that some 80 endowed schools now gave secondary education to girls compared with only 12 found by the Taunton Commission. If they were aware that over half of the 80 had in fact been launched by the Endowed Schools Commissioners within 5 years of the Taunton Report they did not say so.

Nor did the women's interest, which had certainly been concerned lest the claims of girls should suffer from the changeover of 1874, ever venture on a close comparison of the two sets of administrators. The endowments sub-committee of the National Union had in any case ceased to exist long before the work of the Charity Commissioners was first appraised publicly, in 1886.

In that year the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Endowed Schools Acts heard that a great deal had been done for girls. 'I may say at once that we have been able to act upon that section very largely,' said Richmond, who was Secretary to the Commission, while Young, who was

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3. BPP 1886 IX Select Committee on Endowed Schools Act, Q 120.
in charge of endowed schools work, spoke of the necessities of female education as 'specially commended to us by this clause.' They could certainly claim to have favoured it, he said, 'as indeed under the terms of the Act we are bound to do.' Sir George Young also submitted a table which showed how the number of secondary school places for both boys and girls had increased under the Acts. For girls he counted 40 schools in operation in 1880, all but three of them entirely new.

More than once before this the Charity Commissioners had drawn attention to the growth of provision under Section 12 and shown concern that what had been accomplished, 'however satisfactory in itself', was far from meeting the requirements of the case. They did not admit to any weakening of commitment. Nonetheless, as the figures make clear, their performance was well behind their predecessors.

1. Relative provision for girls.

In something over five years, from 1869 to their demise in 1874, the Endowed Schools Commissioners were responsible for Schemes establishing 47 girls' schools and one mixed school. Indeed, those schools listed by the

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1 pp. 266-7 above.
2 BPP 1886 IX op. cit. Q 622.
3 BPP 1886 IX op. cit. Q 621.
4 BPP 1886 IX op. cit. Appendix No. 3. This table uses data from the Fortescue Return to compare the number of pupils in 1880 with the number found by the Taunton Commission.
5 BPP 1886 IX op. cit. Q 626. He also drew attention (Q 848) to the many Schemes which contained 'postponed clauses' favourable to girls. In practice, as we saw, (Ch. IX Section 3 above) such clauses amounted to nothing.
6 BPP 1881 XXVIII Twenty-Eighth Report of the Charity Commissioners.
7 pp. 171-172 above. The Schemes are summarised in Appendix III ( ) and ( ).
Charity Commissioners in their Report for 1879 to demonstrate 'some of the principal results...in extending the benefits of Endowments to girls' had all been launched by their predecessors. From 1875 until 1903, when the work was handed over to the Board of Education, the Charity Commissioners made Schemes establishing 47 girls' schools and 6 mixed schools. In other words, provision under Section 12 could be attributed more or less equally to the two Commissions, though one worked for 5 years and one for twenty-eight.

It would, however, be very misleading to make such figures the sole basis of comparison, chiefly because, as time went on, the making of first Schemes became a less significant proportion of the work to be done. The volume of maintenance work increased with every Scheme made. As the Commissioners explained, a large and steadily increasing share of the attention of their Endowed Schools Department was occupied

'with business which, though closely connected with the operation of the Endowed Schools Acts, is not provided for in them. It is a matter of almost daily occurrence that business arising in the ordinary course of the administration under the Charitable Trusts Acts calls for reference to the Endowed Schools Department and not infrequently entails the employment of an Assistant Commissioner on work of which no record can appear in our statistical tables, but in which the special experience of the Department cannot be dispensed with.'

1 BPP 1878-9 XX Twenty Sixth Report & Etc.
2 The Schemes are summarised in Appendix VII
3 See pictogram in Appendix XI which represents the girls' schools described in Appendix III (I) and (II) and Appendix VII. These are schools as established by Scheme and not schools as they came into operation, often some time after the Scheme had been made. See p. 171 above.
4 BPP 1893-4 XXV Fortieth Report & Etc.
Apart from this, as first Schemes accumulated, the need to make amending Schemes grew as well. In 1897 the Commissioners admitted that such Schemes formed 'a large portion of our work'. There were various reasons for this. Among the more general was the need to ensure that schools were able to qualify for aid under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889; amendments were made to provide for the admission of Council representatives onto governing bodies. Some Schemes were adjusted to allow for the reduction of endowment income caused by the depression in agriculture, others to meet a change of circumstances revealed on inspection.

The work of inspection, introduced in 1888, meant the 'partial diversion' of Assistant Commissioners employed under the Endowed Schools Acts. In the same year, the Welsh Intermediate Education Act opened a new area of work for the Commission and one which made demands on its Endowed Schools Department. To meet them, two of the Assistant Commissioners had to be withdrawn from the work of inspection. Another burden was laid on the

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1 BPP 1897 XXIV Forty Fourth Report para. 35.
2 p. 318 above
3 BPP 1889 XXVIII Thirty-Sixth Report & Etc.
4 The Act put Wales well ahead of England by creating local education authorities with power to raise a rate for secondary education and the duty to draw up schemes for their areas which should have regard to local endowments. These schemes were submitted to the Charity Commission, which was also represented on the local committees.
5 'Subject to the inevitable demands of that Act, 'the Commissioners reported in 1892, 'the work under the Endowed Schools Acts as regards England has been actively carried out, though with somewhat diminished statistical results...' BPP 1892 XXVII Thirty Ninth Report & etc.
6 There were 5 full-time Assistant Commissioners from the early days until 1885, when the number went up to eight; the next year it was nine, the most ever employed. By 1889 it was seven, then down to six through most of the Nineties, and five from 1898 (Imperial Calendar).
Commission by the City Parochial Charities Act of 1883, under which, in the next ten years, 26 Schemes were made for polytechnics and similar institutions in London. Apart from all this, in the later years, the Commissioners' work was much interrupted by the demands of committees of inquiry. It would be hard to say if they were more impeded by such investigation than the earlier Commissioners. What is clear is that, for several different reasons, they produced fewer first Schemes, pro rata, under the Endowed Schools Acts than their predecessors.

It is little use, then, drawing conclusions about the work that was done for girls simply by comparing the number of girls' schools launched by both Commissions. What needs to be compared is the proportion which girls' schools represented, in each case, of all the schools established. The Endowed Schools Commissioners made Schemes to establish 130 schools for boys, 47 for girls and one mixed school. The Charity Commissioners made Schemes to establish 281 schools for boys, 47 for girls and 6 mixed schools. If the mixed schools are divided equally between boys and girls we arrive at the position that girls' schools represent 27% of the Endowed Schools Commissioners' total provision and 15% of the Charity Commissioners'. Why was there this significant difference?

One can only speculate. Is it perhaps possible that the first

1 BPP 1893-4 XXV Fortieth Report & Etc. p. 39. The People's Palace, the Regent Street, Borough Road, Battersea and Northern Polytechnics were among the institutions endowed through this redistribution of the City Charities.


3 All these schools are listed in Appendix XII.
Commissioners picked out cases where it was easy, relatively speaking, to make a Scheme for girls? There is nothing to suggest it. On the contrary, they chose their first districts — Somerset, Dorset and the West Riding — because these were parts with which they chanced to be familiar, and aimed to work systematically through them. Scrutiny of the way they set to work shows the implementation of Section 12 was only one aspect of the task they embarked on, which was to reorganise endowed school provision on Taunton lines to meet the needs of each locality. In this essential reorganisation girls had a claim, but not the first claim. It was one which might have to be reduced or abandoned.

If it is hard to make out a case that the Charity Commissioners were dealing with foundations inherently less promising, in regard to girls, than those remodelled by their predecessors, it is true that, unlike them, they had to contend with the effects of the agricultural depression. Many of their Schemes, said the Chief Commissioner, were wholly or partially paralysed by it.\textsuperscript{2} In 1890, the Commissioners reported that the resources of some country schools had been reduced by half.\textsuperscript{3} Could this have affected the claims of girls especially? It cannot be ruled out. Any

\textsuperscript{1}Chapter II above.

\textsuperscript{2}BPP 1886 IX Select Committee on Endowed Schools Acts, Q 6243. See also Fearon's evidence. Ibid. Q 5906

\textsuperscript{3}BPP 1890 XXVI Thirty Seventh Report & Etc.
marginal claim was likely to suffer if money was tight. It must be said, though, that the Commissioners themselves never made this particular connection in their Annual Reports nor in evidence before various Committees when justifying what they had done or failed to do.

Far, indeed, from producing new and adverse circumstances which bore upon the working of Section 12 they most emphatically directed attention to the improvement here in public attitudes.

'I cannot say that I have found much unwillingness to give girls what I may call their share in these endowments,' Richmond told the Select Committee in 1886. 'I think that more and more the public have come to see that girls ought to have...their fair share.'

'A proposal to establish a girls' school, he suggested, was 'welcomed now for the most part.' Asked if that were not a modern development he answered that he had not experienced very strongly 'any general objection on the part of the public to our doing what we can for girls.'

Later he spoke of a 'very remarkable change' which had been forced on his attention. Harking back to what the Endowed Schools Commissioners had had to say in 1874 about the frustration of their efforts for girls Richmond said that he could not describe the state of public feeling in anything like those terms.

'Whether it be due...to the fact that the schools which have been established for girls under Schemes of ours have...without exception been remarkably successful...or whether it be due to the great public work...carried out by the Girls Public Day School Company; or...to the fact that the whole matter of improving and developing

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1 The comments just cited relate in any case to the working of Schemes already made. There is certainly evidence on files that 'contingent' provision for girls (see Appendix IX) was nipped in the bud by the rural depression. pp. 315-318 above.

2 BPP 1886 IX Select Committee & Etc. Q. 1150.

3 Ibid. Q 1151.

secondary education...occupies much more of public attention than it did; the fact, I think, is quite indisputable, that not only do we find, whenever we make a proposal in favour of an extension of an endowment to girls, provided it can be done without...endangering the work which the endowment may hitherto have been devoted to, that it is not objected to, but, on the contrary, we very often are urged in that direction.¹

Richmond was speaking now as a Commissioner. In the old days he had been Assistant Secretary, then Secretary to the Endowed Schools Commission; before that, an Assistant Commissioner for Taunton, so presumably he knew what he was talking about.

Fearon, now Secretary to the Charity Commission, whose own career went similarly back to Taunton, confirmed by implication what Richmond had said and stated that he thought that public opinion in regard to girls might improve still further.²

Sir George Young, whose experience of the work dated only from 1882, nonetheless confirmed that the feeling against girls' schools did not exist to such a great extent as formerly.³

In 1886, then, the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission was united on this point; and there is no sign that they altered later. The Commissioners' Report for 1901 quotes Leach on the support which the Governors of Leeds Grammar School were ready by then to give to the girls' school.

'Taken with similar indications of opinion in other cases, it would appear,' he wrote, 'that the policy laid down in the Endowed Schools Act 1869 that.... provision shall be made, so far as conveniently may be, for extending to girls the benefit of Endowments, which used to be much opposed, is now generally approved.'⁴

¹BPP 1886 IX Select Committee & Etc. Q 1594. See also Q 1655 for more of his evidence on these lines.
²Ibid. QQ 5906-8.
³Ibid. Q 849.
⁴BPP 1901 XVIII Forty Eighth Report & Etc. p. 35.
399.
If that waa so, then the Charity Commissioners managed their relatively
inferior performance in the operation of Section 12 over a period when
they were increasingly getting support from public opinion.^
opinion are difficult to measure.

Shifts of

Reinforcing Richmond's impression one

could cite the zeal of the people of Tadcaster who thought that they
could not better commemorate Her Majesty's Jubilee than by building a
girls' school.

2

Against it, one might set the unyielding opposition of

the people at Blandford, vigorously expressed to thi)same Select Committee,
to the idea of converting a defunct boys' school into one for girls.

One

need not look far to discover, right up to the end of the century, open
debate on girls' education conducted at a level which seems to suggest that
the Taunton Commission had never existed.*

Nonetheless, the fact that those

concerned with the question and most experienced over a period thought that
public opinion had improved is significant.

And, in view of it, the Bryce

1

It is interesting that Richmond chose to illustrate his view before the
Select Committee by citing St. Olave's, Southwark, and Berkhamsted, since
both were cases where public opinion was making itself felt through demo­
cratic channels. In Southwark, the vestries of St. Clave and St. John were
a powerful lobby for girls' education and their representative Mr. Edric
Bayley, himself appeared before the Select Committee. In Berkhamsted, as
has been pointed out already (pp. 302-Aa%ove)any change of heart in the
governing body resulted from the presence there since 1877 of vestry represen­
tatives, especially Henry Nash.

^Ch. VIII 3

above.

4
See, for instance, the report in the Walsall Free Press, May 9, 1891, of a
meeting of the Town Council which discussed a Scheme to establish a girls'
school.
'Councillor Baker objected to girls of 14 being taught at school
piano playing, fiddling, painting, natural science, when at 16 they would
have a beau (laughter).
The Mayor: As well as the fiddle.
Councillor Baker: And at 20 they'll be thinking of getting married.
Councillor Clare: Wish to be perhaps (laughter).'


Commission's statement that for any defect in provision of girls' schools, 'the backward state of public opinion and not the Charity Commission is to blame,' \(^1\) needs to be taken with a grain of salt.

How, then, can one account for the fact that the Charity Commissioners, at the end of the day, had shown themselves so much less effective than their predecessors in working Section 12? The likeliest answer is that they were so much less committed to it.

2. Personnel of the two Commissions.

It is worth recalling once more that the 1869 Act came into being to give effect to principles which had been most powerfully advocated by the Taunton Commission. These included the grading of schools, the imposition of fees, the abolition of religious restrictions, the opening up of governing bodies and the extension of endowment to girls. By such means, in the Taunton view, an important part of the nation's heritage could once more be made to serve the nation; and to this ideal, for such it can be called, the men appointed as Endowed Schools Commissioners subscribed wholeheartedly. Indeed, they had shaped it. \(^2\) 'I looked upon ourselves as missionaries sent to lighten the heathen,' was how Hobhouse put it. \(^3\) And when Lyttelton, faced with dismissal, told the Lords,

> the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the dust'

there is no reason to doubt that he meant it.

But by 1875, with one exception, the missionaries had gone. In 1872 Hobhouse had taken an appointment in India. Roby replaced him. But two years later Lyttelton and Roby were dismissed. Of the three Commissioners and Secretary who had been appointed in 1869 there remained only the safe man, Robinson.

\(^1\) BPP 1895 XLVIII Royal Commission on Secondary Education, p. 75.

\(^2\) Their various links with the Taunton Commission are described in Chapter I.

\(^3\) L. T. Hobhouse & Etc., op. cit. p. 46
Robinson's attachment to Taunton principles is not in question.\textsuperscript{1} but it cannot be doubted that he was less of a crusader than his colleagues and in the late Seventies we see him sometimes failing to respond to local interest in girls. 'Insert some general words, 'ran his instruction on Dorchester, 'empowering Governors when funds admit to apply part of income to education of Girls....'\textsuperscript{2} He was not to know that such 'general words' in the event were never acted upon. But what he must have known was that the Scheme for Dorchester drafted by the Endowed Schools Commissioners had envisaged both a boys' and a girls' school. And now when the Charity Commissioners proposed a Scheme for boys' only, the inhabitants themselves suggested doing something for girls. What they suggested was a little remote: simply, that a girls' school should be established when the income exceeded £500. a year;\textsuperscript{3} but what they got from Robinson was more remote still.

In 1877 some residents of Hipperholme pointed to 'one important omission' in the Scheme proposed by the Charity Commissioners as compared with the draft of their predecessors: the section relating to girls had been struck out.\textsuperscript{4} They asked to have a clause which would make it possible for girls to be included when funds were sufficient.

'You have, we believe, given such power to other schools in the country, under similar trusts, and we should very much like our daughters at some future time to be able to partake of the benefits arising from such a school.'

Robinson however decided against it.

\textsuperscript{1} pp. 23\textsuperscript{a} and 26 above.

\textsuperscript{2} P.R.O. Ed 27/857, Part IV: 20 Nov. 1878.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid. Objections put forward at a public meeting held 3 Oct. 1878.

\textsuperscript{4} P.R.O. Ed 27/5889 Objection submitted by Mr. John Oakes, No. 240 on file.
It would probably be straining the evidence too far to say that Hipperholme typifies the changed mood in which the Endowed Schools Acts were administered after 1874. Nonetheless, it is an interesting case because the same Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner handled it throughout, and in the early days it had been extremely controversial. Fearon, in fact, in 1872, had been accused by the grammar school headmaster of showing favour to a radical group who wanted to see the school more accessible to local children, including girls. Now, six years later, Fearon was advising Robinson that it would 'hardly be desirable' to put in a girls' clause as had been requested. His reason was that no funds were available and that such a change might arouse opposition. His advice was taken.

A case like Hipperholme raises the question of the part played by the Assistant Commissioners, all of whom continued after 1874. Here were five men, conditioned, one might say, to the radical approach of the earlier regime, and four of them --- Fearon, Fitch, Stanton and Hammond --- had served their apprenticeship with Taunton. When the changeover came, might one not have expected them to act as a leaven in the Charity Commission?

As to that, it must be remembered that, however much their advice was respected, policy decisions did not rest with them. Further, that the

1. pp. 64-5, 217-8 above.

2. 'When Mr. Fearon first commenced his inquiries here he placed himself in communication with a clique who called themselves the Hipperholme School Inquiry Association.... I cannot therefore regard this gentleman's proceedings as impartial or straightforward...I could add much more detail as to the manner in which his inquiries have been conducted: but I forbear: I am no diplomatist: and...I should have no chance against his subtle intellect in controversy --- he has such plausibility of explanation...' P.R.O. Ed 27/5887. Mr. Fleay to Commissioners, 25 Sept. 1872.

notable feminist among them, Fitch, left this work in 1876 and that
Hammond died young in 1880. Fearon and Stanton were the ones who carried
on and Fearon subsequently was promoted into the realms of policy-making.
In 1886 he became Secretary to the Charity Commission and was made a
Commissioner in 1900.\textsuperscript{1} It would be absurd, on the strength of Hipperholme,
to suggest that he grew fainter in support of girls; indeed, in the Nineties,
he was pleased to hark back to the old days when Miss Buss had given evidence
before the Schools Inquiry Commission.\textsuperscript{2} But there is also little to
suggest that at any stage this particular issue meant as much to Fearon as
it did to Fitch or even, among younger men, to Arthur Leach.\textsuperscript{3} If the
temper of the Office had become less radical one would not perhaps look to
Fearon to change it.

What about the new men? The endowed school files yield very little
impression of Lord Clinton who was appointed as a Commissioner alongside
Robinson in 1875.\textsuperscript{4} Later on they had some assistance from Henry Longley,
a Charity Commissioner who came in with experience of poor law work and,
there are grounds to think, with poor law attitudes.\textsuperscript{5} Another Commissioner,
Francis Martin, took charge of Endowed School matters in Norfolk while the
Chief Commissioner dealt with London.

\textsuperscript{1}He struck Sir George Young in 1882 as 'the best...of our very able Assistant
Commissioners.' Young to Gladstone, 26 April, 1886, supporting Fearon's
application for the Secretaryship. BM Add MS 44,497 f. 49.

\textsuperscript{2}See the account of his speech at the North London Collegiate prizegiving,
1892, in Our Magazine, North London Collegiate School, Vol. XVII Nov. 1892,
No. 52. On this occasion Mrs. Fearon gave away the prizes.

\textsuperscript{3}pp.405-410 below.

\textsuperscript{4}p. 238 above. Clinton only stayed in this post till 1880.

\textsuperscript{5}pp.412-5 below. Henry Longley (1833-1899) was the son of an Archbishop of
Canterbury, educated at Rugby and Christ Church, and joined the Charity
Commission in 1874 after six years as a poor law inspector. He was made
Chief Commissioner in 1885.
What had been the climate of decision-making when Lyttelton, Hobhouse, Robinson and Roby sat round a table one can only guess; no minutes of their Board meetings survive. After the changeover, for about a year endowed schools work remained in Victoria Street and decisions were taken in a separate Board comprising Robinson, Clinton and the Chief Commissioner.\(^1\) In March, 1876 came the move to Gwydyr House. They were now part of the Principal Office and Endowed Schools policy was settled at a Board attended by all the Charity Commissioners and concerned also with Charitable Trusts work. These meetings began with the routine endorsement of Orders made to appoint Trustees, or extend the time for completion of sales, or redeem rent charges, or publish notices under the Agricultural Holdings Act and similar things. A tedious prologue consisting of forty or fifty such items preceded the stage where matters were discussed 'and the opinion of the Board taken thereon'.\(^2\) Many of these matters were specific and technical and concerned the Charitable Trusts Acts. The overlap with Endowed Schools work can be clearly seen and it may well have been convenient, as more than one Commissioner a gued, to have the two sections taken together.\(^3\) What is less clear is whether policy making of a dynamic kind could thrive in these conditions.

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1. No minutes survive, though extracts from them for the period 31 January, 1875 to 23 March, 1876 are interleaved in the General Minute Book of the Charity Commission.

2. The Minutes usually record decisions taken, rather than any discussion of policy.

3. Longley saw it as removing the possibility of friction between two departments concerned with the same subject matter (BPP 1886 IX Select Committee & Etc. Q 6226). Richmond, though he had regretted the changeover, came round to thinking it had served a useful purpose 'because of the need which would have arisen of constant communication with the Charity Commission...' (Ibid. Q 1047) Fearon said it had worked 'very beneficially indeed'. He found it so useful to get information direct from the Charitable Trusts Department he could not think how they had managed before. (Ibid. QQ. 5884, 5886).
That is not to say that on individual cases a forward-looking attitude made no impression. We have seen that it did. Sir George Young, appointed a Charity Commissioner in 1882 on the death of Robinson, emerges as a man of considerable independence and certainly one who fought very hard for girls. The long-protracted battle over Leeds has been described in detail and nothing about it, perhaps, is more striking than the sting in the tail: that point where, after fourteen years' intransigence, the Trustees had conceded £12000, but Young insisted that it should be set aside from the date of the Scheme for the benefit of girls, so that all the interest would accrue to them.\(^1\) He was tough over Blandford and equally tough in the case of Skipton, fighting there not for money but for Latin. Sir George Young, clearly was a man who liked a fight, who may even have been more of a fighter than a feminist.\(^2\) Among the staff of the Charity Commission the only man who was feminist enough to speculate on what was being done for girls was Arthur Leach.

Since Leach became known as the Historian of medieval schools and said himself that he developed this interest through his work for the Charity Commission, it is not surprising that the files reveal him grubbing into archives on occasion,\(^3\) or adding a pedantic footnote to

\(^1\) p. 275 above.

\(^2\) In addition to his fights on endowed school questions Young fought for the admission of women to degrees (Obituary, Times, 5 July, 1930). On the other hand, the tedious but not unimportant issue of whether women should be full governors of schools left him indifferent (see Bryce Commission evidence). At Skipton, undoubtedly he cared about Latin; undoubtedly also his hackles rose because never before had a Scheme been remitted by the Education Department on a question of curriculum.

\(^3\) See, for instance, his substantial research into the archives of University College, Oxford, the Public Record Office and the Duchy of Lancaster which opened proceedings over Normanton Grammar School. P.R.O. Ed 27/6003.
reports. What is less expected is that he should appear most modern of all the Assistant Commissioners. His reports throw up a host of minor comments which look more to the future than the past. The 'horrible exhibition of raw-flesh-coloured arms' exposed on a cold day by the inadequate costume of the Girls' Charity School in Sheffield drew from him the view that, as they made their own clothes, 'they really might be dressed in a decently modern garb.' He could not take seriously the attitude in Walsall of those who wished to separate the boys' and the girls' schools by a high brick wall; his advice on siting ignored contiguity 'which I do not think matters.'

Leach was appointed an Assistant Commissioner in 1884. He came from Winchester and New College, had read for the Bar and been a Fellow of All Souls — a background not unlike that of his colleagues in the second 'wave' of Assistant Commissioners — but somewhere he had cultivated,

1'Lastly, if it is desired to make the name of the foundation correspond to its true origin, the name of the Schools should be altered from the fancy title of "Queen Mary's Schools" to the 'Walsall Guild Grammar School' as, long before the reign of Mary, the Grammar School was in existence, maintained out of the revenues of the Guild of St. John Baptist of Walsall...The chauntry certificates show the school to have been maintained by the Guild. In one of them is written against the entry as to the Guild "Continuature Schola quosque"....' Last paragraph of Leach's Report, Jan. 7, 1892, on the public inquiry held in Walsall, P.R.O. Ed 27/4326.

2P.R.O. Ed 27/6139, Leach to Young, 8 March, 1885.

3One of the truest sayings (the result of his lifelong experience) of the late Dr. Thring of Uppingham was that "morality is largely a matter of brick walls". Walsall Grammar School Headmaster, 12 May, 1891, on P.R.O. Ed 27/432.

4P.R.O. Ed 27/4330, 12 March, 1894.

5Which included R. D. Dumford (1877) who came from Eton and Kings with a First in classics; his father had been a school friend of Gladstone; and the Hon. W. N. Bruce (1886) who had been at Harrow under Butler and Balliol under Jowett. Like the earlier appointments they were a select lot.
more than they, a readiness to stick his neck out. His sympathy for girls appears in various ways. When inspection was first introduced his general report on its working in Staffordshire ended with a comment on the 'great dearth of girls' schools.' When he went into a school on inspection he did what he could for girls: discovering, at Wigton, that a recent bequest made it possible to start a girls' school; pressing, at Walsall, that the time had arrived 'if it had not indeed arrived before' when funds would stretch to provision for girls; at Loughborough simply drawing attention to the low salaries paid to women teachers by Governors who also behaved 'very shabbily' towards the girls in the matter of playing fields. At Loughborough, too, he remarked on the fact that Latin was being taught as an extra though 'All those who learn it are going to be teachers and can least afford the extra fee.'

More than once he opposed the duplication of boys' schools, urging the release of resources for girls. At Grantham this kind of duplication came about because the Council had established a secondary school in its

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1 In 1891 Richmond rebuked him for having, off his own bat, approached the Duke of Rutland in aid of Lady Manners School at Bakewell. P.R.O. Ed 27/483. 4 Aug. 1891 et. seq. More seriously, Leach was 'severely reprimanded' by the Chief Commissioner in 1892 for having published in the Fortnightly Review an article entitled 'Our Oldest School'. He had, it seems, been cautioned many times against publishing material acquired confidentially in the course of his official work. Charity Commission Minute Book. 18 Nov. 1892.


3 P.R.O. Ed 27/458. The 1884 Scheme was for the boys' grammar school but a bequest of 1893 supplied enough money to endow a girls' school under a Scheme of 1898.


5 'The boys have three or four, I think the Girls ought to have one good one assigned to them.' P.R.O. Ed 27/2445, Report 1890.
new Technical Institute though a boys' grammar school already existed.

Leach, at a conference in 1901,

'on several occasions...pressed the...Technical Committee...to express
their agreement with his view that in place of their present Day
Secondary School a good High School for Girls should be established.'

Duplication at Macclesfield and Walsall arose because earlier Endowed
School Schemes had served to confirm an existing pattern of upper and
lower schools for boys. At Macclesfield Leach wanted to abolish the Modern
School and transfer its buildings to the school for girls, then in hired
premises. At Walsall he canvassed the merging of the boys' schools
alongside a proposal to establish one for girls and engaged in a five-
year battle to force the plan through. If it came to assessing what
individual Assistant Commissioners achieved under Section 12 Leach would
stand high. But over and above that he seems to have been eager to explore
the wider implications of his work in a way reminiscent of Fitch, perhaps,
when he was reporting to the Taunton Commission. In 1889 Leach provided
the Commissioners with a Report on Brunts' Charity in Mansfield in which
he carefully examined a question which was topical then, and indeed long after:

1 P.R.O. Ed 35/1533, Note of conference, 8 Nov. 1901.


3 From the point in 1888 when Leach, on inspection, proposed to the governors
that they were now well able to fulfil their obligations under the Scheme of
1873 and provide a girls' school, he had to contend with provincial petti-
ness at every level. The governors said there was not enough money. The
attitude of local politicians is well shown on p. 399 f 4 above. The
Chamber of Commerce was not much better. In 1891 he held a public inquiry.
In 1893 the Scheme went through. After that he struggled to prevent the
girls' school's being crammed on a congested site where it would have no
what ought to be the nature of a technical school and what kind of education should it give to girls?

Mansfield had an Elizabethan grammar school which had been reformed by the Endowed Schools Commissioners and now contributed to a girls' school. One of Leach's first actions in the town seems to have been to persuade the Governors to raise this contribution from £100 to £150 a year. But his main business was with Brunts'. This was a comparatively wealthy charity hitherto devoted to alms and doles and to assisting an elementary school. It had been agreed to use its much-enlarged resources to establish a Technical School. But, as to details, as Leach pointed out, 'In England there really appears to be no school in actual working which furnishes a guide.'

He applied for guidance all over the place: to the celebrated Allan Glen's School in Glasgow, to the Trade School at Keighley, which he visited; to one of the members of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction and to the Headmaster of the Technical School in Bradford. No useful prototype seemed to exist. But having researched a number of prospectuses and observed the superior arrangements of the chemistry laboratory at Keighley, Leach was ready to enlarge the ideas of the Trustees, which did not extend much beyond blacksmith work and laundry. He drew up a very ambitious list of over twenty subjects which might form a curriculum. He was most insistent

1 P.R.O. Ed 27/3784 Report, 13 April, 1889, para. 9
2 Ibid. para. 26
3 P.R.O. Ed 27/3784, Letters and prospectuses. Leach was fairly caustic about the Keighley Trade School which 'has been puffed all over England as the pioneer school of technical education' but which he found was not technical at all but simply a grammar school 'successfully planted on the *Imperial Exchequer*', i.e. living off grants from the Science & Art Department.' (Report, para. 26).
4 These included Physics, Maths. and Chemistry, textile design (which had local application) tailoring, shorthand and technical drawing.
that purpose-built laboratories should be provided\(^1\) and equally, that girls
should share in all the instruction. The Trustees, he pointed out, seemed
to suppose that girls would be taught to be servants and dressmakers.
But in his view there was no reason at all why girls should not learn about
science and machinery.

'It is deplorable,' Leach went on, 'to go into pottery works and see
the men employed as potters and designers and painters, doing the
lighter and more delicate work, while the women, from want of
education, are employed in the heavier work of throwing the wheel,
and fetching and carrying materials and finished articles. So,
too, in the lace, cotton, and other factories the women mind the
machines and do heavy work on them, while the men design the patterns
and supervise the workers.' It might be in the interest of the
race,' he admitted, 'to forbid factory work for women altogether,
but while the demand for women in factories to do the heavy,
exhausting, unintelligent labour is continually increasing, it is
no use to ignore the fact and conduct poor girls' education on
the theory that they are all to be wives, nurses, cooks, or ladies' maids, while rich girls are all to be educated as if they were bound
to be artists in music, painting or sculpture.

The upshot is that, except the heavier work in iron, the girls in
Brunts' School should be taught in the main the same things as the
boys.'\(^3\)

\(^1\)since in nine schools out of 10 the Governors appear to think that provisions
as to scientific instruction are satisfied by teaching Huxley's Physiography
or Paul Berry's Manual without the smallest vestige of experiment by the
teacher, much less by the pupil.' P.R.O. Ed 27/3784, Report para. 25

\(^2\)Ibid. para. 31

\(^3\)For Drax, in Yorkshire, Leach was considering, in 1888, schools to educate
both boys and girls in the science and practice of agriculture. P.R.O.
3. The Charity Commission spirit.

The Brunts' Scheme, in its final form, did not reflect all that Leach had in mind. Nonetheless, on an individual case it was at least possible to make some impact. As regards the Charity Commission overall, there are no signs of anyone round the Board table thinking like Leach. It is, of course, hard to prove negative attitudes for, in general, they leave little trace. But here and there it is possible to glimpse reactions which seem to justify the view that the changeover meant a real change of tradition. The switch from women governors to ladies' committees is one example, Others, it is argued, are the presentation of the more or less useless Schedule E to the Bryce Commission; the dispassionate handling of Manchester High School's claim to endowment and the legalistic answer given to the Girls Public Day School Company in 1891 when they inquired of the Commissioners whether there were, or were likely to be, Schemes to establish girls' schools in Gloucester. The Company wanted this information since they were considering starting one themselves and the Commissioners

1He had wanted to include a sentence on the lines that 'all or any of these subjects may be taught to mixed classes of boys and girls...', considering that, without some such indication 'prejudices might stand in the way of the most convenient course being even suggested.' The major part of his curriculum stood but the Trustees squeezed in cookery and laundry.

2Ch. IX 3 above.

3Ch. X 2. iii above.

4P.R.O. Ed 27/1410, 7 Oct. 1891.
answered, quite truthfully, that a Scheme existed providing for two
schools. They did not say that their inspector had advised them, earlier
that year, that a fall in income resulting from the agricultural depression
made it now 'financially impossible' to start the upper school;¹ nor that
this was the latest in a series of obstacles which had prevented its being
started, though there was good evidence of local demand.² In short,
they did not give an educational answer; and the answer they gave convinced
the Company that it was not worth starting a school in Gloucester.³

A more sustained, more explicit demonstration of the Charity
Commission spirit at work in endowed School matters is seen at Barnet.
The first Scheme here was made in 1873; it set the grammar school on its
feet with the aid of funds from the Jesus Hospital and assigned £100 p.a.
to girls. Four years later provision was made for further endowment from
the Jesus Hospital and in 1883, by means of a third Scheme, another instal­
ment from the same source enabled a girls' school to be started. Nonethe­
less, it was started on a shoestring, in rented premises crammed to over­
flowing, with iron huts to accommodate the surplus. In 1890 another Scheme
was made to convert funds from the Jesus Hospital. These were used to
buy the premises. Numbers went on rising and in 1891 the Hospital Trustees
expressed their willingness to subscribe a further £1000 towards the cost
of building permanent classrooms. At this point Longley, the Chief
Commissioner, put his foot down.

¹P.R.O. Ed 27/1408, Bruce's report dated 27 Jan. 1891.

²The 1882 Scheme had provided for an upper and a lower school for girls as
well as for the Crypt Grammar School and Sir Thomas Rich's School for boys.
The lower school opened in 1883 and was immediately successful. The
Governors were then keen to get the upper school started but ran into
difficulties over the site. By 1887 they seemed to have lost interest,
putting forward plans to rebuild the Crypt School, which they hoped to
promote as a public school, though the lower girls' school was badly over­
crowded and serving an age range very much wider than the Scheme envisaged.
The drop in income was yet another blow. P.R.O. Ed 27/1382, 1396, 1407,
1408, 1410.

³P.R.O. Ed 27/1410, 3 Nov. 1891.
The Hospital, he said, had been founded for six almspeople and though its income had greatly increased only six almspeople benefited still.

'Until it is shown that there is no need in the place for an extension of the benefits of the Hospital as an alms house or for the application of the income to some eleemosynary purpose akin to an Almshouse there seems scarcely to be a prima facie case,' he told Richmond, 'for a diversion of the income to educational purposes.'

A great deal had already gone to education.

'I am disposed to say that the Board must look to a cy près application of any surplus income and that the present proposal cannot be encouraged.'

If Richmond retained any memory of Taunton days the words cy près must have filled him with gloom. The Endowed Schools Act had cut free from cy près, though it was the case that the Trustees' consent was required to convert funds under Section 30. At Barnet the Trustees' consent was forthcoming but they were told that if they wanted a Scheme it would have to be for almspeople.

The Grammar School governors sent a deputation now to plead that the Hospital did not need its surplus; that there were three other sets of almshouses in Barnet, which in fact also had everything it needed by way of recreation ground and public hospital. But all they got was permission to borrow.

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1 P.R.O. Ed 27/1695, 15 April, 1891. This approach was no doubt congenial to Longley in the light of his poor law experience.

2 D. C. Richmond was one of the old guard. He had been an Assistant Commissioner for Taunton, then Assistant Secretary and later Secretary to the Endowed Schools Commission. In 1884 he was made a Charity Commissioner. He does not come across very strongly on the files but presumably he felt some interest in girls for he spoke optimistically to the Select Committee about the improvement in public opinion (pp.397-398 above) and, on retirement, became a governor of James Allen's Girls' School and Royal Holloway College. In an exchange of minutes now with Longley he reasoned that the governors might perhaps be allowed to carry out their project by means of a loan. P.R.O. Ed 27/1695, 16 April, 1891 et. seq.

3 Ibid. 24 April, 1891.

4 Ibid. 7 May, 1891.
Whether or not this decision was crucial it ushered in a time of stress for the girls' school where funds were so tight that in 1892 the loss of 12 pupils meant a deficit.¹ The governors were driven to ask for approval to an increase of fees, which was agreed eventually, but only after Richmond had pleaded with Longley² and the governors had stated that the only other way to economise would be by reducing the Mistresses' salaries, 'already lately reduced by £40 a year'. Further cuts, they argued, 'would very seriously affect the character of the Education given. At the present moment when such efforts are being made to improve the Secondary Education of the country it would be very unfortunate if we had to retire from the good position we have gained in the public examinations.'³

The fees were raised. But the school's position did not improve. The money which the governors had been allowed to borrow from the Jesus Hospital had not sufficed to cover the cost of the extra classrooms and they had had to borrow more from a bank; to pay off the bank loan, stock had been sold (with the Charity Commissioners' consent) but this now had to be replaced out of income.⁴ In August, 1894 it was discovered that the governors were behind with the payment of interest on their loan from the Jesus Hospital. Longley's response to this was to remind them that such payments constituted a first charge on their income and were enforcible in law.⁵

¹Ibid. Financial statement 12 Nov. 1892. The drop in numbers from 86 to 74 meant a loss of £96. p.a. in fees.

²The Chief Commissioner was cool, to say the least. 'Here is a case which though not in Essex seems to be suffering from the epidemic prevalent there. Does this School require inspection or what would you suggest as to the proposal to raise fees?' Richmond said he had had discussions with the governors. 'It is very hard to refuse what is asked as the finance is very close and the School most carefully managed. I do not think inspection would help the matter.' Ibid. 14 Feb. 1893.

³Ibid. 8 Feb. 1893.

⁴Ibid. Order, 14 June, 1894.

⁵Ibid. 23 Nov. 1894.
'The last letter we have received from your Commissioners... has rather alarmed us,' the governors wrote to Richmond. It seemed they had discussed closing the girls' school.¹ Formally, their Clerk asked whether the Commissioners had changed their views 'in accordance with which they have authorised and encouraged the employment of the surplus funds of Charities towards the promotion of Secondary Education in the town of Barnet.'² It seemed that they had. Longley explained to a governors' deputation that the Commissioners could not encourage any further grant from the Hospital funds. Such resources, he added, 'were those which would obviously be looked to in the first instance in the consideration of the question now so prominently before the public of making some state provision for old age pensions and... at this particular juncture it would be specially undesirable to curtail these funds in the direction now proposed.'³ The governors said they did not want to close the school. Public opinion in the town was against it. 'they renewed their request that the Commissioners would, in some way or other, enable them to meet those charges.' The charges were £23 a year. Twelve days later they informed the Commissioners that they had decided to close the girls' school, a decision the Commissioners noted with regret, particularly since, as they said, it had been opened in response to demand from the inhabitants of Barnet. 'Upon the funds of the Jesus Hospital, however, in the opinion of the Board no further call should now be made.'⁴ The exchanges which led to the closing of this girls' school make interesting reading beside Longley's evidence in 1886 to the Select

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¹Ibid. 12 Dec. 1894
²Ibid. 2 Jan. 1895
³Ibid. 12 Jan. 1895
⁴Ibid. 8 Feb. 1895.
Committee. The Charity Commissioners, he pointed out, had been able to profit from the mistakes, 'if mistakes they were' of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 'and to ascertain perhaps more fully...the direction which public opinion is taking.' Public opinion was ignored at Barnet. Longley acted there as a Charity Commissioner; that is, a kind of superior trustee, guarding the funds of the Jesus Hospital to the tune of £23 a year. Educational considerations did not come into it. They were not his business. Or rather, though he had to work the Charitable Trusts Acts and the Endowed Schools Acts, he spoke most readily in the idiom of the former. It should not be forgotten, he told the Committee,

'when our action is contrasted, perhaps favourably to ourselves with the action of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, that they were the pioneers who led the van of the movement.'

Longley was certainly well behind the van.

'Given the nature of his department it could hardly have been otherwise. The Charity Commission was a Board without a Minister. Most of its functions were quasi-judicial and quite well suited by this arrangement which set it apart from the political scene. But endowed schools matters were not quasi-judicial. Apart from the highly political content which had produced the crisis of 1874 they were concerned with educational policy, living issues, of which girls' education is one example, and had nothing to gain from

1 BPP 1886 IX Select Committee on Endowed Schools Acts, Evidence, Q 6242.

2 One is reminded of Latham's warning to Miss Buss when she thought of referring some legal point to the Charity Commission: 'they are bound by precedents and by the strict rules of interpretation, expediency in such matters is to them a naught.' Archives of North London Collegiate School, 25 July, 1876. He was talking about interpretation of the law but there was obviously a risk that judicial attitudes might colour the Commissioners' general approach.

3 BPP 1886 IX op. cit. Q 6242.

4 This was the conclusion reached in 1895 by a Departmental Committee which inquired into the constitution of the Charity Commission. BPP 1895 LXXIV Report of Committee & Etc.
being tucked away in an administrative Board.¹

Deprived of the vitality which might have come through political leadership the Charity Commission also lacked that other great source of momentum — a sense of commitment to the work in hand. Here the contrast with the Endowed Schools Commissioners is particularly marked. The earlier Commissioners, like the Poor Law Commissioners in the Thirties or Chadwick's Board of Health, derived momentum from their involvement with the Royal Commission which had set them going. Had they stayed in office this would probably have run down eventually. As it was, they were close to their origins and did not last long enough to run out of steam.

Administrative zealots, it has been suggested, are in any case a type which tends not to last.² Either they achieve what they want, or they get kicked out or they are succeeded by a different kind of administrator. Lyttelton, Hobhouse, Roby and Fitch may properly be described as 'zealots' in the sense in which the term has been attached to greater names — Chadwick, Kay Shuttleworth and others.³ The zealotry of the Endowed Schools Commissioners was a commitment to modernise the secondary school system.

¹The Endowed Schools Commission was also, of course, a Board without a Minister but it had very close connections with Forster who pressed it constantly to send up more Schemes, as Richmond explained to a Select Committee in 1894 (BPP XI Select Committee on Charity Commission, Q. 961). F. M. G. Wilson, in the article on 'Ministries and Boards' already quoted, considers the Endowed Schools Commission was 'in practice a part of the ministerial administration.' In 1874 Sir Stafford Northcote advised the government that it should become so by being merged with the Education Department (p. 231 above). His advice was not taken.

²Henry Parris Constitutional Bureaucracy (1969) p. 156 et seq.

³Parris, op. cit., Chapter V. Belief in a cause and single-minded devotion to its realisation are, he suggests, the true mark of the zealot. Chadwick, Kay Shuttleworth, Rowland Hill, Leonard Horner, Charles Trevelyan, G. R. Port and George Nicholls are among his examples. Among administrative zealots Lyttelton seems to have been unique as a man who did not normally work for his living.
expressed in a rigorous application of their powers and including, perhaps to an extent which could not have been foreseen by those who appointed them, a determination to do something for girls.

Here, it would be hard to improve on the comment of women at the time, that the Endowed Schools Commissioners had considered their claims 'in a way they have never been considered before.' The contrast with the Charity Commission has been made. And if it cannot fairly be held to demonstrate 'the exact reversal of Lord Lyttelton's policy,' it is nonetheless sufficient to suggest two things: first, that the importance of the Endowed Schools Commission to the 'women's movement' has been much under-stated; secondly, that as late as the Seventies, commitment could exist in a group of civil servants and make an impact on social policy.

\[1\] Journal of the Women's Education Union, Vol. II, 15 April, 1874, No. 16

\[2\] Ibid. Vol. IV 15 May, 1876, No. 41.
Bradford Centre

This division may be taken to correspond with the tract of country bounded by the Wharf from a point below Bolton Abbey to another point below Otley; thence by a line drawn to Drighlington and thence again by a line running south of Haworth to the border of the Riding. A line from Thornton-in-Craven to the Wharf will complete the boundary.* Bradford itself has an endowment worth £722, gross with a reserved capital Fund. It has also good buildings. It must be considered whether, having regard to the importance and population of Bradford, it ought not have a First Grade School. If so, that should certainly be Modern in type and should aim especially at giving efficient instruction in European languages and one or two branches of Science. The exact Grade, however, may be left for consideration. There should also be a Second or Third Grade School and a Girls' School.

There are some non-educational Charities in Bradford the present utility of which may perhaps not be great.

The chief affiliated schools will be:

1. Keighley (p. 18, 819)
   Endowment about £200
   Second Grade Boys
   " Girls

2. Bingley (p. 13, 254)
   Endowment £277
   Second Grade Boys
   " Girls
   Query whether we should not make Keighley and Bingley work together.

3. Haworth (p. 5896)
   Endowment £92
   Third Grade School (mixed)

4. Thornton (p. 7,627)
   Endowment about £100 p. ann.
   Third Grade with liberal Exhibitions to Bradford.

5. Ilkley (p. 1400)
   Endowment about £120
   Third Grade School

6. Otley (p. 13000 but scattered township 4458)
   Endowment - land £26, rent of buildings £40
   Second Grade Day School
   (linked with Ilkley)

7. Drighlington
   Endowment £60. rentcharge
   Third Grade School (mixed)
   Or possibly use rentcharge for exhibitions for benefit of Scholars in Primary School.

* See area enclosed on map in Appendix I (v).
**APPENDIX I (iii)**

**BRADFORD CIRCLE**

(Pro Ed 27/5722)

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<th>Central First Grade Schools</th>
<th>Second Grade Schools</th>
<th>Distance from centre</th>
<th>Third Grade Schools</th>
<th>Distance from centre</th>
<th>Minor Endowments</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>Haworth 5896</td>
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<tr>
<td>38,738</td>
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<tr>
<td>106,218</td>
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<td>38,738</td>
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<td>34,671</td>
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<tr>
<td>179,627 Total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population</td>
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420.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bradford Circle</th>
<th>Established</th>
<th>Bradford Circle</th>
<th>Established</th>
<th>Bradford Circle</th>
<th>Established</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central First Grade School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bradford</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st grade modern (boys)</td>
<td>1st grade classical (boys) in 2 departments.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd grade (boys)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd grade (girls)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Grade Schools</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd grade (boys)</td>
<td>2nd grade (boys)</td>
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<td>2nd grade (boys)</td>
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<td>3rd grade (girls)</td>
<td>3rd grade (girls)</td>
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<td>3rd grade (girls)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Keighley</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd grade (girls)</td>
<td>2nd grade (girls)</td>
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<td>2nd grade (girls)</td>
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<td>3rd grade (boys)</td>
<td>3rd grade (boys)</td>
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<td>3rd grade (boys)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otley</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd grade (boys)</td>
<td>Nothing (Exhibitions, 1888)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Third Grade Schools</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thornton</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd grade (mixed)</td>
<td>3rd grade (mixed)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drighlington</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exhibitions (boys and girls)</td>
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<td>Guiseley</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd grade (mixed)</td>
<td>3rd grade (mixed)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ilkley</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd grade (mixed)</td>
<td>3rd grade (mixed)</td>
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<td>Haworth</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd grade (boys)</td>
<td>3rd grade (boys)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exhibitions (boys and girls)</td>
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<tr>
<td>schools girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Exhibitions 1886)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II  MEMORIAL TO THE SCHOOLS INQUIRY COMMISSION

MEMORIAL RESPECTING EDUCATION OF GIRLS, AND REPLY THERETO.

To the Royal Commissioners of 1864 on Education.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

We desire to bring under your consideration the great interest which the Middle Classes have in the Education of Girls.

Hitherto the endowments available for the education of the Middle Classes have been applied almost exclusively to the Education of Boys. Inasmuch, however, as the object of your Commission appears to be not so much an investigation into the management of funds as the ascertaining the actual state of Middle Class Education in England, and the suggestion of measures for its improvement, we are led to believe that the Education of Girls and the means of improving it are within the scope of your inquiry.

As being connected with, or interested in, various institutions, public and private, established for the Education of Girls of the Upper and Middle Classes, we desire to express our readiness to place at your disposal whatever information we may be able to afford in answer to your inquiries.

We are,

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Your obedient Servants,

A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster, Principal of Queen's College, London.

E. H. Pumfrey, M.A., Professor and Dean, ditto.

Thomas A. Coxe, M.A., Professor of Mathematical and Physical Science, ditto.

T. D. Macdougal, M.A., Professor of English History and Literature, ditto.

James Mitre, Professor of Latin, ditto.

Henry Alfred, Dean of Canterbury, Member of Council, ditto.

Alexis H. Acland, M.A., ditto.

H. Blanche Aikins, M.A., ditto.

Elizabeth Anstey, M.A., ditto.

Marian Bell, M.A., ditto.


M. Montagu, M.A., ditto.

Lillicia Powel, M.A., ditto.

Agnes Stanley, M.A., ditto.

Henrietta Maria Stanley, of Alderley.

Catherine Fair, Fulham Palace, ditto.

Elizabeth Twining, ditto.

Charlotte Wood, 21 Great George Street, ditto.

Frances WEDGEWOOD, ditto.

Elizabeth A. Darwell, Chairman of the Council, Bedfor College, London.

Jane Martin, Hon. Sec., ditto.

P. S. Carl, Chairman of the Board of Professors, ditto.

Richard Cyril, P.S.A., Hon. Sec., ditto.

Catherine Ains, Hon. Sec. of the Lady Visitors, ditto.

Frances Martin, Superintendent of School, ditto.

J. Stanley Parkeston, President of the Worcestershire Union of Educational Institutions.

Henry J. Barton, M.A., Joint Secretary of the Northamptonshire Education Society.

Ermit Taylor, Hon. Sec. of the West Central Collegiate School for Young Ladies.

Emma Lindsay, 10 Gloucester Terrace, London.

Richard Gurney, Recorder of London.

Jesse Boccher, Hon. Sec. of the Middle Class School for Girls, Howland St., London.

Anne Emma CLOUGH, late Manager of the Middle Class School, Ambleside.

Mary Ellen Porter, Superintendent of Educational Home for Training Governesses, Holm, Tiverton.

Williamina Taylor, Superintendent of the York Quarterly Meeting's School for the Daughters of "Friends."

Linda Cooper, Principal of Wanstead House School, Cambridge.

M. A. and J. S. WATSON, Principals of Ladies' Boarding School, Fulham.

Caroline Sanderson, L.C.L., Principal of Ladies' College School, Kensington.

E. L. and C. L. Tootal, Principals of Boarding and Day School for Ladies, Leeds.

H. T. and M. E. Snow, Principals of Ladies' School, Sheffield.

Dorothea Blackburn, Principal of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham (Proprietary).

Alfred Sharp, B.D., Vice President, ditto.

E. Clarck, Head Mistress of Girls' School, Burton's Foundation, Loughborough.

Mary Tetwill, Kindergarten and Ladies' School, Whalley Range, Manchester.

Mary V. Jeffery, Principal of Ladies' School, Bath.

Margaret C. White, Principal of Northeast London Collegiate School for Ladies.
CORRESPONDENCE.

28th February 1855.

I am instructed by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners to state in reply to the memorial addressed to them by a large number of ladies and gentlemen respecting the education of girls, and transmitted by you on the 23rd of January last, that having attentively considered the extent and direction of the inquiry entrusted to them, they have arrived at certain conclusions, which they authorize me to communicate to you, so far as relates to the subject of the memorial.

By the terms of Her Majesty's Commission they are directed to inquire into the education given in schools not comprised within the scope of the two recent Commissions on Popular Education, and on certain public schools, and also to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the improvement of such education, having especial regard to all endowments applicable or which can rightly be made applicable thereto.

It appears to the Commissioners that while the task assigned them embraces an investigation within certain limits into the education both of boys and girls, these limits are narrower in the case of the latter than in that of the former. Girls are much more often educated at home, or in schools too small to be entitled to the name, and neither domestic education nor private tuition is a matter with which the Commissioners have to deal.

The endowments appropriated to the education of the middle and upper classes, or which may rightly be applied to it, will form an important part of the Commissioners' inquiry. Neither the number nor the value of the endowments, which belong either in whole or in part to the education of girls, is as all comparable to that of those which are provided for boys. This again, therefore, diminishes the share which the former can claim in the investigation of the present Commission.

Subject however to these limitations which arise from the nature of the case, the Commissioners will endeavour to embrace in their inquiry the education of both sexes alike. Accordingly they will instruct the Assistant Commissioners, whom it is their purpose to send into selected districts of England, to report upon the state and prospects of girls' education as well as on that of boys.

3.
SCHOOLS INQUIRY COMMISSION:

The Commissioners expect also to derive much important information from the evidence of persons of special experience and knowledge on the various matters connected with their inquiry. Among these witnesses they will be ready to include such persons as may be recommended to them as best qualified to express opinions on the subject of your memorial.

What recommendations, if any, the Commissioners may be able to make it is premature even to discuss at present. They must depend to a great degree on the information which the Commissioners hope thus to obtain. If however it should seem to them desirable to apply to the purposes of education any charitable endowments not so applied already, they need scarcely say that they will carefully weigh the claims of girls no less than of boys.

In conclusion I am directed to thank the memorialists through you for their offer of valuable assistance, and remain,

Madam,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Henry J. Roby,
Secretary.

Miss E. A. Bostock.

No. 14.

(1.) LETTER accompanying MEMORIAL respecting Need for Place of Higher Education for Girls.

17, Cunningham Place, London, N.W.,
July 9th, 1867.

Sir,

I have to hand to you a Memorial addressed to the Royal Schools Inquiry Commission, signed by 521 teachers of girls, and 175 ladies and gentlemen not directly concerned in teaching girls.

I am, Sir,

Yours obediently,

H. J. Roby, Esq.

(2.) MEMORIAL.

TO THE ROYAL SCHOOLS INQUIRY COMMISSIONERS.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We beg respectfully to invite your attention to a matter which, in our work as teachers of girls, has come under our special cognizance.

As managers of ladies' schools, and as governesses in families, we observe a deficiency in the education of women, which it is not in the power of private teachers, however able and zealous, to supply, namely, the want of adequate means and inducements for continuing study beyond the school period. While admitting that there is room for improvement in the earlier stages of education, we venture to submit that such improvement might most reasonably be expected from the offer of increased facilities to persons who are about to become teachers for carrying on their studies to a high point, together with some satisfactory means of discriminating between those who are qualified for their work and those who are not.

There are in England no public institutions for women analogous to the Universities for men, in which a complete education is given, and at the same time duly certified by an external body of recognized authority. We have reason to believe that opportunities of undergoing a course of instruction and discipline adapted to advanced students, combined with examinations testing and attesting the quality of the education received, would not only be eagerly welcomed by the higher class of teachers, but would also be made use of by many young women, having no definite object in view other than that of self-improvement. It is a constantly recurring occasion of regret to conscientious and successful teachers that
CORRESPONDENCE

precisely at the moment when a genuine and intelligent love of knowledge
has been awakened, and the labours of years are beginning to bear fruit,
a scarcely voluntary idleness takes the place of steady effort, and the
habits of intellectual industry and intellectual pleasure formed in the
school room, gradually give way under the pressure of frivolous and
unsatisfying distractions.

Our experience has led us to the conviction that the foundation of a
place of education for adult female students, at which certificates should
be conferred by an independent authority, and to which scholarships and
exhibitions should be attached, is among the most urgent educational
wants of the present time, and we venture to ask that in any recommenda­
tions which the Commission may see fit to make respecting the appli­
cation of school endowments or other charities, special regard may be
paid to the need for such an institution, and to other measures providing
for the higher education of women.

We are,

My Lords and Gentlemen,
Your obedient servants,

(Signed by)
CATHERINE JOHNSTON, 162, Westbourne Terrace, London, Presi­
dent of the London Association of Schoolmistresses.
FRANCES MARY BISS, Treasurer.
MARY C. PORTER, Hon. Sec. of the Newcastle and Gateshead
Association of Schoolmistresses.
ELIZABETH CLINT, President of the Manchester Board of School­
mistresses.
MILICENT ANNE PAGE, Superintendent of Royal Victoria Patriotic
Asylum.
ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME, Boothstown, Manchester.
SUSAN KIBRERD, Chantry.
FRANCES MARTIN, Bradford College School, London.
HARRIET AND EMILY HARRISON, Hyde Park College.
DOROTHYA BRAW, Ladies' College, Cheltenham.
SUSAN WOOD, Clergy Daughters' School, Caterham.
And 509 others.

(3.) The prayer of the memorialists was supported by the following:—
The Dean of Canterbury.
The Countess de Grey.
Vice-Chancellor Sir W. Page Wood.
Lady Wood.
E. H. Sieveking, M.D.
Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, Bart.
Right Hon. Russell Gurney, M.P.
Mrs. Russell Gurney.
Sir James Clark.
M. E. Grant Duff, M.P.
The Bishop of St. David's.
Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, M.P.
Professor Huxley.
Hon. Mrs. Locke King.
Anna Swanwick.
Rev. Canon Champneys.
Rev. Canon Norris.
Sir Chas. Lyell.
James Paget, F.R.S.
R. Quain, F.R.S.
The Dean of Durham.
Dowager Vicecountess Combermere.
Right Hon. Lord Romilly.
Alfred Tennyson.
Robert Browning.

The Dean of Ely.
George Grote, Esq.
Rev. James Martineau.
T. K. Chambers, M.D.
The Dean of Bristol.
Lady Marian Alford.
Sir Francis H. Goldsmid, Bart., M.P.
Lady Goldsmid.
Lady Lubbock.
Emily Taylor.
Lord Robert Montagu, M.P.
R. Druitt, M.D.
W. Farr, F.R.S.
The Venerable Archdeacon Prest.
The Venerable Archdeacon Fearn.
Professor Tyndall.
Sir F. Crosseley, Bart., M.P.
Hon. and Rev. S. Beef.
Mrs. Manning.
Isa Craig Knox.
M. D. Hill, Q.C.
J. Stansfeld, M.P.
E. Holland, M.P.
W. M. Gunson, M.A., Tutor of
Christ's, Cambridge.
### APPENDIX III (i) SCHEMES APPROVED BY 31 DECEMBER 1874 WHICH PROVIDED FOR THE SECONDARY EDUCATION OF GIPLS

#### SCHEMES APPROVED IN 1871 WHICH PROVIDED FOR THE SECONDARY EDUCATION OF GIPLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Cross Income £**</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>PRO ref. Ed. 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bradford, Grammar School, Yorks.</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>£200 yearly (£250 on cesser of pension to usher) to be applied to girls' education under supplementary scheme.</td>
<td>This Scheme established 1st grade boys' school. Bradford Girls' Grammar School was established by Scheme of 1875 (see Appendix III (ii))</td>
<td>5721 5722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAY'S THURROCK* Palmer's School, Essex.</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>Endowment shared equally between boys' 3rd grade day and boarding school and girls' school 'of like character'. Both in new buildings.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEIGHLEY, Drake and Tonson's Charities, Yorks.</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>Girls' day school to be established in grammar school buildings. Fees £4 – £8 p.a.</td>
<td>Amalgamation of 2 charities. Endowment equally divisible between girls' school and Trade School in Mechanics Institute which is to cater for grammar school boys.</td>
<td>5957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Capital letters indicate a scheme which provided a school for girls.

** The figures in this column are taken mainly from Appendix A to the Commissioners' Report of 1874 and are meant to give a rough idea of the importance of the endowment.
### Schemes Approved in 1872 Which Provided for the Secondary Education of Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Cross Income £</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>Pro ref. Ed. 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baddow, Great Jeffrey's Endowed School Essex.</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>Extension of benefit of endowment to girls if funds admit.</td>
<td>Boys' Day School, 3rd grade.</td>
<td>1158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath, King Edward VI Grammar School and Black Alms Charity. Somerset.</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>Future extension of endowment to girls</td>
<td>Boys' Boarding and Day School, 2nd grade. £280. p.a. to Trustees of Black Alms.</td>
<td>4049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaminster, Endowed School. Dorset</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Establishment of girls' school when funds admit. Meanwhile, £20. p.a. for girls' Exhibitions.</td>
<td>Scheme also subsidised elementary education and supported boys' 3rd grade school. Superseded by scheme of 1881 which made no provision whatever for girls.</td>
<td>824 826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURTON-ON-TRENT, Allsopp's Charity and others. Staffs.</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Allsopp's Girls' School Fees £2 -£5 p.a. Ages 8-17</td>
<td>Amalgamation of 4 charities. Boys' Grammar School, 2nd grade, and Allsopp's Boys School also on scheme.</td>
<td>5217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giggleswick, Grammar School Yorks.</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>£100 p.a. for girls' education. Girls admissible to 3rd grade day school.</td>
<td>Scheme for boys' day and boarding school, 1st grade, and boys' 3rd grade day school in Settle.</td>
<td>5834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirfield, Endowed School. Yorks.</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>Power to admit girls to the school.</td>
<td>Boys' 3rd grade day school.</td>
<td>5997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME, Orme's School and others. Stafs.</td>
<td>2086</td>
<td>Orme Girls' School (day) Fees £3 -£5 p.a. Ages 8-17</td>
<td>Amalgamation of 4 charities. Boys' 1st grade and boys' middle school also provided.</td>
<td>4255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaftesbury, Lush's Charity</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>£40 p.a. for girls' Exhibitions. When certain payments cease, Trustees to apply for scheme for girls' school.</td>
<td>Scheme provides boys' 3rd grade day and boarding school</td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorset</td>
<td></td>
<td>Half of Foster's Charity (about £45 p.a.) assigned to girls. Supplementary Scheme to be made eventually.</td>
<td>Amalgamation of several charities, partly under § 30. 1880-83 girls' share of Foster's diverted to support boys' 3rd grade school established under scheme. (See also scheme for Kings School, Sherborne, 1871)</td>
<td>886 887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherborne, Foster and Digby's Charities.</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorset</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMBLESIDE, Kelsick's Charity</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>Girls' Day and Boarding School Fees £3 - £6 p.a. Ages up to 17</td>
<td>Boys' elementary school with upper department also to be provided</td>
<td>5124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westmorland</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Audley, Grammar School.</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>Power to benefit girls by Exhibitions or otherwise</td>
<td>Boys' 3rd grade day school provided</td>
<td>4194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnet, Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>£100 p.a. for girls' education</td>
<td>Boys' 2nd grade day and boarding school provided. Endowment much increased by funds from Jesus Hospital under §. 30.</td>
<td>1685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herts.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batley, Grammar School.</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>Power to extend benefits to girls</td>
<td>Boys' 2nd Grade School</td>
<td>5653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorks.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEDFORD, Harpur's Charity.</td>
<td>14000</td>
<td>Girls' High School, 1st grade Girls' Modern School, 2nd grade</td>
<td>4 schools established for boys and girls (2 high schools, 2 modern Provision for elementary education and for almshouses.</td>
<td>8A 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beds.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bideford, Grammar School and the Bridge Trust.</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>£20 p.a. for girls' Exhibitions.</td>
<td>Boys' day school, 3rd grade, provided</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BINGLEY, Grammar School. Yorks.</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>£100. p.a. for girls' education; school to be established by Mechanics Institute.</td>
<td>Boys' day and boarding school, 2nd grade provided.</td>
<td>5697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brentwood, Grammar School Essex.</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>Power to establish girls' commercial school.</td>
<td>1st grade boys' day and boarding school; 2nd grade boys' commercial school, provided.</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnley, Grammar School Lancs.</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>Power to benefit girls when funds admit.</td>
<td>Boys' day school, 2nd grade, provided.</td>
<td>2053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMBRIDGE, Perse School Cambs.</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>When the interests of scholars have determined Governors to assign to girls £150. p.a.</td>
<td>Boys' 1st grade school established. For girls, the prospect was more definite than it looked. The Scheme in fact constituted girls' school managers and laid down details as to fees, ages, curriculum, so that no further Scheme was needed when they came to start the School in 1881.</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillingham, Feoffee Charity. Dorset.</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>Power to benefit girls whenever the state of the funds admit.</td>
<td>Boys' 3rd grade day and boarding school provided.</td>
<td>866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREENWICH, Roan's Charity. Kent</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Girls' day school. Fees £3 - £6 p.a. Ages 7 - 16</td>
<td>3rd grade boys' school also provided (ages 7 - 15) £500. p.a. for Exhibitions in the schools, £300. p.a. for Exhibitions from the schools. (Exhibitions allotted between boys and girls according to number of scholars.)</td>
<td>3023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOXTON, Aske's Hospital Middlesex.</td>
<td>8000</td>
<td>3rd grade girls' school at Noxton. 2nd grade girls' school at Hatcham.</td>
<td>Similar boys' schools established. £1200. p.a. for Exhibitions in the schools. £600. p.a. for Exhibitions from the schools, divided proportionately to number of scholars. £1500. p.a. for alms.</td>
<td>2971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TILMINSTER, Endowed School Somerset</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>Girls' High School, day and boarding. Town School for girls.</td>
<td>Town school for boys also provided.</td>
<td>4129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEICESTER, Wygeston's Hospital Leics.</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>Girls' day school. Fees £4 - £8 p.a. Ages 8 - 17</td>
<td>Similar boys' school provided. This is Ed Dept. file. Papers which record making of scheme are missing</td>
<td>2419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, Grocers' Company Schools.</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Power to convert to girls the middle class boys' schools established by this scheme.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newchapel, Hulme's Charity Staffs.</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>Power to admit girls to school</td>
<td>Boys' 3rd grade day school provided</td>
<td>No trace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sowerby, Bairstow's Charity Yorks.</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>'Girls may be admitted to the school'.</td>
<td>Boys' 3rd grade day school provided</td>
<td>6184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAFFORD, Endowed Schools. Yorks.</td>
<td>2348</td>
<td>Browne's Day School for girls</td>
<td>Radcliffe High School for Boys.</td>
<td>2612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £3. - £8. p.a. Ages 8 - 17</td>
<td>Browne's School for Boys (ages 8 - 16) also established.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THORNTON, Grammar School. Yorks.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3rd grade school/s for boys and girls</td>
<td></td>
<td>5737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFFCULME, Ayshford's School Devon</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Girls' day and boarding school.</td>
<td>Buildings of defunct boys' grammar school available.</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincs.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £6. - £10. p.a. Ages 8 - 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALLINGFORD, Biggs' Charity, Berks.</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>Girls' day school.</td>
<td>Comparable boys' school established.</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walsall, Grammar School.</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>3rd grade girls' school 'as soon as the funds admit of it'.</td>
<td>Boys' High School and Boys' 3rd grade school established.</td>
<td>4323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST HAM, Bonnell's Charity Essex.</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>Girls' day school. Fees £2 - £5 p.a. Ages 7 - 15.</td>
<td>40 Exhibitions to the school for poor girls from elementary schools.</td>
<td>1223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMINSTER, Greycoat Hospital.</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>Day school in Westminster for 300 girls; boarding school for 100 girls. Fees £2 - £4 p.a. Ages 7 - 15</td>
<td>At least 100 Exhibitions in Day School and 60 Exhibitions in Boarding School, of which 2/3 for poor girls from Westminster elementary schools, 1/3 for orphans.</td>
<td>3284 3285 3289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMINSTER, St. Martin-in-the Fields.</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>Girls' day school. Fees £2 - £5 p.a. Ages 7 - 16.</td>
<td>Scheme provided for Exhibitions tenable at Greycoat Boarding School.</td>
<td>3322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREAT CROSBY, Harrison's Trust</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Girls' Day School to be established in boys' old buildings. Fees £5 - £10 p.a. Ages 8 -17</td>
<td>Boys' 2nd Grade Day School provided.</td>
<td>2086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holbeach, Grammar School</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>When pension to retiring Headmaster falls in, £60 p.a. to girls for Exhibitions.</td>
<td>Boys' 2nd Grade Day and Boarding School provided.</td>
<td>2538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINGSTON-ON-THAMES, Grammar School etc.</td>
<td>247 (plus 342 under Scheme of 1871)</td>
<td>Tiffin's Day School for Girls. Fees £3 - £5 p.a. Ages 7 - 16</td>
<td>Boys' Day School, 2nd Grade, and Tiffin's Boys' School, 3rd grade (ages 7 - 15) provided</td>
<td>4611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutterworth, Sherrier's Charity and others</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>£50 p.a. for girls' education by Exhibition or otherwise</td>
<td>Boys' Day and Boarding School, 3rd Grade, and Elementary Schools provided.</td>
<td>2460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leics.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March, Consolidated Charities</td>
<td>1069</td>
<td>Girls' Day School to be established 'as soon as practicable after 3 years from the date of this Scheme or earlier if funds will permit'.</td>
<td>Boys' Day and Boarding School.</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridgeshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport, Grammar School</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Girls' Day School when funds permit.</td>
<td>Boys' Day and Boarding School, 3rd Grade, established.</td>
<td>1186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Girls may be admitted</td>
<td>Boys' 3rd Grade Day School provided</td>
<td>5750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rastrick, Mary Law's Charity.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorks.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repton and Etwall, Port's Charity</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>£100 p.a. for girls' education 'if the income of the Trust is sufficient for the purpose'.</td>
<td>£900 p.a. reserved for Etwall Hospital. Boys' 1st Grade Day and Boarding School. Provision for Elementary Education in Repton and Etwall.</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derbyshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedbergh Grammar School</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>£200 p.a. for girls' education on cesser of pension to retiring Headmaster. Girls admissible to 3rd grade day school.</td>
<td>Boys' 1st Grade Day and Boarding School and 3rd Grade Day School</td>
<td>6114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorks.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAUNTON, Huish Charity</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>Girls' Day School. Fees £3 - £6 p.a. Ages 7 - 15</td>
<td>£350 p.a. for alms. £200 p.a. for University Exhibitions. (The endowment was mixed and only a minor part was available for Secondary Education.) Boys' School similar to girls'.</td>
<td>4167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Cross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thame, Grammar School, Oxon.</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>Trustees may establish Girls' School 'if the state of the funds admits'.</td>
<td>£200, p.a. for alms. Boys' Day and Boarding School, 2nd Grade.</td>
<td>3910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTNES, Grammar School, and Municipal Charities. Devon</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>Borough School, Day and Boarding for Girls, 2nd Grade.</td>
<td>Boys' Day and Boarding School, 2nd Grade.</td>
<td>803 (This is Ed. Dept. file. Papers which record making of Scheme are missing.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yalding, Cleave's School Kent.</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Girls may be admitted to the School.</td>
<td>Boys' Day School, 3rd grade</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX III (ii)

Schemes Submitted to the Education Department by 31 Dec. 1874 which Provided for the Secondary Education of Girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Gross Income £</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>Pro ref Ed 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aldenham, Platt's Charity</td>
<td>4500</td>
<td>£20000 stock and £600 a year for North London Collegiate School and Camden School for Girls. (vide infra &quot;St. Pancras&quot;)</td>
<td>Scheme approved May, 1875. Provides for Boys' 1st Grade Day and Boarding School. Erection and partial support of Elementary Schools in Aldenham. £13333-6-8 to endow schools at Watford. £200, p.a. for alms.</td>
<td>1637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borden, Barrow's Charity</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Surplus to be used for girls' education] £50. p.a. for girls' Exhibitions [until a school for girls is established.]</td>
<td>Scheme approved Aug. 1875. Boys' 2nd Grade Day and Boarding School to be established. [ ] deleted by Education Department.</td>
<td>1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradford, Girls' Endowed</td>
<td>200 eventually 250</td>
<td>Girls' High School endowed with payment from funds of Bradford Grammar School (vide supra, Appendix III (i))</td>
<td>Scheme approved Aug. 1875.</td>
<td>5711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorks.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol, Queen Elizabeth's</td>
<td>8106 and 4378</td>
<td>Red Maids Boarding School for 80 Girls; leaving age 15. Whitson's Day School for Girls; leaving age 15. One other similar Day School for Girls.</td>
<td>Scheme approved May, 1875. On this foundation were also Queen Elizabeth's Boarding School for Boys, Queen Elizabeth's Day School for Boys, and Carr's Day School for Boys; all 3rd Grade.</td>
<td>1289 1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Cross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRISTOL, Colston's Hospital and Diocesan Trade School</td>
<td>6059</td>
<td>Girls' Day School. Fees £2 - £4 p.a. Leaving age 15.</td>
<td>Scheme approved Feb. 1875. Provides for Boys' 3rd Grade Boarding School and Trade School.</td>
<td>1274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMBERWELL, Dulwich College, Surrey</td>
<td>15600</td>
<td>Girls' High School. Girls' Middle School.</td>
<td>Scheme provides for Dulwich College (1st Grade Day and Boarding) and for Wilson's Grammar School. There are assignments totalling £65000 for schools in other London parishes as well as provision for the Chapel, Almshouses and Picture Gallery at Dulwich. (Action after 1874 is on 2840, 2841, 2842, 2863, 2865, 2869)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>There were long and difficult negotiations and the Scheme as finally approved in 1882 made no provision for a High School for Girls although the Girls' Middle School remained. (James Allen's Girls' School)</td>
<td>2830, 2831, 2835, 2837, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2863, 2865, 2869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXETER, (1) St. John's Hospital etc. (2) Episcopal School</td>
<td>2660</td>
<td>Waynrd Girls' School. Fees £6 - £15 p.a. 19) Girls' Middle School.</td>
<td>Schemes approved May 1875 and April 1876 after amendment by Education Department. No change in provision for girls. Other provision was for Boys' 1st Grade Day and Boarding School, 3rd Grade Boys' School and Elementary Schools.</td>
<td>695, 697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devon.</td>
<td>612</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref Ed.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantham, Grammar School etc.</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Power to apply any surplus income for benefit of girls.</td>
<td>Scheme as approved June, 1876, provides one 2nd Grade Day and Boarding School for Boys instead of 1st and 2nd Grade Schools as in Scheme submitted Feb. 1874.</td>
<td>2597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No change in girls' provision.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONDON Datchetler's</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Authorises building of Girls' Middle School in Camberwell</td>
<td>Scheme approved May, 1875 by (Scheme of 1871 made by Charity Commissioners under Charitable Trusts Acts had divided endowments between aims and education.)</td>
<td>2903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONDON St. Paul's School</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>High School for 400 or more girls</td>
<td>Scheme approved March, 1876. Main object 1st Grade School for Boys. Amending Schemes 1879 and 1900. Girls' School opened 1904.</td>
<td>3104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONDON Lady Eleanor Holles Charity</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Girls' Day School. Fees £2.10s. - £6. p.a. Ages 8 - 16</td>
<td>Scheme approved June 1875. £550. p.a. for existing Elementary School.</td>
<td>3037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANSFIELD, Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School Notts.</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>£100 p.a. for girls' Exhibitions or classes.</td>
<td>Scheme approved June 1875. Provides Boys' 2nd Grade Day (or Day and Boarding) School. Envisages girls' school later. Like the Perse Scheme this one laid down all that was requisite for the girls' school and no further scheme was needed to start the school in 1883.</td>
<td>3792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakham and Uppingham, Archdeacon Johnson's Charity Rutland</td>
<td>4280</td>
<td>£200 p.a. for higher education of girls (on lapse of pension to Headmaster).</td>
<td>Scheme approved May, 1875. Assigns 3/7 endowment to alms, 2/7 for 2nd Grade Day and Boarding School at Oakham, 2/7 for 1st Grade Day and Boarding School at Uppingham.</td>
<td>3928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pocklington, Grammar School Yorks, E. R.</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>£200 p.a. for higher education of girls, to commence within 3 years from date of Scheme.</td>
<td>Scheme approved May, 1875, for 1st Grade Day and Boarding School for Boys. Girls' provision amended by Education Department to allow payment to be deferred to 'such later date as the Charity Commissioners shall direct'.</td>
<td>5534 5535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>READING, Kendrick's Charity Berks.</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Girls' Day School. Fees £3-5 p.a. Ages 7 - 16</td>
<td>Scheme approved June 1875. Provides for similar Boys' School</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>FFO ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wivington, Grammar School etc.</td>
<td>570 300</td>
<td>£200 p.a. for higher education of girls.</td>
<td>Scheme approved May, 1875. Provides for 2nd Grade Boys' Day and Boarding School.</td>
<td>2264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST. HELEN'S, Cowley Charity Lancs.</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>Girls' Day School Fees £4-8 p.a. Ages 8-17.</td>
<td>Scheme approved May 1875. Provides similar Boys' School.</td>
<td>2282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST. PANCRAS, North London Collegiate and Camden School for Girls Middlesex.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Endowment of these schools with £20000 stock and £600 p.a. from Platt's Charity at Aldenham. (see above).</td>
<td>Scheme approved May 1875</td>
<td>3191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stourbridge, Grammar School and others Worcs.</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>Governors may establish girls' school if funds available</td>
<td>Scheme approved May 1875</td>
<td>5430 5431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAKEFIELD, Grammar School and many others Yorks.</td>
<td>2930</td>
<td>Girls' Day School. Fees £6-10 p.a. Ages 8-18</td>
<td>Scheme approved May 1875. Provides 1st Grade Day and Boarding School for Boys and Trade School for Boys.</td>
<td>6224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Cross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO ref. Ed. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARWICK, The King's School and many others, Warwickshire.</td>
<td>2455</td>
<td>Girls' Day School. Fees £2-4 p.a. Leaving age 16</td>
<td>Scheme approved Aug. 1875. Provides 1st Grade Day and Boarding School for Boys and 3rd Grade Day School for Boys.</td>
<td>5097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTMINSTER, Holborn Estate Charity</td>
<td>about 4000</td>
<td>St. Clement Danes Girls' School. Fees £4-6 p.a. Ages 8-18</td>
<td>Scheme approved Oct. 1875. Also provided Boys' School (Leaving age 17)</td>
<td>3316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Schedule Shewing the Proposed Reorganization of the Bristol Endowed Schools.

New Institutions are distinguished by Italics; Old Institutions, in New Premises, are distinguished by a *.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Proposed Schools</th>
<th>Estimated Income Required from Endowment</th>
<th>Estimated Fees</th>
<th>Estimated Cost of Maintenance</th>
<th>Governing Body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>THE CITY SCHOOL</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>ST. GEORGE'S SCHOOL</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>ST. MATTHEW'S SCHOOL</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>ST. CHRISTIAN'S SCHOOL</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>ST. AUGUSTINE'S SCHOOL</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>ST. JOHN'S SCHOOL</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appended: Table of Estimated Costs of Maintenance.
EXPLANATIONS TO ACCOMPANY SCHEDULE

IN RE

BRISTOL CHARITIES.

1. No one of the proposed Schools is to be designed exclusively for the poor. A fee will be charged in each School and the education will be suited to the needs of those who can afford to pay it. But free places will be reserved in every School for children on the foundation, who are meant to be taken largely from the poorer classes receiving instruction at the primary Schools, but who, being chosen for merit, will mingle on equal and honorable terms with the non-foundationers of a higher social rank.

2. All the Schools contemplate an education distinctly higher than that of the National School; primary instruction being now provided by public arrangements rendered permanent by Act of Parliament. The provision for secondary and higher education, indicated in the Schedule, assumes the general correctness of the estimate formed by the Schools Inquiry Commission on pp. 97-99 of their Report. It is there computed that the number of boys requiring higher instruction in Schools is 16 for every 1,000 of the population; of whom half, or 8 per 1,000 need Schools of the third grade; five-sixteenths, or 5 per 1,000, those of the second; and three-sixteenths, or 3 per 1,000, those of the first grade. No similar estimate is made for girls, although it may roughly be taken that the proportion of them in Schools is to that of boys as three to four. This would give 12 per 1,000. But since a larger number of parents is likely to prefer the Private School in the case of girls than in that of boys, a further reduction may be properly made, say to 10 per 1,000 of the population, for the purposes of the present calculation.

Applying these rules to Bristol with 180,000 inhabitants, we have this estimate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Grade</td>
<td>3X180 = 540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Grade</td>
<td>5X180 = 900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Grade</td>
<td>8X180 = 1440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2880</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ultimately there is little doubt that when parents become aware of the great advantages of public supervision in educational institutions, numbers not less than these will seek admission into the Graded Schools. But at present many persons prefer Private and small Schools, and the Schedule is therefore framed on the supposition that accommodation should at once be found for rather more than half this number, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Grade</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Grade</td>
<td>200 Boarders 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Grade</td>
<td>300 Boarders 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>600 Day Scholars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At present the two richest foundations, Queen Elizabeth's and Colston's Hospital are mere duplicates of each other; both being for boys of the same class in life, and both offering primary education, generally terminated by apprenticeship at 14. In the Schedule an attempt is made to graduate the several Schools, so that each shall assume a distinct educational character; and that every class of the community shall find in one or other of them a liberal education suited to its own needs.
## APPENDIX V (1)

### ANALYSIS OF SCHEMES APPROVED IN 1871-74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>(2) Total No.: of Schemes Approved</th>
<th>(3) No: of (2) Which Established Secondary Schools</th>
<th>(4) Boys' Secondary Schools Established</th>
<th>(5) Other Provision for Boys</th>
<th>(6) Girls' Secondary Schools Established</th>
<th>(7) Other Provision for Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>mixed school (Thornton)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13 + mixed school (Thornton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1 (Ambleside)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For England only. No Welsh schemes included.*
ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION.

APPENDIX V(ii)
(PRO Ed 27/1147)

SCHEME

For the Management of the School
founded by William Palmer,

AT
GRAYS THURROCK,
IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX,
IN THE YEAR 1706.

PART I.—GENERAL SCOPE OF TRUST.

1. The object of this Foundation or Trust shall be principally to supply education to boys and to girls by means of schools to be maintained in the parish of Grays Thurrock. And from the date of this Scheme all the particulars which by the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, sec. 46, are capable of being hereby repealed and abrogated, shall be repealed and abrogated.

2. The whole of the Endowment of this Foundation or Trust, shall be devoted to the above object, subject to the yearly payment of the sum of 1l. and the price of five chaldrons of coals, as herein-after provided.

PART II.—CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNING BODY AND MANAGEMENT.

3. The Governing Body, hereafter called the Governors, shall consist of 16 persons, of whom four shall be ex-officio Governors, four representative or elective, and eight co-optative.

4. The ex-officio Governors shall be:
   The Vicar of the Parish of Grays Thurrock,
   One Magistrate of the Petty Sessional Division in which Grays Thurrock is situated, elected by that body for a term of five years, but always re-eligible,
   The Chairman of the Board of Guardians for the Union in which Grays Thurrock is situated,
   The Parishioners' Churchwarden of Grays Thurrock,
   for the time being, if they will respectively accept and act in the Trusts of this Scheme.

5. The Representative Governors shall be elected by the parents or guardians of the day scholars on the roll of the Boys School hereby established. The parent or guardian of each boy shall be entitled to one vote for each place to be filled. The Head Master shall furnish to the Governors a list of the parents and guardians, and such list, signed by the Chairman and by the Head Master, shall be conclusive evidence of their number and description. The Governors shall from time to time draw up regulations for the conduct of the elections. The first election shall take place as soon after the date of this Scheme as can conveniently be managed, and the names of the Governors so elected shall be placed by the Governors in the order of rotation in which they are to retire. But no such election shall take place until the number of electors amounts to 50.
6. The Representative Governors shall all remain in office for the year in which the first election takes place, and until the 31st day of December in the next year, on which day the Governor standing first on the list shall retire, and his place shall be filled by some one elected as aforesaid, the retiring Governor himself being always capable of re-election. In succeeding years the same course shall be taken with respect to the second, third, and fourth of the Representative Governors, and so in perpetual rotation, the intention being that, after the first election, each Representative Governor shall be elected to office for four years, and shall then retire, but be re-eligible.

7. If during his term of office any Representative Governor becomes bankrupt or incapacitated to act, or expresses to the Governors in writing his wish to retire, or omits for the space of two years to attend any meeting, the Governors shall cause a record of the fact to be entered in their books, and upon such record being entered the Governor to whom it applies shall forthwith cease to be a Governor, and thereupon or upon the death of any Representative Governor a new Representative Governor shall be elected as soon as convenient, who shall for all purposes, whether of retirement in rotation or otherwise, stand in the place vacated by his predecessor.

8. The other Governors, called Coöptive Governors, shall from and after the date of this Scheme be the following persons:—

Robert Ingram, Esq., of Moor Hall, Aveley, Essex.

Champion Russell, Esq., of Stubbers, North Ockendon, Essex.

Samuel Westwood, Esq., of Laindon Hills, Essex.

Daniel Jackson, Esq., of Chadwell Place, near Grays Thurrock.

and four women, who shall be chosen as soon as possible after the date of this Scheme by the Governors for the time being.

9. The office of Coöptive Governor shall, except as to retirement by rotation, be vacated in the same way as that of a Representative Governor, and on each vacancy some person able and willing to act in the Trusts of this Scheme, shall be appointed by the other Governors at their first ensuing meeting, by a resolution to be forthwith notified by them, with all proper information to the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, at their office in London; but no such appointment shall be valid until it has been approved by the said Commissioners, and their approval certified under their official seal.

10. The Coöptive Governors shall be appointed for the term of five years only and shall then retire, but shall be capable of re-appointment. Four of them shall be women.

11. Every Governor shall, at or before the first meeting he attends in that character, sign a written memorandum declaring his acceptance of the office of Governor, and his willingness to do his duty as such, and to act in the Trusts of this Scheme. And until he has signed such a declaration no one shall be entitled to discharge the functions of a Governor.

12. Religious opinions or attendance or non-attendance at any particular form of religious worship
shall not in any way affect the qualification of any person for being a Governor under this Scheme.

13. The Governors shall hold meetings in some convenient place within the parish of Grays Thurrock, or in some other convenient place to be fixed by themselves, as often as may be found necessary for the management of the Trust, and at least twice in each year, on some convenient days to be appointed by themselves.

14. The Governors shall elect one of their number to be permanent Chairman of their meetings. If he is absent from any meeting they shall elect a Chairman for that occasion. If for the purpose of electing a Chairman it is found necessary to have a Chairman the senior Governor present, according to the date or order of his entry into office, shall be Chairman for that limited purpose, or if they think fit, the Governors may elect one of their body to be permanent Vice-Chairman, and to take the chair whenever he is present and the Chairman is absent.

15. A quorum shall be constituted whenever five Governors are present. Whenever any decision is made by less than a majority of the actually existing Governing Body, it shall be competent to any Governor within one calendar month from the day of the decision to demand that the decision shall be once reconsidered at a special meeting.

16. Any two Governors may at any time summon a special meeting for any cause that seems to them sufficient.

17. All special meetings shall be convened by notice in writing to the Governors, specifying the object of the meeting. And it shall be the duty of the clerk to give such notice when required by any Governors having a right to summon such meeting.

18. All matters and questions shall be determined by the majority of the Governors present at any meeting; and in case of equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

19. In case of the non-attendance of a sufficient number of Governors to form the quorum at any meeting, or of the business at any meeting not being fully completed, those present may adjourn the meeting to a subsequent day.

20. A minute book and proper books of account shall be provided by the Governors, and kept in some convenient and secure place of deposit to be provided or appointed by them for that purpose, and minutes of the entry into office of every new Governor, and of all proceedings of the Governors, shall be entered in such minute book, and signed by the Chairman of the meeting.

21. Full accounts shall be kept of the receipts and expenditure of the Governors, and such accounts shall be stated for each year, and examined and passed annually at the first meeting in the ensuing year, and signed by the Governors then present.

22. The Governors shall cause sufficient abstracts of the accounts to be published annually in two local newspapers. Such abstracts may be in the form appended to this Scheme, unless any form is prescribed by the Charity Commissioners, in which case the form so prescribed shall be followed.

23. The Governors shall make such arrangements as they may find most fitting for the custody of all
muniments, title deeds, and other documents belonging to the Trust, for deposit of money, for drawing cheques, and for appointing proper agents to conduct the business of the Trust. Provided that if any of the Governors is appointed to be such an agent, he shall not be entitled to any salary.

24. All lands and hereditaments, not being copyhold, belonging to the Trust, and all terms, estates, and interests therein, shall from date of this Scheme vest in the Official Trustee of Charity Lands, and his successors: And all stock in the public funds and other securities belonging to the Trust shall be transferred to and vest in the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds, by whom the dividends and income arising therefrom shall be from time to time paid to the Governors or their order.

25. The Governors shall from time to time when and as favourable opportunity offers, with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, sell such real estates of the Trust as are not required to be used for the objects of this Scheme, and shall, with the like sanction, invest the proceeds in such mode as the Court of Chancery, in exercise of its statutory powers, or as any Act of Parliament may authorise, for the investment of Trust Funds in general.

26. All the estates and property of the Trust remaining unsold and not required to be retained or otherwise occupied for the purposes thereof shall be let or otherwise managed by the Governors, or by their officers acting under their orders, according to the general law applicable to the management of property by the Trustees of charitable foundations.

27. From and after the date of this Scheme all jurisdiction of the Ordinary (if any there be over this Foundation) relating to or arising from the licensing of any Master shall be abolished.

PART III.—BOYS AND GIRLS SCHOOLS.

28. From and after the date of this Scheme the Governors shall treat the property and income of the Trust (subject to the yearly payment mentioned in clause 2 of this Scheme) as applicable in equal moieties to the education of boys and of girls respectively; and school buildings for each of those purposes shall be erected and maintained.

PART IV.—THE BOYS SCHOOL AND ITS MANAGEMENT.

29. As soon as convenient after the date of this Scheme the Governors shall proceed to erect buildings for the Boys School upon some suitable site to be purchased by them. It is intended that the buildings shall accommodate forty boarders or thereabouts, and 100 day-scholars or thereabouts, and shall contain a residence for the Head Master of the School. The Governors shall be at liberty to spend for this purpose out of the capital funds of the Trust the sum of 3,000l., but shall not exceed that sum except with the consent of the Charity Commissioners.

30. No person shall be disqualified for being a Master in the School by reason only of his not being or not intending to be in Holy Orders.
31. The Governors shall appoint the Head Master of the Boys School at some meeting to be called for that purpose, as soon as conveniently may be after the date of this Scheme or after the occurrence of a vacancy, or after notice of an intended vacancy. In order to obtain the best candidates the Governors shall for a sufficient time before making any appointment give public notice of the vacancy, and invite competition by advertisements in newspapers or other methods as they may judge best calculated to secure the object.

32. The Governors may dismiss the Head Master without assigning cause, after six calendar months' written notice, given to him in pursuance of a resolution passed at two consecutive meetings duly convened for that express purpose, and affirmed at each by not less than two-thirds of the Governors present.

33. For urgent cause the Governors may by resolution passed at a meeting duly convened as a special one for that express purpose, and affirmed by not less than two-thirds of the whole existing number of Governors, declare that the Head Master ought to be dismissed from his office, and in that case they may appoint another special meeting to be held within not less than a week of the former one, and may then by a similar resolution affirmed by as large a proportion of Governors, wholly and finally dismiss him. And if the Governors assembled at the first of such meetings think fit at once to suspend the Head Master from his office until the next meeting, they may do so by resolution affirmed by as large a proportion of Governors. Full notice and opportunity of defence at both meetings shall be given to the Head Master.

34. Every Head Master previously to entering into office, shall be required to sign a declaration to be entered in the Minute Book of the Governors, in the following form:—

"I declare that I will always, to the best of my ability, discharge the duties of Head Master of the Boys School at Grays Thurrock during my tenure of the office, and that if I am removed by the Governors, according to the constitution of the said School, I will acquiesce in such removal, and will thereupon relinquish all claim to the mastership, and its future emoluments, and will deliver up to the Governors, or as they direct, possession of all their property then in my possession or occupation."

35. The Head Master shall reside in the dwelling-house assigned for his residence. He shall have the occupation and use of such house and any other property of the Trust of which he becomes occupant in respect of his official character and duties, and not as tenant, and shall, if removed from his office, deliver up possession of such house and other property to the Governors, or as they direct. He shall not, except with the permission of the Governors, permit any person to occupy such house or any part thereof.

36. The Head Master shall give his personal attention to the duties of the School, and during his tenure of office he shall not accept or hold any benefice having the cure of souls, or any office or
Head Master not to receive other than authorised fees.

Jurisdiction of Governors over scholastic arrangements.

Governors to consult the Head Master.

Jurisdiction of Head Master over scholastic arrangements.

Head Master to appoint and dismiss Assistant Masters, and to distribute fund assigned to Assistant Masters or plant.

Income of Head Master.

Appointment which, in the opinion of the Governors, may interfere with the proper performance of his duties as Head Master.

37. Neither the Head Master nor any Assistant Master shall receive or demand from any boy in the School, or from any person whosoever on behalf of any such boy, any gratuity, fee, or payment, except such payments as are prescribed or authorised by this Scheme.

38. Within the limits fixed by this Scheme the Governors shall prescribe the general subjects of instruction, the relative prominence and value to be assigned to each group of subjects, the division of the year into school-time and vacation, the payments by day-scholars, the number and the payments of boarders, and the number of holidays to be given in the school-time. They shall take general supervision of the sanitary condition of the school buildings and arrangements. They shall determine what number of Assistant Masters ought to be employed. They shall every year assign the amount which they think proper to be paid out of the income of the Trust for the purpose of maintaining Assistant Masters and a proper plant or apparatus for carrying on the instruction given in the School.

39. Before making any regulations under the last preceding clause the Governors shall consult the Head Master, if there is one, in such a manner as to give him full opportunity for the expression of his views.

40. Subject to the rules prescribed by or under the authority of this Scheme the Head Master shall have under his control the choice of books, the method of teaching, the arrangement of classes and school hours, and generally the whole internal organisation, management, and discipline of the School: Provided that if he expels a boy from the School, he shall forthwith make a full report of the case to the Governors.

41. The Head Master shall have the sole power of appointing and dismissing all Assistant Masters, and shall determine in what proportions the sum assigned by the Governors for the maintenance of Assistant Masters and of plant or apparatus ought to be divided among the various persons and objects for the aggregate of whom it is assigned. And the Governors shall pay the same accordingly, either through the hands of the Head Master or directly, as they think best.

42. The Head Master may from time to time submit proposals to the Governors for making or altering regulations as to any matter within their province, and the Governors shall consider such proposals and decide upon them.

43. The Head Master shall receive a fixed stipend of £75l. a year. He shall also receive payment according to the number of boys in the School; that is to say, such sum calculated on such a scale, uniform or graduated, as may be agreed upon between him and the Governors, being not less than £l yearly for each boy. These payments shall be made terminally, and shall not be made for any boy who has not belonged to the School for the whole term.
44. The Governors shall make such regulations as they think right for the reception of boarders either in the houses of the Masters upon terms sufficiently profitable to the Masters, or upon the system generally known as the hostel system, under which the pecuniary and domestic arrangements of the boarding house are regulated by persons directly accountable to the Governors, and the profit, if there is any, accrues to the credit of the Trust. Or if they think it best they may combine both systems.

45. All boys, except as herein-after provided, shall pay such entrance and tuition fees as the Governors shall fix from time to time, provided that no such entrance fee shall exceed 3l, and that no such tuition fee shall be less than 3l or more than 5l a year. The payments for boarding apart from tuition fees shall not be less than 20l nor more than 30l a year. No extras of any kind shall be allowed without the sanction of the Governors.

46. All payments for tuition or boarding shall be made in advance to the Head Master, or to such other person as the Governors shall from time to time determine, and shall be accounted for by the person receiving them to the Governors, and treated by them as part of the general income of the Trust.

47. No boy shall be admitted into the School unless he has attained the age of 7 years, and is under the age of 13. No boy shall remain in the School after the expiration of the term in which he attains the age of 15 years.

48. Subject to the provisions established by or under the authority of this Scheme, the School and all advantages of the School shall be open to all boys who are of good character, who are of sufficient bodily health, and who are residing with their parents, guardians, or next friends, or in some boarding house established under the sanction of the Governors. No boy not so residing or boarding shall be admitted to the School unless he has previously obtained the express permission of the Governors.

49. Applications for admission to the School shall be made to the Head Master, or to some other person named by the Governors, according to a printed form to be approved of by the Governors, and delivered to all applicants.

50. The Head Master or other person named by the Governors shall keep a register of applications showing the date at which every application is made for the admission of a boy, the date of his admission, withdrawal, or rejection, the cause of rejection, and the age of the boy at the date of the application. Provided that every person requiring an application to be entered shall pay such fee as the Governors may fix, not exceeding five shillings.

51. Every applicant for admission shall be examined by or under the direction of the Head Master, who shall appoint convenient times for that purpose and give reasonable notice to the parents of those whose turn is arriving. No boy shall be admitted to the School except on the terms of undergoing such examination and being found fit for admission. Those who are so found fit shall, if there is room for
them, be admitted in order according to the dates of their application, but it shall be competent to the Governors to direct that if there is not room their priority shall be determined by Competitive Examination.

52. The examination for admission shall be graduated according to the age of the boy, but it shall never fall below the following standard, that is to say:

- Reading monosyllabic narrative and Writing text hand.
- Easy sums in the first two Rules of Arithmetic.

The Governors may raise the minimum standard from time to time if they deem it advantageous for the School.

53. The parent or guardian of or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of any day scholar may claim, by notice in writing addressed to the Head Master, the exemption of such scholar from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, and such scholar shall be exempted accordingly, and a scholar shall not by reason of any exemption from attending prayer or religious worship or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, be deprived of any advantage or emolument in this School or out of this Trust to which he would otherwise have been entitled. If any teacher in the course of other lessons at which any such scholar is in accordance with the ordinary rules of the School present, teaches systematically and persistently any particular religious doctrine, from the teaching of which any exemption has been claimed, as in this clause before provided, the Governors shall, on complaint made in writing to them by the parent, guardian, or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of such scholar, hear the complainant, and inquire into the circumstances, and if the complaint is judged to be reasonable, make all proper provisions for remedying the matter complained of.

54. The Governors and Head Master shall, each within their own departments, as herein-before defined, and subject to the provisions of this Scheme, make proper regulations for the religious instruction to be given in the School.

55. The subjects of secular instruction shall be selected by the Governors from among the following:
- Reading and Spelling.
- Writing and Book-keeping.
- Arithmetic.
- The elements of Algebra and Geometry.
- English Grammar and Composition.
- English Literature.
- History.
- Geography, political and physical.
- Some one branch of Natural Science.
- Political Economy.
- Latin.
- French or German.
- Drawing.
- Vocal Music.
The boys shall be instructed in the foregoing subjects according to the classification and arrangements made by the Head Master, who shall also arrange that lessons shall be given by competent teachers either in Navigation or in Land Surveying, or in Agricultural Chemistry, to every boy who is sufficiently advanced to profit by such instruction.

56. There shall be once in every year an examination of the Scholars by an Examiner or Examiners appointed for that purpose by the Governors, and paid by them, but otherwise unconnected with the School. The Examiners shall report to the Governors on the proficiency of the Scholars, and on the position of the School as regards instruction and discipline, as shown by the results of the examination and with special regard to the elementary subjects. The Governors shall communicate the reports to the Head Master.

57. The Head Master shall make an annual Report to the Governors on the general condition of the School, and on any special occurrences during the year. He also may mention the names of any boys who in his judgment are worthy of praise or substantial reward, having regard both to proficiency and conduct.

58. By way of exhibitions tenable at the School itself, the Governors shall grant exemptions from the payment of tuition fees for such periods and on such conditions as the Governors shall think fit. All such exemptions shall be given as the reward of merit only, and shall be assigned—in the case of candidates for admission, on the result of the examination provided for in clause 51—in the case of boys already attending the School, on the Reports of the Examiners and Head Master, and no exemption shall be granted to any such boy if the Head Master reports that he is rendered undeserving of it by ill-conduct. The Governors may, under these conditions, exempt boys from the payment of the whole, or of one-half of the tuition fee, but such exemption shall in every case be liable to forfeiture in the event of misconduct or failure to maintain a reasonable standard of proficiency. Boys so exempted shall be called and ranked as Foundation Scholars, and the degrees of exemption shall be further distinguished if the Governors think fit. Not more than 10 per cent. of the boys shall be wholly exempt, and no further exemptions shall be allowed when the exemptions, total and partial, reach the proportion of one in every five boys in the School.

59. In providing such Exhibitions the Governors shall arrange that one-half of the number shall be competed for in the first instance by boys who are being educated at the Elementary Schools under Government inspection in the parish of Grays Thurrock, or in parishes adjoining thereto, or any part of which is within two miles of the parish church of Grays Thurrock, and the Governors shall make such arrangements as seem to them best adapted to secure the double object of attracting good Scholars to the several Schools, and applying a stimulus to the Elementary Schools of the said parishes. None of this class of Exhibitions shall be thrown open to all comers until the Head Master has re-
ported that there are not enough boys from the
said Elementary Schools who on examination prove
worthy to take them. Subject to the preference
given by this clause, the Exhibitions established under
this Scheme shall be freely and openly competed for.

60. The Governors may also, in case of special
merit, and if the finances will admit, grant further
Exhibitions either tenable at the School itself, by re-
mitting, in the case of a Hostel, or in other cases
paying out of the Trust Funds, the whole or any
part of the charge for boarding, or, tenable at some
other place of education approved by the Governors.

61. The Exhibitions established under this Scheme
shall be tenable only for the purposes of education,
or gaining a start in some profession or calling. If
the holder dies, his representatives shall be entitled
only to the next instalment, whenever payable. If
the holder is guilty of gross misconduct or idleness,
or wilfully ceases to pursue his education, it shall
be competent to the Governors to determine the
Exhibition.

PART V.—THE GIRLS SCHOOL AND ITS MANAGEMENT.

62. As soon as convenient after the date of this
Scheme the Governors shall proceed to erect build-
ings for the Girls School upon some suitable site to
be purchased by them. It is intended that the build-
ings shall accommodate 25 boarders or thereabouts,
and 50 day scholars or thereabouts, and shall contain
a residence for the Head Mistress of the School.
The Governors shall be at liberty to spend for this
purpose out of the capital funds of the trust the
sum of 2,500l., but shall not exceed that sum except
with the assent of the Charity Commissioners.

63. The Head Mistress shall receive a fixed stipend
of 50l. a year. She shall also receive payment
according to the number of girls in the School, after
the manner and according to the conditions herein-
before prescribed for the Head Master of the Boys
School.

64. Payments for entrance, tuition, and boarding
shall be made by the girls after the manner and ac-
cording to the conditions herein-before prescribed for
the Boys School, provided that no such entrance fee
shall exceed 3l., and that no such tuition fee shall be
less than 3l. or more than 5l. a year, and that the
payments for boarding apart from tuition fees shall
not be less than 20l. nor more than 30l. a year.

65. No girl shall be admitted into the School unless
she has attained the age of 8 years, and is under the
age of 14. No girl shall remain in the School after
she has attained the age of 17 years.

66. The subjects of Secular Instruction shall be
taken from the following, according to regulations
to be made by the Governors from time to time.

The English language and literature,
English Composition,
Latin,
French,
German,
Italian,
Arithmetic,
Elements of Algebra and Geometry,
Some one or more branches of Natural Science.
Geography, Physical and Political.
Drawing.
Music.
Elements of Political Economy.
Elements of Moral Philosophy.
Needlework.

The girls shall be instructed according to the classification and arrangements made by the Head Mistress.

Exhibitions.

67. Besides Exhibitions tenable at the School itself, the Governors may frame regulations for the establishment, as far as the funds permit, of Exhibitions tenable by pupils of the School, after leaving it, at any College, or place for the higher Education of Women, or at any Training Institution for Schoolmistresses or Governesses, which they may see fit to recognise, or in any other way for the start or advancement in life of the holder, which they may expressly sanction in each individual case.

68. All Exhibitions shall be awarded on Competitive Examination, but in the conduct of all examinations the Governors shall be careful to provide that publicity shall be avoided, and in ordinary class lists the candidates shall be arranged alphabetically, and not in order of individual merit.

69. As to every matter relating to the Girls School of the kind mentioned in this part of this Scheme, or of the kind mentioned in Part IV. of this Scheme as relating to the Boys School, the Governors and Head Mistress respectively shall have the same authorities, rights, and duties as are conferred on the Governors and Head Master by Part IV. of this Scheme.

70. Subject to the special provisions of this part of this Scheme, the Girls School shall be governed by the same regulations and provisions as in Part IV. of this Scheme are prescribed for the Boys School.

Part VI.—Application of Income.

71. After the date of this Scheme the Governors shall place the sum of 3,000l. consols to a separate account in the name of the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds, entitled "Repairs and Improvements." The income shall be paid to the Governors, and applied by them in ordinary repairs or improvements if wanted, and if not wanted for that purpose shall be accumulated by them to the same account. The Governors shall draw upon the accumulations at their discretion for the purpose of any repairs or improvements, but shall not encroach upon the capital, except for the purpose of substantial improvements or extraordinary repairs or renewal, and then not without the consent of the Charity Commissioners, and under such conditions of replacing the capital as that Board may think right.

72. After defraying the expenses of management and of any ordinary repairs or improvements which the income of the Repairs and Improvements Fund may be insufficient to answer, and after providing for the payment directed in the next ensuing clause of this Scheme, the Governors shall divide the income
into two equal moieties, and shall assign the one moity to the purposes of the Boys School, and the other to those of the Girls School.

73. The Governors shall pay over yearly to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of the parish of Grays Thurrock the sum of 1l. and the sum necessary for the purchase of five chaldrons of coal, for distribution by the said Churchwardens and Overseers in the manner prescribed in the 17th clause of the Scheme which was established for this Foundation by the Court of Chancery on the 22nd day of July 1845, and which is repealed by clause 1 of this Scheme.

74. The Governors shall apply the moiety assigned for the Boys School in paying the Head Master according to Clause 43 of this Scheme, in paying the amount assigned for Assistant Masters and School plant or apparatus, in paying the Examiner or Examiners, and in providing for such Exhibitions and Prizes as they may have adjudged.

75. The Governors may also, if they think fit and their Funds allow it, agree with the Head Master that in consideration of his annually contributing a fixed sum of money they shall annually add to it another fixed sum, and that the whole shall be invested and accumulate for his benefit, and shall be given to him in the way of Pension or Superannuation Fund, on his retirement after 20 years' service, or in the event of his being permanently disabled by illness; and that in the event of his dismissal or resignation before the expiration of 20 years, the Fund produced by his own contribution shall be returned to him.

76. If there is any residue of income they may employ it in increasing the number of Exhibitions or the stipend of the Head Master, or the Fund applicable to the payment of Assistant Masters and School plant or apparatus, in improving the accommodation of the School buildings, in aiding the games of the scholars, or generally in promoting the spirit and efficiency of the School. Whatever they do not think fit to spend in these ways they shall on passing the yearly accounts state as Unapplied Surplus, and shall deposit it in a bank; and if the sums so deposited rise to 300l. they shall invest the same in Government Stock in the name of the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds to the general credit of the Trust.

77. The Governors shall employ the moiety assigned for the Girls School, or the Elementary Girls Schools in Grays Thurrock and the adjoining parishes, in the like manner and with the like powers and discretion as by the two last foregoing clauses is provided with respect to the moiety assigned for the Boys School and the Elementary Boys Schools.

PART VII.—GENERAL.

78. The Governors may receive any additional donations or endowments for the general purposes of either School. They may also receive donations or endowments for any special objects directed by the donors, provided that such objects are certified by the Charity Commissioners to be for the general
benefit of either School, and not calculated to give privileges to any scholar on any other ground than that of merit, and not otherwise inconsistent with or calculated to impede the due working of the provisions of this Scheme.

79. If any doubt or question arises among the Governors, Head Master, or Head Mistress as to the proper construction or application of any of the provisions of this Scheme, any of such persons may apply to the Charity Commissioners for their opinion and advice thereon, which opinion and advice when given shall be binding on the Governors, Head Master, or Head Mistress.

80. The Charity Commissioners may from time to time in the exercise of their ordinary jurisdiction frame Schemes for the alteration of any provisions of this Scheme or otherwise for the government or regulation of the Trust, provided that such Schemes be not inconsistent with the first part of this Scheme, or with anything contained in the Endowed Schools Act, 1869.

81. This Scheme shall be printed and a copy given to every person who shall become a Governor, and to every Master, Mistress, or Teacher appointed to either School, and copies shall be sold at a reasonable price to all persons who may wish to buy.

82. The date of this Scheme shall be the day on which Her Majesty by Order in Council declares Her approbation of it.

[Signature]

Arthur Holden.

W. E. Forster.
It is assumed that the power of making Schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts 1869/73 is to be continued in some form.

1. One plan would be to continue the existing Commissioners or to appoint others in their place. Upon this I express no opinion.

2. Another plan would be to transfer the jurisdiction exercised by the Commission to this Department.

There are many objections to this proposal. It would be necessary to alter the whole framework of the existing Acts. At present the Schemes are framed by Commissioners separate from and acting more or less independently of the Education Department. These Commissioners should be guided simply by educational considerations and are in no way a Political Body. They take the initiative in preparing to deal with any educational foundation. They settle the order in which the several cases are to be taken; conduct the enquiry and correspondence preliminary to framing a Scheme and by means of Assistant Commissioners who are sent down to the country ascertain the wants and feelings of each locality. It seems essential that this process should by some means or other be continued. The ground must somehow or other be broken up. The various suggestions for reorganising and reforming any charity must be collected and canvassed and a tentative Scheme must be framed by some independent Body such as the Commission and it must be published in the locality. If there were no independent Body the same process would require to be carried through by the Education Department in other words by the Government of the day. So that in fact the Lord President and Vice President would be converted into Endowed S. Commissioners. Such a plan would not only impose upon the Minister a constant dealing in details and corresponding labour but almost all the letters written and the negotiations carried on by the Assistant Commissioners must pass under the immediate supervision of the Minister so that the Government would be responsible to an extent which is quite unnecessary and which might easily become most embarrassing. At present of course this difficulty is avoided. If mistakes are made in the course of the negotiations they are corrected by the Commissioners. The government are only indirectly involved: because the Lord and Vice President are only called upon to act when some sort of agreement as to the proposed scheme has been reached when the points in dispute have been reduced to a reasonable number and at a time when the original difficulties have been thoroughly discussed and in some sort overcome.

I believe I am correct in stating that no government has ever attempted directly or primarily to interfere in a matter so complicated and detailed as that of the reorganisation of the Educational Foundations of the Kingdom and so far as I know the proposal to do so has never yet been made.

2. (sic) A third plan would be to transfer the jurisdiction of the Endowed S. Commission to the Charity Commissioners in other words to appoint the individuals who now exercise the duties of Charity Commissioner.
to be Commissioners under Section 31 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869. The effect of this would be to enable the Charity Commission to exercise not only the powers which they now exercise but all the powers which are now exercised by the Endowed S. Commissioners. At present the Vice President of the Council is technically a Commissioner and it seems to be advisable that he should not be appointed an Endowed S. Commissioner. But Sir James Hill and Mr. Offley Martin might be appointed individually Endowed S. Commissioners and to them might be added a third who might or might not be also appointed a Charity Commissioner.

It would also be necessary to give the Commissioners the aid of the staff now employed by the Endowed S. Commissioners who are of course familiar with the present position and possess an amount of knowledge of the subject which would prove not only valuable but essential to the proper working of this proposal.

It is well known that the Charity Commissioners have excited no feeling of hostility throughout the country; on the contrary they have displayed singular prudence and common sense. Nor is it probable that the various bodies of Trustees who now manage the various Educational Charities would be disquieted by the notion that they would be interfered with without some reasonable cause. If however the Commissioners should pass an imprudent scheme it would always be competent for the objector to appeal to this Department which would have the power of overruling and modifying the form of the Scheme proposed for approval.

It will be observed that this plan requires no new legislative provision. The existing law would remain as it is now. The plan might be tried for three or five years by altering the date in S. 17 of the Act of 1873 and if it proved successful the joint Commission might be continued by again extending the date. If on the other hand the experiment failed the Charity Commission might be separated from the Endowed S. Commission and the new End. S. Court might be appointed to carry on the work of organisation.

One recommendation of this plan would certainly have that it would be economical even if the salaries of the two Charity Commissioners were slightly increased.

P.C.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Cross Income £**</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>See APPENDIX III (ii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>All Schemes approved in 1875 were submitted to the Education Department by the Endowed Schools Commissioners before 31 Dec. 1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>See APPENDIX III (ii) entries for EXETER* and LONDON, St. Paul's Cirencester Powell's Schools Gloucestershire Highgate, Sir Roger Cholmondeley's Middlesex.</td>
<td>about 1000</td>
<td>Cl. 61 provides for establishment of girls' school &quot;If and whenever the funds admit it...&quot;</td>
<td>3rd grade Boys' School established substantial aid to elementary schools 1344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2254</td>
<td>Cl. 59: when funds sufficient governors shall provide middle or upper school for girls, or middle school for boys, or both</td>
<td>1st grade Boys' Schools established 3501</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Capital letters indicate a scheme which provided a school for girls.

** The figures in this column, taken mainly from Returns in the Commissioners' Annual Reports, are intended only to give a rough idea of the importance of the endowment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Gross Income £</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976 Hinkley Grammar School, Leicestershire</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>Cl. 56: £50-100 p.a. to be spent on exhibitions, scholarships or other prizes for girls.</td>
<td>3rd grade Boys' School established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 Burlington Grammar School, Lancashire</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £2-5 p.a., Ages 7-15</td>
<td>3rd grade Boys' school established. Substantial aid to elementary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 Penworth Grammar School, Lancashire</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>Cl. 57: when income sufficient governors may establish scheme for girls.</td>
<td>Scheme provides for preacher and Alms people and for small 3rd grade school for boys and Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 Tideswell Grammar School, Peak District, Derbyshire</td>
<td>about 400</td>
<td>Cl. 58: when funds admits 400 for girls. Fees £2-5 p.a.</td>
<td>3rd grade Boys' school established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 Wellingborough Grammar School, Northants.</td>
<td>about 300</td>
<td>Cl. 61: Governors may provide for admission of Girls to benefits of Foundation.</td>
<td>2nd and 3rd grade Boys' schools established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Bentham Collingwood and Baynes Foundation Yorks., W.R. Berkhamsted Grammar School Hertfordshire</td>
<td>about 490 (of which £20 for doles) 1550</td>
<td>Cl. 60: If Governors think fit, girls may be admitted to the school Cl. 61: So soon as income sufficient governors shall apply £250 p.a. to education of girls. Cl. 57: When first of two pensions lapses, £50. p.a. for girls' education When second pension lapses further £50 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEwCASTLe-on-Tyne Allan's Endowed Schools Northumberland Northleach Westwood's Grammar School Gloucestershire</td>
<td>713 687</td>
<td>Girls' school. Fees £3-5 p.a. Ages 7-16 Cl. 62: When a pension lapses, governors shall apply for scheme to establish Girls' School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>TIVERTON Middle Schools Devon Upholland Grammar School Lancashire</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £3-7 p.a. Ages 7-16 Cl. 53: Girls may be admitted, if Governors think fit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>BIRMINGHAM King Edward VI Warwickshire CANTERBURY Simon Langton Kent COGGESHALL Sir Robert Mitcham's Essex Clee Humberstone's Foundation Lincolnshire</td>
<td>14,600</td>
<td>High School for Girls. Four Middle Schools for Girls (Aston, Bath Row, Camp Hill, Summer Hill) Girls School Fees £4-8 p.a. Ages 7-16 Girls School Fees £3-6 p.a. Ages 16-17 Cl. 49: Not later than 3 years from opening of Boys' School, £100 p.a. to be applied to Girls' education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Hastings Grammar School, Sussex.</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>Cl. 59: As soon as Endowment and income of Foundation are sufficient, Governors shall apply for Scheme extending benefits to girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kirkby Stephen Grammar School, Westmorland</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Cl. 53: If Governors think fit, girls may be admitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>London Hammersmith, Latymer Foundation</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>Cl. 64: When funds admit, Governors shall apply for Scheme for Girls' School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LONDON Islington, Dame Alice Owen's</td>
<td>8000 (including income devoted to aims)</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £3-6 p.a. Leaving age - 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Longwood (in Huddersfield) Grammar School Yorks, W. R.</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>Cl. 54: Girls may be admitted, if Governors think fit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Cross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878 contd.</td>
<td>LOUTH Grammar School Lincolnshire</td>
<td>1570</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £6-12 p.a. Ages 8-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newport, Adam's Grammar School Salop</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>C1.30: Girls' School shall be established as soon as funds permit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rochester Sir J. Williamson's Mathematical School Kent</td>
<td>1487</td>
<td>C1.59: After 5 years from date of Scheme Governors to invest £100 p.a. towards girls' school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WELLS Blue Schools Somerset</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £2-5 p.a. Leaving age 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yardley Charity Estates Worcestershire</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>Residue of income to be invested and when it amounts to £2000 Governors shall apply for Scheme establishing Boys' and Girls' 2nd grade schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Dorchester Grammar School, Dorset</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>Cl.56: If Governors think funds sufficient, can apply for Scheme to extend benefit of Foundation to girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Macclesfield Grammar School, Cheshire</td>
<td>2058</td>
<td>Cl. 90: from date not later than 3 years from date of Scheme Governors shall apply yearly £100 to education of girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Bury St. Edmunds The Guildhall Feoffment, Suffolk</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>Cl.30: As certain pensions fall in Governors shall accumulate capital fund for Girls' middle school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kirkham Grammar School, Lancashire</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>Cl.59: £200 p.a. shall be applied to higher education of girls (but application may be postponed for 3 years from date of Scheme or longer if Charity Commissioners approve)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>Croydon Whitgift Foundation</td>
<td>4580</td>
<td>Cl.88: When income sufficient, benefits of Foundation to be extended to girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IPSWICH Endowed Schools</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>Girls School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suffolk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £3-6 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manchester Hulme Trust Estates</td>
<td>about 6800</td>
<td>Ages 7-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>£500-1000 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>See Appendix III (ff) for JAMES ALLEN'S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLOUCESTER United Endowed Schools</td>
<td>3324</td>
<td>Lower School for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £2-5 p.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ages 8-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td><strong>Nottingham High School</strong></td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>C1.59: f200 p.a. shall be applicable for the higher education of girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Watford</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Girls' School</strong> (leaving age 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td><strong>Lincoln, Christ's Hospital</strong></td>
<td>500</td>
<td><strong>Girls' School</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>London, Poplar, George Green's Schools</strong></td>
<td>990</td>
<td><strong>Girls' School</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Scorton</strong></td>
<td>260</td>
<td>C1.55: Foundation may be applied for benefit of girls instead of boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Welton, Christ Hospital</td>
<td>Exhibitions for girls from Welton elementary schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823 contd.</td>
<td>London, Stepney Bancrofts</td>
<td>Girls' School to be established as soon as funds will allow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>London, Bethnal Green Parmiter's</td>
<td>Cl.50: Any surplus income to be invested for girls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Manchester High School</td>
<td>Girls School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Southborough, (in Tonbridge) The Holme Foundation Kent</td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Walthamstow Sir George Monoux Essex</td>
<td>Cl.53: As soon as funds sufficient, Governors shall apply for Scheme extending benefits to Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd grade Boys' School established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' School established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follows Scheme of 1881 (q.v.) for Hulme Trust Estates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No papers on this school are available. It is simply listed in the Roby Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd grade Boys' School established</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PRO Ref. Ed. 27

(Provision for making this scheme missing)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Cross Income £</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>PRO Ref. Ed. 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar School</td>
<td>about 1000</td>
<td>Cl.12: Governors to apply £200 p.a. to advance education of girls</td>
<td>A Grammar School and an English School for Boys were established on this foundation</td>
<td>2358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leicester Alderman Newton's</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>£100-150 p.a. for girls' Exhibitions</td>
<td>Scheme established Boys' Elementary School</td>
<td>2412 2413 2414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PENDLETON High School Manchester</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>Subsidy from Hulme Estates</td>
<td>No Records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>LONDON, Hackney Skinners School</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £4-10 p.a. Ages 8-17</td>
<td>Scheme made on initiative of Skinner who, by Schemes of 1880, had established two boys' schools at Tonbridge, Kent</td>
<td>3060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MAIDSTONE Grammar School Kent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £4-10 p.a. Ages 7-17</td>
<td>Endowed with £6500 from Rochester Bridge Charity</td>
<td>1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROCHESTER, 'Sir J. Williamson's Math</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £4-10 p.a. Ages 7-17</td>
<td>This Scheme follows Scheme of 1878 (q.v.)</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO Ref. Ed. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886 contd.</td>
<td><strong>SALISBURY</strong>&lt;br&gt;Godolphin School&lt;br&gt;Wiltshire</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>Girls' School&lt;br&gt;Fees £12-20 p.a.</td>
<td>An 18th Century endowment for orphan gentlewomen; one of the few endowed Secondary Schools for girls existing when the Taunton Commission reported</td>
<td>5282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SKIPTON, Petyt's Charity and Girls' Middle School</strong>&lt;br&gt;Yorks, W.R.</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>Girls' School&lt;br&gt;Ages 8-17</td>
<td>The subsidy for girls' education authorised in the Giggleswick Scheme of 1872 (see Appendix III (1) was now assigned to Skipton</td>
<td>6171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tadcaster</strong>&lt;br&gt;Dawson's Charity&lt;br&gt;Yorks., W.R.</td>
<td>116 (for education)</td>
<td>The educational part of this mixed endowment was to accumulate till sufficient to establish a girls' school</td>
<td>Scheme apportioned income between annuities to widows and etc. and education</td>
<td>6194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Worton-under-Edge, Lady Berkeley's Grammar School</strong>&lt;br&gt;Gloucestershire</td>
<td>about 800</td>
<td>Cl.55: £50. p.a. small be applicable to education of girls</td>
<td>2nd grade Boys' school established</td>
<td>1468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td><strong>BERKHAMSTED Grammar School</strong></td>
<td>100 (to be increased as soon as funds allow to £250.)</td>
<td>Girls School</td>
<td>Scheme follows Boys' School Scheme of 1877(q.v.)</td>
<td>1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO Ref. Ed. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>LONDON</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>Scheme, which also established Boys' School, followed Scheme of 1881 for Hulme Trust Estates (q.v.) which provided for suspense fund to be used for schools at Oldham and Bury</td>
<td>3131, 3134, 3135, 3141a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lewisham Grammar School for Girls</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £4-8 p.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ages 9-16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OLDHAM</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td></td>
<td>2214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hulme Grammar Schools Lancashire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £4-10 p.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ages 8-17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>BARNET, Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>Scheme follows Scheme of 1873 [q.v. Appendix III (1)]</td>
<td>1688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEWSBURY, Wheelwright Grammar Schools</td>
<td>about 770</td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>Scheme established similar Boys' School</td>
<td>6074, 6082, 6083, 6086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yorks, W.R.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £8-12 p.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ages 8-17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HITCHIN, Grammar School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>Scheme established similar Boys' School</td>
<td>1710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fees £6-12 p.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ages 8 -17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Annual Income</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>£200</td>
<td>116 Girls' School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>School Scheme of 1885 (q.v.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>£924</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>School Scheme of 1886 (q.v.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd grade Boys' School established</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd grade Boys' School established for Boys after £1000 p.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>After £500 p.a. for boys and £400 p.a. for girls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Place and Endowment**

- **ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOITICH Grammar School Leicestershire**
- **TADCASTER Dewson's Charity Yorks. W.R.**
- **LONDON, Girls' Hospital**
- **LONDON, St. Olave's Grammar School**
- **TAINTON Bishop Fox's Somerset**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Gross Income</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Framlingham, Mills' Grammar School Suffolk</td>
<td>about 300</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £2-5 p.a. Ages 8-16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lanteglos-by-Camelford Sir James Smith's School Cornwall</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Cl.10: Governors empowered to admit girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>London Central Foundation Schools of London</td>
<td>about 4000</td>
<td>Girls' School Ages 7-17</td>
<td>Scheme combined funds from Dulwich College, the Corporation for Middle Class Education in the Metropolis, et. al., to establish 2 Boys' Schools and 1 Girls' School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mansfield Brunt's Charity Nottinghamshire</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>Technical School for Boys and Girls in 2 Departments. Fees 6d.-1/- per week Ages: entry - must have passed Standard IV Leaving age -16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woodbridge, Seckford Hospital etc. Suffolk</td>
<td>4660</td>
<td>Cl.64: As soon as income sufficient further Scheme shall be made to extend to girls benefits of Foundation</td>
<td>A Scheme of 1880, which established a Boys' Grammar School, was here amended to reconstitute the school in 2 branches: General and Scientific (agricultural) Assignment to Elementary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>NORTH MANCHESTER High School for Girls Lancashire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls' School</td>
<td>Endowment from the Hulme Estates Charity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Carlisle Charity School and Technical Instruction Fund Cumberland</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>Cl.23: Scheme provides for application of part of Endowment in aid of School or Schools for Boys and Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LONDON, Deptford, Addey and Stanhope</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>School for Boys and Girls in separate Departments Fee 3d. a week Entry: Standard VI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Normanton, Grammar School Yorks, W.R.</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>If and when funds suffice, Girls' School to be established.</td>
<td>This Scheme, which established a Boys' 2nd grade School, but made only contingent provision for girls, appears erroneously in Schedule B submitted to the Bryce Commission, instead of Schedule E. No girls' school established by 1902.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Cross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893 contd.</td>
<td>WALSALL, Queen Mary's Schools Staffordshire</td>
<td>200-250</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £8 p.a. Ages 10-17</td>
<td>Eventual provision of a girls' school had been contemplated in the Scheme of 1873 (see Appendix III (1)) which had also established 2 Boys' School. These two were now merged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Bakewell Lady Manners School Derbyshire</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Cl.28: The School shall be for boys and, if the Governors think fit, for girls. Mixed School</td>
<td>2nd grade Boys' School established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slaithwaite in Huddersfield Yorks, W.R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scheme provides that 'on the fulfilment of certain conditions' a school for Boys and Girls may be established. (BPP 1895 XLIX Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Summary and Index to Minutes of Evidence, Schedule B., p. 203)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Knaresborough, Grammar School Yorks, W.R.</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>School for boys and, if the Governors think fit, for girls.</td>
<td>2nd grade day and boarding school for boys established</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PRO Ref. Ed. 27 4326 483 5968
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place and Endowment</th>
<th>Annual Gross Income £</th>
<th>Provision for Girls</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
<th>PRO Ref. Ed. 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Monks Kirby, Grammar School Warwickshire</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Residue for technical institution of boys and girls</td>
<td>Boys' elementary school established</td>
<td>5034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newcastle-upon-Tyne Grammar School Northumberland</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>Residue to be invested towards maintaining Girls' School</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ed 35/1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Donnington Cowley's Endowed Schools Lincolnshire</td>
<td>1195</td>
<td>Cl.61: Governors shall arrange for girls to attend classes in suitable subjects</td>
<td>Commercial and agricultural school for boys established</td>
<td>2526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lancaster Royal Grammar School Lancashire</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>Cl. 72: If and so soon as the income allows a Girls' School shall be established</td>
<td>Boys' Grammar School established</td>
<td>2118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Durham, Johnston Technical Schools</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Day school for boys and girls may be established in or near Technical School</td>
<td></td>
<td>982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO Ref Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>KIRKHAM Grammar School</td>
<td>about 4500</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £5-10 p.a. Ages 8-17</td>
<td>Scheme follows Scheme of 1830 (q.v.)</td>
<td>2114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leeds, Grammar School</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>C1.64: sets aside £12000 to endow girls' school</td>
<td>First grade Boys' School established</td>
<td>5976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yorks. W.R.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leyland Balshaw's School</td>
<td>about 70</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £6-12 p.a. Ages 8-18</td>
<td>2nd grade day and boarding school for boys</td>
<td>5981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WIGTON Grammar School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A Bequest of 1893 made it possible to rehouse Wigton Boys' Grammar School and provide £3000, plus the old Grammar School buildings, for a girls' school</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>BURY Grammar School</td>
<td>1125 plus further income from Hulme Trust</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £9-15 p.a. Ages 8-18</td>
<td>Similar boys' school established. £18000 from Hulme Trust for school buildings</td>
<td>2065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Annual Gross Income £</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td>PRO Ref. Ed. 27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899 contd.</td>
<td>LONDON St. Saviour's and St. Olave's</td>
<td>over 2000</td>
<td>Girls' School Fees £3-6 p.a. Ages 8-17</td>
<td>Scheme combined foundations of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's with St. John's, Horselydown, to establish one 2nd grade school for boys, and one for girls</td>
<td>2772 2786 2791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEW ALRESFORD, Perins Grammar School Hampshire</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Mixed School Fees £4-8 p.a. Ages 8-17</td>
<td>Hampshire County Council, at whose instance Scheme made, willing to make substantial grants for scientific apparatus and to maintain efficient teaching staff</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stockton-on-Tees, Blue Coat School Durham</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>Cl. 29(2) 'When funds permit a Girls' School ...shall be established'</td>
<td>2nd grade Boys' School established</td>
<td>1038 1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>FOCKERBY IN ADLINGFLEET Yorks., W.R.</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>Mixed School Fees £3-8 p.a. Ages 8-16</td>
<td></td>
<td>5824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LEIGH, Grammar School Lancashire</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>Mixed School Ages 8-17</td>
<td></td>
<td>2125 (also Ed. 35/1308)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Place and Endowment</td>
<td>Provision for Girls</td>
<td>Annual Cross Income £</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>LEEDS, Girls Grammar School, Yorks. W.R.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12600 Capital plus accumulation of £8 12s. p.a. from 1898</td>
<td>Follows Lutwyche Scheme of 1878 (q.v.) and combines subsidy from Lutwyche with Godolphin and Latymer, now defunct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>LONDON, Godolphin and Latymer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PRO Ref. Ed. 217 3094 Ed. 25/12/82
Memorial from the Women's Education Union

Endowed Schools for Girls.—

The following memorial to the Charity Commissioners on the subject of the omission of any provision by which women are to be represented on the governing bodies of girls' schools, created by the reform of the old endowments, is being numerously and influentially signed by members of the Union:

We beg permission to address the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission on a point nearly concerning the interests of the Union for Improving the Education of Women, to which we belong.

We have seen, with great regret, a marked change in the schemes provided for Girls' Schools, which have emanated from the new Endowed Schools Department, as compared with those framed by the late Commission.

In all the schemes for Girls' Schools of the former Commission, provision was made for securing that women should be at least partially represented on the governing bodies, and in most of them there is an express general proviso that women may be governors. But in the five schemes relating to Girls' Schools which have been framed under the new law, no provision is made for ensuring that women may be governors. But in the five schemes relating to Girls' Schools which have been framed under the new law, no provision is made for ensuring that women may be governors is omitted in practice its omission may operate as a reason or pretext for excluding women who might otherwise have a chance of obtaining seats on governing bodies.

We would, therefore, respectfully, but most earnestly, urge on the Commission the necessity of making provision for ensuring to women some share in the government of all girls' schools in schemes which are now, or may hereafter be, under consideration of the Commission, and the advisability of leaving no room for doubt as to the eligibility of women to be governors, whether representative or co-optative.

Signatures,

DOUGLAS GALTON.
JANET MARY DOUGLAS.
ANNA BIDNER.
E. C. TYSSEL.
FANNY HERZ.
FREDERICKA MICHELL.
R. N. SNARE.
MARY GURNEY.
G. C. BELL.
F. WILTON SOUTH.
GEORGE C. T. BARLEY.
H. M. STANLEY OF ALDEMY.
ABERDALE.
LAWRENCE.
JULIA A. E. ROUNDILL.
A. P. STANLEY.
NAPIER AND ETTRICK.
JAMES P. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH.
J. LONDON.
LYTTELTON.
LULU C. F. CAVENDISH.
FREDERICK CAVENDISH.
HELEN TAYLOR.
H. W. EVE.
WILLIAM BARBER.
AIRIE.
EDWIN A. ABBOTT.
JOSEPH PAYNE.
L. T. MILLET.

Lectures to Teachers.—History.

—Mr. Bryce gave two Lectures to

gives too good reason to fear that if the girls' schools have no women to represent and defend them in the governing bodies, their interests will be systematically and most unjustly sacrificed.

We would further observe that the proviso inserted in former schemes that women may be governors is omitted in the new schemes. It is possible that, in the absence of any limitation the other way, this proviso may not be absolutely necessary; but it is extremely probable that in practice its omission may operate as a reason or pretext for excluding women who might otherwise have a chance of obtaining seats on governing bodies.

We would, therefore, respectfully, but most earnestly, urge on the Commission the necessity of making provision for ensuring to women some share in the government of all girls' schools in schemes which are now, or may hereafter be, under consideration of the Commission, and the advisability of leaving no room for doubt as to the eligibility of women to be governors, whether representative or co-optative.

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### APPENDIX IX

**A TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF SCHEDULE E.**

* BPP. 1895 XLIX Royal Commission on Secondary Education Vol. IX
Appendix. Statistical Tables pp.214 - 222

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**SCHEDULE E.**

**STATEMENT as to Provision made for the Education of Girls in the case of various Foundations governed by Schemes made under the **
**ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County and Place</th>
<th>Foundation</th>
<th>Nature of Provision made</th>
<th>Actual Provision by 1896</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHESHIRE.</strong></td>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>The Scheme provides that from a date not later than three years from date thereof the Governors shall apply a yearly sum of 100l. out of income of Foundation in the advancement of the education of girls, and shall apply for Schema for the application of such yearly sum. The Amending Order under the Charitable Trusts Acts of 8th June 1863 directs that the Governors may pay the residue of a sum of 70l. 19s. 2d. remaining after certain expenses have been met, and also the yearly sum of 100l. towards the maintenance of the Macclesfield High School for Girls.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MACCLESFIELD.</strong></td>
<td>Macdonald.</td>
<td>The Foundation of King Edward VI. or the King's Schools.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1879.</strong></td>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>The Scheme provides that from a date not later than three years from date thereof the Governors shall apply a yearly sum of 100l. out of income of Foundation in the advancement of the education of girls, and shall apply for Schema for the application of such yearly sum.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WESTMEDFORD.</strong></td>
<td>Sir James Smith's School.</td>
<td>The School of the Foundation is to be a School for Boys, and, if the Governors think fit, for Girls.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1891.</strong></td>
<td>Mackworth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CORNWALL.</strong></td>
<td>Lantege of Cambaltford.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>No Girls admitted by 1903 though Governor considered it in 1900.</strong> 1908 Inspection shows 30 boys, 19 girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County and Place</td>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>Nature of Provision made</td>
<td>Actual Provision by 1895</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>Crosthwaite High School Endowment</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 60) that girls may be admitted to the High School and to all the benefits thereof if and so long as the Commissioners approve.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>The Scheme was to maintain an elementary school for boys and girls and a boys’ High School. In 1903 it was found that the High School had opened as a mixed school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>Charity School and Technical Instruction Fund</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 25) for the application of part of the Endowment in aid of a School or Schools for Boys and Girls under the conditions therein mentioned.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>School reopened as mixed school 1896. To be conducted as Organised Science School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>Lady Manners’ School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 28) that the School is to be for Boys and if the Governors think fit, for Girls.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etwell and Repton</td>
<td>Sir John Fort’s Charity</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clauses 44, 78, and 79) that the Governors shall, if the income of the Trust be sufficient, apply such sums of £100, in promoting the education of girls in county of Derby. For this purpose a supplementary Scheme may be made.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>On inspection 1876, Eddis notes nothing done for Girls. Scheme published 1896 which would have diverted to girls money £60 aside for local schools; teaching local opposition; not proceeded with. Scheme 1896 omits girls’ provision entirely.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Tideswell       | Tideswell Grammar School Foundation | The Scheme provides (clause 58) that if and as soon as the funds of the Trust admit, the Governors may extend its benefits to the education of girls in either or both of the following ways—

(a) By establishing a Girls’ Department in connection with the School, or by admitting girls in other ways to the advantages of the School.

(b) By establishing a separate Girls’ School, by means of a Scheme under the authority of the Charity Commissioners. | — | 1896 Leach finds endowment ‘very crippled’ by compensation paid to former owner. “As to cl. 56, relating to exhibitions, and cl. 58, benefit to girls, the possibility of acting on them has not yet arrived.”

1895 Eddis on inspection, notes cl. 58 among numerous failures to carry into effect provisions of Scheme—“all attributed to the financial distress of the charity.” |
| Dorset          | Dorchester Grammar School | The benefit of the Foundation may be extended to girls by a Scheme of Charity Commissioners (clause 56 of Scheme). | — | 1903 School still struggling as small country grammar school for boys. |

[Leary’s inspection 1897 shows nothing done about girls. Endowed School Commissioners worked on draft scheme for boys and girls’ schools. Charity Commissioners on scheme for boys’ school only. Clause 56 inserted in 1903 instead of 1897].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County and Place</th>
<th>Date of Scheme</th>
<th>Foundation</th>
<th>Nature of Provision made</th>
<th>Actual Provision by 1895</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorset - cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gillingham</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Gillingham Grammar School</td>
<td>The Governors are directed to provide for the higher education of girls when the funds of the Foundation admit. (Clause 54 of Scheme.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaftesbury</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Laub's Endowed School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clauses 61, 62, 63) that when certain payments have come to an end, or sooner if funds allow, the Governors shall apply for a Scheme establishing a Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Jerei's Endowed School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides that the Governors may direct that girls shall be admitted to the School (clause 67) or establish a separate Girls' School by further Scheme. (Clause 61.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coggeshall</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Sir Robert Hitcham's School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 59) that the residue of the income is to be applied either in maintaining Exhibitions for girls, or to be invested and accumulated as a fund to be applied for the higher education of girls by a further Scheme.</td>
<td>see next column</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Newport Grammar School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 59) that if and when the funds of the Trust are sufficient, the Governors shall expend such sums as may be authorised by the Endowed Schools Commissioners or Charity Commissioners in providing buildings for a Girls' School to be conducted according to the provisions of the Scheme. The Governors may establish and conduct the Girls' School in accordance with the provisions of the Scheme in any buildings suitable for the purpose whenever they think fit.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walthamstow</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Sir G. Morris's Grammar School Foundation</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 53) that as soon as the funds of the Foundation are sufficient for the purpose the Governors shall apply for a Scheme for extending to girls the benefits of the Foundation.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

On inspection 1897: Leach notes nothing done for girls. Makes no recommendation about it.

1897: Leach finds girls' provisions quaint though pensions have lapsed. Governors would like these classes omitted. Endowment income has fallen substantially.

Leach found school in difficulties 1885, largely through reduction in farm rent. 1889 school closed by Order of Charity Commissioners. 1893 Governors want to reopen but funds insufficient. Technical Instruction Committee would like it to reopen as girls' school. 1901 Governors would still like to reopen for boys; County will only assist for girls.

(This Scheme superseded Scheme of 1977 which provided for Boys' School as well as Boys' School.) (1983) Leach noted in inspection that there was no surplus and girls' school nothing from income. "The accumulations found in their accounts under £125, amounting to £130, 17s. 8d."

Essex school closed 1893. Accumulations used for exhibitions for boys and girls.

On inspection 1891, Dunford raises question whether girls' clause should be amended as doubtful whether there will ever be money for girls' school. 1903 similar comment from Leach. School reopens from competition of Saffron Walden Grammar School.

After 1903, I.E.A. press for one or other to become a girls' school. Both sets of Governors resist.

No action taken under Clause 53 when Dunford inspected 1879, and again 1897. Inspection report 1903 shows Walthamstow High School for Girls; Grant acted by I.E.A. and Board of Education; no endowment.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County and Place</th>
<th>Foundation</th>
<th>Nature of Provision made</th>
<th>Actual Provision by 1895</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>Powell's Schools 1876</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clauses 28 and 61) for the establishment and maintenance of an Upper School for Girls as soon as funds admit.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1891 Leftey notes nothing done under Clause 61 - &quot;The Governors say they are never likely to be able to afford it so long as there is life.&quot; 1903 Governors willing to provide, but fail to get Act till 1905/6 when they propose the amalgamation of schools. Final school formed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northleach</td>
<td>Westwood's Grammar School 1877</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 63) that on the falling in of a pension the Governors are to apply for a supplementary Scheme for establishment and maintenance of a Girls' School in Northleach for purposes of higher education.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1897 School suffering from agricultural depression. 1904 Further complaint to Home Office. 1907 School closed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wotton-under-Edge</td>
<td>Katherine, Lady Berkeley's Grammar School 1886</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 65) that a yearly sum of not less than £500 out of the income of the Foundation shall be set apart and be applicable for advancement of education of girls. The sum is to be invested and accumulated until a Scheme is made for its application.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1891 On inspection, Governors tell Leftey they can't carry out Clause 58; ask that it be removed. In 1897 abandoned. 1899 School working as Pupil Teacher Centre. Takes girls, pupil teachers. 1905 Inspection Report shows school now mixed. School still a boys' school and on its last legs early 20th century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>William Cleave's School 1874</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 65) that girls may be admitted to the School and to all the benefits thereof.</td>
<td></td>
<td>After negotiations between Charity Commissioners, Department of Science and Art, the Borough Council and Burnley School Board, Scheme of 1874 establishing Grammar School as Organised Science School for boys and girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td>The Barnley Grammar School 1873</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clauses 62, 63, and 64) that as soon as the funds of the Trust admit, the Governors shall extend its benefits to the education of girls either by the establishment in the Grammar School of a separate department for girls, or by providing exhibitions.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1885 Investigation into endowments in the Fylde shows no money has been applied to girls. Governors see no prospects of being able to afford salaries. 1898 Draft Scheme published by Kirkham and Lytham Girls' School. Final scheme not proceeded with. 1899 Scheme revived; 1888 Scheme opposed. But Dunlop's Company withdraws financial backing, Girls' School never built.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkham</td>
<td>The Kirkham Grammar School 1880</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 59) that a yearly sum of £200 shall be applied in providing for the higher education of girls, either by a School for Girls to be established at Kirkham, or by means of exhibitions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County and Place</td>
<td>Date of Scheme</td>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>Nature of Provision made</td>
<td>Actual Provision by 1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lancashire - cont.</td>
<td>1873-1879</td>
<td>Penwortham Grammar School Foundation</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 57) that the Governors shall apply to the Charity Commissioners for a supplementary Scheme for advancing the higher education of girls when the income of the Foundation is sufficient, and that pending such scheme, not more than 50L may be applied in providing exhibitions.</td>
<td>girls admitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Upholland Grammar School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 58) that girls may, if Governors think fit, be admitted to the School and to all the benefits of the Foundation.</td>
<td>Clause 56 partially carried out by awarding some £20 p.a. in prizes to girls at elementary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Hinckley Grammar School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 58) for the yearly application of not less than 50L nor more than 100L in the advancement of the education of girls by means of exhibitions, scholarships, or other prizes. It is also provided that the Governors shall set aside a yearly sum of not less than 50L to accumulate, and that when the accumulation is sufficient they shall apply for a Scheme having for its object the advancement of the higher education of girls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Anerman Newton's School Foundation</td>
<td>Subject as mentioned in the Scheme (clauses 57, 58), a yearly sum of not less than 100L, nor more than 150L, is directed to be applied in maintaining exhibitions for girls. If in any year the income of the Foundation exceeds 100L, the excess is to be invested and accumulated as a fund for establishing a Girls' School. After a Girls' School is established, no further exhibitions are to be awarded, and the full yearly sum of 150L is to be applicable for the purposes of the Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County and Place.</td>
<td>Date of Scheme.</td>
<td>Foundation.</td>
<td>Nature of Provision made.</td>
<td>Actual Provision by 1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leicester—cont.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutterworth</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Sherrier's School and Charitable Foundation.</td>
<td>The Scheme provides clauses 66-69 that 500, yearly is to be applied to promoting the education of girls. In the event of an upper department admitting girls and fulfilling certain conditions being established in any Public Elementary School in Lutterworth, part of the said 500, may be applied towards the support of such department.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grigg, Glanford (via Wrawby and Bigby).</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Briggs Grammar School.</td>
<td>The Scheme provides clause 57 that on either of two pensions ceasing to be payable, 500, yearly is to be applied in the advancement of the education of girls by means of scholarships and exhibitions, or by aiding the establishment of a Girls' School giving instruction higher than Elementary. On second pension lapsing, additional yearly sum of 500, is to be similarly applied.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clee</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Humberstone's New Foundation.</td>
<td>The Scheme provides clause 49 that not later than three years from opening of Boys' School a yearly sum of 1000, shall be applied for the education of girls. Until a School for Girls is established 500, (part of said sum of 1000,) shall be applied in maintaining exhibitions for girls, the remaining 500, shall be invested and accumulated as a fund for the purpose of establishing the Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantham</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Grammar School.</td>
<td>The Scheme provides clause 79 that if there is any residue of income the Governors may employ or accumulate it for purposes of education of girls or for other purposes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welton</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Christ's Hospital Endowment at Welton.</td>
<td>The Amending Order, under the Charitable Trusts Act, sealed on the 1st April 1890, directs that the income of the Foundation, after applying 100, towards scholarships in Public Elementary Schools, is to be applied in maintaining exhibitions for girls at a place of higher education.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exhibitions awarded

[This school not built till 1873]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County and Place</th>
<th>Date of Scheme</th>
<th>Foundation.</th>
<th>Nature of Provision made.</th>
<th>Actual Provision by 1895</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethnal Green, St. Matthew</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Parmiter's School and almshouse Foundation</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clauses 26, 27, 28) for the establishment and maintenance of a Girls' School as soon as the funds of the Foundation will allow.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1898 Mitchell, on inspection, finds Governors see little prospect of establishing girls' school. 1902 Inspection: &quot;...The establishment of the Girls' School...must apparently be regarded as postponed indefinitely.&quot; This clause refers to &quot;any further surplus income,&quot; difficult to know if any surplus will arise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulwich (in Camberwell)</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Alleyn's College of God's Gift.</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 47) that the surplus income required to that extent shall be invested and shall be applicable to the establishment and maintenance of a Girls' College or School in London, north of the Thames, for which purpose application shall be made for a supplementary Scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1896 Governors approach Commissioners for sanction to build girls' school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammersmith</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>The Laymer Foundation.</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 64) that when the funds admit, the Governors shall apply for a supplementary Scheme for a Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1893 Scheme establishes Godolphin and Latymer Girls' School, in buildings of Godolphin School (closed) with substantial endowment from Latymer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Olave (Southwark)</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>St. Olave's Grammar School Foundation</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 59) that, subject as therein mentioned, a yearly sum of £1,000, or a sum of £2,000, or £5,000, as income of Foundation will allow, shall be set aside as a fund applicable to the education (higher than elementary) of girls. During period of three years from date of Scheme, or such longer period as may be granted by the Governors to set aside more than £500 yearly, the fund so provided is to be invested and accumulated, and applied under a further Scheme in establishing a Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1895 Discussion begins between Governors and Commissioners re. prospect of closing Elementary School and building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepney</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Bascroft's School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 50) for the investment and accumulation of any income of the Foundation not otherwise applied, with a view to its being appropriated for the advancement of the education of girls.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1894 Scheme established girls' school by combining endowments of Sir Robert, St. Saviour's, &amp; St. John's Hospital, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sir Roger Cholmeley's School at Highgate</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 59) that when, in the judgment of the Charity Commissioners, the funds of the Foundation suffice, application shall be made for a Scheme establishing a Middle School for Girls or Boys or both.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1895, 1897 Hornsey Vestry presses unsuccessfully for Middle School to be established. 1897 Mitchell recommends replacement of Girls' School not yet provided.</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>County and Place</td>
<td>Date of Scheme</td>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>Nature of Provision made</td>
<td>Actual Provision by 1845</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Wellingborough Grammar School</td>
<td>By clause 6 of the Scheme the Governors may provide for the admission of girls to the benefits of the Foundation.</td>
<td></td>
<td>No serious attempt to provide provisions for girls before 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>The Nottingham High School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 59) that a yearly sum of 200L. shall be applicable for the higher education of girls. This sum may be applied wholly or in part in maintaining exhibitions, and, so far as not so applied, shall be invested and accumulated for establishing a Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Governors ignored clause 59. Owing to efforts of one Governor, Rutland, new Scheme made. 1900 applies money to girls' scholarships and exhibitions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Lord Williams School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 60) that funds permitting, the Governors may establish a Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1871-1876 Inspections show nothing done about girls' school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Archdeacon Johnson's Schools and Hospitals</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 70) that so soon as a certain pension falls in, or sooner if the income of the Trust suffices, the Trustees may employ an annual sum of 200L. in promoting the secondary education of girls in Rutland.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pension lapsed 1902. Nothing then done for girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salop</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Adam's Grammar School, Foundation</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 80) that a Girls' School shall be established and maintained as soon as funds permit. After such School is established, the Managers under the Scheme are to determine as to what sum out of the income of the Foundation, not being less than 200L., shall for current year be applicable for the purposes of the Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>After levy was investigated financial difficulties 1889 Sir G. Young decides &quot;The Girls' School, I think, must be abandoned&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerset</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>King Edward's School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides that as soon as circumstances permit the Governors shall make the Endowment subservient to the benefit of girls. (See clauses 74 and 75.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1893 Levy drawn attention of governors to neglect of girls' education.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1894 Commissioners suggest they should award exhibitions to Bath High School (E.P. D.S. Co.) (Precedent Commissioner reported in 1881 "no further pressure" was put upon the Governors. By 1891 they were awarded 25 p. in Exhibition to Bath High School. But clear evidence when they ceased.

487
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County and Place</th>
<th>Foundation</th>
<th>Nature of Provision made</th>
<th>Actual Provision by 1895</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stafford, Audley</td>
<td>Audley Grammar School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 61) that, funds permitting, the Governors may extend the benefits of the trust to girls by establishing exhibitions or by establishing a Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1887-1890 Leach on inspection finds school in a bad way. 1894-1899 only 6 boys in attendance. 1901 School closed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk, Bury St Edmunds</td>
<td>The Guildhall Endowment</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 30), that as certain pensions fall in, the Governor shall commence, and thereupon carry on the formation of a capital fund for obtaining a site for the erection of buildings for a Middle School for Girls. Provision is also made for the endowment of such School after the erection of the buildings.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1891-1901 Leach finds school at low ebb 1901 Help from Technical Instruction Committee enables it to survive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodbridge</td>
<td>Seckford Hospital and Woodbridge Endowed Schools</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 64) that so soon as the income of the Foundation suffices a further Scheme shall be made for extending to girls the benefits of the Foundation.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Endowment income fell drastically as result of agricultural depression. 1882 Governors want to amend clause 30 so that pension money goes eventually into general funds instead of to girls. 1897 A pension落下 and Governors use money for general purposes. 1898 School taken over by G. Council as mixed school. No sign of further Scheme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey, Croydon</td>
<td>The Whigfield Foundation in Croydon</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 58) for the extension of the benefits of the Foundation to girls by a new Scheme when the income is sufficient.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Demands of Grammar School and Middle School heavy. 1895 Question of girls' provision raised by Commissioners but not pressed. 1908 In discussion at Board of Education Croydon L.E.A. are told that &quot;they must expect nothing from the Whigfield Governors towards the expense of education for girls in Croydon...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sussex, Hastings</td>
<td>Hastings Grammar School Foundation</td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 59) that so soon as the Endowment and income of the Foundation are sufficient the Governors shall apply for a Scheme for extending the benefits of the Foundation to girls.</td>
<td></td>
<td>On inspection 1899 Leach finds endowment income insufficient for purposes of scheme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County and Place</td>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>Nature of Provision made</td>
<td>Actual Provision by 1895</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
<td>Kirkby Stephen Grammar School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides clause 53 that if the Governors think fit girls may be admitted to the School, or to a separate department thereof, and if all the benefits of the Foundation.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1896 Inspection shows 9 boys, 3 girls on roll. 1905 School practically extinct. L.E.A. propose to use it as a girls' school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcestershire</td>
<td>Grammar School of King Edward VII</td>
<td>The Scheme provides clause 71 that, if funds are sufficiently, the Governors may establish a Girls' School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1885 Scheme under C.T. Acts applies to Exhibiting Female as Boys' School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stourbridge (in Old Swinford)</td>
<td>Yardley Charity Estates</td>
<td>The Scheme provides that the residue of the income of the Foundation shall be invested, and that when the sum so invested amounts to £2,000, application shall be made to the Charity Commissioners for a Scheme establishing Boys' and Girls' Schools (for boys and girls up to the age of 17 or thereabouts).</td>
<td></td>
<td>1886 Governors have accumulated £2,000-want to establish secondary schools for boys and girls. 1887 Local opinion swings round to idea that this would be robbing the poor. Jesse Collings takes an Interest. 1893 Morale. Chamberlain disillusioned. 1897 Scheme devotes money to elementary education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York (East Riding)</td>
<td>The Pocklington Grammar School</td>
<td>The Scheme provides clause 68 that from a date not later than three years from date of Scheme, or from such later date as the Charity Commissioners shall direct, a yearly sum of not less than £300 shall be applied in promoting the education of girls in the East Riding.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1893 Dunford reports governors consider it impossible that anything should be done by them towards the higher education of girls under clause 68. But no extension of the 3 years mentioned in the Scheme has been authorised by the Charity Commissioners. A Scheme of 1875 had established Scorton as an elementary school for boys and girls with an upper department. In 1882 there were 13 boys and 10 girls in the upper department. The headmaster was anxious to raise the tone of the school and the Scheme of 1875 made it a secondary school for boys, with the proviso in clause 65 which was never acted on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County and Place of Foundation</td>
<td>Nature of Provision made</td>
<td>Actual Provision by 1878</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<tr>
<td>York (West Riding) 1875</td>
<td>Grammar School</td>
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<td>The Scheme provides (clause 65) that the Governors may extend to girls the benefits of the Foundation.</td>
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<td>The Scheme provides (clause 60) that if the Governors think fit, girls may be admitted to the School and to all the benefits thereof.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 81) that girls may be admitted to the School and to all the benefits thereof.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 54) that, if the Governors think fit, girls may be admitted to the School and to all the benefits thereof.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>The Scheme provides (clause 65) that the Governors may admit girls to the School, or establish a separate Girls' School.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 25) that the School of the Foundation shall be a School for Boys, or, if Governors think fit, for Boys and Girls. No girls educated at School at present time.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 65) that girls may be admitted to the School and to all the benefits thereof.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 60) that girls may be admitted to the School and to all the benefits thereof.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Scheme provides (clause 65) that girls may be admitted to the School and to all the benefits thereof.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remarks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The endowed school did not admit girls. In 1865 Batley Education Committee canvassed a Higher Grade School into a girls' secondary school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876 Durnford reports 'Girls have not been admitted under Clause 60.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schedule E entry misleading. It states £100 p.a. for girls. Further, '(the School) in cl. 81 is not the public school but a grade II girls' school in Sibsey for which the Scheme provides but which was never established. Instead, the foundation subsidised the National Schools at Sibsey.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil lists for 1876 include some girls' names 1903 There were 53 boys and 26 girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901 Inspection shows school at last mixed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. The following Schemes were omitted from Schedule E: Bideford (1873; £20 p.a. for girls' exhibitions); Holbeck (1874; £40 p.a. for girls' exhibitions when a pension fell in); Grocers' Company Schools, Hackney (1873; schools may be converted for girls 'if deemed expedient'). None of these provisions had amounted to anything by 1848. There may be other, similar omissions.
APPENDIX X

AIMS OF THE NATIONAL UNION FOR IMPROVING THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS OF ALL CLASSES ABOVE THE ELEMENTARY*

1. To bring into communication and co-operation all individuals and associations engaged in promoting the Education of Women and Girls, so as to strengthen and combine their efforts; to collect and register, for the use of members, information on all points connected with such education.

2. To promote the establishment of good and cheap day-schools, for all classes above those attending the public elementary schools, with boarding houses in connection with them, when necessary, for pupils from a distance.

3. To raise the social status of female teachers by encouraging women to make teaching a profession, and to qualify themselves for it, by a sound and liberal education and by thorough training in the art of teaching; to supplement training-colleges by attaching, where possible, a class of student teachers to every large school and by such other means as may be found advisable; also to secure a test of efficiency of teachers by examinations of recognised authority and subsequent registration.

4. To extend the existing system of itinerant lecturers on special subjects for all places of sufficient size to maintain a permanent staff of efficient teachers.

5. To endeavour to form classes for girls in connection with grammar schools, making the teaching staff available for both.

6. To endeavour to restore to the use of girls the endowments originally intended for their benefit, and to obtain for them a fair share in the other endowments applied to education.

7. To promote the increase of the number of girls and women attending the University Local Examinations and likewise the number of centres of such examinations, and to endeavour to diminish the cost of attending them.

8. To aid all measures for extending to women the means of higher education beyond the school period; and to facilitate the preparatory and supplementary studies by forming classes for students and libraries, when required, and enlarging the system of instruction by correspondence already begun at Cambridge and elsewhere.

9. To assist the establishment of evening classes for young women already earning their own livelihood, and to obtain for women, when possible, admission to classes for technical instruction; thus helping them to fit themselves for better and more remunerative employments than are now accessible to them.

10. To create a sounder public opinion with regard to education itself, and the national importance of the education of women, by means of meetings, of lectures and of the press; and thus to remove the great hindrance to its improvement, the indifference with which it is regarded by parents and by the public.

Appendix XI  Provision of Girls' Schools 1869-1903

School established by Scheme.

School established by "pipeline" Scheme [i.e., prepared by Board of School Commissioners but approved after 1874].

Mixed school established by Scheme.
## APPENDIX XII

### SECONDARY SCHOOLS* ESTABLISHED BY SCHEMES MADE UNDER THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACTS, 1869 - 1903

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>1870</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1871 | Bradford  
Bridgewater  
Chigwell  
Crays Thurrock  
Keighley  
London (Archbishop Tenison's)  
Sherborne (Kings School)  
Skipton | Crays Thurrock  
Keighley |
| 1872 | Bath  
Burslem  
Burton-on-Trent (Grammar)  
Burton-on-Trent (Allsopp's)  
Giggeswick  
Great Baddow  
Ilkley  
Mirfield  
Newcastle-under-Lyme (Grammar)  
Newcastle-under-Lyme (Orme's)  
Ripon  
Settle  
Shaftesbury  
Sherborne (Middle)  
Tavistock (Kelly College)  
Wolverhampton | Burton-on-Trent (Allsopp's)  
Newcastle-under-Lyme (Orme's) |
| 1873 | Audley  
Barnet  
Batley  
Bedford (High)  
Bedford (Modern)  
Bideford  
Bingley  
Bishop Aukland  
Brentwood  
Burnley  
Cambridge  
Chelmsford  
Chester  
Dedham  
Elland  
Gillingham (Dorset)  
Halifax  
Ilinister  
Kidderminster  
Leicester (Wyggeston) | Ambleside  
Bedford (High)  
Bedford (Modern)  
Bingley  
Cambridge  
Caversham  
Ilinister (High)  
Ilinister (Town)  
Leicester (Wyggeston)  
London, (Coburn)  
London (Roan's)  
London, Hatcham (Haberdashers)  
London, Hoxton (Haberdashers)  
London (Bonnell's)  
London, (Greycoat)  
London, (St. Martins)  
Stamford Middle  
Uffculme  
Wallingford |

*Schools are identified by place-name only unless more than one was established in the area.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Bovey Tracey Great Crosby Darlington Enfield Holbeach Kimbolton Kingston-on-Thames (Grammar) Kingston-on-Thames (Tiffins) Luttrellworth March Newport (Essex) Ordiham Rastrick Repton Sedbergh (Grammar) Sedbergh (Middle) Snettisham Taunton (Huish) Thame Totnes Witton Yalding</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>*Aldenham *Atherstone *Borden *Bristol (Grammar) *Bristol (Q E boarding) *Bristol (Q E day) *Bristol (Carr's) *Bristol (Colston's) *Bristol (Trade School)</td>
<td>*Bradford *Bristol (Red Maids) *Bristol (Whitson's) *Bristol (day) *Bristol (Colston's) *Exeter (Middle) *London, Datchelor's *London, (Lady E. Holles)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* School established in 'pipeline' scheme.
1875
- Buntingford
- Hartlebury
- Eversham
- London, Westminster, (St. Clement Dane's)
- Loughborough
- Mansfield (Q.E)
- Oakham
- Pocklington
- Portsmouth
- Reading (Kendrick's)
- Reigate
- Evington
- Evesley
- St. Helen's
- Stourbridge
- Southampton (Cranmer)
- Southampton (Taunton's)
- Uppingham
- Wakefield (Cranmer)
- Wakefield (Trade)
- Warwick (Cranmer)
- Warwick (Middle)

1876
- Ashburton
- Pentham
- Burford
- Buxton
- Buxted
- Cirencester
- Crewkerne
- Dartford
- Easingford
- Ercall Magna
- Exeter (High)
- Exeter (Middle)
- Eye
- Faversham
- Felstead
- Fowey
- Grantham
- Highgate
- Hinckley
- Lichfield
- London (St. Paul's)
- Ludlow
- Nuneaton
- Oswestry
- Penwortham
- Petersfield
- Stratford-on-Avon
- Thetford
- Tideswell
- Tiverton (Blundells)
- Tottonham
- Wellingborough (Upper)
- Wellingborough (Lower)
- Winchcombe
- London (North London Collegiate)
- London, (Camden School)
- London (St. Clement Dane)
- Loughborough
- Mansfield (Q.E)
- Reading (Kendrick's)
- St. Helen's
- Wakefield (High)
- Warwick (Middle)
- Exeter (Maynard)
- London, (St. Paul's)
- London, (Burlington)
- Thetford
1877
Alford
Ashby de-la-Zouch
Berkhamsted
Blackburn
Brigg
Chudleigh
Henley
Kibworth
Kingsbridge
Launceston
Manchester (Grammar)
Medhurst
Morpeth
Moulton
Newcastle-on-Tyne
Northleach
Rochester (Cathedral)
Sevenoaks
Slesford
Thorne
Tiverton (Middle)
Upholland
Wimborne
Wolverley

1878
Abingdon
Birmingham (K.E.VI)
Birmingham (Aston)
Birmingham (Camp Hill)
Birmingham (Five Ways)
Canterbury (Kings School)
Canterbury (Simon Langton)
Clee
Clitheroe
Coggeshall
Coventry
Dudley
Hampton-Wick
Hastings
Harborne
Kimber
Kirkby Stephen
London, Hammersmith (Latymer)
London, Islington (Dame Alice Owen)
Longwood
Louth
Lynn
Market Bosworth
Marlborough
Newport (Salop)
Rochester (Williamson's)
Soham
Tadcaster (Oglethorpe)
Warfield
Wells
Wells
Wisbech
Wycombe

BOYS

GIRLS

Newcastle-on-Tyne
Tiverton (Middle)
Birmingham (K.E.VI)
Birmingham (Aston)
Birmingham (Bath Row)
Birmingham (Camp Hill)
Birmingham (Summer Hill)
Canterbury (Simon Langton)
Coggeshall
London, (Dame Alice Owen)
Louth
Wells
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Alton</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ashburne</td>
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<td>Bungay</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bury St. Edmunds (Grammar)</td>
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<td>Derby</td>
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<td>Huddersfield</td>
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<td>Pontefract</td>
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<td>Saffron Walden</td>
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<td>St. Albans</td>
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<td>Widnes</td>
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<td>1880</td>
<td>Berwick</td>
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<td>Bury St. Edmunds (Guildhall)</td>
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<td>Carlisle</td>
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<td>Crediton</td>
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<td>Dunstable (Chew's)</td>
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<td>Hipperholme</td>
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<td>Kirkham</td>
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<td>x London, Camberwell (Wilson's)</td>
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<td>Marlow</td>
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<td>Newton</td>
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<td>Peterborough (Deacon's)</td>
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<td>Sudbury</td>
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<td>Tonbridge (Grammar)</td>
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<td>Tonbridge (Middle)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alcester</td>
<td>Ipswich (Middle)</td>
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SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

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1. Official Papers
   Berkhamsted Vestry Minutes 1870-1885
   Charity Commission, General Minute Book 1870-1900
   Public Record Office:
      Cabinet Papers Cab 41/6/16 Disraeli to Queen Victoria re.
      Endowed Schools Commission
      Education Department Papers Ed 10/105 Memorandum as to Endowed
      Schools Commission
      Ed 27 and Ed 35 About 500 files. The reference numbers for those
      which relate to the making of Schemes containing provision for
      girls are to be found in the tables in Appendix III (i) and (ii)
      and Appendix VII. Other references are listed below.

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Berkshire
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   Maldon Ed 35/794
   Newport 1190, Ed 35/795
   Walthamstow 1221, Ed 35/801, 810
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