

THE STATE AND THE EDUCATION OF FACTORY CHILDREN

IN ENGLAND 1833-1846

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at the University of Liverpool in September 1981

by

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## GLOSSARY

- British school** - a school of the British and Foreign School Society, had an undenominational religious viewpoint; much inferior in resources to the National Society.
- Certificates of work** - needed by children before they could work in a factory, issued by surgeons indicating that the child was old enough and fit for work.
- Combined education** - a method of teaching either children or pupil teachers together, regardless of their religious views, disliked by the Church.
- Common school** - private school, run by a man for older children. These schools often occupied rented school rooms from Nonconformists; fees were charged.
- Dame school** - schools established by women in their own homes, to attend which the children paid a fee; generally taught younger children.
- Monitor** - an unpaid, untrained assistant to the school-master.
- Monitorial system** - a teaching system whereby one master could teach many hundreds of children with the aid of unpaid monitors chosen from the older pupils; its aim was cheapness.

- Normal school - a school where student teachers were taught.
- Pupil teachers - young people training to be teachers by working in schools.
- School certificates - Issued by school-masters at the end of each week indicating that the child had attended his school.



## INTRODUCTION

The period of educational development covered by this study could be described as experimental because there were a number of unknown factors. For example, most factory children had no experience of group discipline in a learning situation, and the effects of education on children who had already adapted to a work situation were unknown, as also were the reactions of parents and mill-owners to systematic education.

The theme of this study is that the events of 1833-1846 were essential forerunners for a national system and that the factory child was central to them. Factory children were important because of their large numbers, which meant that a systematic approach to education had to develop. Legislation made more children available for education and therefore change in the form of compulsion, ethos of schooling, methods of teaching and administration had to be made in the interests of this group.

The implications are that the Education Act of 1870 may be considered less as a starting point in the development of public education and more of a culmination of what had evolved earlier. To support this argument it will be shown that by 1846, many of the features that became part of popular education had already been established and accepted with regard to the education of the factory child. These include compulsory attendance at school, the training of teachers, the founding of training institutions, an efficient and responsive school inspectorate, and the acceptance by parents and children that school was an essential part of childhood. Only the related factors of support by rate finance, and the initial stages of the secularisation of schools, were outside this period.

Yet in 1830, none of the factors outlined above were known.

Few of the children in the manufacturing districts went to school; and fewer still attended regularly for any period of time. The urban working class provided employment for its own children at home if the parents were self-employed, alternatively they were sent to the factories. Children were seen as small adults capable of working to their own strength. As a result, there were enough school places for the children who were able to attend. At the time, the need for educational change was not perceived.

Only after 1833 did the situation of the factory children, stimulate change by confronting the schools with an increase in the numbers of children whose hours of work were regulated and who, by law, had to attend school. In the early years there is little evidence that the religious societies were moved to build more schools. This resulted in the proliferation of dame and common schools, in response to the needs of the factory children, which introduced a low standard of schooling even by the standards of the time. Because factory children needed a certificate to work, school was seen as a means to gain employment and had no intrinsic value; it was seen as an intrusion into the child's working day.

Yet in the event it was not the hardships of work that brought attention to their plight, but the fear of the consequences of their exposure to the moral danger of associating with large numbers of adult workers of the same social class, in a work situation. The study aims to show that Sadler's Select Committee of 1833 gave the public an insight into the conditions in the mill-towns. Long working hours, grievous injuries and appalling living conditions, confirmed by a later Government Committee of Inquiry, shocked the public; but it was the evidence of gross immorality which goaded the Government

Into taking action.

It will be shown that for many years after 1833, the effects of the legislation were disappointing, and the regulations abused and evaded. It was not easy to get factory children into school. Children connived with parents; parents with schoolmasters and mill-owners, and mill-owners with surgeons and magistrates, to maintain, albeit for a variety of reasons, the traditional work role of the child. A limited success in getting children into school failed to satisfy the intentions of the Government to provide a moral education. The slow response in the early years, of the National and British societies, to provide school places where they were most needed, encouraged private schools to spring up in unsuitable rooms and buildings with incompetent and untrained teachers.

The problem which confronted the legislature was twofold. It had to successfully get the children into schools, and improve the quality of education. Compulsion not only compounded the problems of enforcement, but also heightened the Government's commitment to educate rather than merely confine the children. After 1833 there was some educational advance in the gradual acceptance of the idea that children in mill-towns should go to school regularly for a prescribed number of years.

A permanent feature of schooling emerged in an inspectorate to enforce the regulations. Gradually the factory inspectorate gained increasing powers which resulted in its not only enforcing the regulations more efficiently, but in advising the executive of proposals for improving the quality of education. Though the later

Privy Council inspectors had access restricted to schools that received Privy Council grants, they were concerned with factory-children when increasing numbers of children in the 1840's were diverted from dame and common schools to the schools of the religious societies. Their influence on school provision and teaching standards was greater than that of factory inspectors.

Those children who did not attend Day schools were not denied access to schooling, for Sunday schools, established in every town, were open to all children. The weakness of the Sunday schools was that, by confining their role to religious teaching, they curtailed their own participation in the educational activity of the day and thereby encouraged a secular alternative.

## CHAPTER I.

Origins of effective working class legislation with educational intentions, and the problems that confronted the Inspectorate in implementing them. - Horner and relay system of working children - factory schools - unsuccessful attempts at reform.

This chapter covers the origins of effective legislation for the benefit of the working class that contained educational intentions.

For the first few years after 1833 the inspectors were concerned with getting children who worked in regulated labour into schools. Initially, the enormity of the task led the inspectors to seek to ease their difficulties by reducing the age of compulsion as laid down in the Act or increasing the numbers of inspectors and superintendents.

It is to the reports of these inspectors that an insight may be gained into the problems which confronted them when they were directed to create from nothing an educational system which successfully brought together work and schooling, and which ensured that a whole group of children, who had mostly never been to a day school, went to school regularly. The problems were based on the resistance for a variety of reasons, of children, parents, schoolmasters, mill-owners and magistrates.

Both Horner and Saunders, in this period adopted the role of advising the executive on getting children who worked in factories into schools, and on improving the quality of the schooling they received. The two plans of Leonard Horner symbolise these two stages. His plans for a relay system of working children, was, in reality, to reconcile shorter hours with no loss of production, and increase the number of children in schools by making it easier for the employer to release them. Horner's second scheme was a comprehensive plan to

maintain and build schools of a superior kind, especially for factory children.

In reality, Horner was on the wrong track with his plans for superior factory schools, for he was for building schools designed for one group of children, when the solution lay in regulating the hours of work of factory children, so that they could attend the schools of non-factory children.

Horner's second plan, if accepted, would have made English education, into a fragmented system of segregated education rather than the integrated system of compulsory education for all, that it eventually became.



In the domestic industrial family each member had a work role which survived the advent of factory labour and was passed on to those families which came from areas outside industry. The industrial work force of the 1830's and 1840's had therefore, though made up of two streams, local domestic, and imported, similar attitudes to work. Each member had a work role which fitted into the work pattern of the family group, and ensured his status in it.

Any interference in this pattern could only weaken the family group, and be resisted by it. It does not appear that the factory system of work interfered with this attitude, though the work role of each member might change, as indeed it did with agriculture (1). Parents were not averse to their children working in the factories, when they were but fulfilling an established work role.

Resistance from the family was manifest, not when the children were taken into the mills, but when their work role was attacked by legislation that sought to compel their attendance at school, in what had traditionally been work time, and determine the work role not by the child's capacity to do the work, but by its age. The judgement of a child's capacity to work was subjective, a measurement of its age was not. 'The operative, it is true, were seeking a restriction of working hours for themselves, not for the children who were very often the victims of their brutality rather than of the employer's tyranny'. (2) As David Wardle recently stated 'In the nineteenth century there was a new development-legislation specifically for the protection of children ..... but of more significance in this context, were the measures which gave children protection against their parents'. (3)

The middle-class concept of childhood was neither understood nor seen as desirable by the Industrial family. "It was recognised of course, that they were small, weak and ignorant, but nevertheless they were in society as proto-adults and not separated from it in distinctly child-orientated institutions."<sup>(4)</sup> Wardle concludes, "But the great mass of the population had no youth as they had no childhood. At the age of fifteen or sixteen they had long been employed full-time and indeed very often reached the peak of their earning career, few having any prospect of advancement, and most facing falling incomes as their physical powers declined".<sup>(5)</sup> This was true, a contributing factor being a young population. In 1841 in Bury of a population of 20,710 almost half, 10,079 were under 20 years. In Blackburn of a population of 36,629, 18,225 were under 20 years and in Burnley out of 10,699, 5,289 were under 20 years.<sup>(6)</sup> Education, good or bad, weakened the economic value of the child, making its status within the family insecure. There was no family status in being able to read and write, every family status in earning its own keep. However soul destroying the work in mills became, there is little evidence of children not wanting to go there; it was schooling they resisted, not work. Schooling had not the social status of factory work.

The Inspectors' attempts to reduce the work load of children went against the system as it was then known 'It is the tendency' "said the Inspectors<sup>o</sup> of improved machinery to throw more and more of the work upon children to the displacement of adult labour".<sup>(6a)</sup> This was no doubt true, but it is important to distinguish between labour that is available and labour that is suitable. Kay Shuttleworth

hinted that adult labour that was sent to Lancashire was not suitable for the factory, but they were sent because of their children.<sup>(7)</sup> Men were accustomed to the pace of domestic work. 'St. Monday' and feast days, common traditions in domestic industry, were persistent problems. The weavers were used to "play frequently all day on Monday and the greater part of Tuesday, and work very late on Thursday night and frequently all night on Friday".<sup>(8)</sup> Wardle thought the same. "Employers needed workers whose attendance was regular, who were punctual and who could work for long periods at a consistent speed; and these were precisely the qualities which through long habit the domestic workers lacked"<sup>(9)</sup> Arkwright had to train his workpeople "to a precise and assiduity altogether unknown before, against which their listless and restive habits rose in contained rebellion".<sup>(10)</sup>

The editorial viewpoint of the Quarterly Review that "it has been a sad consequence of such excessive toil that multitudes remain unemployed ..... that while thousands are labouring beyond the strength of man, many are left in total idleness".<sup>(11)</sup> cannot be accepted, for there is considerable evidence that the "many are left in total idleness", were in reality unsuitable for the work.<sup>(12)</sup> Nor is there greater validity in the editorial claim that "Such an enactment (a limitation in the hours of labour) would be especially beneficial to the children, their labour would be more tolerably apportioned; for many, whose limbs are now totally inactive would be called to the aid of those who are perishing with toil".<sup>(13)</sup> Factory children come from families that needed their wages to survive; to have increased the labour force would have reduced the wages to below subsistence level.

The reality of men being displaced by children and young adults, when in their thirties, must be seen against a life expectancy of a little over 40 years. The Quarterly Review editorial used a report from a Dr. Jarrold to demonstrate that factory labour shortened life. Dr. Jarrold examined seven thousand children who were in schools, and whose fathers had worked, or were working, in factories. Of these factory children in the schools, he found that 30% of the fathers would be dead. Of another group of 400 children whose fathers did not work in the factories only 13% would be fatherless. (14)

That son followed father into unhealthy factory work did not discourage the role of work. It was the belief that attendance at school was to be forced upon the child worker, that was seen as a threat to family roles, and that children should forego this work role, to achieve the doubtful advantages of reading and writing, stimulated the greatest resistance.

It was the Select Committee that was set up under Michael Sadler (14a) in 1832, and the Commission of Inquiry that followed it, that gave to the legislature and the public, a controversial and conflicting impression of the social implications of rapid and concentrated industrialisation, and which led to the passing of the educational clauses, affecting factory children, of 1833.

It was the "Ten Hour Movement"<sup>(15)</sup> which brought the issue of factory conditions to the notice of the public, in the first years of the decade. Its aim was to reduce the hours of work of children and young people, and they hoped, because of the large number of workers who were under 18 years, that it would reduce the hours of all the operatives.<sup>(15a)</sup> It sought legislative interference to control the productive capacity of machinery.

It was the custom, in the early decades of the 19th century, for the non-enfranchised workers to seek a spokesman in Parliament who would take up their cause and possibly present a Bill in their interests. It was in 1831 that Sadler became the spokesman for the 'Ten Hour Movement' in the Commons. Early in 1832, he presented a Bill to Parliament which the Government countered with a Select Committee under Sadler to investigate the conditions of young workers in the textile factories.

The Select Committee sat for most of the summer of 1832, gathering together 87 witnesses including 50 mill workers, 7 overlookers, 3 overseers of the poor, 2 vicars and 21 doctors. Its findings, published early in 1833, if accurate, were an indictment of the factory system as a great peril to both the physical and moral welfare of the childworkers. The impartiality of the evidence was questioned.

Of the 83 witnesses who were called in the 43 days of the hearing, at least 20 were actively associated with the 'Ten Hour Movement', including Richard Oastler himself, and Wilson Patten in a later debate in the Commons, disclosed that "persons to whom the selection of

witnesses was intrusted, were strictly cautioned not to send up any person on whom they could not rely".<sup>(16)</sup>

After hearing over eighty witnesses Sadler's Committee published its report in January 1833, which depicted the human depravity and hopelessness which northern industrialisation had created. The adverse physical effects of long periods of arduous work, and juvenile corporal punishment, were demonstrated by witnesses with broken bones, bent limbs and strap marks. Corporal punishment was probably exaggerated. Sidney Pollard quotes from the evidence of John Bolling, a cotton master. "The other day there were three children run away; the mother of one of them brought him back and asked us to beat him; that I could not permit; she also asked us to take him again; at last I consented, and then she beat him"<sup>(16a)</sup> though as he was later to show there were incentives to coercion inherent in the factory system. "It (child labour) had to rely often on the unhappy method of indirect employment by untrained people whose incentive for driving the children was their own piece-rate payment"<sup>(17)</sup> The doctors who were called as witnesses were unanimous in that belief that children could only labour for long hours at the factory at the cost of their health, in many cases physical deformity resulted, but as Patten remarked "of the 21 medical men but 15 resided in London and had no practical experience of factory conditions".<sup>(18)</sup> Of one of the witnesses, John Habergham who claimed that his physical deformity was caused by his working in the mill from an early age, Patten observed, "but that in consequence of the dreadful and peculiar labour, he had been obliged to undergo in factories, he had gradually become the crooked object they saw ..... this was the case made out by the man himself, but he was ready

to prove from incontrovertible evidence, that the deformity of this man had nothing to do with his work in the factories, but was the result of injuries received by him in a wrestling match".<sup>(19)</sup> Patten's challenge was not taken up by the leaders of the 10 Hour Movement, though Oastler "thundered against the base liar Patten"<sup>(20)</sup>

Information about conditions in factories other than in textile areas was scant, and manufacturers in Lancashire and Yorkshire believed that they were being singled out for scrutiny because they were better organised and highly concentrated. Conditions in the metal industries and the mines, they claimed, were worse than in textiles, a claim substantiated by later inquiries. There was no information in the West of England and very little in Scotland. Indeed as Patten commented of the 87 witnesses "51 witnesses were from Leeds and its neighbourhood",<sup>(21)</sup> the part of the country from which the "Ten Hour Movement" had developed, and in which it was strongest. Lord Molyneux claimed in the same debate that "The persons employed in the wool, the flax and the silk mills were alone examined and no information had been acquired of the present state of the cotton districts".<sup>(22)</sup>

Sadler's inquiry sought to discredit the factory system of employment by exposing the harshness of the work conditions, the long hours which led to ill health and early death, and the dangerous machinery, which through the neglect of millowners to ensure the observation of the factory regulations by the employees, led to a whole range of injuries, including death. It claimed that young workers were punished when unable to remain attentive during the long hours, and that many who had offered information on factory conditions were

dismissed and 'black listed'.

Charles Aberdeen, a Salford mill-worker, described what happened to him when he refused to sign a petition rejecting the "Ten Hour Bill," and in favour of the twelve hour day then in operation. "On the 20th April when I was coming out of the factory at 7 o'clock at night, it was a Friday night; Mr. Lambert met me at the factory door and beckoned me, and said softly to me "When people cannot agree they are best asunder". That was the language that I received from him, and he told the clerk to pay me my wages". (23)

The same witness was questioned about working conditions in the mills in which he had worked. He described how he had seen strong men die for want of breath "because they were not allowed to let the fresh air in and let the foul air out". (24) On the visible effect on children's appearance "A paleness and a wanness; a factory child may be known easily from another child that does not work in the factory". (25) On adults he believed that most of them died before they were 40 years. (26)

The punishment of young workers, particularly at the end of the day, when they were tired, was often referred to by witnesses. Rev. Stringer Bull, an Anglican vicar and "Ten Hour" spokesman. "Do you mean by coercion anything in the way of cruel treatment? - Yes, with regard to coercion from the overlooker, I refer to the use of the strap, which is very general in our neighbourhood. I have no doubt from my own observations, and not from any other source, that that is the case, because I have asked children myself sometimes whether they have got strapped and they have said Yes (they are ashamed to own it), they are not willing to own that that has taken place". (27)



It was the evidence of Sadler's Committee on Immorality in the mills, and the exposure to it of children working in the factories, that influenced the ensuing legislation in favour of educating the child, as well as reducing its hours of labour. Rev. Bull to Sadler's Committee, "Crime, drunkenness and immorality were rife in the industrial areas" and "many of the mills were little better than brothels." He believed that because of the long hours that children had to work, family life and parental control were weakened. "Any system that brings together promiscuously a quantity of young persons of both sexes must be objectionable in a moral point of view."<sup>(28)</sup> Rev. Bull believed that immorality among young people returning home late at night was common "many young girls were waylaid and seduced." The language he heard among young workers was worse, he claimed, than any he had heard in the ports, and young girls who from their childhood had worked in the mills, were ill equipped for their role as wives and mothers. Bull was later asked to explain how, if the immorality he described existed, the illegitimate births in agricultural areas were higher than in factory towns. He replied "A still more vicious and general promiscuous intercourse takes place in the manufacturing population where the factory system prevails. A reason for fewer illegitimate children in manufacturing districts is that a much larger proportion of the females are to such an extent common prostitutes as to prevent the breeding of children."<sup>(29)</sup> This was no doubt so, but the implication that these girls were factory workers may have been false. "There appears, however to be no doubt whatever that prostitution is rare among the mill girls. In the Manchester Penitentiary in 1847, the number of female inmates, who have worked

In mills, amounted to only one-third of the number who had been domestic servants."<sup>(30)</sup>

Nevertheless, the evidence that counted in influencing legislation was that given to the Select Committee. Mr. B. Fox, a witness before Sadler believed that "going to the factories is like going to a school, but it is to learn everything that is bad." Rev. Bull's claim that nightwork encouraged immorality, "Parents of young persons have reported to me most shameful scenes that have taken place during nightwork"<sup>(31)</sup> was supported by Aaron Lees, a witness before the later Commission of Inquiry. He claimed that at a mill at Staleybridge, nightwork was carried on for two years because a part of the mill was burnt down, and in that period more than double the number of illegitimate children were born than in the same period before.<sup>(32)</sup> In many mills nightwork was compulsory. Charles Aberdeen, asked if nightwork was compulsory, explained that if workers, male or female, would not work at night, they would not be given day work and would be discharged.

The report of Sadler's Committee in the early months of 1833 placed members of the Government in a dilemma. Along with public opinion, they wanted protection for the children who worked in the factories, but the implied way of bringing it about in the findings

of Sadler's Committee and the pressure of the "Ten Hour Movement" was unacceptable, with its interference in the free agency of a man to sell his labour, and in the productivity of capital. If, as was believed, adult labour would be limited to ten hours, production would be reduced, wages would be cut and markets overseas lost, at a time when the urban population was increasing rapidly.

Sadler had lost his seat at Leeds in the December elections to the reformed Parliament, and Shaftesbury took charge of Sadler's Bill in the light of the findings of the Select Committee. Before the Bill could be again debated, William Patten, a Manchester manufacturer, and spokesman for a newly founded employer's association, asked for a commission to be set up to reconsider more fully the whole situation in the factories, claiming that the evidence showed that the Select Committee's findings were very much affected by the evidence of those who were committed adherents to the "Ten Hour Movement". "They (the Government) objected to Lord Ashley's bill that it was a dishonest measure which, while professing to protect children, was in reality intended to secure the legal restriction of the adults' working day".<sup>(34)</sup> Ashley objected, but weakened his case, when he claimed that he took his ground on the evidence of doctors in 1819, which gave his opponents the opportunity to claim that in the intervening years the factory conditions had been greatly improved.<sup>(35)</sup> Mr. George Wood expressed the feelings of many M.P.'s when he sought to establish the commission in order that the Select Committees work might be more widely investigated and a greater number and wider variety of witnesses called.<sup>(36)</sup> The House divided and by

a majority of one, favoured a Commission of Inquiry. It came into being on 19th April 1833.

Whether this Royal Commission was an extension of the Sadler Inquiry or delaying tactics on the part of the House of Commons was not the issue. "Everybody regarded the Commission as a mere device to shelve the question, and thus postpone indefinitely a reform the workmen regarded as urgent"<sup>(37)</sup> The question was, whether the proposed method of reducing the hardship to children by reducing the hours of all under 18 years to 10 hours a day and in effect reducing all adult workers to the same hours was a satisfactory way of doing it. Wilson Patten "The question was, not whether they should consent to an Act for the abridgement of the labour of children - to that they were all agreed, but the question was, whether they should or should not do that in the best manner?"<sup>(38)</sup>

The Royal Commission which was set up as a result of Patten's motion, consisted of a Central Commission made up of Chadwick, Tooke, and the doctor Southwood Smith, with Commissioners for the regions. John Cowell and Edward Tufnell and a doctor Francis Hawkins were appointed for Lancashire and John Drinkwater, Alfred Power and Charles London for the North-east (which included Yorkshire). As Ward remarks "Disinterested men, cool, analytical and unsentimental, they were model social scientists, strongly approved of by J.S. Mill"<sup>(39)</sup>

The working of the Commission followed closely that of Sadler, inquiring into the condition of young people and children as regards hours of work, nightwork, mealtimes, corporal punishment and working by sets. The Inquiry which took the form of a questionnaire supported S.E. Finer's view that "He (Chadwick) had started his enquiries with a

plan already in his head, and had used the enquiry chiefly to see if it were a practicable one."<sup>(40)</sup>

Witnesses before the Commission, whilst they did not refute the findings of Sadler, indicated that the harsh conditions, so exposed, were not general. That mills in the cotton towns of Lancashire were better and more humanely managed than many in Yorkshire, from which most of Sadler's witnesses came, and that the larger mills had established effective rules and regulations for their workpeople, gave the impression that Sadler's findings were confined to mills often worked by water, in isolated rural settings, by new employers, without capital.

On the ill-health of operatives John Greg, for Samuel & Co. "I believe that the health of the people to have improved, because great pains have been taken to improve the wholesomeness both of the mill and the cottages. The number of accidents has decreased tenfold."<sup>(41)</sup> George and Elizabeth Shawcross were superintendents of the children apprenticed to Greg's mill at Wilmslow, and confirmed the evidence of John Greg. They said that they had very little sickness, that the worst disease they had suffered from had been influenza, and that there had been no deaths that year. They claimed that no child had been deformed by the machines. Indeed "Children, when they come first, don't look so hearty as when they have been here some time, particularly when we get them from the Liverpool workhouse."<sup>(42)</sup> On the children being exhausted by their work, the Shawcross' believed that they were much more tired when they had a holiday from the mill, "they want to go to bed much sooner on those days."<sup>(43)</sup> Another partner in the same firm calculated that deaths

among the apprentices amounted to one in a hundred and forty three, and that the factory surgeon believed that their health was fully as good as the average person. (44)

Two Bolton doctors testified to the good health of factory children. Richard Johnson, "The children of Bolton, working in cotton mills, suffer more from want of personal cleanliness, and from sudden change in the temperature of the atmosphere, and proper attention to clothing, than from length of time at work, and are better grown than domestic drudges, miner's children, dress-makers, rag-dressers, tailors, and girls that are educated at second rate boarding-schools." (45)

George Wolsentholme "The health of factory people is much better than their pallid appearance indicate to people not intimately acquainted with them. Their health is fully equal to that of shoemakers, letter press printers, plumbers, watchmakers, file-cutters, domestic straw-bonnet makers and some domestic servants." (46)

Injuries suffered by machinery were described by Sadler's witnesses, yet the Commission found few cases of this. Greg's mills in Bury, Wilmslow and Caton, all had their machinery cased in, as did McConnells of Manchester, and Barnes, a smaller firm of Charlton-upon-Medlock. Robert Greg gave an account of the accidents arising from machinery in their three mills. In their Wilmslow mill they had had only one serious accident among three hundred and eighty operatives in the previous twenty years. At Caton, with one hundred and twenty operatives, they had no serious accident for ten years. At the other Lancaster mill, one boy, out of five hundred and sixty workers, had a broken arm. Greg made a point which might be overlooked when calculating the number of factory accidents. "In the infirmary and dispensary accounts, all accidents set down to mill hands do not

occur in mills; as an instance - three of our workpeople in our Bury concern broke their legs within a very short time, but all the accidents occurred at a public house."<sup>(47)</sup> The Shawcross', who looked after the children apprentices at Greg's mill, claimed that of the twenty-two years they had occupied the post there were "seventeen deaths, only one of whom was killed by an accident at the machinery; it was his own play, not in the factory."<sup>(48)</sup> Thomas Leeming, a Salford factory worker, was asked by the Commission of Inquiry how many fatal accidents he had known in his ten years at the mill. He described two, both of which he thought, were caused by the victim's neglect.<sup>(49)</sup>

Many of Sadler's young witnesses described how they were beaten by overlookers with the compliance of the masters, if they failed to keep up with their work, and Ashley exhibited a leather thong in the House of Commons during the debate on Sadler's Bill. The Commission refuted these claims and attempted to show that it was those who employed the children directly, the spinners and the weavers, who treated them cruelly, and that parents were not so aghast at their children being punished, as members of the Commons were asked to believe. "Sometimes the sole consideration by which parents are influenced in making choice of a person under whom to place their children is the amount of wages, not the mode of treatment, to be secured by them."<sup>(50)</sup> Thomas Leeming, a superintendent of card rooms at a mill in Salford, said that children were never beaten, but "When they are stupid we discharge them, when the parent will frequently come and desire us to beat them; but orders are given by myself to the overlookers not to beat them, and if they will not do their work we discharge them."<sup>(51)</sup> At McConnell's mill in Manchester, corporal

punishment was not allowed,"The rule is so absolute that the employers, and even parents of the children, complain that they cannot make them do their duty."<sup>(52)</sup> The establishment that corporal punishment took place would indicate that much of it was carried out by workers themselves, for there is evidence that in over seventy mills in Lancashire about half the number of workers under 18 years were employed by operatives and not directly by mill-owners.<sup>(53)</sup>

Injuries by machinery were found, by the Commission, to be fewer than Sadler claimed and generally confined to smaller mills. Though Sadler stressed the unhealthy conditions in the factory and the ill-health of the operatives, there is no doubt but that it was improving and that it could not, in many cases, be attributed to factory employment alone. As John Grey remarked, many of the children they employed came from workhouses and were poor and emaciated before they arrived. There is no doubt that poor housing and insanitary conditions also contributed to ill health. John Greg handed in a mill book to the Factory Commission which listed the persons employed, with the time they had worked there, and the length of time they had been ill. It showed that few had been absent for long periods, and many "one day and a half in five years" and "no illness in 10 years."

There is considerable evidence that the factory system weakened family ties and the authority of parents. Rev. Bull deplored this, and attributed it to the early age at which children entered the mill, before they had developed a standard of behaviour from the family group, and the long hours at the mill, gave them no time in which to enjoy family pleasures. Bull saw that this in turn led to children,



and particularly girls, acquiring no domestic skills, which would later make them efficient housewives and mothers. (54)

In the families of the poor, all the members contributed to its support, work was not seen as the occupation of adults alone. Children were as eager to work and establish a position in the family group as parents were that they should contribute to it. Childhood was an experience outside that of the working class child, and children learned to read, and in some cases to write, within the family, or at Sunday school.

The Factory Bill, which was the outcome of the two reports, passed through Parliament rapidly, and gained the Royal Assent within a month. Althorp's Act, subdivided the protected workers, increasing the protection in the lower age group and lowering it in the 13-18 year group. But it went much further than legislating for working hours. Besides committing Government financial support for working class education, for the first time, legislation sought to compel children to go to school, by using the benefits of child labour as a reward for school attendance; a child's right to work was made conditional "The Prussian principle of compulsory education had won its first victory." (55) It introduced compulsion into popular education, not across the board, but discriminately; there was added discrimination

In that the regulations applied only to certain child workers. Compulsory education was to be forced on children at the greatest moral risk, and after Sadler's Inquiry there is little doubt at the risk to which the children were exposed, though that this moral risk was greater than in other or allied industries to cotton and woollen manufacturer, was refuted by mill-owners.

For the first time, independent inspectors; in the pay of central Government, were appointed to see that the provisions of the Act were carried out. Halevy wrote that "There could be no better opportunity than the present to carry out the favourite plan of Edwin Chadwick and replace the Magistrates by salaried officials appointed to perform this particular task .... It was the victory of one of the fundamental principles of Bentham's political philosophy, the principle of administrative centralisation."<sup>(56)</sup>

It was unfortunate that the education of the factory child should emanate from the controversial findings of two committees of Inquiry. From the start education was in conflict with parents, with mill owners, who resented an unequal educational responsibility and expense, with magistrates, and with those of the working class who saw it as a

part of the recommendation of the Commission of Inquiry which had denied to them the advantages of Sadler's proposals. Further conflict was aroused by sending families with children to the mill towns, which increased the number of child workers, raised parental dependence on their children and maintained the traditional work role of the child. The result was, that to many, the evasion of the educational regulations was justified.

To counter evasion of the regulations, the Government appointed four inspectors for the industrial districts, one in Scotland and three in England. Horner and Saunders, after the death of Rickards, were responsible for the areas within the limits of this study. Their main responsibilities were to ensure that no child under 9 years worked in the mills; that children between 9 years and 13 years worked for 8 hours only, and went to school for 2 hours and that the accidents that took place in the mills were reduced by fencing in machinery.

The problems, with which the Inspectorate was confronted, were obvious and immediate. If they were to enforce legislation which distinguished between age groups, it was essential to be able to identify age, and the Government settled for certificates of age. The problem with children under 9, in an age when birth certificates were difficult to acquire, was to establish the age of a child when it was in the interests of the mill-owners and parents to conceal it. Attempts to find the truth were resisted with all the cunning that threatened human nature could raise. Inspectors' Reports abound with incidents of parents teaching children to lie about their ages. Horner declared, in 1840, that so great was the eagerness of parents to

work their children that they readily lied about their ages "nor are the statements of the children more to be depended on". Mrs. Gaskell in "Mary Barton" depicts Mrs. Devonport, a recently made widow, with several young children as "sat thinking how she might best cheat the factory Inspector, and persuade him that her strong, big, hungry Ben was above thirteen."<sup>(57)</sup> Mill-owners accepted no responsibility for employing children who were obviously under 9 years. Mr. Askworth, a mill-owner and witness before the 1840 Commission of Inquiry, admitted that a doctor's certificate of a child's age was enough for him, and the legislation placed no responsibility on the surgeon, who issued the certificate, for he was asked only to give his opinion on the child's age. Fines for abuse, if inflicted by inspectors, were made ineffective by local mill-owning J.P.s.

The incentive for the abuse was even stronger against those children between 9-13 years. Again there was the problem of determining the age of children, made more difficult in times of prosperity, because they were of greater value to the mill-owners and earned higher wages for their parents. There was also the genuine belief among parents that children ought to be working, encouraged by employers who claimed that unless a child started work early, it could never become a good weaver.

Whilst the age issue irasciated the relationships between parent, mill-owner and inspector, there was further irritation in the education clause of the Act, which determined that a child between these ages should go to school for at least 2 hours a day. To mill-owners this seemed to put a responsibility upon them which

was not imposed on other employers, and burdened them with a duty to educate children with whom their only relationship was that of finding them work. As Horner observed in 1840. "The Factory Law makes attendance upon school imperative, but the Factory Law does nothing to enable the mill-owner or the workpeople to fulfil the law." To comply with the law, employers had to see that the child employed went to school for 2 hours each day it worked. Many kept the children on the premises, putting them in a room with an old employee. Others sent the children to a local private school under a master who became increasingly dependent for his livelihood on the factory children as other children left his school, their parents not wanting them to be taught with factory children, who often disrupted the lessons with their unruly behaviour and irregular hours of attendance. Other employers would persuade a master to open a school near his mill or even on the premises itself.

Of the schools themselves, most merely complied with the regulations of attendance. Saunder's Report, July 1843, on a private school in his area. "The teacher is too old to manage or teach them, and very infirm; they go out of charity to the school-master more than from any benefit they derive from his school." and in another school in a factory. "I could find no books, the overlooker, who was the teacher said "the children cannot afford to provide them" and he has to teach from a few, torn leaves which are so dirty as to be scarcely legible. The heat of the room is intolerable to anyone unaccustomed to it, and the noise from the machinery so great that it was with difficulty I could hear anyone speak."

As a result, parents saw no value in their children going to

school, particularly as they could start work at 13 years and no questions would be asked about schooling, nor an <sup>any</sup> advantage given to a well-schooled child. Most employers were resentful of the role into which they had been cast and made the minimum provision, and schoolmasters sought to ingratiate themselves with the mill-owners.

It must not be thought that all employers sought to evade the provisions of the Act of 1833. The McConnells of Manchester provided an excellent school in the late 1830's as did the Dugdales of Lowerhouse. Horner in his December Report of 1840 reported that Dugdales had complied with the education clauses "by availing themselves of the advantage of excellent public schools near their works." Incidentally, the school to which the Dugdales sent their children was kept by Janet Shuttleworth who was, a few years later, to marry Dr. Kay. It was mill-owners like these who were to press for a more stringent enforcement of the law against their less honest and generally smaller fellow mill-owners. For when some mill-owners provided good schools and sent their juvenile employees to them, parents' found that their children's earnings fell and a situation arose where the advantages went to those who did not comply with the regulations, for they paid higher wages. Horner wrote in 1841 "An excellent school was built at Stalybridge by Mr. Adshead, the proprietor of a large mill in the neighbourhood, who had been very active and liberal in improving it in order that the children might have the benefit of this school. But he was forced to abandon it, and to return to that of working the children 8 hours a day, for their parents took them away from his mill to get higher wages elsewhere than what they got for half-time."

There is considerable evidence that Inspectors' efforts to enforce regulations were creating a situation where those who were designed to benefit were in reality disadvantaged. Many employers refused to work children between the ages of 9-13 years, and turned off the children leaving them without both employment and school. Saunders, in his report of July 1837, wrote that the operation of the school clauses had induced mill-owners, when reductions in workers were necessary, to make them from among children under 13 years. Hickson, a member of the Commission looking into the plight of hand-loom weavers, in 1840, reported that "the operation of the present law has been practically to exclude from factory labour 40,000 young children, who would now have been employed, but for the change of system" In Horner's district the number of child workers declined from 17,000 to 14,000.

Other evidence pointing to the same decline in child workers was the greater competition for work in those industries not covered by legislation, such as silk-mills and print-works. Horner met many children who said they were working down the mines until they were old enough for the factory. Another observable feature on which Hickson again commented, "The practical exclusion of young children from the factories referred to, is that it has created a greater demand for the labour of boys and girls over 13 years; their wages have been raised." The decline in children in the factories, between the ages of 9-13 years, was compensated for by the increase in numbers between 13-18 years, where no educational requirement operated. Horner, to the Select Committee of 1840, showed returns: from May 1835 to February 1839, young people in factories between 13-18 years increased in number from 45,000 to 65,000, and Saunders' returns rose

from 25,000 to 39,000.

As a result of this counter-effect of Government, legislation and Inspectorate pressure, the educational clauses, in the limited areas where they were working, were not necessarily achieving the desired results. Horner made a Report of the state of education among 2,000 factory children in Manchester in November and December 1836; of 1,040 boys, 341 could write, that means sign their names in any legible manner, and 326 could read the new Testament with ease. Of 960 girls examined, 100 could write and 285 read the Bible with ease. These children were in the age group 13-14. Hickson reported that the Act, 'provides no motive to the child when at school. The law reposes that it should spend 2 hours of each day at school, not that it should learn anything.'

New thinking was necessary if the 1833 legislation was not to be turned to the disadvantage of the very children it sought to protect and educate. It was at this stage that the Inspectorate began to put forward proposals which were to reduce these abuses and become part of the legislation of 1844, and remain, in a diminishing degree, part of the educational system until the end of the First World War.

When the child's labour had been reduced to 8 hours, those employers who kept on the children, were encouraged to adopt a three shift system, employing three sets of protected children to do the work previously done by two sets working longer. That this innovation was an honest attempt to comply with the legislation is doubtful. In practice it led to a confusion that concealed abuse, for the true working patterns in the mills were concealed, and the inspectors' attempts to ascertain not only the hours worked, but even the number of



children employed, were frustrated. Nevertheless, it was this system of shift working which gave the Inspectorate the germ of the idea for reducing the working day within a shift system. From the Reports of 1840, to Graham's Bill in 1843, all the inspectors sought a shorter working day for 9-13 year olds, so that they could work the full hours that the law allowed, either in the mornings or the afternoons.

The half-time system sought to improve the educational opportunity by simplification. Detection of abuse would be easy, for the children could not remain in the mill the whole day. Registers of attendance would be simplified. Employers would benefit by not changing the workers during working hours, and there would be no vouchers from Sunday Schools to make up the number of hours at school. More important educationally, factory children would become part of the education system, longer and more regular hours of schooling and time to attend the best, rather than the nearest school, could only be beneficial. It would enable factory children to be educated in other than factory owned or sponsored schools, which were inferior to Church schools, particularly after 1844 when an increased school Inspectorate sought to improve the standards of school building and the methods and quality of teaching in grant-aided schools. Further, there would be no interrupted lessons, and children would come to school tidy and clean and from home, not from work. As Saunders observed in his June Report of 1843. "They will not be placed in a corner of the room as a disgraced or inferior class, because they come with soiled working dress or are to be removed before the lesson is finished."

The growing influence of the Inspectorate and its changing role from surveillance to advice, is indicated by the plans advanced by both Horner and Saunders after 1837 to provide more schools in mill-towns, with better teachers, and by the ease with which Graham accepted their proposals and sought to bring them into effect in his 1843 Factory Bill. Graham, in a letter to the Bishop of London in 1842, "I myself have had frequent conferences with these three gentlemen (Saunders, Horner and Kay-Shuttleworth), and the result has been the preparation of the clauses which I now submit, in confidence, for your consideration."<sup>(57a)</sup> Graham persisted, after his 1843 failure, and passed a less complete Bill in 1844 which introduced the half-time system.

The Act that created the Inspectorate, doomed it to initial failure. It was not equipped either numerically or in administrative will to compliment a policy received with widespread hostility; yet critics of the early Inspectorate have often been less than generous in their assessment of it.

Thus we find Oliver MacDonagh declaring that "The operation of the royal commission and their own long experience had taught them (the working class) that the inspectors would be hand-in-glove with the employers and merely new instruments of oppression for the workers."<sup>(58)</sup> Furthermore he went on to report that "One Ten-Hour Committee, that of Birstall, was able to greet the first nominations with some colour of justice

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as a "briefless barrister , a broken down Merchant, a poor Aristocrat, and an intimate friend of Lieutenant Drummond."<sup>(59)</sup> and "They (factory inspectors) were political, appointees, whig-liberal rolling stones, who had failed in or become bored by or retired from various occupations."<sup>(60)</sup> The evidence is that they succeeded in establishing a code or practice which was seldom excelled by later Victoria civil servants. MacDonagh's further observations that "It would be misleading to suggest that any comprehensive and sustained effort was made in 1833-36, to enforce the 1833 Act or that the inspectors themselves behaved as neutrals."<sup>(61)</sup> are misleading.

The early reports of Rickards indicate the initial problems which confronted those who had to implement the 1833 Act, and the attitudes the Inspectorate took to solve them.

The struggle polarised around hours, ages and schooling. Hours of work allowed varied between total prohibition under 9 years, to 49 hours a week between 9-13 years, and up to 12 hours a day with no night work, up to 18 years. These groups were determined by the age of the child, which was almost impossible to discover accurately, before the registration of births, and when parental interests were served by fraud. On top of age and hours of work, was that of forced schooling, for without a certificate of attendance at a school, age and hours were irrelevant, for no work was allowed to any child between 9-13 years if it had not attended school. All these regulations, as was soon discovered, only worked where they could be enforced.

The early Inspectorate was not well equipped to carry out this difficult task, either in numbers or in the powers given to it within

the Act. Four Inspectors were appointed, and a few superintendents to work under them. There was a constant appeal, in the subsequent Inspector's Report, for more superintendents in the years between 1833 and 1840. Rickards "Having only one superintendent to assist me, we both laboured intensely at first to accomplish this object, but having in this division 2,300 mills to look after, it was beyond the powers of one man to exercise that personal vigilance over the whole, without which no progress could be made in restraining the acts of those who were determined to offend."<sup>(61a)</sup> Their early powers though wide, were confined in detail. Superintendents could not enter the working parts of the mills where most of the abuses took place, without the authority of the owner, and though the Inspectors were given powers to build schools where they were found to be necessary, they were given no funds with which to do so, resulting in Inspectors using inadequate fines gained from mill-owners breaking the law, for that purpose. Horner lamented that it only needed an aggressive mill-owner, when ordered to send his children to school, to demand that the Inspector should provide one, for the weakness of the Inspectors' position to be exposed.

Certificates of age proved to be a battle between parents and the inspectors. To issue a certificate of age it was essential that the certificate be seen to refer to the person certified, resulting in the certificate becoming an identity card. Rickards accepted this as early as 1835 "It is clear this could not be done without a system of certificates that could be entirely relied on; such a certificate was indispensable to identify both the age and the person of each child."<sup>(62)</sup> To introduce something that had a value other than to the

person to whom it was given was to introduce a traffic in that commodity. Rickards again "A certificate could be lost or mislaid, or sold or lent, and a single certificate might be used without the possibility of detection to pass hundreds into mills, of whom very many would be worked beyond legal hours."<sup>(63)</sup> Age became the measure of the amount a young person could earn, and to falsify meant a greater opportunity to gain. A mill-owner who would do this, apart from gaining an advantage over his competitors, gained the gratitude and fidelity of parents. Rickards noted in a certificate book belonging to a mill in Glossop that 60 children who were certified in February 1834 to be 12 years were recorded as 18 years less than 12 months later.<sup>(64)</sup> Rickards saw the abuses increasing when older children above 10 years came under the effects of the 1833 Act, 11 years in 1835 and 12 years in 1836. He believed that the frauds were becoming so common that the inspectors and superintendents on the one hand and mill-owners on the other "will be reduced to a state of perpetual warfare of which the evil consequences are too obvious."<sup>(65)</sup>

Rickards saw the main object of the Act to exclude from the mills children under 9 years, and to classify and regulate by the number of hours they worked, children between the ages of 9 and 13 years. He saw the inspector's role as "to make all such rules, regulations and orders as may be necessary to give complete efficiency to this as to every other part of the Act."<sup>(66)</sup> He goes on "It was clear that this could not be done without a system of certificates that could be entirely relied on."<sup>(67)</sup>

It was the implementation of these certificates that were, over

the next few years, to show the attitude of the working class to the education that was being forced upon them. Whilst it is clear that only a part of the working class was involved, it in no way detracts from its importance, for it was the involvement of this group which was essential, if a comprehensive system of education was later to develop.

Rickards realised that the industrial working class would see these regulations as an attempt to reduce their earnings, and seek to avoid them. That children under 9 years could no longer earn wages in the mills, and that those between 9 and 11 years could only get the pay of 43 hours per week, and young persons between 11 and 18 years could only get the pay of 69 hours per week, not being allowed to work over hours, required as Rickards observed. "No great sagacity to see that, if children were allowed to procure certificates indiscriminately, the grossest frauds and abuses would be practised."<sup>(68)</sup>

Rickards goes to list the "frauds and abuses" which were to remain with the Inspectorate for a decade. "Children employed in mills, under 9 years and working 12 hours per day without certificates. A Skipton girl of 15 years working from 5 a.m. to 9.p.m. and obliged to take her meals in the mill. A Manchester mother who got employment for a sickly child of 9 years of age to work in a mill for 12 hours per day, under a false certificate, which she got by sending a fine healthy child of suitable age to a doctor's house to procure it."<sup>(69)</sup> Sometimes false baptismal certificates were produced and "mothers would readily foreswear to get their children in mills longer hours than allowed by law." Certificates were often granted by a "druggists apprentice" or "a drunken alehouse keeper." Rickards had certificates of children whose ages had increased from 12 years to 16 and 18 years in 12 months time.

Horner reported to the 1840 Committee, which reviewed the 1833 Act, that he believed that 9 out of 10 mills in his area complied with the limitation of 12 hours working per day.<sup>(70)</sup> This may have been so, but he made no claim that children of 8-13 years were only working 8 hours, that children under 9 years were not working in the mills and that children between 8-13 years were spending 2½ hours a day in school. Indeed it was clear that this was not the case. Millowners were constantly claiming that they had no responsibility to see that the child was of the right age, so long as it had a certificate signed by a surgeon. Ashworth, a Bolton millowner was asked, "Do I understand this to be the practice in your mill that in 99 cases out of 100 you do not know anything of the ages of the children? It is the case, if I receive the doctor's authority to work them, I make no further enquiry."<sup>(71)</sup>

To counter these abuses, Rickards had two remedies; to increase his staff of superintendents, and attempt to restrict the area of inspection by advising that the progressive widening of the protection of the Act to cover children up to 13 years by 1836, should be abandoned.

In his report of August 1834 he goes on, "I pointed out the impossibility of an Inspector and one superintendent, in a division like this, attending to the state and condition of all its factories and mills.....the thing was absolutely impossible."<sup>(72)</sup> His appeal had the desired effect, by February 1835 he had been granted three more superintendents, making a total force of an Inspector and four superintendents to cover about 2,300 mills, which gave each man about 600 mills to inspect per year. The majority of these mills



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would be small, engaging from 80 to 150 persons, but size of mill, when measuring the work of the inspectors, could be deceptive because the smaller mills often had a higher proportion of factory children than larger mills. In his next report of August 1835, he was still not satisfied "Nothing can make a factory law really efficient, but a constant inspection of the interior of factories; but each of the four superintendents of this division has now about 600 mills to look after and control. This is more than any one person can effectively manage. If therefore, it should appear right to your Lordship to allow seven superintendents in this Inspectorship, that is, three more in addition to the present number, each superintendent would then have between 300 and 400 mills to visit; and with three more, I should hope that the object of the Legislature in passing a Factory Act may be fully answered and the law itself universally respected."<sup>(73)</sup>

He was seeking to reduce the weekly number of mills visited by each superintendent from 14 to 8 or one per day rather than two. Rickards did not get three more superintendents, though Horner who took over the district in June, 1836, on the death of Rickards, was given an additional superintendent to take charge of the growing volume of paper work involved in the inspection of nearly 2,700 factories.

The first reaction to the widescale evasion of the 1833 Act by the Inspectorate was to increase the numbers of superintendents under its control, but it had a greater fear in that attempted evasion and abuse of the regulations would increase, as the ages at which restrictions on child labour were raised. Rickards in his August Report, 1835, stated that it should not be concealed that notwithstanding all that personal vigilance can effect, offences have increased, and

are likely to be further multiplied by the operation of that clause in section 8, which, since the 1st March 1835, the employment in mills of children under 12 years of age, to 48 hours labour per week, and in the next year will similarly limit the labour of children under 13. What had been seen as a means of easing the regulations onto industry over a period of three years by the legislature, was viewed with alarm by the Inspectorate, who saw the number of children confined to working 48 hours per week rising each year up to 1836.

Prosperous times in industry put more pressure on the Inspectorate as more children were required than were available, and employers were tempted to either take children who were below 9 years or to work beyond the restricted hours those children who were protected. Such a period was the winter of 1835-36. "This prosperity, and the uninterrupted demand for goods maybe, and probably is, one cause of the over-working, so much complained of; but the demand for our goods is not likely, in my opinion, to cease or even to be diminished... and if sufficient numbers of legal age (children) cannot be procured, every artifice and evasion will be attempted to smuggle into the mills, infants altogether unfitted for the assigned work. The business of the inspectors and their superintendents may thus to be so magnified in its difficulties as to render it impracticable of effectual execution with the present limited establishment."<sup>(74)</sup>

If the Inspectorate could not recruit more superintendents, and had no control over the expansion or contraction of the childrens' work caused by fluctuations in trade, which created a fluctuating demand for child labour, they turned to seeking to confine the protection in the Act to only the younger children.

Section 8 of the 1833 Factory Act widened the protection given to children from 10-11 years up to March, 1835, and from March, 1836, would limit the labour of children under 13 years. This meant a progressive increase in the number of children who would come under the care of the Inspectorate, if the regulations were observed, and a stronger pressure to work the older children longer. Rather than accept the education clauses and plan the twelve years were dismissed and Rickards feared that the same would happen to working of children in relays, many children under 13 years. To children under restrict the supply of children would put increasing pressure on the mill-owners to attempt to break the law often with the connivance of parents. "The anxiety of parents to get their children employed leads to the commission of numerous frauds and artifices."<sup>(75)</sup> Rickards claimed that many children were smuggled into factories who were under age and that older children were sent to the surgeon to get certificates for younger brothers and sisters. "Frauds of this description are now become so common, and so likely to multiply that unless the evil can be stayed it is probable the Inspector and his superintendents on the one hand, and the manufacturers on the other hand will be reduced to a state of perpetual warfare, of which the evil consequences are too obvious."<sup>(76)</sup>

Rickards' solution was to limit the protection by the passage of a short Act to suspend the operation of Section 8 as regards children of 12 years and 13 years, and the schooling clauses relating to them. In his report of February, 1836, his last, he returns to difficulties 'materially aggravated' if "some remedy cannot be applied to stay the operation of objectionable or defective provisions and more especially of that clause in Section 8 which restrains the labour of children under 13 years of age to nine hours per day or 48 hours per week."<sup>(77)</sup>

Coupled with his own alarm at the magnitude of the task confronting him, Rickards seems to have accepted the belief among employers that there would be a labour shortage, which would make his own position intolerable, if the full implication of the 1833 Act was allowed to operate after March 1836. "I have every reason to believe that a law or amendment of the present Act, still limiting the period of labour to 12 hours per day and authorising young persons between 11 and 21 years of age to work in mills the full time, would afford general satisfaction to the manufacturing body." (78)

In March, 1836, the President of the Board of Trade brought in a Bill to remove the control of the labour of children who had completed their 12th year, but it was not proceeded with and the Bill was lost. Horner, who had taken over from Rickards, revealed that in a letter to the Inspectors they had been notified 'wherein the necessity is strongly urged of the Inspectorate using every exertion to give the law full operation.' (79)

The attempt to restrict Section 8, on the advice of Rickards, can be justified on the grounds that a complete control of a small group, within the area of restricted labour, would have enabled the Inspectorate to create a satisfactory model of children working the prescribed hours and going to school for two hours per day. They could have justified the belief that work and school were compatible for the industrial child worker. Further, it would have been easier to fit the fewer children involved into the existing schools, and thereby have reduced the employer's obligation to provide a school on his factory premises.

Politically, to have restricted the protection clauses would have been difficult to justify. It would be seen as giving in to the interests of the mill-owner and an opportunity for the Ten Hour Movement to re-assert itself. By the time Horner had taken over from Rickards in April 1836 and the Bill to reduce protection had been dropped, the Government was resolved to impose the full restrictive elements of the 1833 Act. Rickards' fears appeared to have been realised. The number of the Inspectors was not raised to the level Rickards had thought necessary. The prospect was real that the full implementation of the Act would isolate the Inspector from both the mill-owner, and the parent, and create a common interest in evasion between them. As the numbers of children to be legally protected increased, so also did the number of parents who resisted it. Their resistance strengthened as the law progressively included older children who were thought by parents to be quite as capable of working as long hours as adults. Rickards' plan to increase the arm of inspection and reduce the area to be inspected was decidedly rejected by the Government, and it fell on Horner to implement the 1833 Act in the North, and grapple with the problems it raised. It indicated that the legislature was seeking to achieve objectives which were beyond the powers of the Inspectorate. Rather than working on a small model, they pushed forward, completely unaware of the numerical size of the problem which, over the next ten years, they might be confronted.

To impose regulations and duties onto an arbitrary group of employers in a few prescribed trades, stimulated a resistance which ensured initial difficulties for an Inspectorate given the minimum of

authority, few resources, and little power to control that which it was inspecting. In the Inspectorate's early years, neither surgeons nor schoolmasters were accountable to it, and magistrates minimised the penalties for gross offences when they sought to apply the law. This led to both Rickards and, later, Horner, seeking to solve the expanding problem by increasing their investigating power and appointing more superintendents. Rickards increased his number from one to three and Horner, on his appointment in 1836, raised his to four and gained a further increase when his district was reduced in size without loss of superintendents.

Rickards in a letter to his superintendents on their appointment in 1835, explained their duties under the Act and advised on the best way of getting satisfactory compliance. He went on "Experience has now abundantly shown, that such is the difficulty of procuring evidence of what passes in the interior of mills, and so great a temptation to commit offences which may be expected to pass unnoticed that in no way can a correct knowledge of facts be obtained but by frequent personal visitations of each mill, within the district hereby assigned to your superintendence. It is in fact the main object of your present appointment; and you are consequently required to visit the mills of your district as often as you may be able to accomplish it."<sup>(80)</sup> Rickards warned against an authoritarian approach preferring a gradual and quiet introduction of the Act, and against developing a regularity of visits which could be exploited. He favoured "Frequent trips to different spots, where you may be at the time least expected."<sup>(81)</sup>

An issue that was to cause concern to all the inspectors was

outlined by Rickards as early as 1835. The regulations did not authorise superintendents to enter the interior of mills without the concurrence of the owners. This was a flaw in the regulations which was to be exploited by mill-owner and to which Rickards was to give an early warning in 1835. "You may, should you feel it necessary, urge that you have the inspectors authority for the visits, or the inquiries you may wish to make; that these visits and inquiries are necessary for the execution of your appointed duties; and that if refused admittance in the absence of the Inspector his presence would supersede the objection." (82)

The 'refused admittance' issue was later to be raised when inspection became more efficient and prosecutions more numerous. The 19th section of the 1833 Factory Act, whilst it approved of the creation of superintendents to assist the inspector it did not allow the superintendent to go into those parts of the factory where children could be seen at work, without the permission of mill-owners, though they were entitled, of course, to check the certificate of age and schooling in the counting house. Over the years, this tended to expose the lower status of the superintendents, as being merely helpers of the inspector, with very limited rights of entry; a situation which many mill-owners began to exploit.

The problem was one of whether or not the inspector could delegate his powers to an inferior within the meaning of the Act. The superintendents were appointed to assist the inspectors but they were of little value if they could not act independently of <sup>them</sup> him. A joint Report to Lord Duncannon from Horner, Howell and Saunders in July, 1834, stated that, "We are satisfied from what we have already



experienced, that the Superintendent cannot assist the Inspector with full efficiency, unless he has power, under the authority of the Inspector, to enter the factories and visit all parts of them, subject to certain protection to the mill-owners, if there be any particular processes which he may wish to keep secret." Horner went on, "All my experience since that time has convinced me more and more of the necessity of this, and I believe that my colleagues have in no degree changed their opinions."<sup>(83)</sup> Horner saw the impossibility of the situation and reported that the superintendents had "in few cases been refused admittance; had it been otherwise, had they been excluded generally, the inspectors must long since have reported that the law could not be enforced, unless as many inspectors were appointed as there are Superintendents; for it is only by going into places where the manufacturing processes are carried on, that it is possible to know whether the law be observed or not."<sup>(84)</sup> He went on "Some of the owners of these factories have only lately refused him (the superintendent) admission; this had occurred during the last quarter, and there are appearances of this exclusion becoming more general." Horner calculated that as there were four inspectors, if it were possible to visit four factories every working day, each of the 4,800 factories would be visited only once each year. Apart from overworking the inspectors, Horner concluded "the law would thus practically become a dead letter" and "unless mills be thus examined at least twice a year by the Superintendents, without any previous expectation of his visit, besides the visits and general surveillance of the Inspector, obedience to the law cannot be generally enforced."<sup>(85)</sup>

The exclusion of superintendents from right of admission to mills

was based on a controversial issue of 1833 when it was suggested 'mill wardens' should be appointed "from the number and less educated classes of society, as constables often are". To this, mill-owners objected so strongly that the powers of the inspectors' assistants were very limited, and the mill-warden plan was dropped. As Horner remarked "persons in a higher station of life should be appointed to assist the inspector", though the restriction on their powers were allowed to remain. Horner claimed that though superintendents were, in most cases, allowed into the mills it was at the pleasure of the mill-owner, and not by right. This meant that the ill disposed owner could forbid the superintendent from entering his mill at will. In his Report, April 1838, he illustrated a typical case of refusal. "Mr. Wood was visiting the mill of Messrs. Abraham Haigh and Son of Bolton, and on questioning two boys whom he found working in the first room he entered, he discovered that the time for meals required by the Act was not allowed. As soon as Mr. Haigh found that Mr. Wood had detected a violation of the law, he prohibited him from going into the other parts of the factory."

A year later, there seems to have been many more cases of the exclusion of superintendents, for Horner reported that in one quarter each of his four superintendents had been excluded from factories. He cited the case of one mill-owner who asked his superintendent if, on finding anything wrong, he would lay information against him and when told that the superintendent would do this, he replied, "if that be the case, you shall not go into the mill." Horner considered impractical the remedy that a magistrate should be bound to grant a warrant for the admission of a superintendent. "He would find his warrant of very little use when he came back, for special care would

be taken to have everything in good order for his reception."<sup>(86)</sup>

It was evident that the Inspectorate regarded an element of surprise as essential to ensure detection and it was this 'spying' that the mill-owner disliked and sought to curtail by refusing admission to all but the Inspector.

The relationship between Inspector and superintendent was not readily changed. Horner concluded, as late as 1839, when a Factory Amendment Act was being considered, that to retain the right of excluding superintendents from the parts of the mill where the manufacturing processes were being carried on would "Reserve a power of defeating the intentions of the legislature to any mill-owner who might choose to avail himself of it."<sup>(87)</sup>

Horner in his Report of October 1836 revealed that his superintendents had visited 596 factories and had instituted 114 prosecutions made up of 504 informations. From these 504 informations there had been 458 convictions with penalties ranging from £1 to £10. Two hundred and forty seven of these 458 convictions involved the issue of certificates, 165 for certificates of age and 82 for school certificates. At a stage when the detection of abuses was in its initial stages, the pattern of abuse indicated that 36% of convictions involved the question of the age of children and young workers, which, in turn, involved the inspectors with surgeons.

Under the Act, surgeons were to be employed to ascertain the age of each child working in the prescribed trades. Abuse was immediate, for Rickards as early as February 1835 was to report that "I found them (certificates) given, in one instance, by a drunken ale-house keeper, who, in addition to his proper calling, had set himself up as a medical practitioner; and in another instance, by a person who had been brought up as a druggist's apprentice." (88)

Horner recognised the important role of the surgeon. "All the provisions of the Act for restricting the labour of children must be rendered nugatory, unless the duty confided to the medical men be discharged with fidelity and care." (89) Some surgeons met his disapproval. He cancelled the appointment of two; one who had been part of a discreditable transaction with a work certificate, and another who narrowly escaped imprisonment for issuing false certificates. (90)

The high responsibility that Horner attached to the role of the surgeon in fulfilling the provisions of the Act, may be measured by a series of letters that he addressed to surgeons at the end of 1836. In a letter dated 6th July 1836, Horner ensured that only surgeons appointed by him had the backing of the law. Though he pressed this issue, in reality this was not the case for a parent or mill-owner could seek a certificate from any surgeon.

Horner realised that he could only improve the efficiency of the certificate system by controlling it himself. To do this he produced a new form of certificate with a counterfoil for any future

reference. The two features of the certificate indicated clearly that it was issued by the surgeon appointed by the Inspector for that district and that it clearly indicated, not that the child was 10 years or 11 years but that the child was "of the ordinary strength and appearance" of a child of that age. This second feature indicated that the surgeon was not seeking to find the age of the child, but ascertaining that the child had the appearance and strength of that age group. He was interpreting the Act in this way to ensure that children were not worked beyond their physical capacity, regardless of their age. The issue became one of measuring suitability for factory work by a factor that could be seen and measured rather than by age which was highly arbitrary, before the time of the compulsory registration of births, and at a time when the pressure on both parents and mill-owners to work young children was great.

Horner felt it necessary to warn surgeons against solicitation to their better natures. "I am well aware that you have solicitations of many kinds to contend with; appeals to your feelings that are hard to struggle against; but these you must resist because the law has given you no discretionary power."<sup>(91)</sup> Horner, before the Select Committee of 1840, was asked what benefit a surgeon derived from giving a child a false certificate if he only received 6d for a certificate." Many of these country surgeons are dependent for their practice upon the humble class of mill-owners and their operatives who live amongst them and they wish to be accommodating."<sup>(92)</sup> A Yorkshire mill-owner on the surgeon's pay, "Explain what it is that the surgeon does for this payment? - He

attends every Monday and if there is any certification to sign, he sees the children and signs the certificate." "Has he a fee for that attendance?" - "We pay him now six guineas a year." "Do you complain of that as a grievance?" "It is a very considerable tax upon some woollen mills in our district. I think there are 15 mills in Batley from which he has six guineas a year, and he goes through the whole of them on the Monday morning or the Monday afternoon." (93)

Horner advised the surgeons that the fraud to which they were most exposed was that of one child obtaining a certificate and giving or selling it to a younger child. He suggested that certificates should be granted at the mill where the child was going to work, and not at the surgeon's home, and that the surgeon should "by occasional visits to the mill, examine the certificate of children of a suspicious appearance as to age." (94)

Only two months elapsed before another letter reached the surgeons from Horner, no doubt instigated by an "erroneous interpretation of the Act," which he had seen on his factory visits. Some surgeons it seemed had not understood that, to Horner, the age of the child brought before them was irrelevant to the decision of granting a certificate to work. The measure was "the ordinary strength and appearance" of the child, to which an age was ascertained. He impressed upon the surgeons that they were concerned with the physical condition of the child and its physical ability to work for the period allowed by law, in no circumstances were surgeons to inquire as to the age of the child.

Horner went a step further in accepting the surveys into child ages and their corresponding heights by James Harrison, a Preston surgeon, and Robert Baker, a surgeon and factory superintendent for Horner's Leeds division. Instead of allowing each surgeon to make a subjective judgement as to a child's fitness to work, which enabled a child to gain a certificate from one surgeon in the town and not from another, he adopted the surveys of these surgeons as the standard measure to be used by all the surgeons in his area. Horner explained "Until some more precise and accurate data can be obtained, it will be advisable for you to take the observations of Mr. Harrison and Mr. Baker as a guide, and therefore.....no child that, without shoes, measures less than 3ft 20ins ought to be considered as having the appearance of 9 years of age, and no child less than 4ft 3½ins ought to be considered as having the appearance of 13 years of age."<sup>(95)</sup>

Comparing the two surveys, Harrison found that boys of 11-12 years averaged 4ft 2¼ins and girls 4ft 3¼ins. Baker that boys were 4ft 2ins and girls 4ft 2½ins. Harrison's and Baker's 4ft 4½ins and 4ft 4¼in. Horner adopted lower than the average for the two surveys and more in keeping with Harrison. For 9 years he set 3ft 10ins, for 10 years 3ft 11½ins, for 11 years 4ft 1in, and for 12 years 4ft 2in.

Horner then, by the time the surgeons had got the two letters he wrote in the summer of 1836, had set a uniform pattern for ascertaining the suitability for work in factories of those groups up to 13 years who were protected by the Act. He concluded by sending to each surgeon a copy of the 28th section of the Factories

Regulation Act which explained that the punishment for any fraud in the issuing and use of certificates carried a penalty not exceeding two months imprisonment.

This was not the end of the matter. Horner addressed a further letter to surgeons dated 7th November 1836 which began, "I have heard with surprise and regret that some of the surgeons have so entirely misapprehended the instructions contained in my circular letter of the 20th September, as to conceive that I have fixed a standard of height for children at various ages which they are invariably to adhere to."<sup>(96)</sup> Surgeons had been using his suggested height as scales of measurement regardless of the other physical aspects of the children, and some surgeons "have even gone to the mills and re-certified children as 13 whom a few weeks before they had certified as 12 years of age." He goes on "If my letter had been attentively read it would have been seen that..... the heights (were), to be held as the minimum and not the average for those ages. I expressly say in my letter that stature is to be taken as an initiatory step in the inquiry 'and that its value as evidence is to be' subject to modifications from other circumstances in the physical state of the person examined, such as breadth of chest, muscular strength and general healthy condition."

In his Report of January 1837 which covered this period of frustration with the surgeons, he commented that, "If the granting of the certificate of age be left to the medical man without any control, I fear that evasions of the law, in the very first step that taken for the protection of the child, will frequently occur." Realising his dependence on surgeons, he sought powers to ensure that



the Inspectors selected their own. Any person who was a surgeon or physician could grant certificates of age. The Inspectors found this objectionable. "The Inspector has no power to exclude any legally qualified surgeon, and his arrangement may be set aside, and the mill-owner may act upon certificates granted by any number of surgeons. It is therefore, very much to be desired that the granting of certificates of age should be limited, by law, to those medical men only who shall be selected or approved of by the Inspector." Mr. Beal, a superintendent, went much further "Do you think the Inspectors should give a certificate of the age, instead of the surgeon? - Yes, I think the surgeons are no better judges of the ages of the children than any other person."<sup>(97)</sup> The 1833 Act had allowed anyone who was a surgeon or physician to grant certificates of age. Within three years the Inspectorate not only established criteria by which the surgeons had to form a medical judgement, but sought the aid of amending legislation to limit the work to those surgeons selected, or approved of, by the Inspector.

It was quickly realised that evasions and fraudulent conversion of school certificates by both parent and mill-owner could not be stopped by a larger Inspectorate as Rickards had believed, by heavier fines from magistrates nor from greater resolution by the Inspectors, though this was tried. Parents became callous to paying fines. From the Select Committee of 1840 "With respect to the 29th clause which makes parents liable for the employment of children beyond the legal years, have you instituted any prosecutions under that clause?" - "I have prosecuted some where I thought there was culpable negligence on the part of the parents." "Have those prosecutions against the parents put an end to that practice?" -

"No, I don't see that they have" - "To what do you ascribe that, is it that the penalty is not high enough, or that the inducement is so great?" - "That the inducement is so great."<sup>(98)</sup> "Do you find great anxiety on the part of parents to run the children up to full time? Decidely<sup>^</sup> so."<sup>(99)</sup> "Do you in general find parents very indifferent as to the over employment of their children? Very eager to get them employed full-time".<sup>(100)</sup> "Is it within your experience that children are even tampered with so as to give a false statement respecting their ages? - Yes, after they have been refused certificates by a surgeon, the parents have brought them to me to declare that they are actually 13 years, and they have brought Bibles with entries in them, to show that they were born 13 years ago, whereas from the appearance of the ink, it had only been written a few days."<sup>(101)</sup> The attitude of parents is shown in "When they were in the habit of coming to the surgeon's houses, the houses were surrounded, not only by groups of children, but of mothers who forced themselves in, and if they did not succeed in getting a certificate, they almost assaulted the surgeon who was obliged to call in the police for his protection."<sup>(102)</sup> Inspectors pressed for compliance with the law. Horner in a letter to mill-owners on his appointment to Mr Richard's district. "It is now nearly three years since the Act was passed; and everyone having this had ample time and opportunity to understand its provisions, and make arrangements for the observers thereof, I shall not feel myself justified in admitting that it could have been violated from ignorance or inadvertance, but shall consider it an indispensable duty to enforce the law by all such means as the Act itself points out."

Horner quickly realised that coercion failed to bring compliance

and put forward an alternative system of working children in factories which reduced the working hours to the requirements of the Act, yet maintained production. The Act made children a separate group of workers by their being allowed to work fewer hours. This was new, as both adults and children had worked together for the same number of hours, the difference being that children did lighter, unskilled work. Gaining acceptability for this new relationship was an important element in the creating of a favourable environment for fulfilling the educational requirements of the Act.

Horner introduced his 'relay system' with a letter to mill-owners dated 6th July 1836. He gave a plan for three groups of children working over a period of 12 hours with the changes generally taking place at meal times, and each child 2 hours at school, and a period for recreation. The school periods ranged from 10.30. to 12.30, 8.30. to 10.30. and 1.30. to 3.30. and the recreation from "evenings for recreation" to "mornings before breakfast for recreation." The schoolmaster, by the arrangement, was employed from 8.30. to 3.30. with an hour interval for dinner. (103)

The initial object of the relay system was to convince mill-owners that it was advantageous to employ children, for their schooling, however poor, depended on their working. The educational clauses of the 1833 Act applied only when children were at work in the factories. To be unemployed during periods of slack trade, or to lose their employment for any reason, put them outside compulsory education. Horner was to observe in 1836 "Many mill-owners who formerly were in the habit of employing young children are at present giving work to

those only who can bring a medical certificate of being 13 years of age."<sup>(104)</sup> But he was able to report in January, 1837, that, "The working by relays, either by a double set, or what is more common, by engaging three to do the work formerly attended to by two working 12 hours, is getting more and more into use."<sup>(105)</sup>

Its implementation gave parents and mill-owners a common ground for resistance to the Inspector. Many factories found it difficult to change from their usual routine, and many parents disliked the lower wages that shorter time brought. A serious objection was that there would not be a sufficient supply of children when many more children were required to do the same amount of work in time of good trade when most children were employed. In the countryside the problem was real, as Horner remarked, "Where manufacturers have increased in a more rapid ratio than the infant population, or where improved machinery, requiring an additional number of children instead of being worked by adults has been introduced into a thinly peopled district." Yet in towns there is no evidence that there was a shortage of children. Horner went on, "I was told by a mill-owner at Bradford that such is the difficulty there of finding hands, that he had been endeavouring to make an arrangement to have children from the charitable institutions in London sent to him, to be engaged to stay with him till they arrived at the age of 21; and, at the same time, he showed me a plan of a new mill which he was about to commence building, which would probably require from 300 to 400 hands."<sup>(106)</sup> The objection that the relay system must cause a fall in wages to the children is valid, but not so great as the alternative of banning all under 13 year olds, and

engaging older children to do the work previously done by 9-12 year olds. That it would force employers into employing children only when they reached 13 years was unlikely because as Horner observed "children, to be profitable to their employer, must begin to learn their trade at a much earlier age (than 13 years), not only on account of their greater docility, but because they are much more manageable by not having acquired idle habits."<sup>(107)</sup>

Horner believed that by working shorter hours, their work standard improved. He reports on Messrs. Hives, Atkinson & Co. of Leeds who "preferred it (relay system) to employing the children full-time, finding them more cheerful and alert, and that consequently they got their work better done."<sup>(108)</sup> Horner went on "Their children, from an early period of their lives, would be able to earn a considerable portion of their subsistence without injury to their health, they would be early trained to order and industrious habits, and, if proper schools were provided, two hours daily instruction, continued for several years, would give them such an education as could not fail to have the most beneficial effects upon their general character."<sup>(109)</sup>

Horner was questioned closely on his impression of the relay system during his examination before the Select Committee of 1840. He made a survey of mills visited in the 10 weeks from January 1st to 14th March 1840. Of the 963 cotton, woollen and flax mills visited, 466 were employing children under 13 years, the total number of children being 5,666. Of these 466 mills, 54 were employing children in double sets of 6 hours and 49 mills were employing three sets of children for 8 hours.<sup>(110)</sup>

These figures indicate that though the inspectors were pressing for a relay system, more than two thirds of the mills had not responded and were employing children by the non-relay system. The difficulty, even to those mill-owners who were willing to work the system, was finding the number of children. The relay system was the first of several attempts by the inspectors to simplify the system of combining school and work. In practice, it stimulated a demand for child labour which increased the pressure for abusing the system.

Though Rickards had made only passing reference to the education clauses of the 1833 Act up to his death in 1836, Horner recorded his views as early as October, 1836, a few months after his appointment to Rickard's district. "This part of the Act has from the first been a special object of my attention, because I have always considered it as one of the most valuable of the enactments for the benefit of the children, as an interference on their behalf, even still more loudly called for than that for the protection of their bodily health."<sup>(111)</sup> The state of education among the working classes in Manchester was revealed by the Manchester Statistical Society. It reported that one third of children between 5 and 15 years of age attended no school whatever, and that those who did attend, 34,000; over 17,000 received only Sunday School instruction, which in most cases meant no writing instruction. This implied that in Manchester, less than 17,000 out of a total of 51,000 children went to any kind of Day School and had an

opportunity to learn writing and study regularly. Of the 17,000 who went to Day Schools, Horner observed, "The Society had no means of making an actual examination of the amount of instruction which the children received, but, judging from the descriptions they give of a large number of the schools attended by the children of the working classes, there is every reason to believe that such an inquiry would have shown an absence of intellectual culture, and of moral and religious training to such an extent as to throw a ridicule upon such places as seminaries of education."<sup>(112)</sup>

Horner then, on embarking on the implementation of the educational clauses in the Act, was aware, at least in the larger area of population in his district, that the majority of the children, about two thirds, went to either no school or Sunday School only, and the others went to Day School, the majority of which were so inefficient as to be discounted as educational institutions. From this the role of the Inspectorate in carrying out the spirit of the 1833 Act, as well as the letter, can be seen as ensuring that all children who worked, went to school, and of ensuring that the schools that the children attended reached an acceptable educational standard.

The Legislature, in coupling compulsory working class education with factory employment, was ensuring that every child that worked from 9-13 years got some education, but the principle of employment was a doubtful criteria for education because it was at the whim of employers and the fluctuations in trade. Some employers dismissed children up to 13 years rather than bother with certificates and relay systems, thereby putting those children outside compulsory education. Mill-owners found it an advantage to close their mills rather than struggle on during

periods of bad trade, resulting in children laid off being denied schooling. Though education and work may not have been a satisfactory combination, if working class education was to be attempted it could only be so where children were gathered together in large numbers for long periods, and that meant the factories. It also meant that, for the first time, an Inspectorate was empowered to see that the combination achieved its objective. After the initial years, which were taken up in limiting the hours that children could work and the abuses that arose from it, the compulsory education of the working child became an increasingly important part of the Inspector's duties.

Many mill-owners assented that factory children were better off for education than other children of the working class. These mill-owners were basing their belief on the prevalence of Sunday Schools in the industrial urban areas and the mill-towns. Many mill-owners supported these Sunday Schools and saw the large numbers of factory children who attended on Sundays, but as Horner was to discover, going to Sunday School was not a satisfactory education. In most cases the teachers were well-intentioned, but often self-taught, and their reading was limited to the Bible. Further, most Sunday Schools, either because they had insufficient qualified teachers, or for religious scruples, did not teach writing on a Sunday. If writing was taught it was often taught in the evening during the week when the children were working on relays or too tired to learn. Also, though it was the custom to get a child's name on a Sunday School register, very many attended at irregular intervals, so that the registers of Sunday Schools are not always an indication of the number of children in attendance. Further, those children who attended Sunday School spent only a very limited time in learning to read and write, for a large part of the time at school



was taken up in attending religious service in the adjoining chapel. The claim then, by mill-owners that their factory children had more education than other children was fallacious.

Indeed, Horner produced evidence to discount this claim. On visiting a mill in Preston which had acquired a school-room, he asked the teacher the state of education of the children. "We are but just begun; but Sir, they are as ignorant as Hottentots; only three could manage to read the Testament and the greater number did not know their letters,"<sup>(113)</sup> and at a mill in Bradford, "Books, Sir! Why, I have had to put the greater number of them on the alphabet."

The initial problem in the educational clauses was that of establishing the principle that work in a factory and daily attendance at school were compatible. That men who set up mills were to be responsible for seeing that children whom they employed went to school was only slowly accepted, and attempts to evade the provisions of the Act were frequent and often in collusion with parents. On occasions clergy became implicated in fraud. Horner was questioned on this by the Select Committee of 1840. "You allude to one case in your former evidence where a certificate had been given to a boy who was only baptised at that time." - "What I spoke of was the insertion of the date when the child was born. Here is a certificate which is dated the 23rd day of July 1839, in favour of a boy called Squire Holt, the date is the 23rd day of July 1839 and the baptism took place on the 19th of July 1839 and it stated here, under a column headed "when born" this boy was born on the 25th of June 1825, so that the parent had nothing to do but to take care that he was quite right in the year when he said to the clergyman that the child was born in order to

secure him to be 13 years of age. I directed the superintendent of the district to call upon the curate, Mr. Wilson, and he said that he was not the least aware for what purpose it was to be used, but he should take care in future not to insert anything of the sort. I found a similar thing at Ashton, and I called myself upon the curate, Mr. Handforth and he said "It is very true, we are asked continually to have it done, and it is painful to refuse."<sup>(114)</sup> Fraudulent and careless behaviour on the part of clergy, surgeons and sometimes mill-owners, was seen as justified when balanced against the consequences to the child and parent of not doing so.

Often there were no schools near the mill, and what schools there were, seldom opened to accommodate children working on the relay system. The relay system, which had helped to reduce the working hours of children with the least possible inconvenience to the mill-owner, made the schooling of children impossible so long as schools outside the factory were used. As a result, there is evidence that some large mills with large numbers of children and plenty of room, were successful in establishing factory schools and employing a qualified teacher, but small factories had neither room nor numbers of children to make this possible, but to comply with the law they set up so called schools. Horner remarked about them thus "I have found several small mills where schooling on the premises was going on, but it was of the most imperfect kind and little more could be said of it than that it was better for the children than keeping them at work all day in the mill."<sup>(115)</sup>

Of the schools provided by the largest mills, Horner had considerable praise. Mr. McConnell of Manchester had at first refused to employ protected children because of the restrictive nature of the

1833 Act, but had recently "opened his mill to children of all ages, from 9 to 13, to work eight hours a day, and he is about to establish a school on his premises, where he will educate from 250 to 300 children, and, as he informed me, he is determined to have it on such a footing that the children shall receive an excellent education."<sup>(116)</sup> Some of these schools were run at a loss to the employer. At Ashworth's cotton mill near Bolton, the expenses for the school amounted to £11-9-0 yet the cash from the children's pence reached only £8-12-5½. The teacher, Rachel Ashton, received only £10-10-0, though she may have been employed in the mill as well as her teaching duties.<sup>(117)</sup>

Horner was seeking for a form of 'In loco parentis' principle on which to base future educational responsibility. Whilst the legislature was to ensure that factory children were educated, in principle, in practice, the responsibility would fall on the employer. He based this premise on the belief that new inventions and methods of production were constantly increasing the manufacturers' profits, but that these new methods were bringing younger children into the factories, creating an unnatural demand for their labour, and undercutting the wages of adults. He believed that the legislature must come forward as the guardian of the children and allow mill-owners to use child labour to work their improved machinery, only if they gave sufficient time for their going to school at a proper time of the day. He concludes "if a compliance with those conditions entails both trouble and expense, these must be considered as the price at which alone the privilege of employing children in place of adults can be purchased."<sup>(117a)</sup>

By the end of 1837, Horner had devised a scheme for the education of factory children which would ignore the schools already in existence, and solve the problem of inadequate schoolmasters. He sought to solve the twin problems of "the want of a sufficient number of schools for the children of the working, and the incapacity of the teachers in the large proportion of those which are accessible to them." Horner sought to solve the problem of the inadequate educational arrangements for children in small factories by 'mutual co-operation'. Horner outlined his proposals as enabling the owners of several factories which were situated close together, to unite to establish a central school to which all their protected children might be sent. These schools, he believed, should be opened at hours at which factory children could attend. "Where the factory children should be, if not the sole, yet the primary objects of attention; and where they might go in their working dresses, without being annoyed by the contrast of the other children in school, better attired than themselves."<sup>(118)</sup> He foresaw an economical use of school space, in that 300 children could be educated in a school accommodating 180 children, as they would be working in shifts.

He estimated that the cost of a school of this size would be £300 and raised by £10 shares with each factory buying shares in proportion to the number of children sent, and secured against the building. An interest of 5 per cent a year would be paid out of school fees. The revenue would be £195 from 300 children paying 3d a week for "reading, writing and arithmetic and everything else that it is thought advisable to teach, and which there is time to teach well," and £40 from fees for an evening school for 13 to 18 year olds who work 12 hours a day.

Horner's plans for staffing were advanced and his methods visionary. He condemned the monitorial system of teaching, almost four years before Tremenheere was dismissed as a Privy Council Inspector for a similar condemnation. He suggested four teachers, a master, a mistress and two assistants to teach 100 children. "It is impossible that one teacher can do justice to 100 children, especially when their attendance at school must be limited to two hours daily; and the plan of mutual instruction, or the monitorial system, will be of little service for effective teaching in such circumstances. There ought to be as much direct instruction by the teacher to each individual child as circumstances will allow."<sup>(119)</sup> He was seeking to compensate for the fewer hours of teaching that a factory child received, by raising the quality of the teaching given. He justified the need for a master and assistant mistress in every school by the need he attached to girls being taught household economy, and he set aside £165 for teachers' salaries. On the qualities he sought from a teacher "The utmost caution is necessary in the choice of the teachers. Moral and religious character, calmness of temper and general sobriety of deportment, a thorough knowledge of the subjects to be taught, and especially a talent for communicating that knowledge with readiness to children, are indispensable qualifications." The schoolmaster would have to take his certificates for the children to the mills from which they came, every Monday morning. "If the schoolmaster reports absences without just cause, the mill-owner must come forward in aid of his authority."<sup>(120)</sup>

He believed that the schools should be non-sectarian for "when a mill-owner engages a child, he does not inquire to what sect of religion it belonged, but whether it is physically capable of doing

the work he has to employ it in. That important part of the child's instruction must, while it works in a factory, be carried on by its parents, and in the Sunday School."<sup>(121)</sup> In fact, this was not the case in many instances, many Methodist mill-owners sent their children to Methodist Day Schools if available. Horner was confronted with a religious issue which was to become an important controversial factor in English education in the next decade, and destroy Graham's Factory Bill of 1843, which sought to set up similar schools for factory children, but under the religious societies.

Horner sought to solve the problem of Church influence in education by separating the issue into teaching a religious creed and moral education. Because of an indiscriminate range of children engaged in factories, his scheme assured that they could be given moral rather than sectarian education, at a time when the Anglican Church believed that education of the poor and religion went together.

Horner fell back on the Non-conformist position of it being the responsibility of parents to send their children to the Church or Sunday School of their choice, and that a system outside the Church, in this case under the control of the mill-owners, should be responsible for the teaching of the 3 R's. Horner seemed to reduce the importance of religious teaching, by making it the responsibility of the parent, yet encouraging Government interference in secular teaching. Though he had defined the role of parents and Sunday Schools quite clearly, the evidence was that parents did not fulfil this role and from his own surveys, Sunday Schools were inefficient and most did not teach writing. His system would have introduced secular schools where they had not existed before. He was seeking efficient factory schools with strong financial backing, and efficient teachers, teaching

secular subjects.

These schools, he believed, would be popular with parents when "they saw that their moral improvement was a special object of attention." He declined to define this "moral improvement", but hinted at being industrious and docile. It appeared that the outcome of the child's education would be to produce a hard-working, well-mannered child, but with no religious teaching which involved allegiance to any Church. His educational object was not to create Christians. Horner was making a direct attack on the Church established position, for it denied the Church's historic role was to teach the nation's children, by separating what should be taught, and re-allocating the responsibility for teaching it.

Horner's proposals were put forward at an inopportune time, for the National Society was engaged in a scheme of extensive school building in many urban areas, with the assistance of Government grants, and it was expected that factory children would attend these schools. Even more important Horner's plan of 1837 was unacceptable to a Church which believed that its established position made it the custodian of the people's education as well as its religious welfare. The Government was already planning a new approach to popular education and was to establish its Committee of Privy Council for Education which was to give grants to the building of Anglican and British Schools, and was to appoint a school inspectorate of Allen and Tremenheere, one to inspect Church and the other British Schools. The object being similar to Horner's in that it wanted more schools, and more and better teachers. Horner concluded, "if such a school were seen in a manufacturing town, a neat plain building, with a broad

tablet on its walls inscribed "Factory School", it could not fail to give the inhabitants a higher idea of the advantages of factory employment, many more would be induced to send their children to the mills, when they found that they were receiving substantial good, would set a high value upon the school."<sup>(122)</sup>

How could such a scheme fail? In the same report as Horner sent his proposals to the Home Office, he reported "I am sorry to say that my efforts to accomplish this object have hitherto been unsuccessful." Though Horner could not have been aware at the time, religious relationships in education were to limit educational achievements for decades. He was seeking schools based on employment, not on religion, and providing community secular schools, financed on a commercial basis with compulsory attendance.

The successful solution of children working in factories and attending school was, in the future, to be based not on adapting schools to fit children's working hours, but in reducing working hours to half a day so that factory children could go to any of the schools available and not special ones for factory children. Nevertheless it was a unique educational idea, well ahead of its time.

The failure of Horner's scheme maintained the wide division between the good schools, generally provided on the premises by large factories, and the poor schools, nominal attendance only, without any instruction. Mr. Ewings, one of Horner's superintendents, described a school of about 50 children crammed into a small room, as thick as they could stand, with the schoolmaster in the midst of them. In some mill schools, hours had been fixed to suit the convenience of the mill. "They have been sent to school at the most



unreasonable hours. In one instance lately, at half past five in the morning; In another from half past seven to half past nine in the evening, when the children, as they themselves told me, after their day's work, almost constantly, fall asleep."<sup>(123)</sup>

The failure of Horner's scheme to attract support among smaller mill-owners led him to seek increasing control over schoolmasters. He was questioned on his views on schoolmasters before the Select Committee of 1840. He was asked "How would that proposition as to objecting to a schoolmaster, on the ground of unfitness, work in respect of a schoolmaster who kept a school for his own benefit, to which a great many children from different parts resorted? - I should say that we should have power to refuse his certificates, I have had certificates presented to me, signed with a cross, the certificate filled in by the clerk of the mill, and when I asked the schoolmaster to read the certificate he had signed, he could not, he could not read writing; this was a mockery of education."<sup>(124)</sup> Horner was asked if he felt that the inspectors required more powers against schoolmasters. He thought that inspectors should have powers to object to schoolmasters on the ground of ignorance or age and also to rooms that were obviously unfit to be used as a school.<sup>(125)</sup> Ashworth, the Bolton mill-owner, was asked by the same Committee about the powers he thought that inspectors possessed against schoolmasters. He believed that schoolmasters had been imprisoned for up to 14 days though the maximum penalty was two months.<sup>(126)</sup> Horner sought to close schools of which he did not approve, making the acceptance of a

certificate by him a measure of educational standards. "I think it is necessary to go a great deal further than merely looking at the certificate of their having attended, to ascertain that he is a fairly competent person to instruct the children, that he can read himself; for I will inform the Committee of an examination I made of a schoolmaster in the neighbourhood of Leeds who was granting certificates to factory children; I have very great doubts from some answers he made whether could read himself, and I put the question to him, "Can you read, Sir?" and his answer was "Somewhat; at any rate I am before my scholars," and that person granted certificates of school attendance. Had I had the power, I should have felt it my duty to interfere and say "A certificate granted by such a man is good for nothing."<sup>(127)</sup> Horner believed that any amending legislation should give powers to inspectors to refuse the certificate of ignorant teachers, or if the children were assembled in a room unfit for a school, and "care should be taken that certificates shall not be valid unless the children shall have been in the school within certain hours fixed by the Act."<sup>(128)</sup>

Horner, then, was reflecting the changing role of the factory Inspectorate in the last year of the 1830's, from applying legislation, to influencing future legislation from its first-hand experience. Horner was seeking to improve the quality of schooling by raising the level of teaching, improving the learning situation, and raising the importance within the factory of the children's education, by ensuring that it took place when the child was in a condition to learn, and not at the convenience of the factory working day.

By 1840, the Inspectorate, by various methods, 8 hour day or relay system, had succeeded in getting children between the ages of 9

and 13 years into schools. Some of the schools were excellent, McConnells of Manchester, Woods of Bradford and Turner's at Helmshore, but others were schools of convenience controlled by the mill-owner because the master was an employee, if carried on in the factory. So long as these schools and these schoolmasters could issue certificates of attendance and thereby satisfy the law, they fulfilled the mill-owners' requirements. By 1840 this was not enough, the expectations of the Inspectors had been raised and with the aid of the new Committee of the Privy Council for Education and its control of Government grants, the stage was set, after initial disappointments, for the founding of a system of education which was compatible with the working class child's role of factory worker.

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## CHAPTER 2

Inspectorate develops from surveillance to educational innovation and the development of an educational structure.

This chapter covers the period when the Inspectorate was able to devote much of its energies to improving the quality of education for factory children at a time when the numbers of factory children in regulated labour was falling owing to trade 'slumps', the employment of children who had reached the age of 13 years and the employment of children in trades not covered by regulated labour. The development of an educational structure with its controls on hours worked, on schools to which children could attend, on ages of children admitted, on the quality of teachers employed, was thought to be the best method of achieving this objective, and despite Horner's early failure, was pursued with vigour. The inspectors sought to discredit Sunday schools and the proposals of Mr. Hickson, which were a threat to structurisation.

Saunders' first scheme was similar to Horner's of 2 years earlier, except that it was more comprehensive. Saunders emphasised the belief that compulsion implied the obligation of the legislature to provide the means of enabling parents to comply. He went further and declared that where large numbers of children were gathered together, a non-sectarian religious observance was essential.

The Select Committee of 1840, that reviewed the progress of the 1833 Act supported the principles of educational structure, but the effects of trade fluctuations demonstrated its fallibility.

Educational structure reached new heights with Saunderson's later proposals of 1842, which sought to ally the building of large factory schools with the resources of the National Society. The weakness was that these schools, in effect, became National schools to which factory children were compelled to attend. Though Saunders

sought a compromise on the religious issue, Nonconformist resistance was a factor in restricting the extension of Saunders' proposals.

As the role of the Inspectorate evolved into presenting schemes for raising the quality of education, rather than ensuring the factory child's attendance at school, an attempt by both Saunders and Horner to develop an educational structure emerged. The intensity of the effort made to achieve a structured framework in the area of education within the factory legislation may be judged by the resistance offered to institutions or educational schemes which were seen as a threat to it.

It had become a common claim among employers who were opposed to the educational clauses and parents who wanted their children to work full-time, that Sunday schools satisfied the educational needs of the factory child. Horner, in an attempt to disprove this claim, undertook a survey (a mammoth task in those days) of 2000 factory children in Manchester, to prove the ignorance of those children who had attended only Sunday schools.

An attack on structure was involved in Hickson's proposals to stimulate parental incentive to send their children to school and at the same time to reduce the responsibility of the employers. A standard of education would have to be reached before the child could work and after it had started work, education would be voluntary. The implications were that the eagerness to get their children into school would encourage parents to send their children to school regularly, and from an early age, so that when they reached 9 years they would qualify for work. Compulsion to attend school would be abandoned. Horner's theory that employers had an obligation to educate if they wished to profit from the child's labour, would be challenged, and the "in loco parentis" obligation of the employer lost. Also by separating education from work it would have removed

education from the control of the Inspectorate. Nevertheless it would have imposed a competitive nature to schools which would have raised the level of teaching competence.

Horner attempted to dismiss the Sunday schools as being of no educational value by questioning the quality of their teaching, as against the high value put on it by parents and mill-owners. In his report of January 1837, Horner recorded that some mill-owners believed that their factory children were better schooled than other children of the working class who did not work in factories, and that therefore, the educational clauses of the Act were unnecessary. This claim is difficult to accept as the only opportunity most children had to go to school, and which their parents thought to be adequate, were the Sunday schools, and there is no evidence to show that more factory children went to Sunday school than children working in other occupations. The chance of many of them going to school before they were 9 years, or of parents paying to send them to school was remote, for Horner noticed great ignorance amongst children in Manchester who were often earning 5s. to 7s. a week, school pence amounted to 2p or 3p a week, and that many of their fathers were earning £1-10s a week and even more in some instances.

As a result of the mill-owners' claim, Horner carried out a survey of 2000 factory children in Manchester and came to the conclusion that "I have obtained additional proof that, in some situations at least, the factory children form no exception to that state of destitution as regards education which prevails among the children of the working classes in this country, to an extent of which few seem to be sufficiently aware". (1)

To carry out the survey Horner went to factories in Manchester with a New Testament, as being the book the children who attended Sunday school was most likely to be able to read, and a spelling book. He had the children brought to him one by one and restricted himself to children of 13 and 14 years of age, in order to see the state of those whose elementary education ought to be completed, and who, by working 12 hours a day could have no time for their mental and moral improvement. (2) If they said they could read, he laid before them a chapter in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and to those whom he found could not read it, he presented them with the spelling book. If they said they could write he desired them to sign their names. He noted the attainment of each child examined. Horner described how he gathered the information for the survey.

"Mr. Ewings, one of my superintendents, was with me; and after I had instructed him as to what I wanted, I left him to prosecute the inquiry in that and other mills. Mr. Heathcote afterwards gave his assistance, and I had the examinations continued until I had got returns of 2,000 children from 19 different factories, situated in different parts of Manchester".

The nineteen mills from which the information was gathered ranged from large ones with 300, 236 and 165 children to small ones with 55 children. Though the methods that Horner and his superintendents used were crude, they give an insight into the limited knowledge of children who were past school age and who were unlikely to improve their knowledge of reading and writing for the rest of their lives. As his survey was carried out at the end of 1836, and the Act had been in operation for over two years, it is likely that many of the children had had some schooling under the Act and were possibly better in reading and writing than older factory workers who had not come under the Act.

Riddell Wood, a witness before Slaney's Committee agreed with the findings of Horner when asked, "Although the teachers appear to be zealous and desirous to teach the children, you think the mode of learning by rote, and not sufficiently understanding what is said, too much prevails? - Very much so indeed". (3) and on Sunday school teachers "They are obliged in Sunday schools to make use of the materials which volunteer; and with every disposition to be useful, many of the teachers are persons who have a great deal of zeal and very little discretion, and sometimes do mischief, with the very best intentions in the world". (4)

Mr. Hickson, in his Report on the Handloom Weavers in 1840, put forward proposals to counter the lack of a self-interest motive in education, which would have destroyed the structure building system favoured by the inspectors. He suggested that there should be an educational qualification of entry to mills, thereby supplying a motive to mill-owners and parents to give the children an early education. This idea was not new, it had been expressed as early as 1834 "I should say it would be much better instead of the education clauses of the Factory Act, that the bar should be placed to the admission of children into factories without a previous education, rather than, that it should be required of them to receive a certain amount of education after their entrance". (5) Kay Shuttleworth wanted the same restrictive change with the responsibility resting on those who made money from the child. "I would prevent the parent from making a profit of the labour of the child, till proof was given that he had availed himself of the existing means for the instruction of his child to a certain extent". (6) The proposal was that no child



under 15 years should be allowed to work in the factories without a certificate of proficiency in arithmetic, reading and writing, and that there should be no school clauses connected with mill attendance. Shorter hours for children under age should continue so that they might carry on their education.

These proposals were far reaching in that they made a child's education voluntary after it had started work, to be acquired in its own time and by its own effort. A weakness was that schooling had to be paid for, and school masters found it difficult enough to get in school pence when the child was working, it would have been impossible before it started working. Such a problem had this become, that Horner proposed to the Committee that school fees should be taken out of the child's earnings by the mill-owner and paid directly to the school master. (7)

The proposals would certainly have freed the mill-owners from any obligation to educate the children they employed, and have weakened the structure of education built up by intertwining it with work. It may have provided more efficient schools if they had to educate to a fixed standard in a given time. Horner was opposed to the scheme. "I should exceedingly lament if there was any change in this law which would supersede the necessity of daily attendance at school for four years from 9 to 13". (8)

Both the Sunday schools and Hickson's proposals were at variance with Horner who was seeking, by reducing the days on which children could go to school to five, increasing the period at school to 2½ hours per day, and by specifying the periods of the day between which the children should attend schools on factory premises,

to extricate from the children's work in the factory, a recognised school day, limited to days in the week when the best schools were open, and to the times of the working day when the child could be most expected to gain from the schooling offered. The attempt to structure the school day, Horner believed, increased its importance in the eyes of parents. The education of the child was being asserted against the employment of the child. Labour and schooling was to remain interwoven for a further 70 years, a recognised school day assisted in adjusting the balance in favour of education.

Horner sought financial support for his educational structure from more secure sources than subscribers and school pence. "I am of the opinion that the legislature, to be consistent, must provide the means of the children attending school, or they must in such places give the power of granting an exemption, which I should be very sorry to see given. (9) He recognised that compulsion created the responsibility of providing the means by which the parents may comply with the directive. The legislature could not interfere in raising standards unless it was prepared to finance improvements. He sought provision, not "by a grant of the public money, I think a local rate would be a more equitable principle". (10) Two years before, his plans for proprietary schools supported by groups of mills, had failed. This principle was now abandoned for legislative intervention and responsibility, and access to public money.

Saunders put forward proposals for the organisation of factory school education, very similar to those of Horner, two years earlier. The principal difference in the two schemes was that of degree. Whilst Horner sought to supplement the large factory schools of important manufacturers, by central factory schools

supported by groups of small mill-owners to whom the Government would make loans, and whose children would have equal access to the school. Saunders sought to extend the principle further and build all the factory schools outside the factory. He proposed to fund the schools by loans of public money to groups of mill-owners and others willing to aid in establishing factory schools. His claim was that though there may be good schools in the neighbourhood, they did not fit into the hours of the mill, and often factory children were not welcome into these schools because they interrupted the lessons and wore dirty clothes. "These and other minor difficulties would be removed in a school where the education of factory children is made the principal and primary object of attention. (11) Saunders, in common with Horner, justified his proposals on the grounds that when the legislature directs, it should assist those concerned to carry out the directive, when they themselves were not able to do so. "The factory master is now, by restriction and inspection, subject to disadvantages not experienced by any other employer of children. The parents of children employed in factories in like manner are subject to restriction and liable to expense and penalties not imposed on other parents. These reasons surely give to both these parties a just and very strong claim for every assistance the State can provide towards enabling them to obey the laws that specially affect them". (12)

The proposals would have produced big centralised schools among the factories to which parents and mill-owners could confidently send children in the belief that they would get a certificate to work, and in which school fees would produce a

large enough income to engage an efficient master and mistress. "It is supposed that no grant of money will be made for establishing such schools, except in situations where a sufficient number of children may be expected to attend to secure by the weekly payment of 2d from each child, a fund for the support of the school, or where mill-occupiers and other well disposed persons, will guarantee sufficient annual payments for that purpose". (13)

Saunders anticipated the religious education problem. "The great difficulty respects the mode of conducting the religious education in those schools, for that, after all, may prove the sole point upon which we fail in bringing mill-owners together or adopting any system". (14) Mill-owners tended to send all their children to one school in order to make it easier to collect certificates and ensure that children whom they employed went to school. Saunders reasoned, "It is the master who decides upon the religious education of the children and not the parents" (15) and "The only choice the parent has left is to comply with the master's regulation or sacrifice the child's wages". (16) He foresaw the conflict in forcing children into what were predominantly National Schools in the Nonconformist industrial north, and indicated that Government regulation forcing factory children into schools incurred an obligation on its part to devise a non-sectarian form of religious observance which would be acceptable to most parents and Nonconformist leaders. "The case of schools where the attendance of children is altogether a voluntary act, differs widely from schools established for factories. It is the obligatory attendance at school, whether by the direct operation of the law, or its indirect influence through the factory master, that claims

and fully justifies the interference of the Legislature in respect to the religious education in such schools". (17) He did not underrate the difficulties involved. "Mr. Saunders is very far from presuming that any suggestions he could frame would provide for all the difficulties which have been so grievously aggravated by violent and opposing interests". (18)

The findings of the Select Committee of 1840 which inquired into the working and the effects of the 1833 Factory Act supported the Inspectorate's proposals for a stronger educational structure. "No measure would be so effective to secure the moderate labour and the opportunities of education intended by the law as the restriction of the employment of all children under 13 years of age to half the working day, divided by the general dinner hour of the factory". (19) and recommended that "no child who shall have been employed at all before the general dinner hour commences shall be employed after the said dinner hour on the same day". (20) The Report enumerated the advantages to be gained from half-time working. The children would have clearly defined periods in each day for work, school and recreation. The situation whereby a child would go from work to school and back again to work would cease, enabling children to go to school clean and tidy and appear like the other scholars. They would not bring attention onto themselves by disturbing the school with their irregular hours. Equally important, shorter hours would enable the children to go to the National or British schools rather than the poorer schools set up near the mill. The Committee accepted Horner's observation that as the condition of factory children improved by their shorter working day and improved schooling, the character of factory labour would be raised and better and more sober parents would send

their children into the factories. It recommended that attendance at school should be restricted to five days in the week, as the better schools did not open on Saturday, and that the duration of time spent in school each day should be not less than 2½ hours. Where there were factory schools, it recommended that their hours should, as far as possible, correspond with recognised school hours and not be at the convenience of the mill-owner. No certificates should be valid for schooling before 7 in the morning nor after 7 in the evening. There had been instances of children being sent to factory schools at 5 a.m. and at 5 p.m., to suit the convenience of the mill-owners.

It recommended that the powers of inspectors should be increased by allowing them to refuse school certificates on the grounds of the incompetence of the school master or the unsuitability of the school building. This would have removed these school masters whose schools were to enable children to comply with the law and to issue certificates. "There are numerous instances of women employed to teach children who cannot sign their names and who therefore in all probability cannot read writing". (21) Class-rooms in factory coal-holes and cottage kitchens would be regarded as "rooms and places that are obviously unfit to be used as a school" and school certificates from them would be refused.

The development of an educational structure for the schooling of the factory child, initiated by the factory inspectorate and endorsed by the 1840 Select Committee, and clearly identifying the school day and the status of schooling as against work in the factory, became part of the abortive Factory Bill of 1843.

The opportunity to experiment in school organisation and to theorize on the relationships that had grown up between the legislature and the factory children and the developing roles of parents and mill-owners, occurred in the period 1838-1843 when there was a decline in the numbers of children in regulated employment and a realisation of the implications this held for the education of factory children. Horner realised that there were factors outside his control which could bring to nought the efforts he had made to put children into schools. Over the five years period there was a decrease of 13968 children or about 20%. This could be accounted for by mill-owners refusing to take children under 13 years, or by the fluctuations in trade. The two factors had a common base. The falling off of trade led to the employment of fewer children. "The diminution in the last two years may be accounted for mainly by the state of trade which has thrown as many of all ages out of employment, and mill-occupiers very naturally and very fortunately too, discharged the youngest hands first", (22) and to the employing of children above 13 years who could work up to 12 hours a day, for the wages of the under 13's. "Many children who have grown up to 13, have been continued in the works, and the fall in wages has, in many instances, enabled the spinners who employ and engage the children, to get those above 13 who can work 12 hours a day, for the same wages that they used to pay to short-time hands". (23)

From Horner's figures 1838 to 1843 there was a general reduction in numbers, though the 1843 figures show the start of an upturn which was to continue through the 1840's. The number of factories employing children up to 13 years declined by 11.11%, the number of factories working by 16.96% and the total number of children employed

by 20.72%. Of the children employed, the boys fared better than the girls. Their numbers fell by 15.83% and the girls by 27.97%, attributed by Horner to "boys are usually preferred on account of their greater strength". Here we see a disadvantage in linking education to work. If girls were the first to be dismissed, and in the greater numbers, they were also more likely to lose out in education (24)

There is considerable evidence of this educational disparity between boys and girls. Throughout England, one half of those who had been married in the two previous years could not write their own names and of 710 females taken into custody by the metropolitan police in 1841, only 22 could read and write well. (25)

A general conclusion to be drawn is that as there were fewer children in the mills, there would be fewer in the schools, for it was the certificate to work which put factory children in the schools. There is no indication from these figures that the number of child workers was going down, only that they were not working in those industries where children were protected.

In the last year (1843) there was an upturn in trade which immediately reflected in the figures. There were 74 more factories at work and 35 were employing children under 13 years of age, and the increase in the number of children employed was 484 or nearly 7 per cent more. (26)

A period of trade boom was as big a threat to the delicate relationship between work and school, and created opportunities for abuse as readily, as did periods of slump. While slump conditions, when the children were dismissed from the factories and compulsory education ceased, broke the link between work and school, periods



of prosperity raised the economic value of the work of a child to a level at which renewed efforts by parents and mill-owners to avoid the regulations, multiplied. Horner in his report for the last quarter of 1843 described the difficulties he encountered in periods of trade boom. He quoted the firm of William Eccles & Co. of Blackburn who had been both working children too long and without adequate mealtimes. Resistance to the factory regulations gained the support of the local magistrates, who despite the inspectors plea for a maximum penalty when Eccles & Co. was prosecuted, were fined 20s and costs "and but for a former conviction, the penalty would have been mitigated further". (27)

Pressure to overwork children resulted in devious means being adopted to work children longer than the law allowed. All the abuse which followed the introduction of the factory regulations in 1834, and which had gradually been reduced by the early 1840's, re-emerged with the prosperity of 1843. Between September and November 1843 Horner interfered in 109 cases of which only 26 proved to be over 13 years.

Though progress had been made in reducing the earlier abuses, and children in factories regularly attended improved schools, there is little evidence that it was because of the parents belief that it was for the benefit of the children, who were sent to school that they might work and seldom for the schooling. Times of stress on the education clauses, either when work in the mills was plentiful or scarce, revealed the failure to convince parents of the value of part-time schooling.

Educational structure reached new heights with Saunders proposals of 1841 which sought to bring together his earlier proposals for the building of factory schools, and the unrivalled resources of the National Society. After his failure, in 1839, to convince the Privy Council Committee that factory schools were a special case for Government grants, he sought support from the largest of the religious societies. Saunders was bringing together potent educational factors which were later to be seen as fundamental to a national education system; a structured system of educational organisation, compulsory attendance and access to the trained teachers and financial resources of the National Society. The structure would lead to greater control of teachers and what was taught, leading to an identification of the composition of working class education; whilst compulsory attendance would ensure secure teaching positions and relieve the insecure financing of National schools by subscriptions. The problem of attracting schoolmasters, particularly if they had been trained, was real. As far back as 1831 the National School at Padham applied to the National Central School for a master. "I am desired to inform you that there is no person at present in training who would be willing to take the situation you describe at the low salary proposed. The uncertainty of the salary has I believe made our masters in training decline the situation". (28)

Both the factory school and the National Society stood to gain. The factory schools would have raised standards of instruction and the National Society schools would have a secure financial base. Subscribers were fickle and were often less willing to continue their subscriptions after the first enthusiasm of the opening of a new school had past. Subscribers at the Clitheroe National School were

first asked to send in their subscriptions once a year, then twice a year, then two members of the trustees were delegated to collect it, and finally they "Agreed that Mr. Heath be appointed the collector of subscriptions - and be paid as compensation at the rate of one shilling in the pound - that he be requested also to commence immediately collecting the arrears". (29)

The first indication that Saunders' proposals were attractive to the National Society is seen in the Society's annual report for 1841. It described how the Committee's attention had been specially called to the circumstances of children employed in mills and factories, and to the measures by which the intervention of the Society might be most effectively employed for their benefit. Mr. Thomas Tancred had been directed to visit the manufacturing districts and learn by inquiries on the spot, how far the influence of the Society by grants of money and otherwise, could be profitably directed to this most important object. (30)

The eagerness of the National Society to become schoolmaster to the factory children is shown by its readiness to waive regulations which were strictly enforced on its own schools. The report described how it was resolved to make exertions corresponding to the crisis, and not only to give, in certain instances, a larger amount of aid, but to give it in a form different from its established practice. Instead of confining themselves to grants on a moderate scale, in proportion to local efforts and only towards building and fitting up school rooms, they resolved to institute one model factory school of their own, on an extensive scale and completely organised, even though a large share of the expense would devolve upon the Society, and also to contribute, in a few cases, towards

the support of a master and mistress. (31) A large grant of £335 was made, showing a considerable sacrifice, for the General Fund of the Society was reserved, at that time, for teacher training.

The Society was financed by a General Fund and subsidiary funds such as the Queen's Letter Fund, which involved the Society asking the Queen for support and the Queen replying in the form of a letter which was read out in every parish, and to which the congregations were expected to support. This fund was ear-marked for rural parishes and the support of schools in central and southern England. A special fund was set up after the riots in 1842 to help schools in the northern manufacturing towns.

The proposals recommended by Saunders, and supported by Mr. Tancred, were accepted for the setting up of a factory school in Bradford where "from the number of mills in its vicinity a large attendance of factory children might be anticipated and where the opportunities of sound religious education are well-known to be lamentably deficient". (32) Other schools, though with less National Society support, were established in Leeds, Oldham and Rochdale.

Satisfactory reports from Bradford were not long delayed. The annual report for 1842 stated that the experiment had been followed by the most gratifying results. Favourable reports had been received from Bradford, Leeds and Rochdale. In almost all instances, the attendance of the poor children had been numerous, and they had made some progress. Saunders after stating that the number of factory children in his district amounted to 10,000 went on. "The success which has attended the exertions of the National Society on behalf of factory children, is very encouraging. Nearly every factory child

In the districts assigned to the Society's schools at Leeds and Bradford, now attend them. There are 180 in attendance at Leeds and nearly 300 at Bradford. No objection to the mode in which these schools are conducted has been made since they have been in full operation, either by a parent or a child". (33) Saunders confirmed the early success of the school in Bradford "A Factory School near the Manchester Road in the town of Bradford Yorkshire, built expressly for the purpose by the National Society, was opened. Within a fortnight of that time, upwards of 300 factory children were in daily attendance". (34)

Mr. Baker, a superintendent under Saunders, wrote to him at the end of 1842 on the subject of these factory children and their attendance at National Schools. He noted the improvement in the children "by the establishment of schools of a superior class under the control of the National Society, a superior education is given". (35) He continued "It is lamentable in so wide a field for improvement that so little is accomplishable because there is no power under which we could build one good school in Pudsey, and concentrate all the children under a good master and mistress and a national principle of education". (36)

Baker re-iterated the relationship between size, efficiency and educational benefit. "It is only by an aggregate number of children that any school can be made sufficiently remunerative to be able to retain the services of efficient teachers. If all the factory children within a given district could be bound to attend a particular school, that school could at once be made of a first rate character, but so long as its revenue has to depend upon voluntary and casual attendances, especially amongst a reluctant population and one that cannot appreciate its advantages, the energies of the teachers must be to a certain extent paralysed". (37)

Saunders in his report of 15 April 1843, reported that Mr. Baker had made a further visit to one of these schools in Bradford and reported with satisfaction. "He states that the parents of several of the children who attend it had come forward to beg that their other children, though not employed at the mills might be admitted to the school, and that this had been done so long as it was possible to find accommodation for them. This is surely strong proof that the parents are well satisfied with the treatment the children receive and the mode of instruction practised. This school is conducted during the week in every respect as a Church school, but with free permission for the children to attend on Sunday any school they wish. I have not heard of any complaint respecting the religious instruction given, nor of any injury having been experienced from it by the Sunday schools in the neighbourhood". (38)

Saunders was one of the first inspectors to realise that factory children had some educational advantages. He accepted that regularity of attendance was of essential importance both to the children themselves, and to the general discipline and order of a school, and that it could at all times be secured on the part of those children who were employed in factories, but not on any other class of children. (39)

The National Society Report for 1843 confirmed the progress of the factory school at Bradford, and the satisfaction of the Society. The Committee reported that it had accepted the recommendations of Saunders and Horner and had extended still further their factory schools. Besides voting grants towards the erection of factory schools in several important places, they had also guaranteed a sufficient sum to provide salaries for competent teachers. The sum

guaranteed to each school for this purpose was £120, £75 for a master and £45 for a mistress. The good, so the Committee claimed, effected by this measure had been beyond all proportion to the expense incurred. <sup>(40)</sup> Rev. Dr. Scoresby, vicar of Bradford.

"I believe the school to be extremely effective. The instruction is ample, varied and clearly communicated; and the discipline is firm and good, yet free from severity". <sup>(41)</sup>

The reason for the Society's satisfaction was shown in the annual report for 1845. Dr. Scoresby gave returns for the children who had passed through the three schools; the model school and the schools at Eccleshill and Stott Hill by December 1844.

	Factory Children	Day Scholars	Total
Eccleston	220	258	478
Model School	2332	463	2795
Stott Hill	1765	1030	2795

The total number of children who entered the schools of which about 1,300 were still there, was 6068 and with three new schools recently opened, about 7,000 children had passed through the schools since they opened. <sup>(42)</sup>

The National Society appeared to be confident that it had established a union between its schools and the compulsory part of working class education, more so, as it was in the heartland of northern Nonconformity and a challenge, despite the protestations of Saunders, to the further expansion of Nonconformist Sunday schools. The Society's report for 1845 concluded. "Your Committee are now more than ever inclined to believe that it would be well to establish

model schools in various parts of the country. The experience of your Committee convinces them that the example of a good school generally excites imitation in the neighbourhood". (43)

The problem that confronted Saunders' proposals was the religious acceptance of putting factory children who were forced to go to school in order to work, into National schools. The Nonconformists were suspicious. They feared that their Sunday schools would suffer if the children went to National schools, and the belief that Sunday schools gave an adequate education would be discredited. Northern Nonconformity was being challenged in the urban industrial areas where its numbers and support were strong, and where potential recruitment was greatest.

Saunders sought compromise, and the practice that had grown up that children in National schools went to Church Sunday schools was relaxed, allowing parents a free choice of schools on Sunday, but it was the control of the teaching in the schools by the clergy which raised fears in the Nonconformists. It was acceptable that the clergy should manage schools supported by the National Society and teaching Church doctrine during the day, but less acceptable when children, the majority of whom were either Nonconformists, or of no religion, were forced to go to these schools. To demonstrate the tolerance that was being practised, Saunders took a sample of Sunday school attendance from nine National schools admitting factory children in West Riding of Yorkshire. "Of the 940 children attending National schools in the weekdays, only 340 go to Church Sunday schools. The other 600 attend schools kept by 14 different denominations of Dissenters; one half of these however attend the schools which belong to the old Wesleyan connexion". (44) Saunders



sought to establish, what in later events was disproved, that parents made no objection to this arrangement. "Since this system has been in operation, I have not heard of an objection having been made by any parent or child, to the religious instruction given in those schools. (45)

Saunders may not have detected any parental resistance to their children attending Church schools but there is evidence of this at the Clitheroe National School. From the Minutes of 1 November 1841 "It having been ascertained that many children have left the school in consequence of their parents objecting to the procession to and from the School and Church on the Sundays, it was agreed that Sabbath teaching at the National School be discontinued". (46) These arrangements must not have satisfied the parents, for two years later the trustees were considering how far they could go to satisfy the Nonconformists yet still retain National Society support. From the Minutes of 23 November 1843. "That the secretary be requested to enquire from Mr. Sinclair whether the National Society will contribute towards the support of a school conducted on the most liberal principles, without any religious test being required in the education of the children, and when the catechism of the Church of England is not taught except to those children whose parents desire it". (47)

Saunders' proposals for factory schools in 1842, besides the influence it exercised on the abortive Factory Bill of 1843, illustrated the educational problems involved with factory children, as seen by the Inspectorate. So long as schools were dependent for their support on subscriptions and school fees, and the quality of the teaching in the schools on acquiring, if possible, a

trained master, the size of school would remain a foremost factor. Here rests the importance of Saunders' proposals. Larger schools assisted by special grants from the Privy Council and loans to mill-owners had failed. A new attempt to achieve the same objective was made by bringing the biggest education society to the aid of factory schools. Though compulsory education was the key factor in steady school financing, it had caused the problem of the proliferation of small, ill-kept schools, with which Saunders had been confronted since 1836. By seeing a solution in the numbers of children in one school, Saunders over-simplified the problem. Increased numbers brought together a wider range of children, whose parents had varying religious views, into schools of one religious denomination. Saunders believed that he had solved the problem, by ensuring that the children were free to attend the Sunday school of their parents' choice, and he produced limited evidence in support of this, but the failure of Graham's Bill in 1843, discredited the notion that the religious problem in working class education afforded so easy a solution.

The result of this fusion of National Society resources and compulsory education was disappointing; the heavy outlay of resources could not be maintained and confined the experiment. The prospect of schools dominated by segregated children would have labelled adversely, both the children and the teachers. As with the earlier schemes of the factory inspectors, it sought to treat factory children as a special category. The future lay in integrating the factory child into schools built for all children, and the role of the inspectors, both factory and Privy Council, in ameliorating their condition in factory and school, to enable this to come about.

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3. 1837-38 Select Committee. Report on Education of the Poorer Classes (Slaney) P.P. 1837-38 (589) Vol. VII par. 1358.
4. Ibid par. 1361.
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7. Horner to Select Committee 1840. P.P. 1840 (203) Vol. X par. 1452.
8. Horner Ibid par. 1512.
9. Horner Ibid par. 1461.
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11. Saunders Factory Report 3rd April 1840 (261) Vol. XXIII Appendix 5 p.121.
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15. Saunders Ibid par. 3060.
16. Saunders op cit Appendix 5.
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19. Report of the 1840 Select Committee 1840 (227) Vol. X. p.6.
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21. Horner before 1840 Select Committee op cit par. 1457.
22. Horner Factory Report 1842 1843 (429) Vol. XXVII
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24. See Appendix No. 1.
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27. Horner Factory Report. Jan. 1844 P.P. 1844 (524)  
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28. Public Record Office, Preston PR. 2863/5/20.
29. Public Record Office, Preston PR. 2003 29 Dec. 1848.
30. National Society 30th Annual Report 1841 p.6.
31. National Society ibid p.8.
32. National Society ibid p.8.
33. National Society 31st Annual Report 1842 p.8.
34. Saunders Factory Report 25 Jan. 1843 P.P. 1843 (429)  
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35. Saunders ibid p.41 Appendix No. III.
36. Saunders ibid p.41.
37. Saunders ibid p.42.
38. Saunders Quarterly Report to 31st March 1843 dated  
15 April 1843. P.P. 1843 (523) Vol. XXVII p.8.
39. Saunders ibid p.8.
40. National Society 32nd Annual Report 1843 p.6.
41. National Society 35th Annual Report 1846 p.6.
42. National Society 34th Annual Report 1845 p.4.
43. National Society ibid p.5.
44. Saunders Factory Report 25 Jan. 1843 op cit p. 37  
see also Appendix No. II
45. Saunders ibid p.37.
46. Clitheroe National School Public Record Office Preston  
P.R. 2003 Minutes. 1st Nov. 1841.
47. Clitheroe National School ibid Minutes. 23 Nov. 1843.

### CHAPTER 3

Two Inspectorates and the religious societies - emergence of religious issue - Rev. Noel's warning of the problems involved in seeking to raise standards in schools.

The founding of the second Inspectorate began a new era in English education, initiating the search for a higher quality of schooling for factory children, by widening the nature of inspection from that of enforcing regulations, to encouraging greater educational effort by offering financial help. This new initiative involved the religious societies, the inspectors, and methods of teaching. Friction was inevitable. The role of the inspectors to both the societies was challenged when they produced adverse reports on the schools they visited. It was a period of aggressive activity, as relationships and modes of conduct were established and moulded into an educational system, seeking to raise standards.

The religious issue was beginning to raise itself in the successful challenge to the Privy Council Committee policy on the founding of undenominational Normal schools, and the success, finally achieved, by the British Society in removing the first Privy Council Inspector and increasing its influence over his successor.

Rev. Noel, in 1840, produced a report on the quality of teaching in the schools in the northern industrial towns. He found the quality poor, which accounted for both religious societies attempting to restrain the reporting freedom of the inspectors, but of equal importance, he revealed that the National schools, which were highly regarded by factory inspectors, were often no better, comparatively, than the British or secular schools; yet the schools of the two religious societies, which alone could benefit from Privy Council grants, were the foundation onto which an improved schooling system was to be established.

The period of the two Inspectorates came into being in 1839 with the founding of the Privy Council Committee of Education. Both were seeking to improve the quality of working class education. The factory inspectors with their schemes for integrated and well run factory schools, and the Privy Council Inspectorate with its influence on Government grants and the regulation of the conditions under which they were to be given. The Privy Council Committee was concerned with all working class education, the factory inspectors, only with those children who worked, but the prospects of increasing legislation to widen regulated labour, would bring increasing numbers of children within the influence of both.

To raise the quality of teaching in the schools, which was the objective of both inspectorates at this time, would produce a profound effect on many of the elements that made up education. It would give both the legislature and the inspectors an opportunity to press for wider regulated labour which would increase the number of part-time scholars. It would raise the status of schooling as against factory employment. It would dispose of the inefficient dame and common schools by raising educational expectations above their level of achievement, and by making detection of abuse by either parent or mill-owner, easier. It would increase the demand for trained teachers.

The Privy Council Committee with its control of grants and the regulations allowing grants to be made only to the two religious societies, and thereby effectively dismissing the factory schools, brought it into direct contact with the societies and raised the importance of religious issues on educational policy.

Russell wrote to Lord Lansdowne early in 1839. "I am directed by Her Majesty to desire, in the first place, that your Lordship, with four other of the Queen's Servants, should form a Board or Committee, for the consideration of all matters affecting the Education of the People". <sup>(1)</sup> He outlined the problem with which the Committee was confronted "All the inquiries which have been made, show a deficiency in the General Education of the People which is not in accordance with the character of a Civilised and Christian Nation", <sup>(2)</sup> and the defects to be arrested "Insufficient numbers of qualified schoolmasters, the imperfect mode of teaching which prevails in perhaps the greater number of the schools, the absence of any sufficient inspection of the schools, and examination of the nature of the instruction given". <sup>(3)</sup> The Committee was to consist of five members, <sup>(3a)</sup> and was to be entrusted with the Parliamentary grants which were given only to those schools which accepted the Council's Inspectorate.

Halevy wrote, a century after the event, that the legislature had adopted, in the founding of the Privy Council Committee, the principle of inspection and control, rather than direct intervention. <sup>(4)</sup> This was true and continued the approach started with the Factory Act of 1833. It must not be thought that this policy of control, with the least possible involvement, was completely successful or went unchallenged. It had considerable difficulty over many years in controlling the intake of children into factories covered by restrictive regulation, and it failed to gain the confidence of



mill-owners. By the early 1840's the legislature's position of control was being challenged by both Horner and Saunders, who had reached the theory that Government involvement implied the provision by the Government of the means to carry out the Government's instructions. The adoption of a policy based on this thinking would have involved the Privy Council in providing a hundred per cent grants for schools in areas where there were no subscriptions, and where there were factory children who came under the regulations.

The objectives of inspection were to see that Government grants were used in ways the Committee approved, and that the greatest degree of influence was gained for the smallest outlay of financial help. Grants were secured only against property and only then, when two thirds the cost of erecting the building had already been secured. For this aid the school had to be made available for inspection not only of the building, but also of the content of what was taught. The inspectors were expected to encourage local voluntary effect which would it may be reasoned, have attracted more Government grant and more Government inspection and influence. It was hoped that the inspectors would visit schools not receiving grants "that school committees may have the advantage of the inspectors' advice and assistance in the further improvement of their schools". (5) The inspectors were expected to produce reports which were intended to convey information respecting the state of elementary education. Reports on the state of particular districts may be required to ascertain the state of education in those districts. The nature of the inspectors' influence was clearly stressed. "You (the inspectors) will thus best fulfil the purposes of your appointment, and prove yourself a fit agent to assist in the execution of H.M's desire, that the youth of this kingdom should be

religiously brought up and that the rights of conscience should be respected". (6)

Aid from the Committee was highly restricted and for the assistance only of the schools of the two religious societies. Because there was no parity in numbers between the two societies, this arrangement was advantageous to the National Society. Applications for grants from the Committee of the Privy Council and the amount of aid received in 1839-40 were, National schools 215 and £21,588 and the British Society schools 15 and £3,459. For the year 1842-43 the National Society made 277 applications and received £30,563 and the British Society 13 applications and received £2,202. In the next two years the National Society lead widened further. In 1843-44 the National Society made 423 applications for grants and received £70,554 and the British Society 16 applications and was awarded £2,549 and in the year 1844-45 the National Society made 471 applications and received £48,102 and the British Society made 25 applications and received £4,940. (6a) Urban areas, where the need was greatest, were unlikely to get adequate financial aid. "Every application for aid to the erection of a school-house in England, and Wales, it must be stated clearly whether the school is in connexion with the National Society, or with the British Society, and if the said school be not in connexion with either of those societies, the Committee will not entertain the case, unless some special circumstances be stated, to induce their Lordships to treat the case as special". (7)

In 1840, under the Privy Council's first secretary, Dr. Kay Shuttleworth, the Inspectorate was small in that it consisted of two; Rev. John Allen<sup>(8)</sup>, a London clergyman, who was to inspect

Church schools, and Mr. Seymour Tremenheere, <sup>(9)</sup> a lawyer, who was to examine British schools. Kay-Shuttleworth saw their duties as, "to become an agency for the improvement of education on buildings, method, and state of elementary education in particular districts". Both Allen and Tremenheere were academics and the observation that "teaching experiences (or teaching ability even) was not thought necessary or even desirable by some", applied to both. <sup>(10)</sup>

According to Edmonds, and confirmed by the Privy Council "Instructions to Inspectors 1840-41" the qualities necessary to an Inspector were "the art of public persuasion, and the ability to investigate. The first was confirmed by Tremenheere after he had expressed a wish for the post and had been interviewed by Lord Lansdowne, president of the Council. "I learned, a few days afterwards, that he was pleased with me as 'a man of conciliatory manners' which he thought indispensable, when a subject was going to be dealt with which excited a great amount of strong feelings on both sides". <sup>(11)</sup>

Tremenheere described how he was encouraged to apply for the post by a few public men who had written about him to Lord Lansdowne and how, a few days later, he was asked to call on Lord Lansdowne at Lansdowne House. He described how one of his supporters had told Lord Lansdowne that he was "the only Whig in the family". Tremenheere concluded "Not many days after that I received a formal appointment as 'Inspector of Schools' charged with the duty of inquiring into and reporting upon the state of education in England, Wales and Scotland". <sup>(12)</sup>

Allen gave an account of his interview with Dr. Blomfield, the Bishop of London, before accepting his post. "You know well that I

disapprove of the whole scheme of Government education". "Then", said Allen, "my mind is made up". He was already leaving the room when the Bishop called him back. "Stay", said he, "if we are to have school inspectors, it will be better to have good men, than bad ones. Perhaps you had better accept it". (13)

Nancy Ball and Richard Johnson give other examples of inspectors being nominated to posts. "Three of Lord Lansdowne's appointees were recruited via his own social circle. J.J. Blandford was Curate of Calne, Near Bowood, Lansdowne's own country seat. Two other Anglican inspectors, Henry Brookfield and Edward Tinning, owed their appointments to the good services of the Hallams, in Brookfield's case through his wife, who was the Whig historian's niece". (14) Johnson quotes a part of a letter from H.W. Bellairs, who was soliciting Gladstone. "All that appears left to me is emigration, which to a person of delicate health and literary habits is, indeed, but a doubtful prospect"..... In the event, Bellairs got the job, a more comfortable home in Cheltenham, and a salary not relinquished until 1872. (15)

The method of selection of inspectors and the qualifications and social background of the successful candidates inspired little confidence in their abilities to build an educational system sympathetic to the needs of those who were to be educated in it. Nevertheless, they were successful in establishing what the Privy Council Committee required; a system which improved the quality of education for working-class children, and particularly, factory children, whose numbers and lack of convenient schools, made their compulsory time at school, valueless. Above all, the early inspectors were conscientious, and there is little evidence to

support David Wardle's claim that, 'While government officers were paid badly, and often grossly in arrears, capable men were unlikely to be recruited, and temptations to corruption were strong'. (16)

Tremenheere produced a lengthy report on the mining communities of South Wales after the Newport Rising of 1839 and Allen, in his reports to Kay-Shuttleworth in 1841 showed evidence of conscientious application. A letter to Kay-Shuttleworth from Chesterfield. "You will not think this an unmeaning flourish when I tell you that yesterday I was out at work before nine in the morning, and that, with the exception of five minutes in a biscuit-shop, I did not even find time for eating till after 10 at night, and this morning I was in a fly by a quarter after six, and have only just come home to my inn at Chesterfield, it being now a quarter to eleven p.m." (17)

There was an early threat to the objectives of the Privy Council Committee, in Horner's and Saunders' schemes for improving factory schools, which far exceeded their role as laid down in the Factory Regulations. Horner wanted the help of local rates to build schools in industrial areas, and Saunders devised a scheme whereby Government loans would be provided to help mill-owners build factory schools. Both these schemes involved the use of a money supply outside the control of the Privy Council Committee; for the building of factory schools in densely populated urban areas, which would, because of their resources, size and compulsory attendance of pupils, attract the best teachers and would, in all events, be secular schools. That secular schools, with every prospect of their numbers rising rapidly in the likely event of a widening of factory legislation, should be seen as superior, and able to attract trained teachers even though trained at a Church college, proved to be too much for the Privy Council Committee.

To counter this situation the Committee clearly stated that its policy was to grant aid through the religious societies and in effect denied resources to the factory schools, though Saunders in 1842 produced a scheme which would have overcome this difficulty. Russell pointed out to Lansdowne that among the chief defects "may be reckoned the insufficient number of qualified schoolmasters, and the imperfect mode of teaching, which prevails in perhaps the greater number of the schools. (18) In view of this, Russell advised Lansdowne that "The first objects to which any grant may be applied will be the establishment of a Normal School". (19)

The Privy Council Committee was established to improve the quality of working class education in three ways. By the training of teachers, by the allocating of Government grants and by the creation of an inspectorate. It was the training of teachers that raised an immediate controversy and resulted, at least temporarily, in the Council abandoning the plans for a Normal School. The Committee Minute of the 11th April 1839 stated that provision would be made for all suitable candidates for the Normal School, irrespective of their religious persuasion. To apply this minute implied undenominational teaching at Normal School level, yet rigidly sectarian teaching in the schools. The imbalance required an explanation, for the Church was suspicious that a Government Committee that favoured undenominational teaching, reflected the Government view, and that it was only the first step in progressive undenominational teaching in the schools.

Kay-Shuttleworth, firmly committed to undenominational teaching asked the Professor of Humanities at Edinburgh, if it was possible to separate doctrine from religious education in the schools and

was the business of religious education to form religious habits only. In the event the professor supported Kay-Shuttleworth's viewpoint. "I think it most of all desirable to have a system of religious instruction for schools founded upon the Scriptures, but directed only to those parts of the sacred volume which have a moral tendency, and which are likely to influence the conduct, cherish the best affections and regulate the behaviour of the young",<sup>(20)</sup> and only the leading features of Christianity could be taught because "It is these only, I conceive, that are within the province of the schoolmaster, his vocation being more of a literary than of an ecclesiastical character".<sup>(21)</sup> Rev. Baptist Noel addressing the British and Foreign School Society believed that in schools, all the religion that was needed to make a creature wise for eternity and happy ..... might be taught where denominational instruction was excluded .<sup>(22)</sup>

Kay-Shuttleworth went further than claiming that there was a justifiable alternative to dogmatic religious teaching in schools by attempting to show that Nonconformists took a major role in teaching the working class and that they were therefore entitled to places in the Normal Schools set up by the Committee of the Council. "If we find them in charge of a considerable amount of the primary education at present provided for the people, those who will not listen to right, may perhaps be inclined to bend to necessity; or those who refuse to admit the principle must contrive to dispose of the fact".<sup>(23)</sup>

Two factors created a problem. In the short term, the number of British schools to which Nonconformist teachers might go, were few, and by necessity, many of those trained teachers would have to teach in National Schools under the control of the local clergy and

Inspected by Church Inspectors whose appointment had been sanctioned by a bishop. As a result, whilst the Nonconformist teacher might be accepted in the Normal school, he would not be so received when looking for a teaching post.

In the long term, by 1843, it was Government policy to encourage the building of Church schools at the expense of Dame and Common schools, by refusing the right of these schools to issue school attendance certificates to factory children. This could only reduce still further the chances of Nonconformist teachers getting teaching posts. As a result, whilst the number of Nonconformist trained teachers would increase, the proportion of Church schools over British schools would widen, increasing the irritation of inequality of opportunity.

To demonstrate the contribution made to teaching the working class by Dissenting teachers, Kay-Shuttleworth considered six towns. Manchester, Salford, Liverpool, Bury, York and Birmingham. The number of Sunday schools in these towns was Church 96, and Nonconformist 171, with Catholic 16, and the average attendance of scholars was 21,772 at Church schools and 39,412 at Dissenting schools and 4563 at the Catholics. Clearly the number of Dissenting teachers must have been greater, but whether their contribution to education was higher may be questioned, for the quality of teaching at all Sunday schools, including Nonconformist schools, was low, and few of the teachers, however well intentioned, could have taught in either National or British schools. Kay-Shuttleworth had sought to prove that Nonconformists were in the forefront of both Sunday and Day school education for the poor, and their right to share in Government facilities provided for the training of teachers



was overwhelming. "We are at a loss to know, on what pretence they can be excluded from sharing the secular benefits of any provision for National education furnished at the public cost". (24)

Kay-Shuttleworth's attempts to introduce undenominational Normal schools under Government sponsorship was a too simplistic solution for the problem of dealing equitably with fragmented religious groups. Or, as "The Times" was to express on a later occasion "to extract religious union from a combination of discordant religious elements". (24a) The Church saw them as an attack on its established position in teaching the poor, and the Nonconformists would have found none of the equity they enjoyed at Normal school, when they applied for teaching posts in the schools. The idea, for the moment, was dropped.

The loss of the idea of combined teaching in Normal schools, reduced the Committee's activities to the distribution of grants and a two man Inspectorate. The controversy which arose over the inspections carried out by Tremenheere, revealed the Nonconformists' deep seated distrust of Governments when dealing with itself and the Established Church, the imbalance in the relationship between the religious societies and the inspectors, and the unsatisfactory relationship which Tremenheere exposed, between the British Society headquarters and its schools, on teaching method. The outcome was that Tremenheere left the Inspectorate at the end of 1843, with the British Society threatening to repay the Government grant and act independently.

Tremenheere's final report (1 July 1842) was concerned with 66 British Schools which he inspected in London. Writing adversely on the schools he visited, though only five were in receipt of Government grant, and strongly opposing the monitorial system which the British Schools had adopted, he refused to withdraw the Report when the British Society complained. Edmonds observed that "He over estimated patrons' and teachers' capacity to accept constructive criticism". (25)

There were several reasons for Tremenheere's unpopularity with the British Society. There was an underlying friction between the Society and the Privy Council on the question of inspectors. They sought an equal control over their inspector as the National Society had over Allen. Tremenheere confirmed all that they feared. He was not accountable to them, and his reports were not seen by them prior to publication. He inspected schools not receiving a Government grant, and he reported adversely on their system of monitorial teaching which by using only one master and several monitors, commended itself by its cheapness. Tremenheere refused to withdraw any part of the Report unless it could be proved to be false. He claimed that he had the duty to produce a report on all the schools he visited, whilst the Society accepted his reports only on those schools which received Government grant. He would withdraw a report only on the grounds of its proven falsity, not on the ground that the school was not receiving Government grant.

Unlike Lord Wharnccliffe, who had succeeded Lansdowne as President of the Council, Tremenheere wanted no concessions to the British Society "they are jealous of our proceedings and afraid of losing their influence with the public such as they have, by the

publication of true reports on their schools". (26) Both Wharnccliffe and Kay-Shuttleworth were reluctant to condemn the British Society though both opposed monitorial teaching methods, and Tremenheere felt their lack of support. "The British and Foreign Society were not likely to work harmoniously with the Government while I continued Inspector". (27)

A result of Tremenheere's inspection of these sixty six London schools was a prolonged communication between Lord Wharnccliffe and Henry Dunn, secretary of British Society between August 1842 and December 1843.

Dunn's letter to Wharnccliffe of 20 August 1842 started on a strong note being a reply to Tremenheere's Report which had been sent to the Society by Wharnccliffe. "It appears to them (British Society) an elaborate attempt to show that the entire system of instruction pursued by the society is essentially defective. It's tendency (they do not say its object) is to bring their schools into disrepute, and to enforce the adoption of a more expensive, and as yet an untried, agency". (28) The Society was sensitive to adverse Government reports particularly as they were made against many schools that did not get a Government grant, and that the society had been deceived into letting the inspectors into the school "as a means of encouraging and strengthening such voluntary associations" and on these grounds expected "that the inspection would be a friendly and not an adverse one".

Of the sixty-six schools reported on, only 5 had received public money and the society sought to limit the Report to these five schools in order to minimise the area of criticism. "The

Society cannot but consider that the presentation to Parliament and subsequent publication of the Report in question, calculated as it is to endanger the support of so large a number of schools, would be a violation of the pledge given, that the inspection should be the means of encouraging and not of superseding voluntary efforts". Fearing damage to all their London schools, the Society asked that "the name and locality of each school reported upon may be attached to the observations made upon it". It concluded by referring to the weak position the Society held to its Inspector as compared with the National Society. "In the absence of any order in Council similar to that possessed by the National Society, the Committee have no other resource than to appeal to the justice of your Lordship and the Committee of Council". (29) The Order in Council referred to, was the Government concession made to the National Society in 1840, when they were undecided on accepting a Privy Council Inspector without control over his appointment and without access to his reports before they were published. The details were referred to in a letter from John Sinclair, secretary of the National Society, dated 12th August 1840, and addressed to the Committee. It was provided that the two Archbishops were to be consulted by the Committee of Council in the nomination of Inspectors of Church of England schools, that no such Inspector were to be appointed without their concurrence, and that any person so appointed would retain his office only so long as he was approved by the Archbishops, who, by withdrawing their sanction might at any time cancel his appointment "Thus the inspection will be derived from, and connected with, the authorities of the national Church". Provision was made that a duplicate of the report on each school should be sent, by the Inspectors to the Archbishop of the province,

and that a copy should also be transmitted to the Bishop of the diocese. (29a)

Wharnccliffe did not reply to this letter written in August until the following January, expressing the views of the Committee of Council. He showed that the British Society had fully accepted the principle of inspection as laid down by the first Committee of Council. Wharnccliffe recalled the earlier acceptance of inspection by the Society in October 1839 "the cheerful acquiescence of the Committee in the proposed visits of the Inspector, under the authority of the Committee of Council, as a condition of the grant for the erection of their normal and model schools". (30)

It was after the publication of the minute of 10 August 1840 which "determined the mode of appointing and dismissing Inspectors of such schools as are in connexion with the National Society, or with the Church of England", that the British Society's attitude became strained. In January 1841 "they (the Society) are fully aware it is impossible for them to have, under existing circumstances, any such control over the appointment of future Inspectors as is possessed by the National Society, but they do ask, in lieu, thereof such a check on the proceedings of the Inspectors in their schools as shall make them acquainted with the course the Inspectors may think it right to pursue". (31) A reply on 8 February 1841 gave the Society little comfort on this issue, "a broad distinction separates chartered or voluntary societies established for the promotion of elementary education, and the Churches of the United Kingdom established by law" and "in their opinion no inquiry as to the way in which the public money has been applied could prove satisfactory to the country, which was not carried on by parties

unconnected with the societies whose schools they are to visit and report upon". (32)

The Society feared that the Inspections would invest the Government with a high degree of control over both the buildings for which the grants were given, and over the proceedings of the Society itself. It further feared that any adverse report by Inspectors would weaken the influence of the Society over its schools, and reduce the flow of voluntary subscriptions. Wharnccliffe refuted the first inference of Committee of Council interference "The object is to ascertain by constant inspection whether the schools to which grants have been made are conducted in a way to advance the improvement of the pupils, if they are not so managed, to point out wherein they fall in that respect, whether it be from ignorance or incapacity of the teacher, or a defective mode of teaching, and how, in the opinion of the Inspector, they may in such respects be improved". (33) Further the Committee of Council claimed that any influence it exercised over a school was in "no other manner than that of friendly remonstrance and of a suggestion of remedies". (34)

On the fears of an adverse Report by the inspectors on the parental control of the Society and the effect of such a Report on subscriptions, Wharnccliffe wrote, "It surely cannot be supposed that it is necessary that in all instances of schools inspected, the Report should be a favourable one, in order to secure a continuance of subscriptions or of confidence in the Committee of British and Foreign School Society on the part of the subscribers". He went on, "That confidence will be most readily continued if the subscribers

are satisfied that their Committees are at all times ready to receive the Report of the Government Inspector, in a friendly spirit, and to give to his remarks and suggestions, a fair and candid consideration. (35)

Wharnccliffe concluded in a tone of little comfort to the Society, by reiterating that all schools which received a Parliamentary grant must be inspected, and that the Society could have no control over the appointment of Inspectors; this was contrary to the practice in Church schools.

Henry Dunn, secretary to the British Society, replied a month later with a series of resolutions passed at the previous Society meeting. The Committee resolved that the inspection of British and National Society schools was "at present unequal and partial since the former are visited by an Inspector appointed by Government and wholly independent of the British and Foreign School Society, and the latter, by one altogether dependent, as well as for his original appointment as for his continuance in office, on the pleasure of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, ..... an arrangement which, in the opinion of this Committee, must necessarily induce such a different colour in the Reports made by each Inspector, the one acting under no apprehension of consequences, and the other if venturing to assume a similar tone of animadversion doing so under the penalty of dismissal". (36)

The Committee further resolved that the Committee of Council should be asked to consider an order in Council in their favour "as will effectually prevent the recurrence of any circumstances likely to occasion future dissatisfaction and complaint". The Committee

enumerated the complaints. "That the schools have hitherto been inspected only by a gentleman (Tremenheere) avowedly adverse to the system of teaching adopted by the society from its original formation". (37) That the Societies schools were "from time to time inspected by gentlemen thus connected (to National Schools); gentlemen who, by their very position as Inspectors of National schools are opposed to the principles of the British and Foreign School Society". (38) The Committee resolved that the Inspector's Reports, because they disapproved of the Society's methods of teaching, were encouraging schools to depart from the methods of teaching of the Society. "All the proceedings of the Inspector have had a direct tendency to effect such separation inasmuch as the schools, instead of being tested by their accordance with the plans pursued in the model schools of the Society, have been judged by another and altogether different standard, and approved, not as they accorded with, but in proportion as they departed from, the method of teaching adopted by the parent society". (39) On the question of the Inspector inquiring into the religious teaching of the schools "the Inspector has thought it right to inquire into, and report upon, the amount of scriptural knowledge possessed by the children furnishing certain ludicrous and extravagant replies of confused children as specimens of their scriptural instruction". (40) They went on further about what they saw as an attempt to isolate the schools from the parent society. "It was distinctly promised that when inspectors on the invitation of the local committees and managers of schools make suggestions to them respecting the discipline and management of their schools and 'these suggestions shall be communicated to the British and Foreign School Society and their Lordships will request their co-operation in recommending to the approbation of the local committee such of the Inspector's



suggestions as their Lordships may approve', no such communication has ever been made". (41) Referring back to Tremenheere's Report on their London schools. "All the proceedings of the Inspector have had a tendency to depreciate those services, and to limit the influence of the Society, and especially is this likely to be effected by the course he has taken in reference to schools considered by him to be particularly deficient, that of exposing their supposed deficiencies without giving either the name or locality of the schools thus condemned". (42)

The British Society was aggrieved because they considered that the Inspectors, in this case Tremenheere, had not conformed to the letter and spirit of the regulations, and that the Inspector had mistaken or overstepped his duty. The suggestion that Tremenheere was over critical of the system of teaching in the schools, and that he was seeking to introduce another teaching method without the sanction of the parent society, he refuted. "I have taken no other view of that system of arrangement in elementary schools than that which I conceived had been adopted in the Central School of the parent society". (43) Tremenheere claimed that, far from being averse to the monitorial system, in the majority of cases, with large classes and few staff "a master of ordinary qualifications does little more than superintend the general organisation of the school, instruct the upper drafts and examine all the drafts from time to time. In the evening he is exhausted by his six hours 'labour', if he be zealous". In circumstances such as these the purely monitorial system is a necessity. "So far from being adverse to that system in such cases, my desire would be to give a school so conducted every encouragement in my power, as the first step from

Ignorance". (44) Finally, "It appears to me that I should have failed in my duty, if I had not followed in the steps of the society in making similar suggestions when my opinion was sought". (45)

Tremenheere denied that any British School had been examined by "gentlemen who, by their very position of Inspectors of National Schools are opposed to the principles of the British and Foreign Society". He claimed that none had been examined except by him unless "especially invited to do so by the local committees of such British Schools"; (46) and that Mr. Allen was "acting in conformity with the intimation given by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, to the effect that the Inspectors of National Schools would not be instructed to enter and report upon British Schools unless invited so to do by persons locally interested". (47) On the claim that he was seeking to weaken the connexion between the parent society and the schools, he believed that the problem was the double standards between the methods of teaching in the model schools of the society and the schools. "Instead of being tested by their accordance with the plans pursued in the model school of the Society, they have been judged by another and altogether different standard". (48) He went on "I abstained from obtruding any remarks of my own at variance with the practice sanctioned by the Society in their model school; but in every instance in which I was attended during my inspection by members of the local committees, and in almost every instance by the masters, I was frankly and cordially solicited to give my unreserved opinion on the practice pursued". (49) On the inspection of religious instruction, which he had no authority to do, he aggravated a sore point by exposing the weakness of the instruction. He claimed that he had been

Invited to express his opinion and gave his comments on the religious instruction taught, again indicating that whilst the Society did not seek his advice, their teachers in the schools sought all the help they could get from him. "I had therefore in the course of my inquiries, no hesitation in giving to this most important subject the prominent place due to it; more especially, as I met with obstruction in no case, but in most cases the most cordial co-operation on the part of the master and the members of committees interested in the state of these schools". (50)

Tremenheere denied that he had interfered with the running of the schools he visited and "if I have repeatedly suggested alterations both in discipline and management, it has been, I believe, in almost every case on the invitation of those who have been anxious to consider the means of giving greater efficiency to their schools". (51) They also believed that he had not passed complaints to the parent society but had dealt directly with the schools and the Privy Council Committee. Tremeneere claimed that to do otherwise would 'probably have led to a result which I have been anxious to avoid, namely, that of drawing the particular observation of the neighbourhood upon defective schools, to their certain injury, although probably those with which they may be in competition can claim no higher merits". (52) To the assertion that Tremeneere's Reports, "have had a tendency to depreciate the services which the British and Foreign School Society has rendered to elementary education", Tremeneere replied that "I presume it could not be the wish of the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society that I should have suppressed the mention of those defects when they seemed to me to require comment". (53)

Wharnccliffe, after receiving Tremenheere's reply, communicated again with Dunn on 18 March 1843. Whilst at the same time denying "a violation both of the spirit and letter of the terms of Inspection" and defending Tremenheere, "It has been his anxious desire to do his duty with a view to the best interests of the schools submitted to his inspection", his reply was conciliatory. "I have great satisfaction in stating that there is nothing in the resolutions contained in these extracts (from the Society's minutes) which appears to the Committee of Council to be of a nature to prevent the continuation of that friendly connexion and intercourse between them and the British and Foreign School Society which are in every point of view so essential to the progress of the elementary education of the people". (54)

Whilst agreeing to minor concessions on future inspections, Wharnccliffe did not like the resolution of the Society, that "they cannot consent to the introduction of a covenant in their deed of trust, conceding to the Government the right in perpetuity of inspecting the model and Normal schools of the British and Foreign School Society, as a condition of the £5,000 already made, or of any future grant, but that they are willing to admit the introduction of a clause allowing the right of inspection until the committee of the Society, on due notice, shall see fit to decline the same". (55) He went on "they (the Committee of Council) most earnestly deprecate, namely, the breaking off the connexion between the Committee of Council and that of the British and Foreign School Society on too sudden a manner, and under impressions which probably might be removed by explanations given and received in a frank and friendly spirit". (56) Though Wharnccliffe at this stage

was still holding on to the Committee of Council's position of the earlier minutes, "although they are unwilling to admit any change in the mode of appointment, or the continuance in office of the Inspectors of British Schools (meaning Tremenheere)" "They are" he went on "disposed to afford to the British and Foreign School Society such security that the inspection will not be exercised in a manner injurious to its prosperity as may appear consistent with the stability and independence of the inspection". (57)

On the 13th April 1843, Dunn replied expressing "their obligations for its (Wharnccliffe's letter) content".

The matter rested there until November 1843, well after the agitation and defeat of Graham's Bill in the summer. Wharnccliffe wrote again to Dunn revealing a changed position on inspectors. "No Inspector for them (British and Foreign Society Schools) will be appointed without the full concurrence of your Committee", he went on "I earnestly hope that that Committee will be convinced by the proposal of the Committee of Council to adopt that course, of their anxious wish to do everything they can, consistently with their duty to satisfy the British and Foreign School Society upon this important subject". (58)

On 12 December 1843 Dunn replied expressing "their obligations for your Lordship's favour of the 30 November relative to the appointment of an Inspector of Schools connected with the British and Foreign School Society in the room of Mr. Seymour Tremenheere". (59) There is evidence from Wharnccliffe's earlier letter that he, Forster and Dunn, had met earlier and that it had been decided that Tremenheere must go. "They (British Society), trust that the difficulties which have hitherto arisen in the inspection of British

Schools will not again occur". (60) Dunn concluded with a warning to the Committee of Council "The public will not be found willing to avail themselves so extensively as might otherwise be expected of the benefit designed to be conferred by the Government, unless some provision is made for securing the complete independence of the schools thus inspected". (61)

In the very month that Wharnccliffe was writing in conciliatory tones to Dunn, Graham offered Tremenheere the Inspectorate of Mines and Collieries, and Wharnccliffe advised him to accept. Tremenheere was not unaware of the position, writing in his diary on 25 November 1843. "My position as Inspector of British and Foreign Schools had become embarrassing to the Government. My honest and faithful Report of their London schools, had made me obnoxious to the British and Foreign Society who were not, however, able to substantiate the slightest ground of complaint".

Tremenheere was a victim of circumstances. He exposed a weakness in their system, of the limited control the central body was able to exert over the schools, shown when the Normal School at Borough Rd. changed to pupil teaching, yet the schools remained monitorial. More than that, the British Society seemed to restrict its interest to London. On the reports of schools which accompanied the annual reports of the society, most of the schools were around London and the south with very few in the north. Also their own Inspector Althans, visited schools only in the vicinity of London. (62) It needed only an adverse report, particularly on schools not aided by Government grant, to create a situation where an attempt could be made by the British Society to redress the grievance they felt over the control of the

inspectors. Tremenheere provided them with this opportunity, and became the first inspector to fall victim to sectarian rivalry.

Attempts to limit the powers of the inspectors were not confined to Tremenheere and the British Society. An attempt was made in 1844 to deny to Allen the privilege he had enjoyed since 1839 of publishing independent reports on his findings in schools. Allen to Lord Wharnccliffe in August 1844. "When I accepted the office of inspector, the Marquis of Lansdowne assured me that I was not pledged to sanction any views of education entertained by the Government, that I was to enter on my work with my own views, that the Government had had such representations made to them of me as induced them to believe that the country would have confidence in me ..... It seems to me that unless the inspector be trusted, he had better not act". (63)

The incident arose from Allen's criticism of a school in a Dean's parish and his protest at the inspector's privilege of having their reports published without any official alteration. The Dean communicated with the Archbishop of Canterbury and wrote a rude letter to Allen. "You had better draw up your report in any terms you judge best, and as only so much of it will come before the public as the Archbishop shall have so approved, I do not think that I am called upon to interpose any opinion upon the matter; being quite certain that the Archbishop will not sanction your report, if it be unwise ....." (64)

Failing with the Archbishop and threatening to resign, Allen wrote to the Lord President of the Council in a letter dated 27 June 1846, explaining that he felt it to be essential to the

Independence of the Inspector's position that he should act under printed instructions, and that the Inspector's reports should appear as the Inspector wrote them. So long as the Inspector held his post he should be trusted.

Both controversies were an indication of the societies' apprehension at the reports on the teaching methods in their schools, at a time when pressure was rising to improve educational standards, and revealed an hitherto undisclosed difference between the declared teaching system of the societies and what was, in reality, taking place in their schools. This was an early attempt by both societies to increase their influence over their inspectors, revealing a lack of confidence in their ability to raise teaching standards rapidly.

The Rev. Noel in a report on Church schools in the northern towns specially prepared for Kay-Shuttleworth in the summer of 1840, exposed the poor quality of Church schools and underlined a reason for the religious societies seeking increasing influence over their inspectors at a time when, it was feared, inspectors' reports could adversely affect the financial support of subscribers. (65) It confirmed the premise that the schools of the societies, particularly the National Society which was believed to be the best, were poor. It was to these schools that the factory children would have to go, and to which they increasingly went as half timers after 1844. He visited Birmingham, Manchester, and Salford, Liverpool and some cotton towns, including Bury and Preston. In the two months he visited 195 schools, 146 Day schools and 49 Sunday schools. He inspected most schools in Liverpool (52), Birmingham (42), Manchester (26) and Preston (26). His Report was



valuable because it covered, unlike the Factory Inspectors Reports, the whole range of available schools from Dame to Common to National Schools, which were available to urban working class children. Whilst it agreed with the Factory Inspectors views of the quality of Dame, Common and Sunday Schools, it was critical of the only available alternative, the Church Schools. Evidence from Rev. Allen's Report on National Schools during a visit to Pendleside <sup>(66)</sup> confirmed this conclusion. It also confirmed that even in rural schools attendance was both unfrequent and irregular, and the numbers of children in the schools were always fewer than the numbers on the roll. Noel substantiated the growing belief among all inspectors that voluntary effort could not provide adequate financial resources.

Of the National schools he visited in Birmingham, the Birmingham Statistical Society had recorded 324 children, Noel found 246. In Liverpool 643 children were claimed, he found 290, in Manchester 280, he found 218 and in Bury 280 and he found 234. Of the 1,527 children there should have been in these nine schools he found 539 children short. The numbers were deficient by about 30%. He reported on one National School. "Large and airy rooms, well lighted, are not half filled, though the school-fees are small, and crowds of children are idling in the neighbourhood". <sup>(67)</sup> These were the schools where the educational conditions were the best. He found no empty spaces in the Dame or Common schools. In one "It was a room on the ground floor, up a dark and narrow entry and about 12 feet square. Here 43 boys and girls were assembled of all ages from 5 to 14 years". <sup>(68)</sup> Kay-Shuttleworth was unable to give a satisfactory answer when asked by Mr. Pusey

why there should be so large a number as 4,000 boys in Manchester, in attendance upon those private Day schools where the instruction was reported to be of a very ordinary and inferior kind, whilst at the Lancastrian Day school, which was of a superior kind, and where the instruction was free, there were but 721 boys; and at the National school where it was also free there were but 280 boys in attendance. (69)

There were reasons for this. Many mill-owners chose the schools to which their children, from the mill, were sent. "It is the master who decides upon the religious education of the children and not the parent. The only choice the parent has left is to comply with the master's regulation or sacrifice the child's wages". (70) Sometimes sending all the children to one school, made it easier to collect the attendance certificates and the children in their factory clothes and with their irregular school hours fitted in better in the lower class dame and common schools. The disreputable mill-owner sometimes found it an advantage to send large numbers of children to one school as it gave him some control over the master who issued the certificates that allowed the children to work.

From Noel's figures the overwhelming majority went to what he regarded as the worst schools. Of 112,522 scholars 84,999 went to Dame, Common and Sunday Schools, and only 27,523 went to Church Schools. Noel's findings added weight to the belief that whilst the number of school places were adequate the quality of the educational provision was very low. He dismissed the 36,033 places in Dame and Common schools with "There will be some danger of over-estimating their value, if they are set down as a whole as

representing much more than nurseries, where children of the working classes are taken care of". (71) In Liverpool, he found that Dame schools were dark and confined and "about 40 of them are cellars".

Of the teachers, Noel reported that most of the Dame and Common schools were kept by women, but there were some men "whose only qualification for this employment seems their unfitness for any other". On a Manchester schoolmaster "The poor man had an arduous task to accomplish and not knowing what situations might not be in our gift, he informed us that he would gladly avail himself of any opportunity of quitting an employment to which extravagance alone had caused him to descend. (72)

On the instruction in these schools "very little instruction is conveyed, in fact the younger children appear only to be sent thither in order to relieve the parents from their charge". (73) Noel noticed that very few of the schools were found to possess more than fragments of books, and in many schools no books were to be seen, "the mistress, not having the means, had she the inclination, to procure them". (74)

Noel concluded "Nearly the whole, therefore of the number attending these schools must be subtracted from the numbers supposed to be receiving sound instruction" (75) and the numbers were many, 36,033 out of 122,758.

The composition of school attendance in northern industrial towns could not be estimated without taking into account the number of children who attended Sunday school alone, and the educational achievement of these children could not be measured without considering those who taught in Sunday schools and the quality of the teaching.

In the towns Noel visited, 79,299 pupils out of 122,758 gathered in 270 Sunday Schools and were taught by 7,518 teachers who taught free of charge. The pupil-teacher ratio was 1:11. Of these 79,299 Sunday school pupils 48,966 went to Sunday school alone, about 62%.

Noel thought them remarkable in that so many children went to Sunday school after working long hours in the mills, and that a great army of teachers, who also worked in the mills, gave up their Sundays to teach them.

Noel saw serious obstacles to their being regarded as schools, for more than half the schools were in operation for less than four hours in the day. (76) More than that "Many of them have scarcely any discipline with respect to attendance and the children come or stay away at pleasure". (77)

Noel noticed that many of the teachers were very young and had never attended a Day school, which must have affected their pupils' progress because the method of teaching was often left to their discretion.

Of the children who went to Sunday schools, for 48,966, it was the only educational opportunity and Noel dismissed it as inadequate. He took the 48,966 from the total of 122,758.

By demonstrating that children in Dame and Common schools, and those in Sunday schools alone, were virtually receiving no education, and taking this number from the 122,758 in schools, he reduced the number to 20,004 pupils who were in public Church schools. (78) He goes on to demonstrate the deficiencies in this small group of better schools.

He was disappointed in what he saw. Many of the schools, he claimed, were very unsuccessful in teaching what they professed to teach. In many, children in the highest classes were unable to read even the New Testament, fluently. (79) In many of the girls' schools few pupils could write and in many of these schools arithmetic was not taught. (80) In one National school in a large town, only six boys were capable of working a short sum in simple multiplication and five out of the six brought a wrong answer. (81)

It was religious training, which to many was the whole reason for educating the working class, which was the most deficient. Noel went on, "It was in their understanding of the Scriptures, daily read, that I regretted to find that most advanced children of the National schools so extremely defective. Not only were they often ignorant of the principal facts recorded in the Bible, but they could not answer even the simplest questions upon the chapters which they had most recently read". (82) Noel reported that most of the Day schools he examined seemed to him exceedingly inefficient and the system of teaching "would render the ablest master inefficient and reduce the most intelligent children to listlessness". (83) The teachers were without assistants and overwhelmed by the multitude of children whom they had to teach. The masters, so ill-qualified, were paid only small salaries which, he believed, hindered able men from becoming schoolmasters or starved them out of it when they made it their choice. (84)

Rev. Allen's visit to the National Schools in North-East Lancashire in the Spring of 1841, confirmed Rev. Noel's findings, despite Saunders' claim that National Schools were "all very

superior to the best private and Dame schools". There is evidence that the National schools to which factory children were to be sent, had poor teaching, no method, untrained teachers and always fewer children than they claimed.

Rev. Noel saw a solution to his gloomy findings in more trained schoolmasters helped by assistant teachers, in schools more adequately financed. He believed that before a real education could be extended to all the children of the manufacturing towns, far more extended and energetic efforts must be made to improve the schools. The children must not merely be schooled but educated. There must be more vigorous inspection and much larger funds must be raised than the supporters of popular education have ever ventured to hope for. (85)

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2. Ibid p.69.
3. Ibid p.69.
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Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of State for Home  
Department, Master of the Mint.
4. Halevy Elie The Triumph of Reform 1830-41 III E. Benn  
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5. Minutes of Committee of Council on Education 1840 - 41.  
Instructions to Inspectors of Schools p.3.
6. Ibid p.4.
- 6a National Society Reports for 1841 p.43; for 1844 p.13;  
for 1845 p.9; and for 1846 p.8.
7. op cit p.6.
8. John Allen 1810-86, priest 1834, Chaplain of King's College  
London 1834-46 - H.M. Inspector of Schools 1839-47.
9. Seymour Tremenheere 1804-1893, called to the Bar 1834-  
H.M. Inspector of Schools 1839-43. H.M. Inspector of Mines  
1843-71.
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11. Edmonds Ibid p.34.
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19. Ibid p.69.

20. Kay-Shuttleworth - Four Periods of Public Education 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862. The Harvester Press, Brighton, 1973. p.269.
21. Ibid p.270.
22. British and Foreign School Society, 39th Annual Report May 1844 p.10.
23. Kay-Shuttleworth op cit p.271.
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- 24a The Times 14 July 1843 p.4.
25. Edmonds op cit p.43.
26. Ibid p.46.
27. Ibid p.47.
28. Minutes of the Privy Council on Education 1842-43 Vol. 2. p.516.
29. Ibid p.517.
- 29a National Society 30th Annual Report 1841 p.64.
30. Minutes of Privy Council op cit p.518.
31. Ibid p.519.
32. Ibid p.519.
33. Ibid p.522.
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62. British and Foreign School Society, 38th Annual Report  
May 1843 p.55.
63. Grier R.M. op cit p.116.
64. Ibid p.118.
65. Minutes on the Privy Council on Education 1840-41  
Rev. Noel's Report. p.158-178.
66. See Appendix No. III.
67. Noel's Report op cit p.176.
68. Noel's Report Ibid p.163.
69. Select Committee (Slaney) 1837-38 P.P. 1837-38 (589)  
Vol. VII. p.114.
70. Saunders - 1840 Select Committee - 3 April 1840  
1840 (203) Vol. X. par. 3060.

71. Birmingham Statistical Society. Statistical Quarterly Journal. April 1840 p.32. See also Appendix No IV.
72. Noel op cit p.163.
73. Manchester Statistical Society - Report on Salford p.6.
74. Ibid p.6.
75. Noel op cit p.164.
76. Noel Ibid p.165.
77. Noel Ibid p.165.
78. Rev. Noel got this number to 20,004 by also taking from the 122,758, 10,236 pupils in superior schools, 4,273 in Infant Schools and 3,246 evening pupils.
79. Noel Ibid p.173.
80. Noel Ibid p.174.
81. Noel Ibid p.174.
82. Noel Ibid p.174.
83. Noel Ibid p.175.
84. Noel Ibid p.176.
85. Noel Ibid p.177.

#### CHAPTER 4

Graham's Bill of 1843 gained parity between school and work,  
failed to gain financial support from rates - combined schooling -  
sectarian strife over these issues.

The event of 1843 was the attempt by Graham to pass legislation which would have raised the quality of schooling for factory children. His Bill sought to establish parity between work and schooling in the factory child's day by increasing school attendance to half a day, and widen financial support by including a rate contribution. The schools that were to be built would have provided combined schooling, children of all denominations being taught together, but with an Anglican bias.

The events of 1843 demonstrated clearly the retarding influence of sectarian conflict by introducing an impermanence to educational progress, resulting in a lack of criteria on which to build an educational system. This feature became built into English education, though the nature of conflict changed from sectarian to political, and remains a part of it today.

The failure of the Bill, kept the education of the factory child inadequately financed, and retarded the development of the idea of combined education, for 30 years.

Horner, Saunders, Noel and Allen agreed in their reports that the raising of the quality of education was the principal objective in the early 1840's.. They agreed that this objective could best be achieved if there was increased public money put into the schools, better qualified and increased numbers of teachers resulting in a phasing out of monitorial teaching, and the raising of the number of hours which the children in regulated labour must attend school. If more money was to be available it could only come from central Government or some form of local rating system, implying a reduction in the influence of Church and Nonconformity on education, as voluntary contributions became a smaller part of educational financial resources. So far as religious societies were concerned, this meant a higher proportional representation of the undenominational element in education, as against the Church or Nonconformity. There was evidence of hostility in both Church and Dissent. The Church had influenced the Government over combined Normal schools in 1839, and Nonconformity, smarting under what they saw as discrimination against them by inspectors, had gained concessions and the dismissal of Tremeneere in 1842. Both were suspicious of the Government, and each other.

The problem of 1843 was the reconciling of Government action to raise the educational opportunity of children in regulated factory labour, and the danger of giving religious offence. The Government sought a solution in compromise, increasing school hours to those who were already in compulsory education, making exclusion clauses without prejudice during doctrinal teaching in the schools, and raising financial resources available to religious societies. The objective of raising the quality of teaching could have been

realised by these arrangements, for they would have satisfied the criteria that quality was dependent on large numbers of children, in regular attendance, paying school pence that would attract the best teachers.

The British and Foreign School Society called a special committee meeting in March 1843 to consider Graham's proposals and compiled a list of grievances against the Bill. It saw schools financed from subscriptions and rates as a threat to British schools which were financially based on the insufficient system of voluntary subscriptions. Though there were exemption clauses from Anglican religious instruction, the onus of objecting to Anglican biased schools was placed on the fickle responsibility of the parents. To Nonconformists it seemed to be opposed to religious equality which they believed had been established 15 years before. They pointed out that rate payers who would have to pay back the Government loans to establish the schools, would have no control over their money. On Nonconformist teachers, and particularly those who were trained in their own Normal schools, it practically excluded all who were not members of the Established Church from the office of schoolmaster. (1)

Resistance polarised round the religious issues because they were more easily understood than the educational. An attempt by Government to increase the hours of schooling of factory children and thereby make detection of abuse more easy, and at the same time to force them into Church controlled schools, was denounced as a plot to recruit the urban working class, into the Anglican Church, at public expense, and with Government connivance. Nonconformity would be put in the role of failing to curb the immorality and

sedition found in the northern towns, and the Church, through the schools, would be brought in as a corrective.

In the event, the educational argument, put forward by the Inspectors for improving the quality of education by longer hours of teaching in better schools was lost in the issue of denominational teaching, the parental right to withdraw from it, and the fanatical support for voluntaryism which was the worst possible financial system for supporting schools, as it allowed monitorialism to remain an essential part of teaching method after it had been condemned by all the inspectors as inefficient.

What happened in 1843 did not, as some historians have claimed, put back a national system of education for 30 years. There was no "lost opportunity" to advance national education. (1a) The lost Factory Bill of 1843 was an attempt to raise the quality of schooling, only in the narrow field of compulsory education. Protective legislation, similar to that in the cotton and woollen industries, would have been necessary in all the industries in the north, to get all child workers into compulsory education. National education was not checked in 1843, the means to achieve it did not exist, but the model from which national education was to be designed was impaired by the intrusion of sectarian conflict, into what was, in reality, no more than an attempt to improve a provision that had been on the statute book for 10 years.

A speech which Lord Ashley made in the Commons in February 1842 indicated what he saw as a relationship between moral degeneracy in the northern industrial towns and the social unrest of August 1842. He saw a relief for both in education. These views were

attractive because they afforded an opportunity to confirm a religious base to working-class education. Ashley saw education, as it was seen in 1833, as a legitimate weapon of social and moral control. That it had failed in the 1830's in no way lessened Ashley's confidence in its efficiency, indeed its failure was seen as a result, not of its shortcomings, but of its limited application. The relationship was unfortunate, for it appeared to specify the remedial nature of education for specific social problems, with an implied authoritarian manipulation. Education appeared to be something imposed from above and aroused all the resistance such a suspicion would muster.

Ashley rose to speak, on the 28th February 1842 on the condition and education of the poor. His premise was that "the moral condition of our people is unhealthy and even perilous - all are pretty nearly agreed that something further must be attempted for their welfare" and the solution, in his motion that "Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the benefits and blessings of a moral and religious education among the working classes of her people". (2)

Ashley's premise was based on a population increasing more rapidly than the means to educate it. "In spite of all that has been done, a tremendous waste still remains uncultivated, a great and terrible wilderness that I shall now endeavour to lay open before you". (3) He claimed that though 1,858,819 of the population should be provided with education from the public expense, only 844,626 were being educated at National and Dissenting schools, leaving 1,014,193 persons "without any daily instruction".



There is evidence that this was untrue for figures from both Horner and Saunders indicated that more children who worked in factories went to Dame and Common Schools than to National and British Schools, thereby making the figure of 1,014,193 without daily instruction inaccurate. Nevertheless there is no doubt that very many did not receive daily schooling regularly. He feared that the rapid increase of population, 2,500,000 in ten years, would raise the number of children receiving no education by 500,000 if we use his method of calculation. Again his figures may be inaccurate; for the greatest increase in population would be in urban areas, and in those families which sought to send their children to the mills, and, which in consequence, came under compulsory education.

Ashley gave details of what he believed was happening to the 1,014,193 children and young persons whom he calculated ought to be in school. From the second report of the Children's Employment Commission he reported on the social condition of those children who lived in the northern cities and industrial areas.

In Manchester he noticed a vast number of children of the tenderest years, roaming through the streets of the town, and estimated that in the Borough of Manchester 1,500 children were added to the number annually. (4) This number may have been high, To be more factual, the Police records for Liverpool for 1842 show that the number of children found roaming the streets and returned to their parents was 463. (5) At Leeds a large number of people who came before the magistrates were children under 14 years many of them were seven and eight years of age. (6) Taking Liverpool again, the number of children of 12 years and under in custody on

charges of felony was 379, and between 13 - 15 years there were 796. (7) Drunkenness was a problem with children. There were beer shops where none but young ones went, and Ashley quoted a witness before the Commission of 1840 who attributed the acquiring of drinking habits to the custom of paying wages in public houses and beer-shops, where boys had to spend proportionately to their wages and "they thus learn to drink by taking their share, or, if they cannot, some adult drinks it for them till they can". (8) These social problems, Ashley believed could be alleviated by a system of moral education for working class children. "I have the earnest declaration of various manufacturers, that trustworthiness and skill will ever follow on religious training". (9)

Social deprivation among the young was established by Ashley as a justification for widening educational provision, but when it was joined by industrial unrest in the northern mill towns, education gained an urgency which bordered on panic. "No-one can hope that twenty years more will pass without some mighty convulsion and displacement of the whole system of society". (10) The National Society report for that year reflected more urgent catastrophe. "Doubts arose, not merely in the minds of the timid, but in persons of firmer nerves and more reflecting character, whether the bonds of society could long be held together". (11) The unrest took place in the autumn of 1842 and became known as the Plug Riots. "The strikers hit upon the plan of removing certain plugs without which the machines could not be operated. Hence the name given to the Lancashire strike, the plug plot". (12) The disturbances in 1842 were confined to the manufacturing districts and exceeded others in their ferocity and skill with which they were organised.

"At Manchester, a body of delegates is assembled which evidently directs the whole operation as from a common centre". (13)

Halevy wrote "The strike was accompanied by the acts of violence normal in all such movements. Those who deserted their fellows and persisted in working, were attacked". (14)

Graham's reports to the Queen from the Home Office gave some insight into the nature of the unrest. "At Preston, the good effects of vigorous measures has been demonstrated by the return of the work people to their employment". At Blackburn "Col. Arbuthnot resisted the entrance of the mob into the town with success" and "At Manchester, peace was preserved but all labour was suspended". All work is still suspended at Manchester, and the same proceedings have taken place in the West Riding, which have spread from Lancashire and appear to be directed from thence". "At Preston, the workmen have marked their sympathy with the insurgents by again leaving their employment". By the end of August, "The Mayor of Manchester has reason to believe, work will be generally resumed in the cotton trade today, and from the West Riding, Lord Wharnccliffe states that affairs are settling down, and the storm has passed over for the present ..... but military force must not be suddenly or greatly reduced". (15)

In North-East Lancashire, an area deeply disturbed by the unrest, local historians confirmed the impression given by Graham. "The Colne chaps have killed a constable and thrashed the police, several are wounded and the police have resolved to resign unless they get arms - a youth of 18 was transported for life for his part in the murders". (16) "A mill had been burnt down at Colne and the heaviest curses were bestowed on the factory hands of Colne, for

having exerted themselves to check the conflagration, and to supply water for the engines". (17) An overlooker described how a large mob came from the direction of Burnley armed with sticks. Because they could not rely on the mill-hands, the mob entered the Engine House at the new mill, but as there were no plugs, some started to pull down the boiler". (18) Strikers from Colne marched to Skipton four abreast. "On arrival in Skipton, they stopped mills, levied fines on mill-owners, looted shops and houses, and without opposition carried away the provisions". (19) "The Times" reported of the riots in Burnley that every precaution had been taken, about 200 special constables, had been sworn in, the powder and arms at the various gunsmiths and ironmongers in the town had been removed to the barracks for better security, and the magistrates seemed determined to act with energy in case of need. Several provision shops had been broken into and plundered. The town was in commotion, the shops closed, all businesses suspended, and the military constantly parading the streets". (20) In Blackburn, disturbances of a very serious character were reported with two of the rioters killed by the fire of the soldiers and 14 or 15 wounded. Two days later a plan was discovered to cut the banks of the Leeds and Liverpool canal, which ran behind several of the large factories and which not only supplied them with water for their engines, but served as the means of transit for coals and manufactures. (21)

Evidence that many of the public were frightened by the reports of the riots, and that they accepted the efficacy of education as a remedy for industrial disturbance, was seen in the success of the Special Fund of the National Society that made 1843, as the National

Society Report of 1845 described it "a year marked by the collection of a fund of unprecedented magnitude". After the riots, letters were sent to about 150 clergy asking them to report on the way that Church people had reacted to the riots in their localities. The replies from many of the clergy showed that their people had not taken part in the riots and in some instances had openly resisted them. The National Society interpreted these replies as showing that Church education produced a respectable, law abiding, working class. One clergyman replied that it appeared that in every case the effect of education whether in Sunday or Day schools, was salutary in proportion to its completeness. Wherever means of Church instruction was best provided, there the efforts of the disaffected were least successful. In whatever districts Church principles predominated, no outbreak took place, however grievous the privations of the people. Another correspondent replied that the place he wrote from had been proverbially one of the most, if not the most, disorderly and uncivilised of the manufacturing districts; that now however his church was well attended; that his schools contained 376 scholars, and that during the recent disturbances, the people, though in great distress, had been peaceable, and had shown no disposition to join the rioters who came amongst them, a circumstance that would not have taken place in former times. Another clergyman declared that not a single Churchman had taken an active part in promoting the disturbance, and that to keep his people from the meetings, he had services in the church twice in the week, during the period of greatest excitement. A Lancashire magistrate stated that, nothing could induce the teachers of Church Sunday schools to attend any of the seditious meetings; on the contrary, they enrolled themselves as constables,

kept aloof from the agitation, and waited patiently for the improvement in trade. (22) By 1845, this Special Fund had reached £151,985, a remarkable achievement when the highest figure from the Queen's Letter Fund was about £36,000. The fund was earmarked for the extension and improvement of education in the manufacturing and mining districts. The annual reports for 1844 and 1845 show the way the money was spent. In 1844 on grants for building school rooms and teachers' residences. In some cases temporary grants were made towards the payment of teachers' salaries in schools newly opened for daily instruction. Class-rooms were added to existing school-rooms and play-grounds were provided. The value of individual grants rose sharply. Schools in Bolton received £1300 in Macclesfield £1230 in Manchester £895 and in Burnley £605. In 1845, accommodation was provided for 18,516 scholars, 55 schools received aid for temporary maintenance; and 22 Sunday schools were opened for daily instruction. (23)

Whilst there is evidence to agree with Halevy that the disturbances among the working class in 1842, had contributed to impress the Government with the necessity for action, (24) there were those who thought that the degree of social unrest had been exaggerated. Edward Baines, Liberal politician and owner of the influential "Leeds Mercury", referred to the prejudice against the manufacturing districts, cultivated by many persons and from various motives "By Conservative politicians because of the prevalence of Liberal opinions here, by the agricultural and colonial interests, because here the monopolists were most actively assailed, and by the High Church, because in these districts the Dissenters outnumbered them". (25) On the strikes; he believed

that though the most harmless movement on record, they had been magnified so as to give the impression that the manufacturing districts were placed over a volcano ever ready to burst. "This picture had greatly influenced the Bill, yet it was absurdly false and injurious. Ashley, himself had been seriously misled". (26)

J.C. Evans "The Bill was 'brought forward in a most unfair manner, as the remedy for an evil which was greatly exaggerated; it was a 'feeler', for a system of National Education, a system of Church Extension under a false name for an 'Establishment', daily becoming more and more corrupt". (27)

It was unfortunate that the important proposals for educational change in 1843, should have been put forward against a background of social unrest and religious agitation. Public education took on a partisan nature. The type of school rather than the quality of the teaching were debating points. Government and rate support for the schools of the religious societies became a challenge to voluntarism rather than an essential progression from it. The disadvantages of controversy, factional struggle and debilitating compromise, alongside irregular school attendance and evasion of educational regulations, became a part of the weakness of working class education.

Two points are relevant here. Graham brought in the Bill only after considerable consultation with a wide range of opinion, and must have been aware of the difficulties involved. Ashley made an immediate solution impossible by widening the criteria of need beyond the means of solution at that time. Ashley was the popular reformer exposing a social problem; Graham the realistic politician who was confronted with it.

Before Graham stood up to reply to Ashley's speech in the Commons, there is evidence that he had been considering a Bill for some time and that he had consulted widely with politicians and Church leaders. Machin's view that "Civil unrest in the northern mill-towns in 1842 raised the expected value of increased educational provision", (28) supports Parker's claim that Graham was conscious of the value of education and that on it "he placed his chief reliance for subduing the tendencies which he found strong and general to acts of violence, intimidation, rioting and insurrection". (29)

Brougham, as early as October, 1841, was urging Graham to consider his proposed plan for building schools in every parish with Government money though there might be opposition from "a class of most worthy and most conscientious men, who have done incalculable service hitherto, but whose honest scruples and prejudices prevent them from doing more now". (30) Graham replied three days later "My heart sinks within me when I contemplate a general plan for England". As early as 1841, Graham anticipated the problem of education supported from rates and taxes, and containing a religious element which would put Dissenters in a position of resistance to it. "Experience proves that agreement on the fundamental articles of the Christian faith as the basis of a mixed scheme of general instruction is delusive". (31) He assured Brougham that he was aware of the problems involved in expanding the educational system, and that "Religion, the keystone of education, is, in this country, the bar to its progress". (32) Graham sent the proposals to Peel who was not encouraging, fearing that the taxing powers of local authorities would cause antagonism



and preferring to keep the grant system of the Committee of the Privy Council. (33)

At the end of 1842, a few months before the bringing in of the Bill, Graham consulted Blomfield, Bishop of London, on the further proposals of the new Bill before he discussed them with Peel. "My impressions on this subject were strong when I last addressed you, they have been confirmed by recent events; and I am convinced that the time has arrived when an effort must be made to dispel the darkness of this cloud". (34) Graham went further and submitted clauses for the Bill after consultation with Saunders, Horner and Shuttleworth. He went on "They have not yet been seen by Sir Robert Peel nor by any of my colleagues. Before I bring them under the notice of the Cabinet, I am anxious to ascertain your opinion on a matter of the highest importance, concerning which your judgment will have the greatest weight". (35)

In a letter to Rev. G.R. Gleig, Graham further expressed his fear of local elections with dissenting ministers and clergymen on the same Board. "I am afraid that such a compound would effervesce with one drop of acid, and the presence of sour ingredients must be anticipated". (36) He outlined his limited objectives in this letter by his claim that his proposals were a measure of peace, dealing only with an evil which could not be denied, and with a scheme of education which was compulsory by law". (37)

Graham sought to limit his new proposals to "that which is more immediately under our control, and which I will call compulsory education as it exists under the present law". (38) This meant workhouse and factory children protected by the 1833 Factory Act.

In the case of pauper children he proposed that parishes should be united and district schools built, where most pauper children were found, in the manufacturing areas, and supported locally from the poor rate. The instruction in these proposed schools would have to meet the approval of the Committee of Privy Council for Education who would appoint the schoolmasters and who would be inspected. Chaplains of Church of England appointed by the Bishop of the diocese would superintend the religious education, and provision would be made for Dissenting ministers to instruct children of their faith. Graham believed that if these proposals were accepted in Manchester alone, 1,400 children would be accommodated in these district schools. If these schools succeeded they would school the most vulnerable part of the children exposed to the wretchedness of the big cities, as described by Ashley earlier.

The other group, the factory children, were already covered by legislation, but as Graham pointed out. "It must have been owing to negligence, for I cannot believe it to have been the intention of the Legislature that no proper regulations were framed for the purpose of carrying it out". (39)

The intention of the Bill then was that the proposals of 1833 should be more efficiently applied in the light of 10 years experience. The Bill sought to reduce the working hours of children in cotton, woollen, flax and silk mills to 6½ a day. The minimum age was to be lowered from 9 to 8 and they were to spend at least 3 hours a day in new schools inspected by Privy Council inspectors. In order to reduce many of the abuses of children attending Dame and common schools, he proposed that certificates of school attendance, which alone allowed a factory child to work, should be

Issued only by, National, British and Catholic schools, which were open to the visits of Privy Council Inspectors. This limitation of the schools available to factory children, and the surplus of children it created, led to a rush by the religious societies to build schools. Building grants for the 12 months from October, 1843, (after the failure of Graham's Bill) were more than double. Contributions amounted to £160,000 from the National Society, £70,000 from the Congregationalists, and about the same from Wesleyan Methodists.

To carry out his proposals, Graham planned the building of many more schools in industrial areas, where the need was greatest and the problem insoluble unless the regulations on financing school buildings were changed. It stood at two thirds of the cost from private subscriptions and one third Privy Council grant, sums of money impossible to raise in areas almost completely working class. Graham proposed to change the proportions in poor areas where the regulations with respect to the education of factory children operated. One third of the cost, rather than two-thirds, would be raised by local efforts, one third Privy Council grant and a third in Exchequer loan, repaid from the poor-rates over a period of ten years. Under this system, Privy Council grants would go as far as before, but public subscriptions would be reduced to only a third and the other third would be paid compulsorily over ten years by those who paid the poor-rate.

Graham proposed that the maintenance of the school should come from the child, not more than 3d per week, and the rest, again from the Poor rate, up to a 3d rate. The Poor-rates were to bear a considerable cost in both maintenance and repayment of loan on the

building. He proposed that these schools should be formed into district schools with management trusts made up of seven individuals, the local clergyman, with the bishop of the diocese in some districts having the right to select the clergyman, and that two of the church wardens for the year should be chosen by the clergyman on the trust. He proposed that the other four should be chosen on a property qualification with two of them being mill-owners. Graham proposed to put the general management of the school under the trustees, who would have the duty of appointing the master, "subject to the approval of the bishops of the diocese, as to his competency to give religious instruction to members of the Established Church."<sup>(40)</sup> The Authorised Version of the Bible was to be taught daily, but instruction in the Catechism and Liturgy would only be given to Church of England children. Clerical trustees would inspect the schools.

Whilst the Anglican bias in the running of the schools was clear, his plans would, in effect, have provided combined education for factory children; the proposals for combined education of teachers had been successfully resisted by the Church in 1839. Graham further proposed that these combined schools which would be built alongside the National and British schools, would be a new category of school, built by Government loans and maintained, in part, by the Poor rate.

Machin understated the issue "It was natural that dogmatic and conflicting educational opinions should exercise themselves afresh on this scheme, that they should find it an unsatisfactory compromise, and should strive to mould it to their own views or reject it altogether."<sup>(41)</sup> Graham believed that Dissent, if it did not defeat

the Factory Bill, would defeat his objective of creating an educational system, which both sides in the religious conflict could support. He was insensitive to the great loss of pupils that Nonconformists Sunday schools would suffer under the new proposals and to the Dissenter's feeling that his proposed schools would be Church schools. The schoolmaster could not be a Nonconformist, yet the Nonconformist would have to pay in support of the schools, both through the rates and fees, and if their children wished to work under the factory regulations, they were forced to go to these schools, to get a certificate of attendance to become eligible for work.

Graham expressed his forebodings to both Lord Stanley and to Peel. "The Dissenters will be too much for us. They will convert my measure of peace into a firebrand and a sword"<sup>(42)</sup> and "It is more hostile than I had anticipated, and marks distinctly a wide estrangement from the Church."<sup>(43)</sup> The Wesleyans were fearful of the influence of the Tractarians in the Church and Congregationalists and Baptists, strongly rooted in Voluntaryism were opposed to the use of Government authority and public funds to extend the influence of an established Church. Barnes implied that it was a plot, fostered by factory inspector Saunders, for getting the education of the industrial working class into the hands of the Church<sup>(44)</sup>, and Halevy attributed much of the Dissenters' opposition to the education clauses being drafted on to a Factory Bill which applied only to the manufacturing districts where Dissenters claimed they were the "progressive, wealthy, and most numerous element of the population."<sup>(45)</sup>

Numerically, the opposition to the Bill showed itself on

2,068,059 signatures being placed on 13,369 petitions, and by 1st May, Graham put forward amendments to the school management which, as Machin said, "diminished the appearance of Anglican bias."<sup>(46)</sup> The trustees were not reduced from seven, but the local vicar could only select one and the remaining four by the ratepayers. The bishop's power was reduced to appointing only the headmaster, the trust would appoint his assistants.<sup>(47)</sup> On the religious issues, no child attending the schools would have to attend a Church Sunday School as was originally intended. This was an important concession for it would have meant the declination of Nonconformist Sunday Schools in industrial areas. Moreover, Anglican instruction would be given in a separate room and Dissenting ministers would have time provided to teach the children of Dissenters.<sup>(48)</sup> Nevertheless, as the Leeds Mercury pointed out, parental indifference was so common that no exemption clause could abolish the advantage of the Church. These amendments failed to pacify the Dissenters and frightened the Anglicans. Petitions against the amendments were almost as numerous as against the original Bill, 11,839 with 1,920,574 signatures.

A month later, Graham abandoned the educational clauses of the Factory Bill, which he said was framed with a view to concord and conciliation, but was not so received.<sup>(49)</sup>

The Anglican bias, clearly expressed in educational clauses designed for manufacturing areas, where Nonconformists were most militant was too much for the Bill, and it resulted in a check to attempts at combined education and a return to voluntary and denominational efforts. This resulted in a great effort by religious societies to start schools in industrial towns. The National Society had a considerable start; as early as 1841, during the

previous three years the number of grants made towards school-  
building were 556, the total sum granted £34,006, and the number <sup>of scholars 96,291, being more than twice the number</sup> added in the three preceding years. (50) Increasing effort was not confined to the National and British societies. The "Leeds Mercury" recorded on 23rd May 1846 that the Congregational Union had subscribed £100,000 for education during the previous two and a half years. The period of voluntary denominational education, stretching over another 30 years, was to continue.

The old ways had triumphed. Factory children were to be taught in schools under-financed and sectarian. Both Peel and Graham underlined the dangers of an alternative course. "I would rather accommodate our proposal to our legitimate means than incur the risk of such a contest as religious rancour might raise." (51) Graham on the suggestion that there should be another inquiry into the want of moral instruction. "There is little value in a Commission revealing a frightful care of brutal ignorance or heathenish irreligion, unless the Government, which exposes to view as great a national deformity, is prepared with an adequate remedy." (52)

Graham's failures had a long term effect on educational development. Working class education instead of growing up around Church schools and Church teaching, after 30 years of declining voluntary effort, took on an essentially secular outlook after 1870. The Board Schools, named by many, "the Godless Schools" challenged and superseded, in educational value, the efforts of the religious societies, who fought over Graham's Factory Bill in 1843.

The whole episode of 1843 and the Factory Bill which was the

centre of it, demonstrated very forcibly the effects on public education of sectarian, or what was to become in our own time, political influence. The problem with which education in 1843 was confronted, was the retarding influence of conflict. The writer is not of the opinion that the educational developments of 1870 could have been achieved in 1843, though what sectarian conflict did was to retard the progress of development of the model for a national education, in the schooling of the factory child. A feature, present in 1843 and which has become part of the nature of educational conflict since, has been the impermanence of any achievement. Those who should have resolutely favoured successful proposals were inhibited by this, and opponents retarded any progress until they were in an advantageous position, when the whole thing happened again. As a result criteria on which to build an educational system was absent and progress was unsure.

Conflict polarised opinion which fought over education, until educational objectives became merely a vehicle for sectarian struggle, with some defending the traditional role of the Church, and others seeking to exploit their religious freedom.

Another factor was that sectarian conflict enlarged the educational problem to a size which made a solution daunting to the strongest politician. This was evident when Graham, after the defeat of his Factory Bill in 1843, in answer to a suggestion from Peel that another inquiry be carried out to identify social deprivation expressed it as a principle borne out of experience, that it was imprudent to expose a social evil when unable to provide the means to combat it.

Conflict then, showed its retardation in the slowness of



educational progress and the widening of the problem it settled on. Perhaps most of all it affected an understanding of education, losing its prime objective of teaching children basic skills of reading and writing, and instead became concerned with what was read and when writing was taught. Educational objectives became less clear.

Two pieces of legislation dominated educational development in the period 1833-46. Both had in common that they were concerned with children working in textile factories, therefore they were selective in their aim, and both were concerned with hours of work and time in school. Both were brought about by factors external to education. One, the revelation of the findings of a Select Committee and endorsed by a Government Inquiry, <sup>and the other by an investigatory Commission of Inquiry</sup> into how the earlier legislation was achieving its objectives, and what new course of action should be taken in the light of its findings, and by industrial unrest in the areas where the educational clauses were in operation.

Legislation, by its nature, is not definitive, and later legislation is very much influenced by the effects of earlier legislation in the same field. This implies that earlier legislation does not have to achieve its objectives to be successful, but may have generated more advanced objectives which may be successfully pursued, though at variance with the original aims. This is not peculiar to educational legislation, but there is evidence that this happened in the legislation under review.

The earlier legislation sought to put children into schools as

a means of occupying their time when factory hours were reduced, and of giving them moral instruction. These objectives were not easily achieved. Resistance was certain. By selecting children to be schooled, they were making an arbitrary selection of employers to operate the legislation; and from parents whose children were working for reduced wages to gain moral teaching which they themselves had neither experience nor valued. The idea that parents sought a better life for their children than they themselves had experienced was part of a Victorian work ethic that had not reached this level of the working class.

The earlier legislation then was not strictly educational and it could not achieve its objectives as it had not within it, the means of combating the resistance it stimulated.

The nature of the later legislation was outlined years before 1843 by reports of the inspectors who had experienced the results of the implementation of the first legislation. So long as the aims of the earlier educational clauses were limited in educational content and difficult to administer, inspectors were aware that changes were necessary if they were to be enforced. As a result, they put forward various proposals for improving the content of education and the method by which it was applied. Two of the schemes sought to strengthen the selective element in the legislation by building schools which provided primarily for factory children and so reducing the discrimination shown towards them by religious society schools and made schooling and work a more simple arrangement for the mill-owners. A third scheme sought to make factory employment a reward for children only who had been adequately schooled. It put the obligation of schooling the child on the parents, whilst earlier legislation put it

on the mill-owner. Though these proposals failed to gain acceptance when offered, they indicate the direction of educational thinking by influential inspectors and had a direct influence on the later legislation.

This later legislation was concerned with quality of education. This was achieved by reducing the hours of work of children to half a day with half a day in school. It made the education of factory children regular, though the period in school was short. This meant that they would fit into the school's programme of work, without disruption, and could attend schools which were benefiting from Government grants, rather than dame and common schools which were not. As they were going to the same schools as non-working children, their being singled out as needing only moral instruction was eased, and they gained access to the same range of subject teaching as other children. This was a factor in raising the interest of parents in their children going to school. Further, as the number of factory children increased, as indeed it did with the lowering of the age of permitted factory work to children of eight years and with the widening of regulated factory work and school to print-work children, with prospects of even wider legislation, their attendance became regular and they became an asset to many schools for they gave a regular income to the schoolmasters; a security which attracted better trained schoolmasters to these schools.

These two pieces of legislation indicated the way ahead for more successful working class education in industrial areas. More children from the factories attending the schools would attract more Government support which, by raising the quality of teaching, would attract grants for assistant and pupil teachers. Except for the

number of hours in school attendance, the factory children, sponsored by these two pieces of legislation, were equal in educational status to the other pupils in the schools they attended. This was a remarkable educational achievement.

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## CHAPTER 5

An attempt to extend regulated labour and the advantages -  
print-work children and the problems involved.

It appeared to be an advantage in the regulated labour of factory children, that it could easily be extended to other trades and, by so doing, raise the numbers of children in compulsory attendance, as they were required.

The belief that the process of regulating labour must be continuous, was valid, for to stop would have left a large part of industry, often closely allied to regulated industries, open for children to work without restraint, and to receive no education. Further, employers in regulated industries were reluctant to be constantly discriminated against in their employment of young labour.

The expansion into Printworks was an interesting element in the struggle for recognition between school and work. In the regulated industries it became gradually accepted, as the hours of schooling and work reached parity, that schooling was a necessary part of a working child's life. In the expansion of compulsory schooling the legislature failed to recognise this parity and conceded the primacy to work. Instead of extending the half-day system to Printworks, the children had to attend school for 100 days a year, thereby conceding the principle of the essential regularity of schooling, if it was to be successful.

While the expansion may have been advantageous to the child, the belief that it was easy to achieve was false; many of the variables were unfavourable. Children did not work in groups, but each with an individual printer, hence the difficulty of separating the child's from the adult's labour. The work was seasonal, with a busy period in the winter months, and production was subject to wide fluctuations in trade. What was perhaps more predictable was the



greater hostility of parents, who by putting their children into the Printworks, when they had an alternative in shorter hours of work in regulated labour, were determined to work their children as hard as possible. These were the parents with whom the Inspectors were confronted after the 1845 legislation.

Nevertheless, though an expansion into other trades was essential, and success would have brought very many more children into compulsory education, from Kennedy's survey of the ages of 595 Printwork children 360 came within the limits of regulated labour, the initial attempts at expansion were hesitant.

The success in getting children who worked in cotton factories into schools, and the later legislation that gave them a longer and regular period of education, produced a system of regulated work and schooling which could be extended at will into allied textile trades. As the numbers of children who attended schools had a major effect on the quality of the teaching, the potential expansion of the system was an important factor in future improvement. The premise that the hand of the legislature was forced into widening the regulation of factory work, is sound in that unless rapid expansion of schooling took place, children not included in the regulations would have an adverse effect on the schooling of regulated factory children, particularly when they were part of the same industry, in the same locality. This was brought about by there always being an alternative to regulated labour to which parents could turn, and it maintained the grievance of employers in the cotton and woollen trades, who were competing for the labour of the same children.

This was true of those children who worked in the printworks of Lancashire and demonstrated the difficulty not of implementing new legislation, but on observing an adverse effect on established legislation if expansion was absent. This occurred in two ways, the virtue of the factory child's educational arrangements were that they prospered most where numbers were large. Privy Council grants were attracted to large numbers of children, particularly after 1846 when assistance was provided with pupil teachers. Another influential factor was the proximity of regulated and non-controlled labour in the same industry, as with textiles, in that the competition for labour could have a disruptive effect on schooling,

was shown with the constant challenge to regulated by the free and better paid labour of the printwork. Also, in time of boom trade, the printworks would almost empty the cotton factories of children and thereby the schools. To reduce this challenge and increase numbers, legislation bringing the two in line was essential. To have tolerated an encroachment on the number of children in regulated work would have reduced both the number of children coming into the factories at 9 years and of those already there, with the consequence of reducing the number of children who would otherwise have come under compulsory educational provision; at a time when there was evidence, as in 1833, of irreligion and immorality, inseparable from working with adults for long hours, and the prevalence of night work.

It became evident that to extend the regulations would involve including a hard core of resistant parents and reluctant children, more difficult to handle, as they had evaded the earlier legislation, by sending their children into the printworks. There is evidence that these children, when they arrived in school, changed the learning atmosphere in many ways.

The extension of the regulations was attractive in that the same schools could be used, thereby justifying the school building programmes of the voluntary societies and ensuring their continuance by the increase of fee paying children which alone would improve the quality of teaching by employing qualified teachers and assistants, and thereby superseding monitorial teaching. The extension of work regulations in favour of education augmented the policy of restricting work certificates to public schools, resulting in a large increase of fee paying children into public

schools. That the whole apparatus of school-building, of improving the quality of schooling, and of an extending Government influence through both Inspectorates, could not be expected to stop after 1843 was self evident; but the ease with which expansion could be achieved proved to be illusory and strengthened the argument that national education was not viable in 1843.

The printwork children for whom legislation was sought were engaged in smoothing the surface of the dye on which the carved block was pressed before it was placed onto the cloth. Each printer had a tearer. Even more than in cotton, the boy was following an adult work pattern, working the hours of an adult and in the same conditions. The work was irregular. Horner commenting in 1840 that "in some seasons they are comparatively idle, while at others they are so busy that they work from an early hour in the morning to late at night; sometimes they work the 24 hours without ceasing, with a double set, each twelve hours; sometimes from six to six, sometimes from twelve to twelve". (1) He went on to describe the conditions of work. "When any printing is going on, the tear-boys must be there, and they perform their work standing. The temperature of the room should not be less than 70°, and the air should be rather humid". (2) There being no age limit on these children they often started work at an early age "That it is by no means uncommon for children to work as tear-boys as early as six and seven years of age; and that when there is a pressure for hands they are sometimes employed as young as five". (3) "There is one species of labour employing boys in the printing process, which certainly ought to be performed by machinery and which is, without doubt, the most wearying and irksome which I have seen in Lancashire ..... I am bound to state that these boys were the only

species of labourers whose condition I pitied since my arrival in Lancashire". (4)

Hours of work could be long with children of six, seven and eight years of age seen going to work at 12 o'clock of a winter night, in large numbers, sometimes having to walk a mile or two to the works. "The printworks are always most busy in the winter time, preparing for the spring trade; that often, for weeks together, the gas is never extinguished from sunset to sunrise; as one set of workers goes another comes: that when not busy enough to require a double set, they work from early in the morning to late at night: that when short of tearers, they sometimes keep on a part of those during the day, who have worked all night". (5)

Horner examined another young worker. He had been working as a tear-boy at the same works, since he was 'going eight' and when he was 'going ten' he had gone at five in the morning, and stayed till ten at night, in the winter-time and every day for three weeks together, and when they were very busy he did not leave the works from five in the morning till ten at night". (6) A mother told Horner that her son was a little past six when he first went to the printworks; that she had many a time carried him there at twelve o'clock at night, in the winter time, and that he had not come home till two o'clock next day. (7)

Thomas Sidbread, block-printer, after taking a child who had already been at work all day to assist him as a tearer through the night, described how they began to work between eight and nine o'clock on the Wednesday night and did not stop until six o'clock on the Saturday morning excepting for an hour or two. He described how he was "knocked up" and the boy was "almost insensible". (8)

The Report of the Children's Employment Commission in 1343 confirmed this. It agreed that the objections to the employment of very young children in printworks did not apply so much to the nature of the employment as to the long and very irregular hours both in the night and day during which the children were obliged to work. (9) From the same article in the Edinburgh Review. "The evidence collected by Mr. Kennedy in the Lancashire district tends to show that the children employed in this occupation are excluded from the opportunities of education; that this necessarily contributes to the growth of an ignorant and vicious population; that the facility of obtaining early employment for children in printfields empties the day-schools; that parents without hesitation sacrifice the future welfare of their children through life for the immediate advantage or gratification obtained by the additional pittance derived from the child's earnings, and that they imagine, or pretend, that they do not neglect their children's education if they send them to Sunday-schools". (10)

Horner discovered evidence of cotton-mills being unable to get young workers under thirteen years because of the unregulated conditions in local printworks. One mill-owner employing more than 1000 people, said that "they suffer severely from the neighbouring printworks carrying off the children under thirteen years of age, where they employ them at any age, and any number of hours, whereby they get higher wages than they can get for working short time in the factories; that when the Factory Act first came into operation, they discharged all under eleven years of age, and they were immediately employed at the printworks more than twelve hours a day, and frequently all night; that they would gladly employ two sets of

children, each working half a day, both for the sake of that work, and for the sake of the children themselves, that they might be more at school, and have more play but that they cannot get them, as the printworks carry them off".<sup>(11)</sup> Some firms like the Dugdale's of Lowerhouse who had both a cotton mill and a printworks nearby presented a perplexing problem to a mother who felt that it was very hard that she could not get certificates for full time for her children to work in the factory, when they had been working six years in the printworks belonging to the same firm, without any interference with them.

The Children's Employment Commission of 1843 sought information on the nature of employment, the education and the social background of children who were not protected by the factory regulations of 1833. It concerned those children who did not work in the weaving, spinning of cotton and the making of woollens. Kennedy,<sup>(11a)</sup> who was a Privy Council School Inspector for the north, produced a report on the Lancashire Printworks for this Commission.

Kennedy produced a table of figures showing the ages of 565 Printworks children when they began work.

<u>Age at which they began work in Printworks</u> <u>(out of 565 children)</u>								
<u>-5</u>	<u>5-6</u>	<u>6-7</u>	<u>7-8</u>	<u>8-9</u>	<u>9-10</u>	<u>10-11</u>	<u>11-12</u>	<u>12-13</u>
1	3	68	133	156	127	49	26	2

(12)

Two-thirds of this sample began work before they were 9 years, indicating that the children were of parents who wanted them to work outside regulated hours. These longer hours were worked by choice, as printworks were often adjacent to cotton mills, as in the case of the Dugdales of Lowerhouse.

Kennedy visited 95 Print Works and produced figures indicating that many of the workers were very young and a high proportion were girls. There were 19,892 employees in the 95 printworks, 9,104 were over 21 years that is 50%, 5,142 were between 13-18 years (25%) and 5646 were under 13 years (25%). A breakdown of the figures by sex indicated that in the over 21 years age group, only one in 18 were women, in the 13-18 years age group 1 in 4.5 were women and under 13 years about 1 in 2 were girls. Indicating that any widening of regulated labour would raise the educational opportunity of girls.

The age composition of Kennedy's 95 Print Works is confirmed by his age analysis of sample mills from the 95 he visited.

<u>Haggreaves Dugdale &amp; Co.</u>	<u>+21 years</u>	<u>13-18 years</u>	<u>-13 years</u>	<u>-18</u>
Accrington.	448	210	278	488
John Brooks (Burnley)	288 -	173	191	364
Thos. Hoyle (Manchester)	351	139	113	252
Schwabe & Co. (Middleton)	277	201	129	330
W. Benecket & Co. Rochdale	106	60	48	108
Sheriff Forster (Sabden)	352	200	169	369
G. Andrews (Bolton)	74	15	41	56
E. Potter (Glasgow)	156	58	92	150
C. Robinson (Disley)	296	103	232	335

The identifying of moral defects and attributing them to a lack of educational experience, as in 1833 was used with the Printwork children to justify the remedial nature of the schooling they were to receive. "There are many who will lie, steal or do anything that is bad; but those are generally the worst educated, who have vicious parents, who neglect them when at home".<sup>(13)</sup> and "We cannot trust



much to the young ones, who have not been educated, they are generally not trustworthy, are given to lying and fighting; they are not so obliging as those who are educated". (14) George Stringer of Schwabe's mill near Manchester averred that lying was a great vice in those children who had not been educated, and also pilfering. Those children appeared to have no sense of moral obligation; they were more sulky and morose and indolent in their manners, and not so trustworthy as those who had had some education. (15) Hampson, another witness, thought that children who had some schooling were better workers "much more diligent at work, and a great deal more easily managed; they are attentive and biddable, and more quick in doing what they are told and make fewer mistakes," (16) and George Stringer noticed that where some attention had been paid to the children, the parents had been better educated than those about them of the same class. (17)

Rev. Kennedy arrived at the conclusion that the education of children in printworks and their opportunity for schooling was low. He doubted whether children in printworks could read an easy book. "I have occasionally put them to the test and almost invariably found them wanting: the common answer when asked if they can read is that they can read in the Bible; but this reading is of so elementary a kind that I doubt if they can understand what they read". (18) He provided figures for writing, a subject which if the child did not go to a Day School, could be quite difficult to come by, as most Sunday Schools did not teach writing on Sunday, but at night school on a week night. From his survey he established that for males between 13-18 years, 847 out of 4147 or 20.7% could write their names, from similar aged females 82 out of 995 or 8.2% could write their names and of all females 56 out of 2030 or 2.75%.

These figures supported the point made earlier that a widening of regulated labour would bring into education many more girls than boys.

Kennedy made a point which illustrated his recognition of earlier problems with the integration of working children into school. Whilst emphasising the expediency of restricting the hours of labour of printwork children "I presume that new and adequate provision for an efficient education will be made and also measures adopted for enforcing the attendance of the children at the schools". But, and this demonstrated the area of earlier failure, "To restrict the hours of labour without some such preliminary provisions is merely to turn the children into the streets, to engender habits of idleness, or to send them to their homes where there is no provision for their training or education". (19) He gained support for his viewpoint from Sir Charles Shaw, the Commissioner of Manchester and Salford Police, who was convinced from his experience of juvenile delinquency in manufacturing towns, that the establishment of schools was absolutely indispensable as a preliminary to any step which might be taken for shortening the hours of labour of children. Unless provision was made for their religious and moral cultivation, he conceived that to release them from their labour, where they were constantly under the control of an adult, to ramble at large without control would have a "most pernicious tendency". (20)

A Bill to regulate the labour and schooling of Printwork children was read in March 1845 and for a second time on 2 April 1845. The Bill received the Royal Assent on 30 June 1845 and became effective from 1 January 1846 and the educational clauses 1 July 1846. The regulations were in many ways similar to the earlier ones. The ages at which children could attend Printworks

were similar to cotton mills, with no children under 8, and regulated in degrees up to 13 years. The works were to be inspected. The half-time system was not introduced. The children were to attend school for 100 days per year; 50 in each half-year, this 50 day period was amended to 30. By trying to accommodate the work patterns in Printworks into the Act, the educational element was sacrificed, with the hours of work unrestricted except before 6 a.m. or after 10 p.m. This was a further instance of work being given priority and the quality of education being ignored. Conditions of schooling for some Print-works children were poor. Rev. Watkins recorded "I have continually seen a head thrust into the door of the school-room and heard "John such-a-one or Sally such-a-one is wanted. I have inquired for what they were wanted? It has been for their work. They must go. And when will they return? Perhaps tomorrow, perhaps next week, perhaps not for a month" (21) Watkins (21a) goes on "At times also there is as it is termed "a flush" of work and then the school is a mere skeleton - one day mustering its hundreds - another to be counted by tens". (22) Watkins quoted from the attendance figures of a printwork school at Crawshawbooth. Of 309 on the roll, only 66 were present almost five-sixths of the school were absent. (23) If the Act did not give much education to the Printwork children, Kennedy reported to Horner a few years later that Printwork children were unmistakably inferior in attainment to any other class of children in the schools he inspected; it protected the cotton mills from a reduction in numbers of children by taking away the financial advantage of sending children into the Printworks.

Though some works were better. Messrs Hargreaves of Accrington. "give a preference of employment in slack times to those children who

have made the most time at school beyond the 30 days required by the Act." "Also Messrs Hargreaves and Co. Burnley 'We have agreed to pay the school fees for all children who have made the most time at school beyond the 30 days required by the Act'. Also Messrs Margerisons & Co. Burnley. 'We have agreed to pay the school fees for all children in our employ who in addition to the 30 days required by the Act, will have the benefit of gratuitous instruction during the time when they may not be employed at the works, of which privilege it is our particular request that the parents will see that the children avail themselves. Free tickets to the above schools will be given to such children as are in our employ, on application to the counting house". (24)

The first attempts to extend the regulations of 1843 to children working in allied trades, though attractive in that they brought more children into compulsory education at a small increase in cost, exposed the weakness of a system seeking to educate working children when schooling came second to the needs of trade.

A.B. Reach talking to a group of factory children at the Union St. Mills in Manchester in 1849. "And what has the steam engine to do with it?". "Everything" was the reply "When an engine ceases here, everything ceases - there are no wages, no fees, no schools". (25)

The advantage of the cotton and woollen industries was that their hours were regular, and that children very often worked in groups. Neither of these factors were relevant in the Printworks, hence the friction in an educational system whose greatest virtue had been the regularizing of work and school. The intake of Printwork children into the schools in 1846 and the difficulties involved in their integration, due partly to the nature of the printing process, and partly to the compromising nature of the legislation, brought

Into sharp contrast the progress that had been made in the regulated areas of textiles, in solving the educational problem of combining school and work.

1. Horner L. On the Employment of Children in Factories  
First published in London 1840. Iris University Press,  
Shannon Ireland 1971. p.121.
2. Horner *ibid* p.122.
3. Horner *ibid* p.122.
4. Reach A.R. Manchester and the Textile Districts in 1849  
Ed. C. Aspin - Helmshore Local History Society 1972 p.21.
5. Horner *op cit* p.123.
6. Horner *ibid* p.123.
7. Horner *ibid* p.124.
8. "Juvenile and Female Labour" Edinburgh Review No. 79.  
Jan. 1844 p.139.
9. Children's Employment Commission P.P.1843 (431) Vol. XIV  
pp 137-138.
10. Edinburgh Review *op cit* p.139.
11. Horner *op cit* p.124.
- 11a Rev. John Kennedy 1814 - 1891. Secretary of the National  
Society 1844-48. H.M. Inspector of Schools 1848-78.  
Inspector to the N.W. District.
12. Children's Employment Commission *op cit* pp 133-18.
13. *Ibid*. John Kennedy. Report on the Print Grounds in Lancashire.  
Robert Hampson p.1317.
14. *Ibid* p.1317.
15. *Ibid* p.1317.
16. *Ibid* R. Hampson p.1318.
17. *Ibid* p.1319.
18. *Ibid* p.1319.
19. *Ibid* p.1328.
20. *Ibid* p.1329.
21. Rev. Watkins Report. Privy Council Committee Minutes Dec. 1846  
Vol. 2. p.437.
- 21a Frederick Watkins 1808-1888 - H.M. Inspector of Schools  
1844-73. Inspector to the Northern District 1844-48. In 1848  
shared the District with Kennedy. He took the N.E. region.

22. Watkins op cit p.438.
23. Watkins ibid p.438.
24. Horner's Factory Report 2 Dec. 1846. P.P. 1846 (721) Vol. XX  
p.p. 9-10.
25. Reach A.B. op cit p.36.

## CHAPTER 6

Sunday schools - a challenge from Day schools when increasing numbers of their children came under regulated labour and compulsory schooling.



The Sunday school, as an institution, was a challenge to any attempt to bring day school education to children of the working class in the northern industrial towns. Sunday schools were regarded by Nonconformists as their great evangelising effort to save the working class, and as will be seen, any threat to their schools was regarded as a threat to Nonconformity itself, and to be defended with religious zeal.

The Sunday schools had their critics. Some criticized the teaching, others the teachers, and some believed that the whole ethos of Sunday schools eroded the prime responsibility of the parent to take the child to Church themselves.

The survey of the Stockport Sunday school demonstrated the social grouping of the children who attended. More than half worked in factories, which meant, in effect, that the education element in Sunday school teaching would, as compulsory education widened with the expansion of regulated child labour, come under pressure. The Sunday school feared that these children would not go to Sunday school and would not in the end join the ranks of the Nonconformists as adults.

The proposals of the 1843 Factory Act realised the Nonconformists worst fears in that, not only would these factory children go to school daily by law, but, in the event, most of them would go to National schools. The Sunday school threat from the 1843 Act was at the heart of the sectarian controversy of 1843 which resulted, by the retention of the financial method of supporting schools, in modifying the progress it was possible to make in extending the education of the factory child in the period up to 1870.

Sunday schools were an influential element in the educational development of the period 1833-1846 in two ways. Throughout the period they were considered by many as adequate educational provision for the working class, therefore they were always a fall back when any educational change was attempted. They were popular with parents, independent of Government interference, free to attend, and did not interfere with work. Secondly, Baines' cry of the Sunday schools in danger may be considered as the rallying call which led to the Nonconformists agitation of 1843 whose importance cannot be over-rated, for in the short term it defeated Graham's Bill of 1843 and in the longer term maintained the voluntary financing and denominational nature of working class education for a further 30 years.

In a period when progress was measured by the ability to develop an educational structure, Sunday schools had much in common with dame and common schools, all were seen as outside the process, all were vulnerable to attacks on the quality of their teaching at a time when the aspirations of the inspectors were on a rising standard of teaching, and because neither claimed grants both were outside the influence of the inspectors. Because neither had trained teachers nor followed a teaching system the attainment of their pupils could not be measured against the accepted standards of the day, resulting in their often being wrongly assessed on what was visible; poor buildings and teaching conditions, and a lack of teaching equipment. All were denied financial aid for improvements. Sunday schools, even if they were willing to adapt their schools to a day school were confronted with insuperable difficulties, and legislation was passed in 1844 allowing inspectors to refuse work certificates from dame and common schools thereby denying them the opportunity of

benefiting from the increase in the number of factory children.

Sunday schools had their critics; churchmen like Dr. Hook of Leeds and the Rev. Bull, agnostics like Daniels, Saunders the factory inspector and politicians like Lord Ashley and Graham.

That the threat to Sunday schools from the factory legislation which put children in regulated labour into schools, was real, can be seen from the survey carried out by Mr. Cowell for the Factory Commission of 1833, in which well over half the children in the Stockport Sunday school worked in factories. In the later years of the decade most of the children in this school would be attending Day school regularly.

The theme of this chapter is concerned with the educational value of the northern Sunday schools, the challenge to them when the majority of their pupils had to attend Day schools after 1833, the increasing pressure of the late 1830's when there were attempts, helped by Government grants, to raise the quality of education for factory children, and the part this threat played in the controversy over the Factory Bills of 1843 and 1844.

There is no doubt that Sunday schools were popular with that part of the northern working class which would not voluntarily send their children to Day schools. "By 1787 the movement was educating 250,000 children and that number grew to a million and a half by 1833". (1) At a Sunday school in Burnley, a large sign board placed outside the school read "Sunday school for children of all denominations. Some classes for writing, for those between twelve and fourteen years", and so popular was the school as a teaching centre that one man's time was taken up completely in making and

repairing quill pens. (2) Matthews observed, no doubt correctly, that however imperfect the education received at Sunday schools might have been, it afforded nevertheless the most valuable training within the reach of most of the Industrial working class in northern England. (3) By the time factory children, working under the regulations of 1833 became involved with Sunday schools they had become the largest institution for the teaching of children in the northern Industrial towns. H.F. Mathews writing of the Methodist Conference of 1837 "They came to the conference armed with their figures. There were 3,339 Sunday schools, 59,277 teachers, 341,442 children being taught. The number of Day schools was so small as to constitute no real contribution to the problem". (4) Nevertheless any emergence of daytime schooling for the children they taught was seen as a threat, not only to their Sunday schools but to Nonconformity in general. "Gradually the Sunday schools changed from being only establishments for the elementary teaching of reading and writing to centres primarily of religious instruction, and in 1837 the Conference affirmed the necessity for a Sunday school to be associated with every chapel as a means of initiating the young into the characteristic tenets of the denominational faith". (5) It was this loss of recruitment opportunity which contributed to arousing the chapels against the Factory Bill of 1843 which sought, with Government grants, to build day schools under the influence of clergy in the recruitment areas of the Sunday schools.

The nature of the teaching in Sunday schools may be gained from the materials bought by the schools. At Rawtenstall, "2 doz. Ink-stands 2s-0, 2 doz canes 4s-0, 100 quills 1s-8d. For spelling books etc £1-19-0, 49 weeks teaching at 1s - £2-9-0". (6) and

another list consisted of 50 alphabets on boards, 100 spellings Part 1, 50 spellings Part II, a roll book, paper, ink, half a dozen ink-stands, 50 Bibles and 50 Testaments. Both lists indicated that much more was going on in Sunday schools than just a reading of the Bible, and resistance was likely when attempts to teach these things better in Day schools under the influence of the Church was proposed. That Sunday schools sought to create a school environment rather than that of a Bible-reading class can be seen from the attempts to impose punishments. "Huddersfield School used a series of huge cards which were strapped round the necks of children to declare their crimes - "Talkative", "Truant", "Sabbath-breaker". At Wednesday, in 1825, an iron cage was actually purchased for truants and liars, and was still in use in 1844. "Accordingly to all accounts Charles Laxton's cage for refractory lads, which was pulled up to the ceiling of the school-room by means of a rope was not a success. It is said that the last boy who was hauled aloft treated his punishers with such contempt as to emit "cock-a-doodle-do" sounds, which soon convulsed the other boys with laughter". (7)

Of the status of the teachers in Sunday schools, Baines believed that they were middle-class and benevolently trying to raise up the working-class child, but Rev. Bull disagreed as did H.F. Mathews. "Often the teachers were ordinary mill-workers of the same class as the children they taught, they regarded their work as a benevolent charity". (8) The "Quarterly Review" on teachers, "No other nation has ever seen the same extent of self-sustained, self-organised and self-regulated intelligence and piety, in the same class of persons". (9) In the early decades of the 19th century

there is evidence that the teachers were paid "At Burnley the masters were "mostly pious men" who were paid from one to two shillings per Sunday according to their qualifications and at Rawtenstall each received one shilling per day", (10) and Sunday school teachers had everywhere been paid officials until the Methodists introduced the more generous system, which by 1810 had become the general rule in Raiker's schools at Gloucester . (11) By 1834 Mr. W.F.Lloyd, Secretary to Sunday School Union, stated clearly that this was not the case. "Is any payment ever taken from the parents of the children?" "Never," and again later "When you spoke of teachers being paid you did not intend at all to speak of teachers being paid in Sunday schools?" "Not the least". (12)

The "Quarterly Review" expressed the value of Sunday schools to the community making the point that poor children got very little schooling and great numbers, who would otherwise have forgotten the little they had learned, were able to retain their habits of reading and were therefore encouraged in their efforts to add to their stock of knowledge. From the same periodical, "If the Sunday school does not intervene to correct the children at the common day school with a religious influence, they commonly drift off into the world, and become wholly lost to such influence. So important is the mission of our Sunday schools in respect to that large portion of the community, the children of our operative and labouring classes - those who are to become the fathers and mothers of three-quarters of the next generation." (13)

The Rev. Kennedy in his report on Print work children to the Childrens' Employment Commission of 1843, (13a) carried out a survey of 86 Sunday schools in the Manchester area which gave an impression

of the denominational make up of a group of Sunday schools in a large manufacturing area, the attendance figures, the numbers of boys to girls and the subjects taught.

Of the 86 schools in the sample, 25 were Anglican, 18 Wesleyan, 9 Catholic, 9 Independent and the rest attributed to smaller denominations. The average attendance was much higher than in the Day schools. In the Anglican Sunday schools it was 77.3%. In the Wesleyan it was 72.3%, in the Catholic it rose to 80.8% and in the Independent 70.5%. The numbers in the schools were very much equal. Anglican 318 pupils on average, up to 364 pupils in the Wesleyan schools. The sex composition of the schools was almost equal, in the 86 schools, there were 16,303 boys and 16,893 girls, this was dissimilar from the Day school pattern of many more boys than girls.

Of the subjects taught, reading was taught in 84 out of the 86 schools. Writing was taught on Sunday in 10 of the 86 schools. No Anglican nor Methodist school taught writing on Sunday, but four Catholic schools did. Many of the schools taught writing during the week at evening classes. In Kennedy's survey the Anglicans provided 13 with 1,153 on the books, the Wesleyans 13 with 596 and the Independents 6 with 340 on the books. The Catholics with no qualms about teaching writing on Sunday, had only one school with 80 children on the books. Of these 33 schools 5 taught writing only and 28 taught writing and arithmetic. In all the schools the pupils had to pay fees ranging from 1/4d to 3/4d per night, but in only one were the teachers paid.

Kennedy's findings were similar to those of Rev. Watkins, Noel and Thurtell <sup>(14)</sup> in that the teaching was limited, partly by the huge numbers taught and by the number of teachers who volunteered to

teach, making the quality low. So long as Sunday schools were recruiting grounds for religious adherents, they seemed to be surprisingly successful, but as educational institutions they were not. They taught a limited amount of reading but almost always from the Bible, and little writing on Sunday. Religious scruples against teaching writing on Sunday were real, but there was a more practical reason in that to teach writing was costly, and everything taught on Sunday, had to be free; most Sunday schools therefore opened on week-nights for writing, and charged fees. As the same teachers were there on week-night evenings the quality of the teaching remained low.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Sunday schools had a beneficial influence on many who went to them, even for short periods. The pupil teacher ratio was low. Kennedy found that in both Anglican and Catholic Sunday schools it was 16.5, in Wesleyan 10, in Independent 10.75. The average for the 86 schools he surveyed was 11.25 pupils per teacher. In fact this ratio would be even lower, for the figures were calculated from total pupils on books, which was much higher than average attendance (33,196 on books and 24,810 average attendance) about 25% were non-attenders. The benefit was, that even for a short period, they exposed many who endured harsh lives, to a caring environment. "Sunday schools, as they are worked in Lancashire, more than any set of institutions which I know, tend to bind different classes of society to each other". (14a) Nevertheless they raised an obstacle to educational opportunity by giving the detractors of day schooling for factory children an alternative form of schooling; they retarded the development of daily schooling for working children in urban industrial areas.



The Sunday schools had many critics. John Beyer gave an impression of a Sunday school in London in the 1820's. He was not writing as a Christian but there is other evidence to support his impressions. He complained of the short period of time spent in actual learning in the Sunday school day. This was a common complaint from those who sought education rather than conversion at Sunday school. He described how a day in Sunday school would amount to half an hour in learning to read in the morning and half an hour in the afternoon, the rest being taken up in extempore prayer, hymns and sermons. He complained of the reading taught. "It is an A.B.C. class composed of twelve tiny little boys, number one says in a drawling dying tone "hay", number two "be-e" and so on, till someone makes a blunder, and then he's sent last, his blunder sometimes sharpening the wits of the rest, but more frequently causing jealousy and, in some instances, lasting hatred". (15)

Thomas Daniel, a witness before Sadler's Committee in 1832, gave evidence that children often disobeyed their parents when sent to schools on Sunday. "Children after labouring all the week in the manner I have stated, when they are compelled to go to a school on the Sunday, it seems almost death to their minds, and they spurn it with contempt, and the parents too". (15a) "They will go out of the house, as if to school at the request of their parents, but they will go wandering up and down the street, and associate with all sorts of blackguard society that they can meet with. It has been found very essential in Manchester, within these last three or four years, to collect as many persons as they possibly could, to swear in as special constables, for the purpose of assisting the Church wardens in keeping the streets clear for those families that are desirous

of going to a place of worship; for the children alluded to, give so much annoyance on Sunday morning, and on a Sunday afternoon, to persons going to their respective places of worship, that it has been found essential that those persons should patrol the streets morning and afternoon to keep them clear and peaceable. Those children are gambling and carrying on all sorts of games that they can possibly name". (16)

Daniels believed that Sunday schools would do a service if the children were not worked so hard during the week and unable to learn anything at Sunday school, but "As the factory system, so at present carried on, it is a considerable injury for our children to go to Sunday school after such a week's labour; it is injurious to their health and it leads to a great many immoral practices". (17) Daniels believed that the physical sufferings of the children were increased by their forced attendance at Sunday schools after a hard week's work, without any prospect of their moral improvement being raised.

He was critical of the influence some manufacturers had over the children who attended Sunday schools. "You say that you think the Sunday schools are more attended by manufacturers to meet their own purposes, than with any other view?" "I did". (18) "I think the instructions given at those Sunday schools are for the very purpose of making those children as humble and as obedient to the wishes of the manufacturers as possible ..... Many other instances of this kind might be mentioned "Daniels went on "The visitors who visited those Sunday schools, in my opinion, visited them for the purpose of bringing the children's minds into such a state, and that they should always be in such a way as not to ask anything from their

employers which they ought to have". (19) "So much was the language used in Sunday schools of that nature at that time, that a great number of scholars left the school and in some instances the teachers also". (20)

Asked to account for the evidence of the success of Sunday schools witnessed in the Whit walks through Manchester, he stated that many thousands who walked in the processions in Manchester were not members of Sunday schools, indeed he said that his own children had walked when not members.

Rev. Bull, of a parish near Bradford, a supporter of Oastler and the Ten Hour Movement, and a witness before Sadler in 1832, put forward a paper when a witness before the Handloom Weavers' Inquiry of 1840, on the inefficiency of the Sunday school as an instrument of education. He regretted teaching either reading or writing on a Sunday and deplored an economic system that gave children no other time in which to learn. "It is taken for granted in her Rubrick (Church of England), that in a Christian country, society will never be so degraded, nor Government so besotted, as not to provide for the mechanical part of education without trenching on the Sabbath day". (21) Like John Beyer, he was highly critical of the short period of time in the Sunday school day when instruction actually took place, he estimated it at 2 hours; Berger agreed with him, for he was taught for half an hour in the morning and half an hour in the afternoon. Whilst the nominal hours of attendance might be three, so much time was taken up in various ways that he was convinced that considerably less than two hours were given to reading and teaching. (22) Bull then stated that the chief part of that time was spent in the mere mechanical exercises of reading, spelling

and A.B.C. In very few instances were the teachers accustomed to 'teach' the scholars; they were, for the most part, mere witnesses of their poor exercises; little or nothing was explained or applied. It was not to be wondered at that the Sunday school children should not generally imbibe religious views, when the schools were so much mere places of confinement and task-work. (23)

He described the teachers as generally a most respectable body, but they themselves had very little opportunity of instruction. They were chiefly such as gained their livelihood by labour and for the most part work "by the factory bell" which, under the present system of 13 hours and a half occupation, did not ring off till half past seven. After that late hour there was neither energy nor opportunity for Sunday school teachers to learn, that they might teach. (24)

Bull saw a remedy in reducing the hours at the mill, 10 hours labour, he believed, would enable evening schools to be established "rendering the task-work of the Sunday schools unnecessary, and preparing a description of teachers who would be qualified to teach and to interest the young". (25) Bull was highly critical of those who claimed that Sunday schools were all that working children required in education "Such men as these are the arch apostles of infidelity and under their patronage surely every noxious weed in principle or practice may grow", and "They have made this their infamous and detestable excuse for working our youth daily longer than mechanics, masons, convicts or slaves", (26) and he concluded "It appears to me that if our Sunday schools succeed, they will procure their own abolition - a race of parents being reared who will make the Sunday school their own hearth and take the post of teachers themselves". (27)

An article in the "Quarterly Review" quoted a clergyman who deplored the dame and common schools where no religion was taught because they make Sunday schools necessary. "To this eminently popular method of profaning the Sabbath, I have always entertained the most decided aversion. The Sunday school system - as far as the scholars are concerned, - turns what ought to be a cheerful religious festival into a day of gloom and penance; a sad routine of lessons and of lecturing, and of rigorous confinement to the church and school". (28) He made another point "To the Sunday school system I am inclined to attribute a good deal of that disregard for the Sabbath among the labouring classes which we hear so generally complained of. In every class of life .... I have observed that the greater number of persons who render a regular and consistent attention to the devotional duties of the Sunday are first led to it by a desire of setting a good example to their children..... Now from the moment the Sunday school master began to collect the children of the poor together, to conduct them to church in a body, and to seat them in a place apart from their parents, this persuasive motive for attending public worship, and this present gratification in attending it, were annihilated with regard to the labouring population. How then can we be astonished at their having become gradually negligent of those religious duties, which, by our officious interference, we have divested of their most influential inducement and most endearing charm?" (29) He went on "We never ought to be satisfied with any scheme of education which does not leave the Sunday free. On that day the children and their parents should be together from the time they rise in the morning till they go to bed at night, - at church together, walking together, conversing together, reading together". (30) The writer

of the article made a further point "To pen up in the crowded school, ..... on that Sabbath appointed by God for the rest of man, those who are imprisoned in the busy and sultry factory, in the close alley, or the dim-lighted hovel, for the other six days in the week - is assuredly to do anything rather than cultivate gentle humanising, Christianising influences". (31) Finally, an element that contributed to the educational controversy of 1843. "And yet we fear, if the truth must be spoken, much of the opposition against any Government system of education will be found to arise out of the jealousy .... lest Sunday schools, and the influence attained through Sunday schools over a large part of the population, should be impaired or diminished". (32)

An overall criticism of Sunday schools was that educationally they were inefficient and that as a Sunday institution they weakened the family bond of Church worship, and denied to working children a day of rest. They certainly had little time which was not intruded upon by others. Everything was made to appear to be in earnest, there was no time for relaxation.

The Factory Inquiry Commission of 1833 produced a survey which showed the trades and occupations of the boys and girls who attended Stockport Sunday school, and a separate report on those who attended branch schools of the Stockport school. (33)

1,719 boys and 1,941 girls made up the Stockport survey. Of

the boys at home with no employment there were 299 of which only 36 were above 10. There were 132 at Day School, the largest age group being 29 of 7 years. In the age group 7, 8, 9 years there were 67, about half the number, there were 26 above 10 years of age. The number employed in factories was 994 over 50% of all the scholars. 714 of these factory children, over three quarters, were between 9-15 years. The number in factories above 14 years declined rapidly, there being 304 between 15-21 years, either this or the numbers of boys in factories, who attended Sunday schools declined rapidly. Of the other occupations, the next largest was hat-making with 66 boys, 35 being between 14-17 years. Of the age range of the Sunday school scholars from 5-19 years, 773 nearly 50% were between the age group of 10-14 years.

1,941 girls attended the Sunday school and 1,227 were in the factories, a slightly higher per cent than the boys. The age range was about the same, but many more older girls, 16-19 years, went to Sunday school than boys. Most of the girls employed in factories were between 12-15 years, 459, more than one third. The next highest occupation was domestic service with 281 girls and 40%, 106, between 8-10 years. The age range of girls at Sunday School, had a longer tail than boys. The number of girls at 18 years was 109, there were 60 boys. Of the girls who did not work, only 83 did not go to school compared with 299 boys, and 256 girls went to Day school compared with 132 boys.

A different pattern emerged in the Branch schools of the Stockport Sunday school, on the outskirts of the old town. More boys were at Day school, out of a sample only one-third of the size of the central school; there were also fewer boys at home than in

the town. Fewer were in the factories, 219 boys, about one-third of the total number, in the town it was over a half. It seemed that if there was less work available, the children went to school rather than stay at home. More girls stayed at home, 118, than boys in the outskirts and than girls in the town; 83 out of 1,941 in town and 118 out of 633 in the outskirts. The girls who went to Day school were about the same proportion in each case. Of the girls in the outskirts, the second most numerous occupation was again domestic, but a much smaller proportion was so employed; 39 out of 633 in the outskirts and 231 out of 1,941 in Stockport.

From this survey of 1833, more than one-half of the boys and almost two-thirds of the girls at Sunday school worked in factories, so that any attempt to reduce the hours of work to enable children to go to school during the day, could be seen as an attempt to reduce the influence of Sunday schools on factory children, and have a disastrous effect on their numbers.

This survey referred to Sunday schools in the early 1830's when attempts to educate some working class children on a daily basis was in its initial stages and did not present a threat to Sunday schools. By the late 1830's, Sunday schools were being criticised by those who wanted a higher standard of education than they were able to provide, and by Anglicans who did not approve of secular teaching on Sunday, and who saw Sunday schools as a means by which parents could avoid the responsibility of taking the children to Church themselves. It became clear that both the Sunday schools and those Factory Acts which sought to regulate the education of children were competing for the same children and that all the financial advantages of grants and work certificates were to go to schools



teaching daily. This was bad enough and tended to create a system of Sunday schools where the teaching standards were low and which perpetuated itself as it trained teachers from its own pupils; but the situation worsened for Sunday schools in the early 1840's when the Government was offering easier grants for buildings, and proposing regulations for the management and trustees of the new schools which would create a great influence for the clergy in the everyday working of the schools. Half the children in the Stockport Sunday school in 1833 were from factories and got their learning from the Sunday school, but, by the 1840's all of these were getting a better schooling in the compulsory day schools. A problem confronting the Sunday schools was, would children who went to schools influenced by Anglican clergy during the week, go to predominantly Nonconformist Sunday schools on Sunday?

These deterrent factors, which threatened the expansion of the Sunday schools, became legislative reality in the Factory Bill of 1843. Nonconformist resistance took two forms, moderate by the Wesleyan Methodists and extreme by Edward Baines, Yorkshire M.P.

Numerically the Wesleyans were the strongest grouping within Nonconformity. In both Lancashire and Yorkshire they came second only to the Church in seating capacity and Sunday school scholars. In Lancashire 66,260 sittings as against 221,248 for the Church and 32,602 Sunday school scholars as against 75,930. In Yorkshire sittings were 117,123 as against 136,736 and Sunday school scholars, they had more than Church of England, 40,499 as against 48,511. The Wesleyans criticised Graham's Bill at their Sheffield Conference in 1843 "Calculated to sow the seeds of discord in every place in which it might come into operation and to inflame, almost

beyond the possibility of healing". (34) Wesleyans claimed that it was the increasing High Church influence which made its advance in education unacceptable. "We bear our distinct and solemn testimony against those grievous errors which are now tolerated within her pale". (35) They went on, "One ground of our strenuous opposition to the lately projected measure of public education was its obvious tendency to give to the Clergy of the Established Church an unfair and undue control over the religious teaching in the schools, which it would have established". (36) This conference also empowered the president to call together a Committee "to consider the best means to be adopted for establishing an efficient and extensive system of education for the benefit of the poorer members of our body". (37)

The Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1843 established an education department to gather together financial resources for the building of schools and all the grants available from Privy Council "to avail yourself of the advantages about to be provided for the instruction of your children". (38) The 1844 conference at Birmingham confirmed what had been resolved the year before "It was incumbent upon us as a people, in addition to our extensive and incalculably useful Sunday schools, to provide the means of an efficient Day school system of instruction, which should be founded and conducted on purely Christian principles, and as much as possible pervade the whole connexion". (39)

This education committee, by its immediate activity, reflected the anxiety of the conference to take as much Government help as possible, in the belief that the number of schools they built would determine the influence on education of the contestants.

The Wesleyans went about the challenge with vigour. In the decade 1841-1851 they built 239 Day schools as against 269 by the Congregationalists, 166 by the Roman Catholics and 3,448 by the Anglicans. (39a) "Recent events appear to preclude for the present the establishment of legislative enactment of any plan of education which would be truly national; ..... It is now the more imperatively incumbent on the various Denominations of the Christian Church, to undertake each its own portion of the common duty, in such manner and to such extent as circumstances may admit". (40) It was also resolved that 700 schools should be built in the following 7 years, each Circuit being allowed at least two schools, also that there should be established "The Wesleyan Education General Fund" to raise £5,000 per annum for 7 years. Along with many other financial commitments this sum was large, for it represented £15,000 per annum of resources, as it attracted £5000 from Privy Council and £5,000 loan payable over 10 years. Over the 7 year period the Wesleyan Methodists had resources of £105,000 for school building. The £5,000 per annum was raised from contributions and "one general collection in all places of worship". (41)

On the Congregational educational effort, the "Edinburgh Journal" reported that "The newspapers have lately informed us of a meeting of the Congregational body, when upwards of seventeen thousand pounds were subscribed for educational purposes, and a determination was expressed to raise the sum to one hundred thousand within five years for the same objects. It appears that this liberality is designed mainly for the establishment of day-schools in connexion with this religious body. At the same time, similar efforts are in the course of being made by the Wesleyan

Methodists, but with views equally confined to that particular denomination. There is also a design entertained of establishing a college in the Midland district of England ..... for the secular education of youths against whom the Universities are closed". (42)

The majority of the larger Nonconformist denominations decided to join the race to qualify for the maximum grants to build Day schools, allowing their Sunday schools to become what in reality they had always been, recruiting grounds for religious adherents.

Edward Baines took the line of bitter resistance in defence of the Sunday schools, and as leader of those who believed that the Church was seeking, through education, to establish itself in the northern industrial towns, the heartland of nineteenth century Nonconformity, and that it had the support of the Government, acting on the reports of Factory and Privy Council inspectors. Baines believed that the Bill of 1843 was initiated by Saunders' Report of January 1843 "I have no doubt that that part of the Bill which is for the better education of children in factory districts is the production of that gentleman whose Report proves him to be a very zealous and bigoted High Churchman". Baines expressed his opinions in letters addressed to Lord Wharnccliffe and Peel. To Lord Wharnccliffe on Graham's Bill. "A deep scheme for getting the education of the whole people into the hands of the clergy" and "calculated to impair and ultimately to destroy an immense number of Sunday schools now existing in connexion with the Dissenting bodies". "The effects of this Bill would be to stir up a religious strife which must either lead to the extermination of Dissent or the downfall of the Establishment. This Bill, My Lord, is a Declaration

of War against all the Dissenters in the kingdom". (43)

Ashley took a prominent part in the debate on the Condition and Education of the Poor, in February 1843. He spoke of "the growth of an alien race" in the northern manufacturing towns which was a threat to social stability. "As a result of the present existence of a highly demoralised middle aged and rising generation, no one can hope that 20 years more will pass without some mighty convulsion and displacement of the whole system of society". (44)

Sir Robert Inglis spoke of "the heathenish state of the manufacturing districts". (45) Sir James Graham's Bill rested upon Ashley's interpretation of the facts, as his justification for a measure especially affecting the factory population. Baines set out to demonstrate statistically that the charges of sedition, immorality and irreligion were unfounded. (46)

Baines saw these attacks on the working population in the north, as an attack on Nonconformity, which identified with it. Accusations of immorality and sedition were assaults on the work of the Sunday schools. The Church was claiming, thought Baines, that Nonconformity had failed and that the Church was to move in to repair the neglect. Educational objectives receded, for a time, before a Church - Nonconformist confrontation.

Baines claimed that the immorality among young persons was not to be blamed upon the working population of the district, but attributed to the children of idle and profligate parents who were attracted to a large town by the various resources which it offered to enable them to escape regular labour. (47) Using the recent Plug Riots as an example of northern disaffection, Baines retorted

that "For more than 40 years there has not been a riot of any kind in Leeds". (48) Ever conscious that the charge of Immorality reflected on the effectiveness of Nonconformity, he went on "a spirit of High Church bigotry was greedily swallowing and eagerly propagating whatever reflected on the districts where other denominations of Christians considerably exceed the Established Church in numbers". (49)

To gather up these statistics Baines set up committees in the northern towns "to collect statistics of Religion and Education so as to furnish evidence to the world of the real condition of the Manufacturing Districts in these respects". (50) He claimed to cover an area occupied by 2,208,771 people and measured Church and Chapel accommodation, Sunday schools and Day schools in the Nonconformist northern towns, and compared his findings with their Anglican counterparts in London.

On Church and Chapel accommodation, he estimated that sittings in Yorkshire were 49.75% of the population, 42.75% in Lancashire, whilst in London sittings were 36% of population and in Westminster 30%. As a result in Westminster it was 30%, in London 36% and in North 45%. He went further indicating the rate of growth and the means by which the growth was achieved. He estimated that the population in the north between 1800 and 1843 increased by 148% and the Church and Chapel seating space by 241%. This was an attempt to counter the impression given by Ashley that the Church in all its forms was unable to cope with industrialisation and that the effects were seen in increased crime, increased immorality and increased sedition. The weakness of Baines, though his figures were impressive, did not prove his point, because there was little

evidence to indicate that the Chapel seating was filled or that the quality of teaching and preaching had the effect on the listeners that Baines claimed. His figures were more justified in demonstrating the means by which the increase was achieved and the relative achievement of state and voluntary effort. He measured state effort by the number of Anglican churches built by Parliamentary grants between 1817 and 1825 in the north. In that period 57 churches and seating for 70,611 was provided in the north, whilst by voluntary effort 148 churches, mainly Nonconformist and 129,741 extra seats were provided. Where churches were built by private and local funds from 1800 the Anglicans built 148 churches and provided 129,741 seats, whilst Nonconformists totalled 1,030 churches, many of them very small, and 482,443 seats. Baines was seeking to demonstrate that an impressive effort had been made to combat immorality in the manufacturing towns over the period of their most rapid growth, and that Nonconformity and the principle of voluntary effort had been successful.

On Sunday schools, Baines felt that Ashley had underrated their importance. He claimed that their number was adequate and that they were efficient. He claimed that of 408,532 Sunday School scholars 226,266 could read the Scriptures, 55% of the children in Sunday schools. That 66,000 middle class teachers had "spiritual superintendence" over 400,000 working class scholars and that, "Sunday school establish a bond of the greatest importance between the two classes of society. The Sunday school teachers aim not only to instruct, but to impress, not only to enlighten, but to win". (51)

There are two points at issue when considering that the Sunday schools were adequate in number, efficient in teaching what they

claimed they taught, and that they were firmly under the control of the middle classes, who presumably sought through the Sunday schools to instill middle-class values and counter the fear of sedition. That the schools were adequate in number and provision, there is no doubt, but the evidence against their being efficient was considerable. They taught reading, but the children who could read beyond the stage of elementary letters and a learning of Biblical passages by rote, were few. The standards of teaching of reading and the wish to read other than from the Bible had advanced in the 10 years from 1833, and the Sunday schools had been left behind. The wish to learn to write had increased, but had not been satisfied by Sunday schools, most of whom did not teach writing on a Sunday, but opened evening schools during the week for this purpose, most of which were poorly attended by factory children. Robert Hall in his memoirs expressed hard line Nonconformist thinking "Once breakdown the barrier between the sacred and civil employment of time and the sanctity of the Sabbath is violated; nor is it possible to know where to stop. When young persons have been sanctioned by their superiors in devoting a part of the Sabbath to exercises of a purely secular nature, what shall restrain the more studious part of them, at a subsequent period, from pursuing grammar, geography or arithmetic, on the Lord's day". (52)

That the teachers were middle class is doubtful. To recruit 66,000 middle class teachers is a high claim. What is indicated by the evidence, is that the teachers were recruited from among the scholars. This would indicate that they were working class, for Baines admitted that the pupils were mainly working class, and that the teachers were teaching from very little personal knowledge.



The Rev. Bull "The teachers at our Sunday schools are generally selected from the humbler classes". (53)

Baines claimed that Day school provision in the manufacturing districts of the north was one scholar to every ten of the population, 210,592 scholars to a population of 2,208,771. Here again Baines was probably correct, but that all these children were well taught, which is implied in his claim, is difficult to accept, or that they attended regularly. The reports of Horner and Saunders abound in cases of gross neglect in dame and common schools where the teacher was often old, careless and ignorant. Ashley "A mistress in a Dame school, asked if she gave moral instruction replied 'No, I can't afford it at 3d a week'. Several did not know the meaning of the question". (54) Common schools were often under the control of the mill-owner whose standards reached no higher than the issuing of a certificate of attendance which allowed him to work the child; most factory schools were no better. (55) So bad were these schools that inspectors in the 1840's, and Graham in the Factory Bill of 1843, sought powers to allow mill-owners to accept certificates only from Church schools. Yet of these 210,592 scholars 125,890 went to schools of this nature: evidence that Baines was seeking to impress by numbers and ignoring the quality of the schooling given.

Baines addressed a second letter to Peel indicating that the claim that workers were brutalised by harsh conditions and inhuman treatment was untrue. "Brutalised, they act like brutes", was not the impression given by Baines "The labour of the factory, instead of being severe, is light, the heavy work being done by the steam engine and the other machinery, and the duty of the workmen being

chiefly to supply the material, to watch the movements of the machines, and to convey the article from one process to another. An article in "The Edinburgh Journal" for June 1844 supported this. "It has been asserted, and is generally believed that the operatives, while at work, are obliged to assume painful and unnatural attitudes, and that these attitudes from daily repetition, gradually settle into confirmed deformity. This is most untrue, for the heaviest part of the labour is executed by the steam-engine or water wheel, and it is watchfulness and care, not bodily exertion, that is required from the operative: this care consists in seeing that the machinery acts, and in no instance did I see anyone in a constrained or painful position". (56) Not only was work easy and education adequate, but he attempted, by using the figures for illegitimate births, to prove that the factory repressed immorality. In the period 1839-41 he showed that illegitimate births were three to a thousand in West Riding of Yorkshire and  $3 \frac{2}{3}$  to a thousand in Lancashire, in Norfolk and Herefordshire they were nearly 6 to a thousand, almost double. Again Balnes was quoting figures which were no doubt true, but Ashley was referring to promiscuous relationships in urban areas, where the marriage of the partners was not considered.

On public order, he quoted the Report of the Constabulary Force Commissioners that - "The majority of the crimes attended with violence are now committed in the rural districts, although the population and property in towns have increased in a far more rapid proportion". Balnes failed to see that the fears of property were not the nature of the crimes, but the potential for social change in the gathering together of great numbers of people with the same grievances.

Baines expressed a viewpoint that there was a great division between north and south, between northern industry and southern agriculture, between the Church and northern Nonconformity, and a perpetual battle where Nonconformity was constantly on the defensive against an encroaching Church. All these, he believed, were part of Graham's Bill. "The effects of this Bill would be to stir up a religious strife which must either lead to the extermination of Dissent or the downfall of the Establishment". (57) He saw Graham's Bill as an attempt to force children who worked in the mills into the influence of Anglican clergy, to the disadvantage of Nonconformist Sunday schools and chapels. He was maddened by the suggestion that Nonconformity could not cope with the moral issues created by rapid industrialisation, and that the Established Church had a duty, through its schools, to repair the evil. "I declare my solemn conviction that a Bill, more exclusive, more intolerant, more fatal to religious liberty, more calculated to strangle what I consider Gospel truth, has never been presented to the English Parliament in modern times!" (58)

Baines was symbolic of the strong loud voice of northern Dissent which successfully opposed Graham's first attempt to improve the quality and widen the area of compulsory education. "There is a taint upon the manufacturing Districts which soils and mars everything, which makes their education to be worthless, their religion dangerous, and all their good to be evil spoken of - which still causes you to bring in Church Endowment Bills, and Sir James Graham's Factory Education Bill. That taint is Dissent!" (59)

The Sunday schools had an importance beyond their educational significance, in that they were the outposts of Nonconformity in

the north. Hence any attempt to provide factory children, who attended Sunday schools, with dally schooling which could be seen as an alternative to the Sunday school, was seen as an attempt to weaken Nonconformity itself. In reality it was so, for Sunday schools were recruiting grounds for future Nonconformists. The problem was that the evangelising efforts of Nonconformity had become entangled with elementary schooling in a way that was popular with parents and mill-owners, irrespective of the value of the education given.

By 1843, the education of factory children had become so advanced and backed up by grants and inspectors that confrontation with the Sunday schools was inevitable. The confrontation may not have been so complete if Ashley had been more sensitive in his censure of the social conditions in the northern towns, and his implications of Nonconformist failure, and if Baines had not defended the north so hard. In sectarian conflict of this nature, survival is always made the final issue, hence the vehemence of the confrontation. Educationally it was unnecessary.

1. Matthews H.F. "Methodism and the Education of the People". Epworth Press London 1949 from Smith F. History of English Elementary Education Chap.2. p.51.
2. Moore B. History of Wesleyan Methodism in Burnley and East Lancashire Burnley 1899 p.114-116.
3. Matthews op cit p.53.
4. Matthews Ibid p.122.
5. Matthews Ibid p.42.
6. History of Longholme Wesleyan Chapel and Schools" Rawtenstall Historical Society.
7. Matthews op cit p.58.
8. Matthews Ibid p.48.
9. British Quarterly Review 1845 Vol.1.
10. Moore B. op cit p.114.
11. Mathieson W.L. England In Transition 1789-1832 Longmans 1920
12. Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes 1834 P.P. 1834 (572) Vol IX col 1312 and 1333.
13. Quarterly Review op cit.
- 13a P.P.1843 (431) Vol XIV p.1321.
14. Rev. Baptist Noel, an evangelical parson and supporter of the British and Foreign School Society - volunteered to inspect schools in the north for Kay-Shuttleworth in 1840. Rev.Alexander Thurtell, 1805-1884 - H.M. Inspector of Schools 1847-48. Resigned for health reasons after one year and was replaced in the N.W. region by Kennedy.
- 14a Reach A.B. Manchester and the Textile Districts in 1849 Ed. C. Aspin. Helmshore Local History Society 1972 p.45.
15. Vincent D. Testaments of Radicalism Europa Publications London 1977.
- 15a Sadler's Select Committee P.P.1832-2 (706) XV. par. 7499.
16. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 7500-1.
17. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 7506.
18. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 7508.
19. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 7512.
20. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 7515.

21. Handloom Weaver's Report 1840 11.Aug. Rev. Bull p.569.
22. Sadler's Committee op cit. par. 569.
23. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 569.
24. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 569.
25. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 569.
26. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 569.
27. Sadler's Committee Ibid par. 569.
28. British Quarterly Review No. CLVI Sept. 1846 p.412.
29. Ibid p.412-413.
30. Ibid p.413.
31. Ibid p.413.
32. Ibid p.414.
33. Factory Inquiry Commission 1833 Supplementary Report 1834(167) Vol. XIX pp. 158-159. see Appendix No. X. and Appendix No.XIII.
34. Wesleyan Conference 1843 Sheffield 11. Aug. 1843.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Wesleyan Conference 1844.
- 39a 1851 Census Returns P.P. 1852-53 (1692) Vol. XC. Reports. LX, LIX, LXII, LVI.
40. Resolution of the Education Committee of the Wesleyan Conference Meeting 31st Oct. 1843.
41. Ibid, meeting on 1st and 2nd Nov. 1843.
42. Edinburgh Journal 17 Feb. 1844.
43. Baines E. The Social, Educational and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts . Baines and Newsome Leeds 1843.  
Baines to Lord Wharnccliffe 1843.
44. Ashley. Hansard 3rd Series Feb. 1843. Vol. 67. Col. 48.
45. Baines op cit p.8.
46. Baines Ibid p.8.

47. Baines *ibid* p.10.
48. Baines *ibid* p.11.
49. Baines *ibid* p.11.
50. Baines *ibid* p.11.
51. Baines *ibid* p.12.
52. Works of Robert Hall, London 1846 p.110.
53. Sadler's Select Committee *op cit* par. 9287.
54. Ashley. Hansard 3rd Series. Feb. 1843. *op cit*. col. 52.
55. There were good factory schools. McConnell's of Manchester and Woods at Bradford were examples.
56. Edinburgh Journal 22 June 1844. p.397.
57. Baines *op cit*, Baines to Wharnccliffe 1843.
58. Baines *ibid*. Baines to Wharnccliffe 1843.
59. Baines *ibid*. p.62.

## CHAPTER 7

Problems and disadvantages of children in non-regulated labour  
and outside the educational clauses - adverse effects on  
compulsory education - the advent of the principle of universality.



The two Inspectorates in the post 1844 period gave a revealing comparison between children who worked in regulated labour and those who did not. Their reports underlined the need to expand regulated labour to fill the available school space. In all the industrial towns of the north there were large numbers of children who never went to school, and who lived on the streets, making a living by doing odd jobs. A reduction in the numbers of these uncontrolled children would reduce the adverse effects that they had on compulsory education.

As there was no way by which all the children could be brought into regulated labour, and therefore into compulsory education, it became clear that the union of work and school, as a satisfactory educational system for the working class child was limited to those worked together in large numbers. This limitation children, who may have been acceptable in the 1830's, when the belief that factory children were at great moral risk overrode the discriminatory nature of educational effort, but by 1845 the feeling by the inspectors, that universality must be added to compulsion, as an essential part of working class education, was real. This principle took longer to establish than compulsion. Nevertheless the instincts of the inspectors were, as far as possible, to bring these children within the compulsory educational system, in defence of the system itself.

The reports of the Privy Council Inspectorate after 1844 showed the consequences of the inability to school working class children outside a structured education system. Whilst factory children were attending improved schools regularly for four years, other children who were not in regulated labour were attending school irregularly, if at all, and, as with the factory children in the early 1830's, were part of the cycle of juvenile crime, ignorant and unruly children and uncaring parents.

This comparison demonstrated a theme of this study, that experimentation in the fusion of school and work could only produce a model for future educational reference and not a solution to the problem of working class education. It could show how a part of the children of the working class behaved when presented with a learning situation. It demonstrated, as it did with compulsion, that working class education would possess unique features. It showed how a whole range of people, parents, magistrates, masters, clergy, responded when a part of the working class children were introduced to learning. It showed how these children changed the role of the schoolmaster and the system of teaching, but it did not, nor did it seek, to solve the problem of educating all working class children in 1844.

Rev. Watkins, who became a Privy Council Inspector for the north after the dividing up of the northern region in 1844, reported in early 1845 on his findings during an inspection carried out in late 1844. He noticed a short fall in the number of children attending

school. "No one can pass through any of the manufacturing towns of Yorkshire or Lancashire during school hours without being convinced that whatever numbers of children may be contained in our daily schools, there are many who do not enter them at all, or at least do not attend them with any degree of regularity."<sup>(1)</sup> Watkins believed that the greatest shortage was not in school buildings nor teachers, "but in those who are to be taught." He believed that two conditions were necessary, not only that the children be there, in order that they might be taught, but that they be there at such an age and for such a period of time, that they might receive the master's instruction, intelligently and profitably.<sup>(2)</sup>

Joseph Fletcher,<sup>(3)</sup> appointed Inspector to British schools after Tremenhare's dismissal, confirmed Watkins' view. On the schools he visited, urban and rural alike, the attendance of children was the same. He found that the schools generally were not full, especially those for girls, and that of 9,865 children or about 318 to each school he visited, there were in reality only 7,361 children or 254 to each school, leaving the schools with numbers considerably less than the school-rooms would contain.<sup>(4)</sup>

Not only was there a short fall in attendance but there was a high irregularity of attendance in those on the roll. The average attendance varied widely with both the area of the school and the nature of the pupils. In rural areas attendance was seasonal, school being denuded of pupils at harvest time or potato picking. At Downham, a reason for the low attendance when Rev. Allan visited the school in 1840 was the bad weather. In towns the most regular attendance came from the factory children who could not work unless

they attended school the prescribed hours. Other town scholars were less regular, particularly the girls. The irregularity increased. In approaching either the manufacturing and trading, or the poorest and remotest of the rural districts, where the fluctuations of trade and the changes of season had an immediate effect on the children's schooling. (5)

Watkins attributed this to the social background of the child. He observed that life was a struggle for existence "the weekly wages are the sole means of existence. Whatever is taken from them which is not required for the necessary wants of the body is hardly spared, given grudgingly, and with ill-will. Such is the school fee for the child's education. Whatever adds to the family wages is hailed with delight and used to the utmost extent. Such is the early labour of the child." (6) Watkins compared the wages of adults and children which demonstrated the value of child labour to the family. In agricultural districts parents earned from 8s to 12s per week, a boy 9 to 11 years from 1s to 2s.6d, so that a boy of school age could earn from 1/8th to 1/5th of an adult wage. In manufacturing places where the parents' wages were higher but more liable to interruption, and received in circumstances requiring larger expenditure, the labour of the child was still more valuable. In industry, 8 and 9 year olds could earn from 2s to 3s and at 11 and 12 years from 3s to 4s.6d. (7) Watkins believed that improvements in machinery tended to the same end, of increasing the demand for, and therefore raising the value of, children's labour. The more perfect the machine, the less strength and less knowledge was required in its management. (8)

Most children stayed only a short time at school. "In the girls'

school at St. James Hall, of 137 girls admitted last year, 89 left in the course of it' and of the boys "the average stay of children in the boys' school is rather more than 11 months."<sup>(9)</sup> Watkins estimated that the school life of a working class child did not exceed 2 years.

Fletcher noticed that the ages at which children attended the schools varied with the nature of the district. In the industrial areas the children started schools earlier and left earlier than those in rural areas who had a longer, but more irregular, school life. Fletcher observed, "The most common age of admittance into these British schools is 6 or 7, but in some instances, especially in the manufacturing districts, it is yet more infantile; and that of their quitting school from 10 to 12 years lowered at Holbeck and at Warrington, two places of the poorest manufacturing population, to 9 years. In industrial areas the length of time spent at school was determined by the state of trade and the availability of work, in poor times, children stayed at school longer, in good times for a shorter period. Here again, children who worked in regulated factories attended school regularly, and for a fixed period of time each week, until 13 years of age. It was to those outside the cotton and woollen industry, who had to find work, whose schooling generally ended at 9. These children were by far more numerous than factory children.

As a result, children in factories in 1845 had an advantage educationally in that they were attending school for a longer period of time, attending regularly and attending school at a later age than children in a similar social group who were not in regulated employment.

Both Fletcher and Watkins noted other factors that effected attendance, duration and regularity of schooling in manufacturing towns. Fletcher found that so far as sex was concerned, fewer girls attended school for shorter periods. The school proportion was much lower. "While the school accommodation for girls averaged in each school 84 per cent of that for the boys in their respective schools, the average attendance of girls is only 66% of that of the boys, while in the schools in which they are intermingled, the proportion of girls is only 38 per cent on the number of boys in the same school."<sup>(10)</sup> Fletcher attributed the reason for this to "their being more useful at an early age in domestic services and in an equal degree to the opinion that education is of much less importance to girls than to boys."<sup>(11)</sup> He estimated that this shortage of girls "is in a great part attributable to the fact that the British schools, as a whole, are not full." The shortage of girls was real and his estimation accurate, but the legislation widening regulated work to print works would rectify this in many mill-towns, as 50% of the young workers in the 8-13 years age group were girls.

Watkins noted that there were cases of the lack of schools in the smaller towns. At Prescott in Lancashire, with a population of about 8,000, there was no daily Church school. At St. Helens..... there were only three daily Church schools for a population of 8,000. He found only one very indifferent daily school and two dame schools, containing altogether about 220 children. At Thornton in Craven, with a population of 2,354 in its four townships, there was no daily Church school. <sup>(12)</sup> He went on "In the populous places of the manufacturing district, the difference is not less

striking" and he provided figures for industrial towns. He numbered those who received daily Church education per head of the whole population, in Oldham 1 in 150, in Manchester 1 - 63½, in Rochdale 1 - 169, Bolton 1 in 91, Blackburn 1 in 56½, and Liverpool 1 - 23. "The number which we may reckon upon in the daily schools of our Church, varies from about one half to one third of the whole number who ought to be under education."<sup>(13)</sup> Watkins assumed that one in eight of the whole population should be under education. The whole number of children attending daily Church schools in Lancashire was 56,100 from a population of 1,667,000 that was about 1 in 29.<sup>(14)</sup>

A shortage of school space, whilst responsible for children not attending school in some towns, was not a widespread reason for lack of attendance. Watkins noted at a whole list of places including Oldham, Trawden, Great Crosby and Kelbrook in Yorkshire that there were school-rooms in several instances spacious and very convenient, which were untenanted as daily schools,<sup>(15)</sup> and that in fifty schools examined it appeared that the average attendance of children in them did not reach one half, and varied to about one third of the number for which they were built. In fifty schools with accommodation for 15,003 children, the average attendance was 5,904 children.<sup>(16)</sup> At Herton, with a population of 18,000 there were only 158 children in the Church Schools. At Thornton with a population of nearly 7,000, there were 52 only. At Wilsden with about 5,000 souls, there were 100 children in the school. The above numbers were those of the number on the books of each school, and not the children in actual attendance who were, of course, much fewer in number.<sup>(17)</sup> "Again, on the border of Yorkshire, in a

populous district lying between Colne and Skipton, the number of children at Church or as I am told, at any school, is sadly small, when compared with the number that spend their lives in the streets or trespassing on their neighbours property, learning only mischief, and forming habits of idleness, intemperance and profligacy. Thornton-in-Craven, Lothersdale and Kelbrooke-in-Thornton, are in a bad condition in these respects..... You may see groups of children in every street and in every open space, following their own devices, and becoming daily more impatient of control and less like reasonable beings."<sup>(18)</sup>

He commented, as he had done in his earlier report, on the length of time children spent at school, and the interruptions they endured, even during this short time. Watkins estimated that on average, the time spent at school was 1½ years between the ages of 7 years and 9 years. "At that age, he is considered by his parents old enough, and strong enough, to contribute somewhat by his earnings to the scanty income of the family."<sup>(19)</sup> He regarded the agricultural child as having less opportunity for education than the factory child, and that whilst the children of the operative manufacturer were protected in their education by the clauses of the factory Regulation Act, no legislative enactment secured to the child of the agricultural labourer such a period of school-time as was absolutely necessary for his sound instruction. It was useless to attempt to educate a child in one year and three quarters of interrupted schooling, and it may be that in that period only 150th part of the solitary master's time and attention could be given to him.<sup>(20)</sup> He regarded the irregularities that beset rural education as more disturbing than those which confronted the factory child. He found that at one school



prayers did not commence before 10 o'clock because at least 50 of the 150 children never arrived before that time. At a school in Yorkshire he counted 32 children late out of 88, he asked them the cause of their delay. "In 25 cases it was 'the mother' five or six went for the milk; six or seven 'to fetch water', three had been to the cobblers for shoes; two or three were 'fettling house up', several could not 'get their breakfasts in time', two or three said 'that mother wanted them', only one of the whole number had the power, or the courage, to say that he had been 'doing no'at' (nothing). Several of them, the master said, were habitually late-comers day after day, going for water, or milk, or on any other family errand, thus wasting their own few and precious school hours, and hindering by their interruption into it, the general discipline and progress of the school."<sup>(21)</sup>

Watkins believed that a great hindrance to the education of the poor came from the parents of the children, which had been a permanent factor in the education struggle since the compulsory education of factory children in 1834. Denying that this indifference arose solely or chiefly from poverty, he believed that "They are not in general aware of its value. How should they be so? They are uninstructed and uneducated themselves. They have never found the value of good schooling in their own case; how should they value it rightly for their children? An ignorant generation does not beget a learned one."<sup>(22)</sup> As a result their indifference showed itself not so much in the child not attending a school, but in its irregularity and unpunctuality at school. "We blame master and we blame monitors, and we punish children, we find fault with methods and systems, and rooms, and situations but we often leave untouched

the tap-root of the evil - the parent,"(23)

Watkins, rejecting that parental indifference resulted solely from poverty, believed that the same problem existed to a similar degree in both manufacturing and country districts. He produced figures that indicated that the numbers on the books and the average attendance bore a similar ratio in both cases. In the manufacturing districts, 7:5 and in the agricultural districts 3:2. He further observed that in the places where the irregularity was greatest, the poverty of the people was not more striking, nor the school fees higher, than in other parts. (24)

Another hindrance to school work was the practice in the Lancashire towns of "begging" - This was a duty which fell on young children, of taking the meals into the mill for their parents and families. Because the meals were usually hot they had to be taken in a short time before the meal-time break, the children having to leave school early, go home and collect the food and then return to the mill with it. By the time this had been done the school had finished for dinner and the child would not return as it was probably working itself in the mill in the afternoon. Two disadvantages accrued from this practice. It deprived the child of an hour of morning schooling and it disrupted the teaching in the school and the learning process. It also indicated that when it came to the issue, the mill was always given precedence over the school. Watkins met this problem in north-east Lancashire. "At Clayton-le-Moors, 50 children out of 224 left the school half an hour before the time of dismissal for this purpose. At Pendleton 7 (out of 45) went out at 11 instead of 12 thus losing an hour every morning from this cause."(25)

Watkins realised that social conditions outside the control of the school had a major influence on the child's achievement, and that the chief impediment to moral and religious training arose at the home from the carelessness and godlessness of the parent. (25a) He believed that it was a sad necessity, if the first lesson which children learned at school was to beware of their own parents. (26) "It is very important that they should have other views and other motives suggested to them than those which the ignorance and vice both of fathers and mothers unceasingly and practically supply to them at home." (27)

Kennedy, reporting in December 1850, believed that one thing above all was lacking in working class schooling "I mean the appreciation of education by the poor themselves." (28) Kennedy proposed remedies for "this fatal indifference". He proposed that "some direct fine should be attached to those who do not send their children to school, as is the case in Prussia." (29) He admitted that "this might be incompatible, and if so it seems only the more necessary to devise some indirect means of meeting the difficulty." (30) He suggested public examinations with rewards for the best children and schools, and "a certain amount of knowledge an indispensable qualification for apprenticeship to any trade, or for certain kinds of employment." (31) He suggested giving a parliamentary vote to those who attained a certain standard of education. "I cannot but think that some political privilege attaching to a certain amount of education would be the most powerful indirect stimulus of any that could be devised." (32) He would go further and give the vote to all certificated masters and teachers. He concluded "and without some such stimulus, I almost fear that no measures, not even a rate

providing good instruction for all, will have due effect. The taste for education has yet to be created, and till it be created, we must, in some way, put a moral if not a physical constraint upon the lower orders, and so compel them to come in."<sup>(33)</sup>

Population movement affected regular school attendance. The Rev. Hugh Stowell of Salford thought that one third of his congregation changed their localities annually and the workers allured from their homes in prosperous times by high wages, or driven in times of distress to change their houses in search of employment, seemed to be insensible to local attachment, and to wander almost as much from choice as necessity. The children moved too, and the school career, commenced in one place, and broken through by removal, was often never again renewed.<sup>(34)</sup>

The polarisation of the population into social groups had an adverse effect on the Privy Council's policy of supporting voluntary effort by educational grants which were failing to meet the educational needs of manufacturing areas where the population was restricted to the working class which had neither opportunity nor tradition of "voluntary giving"; hence the areas which needed schools the most, were most deficient of them. Watkins illustrated this "in several of these places there is no resident either of gentle birth or liberal education; in some, not a single person of independent fortune. One clergyman in Lancashire assured me that in his district, with a population of more than 10,000, there was only one person of independent means..... Another incumbent of a densely inhabited district, told me that he had nearly 15,000 souls under his charge; that amongst them all 'the richest were only

small shopkeepers and but few of them."<sup>(35)</sup> This was a further example of voluntary principles of financing schools, being overtaken by events. So long as there was a social mix, there is evidence that the better off supported the schools of the poor, but the growth of large industrial areas of factory workers destroyed this system of subscriptions and left the most needy areas without the means of providing schools or attracting Government aid. The Government was aware of this situation and it reduced the proportion of voluntary contribution necessary to attract a Government grant in the 1844 legislation.

Watkins added two further points to his earlier observations on deficiencies of schooling. By implying that there was a shortage of schools in the mill-towns he was supporting the contention that the voluntary system, assisted by Government grants towards building costs, could not supply schools in areas where they were too few and where they were needed most. From his observations the areas where the need was greatest was not in the large manufacturing areas like Manchester or Bradford, nor in the country villages, but in recently developed small towns which had grown up around mills in semi-rural surroundings, i.e. Thornton-in-Craven district on the Lancashire and Yorkshire border, with its townships of Earby and Kelbrook, and in Batley and Dewsbury in Yorkshire. The reason for this failure of voluntary effort, as has been earlier noted, was caused by mills bringing together new communities made up almost exclusively of working class, who had neither the means nor the tradition of charitable giving, resulting in their being unable to qualify for the advantages of Government grants, and finally of fewer day schools, and the preserving of the

attitude that Sunday schools provided adequate education for the working class child.

The mid-1840's mark an important stage in educational thinking. Many inspectors by 1850, and Watkins as early as 1846, reached the conclusion that moral emphasis on educational value could retard the progress of educational development. This conclusion became acceptable as the fears of giving any education to the poor proved to be groundless. By 1846, the National Society was able to report that "The apprehensions of danger from the spread of knowledge among the poor which were once entertained, now scarcely exist. It is at length perceived and acknowledged that no political mischief arises in this country from imparting good instruction to the poor."<sup>(36)</sup> The inspectors believed that education must have some incentive other than moral. As educational provision widened, learning to read and write from the Bible, and long periods of reciting the catechism, were seen to be inadequate. The problem then, and indeed in the 130 years since, of educational incentive grew in importance as a parental interest in education failed to develop. The proposals of the inspectors showed a movement of thought away from the Church education which had been characteristic of earlier decades, and an acceptance that if parents were to pay for education, it had to show some economic or social advantages.

The seeking for a better quality of education led to the realisation that regular attendance was an important part of it and that it was a real part of the factory child's schooling. "The number of hours which the factory children attend school in the course of the year is not far short of that of the other scholars who attend nominally for the whole of the day, but with far less regularity.

Many of the factory children are not now to be distinguished from the others either in neatness of dress or progress in instruction."<sup>(37)</sup>

Evidence that factory children were attending schools regularly and were gaining a higher quality of education than their predecessors in the 1830's has been established, and though these conditions may be claimed to be general, they were not complete. Watkins noticed that where others were clean in person and neat in dress and happy in expression, they were dirty and labour soiled in ragged and scanty clothes, with heavy eyes and worn faces. In the clothing districts, their faces, necks and hands were deeply stained with the blue of the dye used for the cloth. From the spinning mills they came covered with the 'fluff' of the yarn in their hair. He described how they took their places in the school as if they did not belong to it, and had no business there. The masters did not strive much to make the factory children feel themselves at home. They were too closely packed to be at ease; and they either looked idly about them or talked together, with their books at their mouths.<sup>(38)</sup> When a schoolmaster told Watkins that it was essential to keep them separate from the rest of the school as their irregular attendance impeded the progress of the others, Watkins observed "Yet one thing seems plain - both charity and justice seem to demand it, that whatever be the consequences, such an arrangement should not be allowed in our Church schools. It surely can neither be expedient nor right that these poor hard-working children should thus have a wall of separation built up between them and their more fortunate school fellows - if it be not a mockery to use this word that they should have a mark set upon

them, as if they had done something deserving of punishment?"<sup>(39)</sup>  
Watkins went on "I fear that they have enough of suffering and sorrow, both at home and in their work, without adding any feelings of shame or bitterness in those which are probably, the quietest hours of their lives, the hours spent at school, which are intended to raise them above the weariness and the privations of their daily existence." Watkins concluded "I have always found them respond to a kind word or friendly look, whilst they seem to be humble and docile, and in many cases exceedingly attentive to an effort made to instruct them."<sup>(40)</sup>

Rev. Alexander Thurtell who was a Privy Council Inspector in the north from 1847-1848 reporting in 1848, agreed with the conclusions that Watkins arrived at. He noticed the low physical condition of factory children which would have been obvious even if there had been no difference in their clothes. "Not only was there a duller, less awakened aspect to a bench of factory children, but there was a greater proportion of pale sickly faces, and more manifestations of low organisation and bad tendencies, and the contrast in the looks of the factory children with those of the other scholars amongst whom they were found was often quite painful. They stood usually a head and shoulders above the children of equal attainments amongst whom they were mixed - dirty, ignorant and dull."<sup>(42)</sup>

Nevertheless, there was a common recognition that factory children, despite their part-time education, were faring better than other working-class children, who had a more casual approach to schooling. Yet if places in schools already provided by the religious societies with help from the Government grants and voluntary exertions



were to be filled, it was from this second group that the children must come. Whilst every encouragement to increase the number of factory children was evident; a reduction in the age at which children could work in regulated labour to 8 years, brought these younger children into compulsory education, the extension of the factory regulations to print-work children and the guiding of factory children away from dame and common schools; a stability was essential in the non-regulated children.

Watkins produced a list of 54 schools, mostly in Lancashire, which indicated that the numbers of children in the schools were rising in the two years from 1844-1846 by about 19 per cent. (43)

	<u>No. on books</u>	<u>Average Attendance</u>	<u>Present at Inspection</u>
1846	9,489	6,731	6,790
1844	7,950	5,946	5,825
Increase of	1,539	785	965

(44)

It cannot be assumed that this rise was made up only of factory children, though there were attempts being made to direct factory children to religious society schools. The rise was considerable and if valid for the whole region would have indicated an increase in numbers in the schools of all the children. Many schools gained considerable numbers. The Trinity school at Bolton raised its attendance from 320 to 480, Preston St. Mary's from 280 to 367, the National School at Colne 174 to 419 and the school at Marsden from 83 to 135. There was developing a common dependence between the two groups of school children. Better schooling was equated with

financial resources which could only be gained by filling the schools; the education of each group was poorer, if the other was absent.

A characteristic of the Inspectorate that they offered solutions to educational problems, had been established by factory inspectors in the late 1830's, and became a part of the school inspectors in the mid-1840's. The role of reporting back on what they found in the schools had been encouraged by Kay-Shuttleworth, but the offering of solutions could be an embarrassment to the Privy Council and gave the impression of reluctance to act, if they were not followed up.

Rev. William Kennedy, Privy Council Inspector for the north, sought to extend the compulsory time at school without it affecting the working period of the child. He sought to force parents to send their children to school before they were eight and keep them at school in the evening after the age of 13 years. "Would it not be possible to require that a child, before being employed, should possess a certain definite amount of knowledge to be certified by the Inspector of Schools or of Factories. The present remarkable degradation of this class of children induces me to press this subject on the attention of the Committee of Council, with some anxiety." This conclusion was, no doubt, arrived at by his experience in schools. "It often happens that I go into a school and find a body of dull, vacant looking children at the bottom of the school, from whom I find myself unable to extract a particle of knowledge."<sup>(45)</sup> The idea of permission to work being a condition of learning to read and write was not new. As early as 1838 in the factory school of Messrs. Sheriff, Foster, Gillet and Hindle of Sabden the rule card went "Rules - With the exception of existing engagements, no young person can be permitted to learn the respective business of pattern - drawing, block-cutting,

block-printing or machine printing, who shall not be able to read and write with tolerable correctness, and who may not also know something of accounts."<sup>(46)</sup> An experiment of a similar kind had been tried at Mr. Greg's mill at Quarry Bank, near Wilmslow, the rule being that no child could be admitted to work who was unable to read fluently a chapter in the Bible, write their own name and be able to use the four first rules of arithmetic. An observer noticed that many children who had been refused work because they could not pass the test had worked very hard in the schools to gain the necessary learning, and were eventually successful in getting factory work.<sup>(47)</sup>

Thurtell agreed with Kennedy in that a major way of improving education to the factory child was to extend its period of learning before the compulsory years of 8 to 13 and after 13 years in evening classes. He justified these proposals on the grounds that parents neglected the early education of their children when they knew that they would go to school when they started work. It was, he claimed, in the interests of those who paid the poor rate, to aid the parent when necessary, in the early education of his child.<sup>(48)</sup> These proposals were even more important for those children who would not work in the factories and would receive no education. Not for them "a reasonably good education, diminished hours of labour, and that labour of a light kind carried on in thoroughly well-ventilated rooms."<sup>(49)</sup> Whilst the problem of building schools and paying school fees from the poor rates was not of this period, experience indicated that to put these children into regular schooling, it would be necessary to widen the area of compulsion.

In seeking to raise the quality of schooling, the Inspectorate

considered the role of the teacher and teaching methods. It was clear to Watkins that the master had an almost impossible task teaching the factory children and the non-working children in the same class. "The interruptions which occur..... are many and grievous vexations to the teacher, and most mischievous to those taught" and in the traditions of the Inspectorate, put forward proposals for easing the arrangement by which the evil may be remedied and at comparatively small inconvenience."<sup>(50)</sup>

Watkin's scheme was to divide what was taught in the schools into two areas, primary and secondary according to their importance, Primary he considered to be religious instruction, reading, writing and arithmetic, and secondary, geography, grammar, history, drawing and music. "All the children should learn the primary branches, and the "full-timers" only the secondary; and that they should be learning the secondary branches when the 'short-timers' were absent."<sup>(51)</sup> This would have been easy to arrange was it not that half of the factory children came to school in the morning and the other half in the afternoon. Watkins overcame this with an ingenious plan. By dividing the "full-timers" up also he was able to pair the full and part-time pupils so that half the full-time pupils did their primary subjects with the morning "half-timers" and their secondary subjects alone in the afternoon, whilst the other half of the "full-timers", who had done their secondary subjects in the morning, did their primary subjects with the other part-timers in the afternoon. "It will be seen.....that all the school learn the "primary branches", the same number of hours in the week; and half of the school, the full-timers, "secondary" for equal time."<sup>(52)</sup> This system, so far as the working of the school was concerned, would appear to be an improvement on

the earlier system whereby the factory children joined in whatever lessons happened to be taking place when they were there, resulting in their receiving instruction in writing, reading and arithmetic only on alternate weeks. The scheme also ensured that "All the 'short-timers' have religious instruction and are present at prayers once in the day."(53)

		MORNING				
		9½	10½	11	12	
First Day A A'	Prayers and Singing	Catechism	Reading	Arithmetic	Writing	
B B'		Drawing	Geography	Grammar	History	
Second Day B B'		Catechism	Reading	Arithmetic	Writing	
A A'		Drawing	Geography	Grammar	History	
AFTERNOON						
		2½	3½	4	4½	5
First Day A A'	Prayers and Singing	Drawing	Geography	Grammar	History	
B B'		Catechism	Reading	Arithmetic	Writing	
Second Day B B'		Drawing	Geography	Grammar	History	
A A'		Catechism	Reading	Arithmetic	Writing	

(54)

It would, however, if accepted, have divided children into groups, where one got a much superior education to the other, and the factory child would have been limited to basic learning as against the more liberal education available to the rest.

Discrimination against the child worker would become part of a more efficient system. The point should perhaps be made that the attendance of full-time children was often irregular, and the end result, because the factory child had to attend school, may in very many cases have been similar.

Thurtell, in his report for 1847-48, supported the Privy Council Minute of 1846 in advocating more Government aid in the form of assistants to schoolmasters. His proposals would have snow-balled Government intervention beyond what was publically acceptable. On a school composed of factory children, only, "A fearful deficiency they present, and one that can scarcely be supplied without very much greater assistance from Parliament than has yet been given or contemplated."<sup>(55)</sup> The masters in these schools could attempt nothing beyond a routine of the most simple instruction. To produce more, he would require an assistant and an additional hours charge of each set of children.<sup>(56)</sup>

Thurtell went further, and sought to improve the character of teaching by having better teachers and more of them. He believed that as the number of trained teachers increased an improvement would be "merely a matter of money" and in agreement with Fletcher, and contrary to Watkins, saw a solution in higher fees." The children earn above 3s a week and that the payment for their instruction is usually but 2d., it could scarcely be considered a hardship, for such an object, were the legislature to insist on the school fee being at least doubled, and on its being applied to support well-appointed schools."<sup>(57)</sup> Thurtell failed to see that fees and compulsion were incompatible, particularly when related to wages, which fluctuated with trade conditions. Teachers' salaries would be linked to unstable

Industrial activity at a time when Privy Council efforts were being made to improve the quality of teaching by giving schoolmasters a superior and secure livelihood. Insecurity was a particular hazard in British Society schools where two thirds of financial support came from school fees, and seven eighths of the charge of the school was the salary of the master. (58)

The Privy Council Committee, by its pupil teacher scheme of 1846, endorsed the views of the Inspectorate that real progress could be made in the education of all working class children if the training and quality of schoolmasters was improved and if they were given trained assistants. This conclusion tends to show that the struggle to get children into school, in the numbers which the schools could manage, was no longer the major problem and that resources could be moved to raising the quality of teaching. This raising of quality was justified and could be implemented with confidence so long as the supply of schools, which the religious societies could build, was controlled by the availability of Privy Council grants. To lose this control would allow school building, which was an highly competitive enterprise between the two big religious societies, to outstrip the supply of trained masters and assistants and raise the intake of untrained teachers.

Watkins undertook two surveys of schoolmasters immediately prior to 1846; in his first he met over 250 masters and mistresses ranging between 15 years of age and nearly 60 years. Of the 250 masters and mistresses, he discovered that 64 had been regularly trained, made up

of 47 masters and 17 mistresses. Twenty eight of the men had been trained at either the Central School, Westminster, or the Chester Diocesan College, and seven of the women. The two colleges trained 35 out of the 64 teachers, the rest attending other small colleges. (59)

Other than these 64 about 80 had been partially trained, generally having attended a college for a short time, often only a few weeks, and he defined the rest of the 250 as self-taught, and untaught. He had considerable praise for the trained master or mistress "of great excellence, of good attainments, and some professional knowledge, united with deep interest in their work, and above all, of truly Christian character and conduct." (60) He regarded the self-taught as next in ability and other qualifications "There are amongst them some truly valuable men and some great originality.... One great excellence in the characters of the self-taught is this, that they have a real love for their work.... Their chief deficiency is their inability to put questions well and readily." (61)

The majority of the partially trained, as he called those which, in general "had only attended at the chief National School of the neighbourhood, where perhaps, the master is not thoroughly trained, and the system imperfectly developed," (62) he did not appear to like. "They are often persons whom vanity or misfortune or inability to succeed in other trades, or caprice, or the mistaken kindness of their friends, or what is called 'accident', have placed in the deeply responsible situation of teachers." (63)

Of the untaught master or mistress, he remarked "There are yet some of these left in the land - some who are very ignorant. At



one school in Yorkshire I found that arithmetic was not taught. I asked the reason. "Because I know nothing about it" was the honest reply."<sup>(64)</sup> Watkins noticed that spelling was a difficulty with the untaught teacher and that 'believe' and 'receive' were as great puzzles to them as to the children.

Many of the masters were overworked in their schools and some, after their six hours of daily school, had to teach a night school for two and a half or three hours. In some cases they admitted that it was beyond their strength; but that without it they could not live. In only 14 of the schools that he inspected did he find a regular paid assistant. He believed that well-instructed assistants were needed in all the large schools, before there was any hope of an improvement in the children.<sup>(65)</sup>

A year later, Watkins carried out a wider survey of teachers' qualifications. From a sample of 495 teachers "not more than one-ninth has been regularly trained for their work. By regular training, I mean education in one of the Training Schools for the whole time required by the Institution. It is no uncommon thing for teachers to say (excusably enough), that they were trained at this or that college, when in truth, they have been there only for a brief period, it may be during a vacation or three months absence from their own schools."<sup>(66)</sup> Of the 495 teachers, Watkins did not believe that above two-thirds were tolerably qualified for their many and important duties, and that one-third were "neither intended by nature, nor fitted by art, for the situation in which they are placed." He illustrated the inefficiency of this one-third. At a school in Yorkshire the master was a poor hunch-backed man, very deaf and ignorant, placed in his situation by the parochial authorities, that he might not be burdensome

to them for his support. At another school, on the borders of Lancashire, the master was a crippled weaver "Put In" by the parish to save expense, and at a school in Westmoreland, Watkins found that the master and mistress were each of them small farmers, more skilled in the cultivation of fields than of children's intellects. At a place in Yorkshire, he found a master of notoriously immoral conduct, ignorant and violent in school, brutal and profane when out of it. Yet it seemed doubtful whether the trustees had the power, if indeed they had the wish, to eject him from a situation in which he was a positive evil to the children under his control. At another place, in two verses of a hymn, which was written out by the school-mistress, there were the following mistakes in spelling, "road" for "rode", "bald" for "Bade" and "how" for "who" (67)

The lack of suitable teachers resulted in the proposals to tackle the problem by encouraging a system of teacher training. Watkins thought that the greatest practical evil in the schools was the want of well-qualified properly trained, earnest and religious teachers. "Their number is, I am thankful to say, increasing, but the supply is as yet, by no means equal to the demand. During the last year, I have been continually applied to for assistance on this point. In very few instances have I been able to recommend persons duly qualified for the situations." (68) He saw the deficiency as resulting from low pay to the teachers and "a shortage of persons fit for the work." Referring to the northern district, he noticed that in 441 schools with 43,533 children, <sup>on their books, there was an average of 88 children</sup> to each teacher. Watkins believed that no teacher, however good, could educate more than 50 children. (69)

Class size was important for it indicated the dimension of the problem involved in changing from monitorial to class-teaching, which was implied in the Privy Council proposals for training assistant teachers. Watkins found that of the 441 schools he visited in 1845, he found 159 schools with an average attendance not exceeding 50 children, but as he remarked "It may be conceived how much this circumstance increases the average attendance at other schools, and the inability of the teacher to educate children committed to his charge."<sup>(70)</sup> He listed schools which had classes much above 50 pupils.

Hull, Saint James's ...	242	boys under one master
	124	girls under one mistress
Hull, Saint Mark's ...	110	boys under one master
Saint Stephen's..	139	ditto
	104	girls under one mistress
Leeds, Christ Church ..	250	boys under one master
Quarry Hill ....	120	ditto
Saint Saviour's.	170	ditto
	145	girls under one mistress
Saint James's ..	140	boys under one master
Kelghley .....	180	ditto
	140	girls under one mistress
Whitby .....	145	boys under one master
Sunderland.....	200	ditto
	150	girls under one mistress
Kirkstall .....	145	boys under one master
Oldham, St. Peter's ...	170	ditto
Sheffield, St. Paul's .	160	ditto
Staley Bridge.....	184	ditto
Cheetham Hill .....	133	girls under one mistress
Sheffield, Saint Mary's	160	boys under one master
	230	girls under one mistress
Walmgate, York .....	142	boys under one master
Meltham Mills .....	138	girls under one mistress

(71)

From the above list 24 teachers had on an average 159 children

each "to instruct, to warn, to watch, to correct, to encourage, to guide; in short, to educate!"<sup>(72)</sup> Whilst admitting that some of the schools had monitors, but "the teachers have to struggle, as it were, single-handed with the many headed, many minded mass of their schools. What is the consequence? The better the master, the more speedily will he be worn out, the more surely will he be unfitted for his duties. If he will not quit his post, he must either die at it or see it taken by the enemy."<sup>(73)</sup>

Of the 159 schools with average attendance not exceeding 50 children, 90 schools had 50 children, 47 schools had up to 30 children, and 22 schools had up to 20 children.<sup>(74)</sup> It must not be thought that the number of pupils in a school was a fair guide to the quality of the teaching. The salaries in the larger schools were generally higher and often attracted the better qualified masters.

Watkins' view of education for the working class child in both industrial and agricultural areas, agreed with the other inspectors that children who were too young for work or who worked in non-regulated factories, were very irregular in their school attendance and that the status of schooling was low when an opportunity occurred for children to work. In the majority of schools the teaching method was poor, the pupil teacher ratio was high, and the abilities of the masters were few. Factory children who were compelled to attend these schools would not be well taught, but because they had to attend regularly, the difference in achievement between them and the full-time pupils would not be great.

The seeking for a higher quality of schooling in the 1840's stimulated a hard look at the system of teaching under which the religious society schools operated. So far as the dame and common schools were concerned, they were outside any system of teaching that the Inspectorate could investigate and report upon because they had no system of teaching, each school taught whatever the teacher thought fit, and as a result no collective educational progress could be made, nor could change be undertaken. On the other hand the religious society schools had a systematic routine of teaching which was "followed by most schools, and it was at this system that the inspectors directed their attention in efforts to raise the quality of teaching in schools.

The monitorial system of teaching which involved one master, pupils numbering hundreds, and monitors teaching the pupils in groups under the general supervision of the master, had been successful by the criterion of success under which it was set up. The over-riding principle of this system was that working class schooling must be cheap. It had to be economical to gain acceptance and subscribers from the lower middle class. The system devised by Rev. Andrew Bell<sup>(75)</sup> and Mr. Joseph Lancaster<sup>(76)</sup> was developed by Bell in India and made as cheap as possible, by reducing the masters to as few as possible, paying them the smallest remuneration, and filling the schools with as many children as they would hold. These were the best schools available to the working class in urban areas.

These schools, in reality, were large schools broken down into small units under a monitor. In theory, they were, so far as the unit of teaching is concerned, very similar to dame and common

schools. The teaching was poor, for the monitors knew little more than those they taught, and saw the task, which passed periodically round the older boys, as a punishment. Nevertheless these schools were attractive to inspectors seeking to raise the quality of teaching for they were all the same, and any method of teaching that proved to be better than one of these schools, would be better than them all.

Any new system of teaching would not have cheapness as its basis. Since the earlier decades of the century the resources of the religious educational societies had been increased by Government grants, more subscribers and the regular fees of factory children, therefore the earlier principle of cheapness with a minimum of paid teachers and large groups of pupils no longer applied. Whilst it is a common educational fallacy to believe that small classes, because they are small are better taught, the idea gained credence that it was so. Inspectors, particularly Privy Council, sought to discredit the monitorial system as a first step towards replacing it, indeed Tremenhare's criticism of six London British Society schools in 1842, and his claim that the teachers in them disliked the system, whilst the societies headquarters supported it, contributed to his removal from the Inspectorate a year later. Evidence of work work masters, untaught children and monitors either acting as arrogant bullies or being intimidated by bigger boys, was given wide publicity.

The system that the Privy Council inspectors sought to implement was a development from the monitorial system, and has, to this day, remained the basic teaching unit. The monitorial system introduced something fundamental to English education in the 1830's, in that it put another person between the master and the pupil. The role of the

master changed from that of teaching the whole school to that of seeing that the pupils were taught by others. This was a profound change of role for the master and led to a new system of class teaching. Smaller schools were built, and the monitor was replaced by a pupil-teacher or assistant teacher, who would, like the monitors, take a group of the pupils, but unlike the monitors they would be in training as teachers or after training as assistant teachers. The system was approved by the Privy Council Committee and gained financial backing in the Minutes of 1846 when aid for training and paying assistant and pupil teachers in approved schools was made.

The discarding of the monitorial system in English education was a natural progression, once the decision had been made to raise teaching standards and to relax the principle of cheapness. The acceptance of class-room teaching demonstrated the Government's approval of what had been recognised earlier by both inspectorates, that the quality of working class education had not by implication, to be the cheapest. Rising standards of educational quality would raise the value of working class education, but to none more than to the factory children, who by the nature of their work had been forced to attend dame and common schools, but who after 1844 were eligible, by their more suitable hours of schooling, for the better schools, and who by their regular attendance were able, in many cases, to make more progress than the full-timers.

Though it was Privy Council policy to oppose monitorial teaching, there were those who saw it as serving a useful purpose if only in a transitional way. A National Society report showed that owing to the density of population in certain areas, and owing to the inadequacy

of the means of supplying schools with masters, it resulted that, upon an average, not more than one master could be provided for every 150 children. The Report went on "The custom of employing monitors had undoubtedly been much abused; Ignorant masters have misapplied it, and indolent masters have made it an excuse for neglect. But it is not just, to charge upon any plan, the defects of those who work it. Though monitors cannot do all that might be wished, yet at present no equally good substitute is provided." The monitorial system, so it claimed, possessed certain positive advantages which rendered it undesirable that it should be entirely abandoned, though it might be varied and modified. The Report concluded, "The chief direct advantage obtained by employing monitors is that a race of future schoolmasters is thus obtained. Monitorial schools have thus become the nurseries of training schools."<sup>(77)</sup>

Nevertheless, Watkins was in no doubt of his opposition to it in 1846. In his 1845 tour of schools he noticed the ages of the monitors. "They are, in general, very young - rarely 13 years of age. I have found a boy of 9 teaching children of his own age. But their average age in boy's schools is 11 years. In girl's schools it is rather higher and may reach 12 years."<sup>(78)</sup> Most of the monitors he found to be ignorant and to care nothing about their work. "I have frequently, when examining the class and unable to obtain an answer from the children in it, put the same simple question to the monitor or monitors, as the case might be, and received no answer, or a very incorrect one."<sup>(79)</sup> And "I have often stood by in silence and heard the grossest blunders made in both - words miscalled - left out - half said - others substituted for them - the monitor takes no notice. He frequently does not recognise the blunder, if he hears it. In general he does not hear it. His thoughts are elsewhere."<sup>(80)</sup> On the other



hand, if the monitor happens to be clever, Watkins observed, "He is almost invariably too sharp and too impatient of the slowness of his class ... He corrects an error in a rough assuming tone, as if he had rather expose the ignorance than guide the helplessness of the learner."<sup>(81)</sup>

Watkins believed that the system led to bribery and bullying. "Marbles, apples, oranges, nuts and sometimes a penknife have been mentioned to me as the price of a monitor's favour!"<sup>(82)</sup> and "if the boys in the class are bigger and stronger than the monitor they are not less prodigal of their threats to him when out of school, than the more timid are of their promises. In a school in which I was interested for some years, the monitors made several complaints that the bigger boys "bullied them for putting them down."<sup>(83)</sup>

Monitors were common to almost all the schools, the number of assistant-teachers being very few. Watkins counted only 30 schools, out of the whole number (441) that he visited on his last inspection where there were efficient assistant teachers and of these some were very young and most of them little experienced in teaching.<sup>(84)</sup> There were monitors in the remaining 411 schools. Watkins believed that it was difficult to say whether, under the conditions that existed, monitors more injured the schools internally by their inefficient teaching or externally by removing from the parents' minds all hope of the improvement of their children taught on the monitorial method.<sup>(85)</sup> Parents disapproved of their children being used as monitors. A Lancashire schoolmaster reported that parents believed that the boys would be kept back by acting as monitors, and would not allow their children to remain after school for extra lessons as compensation for their labour. He went on "The consequence is that the school suffers

in education and discipline through the inefficiency and constant change of monitors."<sup>(86)</sup> The unpopularity of monitors with parents was real and Watkins believed that it was a reason for the unpopularity of the National schools as against the dame schools. The reasons for not attending National schools were often given as an insistence on regular attendance, cleanliness and neatness of dress, but Watkins observed that "There is something besides this feeling which operates against our National schools in the minds of those whom it is our chief aim to conciliate. It is, I believe, the monitorial system."<sup>(87)</sup> Watkins recorded a rare insight into the attitudes of both children and parents to monitorial teaching. "In nine-tenths of the schools under my inspection the monitors are children of the first, second and sometimes third and fourth classes taken in turn 'as they come', without any preparation for their work; without any peculiar qualifications for it. The only reason is that it is their turn; and it must be confessed that they often show the unreasonableness of this reason by staying at home when their turn of teaching arrives. It is well to remark that the parents in most cases encourage their child in thus absenting himself from the school." Parents explained that, "they didn't wish theirs to teach t'others, they want them to larn". Watkins continued. "Nor, on the other hand do they wish their children to learn from others. For, as they say, 'what's master for?'"<sup>(88)</sup>

1. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1844  
Vol.2. p.265. Rev. Watkins Report 26th February 1845.
2. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1846  
Vol.1. p.434.
3. Joseph Fletcher 1813-1852. H.H. Inspector of Schools  
1844-1852. Inspector to the British School Society.  
Appointed after dismissal of Tremenheere.
4. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1844  
Vol.2. Fletcher's Report 24th February 1845. p.441.
5. Ibid p.444
6. Watkins op cit p.434
7. Ibid p.435
8. Ibid p.435
9. Ibid p.437
10. Fletcher op cit p.442
11. Ibid p.443
12. Watkins op cit p.271
13. Ibid p.272
14. Ibid p.273
15. Ibid p.273
16. Ibid p.274
17. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1846  
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18. Ibid p.177
19. Ibid p.178
20. Ibid p.179
21. Ibid p.179
22. Ibid p.273
23. Ibid p.274
24. Ibid p.275
25. Ibid p.440
- 25a Ibid p.441

26. *ibid* p.443
27. *ibid* p.443
28. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1850-51  
Vol.1. Rev. Kennedy's Report p.589
29. *ibid* p.589
30. *ibid* p.589
31. *ibid* p.589
32. *ibid* p.589
33. *ibid* p.589
34. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1845  
Vol.1. Rev. Watkins p.275
35. Rev. Watkins 1846 *op cit* p.178
36. National Society 35th Annual Report 1846 p.1-2
37. Rev. Watkins 1846 *op cit* p.439
38. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1848  
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39. *ibid* p.281
40. *ibid* p.281
41. Rev. Alexander Thurtell 1805-1884. H.M. Inspector of Schools  
1847-48.
42. Minutes of the Privy Council Committee on Education 1847-48  
Vol. 2. Rev. Thurtell p.14.
43. See Appendix No. V.
44. Rev. Watkins 1846 *op cit* Report on Northern District p.341-342
45. Rev. Kennedy *op. cit* p.587
46. Evidence of Select Committee on Employment of Children 1841.  
(240) BS2. A. Austin
47. *ibid* p.242
48. Rev. Thurtell 1847-1848 *op. cit* p.15.
49. *ibid* p.16.
50. Rev. Watkins 1845 *op. cit* p.281
51. *ibid* p.282

52. *ibid* p.283
53. *ibid* p.283
54. *ibid* p.282
55. Rev. Thurtell 1847. *op.cit* p.14.
56. *ibid* p.14
57. *ibid* p.15
58. Fletcher 1845 *op. cit* p.447 and p.455
59. see Appendix VI
60. Watkins *op. cit* p.298
61. *ibid* p.288
62. *ibid* p.289
63. *ibid* p.289
64. *ibid* p.289
65. *ibid* p.290
66. Watkins 1846 *op. cit* p.112
67. *ibid* p.113
68. *ibid* p.110
69. *ibid* p.111
70. *ibid* p.111
71. *ibid* p.112
72. *ibid* p.112
73. *ibid* p.112
74. *ibid* p.111
75. Rev. Andrew Bell 1753-1832 Experimented with Monitorial System of Teaching in India. Associated with the National Society.
76. Mr. Joseph Lancaster. His teaching system was similar to Bell's • Associated with the British School Society.
77. National Society 35th Annual Report 1846. p.20-22
78. Watkins 1846 *op. cit* p.114
79. *ibid* p.115

80. *ibid* p.114
81. *ibid* p.115
82. *ibid* p.115
83. *ibid* p.115
84. *ibid* p.113
85. *ibid* p.113
86. *ibid* p.113
87. *ibid* p.115
88. *ibid* p.114

## CHAPTER 8

Advantageous position of factory children - success in increased numbers and regular attendance - compatibility of school and work - but lack of adequate financial provision for anticipated improvements.

At the end of the period covered by this study, the development of the education of the factory child reflected the success and failure of the legislation of 1844. The half-time system of schooling was successful in what was seen as success at the time. Legislation succeeded in raising the numbers of factory children in schools, by making it necessary for the employer to work more children in order to maintain the same production, and by lowering the age of entry into factories, and widening the area of regulated labour, to allied industry. Factory inspectors contributed by guiding factory children away from dame and common schools, to which most of them went, on threat of refusing the children certificates to work. All these factors added up to a great rise in the numbers of factory children attending school, and, of equal importance, attending schools to which Privy Council resources were directed.

A further success was the regularity of attendance which was ensured so long as work was associated with it. It also made sure that the schools to which the children went, had a regular income from the school pence which it could not gain from any other available source.

Work and schooling after 12 years of effort was seen to be compatible.

The flaw was that the success of putting the children into regular schools concealed the inability to educate them to an acceptable standard. Just as the success stemmed from the legislation of 1844, so did the failure, which resulted in the lack of financial resources limiting the opportunities of building new schools and improving the competence of schoolmasters.



As a result, the system of education of the factory child, which set a pattern for that of all the working class, was established, but a less satisfactory system of financial support retarded the progress it was possible to make in raising the quality of the teaching.

In the period of this study, pupil numbers were the key to educational progress, for they attracted Privy Council grants, encouraged subscribers, and took in more school pence, which in turn ensured better school buildings and more efficient teachers, attracted by higher salaries and secure employment. This being so, the Factory Act of 1844 gave a great advantage to schooling the factory child, and a Government indication of the theory that work and school were compatible. It was achieved by reducing the hours of work of those already in regulated labour and thereby creating the need for more children to do the same amount of work, and who would, in turn, have to attend school; by reducing the age at which children could commence work and compulsory education, and by widening regulated labour by bringing in Print-work children, an allied trade in the cotton industry.

The theory of school and work compatibility, implied in the earlier legislation of 1833, took 10 years to gain acceptance. The problem, and the abuse, had been centred on hours of work. It proved impossible to detect over working, when children were worked at different times in a system geared to adult labour, when child, parent and mill-owner often saw it as an advantage to ignore the law. The solution also, was found in the hours of work. Instead of working 8 hours when the rest of the mill worked twelve, or working a relay system with a succession of groups of children, the solution was found in reducing the work period to half a day, clearly defined by the mid-day break. This resulted in half the child labour force going in in the morning and the other half in the afternoons. The temptation to overwork the children was reduced by another worker coming in the afternoon for the same job.

Horner saw the advantages less than six months after the legislation came into operation. "The objects of the legislature in restricting and regulating the labour of children and young persons in factories have unquestionably been more generally and effectively attained during the last seven months, than they have ever been since Parliament first began to correct the great moral evils that had taken root and extensively spread in these branches of industry."<sup>(1)</sup> Horner saw it as meeting the approval of masters and work people. It had many times been voluntarily said to him by masters that the new law was a great improvement on the old one; and many of the workpeople had spoken to him with gratitude of the consideration for their welfare and comfort which had dictated several of the clauses in the amending Act.<sup>(2)</sup> The change from the eight hour system of working was particularly liked by managers and overlookers, who saw it as a matter of convenience and whose trouble was thereby greatly reduced.<sup>(3)</sup>

On the employment of children under the new regulations, Horner justified the lowering of the age of admission to factories to 8 years rather than 9 years. As all children would be working fewer hours, he believed that half a day's work would not injure a child of 8 years. There were two points here. A lowering of the age for work would help to make up the extra numbers required to reduce the working hours to half-time, as a reduction in their hours of work would cause a larger number to be employed, and the additional supply of children from eight to nine years of age would be brought in to meet the increased demand. The numbers of children in this age group were considerable. In 1841 in Bury with a population of 20,710 there were 497 children between the ages of 8 and 9 years. In Blackburn with a

population of 36,629 there were 892 children, in Burnley with a population of 10,699 there were 254 children and in Colne with 8,615 inhabitants there were 218.<sup>(4)</sup> More important, educationally, was the bringing of more and younger children within the area of compulsory education, with all the benefits of increased grants and fees for the schools acceptable to the inspectors.

There is evidence to indicate that there was a sharp and extensive rise in the number of children going into the mills after the 1844 Act. The fact that children could work at a lower age would indicate a rise, but to account for the large numbers, there must have been many more children working who were beyond 8 years to make up for the 9 years - 11 year olds who were working shorter hours. There were no complaints from the mill-owners. Horner showed that of the 7,526 children in mills in his district at the end of 1843, 2,488, almost a third, were working only half a day, the owners of 178 factories thus bearing testimony to that being the better plan.<sup>(5)</sup> By the new law the remaining 5,038 were reduced from eight hours to six, it followed that where there had been three children working eight hours each, there must be four employed six hours each to do the same amount of work; in other words, one third more children would be employed, so that the total increase by the mere operation of the new law should have been 1,680, but it was much beyond that.<sup>(6)</sup> The total number of children employed in the cotton, woollen, worsted and flax mills as ascertained by the sub-inspectors during their visits between 1st January and the 30th April 1844 amounted to 12,428, an increase of 4,902 or 65 per cent upon the number employed at the close of 1843. Those children, by the limitation of their work to half a day, were enabled to attend the best schools available to them, and

at the regular school hours; those who worked in the afternoon had been to school in the forenoon. By a very simple contrivance printed out in the schedule of the Act, the employer might..... change the hours of work of the two sets of children every alternate month; and that plan was very generally followed. By that system, the labour was equalised, and the children got the benefit of the different branches of education taught in the schools at the different periods of the day. (7)

Like Horner, Saunders noticed an increase of the number of children in the factories at the time of the amended legislation and after. (7a) In the cotton mills in his district the number of children in the mills decreased between 1838 and 1843, from 879 boys and 966 girls to 790 boys and 839 girls (10.1% boys and 13.1% girls). Yet between 1843-45 the number rose to 1,220 boys and 1,129 girls (54.4% boys and 34.5% girls). In the same period, 1843-45, adult workers increased by 15.4% male and 9.3% female. In the woollen industry between 1838 and 1843, the fall in child workers was greater than in cotton (16% and 27.4%) and the rise between 1843 and 1845 (31% and 36%). In the worsted industry there was a similar trend in 1838-43 down (18.5% boys and 17.9% girls) with a sharper rise in 1843-45 of 112.3% boys and 90.4% girls. These figures were not produced by the effects of legislation alone. There was a fall in trade in 1838 which worsened in 1842, but improved to coincide with the amending legislation, so that when mill-owners wanted more workers, the restrictive regulations increased the number of factory children required.

There are factors which already contributed to this rapid increase. By lowering the age when children could work from 9 years to 8 years,

new children who had probably been working from an early age, must attend school if they wanted to earn the higher wages of the factory. By lowering the number of hours that children already in factories could work, many more children were required to perform the same amount of work and again they came under the educational clauses. The post 1844 period started with the encouraging signs of more children of compulsory schooling age being employed in the factories.

The trend was not short lived. In May 1846, a year later, Horner noted that six months earlier the number of factory children in his district was 14,441<sup>(8)</sup> and had risen since then in six months to 16,349, an increase of 13% in 6 months, though trade was not so good as previously. At the end of 1842, before the passing of the new legislation and in a period of trade depression, the number was as low as 7042, an increase of about 130 per cent in four years. Horner indicated additional reasons for this. "In the first place, the restriction of the working of children to half a day, and consequent simplifying of the regulations affecting them, has made their employment more easy, and greatly diminished the risk of the work-people, whom they assist, employing them illegally; and in the second place the masters have found out by the scarcity of "piecers" of 13 years of age and the high price they are obliged to pay for them, that in formerly excluding those under 13 years of age they were cutting off the springs of their supply."<sup>(9)</sup>

Not only were there more children in compulsory half-time education, but both Horner and Saunders noticed that in many cases they were moving from private to public schools, and that the rise in numbers working, showed a more rapid rise in National than in

common or dame schools. Horner believed that there was a movement of children from the private to the public schools, and an improvement in the private schools that remained; strengthened by powers given to inspectors to annul the certificates of incompetent teachers. "The grosser cases of mock schooling are put an end to; and although much remains to be done I have no doubt that before long, the factory children will not be worst off in respect of schooling, than other children in their neighbourhood, who are sent to school; and where there are good schools within a reasonable distance, they will get all the benefit of them."<sup>(10)</sup> Horner was seeking to attract a better class of children into factory employment when parents saw that there was now no length of work that could do their children any harm, and that they were not prevented from coming to school regularly.<sup>(11)</sup> The result of this may not have been advantageous, for it would have reduced the number of children in full-time education, if we assume that these children up to that time had gone to school. To make the work attractive, could reduce the schooling of some children.

The movement of factory children from dame to common schools, which was encouraged by the legislation of 1844, became real in 1847. Half the factory children in Horner's district were in public schools, 7,586 out of 15,240. Of the boys and girls in public schools the ratio was about 2:1 in the boys' favour; in private schools it was 4:3 in the boys' favour. Horner deplored there being no control over those who opened a private school, "while professing to deal in education, he vends a commodity wholly worthless." He believed that this state of affairs could exist only because parents were incapable of judging the value of what was set up for sale, for they themselves

had no education, and many who paid 3d, 4d or even 6d a week to send their children to these private schools, would at the end of a year or two, find their children as ignorant as they were when they began. (12)

Horner believed that most mill-owners would send their children to better schools; if they were available. When the children were continued in a bad school, it was generally for want of a better, within a convenient distance. (13) If poor private schools existed and prospered because there were no better, the inspectors' powers to refuse their certificates were limited.

Saunders had the same experience. He noticed a "considerable increase" in the public schools available to factory children in the previous three years. Many had improved, "well-trained and efficient teachers are more justly appreciated and greater exertions therefore made, for the purpose of obtaining their services; but the want of funds continues to operate very prejudicially in this most important particular." (14) Of factory schools, which he described as "wholly unfit for the purposes to which they are applied" in 1843, many had closed and the children taken in by National and British schools, the best had remained, "the occupiers of which have expended much money and labour in rendering their schools efficient." (15)

Saunders saw no improvement in dame and common schools. "The general proportion remain as bad as ever," Horner agreed and described a private school in which a mass of dirty children of all ages, including young infants, were crammed together in a small, close, unventilated room, with an old man or an old woman sitting in the



midst of her children utterly incapable of teaching the first elements of education.<sup>(16)</sup>

Both Horner and Saunders confirmed a trend in the increasing numbers of factory children and their attending public rather than private schools. "Advantage is taken of any opportunity of getting the children into the best schools that are available from their vicinity to the factories, and the far greater proportion of the children are now attending National schools or British schools, or good private schools."<sup>(17)</sup> Even among these better schools, only about a third, they believed, were efficient. They attributed this to poor teachers, few books and equipment and too many children to a teacher, especially when infants were admitted. The increase in numbers created a new problem in two ways. The class size increased to unmanageable numbers, particularly where it was the practice to include infants, and the quality of teaching, already low, could only decline further in these conditions.

Not only was there an improvement in attendance but a greater regularity. "By a strict enforcement of the very reasonable and easily observed provisions in the Act for the education of the children, the attendance has become much more regular."<sup>(18)</sup> He hinted that this may have been caused by creating a situation where the parents stood to lose more by not sending their children to school. Horner had any child found working without a school certificate dismissed, until it had attended school for a full week. By that course the parents lost the week's wages of the child and as the non-attendance was generally caused by parents employing their children at the time they ought to be at school, when they found that they had to pay for this, they were less likely to repeat it; and

If the child had played truant, it came to the knowledge of the parent in a very distinct way, and he would take that course which he thought best to check the truant propensities. (19)

Saunders had a similar viewpoint. "The new regulations have, nevertheless, been very useful in many respects. The attendance of the children is more regular notwithstanding the continued indifference shown by the parents, who make the most trivial excuses for keeping children at home, though reminded of it from week to week and liable in consequences, not only to lose even the next week's wages, but, if prosecuted, to a penalty also." (20) Of the factory children in the schools, he observed "I have noticed with satisfaction in several places, that they are no longer placed by themselves, as a class unfit to associate with other scholars, but often take a situation in the school with credit to themselves and in a manner which will secure for them a greater share in the interest and attention both of the managers and teachers in such schools." (21)

Saunders did not use the new authority given to him by the 1844 legislation, to annul school certificates, preferring rather to induce the mill-owners to change their children to other schools, or encourage the teachers to improve their schools. "The result has, in several cases, realised my best wishes, and several children have been voluntarily removed to better schools, without my being obliged to adopt proceedings which might have given pain, and even brought disgrace on a teacher who, however inefficient, had probably been striving diligently to do what had been required of him to the best of his ability. In other cases, mill occupiers have admitted that

the authority vested in me to annul school certificates had induced them either to change the school their children attended, or to improve the system hitherto pursued, in the schools on their own premises without waiting for my visit."<sup>(22)</sup> Nevertheless, it was not all success, for Saunders realised that he would not be able to exercise the authority he had gained, even when most required, because in many cases there were not sufficient good schools to justify moving the children.

A result of the implementation of this new legislation was to introduce into the schools a new type of pupil who, whilst only attending half-time and coming from a poorer background than normal, did attend regularly. They gave a stability to schools, which was new and they challenged the belief that a full day at school was essential to gain the limited knowledge offered in the curriculums of the day. To justify parents paying for a full days' tuition, schools and teachers had to offer much more than the 3 r's to the other pupils. This led to a widening of the curriculum, though not to an immediate rise in teaching standards. So far as the running of the school was concerned, the regular fees of the part-timers were a welcome addition to funds, and through it gained some status in the schools, being seen as an essential part of it, as Horner observed. This acceptance and influence on the curriculum could only grow as increasing numbers of half-timers were needed in the mills and were forced into the schools. Indirectly, the success of the legislation and the inspectors were influencing what was taught in the schools.

It was estimated in 1851 that 2,144,378 children between 5-12 years were attending school for varying periods,<sup>(23)</sup> a statistic which underlined an emerging problem of the 1840's which was not dealt with by the legislation of 1844. The financial resources which were available for working class education were inadequate. They were made up of Privy Council grants, local subscriptions and the school pence of the children. All were subject to fluctuations. As will be seen the National Society, through which most of the Privy Council grants were passed, lost patience with schools constantly seeking grants. Subscribers were fickle, and early enthusiasm for a school often disappeared over the years, and the school pence was dependent on the attendance of the children and with the exception of the factory children, fluctuated widely. The problem was aggravated by the loss in the 1843 Factory Bill of the clauses which would have given schools a source of income from the local rates.

The problem of school maintenance was difficult even for those schools in union with a powerful religious society like the National Society, as may be seen in the minutes of the National school at Clitheroe in Lancashire. Founded in April 1839 with what appeared to be adequate funds; a Treasury grant of £300, a National Society grant of £90, subscriptions and donations of £473, making a total of £863; in two years time it was threatened with closure.<sup>(24)</sup> By the following October "It has been found that the subscriptions for the current year must, of necessity, be drawn upon and almost exhausted in order to pay, in full, the master's salary for last year, and his salary was reduced from £100 to £90."<sup>(25)</sup> By January there was a further reduction to £100 for both master and mistress. This was

too much for the master who resigned in March on the threat of further salary cuts.

In an attempt to save money, the salary that had been earlier paid was made conditional on other factors. In October, 1841, the master's salary was reduced to £90, the previously paid £10 had to be earned, being paid at the rate of £2. 10. 0. for every 25 boys over 50 and £1. 5. 0. for every 25 girls. Added conditions were made on the appointment of a new master. The treasurer was asked to "Express to him the hope of the Committee that he would not object to undertake the cleaning of the school and the lighting of the fire, and thereby relieve them from the weekly payment which has hitherto been made to Mrs. Clapham for that work."<sup>(26)</sup> At a school at nearby Padham, part of the master's salary was the rent from nearby houses. "Henry Robinson, the present schoolmaster shall, hence forward, collect the rents, and that £30 per annum be still guaranteed to the master, and that the £7 for rents be taken into the account whether collected or not."<sup>(27)</sup> and "That the woman employed in cleaning the school be discontinued and that the boys clean the school in turn."<sup>(28)</sup> At Clitheroe an attempt to economise was made by asking the master to consider the practicability of the boys and girls being instructed together in writing and accounts.

The main item of expenditure was the master's salary and most of the financial problems were concerned with paying it. At the Clitheroe National school, the master's salary was repeatedly reduced between 1839 and 1850. In March, 1840, after the opening of the school, the master's salary was set at £70 plus £2. 10..0. for every 25 pupils over 50, and the mistress at £35 plus £1. 5. 0. By January 1842 the school committee agreed that "£100 for both Master

and Mistress be the maximum of paid salary, and additional amounts for extra 25 scholars to be discontinued."<sup>(29)</sup> As the master resigned over the issue, an attempt was made to get a replacement from Chester College for £60. In May 1844 the National Society gave £15 to the school to supplement the salary of the master, with the provision that, "The Committee of your school shall agree not to ask any aid another year from this society towards the maintenance of the school."<sup>(30)</sup> The difficulty persisted, in October, 1849, on the appointment of a new master, they offered him £50 per annum till Easter, "when we hope he will succeed in obtaining a Government Certificate entitling him to receive £25 per year from the Parliamentary grant with pupil teachers."<sup>(31)</sup> By this arrangement the trustees were saving £20 a year, they had paid £70 before, so that they gained from the master gaining additional qualifications, who instead of getting £95 received £75. Six months later the mistress' salary was reduced to £15 per annum "together with the amount, whatever it may be, which will arise from the weekly payments of the children."

The National school at Clitheroe was founded with assets of £863 and the support of Privy Council and National Society grants, yet within two years was in financial difficulties, demonstrating the difficulties encountered in financing schools under the system of grants, subscriptions and fees. Yet the opportunities for starting a school, or gaining assistance for one already in being, were infinitely less if the religious societies were not involved. This could be so for sponsors who sought grants for schools which served a dual purpose as Day and Sunday schools, and for those who sought to set up

a new Day school in premises which had previously been used only as a Sunday school, Many Nonconformists tried to do this after the 1844 legislation and Howell recorded an instance of failure which revealed a close adherence to the letter of the regulations by the Committee of Council, despite the school providing accommodation for factory children apparently in an area where there was no National school, and where the numbers in the school were declining because of cheaper dame and common schools. (32)

The committee of Macclesfield Sunday School renewed an earlier unsuccessful application on 16th September 1845, for an annual grant of £50, which would enable them "to pay efficient, responsible teachers, such as would be able to carry out the letter of the law in a regular mode of tuition with the additional advantages of charging the lowest possible sum thereby making the school easy of access to hundreds of the poorest children, and of invaluable service to the rising generation." (33) The problem that confronted the committee of the school was an overhanging debt of £1,000 on the Sunday School building. They claimed that though the building and the offices of the Sunday and Day schools were the same, the schools themselves were entirely distinct and were only in connexion so far as being held in the lower rooms of the same building, and that no incumbrance whatever, which might have been a barrier, rested upon the building, so far as the Day school was concerned. (34) The Committee claimed that it was in an area where it already schooled 1,800 children on Sunday, and was in a position where it could school large numbers of children in a school, if it had a council grant. "It is only requisite to have an extension of funds to render it one of the most powerful auxiliaries in England for the promotion of the

object contemplated by the legislature in the recent Factory Act."<sup>(35)</sup> The committee claimed that Howell had visited the school and found the teachers efficient, though they were paid very low salaries which meant that "There is no doubt from the circumstances, that there were many children in the area seeking schooling as a result of the 1844 Regulations involving children in silk mills, which, as in the 1830's had led to a proliferation of dame and common schools which were charging lower fees than the school committee." They were hoping that by attracting more children and the Government grant, they would be able to retain their teachers. "Owing to surrounding schools of minor importance charging much below the Parliamentary limit.....they have painfully realised, what they apprehended, in a diminution in the number of scholars, as compared with that of last year, whilst they feel convinced that with a grant from your honourable Board of £60 per annum, they would be enabled to pay efficient responsible teachers."<sup>(36)</sup>

The school promoters were judicious enough to send the letter to Howell to forward with "my own observations". The school was opened to provide schooling for children engaged in the silk industry, but he observed that at the end of 1844 there were 300 factory children in the school, 8 months later the number had dropped to 105. "Because at private Day schools which were opened for factory children, the weekly payment was a trifle less than can be afforded at the school in question and the parents are solely guided in selecting the school by lowness of charge, without any regard to the quality of the education."<sup>(37)</sup> Howell concluded "If the amount of their grants should be regulated by the educational wants of the place, and consequently by the educational benefits to be received, it is difficult



to imagine a case more deserving of a favourable consideration."<sup>(38)</sup>

Despite the Inspector's commendation and the policy of discouraging the growth of dame and common schools, and the obvious need for a school where over 300 factory children were involved, the memorial failed. In a letter to Howell dated 10th October 1845 it was revealed that no grant could be made because there was still £1000 owing on a £7000 building erected in 1813, and a reiteration of the Committee's policy that grants were necessarily awarded in respect to the real property of schools, and not to schools which could give no such security for the permanence of the objects of the grants. Also grants could not be made "to aid in defraying the annual expenses of elementary schools."<sup>(39)</sup> This was not always the case, for the National Society made a grant in 1844 to the Clitheroe National school "to supplement the salary of the master."<sup>(40)</sup> Even at a time when there was a great effort to provide more schools, and when the Government had decided not to allow education to be given financial help from the local rates, it was still not easy to get grants unless the school building was owned outright, and an adequate salary was ensured to the master from fees or subscribers. This virtually limited the expending of public money to the two religious societies.

The problem here, as was noted in an earlier chapter, was the Nonconformist practice of dual use of rooms. It was a common practice of Nonconformists to do this in areas where a school was necessary, yet they had not the financial resources. That their numbers dropped from 300 to 105 in 8 months, indicates the impact of private schools when factory children were seeking schools. In this case grants were

being asked for the wrong reason. Apart from having no security on the building as it was in debt to £1,000 after 30 years, it indicated that subscribers were few. More than that, grants were being given in most cases to aid well subscribed new buildings, and to support the training of assistant teachers, not to reduce fees in an attempt to undercut dame and common schools.

Whilst there is evidence that most advantaged schools, those in union with the National Society, were often struggling to survive at a time when increasing numbers of factory children were being directed to them, and that schools outside the help of the religious societies were unlikely to survive at a level of competence that would satisfy the Inspectorate in the 1840's, there were factory schools that received no financial assistance from Privy Council, religious societies or subscribers. Though some of the worst factory schools had been no better than the dame schools in the 1830's, by 1845 only the best had survived. Between 1843 and 1846 the factory school's share of pupils had dropped from 36 in each 100 to 20 in each 100 in Saunderson's district, at a time when the numbers of factory children were rising rapidly.<sup>(41)</sup> Factory schools had not fulfilled the hopes of either Horner or Saunders in that they would become an integral part of every large mill, and that smaller mills would join together to build a factory school for their children. Nevertheless the factory inspectors supported the large factory schools that survived, and used the best as examples of what could be achieved.

Horner believed that other mill-owners would establish satisfactory factory schools if the method of doing so was demonstrated to them. "when an instance can be produced of the successful working of arrangements in an establishment similarly circumstanced as their own."<sup>(42)</sup> He quoted a mill in Liverpool as an example of improved factory conditions. The North Shore Mill Co., a cotton mill situated in the suburbs, and the only factory in the town. In September 1844, they were employing 854 persons, 68 children under 13 (41 boys and 27 girls). The mill provided a school which taught all the work children, and children from the neighbourhood around, for the numbers attending amounted to 200, who were taught "reading, writing, arithmetic, the elements of geography, sacred and profane history etc; the females are also taught knitting and sewing."<sup>(43)</sup> Attendance at Sunday school was only compulsory on the children under 13 years, who attended the day school and worked at the mill. Mr. North, a partner at the mill, described the lending library as consisting of more than three hundred volumes and attached to the mill. The lending library afforded pleasure and instruction to the workpeople who chose to use it. Mr. North sent Horner a book list of the contents of his lending library.<sup>(44)</sup>

It would appear that this mill established wide ranging welfare schemes for all its workpeople. It had a medical welfare scheme which recognised need rather than the ability to pay, giving factory children free medical attention. The school was used as a Sunday school with from 300 to 330 scholars and took in all the children of the neighbourhood. Attendance at a church was not insisted upon, for the Sunday school was converted into a church at which a service was held. The advantage of this was, "Dissenters whose parents would

object to their going to Church where they would frequently hear their peculiar tenets attacked, but who do not object to the reading of the Church service, or the practical sermons read to them at the school; and partly from the extreme length of the Church service, which after all the time spent in the Sunday schools.....is too confining, and becomes wearisome..... These and other reasons which might be added, rendering it impracticable to take our Sunday School scholars to Church, we think the next best thing is to bring the church to them in the best form we can, and we have reason, thus far, to be well satisfied with the result."<sup>(45)</sup> Mr. North noticed that it was always found that those who were the most regular in their attendance at the school and subsequent work in the mill, were always the best conducted hands, earned the most wages, and made the best use of them.

A year later, Horner returned to the same theme. He reported on the mills where "The proprietor, alive to the moral responsibilities attached to property, and feeling how greatly he has power to influence for good or for evil, the condition of those he employs, brings kind feelings into active exertion."<sup>(46)</sup> Mr. Eccles Shorrocks, the owner of cotton mills in Over Darwen, near Blackburn, had at his own charge built a large school.....capable of accommodating a large number; and in another part of the village, about half a mile distant, and near another of his mills, he had established another school capable of receiving as many as could be instructed by two teachers. He had six teachers whose salaries he paid. The children in the infant school paid 1d a week; but all the other children, including those employed in his mills, received their education free. When Horner last visited the works, he was employing 394 children, all of which attended his schools.

Horner found another excellent effort at providing schooling for children and workpeople, again at Blackburn. An excellent school and chapel had been built by Mr. Eccles at Moorgate Field near Blackburn at his sole expense.<sup>(47)</sup> Another mill-owner in Gorton, Manchester, Mr. John Rylands had in the same way provided schools for the workpeople. These schools have several common and important features. The buildings opened as Day schools were used in the evenings for older people and on Sunday for Sunday schools. As Day schools, they provided schooling for many more children than worked in the owners mill. In the case of Mr. Ryland's mill, the Day school was attended by 102 children, 56 of whom were employed in the mill. At the evening school, on two evenings a week instruction was given in writing and arithmetic to 72 persons of different ages; they paid 2d a week, and had writing materials and books found. Of the religious instruction in this school. "On the weekdays no religious opinions are taught, except such as are in the books published under the sanction of the Borough Road School. On Sundays; the lecture-room and library are open for reading of the Scriptures. In an adjoining building is a chapel and Sunday school belonging to the concern, but it is under the care of the Wesleyan Methodists."<sup>(48)</sup>

These schools must be seen as models only, they were not the general run of factory schools and both factory inspectors and certainly Privy Council inspectors, sought to guide factory children into the National and British schools, hence the decline in the numbers of factory schools in the 1840's. Between 1843 and 1846 the percentage of the factory children that attended factory schools fell from 35 to 20.<sup>(49)</sup> They also indicate a change of attitude in the factory inspectors who were seeking in the late 1830's to establish just such

schools as these, but they, particularly Saunders, failed to get the response shown in these schools. Saunders' plan in the later 1830's indicated that he knew the situation of a few big factories providing factory schools and appearing to solve the problem. He sought to bring together small employers to start a factory school for their joint childworkers, but nothing came of this plan. The problem then was with the majority of factory children who had not good factory school provision, and it remained a problem in the 1840's, hence the move to get children into Church schools. Nevertheless these big factory schools had features which became acceptable. They surmounted the problem of religious teaching, and by catering for neighbourhood children who did not go to the factory, they brought into a learning environment designed for factory children, young boys and girls, other than from the factories.

The problems involved in financing schools and the effects on schooling of the failure to do so successfully, were recognised by both Saunders and Horner. Though by the provisions of the 1833 Factory Act inspectors had powers to order the building of schools where they were required if no subscriptions were available, they were not given access to any financial resources and the powers were a dead letter. Nevertheless the inspectors had small sums of money which were made up of fines taken from mill-owners for infringement of the factory legislation. It was small because local magistrates were reluctant to impose large fines. Horner called it the Penalty Fund, and after having it each year approved by the Home Department, made small grants to schools which applied for aid to supply small

equipment to assist in the school. A condition was that factory children had to attend the school, In his report of 26th November 1845, Horner gave a list of schools to which he made donations in the previous half-year and the use to which the donations were to be put. It would appear that the main shortage in the schools was books. Either schoolbooks or "to lay the foundations of a school lending library" were the chief items. From the list, most of the schools assisted were National schools as they were the most numerous. "It may appear from this list that in my recommendations I give a preference to National schools. That is not the case, I have been surprised that I have not had applications for aid from other public Day schools. The above recommendations in favour of the British and Moravian schools were voluntary offers on my part, and I have recently recommended grants to three British schools. I made inquiry about a Roman Catholic school to ascertain if it needed assistance, but I learned that it was not attended by one factory child."<sup>(50)</sup>

To the National School in Mossley, near Ashton, to be laid out partly in school books and materials for teaching, and partly for laying the foundation of a school lending-library	£20
To the National School of Buckhurst, near Bury, in aid of the formation of a school lending-library	£10
To the National School at Rawtenstall, to get a better supply of school books.	£15
To the National School at Colne, to establish a school lending-library, and to render the internal fittings more effective for teaching writing and geography.	£25
To the National School at Astley, near Manchester, to get a better supply of school books	£10

To the British School at County-End, near Oldham, towards the expense of enclosing a playground, and towards the formation of a school lending-library.	£20
To the Moravian School at Lees, near Oldham, towards forming a school lending-library.	£10
To the Church School at Hey, near Lees, to get a better supply of school books and maps.	£10
To the National School at Marsden, near Burnley, to get a better supply of school books.	£10
To the National School at Burnley Lane End, to get a better supply of school books, and towards forming a school lending-library.	£10
To St. James's Church School, Oldham, to get a better supply of books and materials for teaching and towards forming a lending library.	£40

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£100

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(51)

By supplying equipment, even on this small scale, Horner was widening the difference between the public and the dame and common schools, so that not only was he empowered in the 1844 legislation to refuse certificates from these schools, but he was also able to widen the difference between the quality of their books and equipment.

In his report a year later Horner returned to the question of the Penalty Fund and its use, to impress the Home Department that the money was being judiciously used, and that there was an increasing need for it.<sup>(52)</sup> Of the 25 applicants for the Penalty Fund, four were from British, one Swedenborgian and one unidentified school, the rest were National schools. The sums given ranged from £40 to



the parish church school at Rochdale, to £5 to two schools in Oswaldtwistle. The use to which the money was to be put was similar to the year before; generally for books, sometimes for other equipment, and on a few occasions for assistance in gaining an assistant. Horner raised several conditions to his giving donations from the Penalty Fund. His main consideration was the number of factory children attending the school, the particular needs and the probability of subscriptions in support of the school from the neighbourhood, and declined to recommend grants to pay off debts, and to limit recommendations of money, if granted, to specific purposes.

Saunders pursued a similar policy. In June, 1845, he wrote a letter to Sir James Graham recommending grants to schools attended by factory children from the factory fine fund, and indicating his methods of selection. The fine fund stood at £651-5-8. on 1st May, and Saunders submitted a list of 20 schools in Yorkshire to whom he recommended grants amounting to £305. He explained his method of selection. "On receipt of an application, I have, in each case, required a statement from the manager or the master of such school, as to the object to which it is intended to apply such assistance, whether such school is under the management of a committee or not, what is the number of factory children, with some other details necessary to show that a sufficient extent of instruction is offered to factory children on reasonable terms, and that the school is opened at hours adopted for the attendance of factory children."<sup>(53)</sup> Of the twenty schools, 19 were National and one British, though one Wesleyan school had declined assistance. There were numbers of factory children attending all the schools, ranging from 386 and

366 in two schools in Bradford, to 15 in a school near Huddersfield. Nine of the schools had more than 100 factory children.

The use to which the grants were to be put, was similar to Homer's. Ten schools required maps, 12 books, 5 to help pay an assistant mistress. Six said that the grant would be augmented by local subscriptions and two said it would not. The amounts granted were not large, ranging from £30 to a school in Bradford with 386 factory children, to £5 for a school in Slalthrow with 15 factory children. From the twenty schools it would appear that National schools were readily accepting factory children under the new 1844 regulations, as 19 schools were National. This had not been the case when a factory child's attendance at school was less than half a day and irregular.

Both inspectors, using this method of finding school supplies, were anxious to show their accountability to the Home Department by presenting a detailed account of the way the money was spent. It also brought attention to the need for increased central aid and underlined the inadequacy of voluntary subscriptions when the school population was on the increase. They both emphasised that the money was only given to schools who accommodated factory children and in proportion to the numbers they took in. It is further evidence of the factory child attracting resources to the schools by his swelling the numbers. Most of the schools helped were National schools which may have added to the belief that Saunders was prejudiced against the British schools, but the numbers of National schools were much greater than those of British schools.

The difficulties encountered by schools whose financial support rested on grants, subscriptions and fees were the major problems confronting those seeking to educate the factory child after 1844. The legislation and personal attitudes necessary for better teaching and improved schools, and the expansion of regulated labour into more trades were there; work and schooling had become an attainable objective, but the system of financing educational expansion was inadequate. Privy Council grants were restricted, the religious societies' allocation of grants often parsimonious, subscribers often reluctant, and school fees dependent on the attendance of the pupils. There was no secure base upon which to build and maintain schools, except for the pence of the factory child.

Local rates proved to be the solution in 1870, and would have done so in 1844, had it been possible to ensure that they supported, as they did in 1870, secular schools. Secular schools did not exist in 1844 and rate support for Church schools was unacceptable to Nonconformists who were always suspicious of financial aid, because the disparity in the number of schools between the two societies always gave the advantage to the Anglicans and the National Society.

The giving of grants was deliberately discriminatory, it being thought that local enthusiasm was the best hope for the permanent founding of a school and that this should be encouraged. But by 1845, this criterion could not succeed for the manufacturing areas that needed the schools most, had neither the enthusiasm nor the subscribers to raise enough money to gain a grant. If Privy Council aid was to reach the places where it was needed most, money raised locally would have to be less and the proportion of grant more. This was recognised

In the legislation of 1844 and the proportion of local effort to grant was reduced; it did not solve the problem, grants were not going where they were needed most, need was in conflict with a policy of self-help augmented by Government grants. Inspectors on the spot had tried to alleviate the need, in a small way, with the Penalty Fund, but Saunders was in no doubt that Government grants should be given on the principle of need, rather than as an augmentation of voluntary effort. Saunders believed that he could not find a school in his area "that is not susceptible of great improvement, if more or less aid were given in the inverse proportion to the ability of the resident gentry to support such schools. I would urge that care be taken to ascertain, by inquiry on the spot, the actual pecuniary necessities of each district, and proportioning the aid so as to insure good schools in all."<sup>(54)</sup>

The financing of schools became an increasing concern in education in the late 1840's and 1850's. It was difficult to see how an increase in school population in areas where subscriptions were few, could be provided for by voluntary effort. Horner reported that he scarcely ever visited a school without being told that it was in poverty; and that they had no means of paying the teachers properly; that they were deficient in furniture, books and materials for teaching, and that many desirable improvements were unattainable for want of means. This was frequently the case, even in places where there had been liberal subscriptions to build a school and start it, but zeal cooled, and the sum necessary for its maintenance from year to year was not forthcoming. The voluntary system had been tried and proved useful up to a point; but beyond that it had failed and the object of the first outlay was defeated.<sup>(55)</sup> He quoted a member of a school committee in Manchester. "I wish some of the opponents of the Minutes

of Council knew a little more of the practical difficulties attending the support of schools established on the voluntary principle. I fancy their unjust opposition would be somewhat modified."<sup>(56)</sup> Horner observed "The working of the voluntary principles is a tax, and often a very heavy one, that falls exclusively on the benevolent, while the selfish and illiberal, who derive equal benefits from the good efforts the school confessedly produces, pay nothing towards it. They ought to be made to pay a tax they cannot evade."<sup>(57)</sup>

The result of bringing together a rising population of children who had to be compulsorily taught, and an inadequate system of financing the project, was a shortage of good schools and competent teachers. "Wherever I go I hear of this at present, insurmountable obstacle; and consequently masters and mistresses are appointed who are felt to be very inferior to what they ought to be."<sup>(58)</sup> This was brought about by the schoolmaster's inadequate rewards and poor social status. "At present schoolmasters are paid salaries that are less than the annual income of a bricklayer's labourer, and many a young woman of 18 or 20 years of age, employed in a factory earns double what is paid to a schoolmistress."<sup>(59)</sup> On social status, school committees considered it acceptable to ask <sup>a</sup> schoolmaster to collect rents as part of his salary and clean the school and light the fire. Horner wanted the schoolmaster to be better educated, have superior manners, live in a better house, and be better dressed than the class from which his scholars came, and he could not have these advantages unless his emoluments were very different from what was considered an adequate

remuneration.

Inadequate financial provision perpetuated a shortage of good schools by being unable to raise the quality of the poor schools. The Inspector's powers to refuse certificates of schooling from unsatisfactory schools were of little value if there were no other schools to which to send the factory children. Horner produced a survey on the quality of the schools attended by factory children from January to April, 1847, almost three years after the passing of the legislation. The schools he visited contained 15,240 children, a rapid rise since 1843 but "It would be a great mistake to conclude because these 15,240 children have had certificates of school attendance, that they are all receiving education."<sup>(60)</sup> Horner calculated that not more than one third were receiving any education that "can have any influence on the formation of their character, either morally or intellectually." Horner indicated the reasons for this low state of teaching efficiency which brought his numbers of 15,240 factory children being schooled to about 5,000 being well taught. He attributed it to the incompetency of the teachers by reason of their own defective education and their ignorance of the art of conveying instruction to young minds, the miserable supply of books and other materials for teaching, and school furniture. Other reasons he attributed to the number of children far exceeding the number it was possible for even a qualified master to teach, and the admission, for the sake of school fees, of infants among the older children.

Of the 15,240 children in his survey 9,531 were boys, 5,709 were girls. 4,355 (2902 boys and 1,453 girls) went to National schools.

1,211 (831 boys and 380 girls) went to British schools, 2,020 went to other public schools, 3,746 (2,135 boys and 1,611 girls) went to factory schools and 3,908 (2,396 boys and 1,512 girls) went to private including dame schools. About a half went to some kind of Church based school, about 1/5th went to factory and a fifth to private schools. There is no doubt but that grant and subscription sponsored schools were taking a larger share of the factory children available, but were they being better educated?

Six months earlier Saunders in his report dated 7th November 1846, referred to a report on factory children and the schools they attended, that he made to Graham in 1843 and reviewed the situation as it stood in 1846. The years were momentous in that they saw the effects of a trade boom, the 1844 Legislation, and the post 1844 developments. Saunders followed, as closely as he could, the arrangements of the earlier report, dividing the schools into National, Dissenting, Factory, and Private or Dame. He divided these schools into public schools, National and Dissenting; and private schools, Dame and Common schools.

He also noticed a "considerable increase" in the public schools available to factory children in the previous three years. Many had improved. "Well trained and efficient teachers are more justly appreciated and greater exertions therefore made, for the purpose of obtaining their services; but the want of funds continued to operate very prejudicially in this most important particular."<sup>(61)</sup>

Of factory schools, which he described as, "wholly unfit for the purposes to which they are applied", in 1843, many had closed and the children taken in by National and British schools, the best had

remained "the occupiers of which have expended much money and labour in rendering their schools efficient."<sup>(62)</sup>

Saunders saw no improvement in dame and common schools, "the general proportion remain as bad as ever" and "It is my intention to remove to public schools as soon as the opportunity is afforded me by a larger number of these schools being opened and carried on under proper control."<sup>(63)</sup>

He devised a classification for arranging the schools into groups. The general state and efficiency of each school was to be determined according to the qualifications, and character, of the teacher, the supply of school materials, the discipline practised in such schools, and the extent of instruction offered to factory children, but principally by the proof of good or bad management, as shown in the conduct and general appearance of the scholars, and the extent to which they had profited by the instruction given to them. He defined the classes of school as "1. Schools conducted in a satisfactory manner, 2. Schools not conducted in a satisfactory manner, but in the management of which there is reasonable ground for expecting steady improvement. 3. Schools which cannot be classed under either of the first classes, but which are not so obviously insufficient as to justify the Inspector in annulling the certificate of the teacher. 4. Schools, the certificates from which it is probable; the Inspector will have to declare invalid."<sup>(64)</sup>

Of the 397 schools in his district which accepted factory children categorized in a table, 60 schools had not been visited. (337 schools classified).



Description of School	State of Efficiency of Schools				
	1	2	3	4	Total
Public Schools (National or Church Schools)	46	31	7	2	86
Factory Schools (Dissenting Schools)	17	15	2	-	34
Private or Dame Schools	5	6	13	5	29
	14	56	85	33	188
Total	82	108	107	40	337

(65)

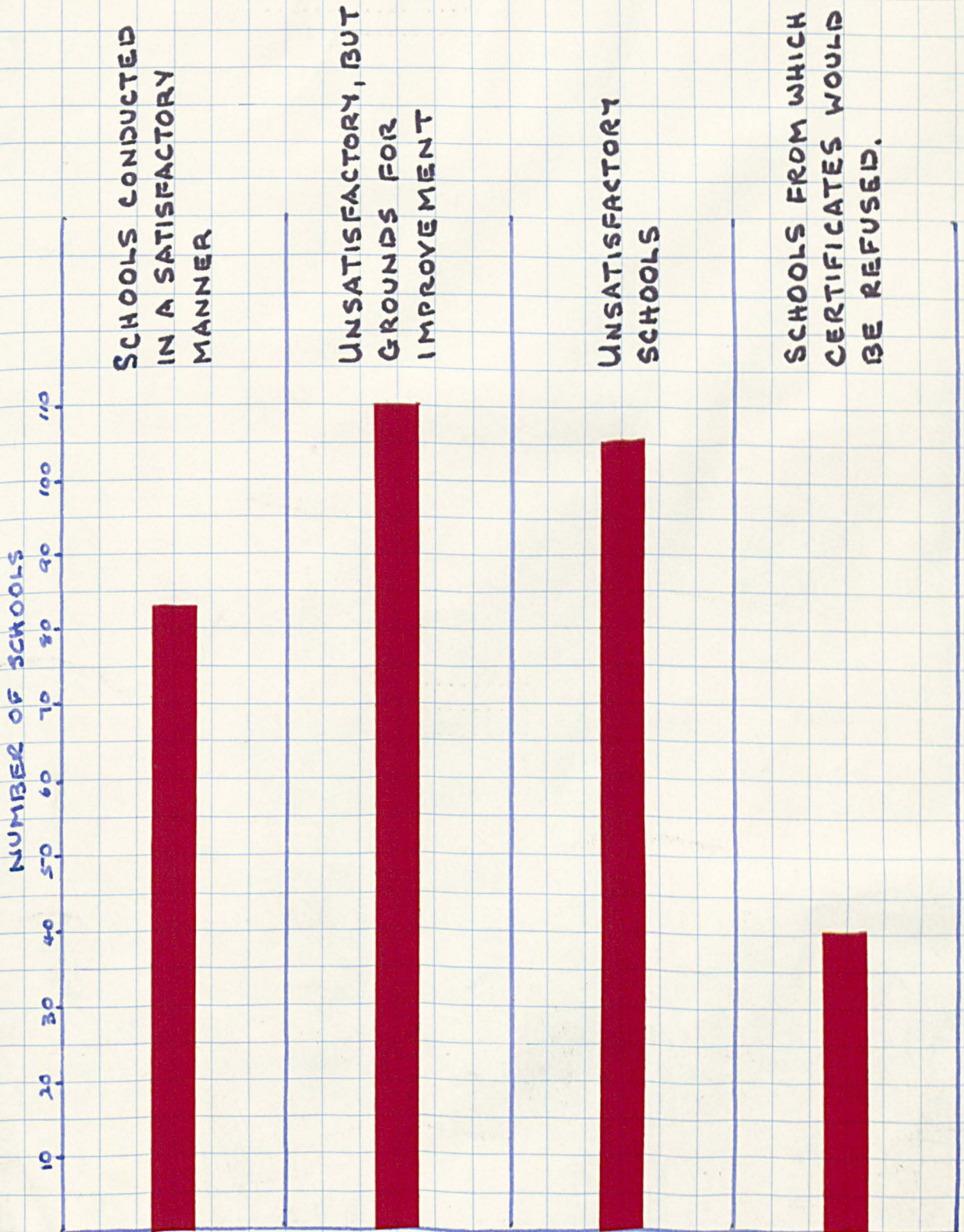
From this table public schools appear to be much more efficient than factory or private schools. Ninety per cent of the public schools are in the two first classes, whilst there are not much above 38 per cent among the factory and private schools.

A further table showed the numbers of factory children in each type of school and comparisons between 1843 and 1846.

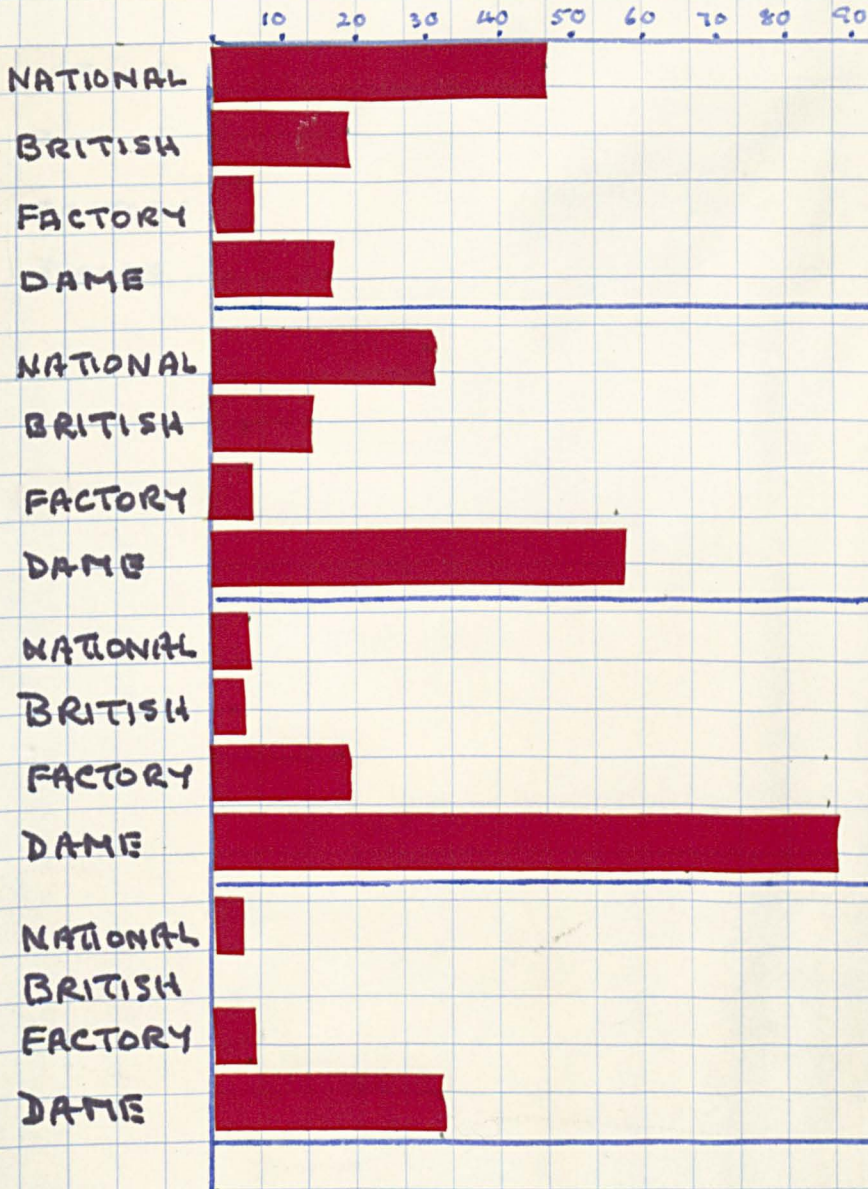
	1843	1846	
National Schools	1547	4434	
Dissenting Schools	243	2272	
Factory Schools	3367	3038	
Private or Dame Schools	4159	6037	
	9316	15781	

By this, it appears there had been an addition of 6465 to the number attending school in the course of the three years. The principal increase of numbers occurred between 1844 and 1845 because of legislative changes that affected factory children and the widening of regulated labour to allied textile trades. Of those attending public schools the numbers increased from 1790 in 1843 to 6706 in 1846. Most

of these children, without the half-time system, would have been forced into the most inefficient factory or private schools, for the convenience of being near their work. (66)



### NUMBER OF SCHOOLS



SCHOOLS CONDUCTED  
IN A SATISFACTORY  
MANNER.  
(82 SCHOOLS)

UNSATISFACTORY, BUT  
GROUNDS FOR  
IMPROVEMENT  
(108 SCHOOLS)

UNSATISFACTORY  
SCHOOLS  
(107 SCHOOLS).

SCHOOLS FROM  
WHICH CERTIFICATES  
WOULD BE REFUSED  
(40 SCHOOLS)

Saunders showed in attendance figures the change within the types of schools in the three year period, as a percentage.

	1843	1846
National School	16½ in each 100	28, being an increase of 11½%
Dissenting School	2½ in each 100	14, being an increase of 11½%
Factory School	36 in each 100	20, being a decrease of 16%
Private or Dame School	45 in each 100	38, being a decrease of 7%

(67)

Another table showed the relative number of schools and children in each sub-division of his district.

Districts	Number of Schools					No. of Children attending from each sub-division		
	National	Protestant Dissenting	Factory	Private	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mr. Baker's	35	20	5	64	124	2947	2692	5639
Captain Hart's	15	14	12	75	116	3006	3020	6026
Mr. Bates'	26	1	3	69	99	1617	1273	2890
Mr. Burys	26	9	9	14	58	594	632	1226
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>8164</b>	<b>7617</b>	<b>15,781</b>

Average number of children per school was 39.5.<sup>(68)</sup> The large number of dame and common schools indicate that they were very much smaller than those in the other groups.

Saunders believed that within his own area the religious society schools were superior to dame and common schools, though as it has been shown, they themselves were not, in many cases, efficient. It was clear that most children attended what was defined as the poorer schools. Whilst this may be attributed to the ignorance of the parents, small schools in a homely environment and close to home or mill, had a strong appeal. Inspectors did not like them. Before 1844 they had little influence over them and when efficiency and the adoption of a teaching method became the criteria of measurement of value, they began to decline; though it needed an Inspectorate armed with increased legislative force from the 1844 Factory Act, to accelerate the decline.

The optimism of the post 1844 period is seen in a report by Mr. Baker, a superintendent to Saunders, showing the beneficial results gained from compulsory education and the progress made in the ten years between 1836 and 1846. His two divisions were the largest in Saunders' area, covering 240 schools and 11,665 children.

Baker described the advantages gained by compulsory education and the initial apprehension of its success. "The compulsory education of the Factory Act has been, and is, a grand experiment, made in a country where the attendance at school is otherwise voluntary; painful because the experiment.....is not so satisfactory in its results as

might have been hoped for.....(Unsatisfactory) as to the apathy of parents, the laxity of discipline, or want of it in schools and teachers; the non-supervision of schools by local committees, and the want of interest and sympathy in the matter of education between rich and poor. As an experiment, compulsory education under the Factory Act has been signally successful."<sup>(69)</sup> Baker continued "It is a source of thankfulness to perceive and know the difference between the schools of 1836 and 1846. In 1836, I am not aware, and even to a later period, that a single public school contained a factory child within the parishes referred to in this Report. National schools existed, but they were shut up, or the factory children were shut out. Protestant dissenting schools there were, but the troublesome and dirty factory children were despised. Parish schools, dame schools, and substitutes for schools, absorbed them all. Systems and books there were none."<sup>(70)</sup> Ten years later in 1846, Baker noted that not less than 3,200 out of 5,639 in his own district had been shown to be in public schools, and if the systems in those schools, whether of the Establishment or of Dissent, were not yet so perfect as might be desired, there was reason to hope that in a little time they would become more efficient and more appreciated.<sup>(71)</sup>

1. Horner's Report 16th May 1845. p.13.
2. Ibid. page 13.
3. Ibid, page 13.
4. Census Returns 1841 P.P. 1843 (497) Vol. XXIII  
p.132-3, p.130, p.132.
5. Horner's Report 16th May 1845. p.14. op.cit.
6. Ibid. p.14.
7. Ibid. p.14.
- 7a See Appendix No. IX
8. See Appendix No. VIII
9. op.cit. p.14.
10. Ibid. p.14.
11. Ibid. p.14.
12. Horner's Report 17th May 1847. p.5.
13. Ibid. p.5.
14. Saunder's Report 7th November 1846. p.22.
15. Ibid. p.22.
16. Horner's Report 2nd December 1846. p.6.
17. Ibid. p.6.
18. Ibid. p.7.
19. Ibid. p.5.
20. Saunder's Report 1st May 1845. p.41.
21. Ibid. p.41.
22. Ibid. p.41.
23. Census Returns 1851 Reports and Tables on Education  
England and Wales 1852-53 (1692) Vol. XC. p.XXXII-p.XXX
24. Minutes of the Clitheroe National School, Public Record  
Office, Preston. P.R.2003, 22nd April 1841.
25. Ibid. 30th October 1841.

26. Ibid. 13th February 1843.
27. Minutes of Padiham Charity School. P.R.O. Preston P.R.2863 5/5 28th February 1839.
28. Ibid 21st November 1839.
29. Clitheroe National School. op.cit. 11th January 1842.
30. Ibid. 6th May 1844.
31. Ibid. 8th October 1849.
32. Howell's Report 26th November 1845. p.21.
33. Ibid. p.22.
34. Ibid. p.22.
35. Ibid. p.22.
36. Ibid. p.22.
37. Ibid. p.20.
38. Ibid. p.20.
39. Ibid. p.20.
40. Clitheroe National School. op.cit. 6th May 1844.
41. Saunder's Report 7th November 1846. p.24. op.cit.
42. Horner's Report 26th November 1845. p.10.
43. Ibid. p.11.
44. Ibid. p.15. appendix No. II also see Appendix No. VII
45. Ibid. p.11.
46. Horner's Report 2nd December 1846. p.6. op.cit.
47. See Appendix No. XI.
48. Horner's Report 2nd December 1846. p.7. op.cit.
49. Saunder's Report 7th November 1846. p.24. op.cit.
50. Horner's Report 26th November 1845. p.8. op.cit.
51. Ibid. p.9.
52. Horner's Report 19th May 1846. p.4.-p.5.



53. Saunder's Report 10th November 1845. Appendix No. 11. p.30.
54. Saunder's Report 7th November 1846. p.21. op.cit.
55. Horner's Report 17th May 1847. p.6. op.cit.
56. Ibid. p.6. Letter to Horner dated 22nd April 1847.
57. Ibid. p.6.
58. Horner's Report 19th May 1846. p.4. op.cit.
59. Ibid. p.5.
60. Horner's Report 12th May 1847 p.5. op.cit.
61. Saunder's Report 7th November 1846. p.22. op.cit.
62. Ibid. p.22.
63. Ibid. p.22.
64. Ibid. p.23.
65. Ibid. p.22.
66. Ibid. p.23.
67. Ibid. p.24.
68. Ibid. p.24.
69. Saunder's report 7th November 1846. p.24. op.cit.
70. Ibid. p.25.
71. Ibid. p.25.

**CONCLUSION**

## CONCLUSION

The implications of this study are that the national system of education that developed after 1870 had its origins in the period covered by this study. The events that occurred in this earlier period influenced the nature of national education after 1870.

Three factors fulfil these criteria. Attending school is a basic need of child learning, and until parents and social attitudes to children and childhood changed, compulsion was seen as a satisfactory way of enabling those children who were least likely to attend school to acquire some education. By attaching compulsory attendance at school to work, enabled schooling to reach the most deprived children. Compulsory attendance made many other arrangements possible, defining the ages at which a child should attend school and the number of hours per day spent at school. All these things were lacking from the school life of other children, as is shown in the study, and yet were a requisite of national education. This study shows a comparison between the school days of factory and non-working children, and the educational gains attached to compulsion.

Compulsion not only affected the child, it had a profound effect on those who had to apply it. It became self-evident that legislation that involved compulsion, involved an obligation on the part of the legislature to provide the means of carrying out the proposals. This involvement was open ended, being determined by the number of children involved, and the quality of teaching sought. It exposed the legislature to a whole range of claims such as well-provided schools and efficient teaching, which in the period of this study, and for long afterwards, it was ill-equipped to fulfil.

Compulsion requires an Instrument to carry out its will. The origins of inspection are in this period. The nature of inspection can be easily seen when inspectors were few and their role clearly defined. Within this period, the inspectors' role developed from that of implementing legislation to devising schemes for improvement, in the light of their experience. It also showed how the Inspectorate sought to defend the structure of education that it was creating, and to expand this structure in order to reduce the resistance to it.

A second factor was related to the Inspectorate, being a part of education until it was achieved, well outside this period. This was universality. A feature of this period was the discriminatory nature of educational legislation, and its application induced a constant pressure to expand the system. This was seen in the lowering of the age of admission to factories which would seem to be a retrograde step, except that it raised the number of children affected by compulsory education, and by widening the area of compulsion by bringing more trades into regulated labour, as in the inclusion of print-work children in 1845.

The third factor was not to be a permanent part of the educational system, though it was long to have a powerful influence on educational development. The intrusion of sectarian interest into the education of the working class child was implicit in the belief that was demonstrated in this study, that moral instruction was the principle facet of working class education. The acceptance of these moral implications brought in Church and Nonconformity as contending factions, stimulating them both to such voluntary effort as to stretch the Privy Council resources in matching grants to

voluntary effort. This conflict was heightened by the disparity between the Church and Nonconformity in the resources that each could bring to bear, and on the influence each could exercise. The retarding influence of this sectarian struggle, showed itself in the Church's success in preventing combined teaching in the normal schools proposed by the Privy Council Committee in 1839, and in their control of the appointment of inspectors to their schools. It showed again in 1843 when the Nonconformists were able to force Graham to withdraw his Factory Bill in 1843 and modify it to their liking in 1844, by retaining the voluntary principle of school financing which they thought was in their favour. Sectarian conflict instilled an insecurity into education that undermined resolute action and led to constant compromise with both sides seeking factional gain from every issue. This compromise was demonstrated in 1844 with the introduction of the half-time system of schooling for factory children, without the means to finance adequately the gains made by this change.

It is necessary to see 1833-1846 as a period of essential experimentation with a limited group of children, and from which only limited results could be expected, though the potential for greater change was present.

Although this study would suggest that the origins of national education are to be found in the period under review, some historians have detected "a lost opportunity" in that it was not achieved in 1844. They blame religious controversy surrounding the Bill of 1843 for delaying the advent of national education. The weakness of this premise is evident if religious controversy is taken out of the issue, for there remained insuperable barriers to a

universal system, at that time. Educational thinking was limited. It was thought that children who did not work were adequately provided for privately, by National and British schools. The educational problem of the day was not with these children, but with those who lived in the manufacturing districts and were gathered together in their hundreds in mills. As long as the problem appeared to be selective, a comprehensive national system of education was difficult to envisage.

Still much was gained. The 1844 Act gave these factory children the prospect of a better education in an Improved Church or British school. An increase in their numbers attracted more Government resources which improved their opportunities for learning by improving the quality of teaching; phasing out the monitorial system and reducing the hours of work to include only morning or afternoon working with a full half-day of schooling. It succeeded in bringing closer together, in educational levels, the children who worked and the children who did not, and in consequence reduced the dangers of segregation; it made way for a widening of the area of compulsory attendance and made it possible for the most vulnerable children to get a regular schooling for four years.

By seeing the events of 1843 as a victory for religious factions and voluntarism, it is possible to ignore the evidence that so much that could be achieved at the time was gained, and that to have expected more was to over value the possibilities presented during the years from 1833 to 1846.

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APPENDICES



Appendix No.1.

Horner's account of the number of  
children under 13 years employed  
in the factories of his district

Between 1838 and 1843 Horner gave an account of the number of children under 13 years employed in the factories of his district.

CHILDREN employed in Cotton, Woollen, and Flax Mills.

COUNTY.	Latter part of 1838					Latter part of 1839.				
	Number of Factories.	Number of Factories in which Children are employed.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Number of Factories.	Number of Factories in which Children are employed.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Lancaster . . . . .	1440	716	5099	3385	8484	1442	689	5073	3078	8151
York, part of West Riding* . . . . .	170	98	411	317	728	174	77	374	355	729
Ditto, North Riding . . . . .	9	5	35	27	62	9	5	24	17	41
Durham . . . . .	13	4	36	21	57	12	5	31	30	61
Northumberland . . . . .	6	3	3	6	9	6	2	3	4	7
Cumberland . . . . .	39	16	44	37	81	38	15	41	42	83
Westmoreland . . . . .	19	13	38	35	73	22	12	41	40	81
	1696	855	5666	3828	9494	1703	805	5587	3566	9153
	1703	805	5587	3566	9153					
Increase . . . . .	7	.	.	.	.					
Decrease . . . . .	.	50	79	262	341					

(Horner-half yearly report ending Dec.1839 1840(218)Vol.XX111.)

From these figures there was a loss of about 3½% on the numbers in 1838, the greater portion being girls as boys were usually preferred on account of their greater strength.

CHILDREN employed in COTTON, WOOLLEN and FLAX MILLS.

COUNTY.	Latter part of 1839.					Latter part of 1840.				
	Factories at work.	Factories employing Children.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Factories at work.	Factories employing Children.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Lancaster . . . . .	1442	689	5073	3078	8151	1391	672	5103	3099	8202
York, part of West Riding . . . . .	174	77	374	355	729	130	82	353	360	743
York, North Riding . . . . .	9	5	24	17	41	7	3	10	6	16
Durham . . . . .	12	5	31	30	61	12	6	30	31	61
Northumberland . . . . .	6	2	3	4	7	6	2	3	4	7
Cumberland . . . . .	38	15	41	42	83	37	16	44	42	86
Westmoreland . . . . .	22	12	41	40	81	20	12	43	43	86
	1703	805	5587	3566	9153	1603	793	5616	3585	9201
	1603	793	5616	3585	9201					
Increase . . . . .	..	..	29	19	48					
Decrease . . . . .	100	12	..	..	..					

(Horner half yearly report ending Dec . 1840 1841(294)Vol.X.)

These figures show a loss of 100 in the number of factories at work, but an increase in the proportion of those employing children, and also an increase in the number of children employed.

COUNTY.	Latter Part of 1840.					Latter Part of 1841.				
	Factories at Work.	Factories employing Children.	Boys.	Girls.	TOTAL.	Factories at Work.	Factories employing Children.	Boys.	Girls.	TOTAL.
Lancaster - - -	1,391	672	5,103	3,090	8,202	1,354	670	4,732	2,865	7,597
York, part of West Riding - - -	130	82	383	360	743	123	80	325	289	614
York, North Riding	7	3	10	6	16	5	3	6	10	16
Durham - - -	12	6	30	31	61	9	4	24	23	47
Northumberland -	6	2	3	4	7	4	—	—	—	—
Cumberland - - -	37	16	44	42	86	35	16	39	39	78
Westmoreland - -	20	12	43	43	86	21	13	43	47	90
	1,603	793	5,616	3,585	9,201	1,551	786	5,169	3,273	8,442
	1,551	786	5,169	3,273	8,442					
Decrease - - -	52	7	447	312	759					

(Horner-half yearly report ending 31st Dec.1841 1842(31)Vol.XX11)

These figures show a further decrease in the numbers of factory children. Horner attributed the loss to a slump in trade and older children, above 13 years working for lower wages. The proportion of mills where children were employed rose slightly.

COUNTY.	Latter part of 1841.					Latter part of 1842.				
	Factories at Work.	Factories employing Children.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Factories at Work.	Factories employing Children.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Lancaster . . . . .	1,354	670	4,732	2,865	7,597	1,339	622	3,989	2,294	6,283
York, part of West Riding . . . . .	123	80	325	289	614	103	67	273	260	533
York, North Riding . . . . .	5	3	6	10	16	4	3	7	1	8
Durham . . . . .	9	4	24	23	47	10	3	28	17	45
Northumberland . . . . .	4	0	0	0	0	6	1	3	4	7
Cumberland . . . . .	35	16	39	39	78	37	17	49	34	83
Westmoreland . . . . .	21	13	43	47	90	18	12	38	45	83
Total . . . . .	1,551	786	5,169	3,273	8,442	1,522	725	4,387	2,655	7,042
Total of 1842 . . . . .	1,522	725	4,387	2,655	7,042					
Decrease . . . . .	29	61	782	618	1,400					

(Horner half yearly report ending Dec.1842 1843(429)Vol.XXV11)

Again there is a considerable decrease in the number of children employed under 13 years of age. The loss was attributed to the state of trade, but also to the fall in wages enabling the spinners, who employed the children "to get those above 13, who can work 12 hours a day, for the same wages that they used to pay to short-time hand."

COUNTY.	Latter part of 1842					Latter part of 1843				
	Factories at work.	Factories employ- ing Children	Boys.	Girls.	Total.	Factories at work.	Factories employ- ing Children	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Lancaster . . . . .	1339	622	3989	2294	6283	1400	660	4355	2440	6795
York, part of W. Riding	108	67	273	260	533	121	67	287	219	506
,, N. Riding . . . . .	4	3	7	1	8	7	2	6	5	11
Durham . . . . .	10	3	28	17	45	13	3	26	27	53
Northumberland . . . . .	6	1	3	4	7	5	..	..	..	..
Cumberland . . . . .	37	17	49	34	83	34	17	53	25	78
Westmoreland . . . . .	18	12	38	45	83	16	11	42	41	83
Total . . . . .	1522	723	4387	2655	7042	1596	760	4769	2757	7526
Total of 1843 . . . . .	1596	760	4769	2757	7526					
Increase . . . . .	74	35	382	102	484					

(Horner quarterly report ending Dec. 1843. 1844(524)Vol.XXV111)

1843 showed a slight rise in the number of children employed, indicating the start of a period of prosperity which was to attract large numbers of children into the mills. The increase of 484 children showed a rise of almost 7 per cent.

Appendix No. 11

The number of factory children in  
Mr. Saunders' district, attending  
National schools on weekdays and  
various Sunday schools on Sunday

Report by  
R. J. Saunders, Esq.

25th Jan., 1843.

Appendix No. II.

(page 40).

TABLE A.—RETURN of FACTORY CHILDREN in the West Riding of Yorkshire attending the undermentioned National Schools on the Week-day.

Name of School.	Schoolmaster.	Schoolmistress.	Two Classes.		Three Classes.		Total.		Grand Total.
			M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
St. Peter's Bank, Leeds . . . .	Jno. Collingwood	Ann Barrel.	50	15	19	16	69	31	100
St. George's Leeds . . . .	Jno. H. Hurber.	E. McLachlan . . . .	16	20	..	..	16	20	36
Christ Church, Leeds . . . .	Geo. Eastman . . . .	Mag. Painter . . . .	45	2	..	..	45	2	47
Wharf Bank, Bradford . . . .	Wm. R. Bennett	A. M. Gamble . . . .	12	15	51	77	63	92	155
Manchester Road, Bradford	W. Ross . . . .	A. M. Jenkins . . . .	105	159	20	30	125	159	314
Keighley . . . . .	Henry Tearle . . . .	Deb. Smith . . . .	56	56	..	..	56	56	112
Bingley . . . . .	Sam. Hunter . . . .	Mary Hannah . . . .	46	48	..	11	46	59	105
Swerby Bridge . . . . .	Thos. D. Sutcliffe	Mrs. Sutcliffe . . . .	21	36	..	..	21	36	57
Ossett Street . . . . .	John Gothard . . . .	. . . . .	..	..	19	4	10	4	14
Total attending Day Schools . . . .			351	351	100	138	451	459	940

TABLE B.—RETURN of the various Schools which the above FACTORY CHILDREN attend on Sundays.

Of what Denomination.	NAME OF SCHOOL										Total.	
	St. Peter's Bank, Leeds.	St. George's, Leeds.	Christchurch, Leeds.	Wharf Bank, Bradford.	Manchester Road, Bradford.	Keighley.	Bingley.	Swerby Bridge.	Ossett Street.	Of each Sex.	Of both Sexes.	
												M.
CHURCH OF ENGLAND	M. 56	4	12	29	40	25	6	12	4	182	340	
	F. 24	2	..	30	45	22	18	15	2	158		
Roman Catholic	M. 3	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	9	22	
	F. 3	..	..	5	3	..	..	..	..	13		
Wesleyan	M. 10	10	29	15	20	21	16	5	1	133	300	
	F. 4	14	2	32	36	20	28	10	1	167		
Independent.	M. ..	1	2	11	24	..	11	3	..	52	126	
	F. ..	2	..	19	32	6	5	10	..	74		
Non-Conformist	M. ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	
Primitive Methodist	M. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	4	
	F. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1		
New Connexion.	M. ..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	4	6	
	F. ..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2		
Baptist	M. ..	1	..	4	20	2	4	..	5	36	50	
	F. ..	2	..	4	31	3	3	..	1	44		
Ranter	M. ..	..	..	4	5	..	9	..	..	21	39	
	F. ..	..	..	2	11	..	5	..	..	18		
Moravian	M. ..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	4	11	
	F. ..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	7		
Unitarian	M. ..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	
	F. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
New Light	M. ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	2	
	F. ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1		
Socialist	M. ..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	
	F. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Radical	M. ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	4	
	F. ..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3		
	M. ..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	
	F. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Total	M. 13	12	33	43	55	29	40	9	6	270	600	
	F. 7	18	2	62	144	33	41	21	2	330		
GRAND TOTAL.	Church . . . . .	50	6	12	50	55	50	24	27	6	340	
	Dissenting . . . . .	20	30	35	105	259	62	81	20	8	600	
		100	35	47	155	314	112	105	57	14	940	

Appendix No.111

Rev. Allen's inspection of schools in  
N.E. Lancashire in the summer of 1841

A problem in the early 1840's was the unsatisfactory conditions in what were generally accepted at the best schools, those of the National Society. These schools were claimed by Saunders to be "all very superior to the best private or dame school." This may have been so, but in reality the teaching was poor, the teachers untrained, and, as Rev. Noel had noticed in 1840, the number of children attending were always fewer than the schools claimed.

This article that I wrote for the "Burnley Express" in September 1979, describes the visit that Rev. Allen, the Privy Council inspector, made to the schools in N.E. Lancashire in the summer of 1841 :

When the inspector dropped in

It was not a common sight to see a private coach negotiating the lanes of Pendleside in 1841.

It was even rarer to see a clergyman in such a coach, and a unique sight to observe the occupant of this coach - for it carried none other than the Rev. John Allen.

He was not a well-known personality of the time, neither was he a great preacher nor pillar of the Established Church.

Indeed, he was unknown to anyone who might have looked into his coach as he journeyed towards Whalley on that April morning; but there were small communities in several Pendleside villages who anticipated his coming with fear.

To them he was very important and authoritarian, for they had never had a visitation of this nature before.

The people who feared the coming of this reverend gentleman from afar were the masters and children of the village schools in Pendleside, for they were about to have descending upon them the Privy School Inspector.

It was only 18 months before that the Government had set up an important department called the Privy Council Committee for Education, which had appointed two school inspectors to tour the country visiting and inspecting those schools which had been awarded Government grants.



His duty was to ensure that the money had been wisely spent, and report his findings to London.

On the first day of his visit he inspected two schools, at Whalley and at Read. The National School at Whalley was older than that at Read, being established in 1819, but the school at Read had been in existence only three years, having been erected with the assistance of a treasury grant of £60 in 1838.

#### SERVANT

The promoters of the schools were the Rev. Mr. Noble at Whalley, and at Read Mr. Hilton, of Read Hall.

The visitors to the schools, the people who kept an oversight on what went on, were John Fort, MP, of Read, and his sister, and at Whalley the vicar.

At Whalley, the 59 children were taught by Richard Thompson and his wife, Mary. Both had other occupations before they became teachers - the master had been in business and his wife had been a servant in a clergyman's family. Neither had any training in teaching.

All the children at the school had to pay, the fees amounting to nine shillings a week. The master received £50 a year and "what the pence of the children may amount to more."

At Read, the 52 children were taught by an unmarried master and former labourer, James Smith, untrained for the post and receiving a salary of £20 a year and school fees of £12.

The first day of the inspection went badly for the local schools.

Mr. Allen wrote that at Whalley "the Church Catechism was indifferently taught, and the Liturgy not at all." He reported that "the master did not impress educationally, but the mistress seemed to be more intelligent."

Nor was he impressed by what he saw at Read. Of the master - "He seems imperfectly instructed and is not sufficiently methodical; the amount of intelligence displayed by his scholars is but scant."

The next day, April 27th, 1841, he visited Simonstone and Higham. Both schools were new. Simonstone was erected in 1840 and Higham in 1838, both with treasury grants of £50.

It appears that the Simonstone school was struggling financially, for it received an additional grant from the National Society of £15.

At Higham, the promoters of the school were the curate of Padihem, L.N. Starkie, and Miss Shuttleworth, and at Simonstone the Rev. Mr. Adamson and L.N. Starkie.

#### WEAVER

Higham had 50 children and Simonstone had 30. The rate of fees were the same at both schools - twopence a week, threepence with writing and fourpence with "accounts" At both schools children were admitted at four years and generally left by the time they were eight.

The master at Higham was Thomas Boothman, a former handloom weaver, untrained for teaching, who "works at a handloom out of school hours at which he may earn, if industrious, 6d a day."

Allen disapproved of both the children - "they do not appear very neat nor clean," - and the master - "He is not over neat in his person, he has some shrewdness of manner, not much education nor gentleness of manner" and "he has but little method in conducting the school."

Simonstone school fared slightly better. The master was Ezekiel Wilkinson, a former calico printer, whose salary amounted to a collection of £10, and the school pence of £17 a year.

Mr. Allen described him as "intelligent, gentle, clean, apparently right minded; he has had no systematic training."

The last day of Mr. Allen's visit, April 28th, was to the schools at Pendleton and Downham. The Pendleton school had been established four years, and the Downham school in 1839 from an old endowment.

At Pendleton, the promoters were Mr. Noble and L.N. Starkie with the aid of a National Society grant. There were 57 children

and the fees were high, - threepence a week, sixpence with writing and eightpence with "accounts."

The children attended from four years to 11, and the master was Joseph Hawerth, a former weaver, who had a salary of about £18, plus school pence of £9.

The inspector was not impressed - "the master's attainments do not appear to be of a very high order; he is not methodical, has had no sufficient training; he appears to be right minded and gentle."

#### DONATION

At Downham, the promoters of the school were the vicar, the Rev. P. Abbott, and William Assheton. The school was erected by a treasury grant of £15, small subscriptions of £15 10s and a donation from Mr. Assheton of £20 3s 8d.

At the time of the inspection the number of children on the roll was 38, with "the number latterly on the increase because of fine weather." The fees were modest, reading a penny, with writing threepence and "accounts" fivepence a week.

The master at the school was Robert Rydeheard, the only trained master that Allen met in the whole three-day visit. He has studied at Central School, Westminster, from January 10th to April 16th, 1839.

He alone met with the approval of the inspector - "The master seemed to be intelligent, fairly educated and trained; his demeanour was cheerful and proper; his children seemed to me in fair order."

The thoughts of Mr. Allen as his coach left Downham on that April day almost 140 years ago are unknown, but he may have reflected on the fact that of the 286 children on the attendance rolls of the six schools he inspected, 102 thought it prudent to be absent.

Appendix No. IV

Rev. Noel's findings on  
available schools for  
working-class in five  
northern manufacturing  
towns

Noel's findings on available schools for working-class in five towns in the north.

Dame, Common Schools		112,522 scholars
Sunday Schools		Poor teachers
Church Schools	Structured system backed by National organisations and supervised by clergy (27,523)	No books (Church Schools the Bible).
	Better Buildings (76,489)	

Of the 11,522 scholars who made up the schools Rev. Noel visited, very many had poor schooling by all the criteria that Noel adopted; 76,489 were housed in slightly better buildings, and 27,523 went to Church schools, which Noel believed, were more efficiently supervised.

36,032 Dame and Common - Poor teachers - no books - poor buildings

48,966 Sunday Schools - Poor teachers - no books (only Bibles) but better buildings.

27,523 Church Schools - Poor teachers - no books (only Bibles) but better buildings, national organisation, supervised by clergy.

All had poor teachers and no or limited books, but Church schools had a potential.

From Noel's figures the worst schools received the greatest number of pupils.

Appendix No.V.

Rev. Watkins' table of 54 schools  
he visited in 1846 in which he  
compares the quality of equipment  
and the attendance figures with  
those for 1844

Watkins' table of 54 schools in which he compares numbers on books, average attendance and those present at times of inspection.

*on the Northern District.*

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Name.	1844.			1846.		
	Number on Books.	Number in Average Attendance.	Present.	Number on Books.	Number in Average Attendance.	Present.
Castleford . . . . .	125	80	82	130	100	73
Knottingley . . . . .	250	146	121	298	148	192
Milnrow . . . . .	172	100	104	248	136	144
Wardle . . . . .	109	65	43	183	102	93
Rochdale . . . . .	132	120	54	393	305	324
Hull, St. Stephen's . . . . .	420	300	274	334	163	162
Hull, St. James's . . . . .	360	270	212	474	356	380
Wilness . . . . .	25	25	23	57	45	39
Maghull . . . . .	109	97	96	121	100	84
Southport . . . . .	178	140	100	238	202	133
Wigan, St. George's . . . . .	133	110	52	80	47	55
Pemberton, Goose Green . . . . .	40	60	59	136	105	95
Adlington . . . . .	111	89	94	84	72	62
Chorley, Botany Bay . . . . .	130	110	80	77	70	82
Waiton-le-Dale . . . . .	334	252	213	421	251	236
Heywood, Heady Hill . . . . .	90	70	84	115	110	82
Heywood, Mount-street . . . . .	96	86	74	93	77	63
Heywood, St. James's . . . . .	235	167	197	263	230	238
Heywood, York-street . . . . .	120	80	71	102	82	105
Buckhurst . . . . .	99	60	49	61	34	37
Eccleston, St. Thomas's . . . . .	350	310	306	320	253	225
Eccleston, Mrs. Greenall's . . . . .	40	36	34	24	20	20
Rainhill . . . . .	99	71	83	128	82	91
Padgate . . . . .	95	80	66	80	65	66
Leigh, Bedford . . . . .	174	107	173	202	130	116
Haydock . . . . .	136	110	133	136	90	114
Leigh, National . . . . .	96	65	122	162	124	121
Astley . . . . .	231	178	197	223	171	173
Atherton . . . . .	220	118	117	162	113	124
Farnworth, Bolton . . . . .	337	283	270	300	230	218
West Houghton . . . . .	58	48	63	80	54	82
Smithell's Deane . . . . .	63	40	55	60	38	32
Bolton, Trinity . . . . .	320	280	265	480	410	329
Wheulton . . . . .	75	43	38	95	48	41
Middleton . . . . .	150	140	166	225	190	184
Preston, St. Mary's . . . . .	250	215	204	367	219	262
Preston, St. Thomas's . . . . .	438	296	356	505	349	389
Habergham Eaves . . . . .	250	170	172	250	185	202
Colne, National . . . . .	174	164	142	419	300	364
Colne, Christ Church . . . . .	42	39	30	81	61	67
Clitheroe, St. James's . . . . .	133	73	66	172	90	76
Downham . . . . .	61	45	43	81	72	47
Read . . . . .	50	42	62	85	60	50
Whalley . . . . .	38	32	40	111	80	107
Accrington . . . . .	80	73	56	67	60	63
Pendleton . . . . .	41	26	33	40	30	45
Sabden . . . . .	58	38	71	91	51	60
Marsden . . . . .	83	55	53	135	94	87
Symonston . . . . .	27	20	18	28	17	26
Higham . . . . .	24	20	21	30	24	24
Cabin-lane in Oswaldtwistle . . . . .	124	90	88	97	62	62
Busk . . . . .	119	55	67	101	80	85
Hurst Green . . . . .	76	32	42	46	34	26
Walmersley . . . . .	140	120	86	198	110	128

(Watkin's Report on Northern District for 1846, Minutes of Committee of Council on Education 1846 Vol.1. p.341-342).

Appendix No. VI.

Watkins' survey of 1844 into the  
training of masters and the training  
schools they attended.



	Masters.	Mistresses.
At the Central School, Westminster . . . . .	12	7
Chester Diocesan . . . . .	16	0
York ditto . . . . .	4	1
Durham . . . . .	3	0
Chichester . . . . .	1	0
Battersea . . . . .	3	0
Edinburgh . . . . .	2	0
Home and Colonial (Gray's Inn Road) . . . . .	4	7
Dublin . . . . .	0	1
Glasgow . . . . .	2	0
British and Foreign (Borough Road) . . . . .	0	1
	47	17
	64	

Out of the 250 masters and mistresses surveyed Watkins discovered that 64 had been regularly trained. The above are the training schools they attended.

(Watkins' Report Feb. 26th 1845, p.287).

Appendix No. VII

The catalogue of books in the lending  
library of a Liverpool factory school  
in 1845

## CATALOGUE OF BOOKS in the LENDING LIBRARY at the North Shore Mills, Liverpool.

*Tales, Stories, and Novels..*

Dairyman's Daughter.  
 Abbott's Caleb in the Country.  
 Abbott's Caleb in the Town,  
 Abbott's, The Way to do Good.  
 Abbott's Hoary Head.  
 Abbott's McDonner.  
 Abbott's Mother at Home.  
 Abbott's Child at Home.  
 Abbott's Every Day Duty.  
 Abbott's Fireside.  
 Abbott's Path of Peace.  
 Cabinet of Gems.  
 Tales for Young People.  
 Three Experiments of Living.  
 The Two Apprentices.  
 The History of Little Henry.  
 The History of Susan Gray.  
 Tales and Narratives. 4 Vols.  
 Stories from Switzerland.  
 The Young Samaritan.  
 My Station and its Duties.  
 Going to Service.  
 Always Happy.  
 Learning better than Houses or Land.  
 Tale for the Ingle-nooks.  
 The Guilty Tongue.  
 Strive and Thrive.  
 Flowers of the Forest.  
 Tales and Stories.  
 The Lame Girl.  
 Narratives from Real Life.  
 My Early Days.  
 Perseverance.  
 The House of the Thief.  
 The Factory Girl.  
 Peter Parley's Tales about Canada.  
 Temperance Tales.  
 History of Lucy Clare.  
 The Excitements.  
 Sunday School Anecdotes.  
 The Good Servant.  
 The Highland Soldier.  
 Kiss for a Blow.  
 The Faithful Servant.  
 Visit to my Birthplace.  
 My Own Story.  
 The Bent Shilling.  
 The Valley of Clusone.  
 Elizabeth and her Three Beggar Boys.  
 Ellmer Castle.  
 Story of the Waldenses.  
 Profession and Principle.  
 The Anxious Inquirer.  
 Consistency.  
 Anecdotes of Providence.  
 The Cottage Fireside.  
 The Cottage Museum.  
 Gulliver's Travels.  
 The Reclaimed Infidel.  
 The Decision.  
 The Scottish Chiefs.  
 Ralph Gammal.  
 Abbott's Rolla at Play.  
 Abbott's Rolla Learning to Read.  
 Abbott's Rolla at School.  
 Abbott's Rolla at Work.

Farmer Goodal.  
 Volume for lending Library.  
 Judgment of Hercules.  
 Buck's Anecdotes. 2 Vols.  
 Hill's Village Dialogues.  
 No Fiction.  
 Bertha's Visit. 3 Vols.  
 Evenings at Home. 2 Copies.  
 Sandford and Merton.  
 Thaddeus of Warsaw.  
 Self Control.  
 Stories of the Irish Peasantry.  
 The Sea Tales and Sketches.  
 Cottagers of Glenburnie.  
 Vicar of Wakefield.  
 The English Boy at the Cape. 3 Vols.  
 Don Quixote. 2 Vols.  
 Hannah More's Tales.

*History, &c.*

Parley's Universal History,  
 History of the Great Plague.  
 Memorials of the late War. 2 Vols.  
 Stories from the History of Greece.  
 History of Rasselas.  
 Fabulous Histories.  
 Rome and the early Christians.  
 History of the Rebellion in Scotland.  
 White's Elements of Universal History.

*Natural History.*

Book of Birds.  
 Book of Reptiles.  
 Book of Fishes.  
 Insect Architecture.  
 Useful Knowledge. 3 Vols.  
 Natural History of Quadrupeds.  
 Natural History. 5 Vols.  
 Natural History, Buffon's. 10 Vols.  
 Natural History of Selborne.  
 Extracts. 2 Vols.

*Sacred History.*

Life of Jesus Christ.  
 Belcher's Interesting Narratives.

*Religious Subjects.*

Pike's Early Religion.  
 Pike's Motives for Perseverance.  
 Pike's Persuasives to Early Piety.  
 Pike's True Happiness.  
 Young Christian.  
 Token for Children,  
 Pilgrim's Progress.  
 Sacred Dramas.  
 Sherlock and Dodd on Death.  
 Commandment with Promise.  
 Scenes of Death.  
 Combination.  
 Thornton's Early Piety.  
 A Practical Catechism.  
 Letters on Enthusiasm.  
 Sterne's Sermons. 4 Vols.  
 Power of Religion on the Mind.  
 The Note Book of a Clergyman.  
 Montague; or, Is this Religion.

Lessons for Young Persons.  
 Dictionary of Scriptural Geography.  
 Discourses on Domestic Happiness.  
 Discourses on Four Last Things.  
 Exposition of Psalm 119th.  
 The World to Come.  
 Christian Directory.  
 The Young Man's Own Book.  
 Sunday Evenings.

*Biography, &c.*

Memoirs of Mrs. Newell.  
 Memoirs of Rev. J. Newton. 2 Copies.  
 Annals of the Poor.  
 Naval Biography.  
 Life of Col. J. Gardiner.  
 Life of Mungo Park.  
 Memoirs of D. Brainerd.  
 Memoirs of Serjeant Dale.  
 Annals of the Poor.  
 Life of John Blackadder.  
 Life of John Nichol.  
 Memoirs of Felix Neff.  
 Life of Archbishop Laud.  
 Lives of Eminent Christian Writers. 5 Vols.  
 Life of Robinson Crusoe.  
 Life of the Duke of Marlborough.  
 Life and Miscellaneous Writings of  
 Franklin.

*Arts and Sciences.*

Scientific Library. 3 Vols.  
 Joyce's Scientific Dialogues.  
 Book of Trades.  
 Book of Science, 1st Series.  
 Ditto ditto 2nd Series.  
 Conversations on Chemistry. 3 Vols.  
 Wonders of the Telescope.  
 Uncle Philip's Conversations on the Whale  
 Fishery.  
 Parley's Tales about Plants.  
 Parley's Tales about the Sun.

*Geography.*

System of Geography. 2 Vols.  
 General View of the World. 2 Vols.

*Voyages and Travels.*

Missionary Voyage.  
 Lander's Expedition up the River Niger.  
 3 Vols.  
 Voyages to the Northern Regions.  
 Bingley's Voyages.  
 Bingley's Travels.  
 Travels in the East.  
 Brydore's Tour through Sicily and Malta.  
 Incidents of Travel in Greece.  
 Travels in Hindostan and China.  
 Incidents of Travel in Egypt.  
 Clarke's Travels in Russia.  
 Cook's Voyages.

*Tracts, &c.*

Literary Miscellany. 6 Vols.  
 Cheap Tracts Repository. 2 Copies.  
 Houlston's Tracts. 3 Vols.  
 The Spectator. 8 Vols.  
 Chambers' Miscellany. 6 Vols.

*Journals, Magazines, &c.*

Teacher's Offering. 9 Vols.  
 The Child's Companion. 3 Vols.  
 The Children's Friend. 2 Vols.  
 Cottage Magazine.  
 Youth's Magazine.  
 Cottager's Visitor. 2 Vols.  
 Friendly Volume. 6 Vols.  
 Monthly Teacher, 1830.  
 Youth's Instructor. 3 Vols.  
 The British Trident. 6 Vols.  
 The Visitor. 7 Vols.  
 Chambers' Information. 7 Parts.  
 Church of England Magazine.  
 Dublin Magazine. 4 Vols.  
 The Saturday Magazine.  
 The Penny Magazine  
 The Penny Irish Magazine.  
 The Penny People's Magazine.  
 The Edinburgh Journal.

Appendix No. VIII

The factories in Mr. Horner's District  
in 1845, dividing the persons employed  
into age groups 8-13 years, 13-18 years  
and adults

SUMMARY of the FACTORIES in Mr. HORNER'S DISTRICT.

Description of Manufacture.	Sub-Inspectors.	Number of Firms.	Number of Mills.	Moving Power.				Persons Employed.								Power Looms.
				Steam.		Water.		Children. 8 to 13.		Young Persons. 13 to 18.		Adults. 18 and above.		Total.		
				Engines.	Horse Power.	Wheels.	Horse Power.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Cotton Mills	Mr. Ewings . . .	298	439	394	11,799	73	1,420	7,825	1,747	8,378	12,226	18,337	22,549	29,540	36,522	43,860
	Mr. Davies . . .	307	486	336	10,318	40	636	1,859	743	5,902	6,800	16,006	16,396	23,767	23,939	31,068
	Mr. Beal . . .	322	378	308	7,793	155	391	1,638	941	4,943	6,358	9,741	11,727	16,322	19,026	27,794
	Mr. Graham . . .	299	421	355	11,278	17	642	1,051	243	5,423	8,078	14,213	19,336	20,687	27,657	35,995
			1,226	1,724	1,393	41,188	285	3,089	7,373	3,674	24,646	33,462	58,297	70,008	90,316	107,144
Woollen and Worsted Mills.	Mr. Ewings . . .	27	29	2	52	33	412	116	77	154	244	298	230	568	551	..
	Mr. Davies . . .	83	90	24	279	62	643	177	131	399	448	889	531	1,465	1,110	629
	Mr. Beal . . .	87	96	61	1,088	60	570	645	533	849	917	2,166	1,277	3,660	2,727	1,849
	Mr. Graham . . .	22	26	18	359	30	102	111	104	182	369	487	607	780	1,080	759
			219	241	105	1,778	185	1,727	1,049	845	1,584	1,978	3,840	2,645	6,473	5,468
Flax Mills . . .	Mr. Ewings . . .	25	35	22	686	14	220	177	114	483	720	763	1,542	1,423	2,376	..
	Mr. Davies . . .	3	3	2	46	3	86	11	..	13	15	38	71	62	86	..
	Mr. Beal . . .	2	3	..	..	2	45	10	16	19	26	18	70	47	112	..
	Mr. Graham . . .	19	30	6	192	21	201	66	92	135	358	241	593	442	1,043	..
			49	71	30	924	40	552	264	222	650	1,119	1,060	2,276	1,974	3,617
Silk Mills . . .	Mr. Ewings . . .	5	5	4	45	5	45	12	7	40	44	127	84	179	135	..
	Mr. Davies . . .	3	4	3	30	..	..	19	81	5	84	73	86	97	251	115
	Mr. Beal . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Mr. Graham . . .	17	23	17	373	..	..	300	595	449	1,485	845	2,109	1,594	4,189	880
			25	32	24	448	5	45	331	683	494	1,613	1,045	2,279	1,870	4,575
Totals . . .	Cotton . . . . .	1,226	1,724	1,393	41,188	285	3,089	7,373	3,674	24,646	33,462	58,297	70,008	90,316	107,144	138,717
	Woollen and Worsted	219	241	105	1,778	185	1,727	1,049	845	1,584	1,978	3,840	2,645	6,473	5,468	3,327
	Flax . . . . .	49	71	30	924	40	552	264	222	650	1,119	1,060	2,276	1,974	3,617	..
	Silk . . . . .	25	32	24	448	5	45	331	683	494	1,613	1,045	2,279	1,875	4,575	995
	GRAND TOTAL . .	1,519	2,068	1,552	44,338	515	5,413	9,017	5,424	27,374	38,172	64,242	77,208	100,633	120,804	142,949
							14,441		65,546		141,450		221,437			

Roperies are not included, the returns from them not being completed.

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Appendix IX

Mr. Saunder's Report of May 1845 showing  
the number of persons employed in the  
factories in his districts in the age  
groups 8 to 13 years, 13 to 18 years  
and adults

RETURN of the NUMBER of PERSONS employed in the District assigned to Mr. Saunders, at the undermentioned periods, distinguishing the Males and Females separately in the several Classes referred to in the Factory Acts, by the terms "Adults," "Young Persons," and "Children," with the Totals of Males and Females, separately and when added together.

The Tables are divided into the different Fabrics of Cotton, Wool, Worsted, Flax, and Silk; with one Table showing the aggregate Numbers in the whole District. To each Table is annexed corresponding columns showing the proportionate Increase or Decrease between each two periods named. (For further reference to this Return, see Report, page 46.)

COTTON.																		
Year of our Lord.	Adults above 18.		Young Persons 13 to 18.		Children under 13.		Total employed.			Periods between which the Increase and Decrease are calculated.	Total Number employed.				Children under 13.			
											Increase per Cent.		Decrease per Cent.		Increase per Cent.		Decrease per Cent.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
October, 1833. . . .	4,223	7,047	3,056	4,783	879	966	8,158	12,796	20,954	From 1838 to 1843 . . .	12.1	7.6	..	..	..	..	10.1	13.1
January, 1843 . . . .	5,392	8,526	2,967	4,416	790	839	9,149	13,781	22,930	From 1843 to 1845 . . .	15.4	9.3	..	..	54.4	34.5	..	..
January, 1845 . . . .	6,225	9,111	3,119	4,823	1,220	1,129	10,564	15,063	25,627	From 1838 to 1845 . . .	29.4	17.7	..	..	38.7	16.8	..	..
WOOL.																		
Year of our Lord.	Adults above 18.		Young Persons 13 to 18.		Children under 13.		Total employed.			Periods between which the Increase and Decrease are calculated.	Total Number employed.				Children under 13.			
											Increase per Cent.		Decrease per Cent.		Increase per Cent.		Decrease per Cent.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
October, 1838. . . .	10,168	2,962	5,717	3,824	2,087	1,536	17,972	8,322	26,294	From 1838 to 1843 . . .	..	12.	1.5	..	..	..	16.	27.4
January, 1843. . . .	10,993	4,574	4,954	3,633	1,751	1,114	17,698	9,321	27,019	From 1843 to 1845 . . .	12.6	11.9	..	..	31.	36.	..	..
January, 1845. . . .	11,838	4,649	5,806	4,274	2,294	1,516	19,938	10,439	30,377	From 1838 to 1845 . . .	10.9	25.4	..	..	9.9	..	..	1.3
WORSTED.																		
Year of our Lord.	Adults above 18.		Young Persons 13 to 18.		Children under 13.		Total employed.			Periods between which the Increase and Decrease are calculated.	Total Number employed.				Children under 13.			
											Increase per Cent.		Decrease per Cent.		Increase per Cent.		Decrease per Cent.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
October, 1838. . . .	2,669	9,321	3,535	9,390	1,848	2,483	8,052	21,194	29,246	From 1838 to 1843 . . .	19.3	22.7	..	..	..	..	18.8	17.9
January, 1843. . . .	4,609	16,421	3,498	8,994	1,500	2,038	9,607	27,453	37,060	From 1843 to 1845 . . .	37.8	26.9	..	..	112.3	90.4	..	..
January, 1845. . . .	5,886	19,958	4,168	11,019	3,185	3,881	13,239	34,858	48,097	From 1838 to 1845 . . .	64.4	64.4	..	..	72.3	56.3	..	..



Appendix No. X.

Mr. Cowell's tables of trades and  
occupations in Stockport Sunday  
school in 1834.

Stockport Sunday School

More boys at home with no employment than girls (299-88)

More girls at Day Schools than boys (256-132)

More girls employed in factories (1227-994)

Girls tended to stay longer in the factories than boys.

---

Branches of Stockport Sunday School

More girls at home with no employment than boys (118-79)

More boys at Day School than girls (168-88)

About equal numbers in factories (219-228)

---

EPITOME of the Trades and Occupations of the Boys instructed in the STOCKPORT Sunday School.

OCCUPATIONS.	YEARS of AGE.																				Total.			
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		25	26	27
At home in no Em- ployment	29	57	56	56	37	28	7	8	8	6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	299
At Day School do.	4	18	29	19	19	16	13	4	6	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	152
Employed in Factories	1	4	16	31	74	113	125	99	112	106	85	65	59	40	25	19	11	4	4	-	1	-	-	994
Baker	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Bleacher	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Brazier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bricklayer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Brushmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Butcher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cabinet Maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk or Boy in Office	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Confectioner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Draper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Dyer	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Engraver	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Glazier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Grocer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Hair-dresser	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	5
Hatter	-	-	-	-	3	2	3	6	9	7	8	11	7	4	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	66
Heald Knitter	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hosier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Joiner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Ironmoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Labourers	-	-	1	-	2	2	1	2	-	3	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Do. in Agriculture	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	5	4	-	2	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	23
Masons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Millers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Millwrights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Painter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Printer	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	17
Rope Maker	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Shoe Maker	-	-	-	-	1	1	5	4	4	5	3	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	4	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Shuttle-maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Spindle-maker	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Shopboys	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	4	1	3	2	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22
Tailor	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Turner	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	15
Weaver (hand-loom)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Winder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Trades (and Two whose Em- ployments are not mentioned)	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1,719</b>

EPITOME of Trades and Occupations of the Girls instructed in the STOCKPORT Sunday School.

OCCUPATION.	YEARS of AGE.																				Total.			
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		26	29	
In no Employ: At home	10	9	11	8	21	8	6	6	1	5	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	88
At Day School	32	52	34	34	36	32	17	8	5	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	256
Employed in Factories	-	1	20	48	59	114	74	124	104	106	125	96	89	93	71	38	34	21	6	4	-	-	-	1,227
Domestic Servants	4	9	19	42	36	28	24	20	19	18	20	12	15	7	2	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	231
Bonnet Makers	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hat Trimmers	-	1	-	-	2	3	2	2	5	8	3	3	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
Dress Makers	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	3	3	4	5	5	8	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	31
Heald Knitters	-	-	-	2	2	3	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
Handloom Weavers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Brickmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1,941</b>	

(Factory Inquiry Commission 1833 Supplementary Report  
1834 (167) Vol XIX pp 158-159 - Commissioner Mr Cowell)

EPITOME of the Trades and Occupations of the Boys educated in the Branch Schools of the Stockport Sunday School.

OCCUPATION.	YEARS OF AGE.																		Total.
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	22			
At Home in no Employment -	6	11	14	13	11	16	1	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79	
At Day School do-	26	33	34	29	12	12	6	7	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	168	
Employed in Factories -	-	-	-	2	32	32	33	33	23	30	17	9	4	1	2	1		219	
Architect -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Bleachers -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	7	
Brickmakers -	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	
Bricklayers -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Cloth-finishers -	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	3	2	2	-	2	1	-	-	15	
Cloth-ingers -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Domestic Servants -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	7	
Draper -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Dyer -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	
Hatter -	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	10	
Joiner -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Labourer -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	
Mechanic -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	
Painter -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Printers -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Sadler -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Shoemaker -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Smith -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Tailor -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Tinman -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Weavers (hand-loom) -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	5	4	3	2	1	-	-	-	20	
Winders -	-	-	1	1	4	3	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	
Uncertain -	19	17	14	13	4	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	
	51	60	63	58	64	67	49	54	46	51	31	22	9	4	8	3		640	

EPITOME of the Trades and Occupations of the Girls educated in the Branch Schools of the Stockport Sunday School.

OCCUPATION.	YEARS OF AGE.																		Total.			
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		24	25	26
In no Employment:																						
At Home -	21	23	22	19	21	5	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	118
At Day School -	20	19	16	18	10	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	88
Employed in Factories -	-	-	-	-	15	37	24	25	18	15	18	19	12	16	8	7	6	4	1	1	2	228
Not in Factories:																						
Brickmaker -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cloth-finisher -	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	2	2	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	15
Domestic -	-	-	3	2	10	4	4	2	1	5	3	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	39
Dressmakers -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Hat-trimmer -	-	-	-	-	1	2	4	4	3	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
Healdreacher -	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hand loom-weaver -	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	6	5	6	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	33
Winder -	-	-	-	3	3	3	6	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
Uncertain -	17	11	9	9	6	-	3	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68
	58	53	50	53	68	58	48	36	29	26	39	30	21	25	13	8	7	6	2	1	2	633

The Branch Schools are at {  
 Brinksway.  
 Lancashire Hill.  
 Heaviley.  
 Heaton Mersey.

Appendix No. XI.

A description of the factory school provided by  
Mr. Eccles at Blackburn. Nov. 1846.

An excellent and commodious school and chapel have been built by Mr. Joseph Eccles, at Moorgate Field, near Blackburn, at his sole expense. The school-master, at my request, has supplied me with the following particulars:—

*Mill Hill School, 30th November, 1846.*

The school-room has ample accommodation for 280 or 300 children. Size, 60 × 34 × 14. It has desk-room for 240, and possesses a good supply of books, slates, &c. The walls of the school-room are decorated with large maps of England, Scotland, Ireland, Palestine, Europe, Asia, America, and the World; and eight small maps, besides animal prints, and a full supply of lesson-boards. A small class-room adjoins, and it is intended to erect another to contain a small gallery. We have a spacious play-ground, about one-third of an acre in extent. We have not yet had time to supply it with suitable gymnastic apparatus. The weekly payments of the children are 2*d.* and 3*d.* The teachers have a guaranteed salary, and it is expected the fees of the children will about meet the amount. The school is conducted on the system of the British and Foreign School Society, and is open to children of all religious denominations. There is a small lending library for the use of the Sunday-school. We intend to increase its size, and extend its usefulness, by opening it to the day-scholars. At the present time we have about 200 children at the day-school. This number will be greatly increased on the return of prosperity in trade and more genial weather, for the young people in the neighbourhood seem very desirous to obtain instruction. To supply their wants, evening classes are just about to be commenced to give instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and mathematics; and, for the females, needlework. We trust, by these and similar means, we are laying the foundation for better days for this-hitherto neglected neighbourhood.

Over the school-room we have a beautiful chapel, which will accommodate 400 persons.

We have just settled amongst us a most zealous minister of the gospel. On the Sabbath, we have three services, and one in the week. Two Bible classes of young men and women have been formed, under the superintendence of the minister. The Sunday-school is well attended: from 220 to 250 attend. We hope to be able to form clothing clubs for the children, and a reading or book society amongst the people soon.

(Horner's Report 2nd Dec. 1846. p. 6.)

Appendix XII

Reasons for the young labour force  
in factories

This striking diminution in the number of people employed in factories as age advances, has been attributed to the havoc produced upon the work people by disease and sudden death, in consequence of the injurious nature of their occupation..... An inspection of the wages tables at once shows the real cause of the diminution of the numbers. Thus from the wage tables for the cotton factories of Lancashire, it appears that the wages of the male, from 11 to 16 years, are on an average 4s 1½d a week, in the next period of 5 years, from 16 to 21, the average rises to 10s 2½d a week. Of course, the manufacturer will have as few at that price as he can, and certainly none for any description of work which may be done by males working at 4s 1½d. In the next period of 5 years, from 21 to 26 years the average weekly wages rise to 17s 2½d. Here is a still stronger motive to discontinue the employment of males as far as it can possible be done. But in the subsequent periods, the average rises still higher from £1. 0. 4½d up to £1. 2. 8½d. At such wages only those men will be employed who are necessary to do work requiring great bodily strength or great skill, or who are placed in offices of trust and confidence, It is remarkable that while the wages of the male vary, in this striking manner as age advances, the wages of the female continue pretty stationary at about the average of 7s. 3½d., and never much exceed this amount : accordingly, the number of females employed is pretty nearly the same, from 11-16 years, and from 16 to 21 years, being at that period 1,240. But now a sudden and prodigious diminution takes place, so that in the space of 15 years, that is from 21 to 36 years, this number is reduced to 100.



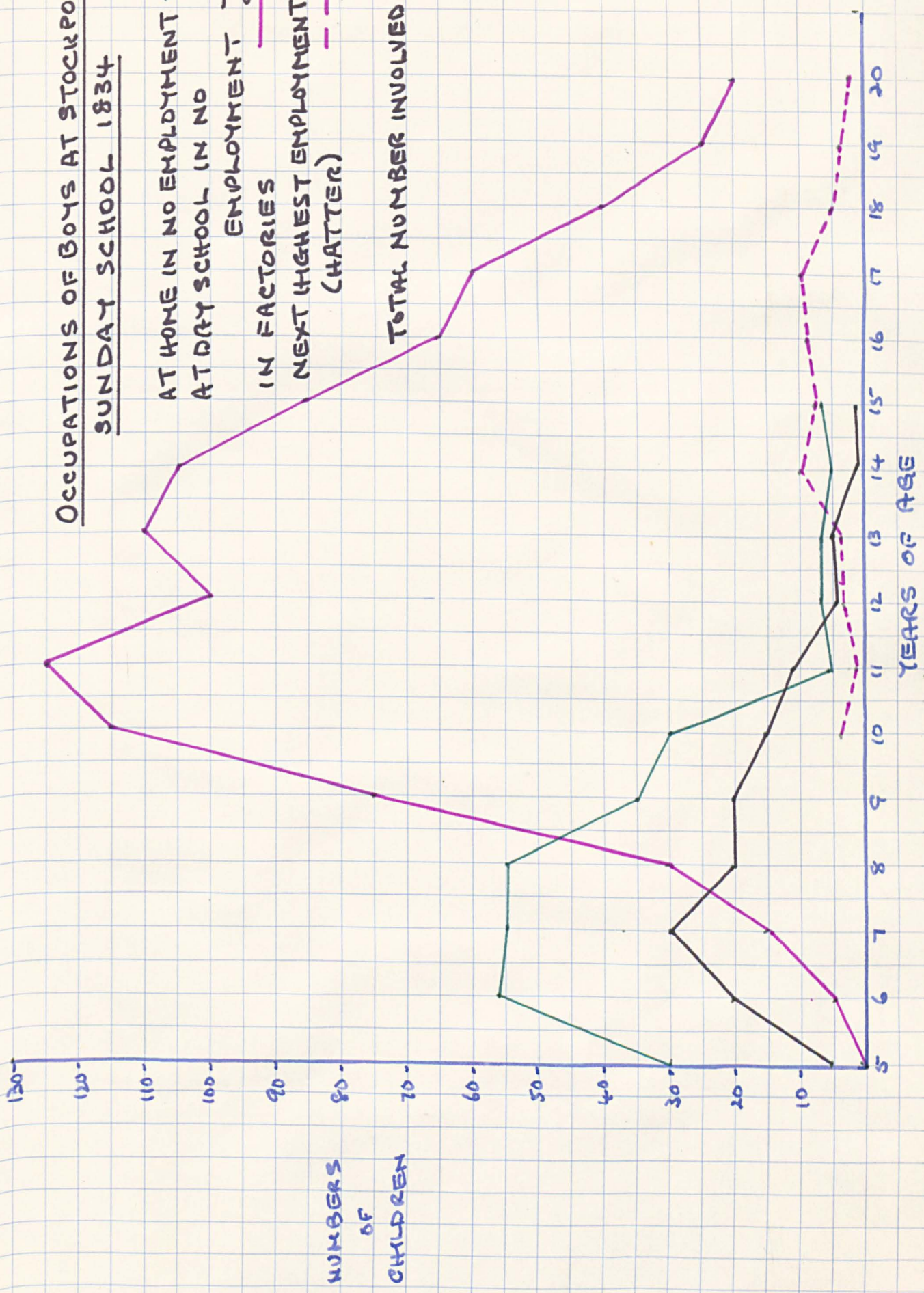
Appendix XIII

The occupations of children attending  
Stockport Sunday School in 1834

OCCUPATIONS OF BOYS AT STOCKPORT SUNDAY SCHOOL 1834

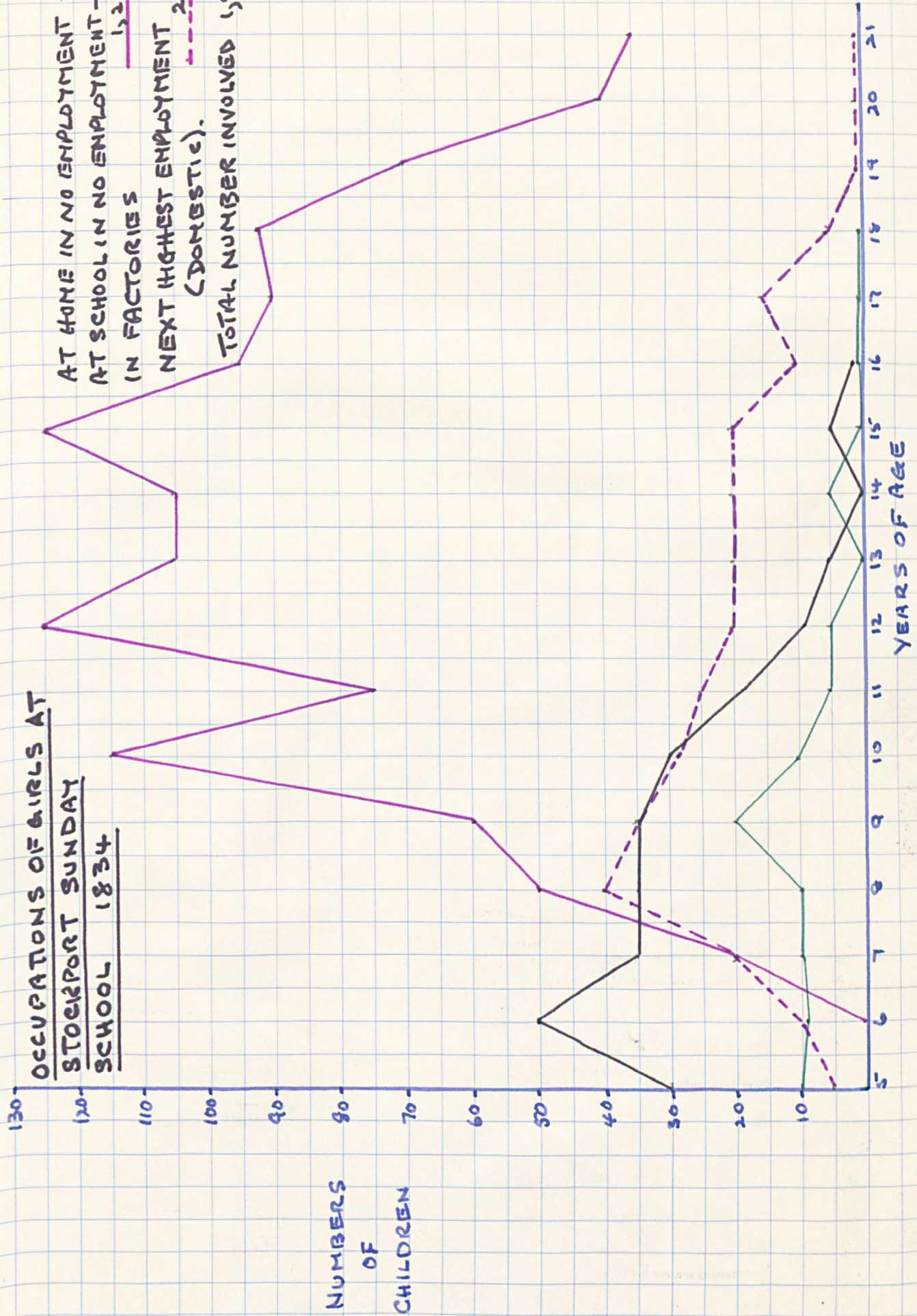
AT HOME IN NO EMPLOYMENT 299  
 AT DAY SCHOOL IN NO EMPLOYMENT 132  
 IN FACTORIES 994  
 NEXT HIGHEST EMPLOYMENT (CHATTER) 66

TOTAL NUMBER INVOLVED 1,719

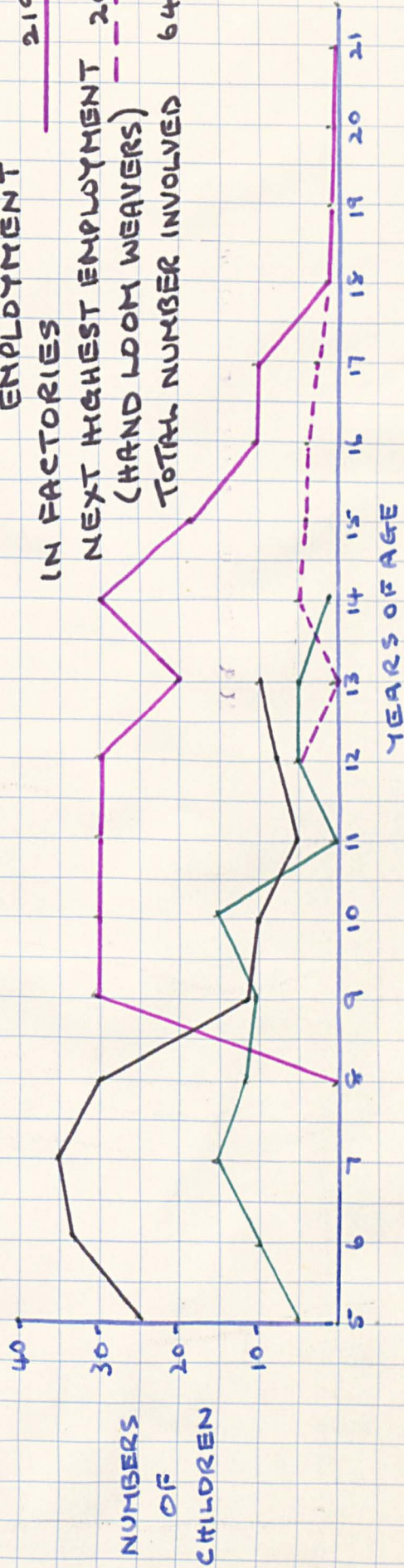


OCCUPATIONS OF GIRLS AT STOCKPORT SUNDAY SCHOOL 1834

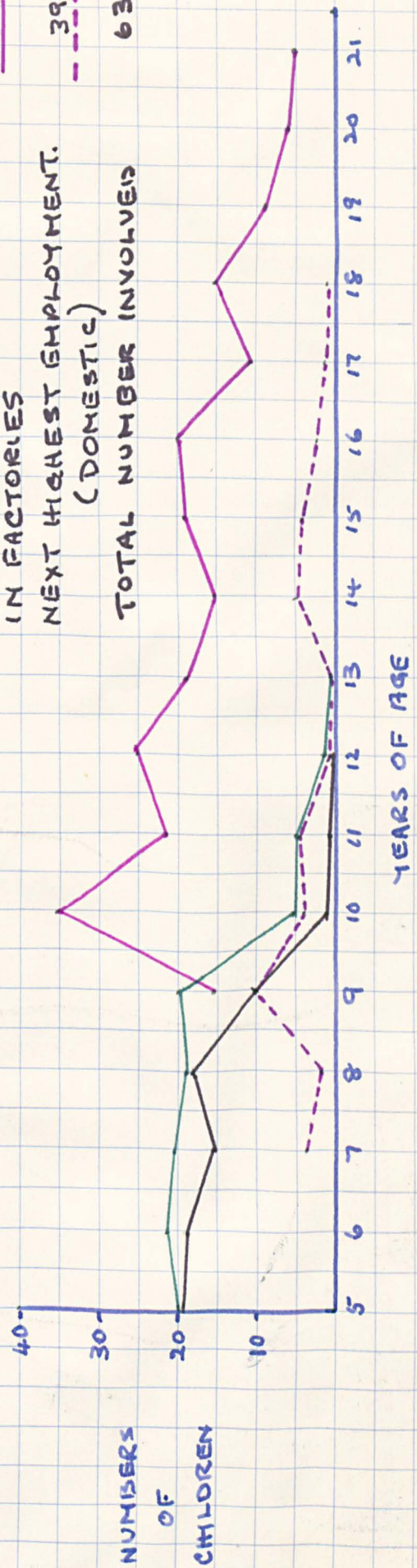
88  
 AT HOME IN NO EMPLOYMENT  
 256  
 AT SCHOOL IN NO EMPLOYMENT  
 1,227  
 IN FACTORIES  
 NEXT HIGHEST EMPLOYMENT  
 (DOMESTIC) 281  
 TOTAL NUMBER INVOLVED 1,941



OCCUPATIONS OF BOYS AT BRANCH  
SCHOOLS OF STOCKPORT SUNDAY  
SCHOOL 1834



OCCUPATIONS OF GIRLS AT BRANCH  
SCHOOLS OF STOCKPORT SUNDAY  
SCHOOL 1834



118  
88  
228  
 39  
 633