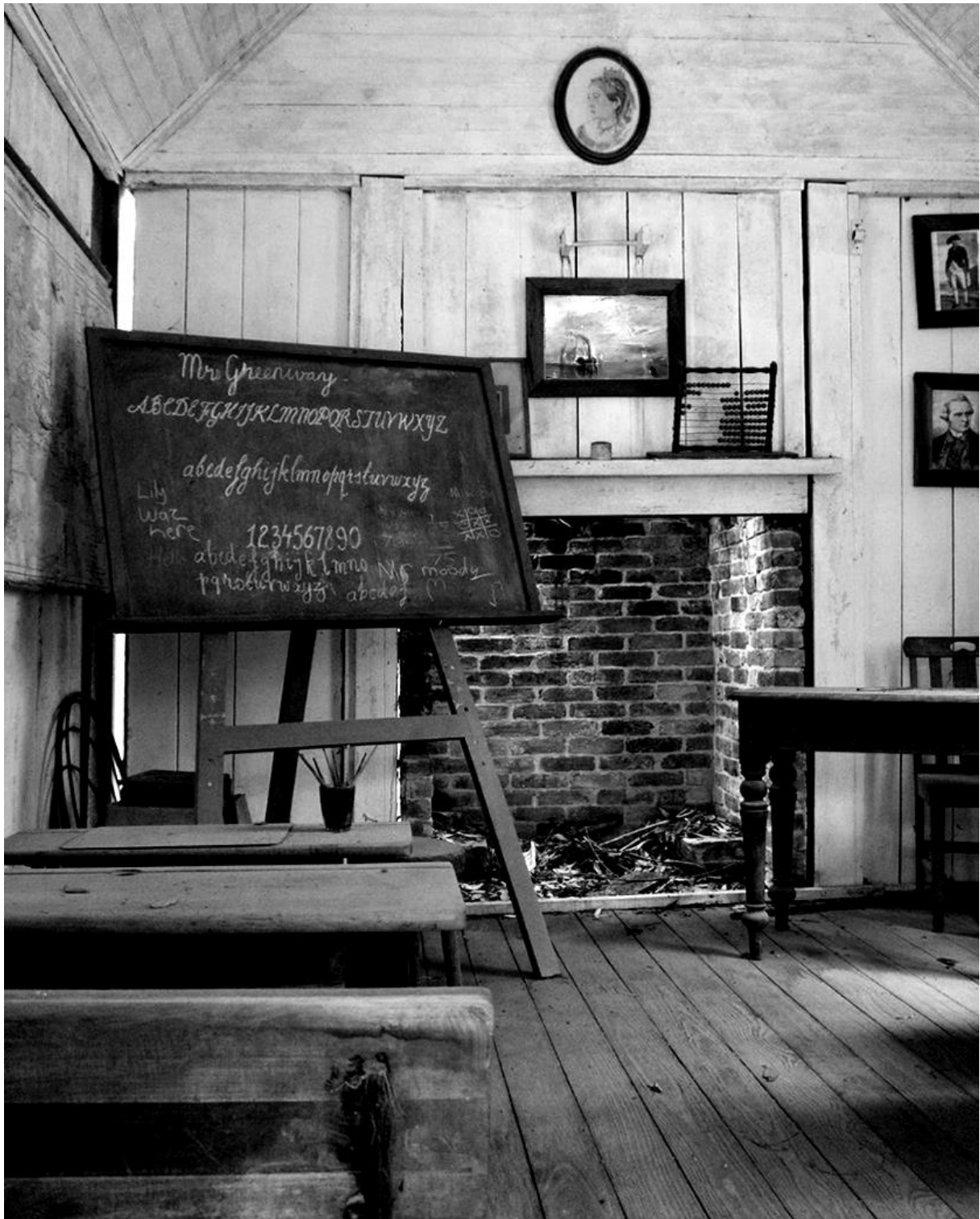


ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATION: NORTHUMBERLAND 1869-1889



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Northumborland

For scenery sum seek a foreign land,
The highor 'n' the caador, the mair grand!
But soft-corved hills 'n' trees 'n' leas for me –
The signs of luv's artistic husbandry;
Corn, coos, cool streams, a lamb that's gyen astray
An' ye can heor its baa a mile away.
Corlews 'n' herons ower sumpy sedges,
An fussy little spuggies in the hedges.

Nature a mottled luvliness attains
Wheor trees in majesty arch ower the lanes,
And as ye gan alang the regal arch
Raised spirits move in a triumphal march
Inta the green expanses fresh 'n' fair
That heal the mind noo shaken free of care.
Theor's fells wheor infant streams cum oot t' play
An' romp 'n' giggle on theor tumblin' way
In escapades of liquid ecstasy
That mek wor Coquet full of coquetry.

(Reed, 2017, pp.212-213)

Fred Reed (1901-1985)

Fred Reed was born in Ashington and started working in the town's pit at the age of 14 (Astley, 2017, p.63). Despite receiving little formal education, at the age of 27, he was hired as a clerk and became a teacher and a poet. He wrote in 'pitmatic', a Northumbrian dialect native to Ashington. Known as the 'Pitmen's Poet' Reed was named Northumberland's first poet laureate in 1984, at the age of 83 by the Northumbrian Language Society, for his efforts in preserving dialect (*EC*, 05 August 1985, p.3). Roland Bobby wrote that throughout his life 'His pen was untiring' (*NJ*, 09 August 1985).

Cover Image: Paris, 2017; Turner, 1838.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

3Rs	Reading, Writing and Arithmetic
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BFSS	British and Foreign School Society
BoE	Bank of England
CAMPOP	Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure
Co.	Company
CoE	Church of England
EOC	Elswick Ordnance Company
Esq.	Esquire
HC Deb.	House of Commons Debate
HDT	Haydon Development Trust
Jnr.	Junior
Lbs	Pounds (metric of weight)
LEA	Local Education Authority
MP	Member of Parliament
NCA	Northumberland County Archives
NCL	Newcastle Upon Tyne
NER	North Eastern Railway
NMS	Newcastle Modern School
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
PAS	Private Adventure School
RC	Roman Catholic
Rev.	Reverend (member of the clergy)
RGS	Royal Grammar School (located in Newcastle Upon Tyne)
RGSA	Royal Grammar School Archive (located in Newcastle Upon Tyne)
RLSC	Robinsons Library Special Collection (Archive at Newcastle University)
S.	Shilling (former British coin and monetary unity)
SDR	Stockton and Darlington Railway
Snr.	Senior
TIC	Tyne Improvement Commission
TWAM	Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums
UKDA	United Kingdom Data Archive

NEWSPAPERS

AA	<i>Airdrie Advertiser</i>
AG	<i>Alnwick and County Gazette</i>
AT	<i>The Atlas</i>
BA	<i>The Berwick Advertiser</i>
BC	<i>The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette</i>
BG	<i>Ari's Birmingham Gazette</i>
BN	<i>Berwickshire News and General Advertiser</i>
CP	<i>Carlisle Patriot</i>
DA	<i>Durham County Advertiser</i>
DC	<i>Newcastle Daily Chronicle</i>
DJ	<i>Newcastle Daily Journal</i>
EC	<i>Newcastle Evening Chronicle</i>
HC	<i>Hexham Courant</i>
HM	<i>Hartlepool Daily Mail</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>JE</i>	<i>Jarrow Express</i>
<i>LM</i>	<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>
<i>MC</i>	<i>Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser</i>
<i>ME</i>	<i>Manchester Evening News</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>The Morpeth Herald</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Morning Post</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Newcastle Courant</i>
<i>NG</i>	<i>Newcastle Guardian</i>
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Newcastle Journal</i>
<i>SA</i>	<i>Southend Standard and Essex Weekly Advertiser</i>
<i>SG</i>	<i>Shields Daily Gazette</i>
<i>SN</i>	<i>Shields Daily News</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>The Scotsman</i>
<i>WC</i>	<i>Newcastle Weekly Chronicle</i>
<i>YH</i>	<i>The York Herald</i>
<i>YP</i>	<i>The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer</i>

CURRENCY CONVERSION

Date	Pound Sterling (£1)	Shilling (S.)	Pence (d.)	2019*
1850	1	20	240	£135.63
1860	1	"	"	£122.51
1870	1	"	"	£119.93
1880	1	"	"	£121.20
1890	1	"	"	£129.47
1900	1	"	"	£123.84
1850-1900	1	20	240	£125.43

(*Source: BoE, 2020)

1 Guinea = £1.05 (1850-1900)

TIMELINE

Newcastle School Board Timeline 1869 – 1889

1869	The public debate on education policy in Newcastle has crystallised at this point, as it had across England, between The National Education League and The National Education Society
1870 Forster's Act	<i>The 1870 Elementary Education Act: introduces state school provision in England and Wales.</i>
1-16 January 1871	Electoral Campaigns
16 January 1871	Final stage of the electoral campaigns. Four independent and one League candidate withdrew from the race at this point.
25 January 1871	First Newcastle School Board Election
14 August 1871	The Board's first school census is returned but rejected by the Education Department.
23 October 1871	The Board provides additional funding to the Newcastle Industrial School.
29 January 1872	Board approves an initial 9 bye-laws which remained in effect until 1876.
24 June 1872	The Board's scheme of education, outlining Board school curriculum was published.
22 July 1872	The Board's first temporary schools were opened in Arthur's Hill; St Lawrence and Tindal Street schools.
January 1873	No election held; the previous Board remained in place. Resignations are replaced with appointments.
1876 Sandon's Act	<i>The 1876 Education Reform Act: Increased powers of compulsory attendance for School Boards in England and Wales.</i>
26 July 1875	Westmorland Road School was opened.
20 September 1875	The Board's first permanent school, Arthur Hill, was opened.
18 January 1877	Second Newcastle School Board Election
17 January 1880	Third Newcastle School Board Election was uncontested. Rev Marsden Gibson and Mr William Haswell Stephenson were appointed to replace Rev Francis Broomley and Dr. Henry W. Newton
1880 Mundella's Act	<i>The 1880 Elementary Education Act: Made bye-laws on compulsory attendance mandatory for School Boards.</i>
January 1883	No election held; the previous Board remained in place.
January 1886	No election held; the previous Board remained in place.
14 January 1889	Polls were opened between 8:00 and 20:00 on a Monday. Poor weather in the morning and a lack of transport contributed to a slowness in votes until 18:00. The return of the former Board was viewed as a foregone conclusion which dampened enthusiasm. Socialist candidates were optimistic that apathy was in their favour and the increase in polling activity after 18:00 was seen to be in their favour (<i>NJ</i> , 15 January 1889, p.4). The <i>Newcastle Weekly Chronicle</i> recorded 'It would be impossible, however, to imagine a contest in which less interest appeared to be taken' (<i>NJ</i> , 19 January 1889, p.7)
1891	<i>Elementary Education Act: Funding to cover school fees effectively introduces universally free education in England and Wales.</i>

GLOSSARY

Term	Description
Abolition	A movement to end the practice of and trafficking of slaves.
Aided- Schools	A school which was receiving government financial assistance.
Anglican	Relating to the Church of England.
Annales School	A movement for the study and analysis of social and economic history which began in France and stressed the use of social scientific methods and longitudinal trends.
Arable	Form of agriculture concerned with growing crops.
Archipelagic	<i>Archipelago</i> A territory of many islands.
ArcMap	Software used to plot and analyse geographic and spatial data.
Aristocracy	Commonly used to refer to the most privileged class in a society, typically in possession estates, hereditary titles, and offices (Lexico, 2021).
Bank of England	The central bank of England and Wales responsible for issuing legal tender, managing the national debt and since 1997 setting interest rates. It was not a nationalized institution until 1946.
Beamten	A German Civil Servant.
Big-data	Datasets of such scale and complexity that they require special computational software to analyse.
Bill	In English politics, a Bill is the name given to a potential law while it is still in the debate and amendments stage.
Black-leg	A derogatory term for labourers brought in externally by employers to work through strikes.
Borough	An English urban administrative unit.
British and Foreign School Society	Founded by Joseph Lancaster in 1798 as 'The Society for Promoting the Royal British Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor'. The society founded schools in which the bible was taught in a non-denominational way. The BFFS continues to provide educational grants and charitable aid to youth projects in the UK and abroad.
Bundespräsidium	The federal president of the German Confederation 1815-1871.
Bye-laws	A local or internal ordinance exercised by a local authority or corporation. Used to
Census	Official counts of population. The English census has been taken every ten years since 1801 except for 1941. The method of record taking, and the number of questions asked improve and expand with each census. The quality of census returns noticeably increased from 1841 onwards.
Central Business District (CBD)	A district of an urban area with the highest concentration of services and retail activity.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Is a government office established in
Chartism	A significant early to mid-nineteenth century political reform movement advocating for increased democracy including: universal suffrage for men, increased frequency of elections and secret ballot.
Cheviot	Is an area of rolling hills along the Northumberland and Scottish border. The area contains the ruins of many iron-age hillforts and markers with cultural significance. The Cheviot hill is the highest point at 815 meters above sea level.

GLOSSARY

Choropleth	A type of thematic map used to visually represent statistical data through shading.
Church of England (CoE)	A Protestant Christian church which is the established Church in England.
Collier	An occupation related to coal mining.
Colliery	Synonymous with coal mine. It can also related to coal mining productive activity.
Confederacy	In relation to U.S history, the Confederacy was group of States who fought and lost in the American Civil War. In relation to European history, the German Confederacy was an alliance of German sovereign states in the early nineteenth century.
Coquet	The Coquet Valley and Coquetdale is a region in central Northumberland that follows the River Coquet from Rothbury to the coast.
County	An English territorial administrative unit.
Day School	A school which did not offer boarding services or part of a boarding school open to non-boarding pupils during the day. Also, to distinguish against evening schools.
Demesne	The extended lands of an estate or land attached to a manor.
Dialectic	In relation to teaching, it is an approach which favours discussion and building understanding through challenging the truth of opinions.
Diaspora	Is a population dispersed from territory considered an original homeland.
Didactic	A teaching approach which favours direct transference of knowledge. Criticised for being too rigid
Diocese	An ecclesiastical unit of both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. A diocese is overseen by a Bishop. It is sub-divided into parishes and combined with other diocese to form provinces.
Elswick Ordnance Company (EOC)	The Elswick Ordnance Company was just one of the names of Lord William Armstrong's principal business in Newcastle. It was also known as the Elswick Works and later Armstrong Whitworth and Co., and Armstrong, Mitchell and Co.
Enlightenment (The)	An intellectual movement in 18th century Europe which influenced philosophical and scientific thinking.
Esquire	Usually denotes a man who owns property or a solicitor.
Gentry	A class of people below aristocracy but above the middle-class. These are usually self-supported individuals who enjoy good social standing and could live comfortable from rental incomes alone.
Geographic Information Systems (GIS)	Computational software that allows spatial data to be manipulated and digital maps to be produced.
Glebe	Land attached to a church for the benefit of the clergyman, often intended to provide an income.
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	The total value of goods produced, and services provided in a country for one year' Lexico 2021
Guinea	A former British coin, originally worth £1, produced and named after gold from Guinea. As the price of gold fluctuated, the value of the coin changed. The final value of the coin was set at £1.05, or 21 shillings, in 1816. The coin was no longer produced after 1814 but continued to be used in the nineteenth century as a value for professional invoices.

GLOSSARY

Half Penny	Half a pence. Prior to decimalisation and rapid inflation, low denominations of currency had significant purchasing power. The half-penny, penny and sixpence held useful purchasing power.
Hansard	Official records of parliamentary procedure and debate.
Integrated Landed Elite	In the North-East, this refers to families, typically of the aristocracy, who possess significant estates and property. See Hattersley (2007).
Integrated Urban Elite	The Integrated Urban Elite, or Integrated Northern Elite, refers to a group of individuals, particularly in Newcastle Upon Tyne in the late nineteenth century who exercised significant political, economic, social, and philanthropic influence. See Lendrum (2001).
Keelmen	Traditional boatmen who used flat bottomed barges to navigate cargo through shallow waters.
Logbooks	Schools in receipt of government funding were legally required to keep logbooks. These were diaries of day-to-day attendance, teaching and local issues affecting education in the school. The results of exams and inspections were recorded by external visitors.
Low-Cost Private Schools	A term used by Professor James Tooley etc. to refer to private schools in developing economies that charge fees affordable to low-income families.
Middle-Class	Commonly used to refer to the socio-economic group between the aristocracy and the working classes. Typically characterised by occupations including professional and businesspeople and their families (Lexico, 2021).
Non-denomination	A form of Christian instruction, service or practice that does not favour the teachings of any denomination over another.
Pastoral	Form of agriculture concerned with livestock.
Pons Aelius	The roman name for the original settlement at Newcastle.
Private Adventure School	These schools were privately operated and relied exclusively on the fees they charged students. Low-fee Private Adventure Schools were those charging 9d a week or less, as defined by School Boards in 1870. These schools have also been referred to as Working Class Private Schools by authors such as Philip Gardner (Gardner, 1982; 1984)
Private Limited Company (Ltd.)	A legal business entity in the which a company is in private ownership and the liability is limited to a fixed value. Any financial claim made against the company cannot include the personal assets of the owner.
Prussia	A predecessor to the German Empire. Prussia was formerly a small kingdom on the Baltic Sea that grew to dominate central Europe in the nineteenth-century.
Royal Assent	The final process in a parliamentary bill becoming a statutory law, or an 'Act of Parliament'.
School Board	The 1870 Elementary Education Act established elected committees in England to oversee the establishment of state schools, monitor attendance and hire school managers. These committees were called School Boards.
Shilling	A shilling was a traditional denomination of British currency. It was worth 12 pence and was one twentieth of a British pound.
Working-Class	This is a highly stratified socio-economic group with complex cultural developments. The term is commonly used to refer to those working in semi-skilled, manual, industrial labour, or unskilled labour (Lexico, 2021). See E.P. Thompson 1991 for the development of the working class, including the North-East, up to the mid-nineteenth century

ABSTRACT

Key Words: Nineteenth-Century, Northumberland, Entrepreneurship, Education, 1870 Education Act

This thesis analyses the impact of the ground-breaking 1870 Education Act on entrepreneurial education in Northumberland. Some regulation and funding of mass education was already in place by then but the 1870 Act introduced direct state provision in the form of elected School Boards and school buildings. The Act promised to support the voluntary sector and use state provision to fill the gaps between existing schools and the total number of school-age children. In 1876 however, an Amendment Act changed and enhanced the delivery of state education. The remit of school boards was considerably extended from their responsibility to educate disadvantaged children to become the primary vehicle for delivering universal education.

The 1870 Act required local governments to assess educational need in their areas. Where provision was inadequate, they were required to form a democratically elected school board. Any ratepayer could serve on their committee or vote, including women and elections were to be held every three years to ensure accountability. Boards were intended to work alongside the voluntary sector, encouraging the growth of all school accommodation thus relieving pressure on state provision. By 1876, however, it was clear that in some areas, such as Newcastle, the democratic process of the boards had broken down. Furthermore, the 1876 Reform Act which introduced additional powers to enforce compulsory attendance was used to force closures of ‘undesirable’ schools. This included Private Adventure Schools charging 9d or less per week.

ABSTRACT

The history of education in nineteenth-century Britain has attracted considerable scholarly scrutiny but relatively little attention has been paid to the function and contribution of Private Adventure Schools. Particularly those charging 9d or less per week which could be considered affordable to the working class. A surge of research in 1970, inspired by the centenary of the Education Act, did little to evaluate the diversity and quality of entrepreneurial education. All too often, flawed reports, observations and skewed statistics of government inspectors were accepted without due diligence. Aside from the early work of authors such as E.G. West (*Education and the State*, 1965) and Philp Gardner (*The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England*, 1984), and the G.R. Grigg's 2005 case study of Welsh Private Adventure Schools, this lacuna in the literature has still not been addressed.

This study offers an entirely new approach to identifying and analysing the impact of entrepreneurial education. By using the whole of Northumberland as a defined geographical area and concentrating on the two decades between 1869 and 1889 this study compares urban and rural educational development in the wake of the 1870 Education Act. A mixed-methods approach combines big data, GIS and a quantitative survey to map out school structures with demographic context. In addition, a broad selection of qualitative historical material has been used to excavate individual school histories and changes in attitudes to education from a variety of perspectives. The key findings conclude that entrepreneurial education was much more resilient in Northumberland than previously thought. It was also far more diverse, quality-driven and impactful than current literature suggests. This thesis argues that the decline of entrepreneurial education in the late nineteenth-century was not inevitable. These schools warrant more attention both as a neglected aspect of educational

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history and for its significance to contemporary global debates on the role of low-cost private schools in developed and developing economies.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This research was inspired by educators seeking to provide futures for children in their community who had fallen through the cracks of education policy. It began on the streets of Accra, Nairobi, Mumbai or a hundred other communities where low-cost private schools are subsisting in economically developing countries (Dixon, 2013; Dixon and Humble, 2017; Dixon et al, 2019; Tooley et al., 2009; Harma, 2011; Tooley and Dixon, 2012; Harma, 2013). The evidence points to private schools providing affordable grass-roots education in countries where rapid population and economic growth has resulted in oversubscribed schools and insufficient policy. These schools provide education across a broad spectrum of society. Including within informal settlements and remote rural areas. Often, they outperform state-funded schools and provide education at a more affordable price point when all indirect costs of free state education are considered.

The question arises that if such schools exist in areas of economic development today, were they present during the industrialisation of Europe? An initial study was undertaken at a master's level to seek evidence of low-cost private schools in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Harlow, 2015), a town in the North East of England which was at the forefront of engineering innovation from the mid-nineteenth century (Barke and Taylor, 2015, p.44). The lethargic and liberal governance of Newcastle resulted in slow responses to the needs of a swelling population. Between 1851 and 1901 the population increased 162% from 89,156 to 233,644 (Barke, 2001, p.136). The economy of the region transformed from traditional industries into a Victorian Silicon Valley full of invention, cultural diversity, and opportunity. Heavy industries and coal loading staithes were constructed along both banks of the River Tyne. The surrounding countryside was interlaced by one of the world's earliest

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rail networks. Newcastle was transformed into a centre for investment banking, legal services, publication, and retail (Lendrum, 2001, p.34-39).

Throughout the nineteenth century Newcastle and Northumberland's educational landscape was transformed by a flourishing of new schools (see a full list of trade directories in the bibliography and Appendix Two). Particularly from the mid-century point onward, a Scottish migrant from Howick, John Hunter Rutherford (1826-1890) established the Bath Lane Schools which would eventually become Northumbria University (Allen and Buswell, 2005, p.1-10). A Ragged and Jubilee school were established in Sandgate, providing far more than a place of learning to the deeply impoverished community it served. The Royal Grammar School was rebuilt in Rye Hill, then moved again to Jesmond. The Elswick Works school provided a beacon for science education. Anglican, nonconformist and Roman Catholic schools helped migrant communities feel anchored in their new home and the Wellington Training Ship attempted to save boys from the gaol while destitute girls could be sent to Whitley Bay to be rehomed and taught vocational skills. The spirit of innovation and improvement was experienced through the town's network of grant-aided schools.

There was a vibrant structure of private schools (Kelly's, 1873; 1879; 1890). Disparagingly described by contemporary policymakers, these schools projected the educational culture of the working class (Gardner, 1982, pp.46-47). These were grass-roots schools that sprung from within various communities across Newcastle and Northumberland. That parents made the choice to send their children to them baffled authorities and horrified more respectable educators who claimed that 'careless parents often sent their children to these schools to evade the bye-laws of the Board' (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.14-15). The arguments made against them however strike

the modern reader as subjective and rarely supported by quantitative data. We know of these schools through the lens of observers who were set against them (Gardner, 1982, p.46). Inspectors who favoured grant-aided schools, pedagogists who saw the value of education only as it pertained to formal religious instruction, or industrialists feeling uneasy with the thought of a self-educating working class in an age of frequent social unrest.

Yet there were many Private Adventure Schools in Newcastle in the first half of the nineteenth century, just as there were in urban centres across Europe and India (Stanfield, 2014, pp.70-78). The council discovered 50 such schools in its first census during 1871. These were schools charging less than 9d per week. The census was the first step in response to the introduction of a new law, the 1870 Elementary Education Act. Shepherded in by W.E. Forster (1818-1886), Earl De Ripon (1827-1909), and Henry Austin Bruce (1815-1895) on the back of a landslide electoral victory for Gladstone's Liberal party, was an Act that sought to make as much of a sweeping reform of English and Welsh education as parliament would allow (Cragoe, 2008; Denholm, 2009; Warren, 2008). It was a compromise bill between those who wished the Church of England to monopolise education and those who wanted universally compulsory, free, and secular education. The compromise resulted in the consolidation of the state's provision, regulation, and financing of schools through the establishment of School Boards (Sutherland, 1973, pp.81-86). School Boards were empowered to construct state schools, levy new local rates, and enforce local education bye-laws. The government promised that state schools would not interfere with pre-existing state education and would encourage the continued growth of voluntary school provision, both in the reading of the Act and its text (1870 Education Act; Maclure, 1965, pp.98-105). In other words, it would maintain the education market as it existed in 1870, stimulate it

and only where necessary provide supplementary provision until the market caught up. The role of the state was to be one that topped local school provision but what was triggered was an 'accidental' state take-over (West, 1994, p, 100).

Assessing the gap between the number of children who should attend school and the number of places available to them was a calculated political exercise (Barke and Taylor, 2001). What appeared to be a desire for non-interference by the state was in fact the empowerment of School Boards to make decisions of school legitimacy. The power to decide which schools were legitimate was expanded and reinforced by the 1876 reform and by the 1880 'Mundella Act'. The seeds had been sown by Foster within the 1870 Education Act for education to be made free at the point of access and universally compulsory. In little over 20 years the state had monopolised the provision, finance, and regulation of education across England and Wales, directly controlling the structure of schooling and dictating its future development. An Act that marketed itself as supporting voluntary schools actually supplanted them.

Private Adventure Schools were one of the first casualties of state support (West, 1994, pp.189-198). The nature of these community-based local schools was antithetical to a public, unified, national voice to defend them. Equally, access to School Boards in 1870 was exceedingly difficult for voices outside the integrated socio-political elite. Even the Tyneside Catholic schools failed to get a seat at the table on the first Newcastle School Board. Unlike the Catholic school leaders, Private Adventure Schools had no prominent candidates or a broad base of support to rally a new electoral strategy. School Boards and the 1870 Education Act were hostile to Private Adventure Schools and this attitude has persisted

through the historiography (Hurt, 1979, p.10; Stephens, 1998, p.17-18; Gardner, 1982, pp. i-ii).

Comments made by recent politicians in the developing world mirror nineteenth-century perspectives (Tooley, 2009, pp.47-52). More rigorous investigative methodologies have demonstrated quantitatively that some low-cost private schools outperform their state counterparts and provide greater accountability to parents (Tooley et al., 2009). The response by education ministers has been to denounce low-cost private schools as exploitative. Today we have the evidence to challenge baseless accusations but in 1870 there were no wholly impartial studies nor advocate for a system of education that provided, in Newcastle alone, a minimum of 19% of school places and accounted for 68% of the school buildings (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873).

This study brings into play evidence from the trade directories of 1870 – 1890, recent innovations in national census analysis through the Integrated Census Microdata Project (ICeM) and The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (CAMPOP) digital boundary data for geospatial analysis. Along with an extensive sample of newspapers the topic of Private Adventure Schools in Northumberland has not only been exclusively researched for the first time but utilising a radically different approach to complement the work of Philip Gardeners 1982 doctoral study.

This thesis is divided into three parts which explore changes and continuities in Northumberland's Private Adventure Schools between 1869-1889. Part One demonstrates the diversity and resilience of Private Adventure Schools, presenting evidence that not only did they survive the introduction of the 1870 Elementary Education Act but that they continued to grow. The pressures of an increasingly competitive schools market forced

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them to adapt, which they did successfully. It will also challenge the arguments made against the schools which ultimately led to legislation hostile to them. Finally, Part One concludes with a case study of Dr Ehrlich's Newcastle Modern School. This is a key example of the enormous contribution Private Adventure Schools made and the fascinating stories that surround their establishments. Crucially, it is one of the few Private Adventure Schools from the period for which enough evidence survives to form a case study.

Part two provides an in-depth analysis of educational change in North Tyneside, referred to in this study as the Eastern region (see Appendix One: 8.1.2, for full geographic divisions used in this study). We begin by analysing the Newcastle School Board which had three distinct phases. These phases are bookmarked by Board elections but defined by failures to uphold democratic processes and sustained disdain for Private Adventure Schools. One of the first points of consensus was a rejection of private schools as a legitimate form of provision. The study then turns towards broader issues presented by social and cultural change and continuities in urban centres. In particular, the enormous influx of migrants from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales who brought with them radically different education cultures. Scottish and Irish migrants established new educational networks structured around the religious practices of Scottish Presbyterianism and Irish Catholicism. International migration and urbanisation will also be considered as possible motivations for the establishment of Private Adventure Schools and hotbeds of entrepreneurial education. Education is then evaluated in relation to economic change. Rapid industrialisation opened a range of new opportunities and skilled positions but also presented problems. The 1871 engineers strike will be discussed in relation to the school network which accommodated displaced children. From the apprentice recruitment logs of

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the Elswick Works, a prized route to an industrial career, we can see how educational attainment was valued in comparison to physical and other attributes. It will be argued that Private Adventure Schools developed symbiotically with industrial growth and were dislodged at a time when they could have made their most significant impact.

Part three expands the study beyond urban centres to all regions of rural Northumberland. The historic county has been divided into five regions to elucidate its geographic and economic diversity. We will begin with education in the periphery and the challenges posed by remoteness in the northern and western regions. Complementing this narrative is an analysis of border community experiences with Scotland. This will look at the Hinds, a type of Northumberland shepherd, who lived in isolation but maintained a tradition of hiring private tutors to live with and educate their children. This was a unique form of education and educational culture in Northumberland. Next, we will look at the relationship between landed elites in pastoral spaces and their response to education reform. It is argued that the 1870 Education Act forced the paternalistic instincts of landowners to reinforce their educational provision commitments. This, however, created a difficult space for private schools and entrepreneurs to disrupt and thus explains, in part, their absence. The final section contrasts the legacies of two forms of mining in southern Northumberland. We will examine how the effects of colliery owners and lead mining family's decisions in the 1840s affected the structure of school provision between 1869-1889. The two industries of lead and coal had radically different approaches to the education of their workforces, both of which suppressed the existence of entrepreneurial education.

Throughout this research, there have been two primary aspirations. The first was to better understand the development of education in England and Wales by shining a light on

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Private Adventure Schools and making the case that their contribution was valuable.

Through doing so we can more accurately understand and appreciate the extraordinary history of British education. The second desire was to find lessons that could be applied to and benefit current education policy. It was not an initial intention to judge in favour of or against the existence of low-cost private schools, nor make the case for their reintroduction. However, in exposing their sophistication and the relentless attacks on their existence, low-cost private schools in nineteenth-century Northumberland appear as defiant, innovative and of inestimable value. These schools and their proprietors should be celebrated and remembered.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 POLITICS AND POLICY

The rise of intense Liberal and Tory political partisanship between the 1867 Second Reform Act and the 1884 Representation of the People Act was both the impetus and product of reforms in the mid-nineteenth century. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the introduction of the Navigation Acts in 1849 not only committed Britain to the concept of free trade and a rejection of protectionism but would prove to be the catalyst for a complex, deep and lasting political divide in British politics (Hurt; 1979, p.23; Gambles, 1998; Aydelotte, 1967; Howe, 2007, pp.21-25; Turner, 2007, pp.140-148). The socio-economic divergence between rural and urban industrial development was exposed by the dismantled tariffs protecting British agricultural revenue. Although it was a decision based upon the economic reality of a pressing need to import cheaper grains, the repeal of the Corn Laws was unpopular amongst the agrarian-based aristocracy. It created a rift between landed aristocracy and manufacturing capitalists, between the traditional economy and protectionism, and the free-trade urban industrial economy. Saunders argues that between 1846 and 1867, the rift between the Conservative and Liberal Party became irreconcilable even after Disraeli dropped the issue of protectionism. Partisanship did not begin in 1846 but the rivalry which emerged would grip parliamentary discourse and permeate both national and local public elections, including those of School Boards (Saunders, 2005, 2007).

Free trade forced Britain to experience major economic readjustment which resulted in both growth 1851-1873 and the 'Great Depression' 1873-1896. One consequence of this readjustment was a rise in imports from £19,600,000 per annum in 1855-9 to £52,000,000 in the period 1870-9. The rise in imports was compensated by the growth of 'invisible'

exports and the growth of financial services (Howe, 2007, p.21). Income from capital exports increased from £16,500,000 in 1856-60 to an estimated £50,000,000 in 1871-5 (Howe, 2007, p.23). Insurance, banking, and shipping grew from £29,000,000 in 1851-5 to an estimated £88,700,000 in 1871-5 (Howe, 2007, p.23). Economic growth following free trade was therefore disproportionately beneficial to urban areas, London and port-cities.

Carpentier's study of the relationship between economic performance and public education finance asserts that the growth between 1850 and 1870 had a negative impact on the availability of finance for schooling (Carpentier, 2003, pp.10-12). He argues that as urban investment opportunities increased, philanthropic donations for education declined. Indeed, Lowe's 1862 Revised Code reduced HM Inspectorate's budget between 1861-5 from £813,441 to £636,810, introduced 'payment-by-results' for aided-schools and introduced greater controls on new state funding (Midgley, 2016; Sutherland, 1973, p.9; Morris, 1977; Horn, 1981, p.131). Prior to 1870 public expenditure on education represented 0.1% of the GDP. This rose to 1.2% by 1897 during a period of recession. Carpentier concludes that the Liberal Party regarded the provision of education as an investment to rekindle urban industrial growth (Carpentier, 2003, p.11). The economic motivation to increase the state involvement in education however would not have become clear until after 1870. Mitch (2016) challenged Carpentier and demonstrates that while the percentage of voluntary subscriptions decreased as a share of aided schools from 44.8% to 27.46% 1851-1870, the amount (£) increased from 82,452 to 418,839 over the same period (Mitch, 2016, pp.340-341). In emphasising the evolution of public financing, neither Carpentier nor Mitch assess the contribution of unaided private schools serving the poor. An argument could be made

that while economic factors influenced the implementation of the 1870 Education Act, ideological factors had a stronger influence on its formation.

The landslide electoral victory of the Liberal Party in 1868 heralded major reforms which would not have been possible without the 1867 Second Reform Act, and its preceding debate (Saunders, 2007). Saunders notes that 'between 1852 and 1867, seven governments promised to introduce an [electoral] reform bill; six of them did so, and two fell as a result' (Saunders, 2005, p.1291). The 1867 'Second Reform Act' expanded the electorate from 1.3 million to over 2 million men in England and Wales but did not apply to Scotland or Ireland. This was the equivalent of 1 in 3 adult men, most of whom were urban dwellers and, as the return for the 1868 election would prove, Liberal voters. The Liberal economic principles of free-trade and minimum state-interference did not directly transpose to domestic policy. Baker argues that the formation of the Education Act was strongly influenced by a radical faction within the Liberal party dominated by William Forster, Henry Austin Bruce and George Robinson the Earl de Ripon (Baker, 2001, p.212). All three men were influenced by Maurice, Carlyle, and Coleridge who were involved in the cooperative movement and shared personal relationships with members of the Arnold family. As Romantic-idealists, Forster, Bruce, and De Grey were uncomfortable with the empiricist Utilitarian traditions of the Liberal party epitomised somewhat by their more experienced colleague Robert Lowe (Horn, 1981). They strongly advocated state intervention whereas Lowe (Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868), as former Vice-President of the Education Board had introduced the Revised Code to limit state expenditure. Baker argues that the Education Act in 1870 was an expression of radical politics seizing upon the Liberal party's electoral success. Guided through the Commons by Forster and Bruce, and through the Lords by De Grey, the success

of the Act relied heavily upon the aligned ideology and efficacy of the three individuals (Baker, 2001, p. 212). Gladstone's first government, 1868-1874, seized the advantage of an expanded electorate to establish a 'great reforming surge' in which 'radical dreams' of the 1830s had by the 1870s become a reality (Matthew, 2010, p.527). This should not disguise the unity, resolve and tactics of Forster, Bruce and De Grey to navigate significant obstacles in both houses of Parliament.

One assumption of governance in the early nineteenth century was that while urban governance changed, rural governance embraced continuity, and this impacted the implementation of legislation. Although limited in its scope, providing education to child labourers had been attached to several Acts between 1802 and 1870 to regulate industrial employment, but no restrictions on working hours or requirements for schooling was established for agricultural labourers (Saunders, 1973, pp.115-125). The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 has been considered the most significant reform to local governance in the nineteenth century and even by some historians as a more significant democratic reform than the 'Great Reform Act' passed two years earlier (Salmon, 2003; Smith, 2007, pp.162-168). The 1835 Act replaced Municipal Corporations with elected Town Councils. Town Councils held annual public elections, shed a third of its members every three years and published the minutes of meetings for public dissemination. In comparison to the old corporation's governance, this was more democratic, efficient, and transparent. Parliamentary boundaries had been determined by tradition rather than population. Though urban boroughs outmatched rural counties in terms of population, economic output and administrative efficiency, county seats constituted a disproportionate power base in parliament. It was not until 1884-5 that County boundary reforms extended

enfranchisement to rural inhabitants on relatively equal terms to urban residents (Wood, 1982, p.85). Until 1885 the 'landed gentry' remained the dominant force in the House of Commons. Thus, urban governance was relatively democratic, accountable, and open to criticism from the local press and rural governance relied upon established custom, the political dominance of local gentry and patronage of the parochial clergy.

While the 1835 Municipal Corporation Act had introduced elements of partisanship to council elections, the 1867 Second Reform Act advanced national political paradigms in a more intrusive manner (Salmon, 2003, p.52). Between 1867 and the mid-1880s the strength of local party apparatus had matured as the National Liberal Federation campaigned for the Liberal Party and its Tory equivalent, the Primrose League from 1884 (Martin, 2005, p.145). Though primarily concerned with electing national representatives, partisanship arguably introduced a greater emphasis on the political affiliation of council members. It was more difficult for an independent member to stand in elections against a party candidate. A good example is the Newcastle MP Joseph Cowen Jnr. who officially broke from the Liberal Party in 1880 for refusing to share a platform with Gladstonian candidate Ashton Dilke (Hugman, 2001, p.130). He listed himself as a radical, seeking more rapid reforms and disagreed with Gladstone on several issues (Allen, 2007, pp.103-132). Without the Liberal Party machine, Cowen was unpalatably propped up by Tory votes and resigned from politics in 1885 (Allen, 2007, p.132). Cowen stood throughout his career, as an independently thinking Radical within the Liberal Party believing that MP's received a mandate from their constituents. He was unprepared to compromise his independence by prioritising party objectives and following orders.

The trend towards national political objectives within urban governance between 1867-1880 contributed to the political evolution of locally elected councils and School boards. It has also been argued by historians such as Gillian Sutherland that the intangible influence of partisan politics on School Boards towards the latter half of the 1870s must be viewed as a complementary form of centralisation to the tangible requirements of School Boards to feedback progress and seek permissions from the Education Department.

Sutherland argued that

In 1870 the Liberal government committed itself and its successors to the provision of a national system of elementary schools... [with] little idea of what they were letting themselves in for- they had no idea even how many more school places were needed (Sutherland, 1973, p.2).

She outlines a four-tier power structure in which education policy was developed and enforced between 1870-1888:

- a) the Education Committee Council,
- b) permanent officials (including secretaries and clerks),
- c) the Inspectorate, and finally
- d) the local authorities, including school committees, managers and Boards.

Despite the 1867 Act opening the legal possibility of women to elect and be elected to School Boards and poor law guardianship positions, these positions continued to be occupied predominantly by a single demographic: middle-class white men. 'In theory, any adult was eligible to stand for election. In practice, it was tremendously difficult for those without an independent income or flexible working conditions' (Martin, 1995, p.280). Of the 326 members of the London School Board between 1870-1904, 29 were women (Martin, 2000, p.225).

A central issue, that remains today, is the issue of power distribution between central and local governments (Morris, 2000, pp.1-14). The establishment of School Boards in 1870, elected by local populations, with the power to identify and implement solutions for education under their jurisdiction would suggest power was intended to be localised. Sutherland, however, argues that despite the establishment of School Boards as local authorities, in practice no decision of importance was taken without prior authorisation from the National Education Department (Sutherland, 1973, p.82). The Education Department could enforce the creation of School Boards, or after 1876, grant the dissolution of one. School Boards had the power to establish bye-laws to impose compulsory attendance, to raise local rates, to borrow from the Public Works Loans Commissioners and to manage expenditures on overhead costs. Controversially, between 1870 and 1876, School Boards also had the controversial power to pay the fees of poorer students to attend voluntary public elementary schools (Sutherland, 1973, p.84; Midgely, 2016, p.682). Bye-laws were, however, subject to the Department's approval as were significant expenditures. The Stockport School Board was the only large district to successfully petition the Education Department for its dissolution and thus expel centralised influence. Though unaffordability was a factor cited, the principal argument made by the Stockport School Board was of their redundancy as voluntary schools were both adequate and popular (Sutherland, 1973, pp.97-8).

There was a more subversive method of national policy triumphing over local voices. In 1884 a select committee on School Board voting was established to gather evidence on a range of electoral issues which had emerged over 14 years. One of the complaints made by those giving evidence was the increasing presence of 'faddists' (Sutherland, 1973, pp.100-

102). Faddists were individuals who stood for office who were neither Liberal nor Conservative candidates, or 'respected' independents and therefore considered inappropriate by other Board members. Although they were admonished by the Select Committee the electoral success of such individuals presents us with three possibilities:

- a) they were indeed a disruptive 'faddist' vote,
- b) they were a discursive and constructive protest vote, or
- c) they were not a protest vote but as a minority voice marginalised.

Sutherland argues that despite the 1870 Education Act blueprinting the possibility of local autonomy, communal education, and support for the voluntary sector (including state funding of fees), in practice between 1870-1880 the Department for Education exercised broad oversight. If we follow Sutherland's argument, the mechanism of local elections was designed to allow regional diversity and positive relationships with the voluntary sector was rapidly compromised by top-heavy policy development and partisanship which drowned out local initiative and minority voices.

As noted above political partisanship was a stronger force in the implementation of education policy. We have also seen that despite the premise of local governance and locally elected School Boards implementing policy suitable to the individual characteristics of their districts partisanship increased. Centralised governance between 1869-1879 hindered the independence of School Boards. We cannot take for granted an understanding of strict Liberal or Tory principles during this period as the conflict between them often took priority over genuinely serving the needs of the population. It could also be argued that any

legislation passed could present itself in vastly different forms depending on whether it was a rural or urban context, with urban areas more likely to implement reforms.

2.2 LITERACY AND ILLITERACIES

One of the most controversial but useful indicators of literacy in the nineteenth century is the analysis of signatures on parochial marriage registers. From 1754 it was a legal requirement for both husband and wife to sign the register or leave a mark if they could not. The problems of relying upon this evidence as an indicator of literacy are not insignificant. It cannot be claimed, for example, that being able to write your name is indicative of the ability to write any other words. Furthermore, individuals may have learnt to sign their names specifically for that occasion. It may be that an individual was not able to sign their name before the marriage and forgot how to do so by the end of their lives. However, as Stephens argues, as a legal requirement across England, for both men and women, and roughly performed by the same age group, marriage signatures offer a fairly accurate indicator of trends, particularly after 1839 when the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages collected every signature and published annual records. When analysed on a national level across multiple years Stephens argues that the impact of annual fluctuations, the risk of signatures being singular examples and the exclusion of unmarried individuals are mitigated (Stephens, 1987, p.3-4).

In analysing provincial literacy rates between 1830 and 1870 Stephens notes regional variations but also variations within regions (Stephens, 1987, pp.54-100). The Midlands, for example, had a higher overall literacy in 1856 than the North East but Chester-Le-Street within the North East region had a higher percentage than any individual county in the midlands; the rural areas around Durham had consistently higher levels of literacy while the

rural areas of Northumberland such as Rothbury, Bellingham and Belford had some of the lowest levels in the country (Stephens, 1987, pp.65, 140-141). Stephens contends that variations cannot convincingly be explained by differences in agriculture or religious denomination but in the North East these two factors must be considered in any evaluation of the disproportionately higher levels of literacy in Durham and low literacy in Northumberland. The most immediate differences were the high concentration of mining villages, railways, and lack of agricultural employment in the north of Durham in comparison to Northumberland (Stephens, 1987, pp.54-55; McCord and Thompson, 1998, pp.291-295). Stephens highlights that in the early 1840s pit villages of Northumberland and Durham received 'either no education at all or very little' (Stephens, 1987, p.56). Miners are often regarded as being generationally indifferent to the merits of education. As we will see later, Colls argues that if this indifference existed, it was the product of social control by colliery owners (Colls, 1976).

The changing geography and demography in England, particularly the movement of skilled labour from rural cottage industries to urban areas, and the urbanization of both skilled and unskilled labour can make it difficult for historians to evaluate accurately literacy trends of a location over time. The increased migration of Scottish, Irish and Cornish labourers to the North-East between 1840-1870 could also contribute to disguising trends, particularly if these migrants settled in urban industrial and rural mining communities. Migration creates a number of issues that negatively affect childhood including financial security, interrupted educations, the loss of supportive personal relationships. However, migrating communities can also bring positive attributes such as different cultural approaches to education that might include being more willing to pay for education,

educating both daughters and sons or perhaps where strong migrant communities already existed, Scottish, Prussian or Scandinavian are good examples of where literacy was higher than England or Irish communities that may have been pre-established and provide less of a complete cultural and educational break for children (Stephens, 1987, p.16).

The decline of literacy in some counties from 1754 to 1870, as well as stagnation, are equally important to the historian. Between 1841 and 1885 the illiteracy rate fell from 41% to 12%, however, Durham experienced a drop in marriage marks, a form of signature from 58% to 31% (Stephens, 1987, pp.2-14). The other areas Stephens highlights are Staffordshire, Monmouthshire and Bedfordshire which do not experience a decline in literacy but nor did they share the national increase in literacy. Possible explanations for Durham's fall in literacy might include extensive net migration from low-literacy regions or prevalent poverty. Stephens still rejects the notion that poverty alone explained reduced educational expenditure in communities. Workers in industries such as ribbon weavers and metalworkers sent their children to school when the demand dipped and took them out of school to work when demand was high (Stephens, 1987, p.20). Nor can it be assumed that extreme poverty might prevent parents from sending their children to school as in some cases charities would provide places and after 1870 School Boards could provide free places for the extremely poor.

Stephens argues that despite the assumption that 'industrial revolution' and 'population boom' towns acquired a reputation for higher education provision and school attendance, the 1851 Education Census demonstrated that smaller towns had a higher ratio of school attendance than larger urban areas. A comparison between Morpeth and Newcastle in Northumberland confirms this. The population of Morpeth in 1851 was

recorded as 4,120 with school attendance of day-school pupils of 18% (Stephens, 1987, p.353). Newcastle's population at the same time was 87,784 with a day-school registration of only 10%. The same difference can be observed between York and Richmond where the overall literacy rate was higher. York, with a population of 36,303 had 16% day-school registration while Richmond had 19% day-school registration from a population of 4,106 (Stephens, 1987, p.353). Stephens concludes that the 12 most populous towns contained the 8 most illiterate populations (Stephens, 1987, p.36). One explanation put forward by Stephens is that the urbanisation of educated individuals to urban areas was offset by the migration of unskilled agricultural labourers. A further complication is the effects of migration. Scottish migrants are thought to have raised literacy levels while Irish labourers lowered. In the North East, however, such migration was spread across the region as employment opportunities offered by mining benefited both urban and rural areas (Stephens, 1998, p.16).

Perhaps not surprisingly, a correlation was found by Stephens between religious worship and school attendance. In larger urban areas, particularly northern towns, both attendances at religious services and schools were lower than in rural areas and southern towns. Attendance at Sunday schools was highest amongst nonconformist communities and nonconformity was highest in urban areas. Anglicanism was a significant presence in urban areas but dominant in rural counties where schools were largely organised by Anglican parishes or landlords. It cannot be assumed that the Anglican church held homogeneous attitudes towards education as each church had the power to take as much or as little interest in providing education to the poor as it wished. However, it can be said that the Anglican church as a whole was motivated to provide some form of schooling to parishes as

both a Christian act to provide moral and religious instruction for the individual and also as a deterrent to immoral or criminal behaviour in adulthood. Funding depended upon a mixture of government and ecclesiastical grants but most of the money came from parish donations. After 1840 Anglican provision was restructured to include diocesan and local education boards, six teacher training schools and a diocesan school inspectorate, key elements which would later be mirrored within the 1870 Education Act. And yet even by 1870, not every diocese had a diocesan education board, and the state inspectorate was also inconsistent (Stephens, 1987, p.44). In dioceses where structural changes were made, primarily in the Province of Canterbury, literacy improved the most between 1847 and 1867 (Stephens, 1987, p.47). A parochial organisation of education, however, despite its inconsistencies, goes some way to explain why the boundary between rural and urban literacy was so blurred - though this did not extend to Northumberland where a diocesan School Board was not established and nonconformism was so strong in mining communities.

Of the variations within rural areas, Stephens argues that it is difficult to identify factors that determined literacy levels. Possible variables include land management, whether the land was tenanted within a large aristocratic estate or owned by smaller gentry estates; the types of land use: pastoral, arable, mining and/or semi-industrial, and the spatial density of market towns and proximity to larger urban areas, the former being positive and the latter having a negative impact. What can be determined is that up to 1870 some rural areas outperformed some urban areas (Stephens, 1987, p.40). Factors such as low wages, absentee landlords and 'rural industrial slums' all contributed to suppressing levels of education school enrolment in counties (Stephens, 1987, p.40).

Of peri-urban spaces, which include mining or industrial villages, and could include villages up to 4 miles from the central business district (CBD) of an urban centre, Stephens found education to be at its lowest. Children were more likely to attend weekly Sunday school than day-schools but in those same areas, he found that literacy decreased between 1830 and 1870 (Stephens, 1987, pp.28-42). Within and beyond peri-urban boundaries the owners of small farms had reduced levels of school attendance and literacy in comparison to the tenants of aristocratic estates which outperformed those of smallholders and small farms. School attendance of schools by the children of small holders was reduced further by issues such as spatial remoteness, the need for wives and child labour where wages or the economic climate was poor, and even extreme weather which could affect travel in winter and the quality of harvests. Northumberland was above the national average concerning the number and prosperity of small farms, low rural unemployment and social unrest and less need for child labour (Stephens, 1987, p.42). In cases where families did require poor relief, both the Poor Law Guardians and farmers of Northumberland were more willing than their southern counterparts to pay for schooling from 1855.

One consideration Stephens briefly touched upon was that poor-law guardians were more likely in Northumberland than other counties to provide additional funding for the school fees of families in receipt of relief. Furthermore, farmers in Northumberland held education in higher esteem than their southern counterparts, preferring an educated labourer who could follow instructions than one who had received no education (Stephens, 1987, p.42).

2.3 URBAN EDUCATION

As no direct state provision of schooling existed before 1870, the schools that did exist in both rural and urban settings can be cumulatively referred to as 'voluntary' education provision. This provision can be further broken down by distinguishing between those receiving state grants and not: 'aided' and 'unaided'. Both aided and unaided schools were predominantly based in urban areas, and the greatest variety of provisions could be found in London. Outside of London, national organisations could be found in most major urban areas such as the Jubilee School movement, Ragged Schools and British and Foreign Society Schools (BFSS). Dame Schools were predominantly run by women but also occasionally by men too (Goldstrom, 1972, p.98). Goldstrom quotes the report of the Manchester Statistical Society's 1834 investigation in which Dame schools were 'most numerous' and 'most deplorable' of schools. Teachers were often part-time, operating from squalid housing and ill-resourced with only one or two books per class. In more affluent areas, Dame Schools could be run by middle-class women and provide a more rigorous education, but they also charged higher fees. It is interesting to note that the Statistical Society investigators refused to record the attendance of children at schools they deemed unfit: 'In reckoning the number of those to be considered as partaking of the advantages of useful education, these children must be left almost entirely out of the account' (Goldstrom, 1972, p.100).

The demand for education from the working classes was misunderstood by contemporary observers. As politicians and religious institutions sought to 'project' learning and the value of moral education onto low-income families, they were already active users of various forms of provision including low-fee private schools. Gardner (p.356) argues,

however, that low-income parents were often portrayed as obstacles to their own children's education. Not every ambition of state education conflicted with what parents wanted. Most parents wanted children to be protected in their youth, receive moral lessons and master the 3Rs. Both parents and the state wanted a child to be prepared for working lives whether that was domestic, commercial, or industrial. Where variations existed - the state aspiring for a more obedient lower-orders, and low-income families perhaps more supportive of flexible school leaving ages to provide income - compromises were entirely possible. Evidence from London demonstrates that many girls were informally given authorised absence on laundry days to help with family chores (Martin, 1991, p.190).

A recent public criticism of the continued influence of nineteenth-century education on current systems has been articulated by Sugata Mitra and Sir Ken Robinson's TED Talks (Mitra, 2008, 2010, 2013; Robinson, 2006, 2010, 2010). These six talks alone have had a combined 87,125,990 viewership at the time of writing. They both argue that current systems are a continuation of Victorian schools which attempted to remove individuality and creativity from pupils to mirror industrial environments. A superficial look at a monitorial 'Lancastrian' school system would indeed suggest an industrial approach to education. Similarities that are cited include the 'categorisation' of pupils into classes and age. This can be explained, however, by the earlier preference for older children to assist in the teaching of younger pupils, a system of peer learning that contemporary educational researchers increasingly value. The industrial aesthetic of schools can also be viewed in both the context of the age and the urban built environment. The houses children were coming from, in poorer areas of Newcastle were extremely poor quality. The tenement buildings in particular were so tightly packed that they lacked light and fresh air. New Board school

buildings were built with consideration for appropriate space, durability and intended use. Board schools preferred didactic teaching and rote learning for a standardised teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. A major criticism the state held for non-Board schools both before and after 1870 was the informal and spontaneous methods some non-state teachers employed in the teaching of the 3-Rs. The state criticised such teachers for relying upon an uneven supply of books or print material. Didactic methods therefore may have represented an effort by the state to professionalise and formalise specific learning goals and adhere to the standards of the inspectorate. In all matters, what may be considered industrial, systematic, uncaring and suppression of individuality may have been considered in the 1870s to be modern, efficient, clean, and a powerful statement of the state's interest in educating children from low-income families.

Gardner asks us to examine, not just the mechanisms of the supply of education through analysis of legislative and institutional frameworks, but to look at the demand for education from the ground-up.

Education, as it was understood by nineteenth century working class culture, was a process which could be furthered through a wide variety of forms and agencies, of which formal public schooling was one (Gardner, 1982, pp.133-134).

As urban populations expanded in the nineteenth century, the perception and uses of urban spaces evolved. Green spaces in urban centres, for example, could be both places of protest, leisure, exhibitions, elections, grazing land, or even execution, as epitomised by the Town Moor in Newcastle. The first free public parks began to appear in England by the late 1840s with Birkenhead in Merseyside. Birkenhead highlights two important changes in attitude. Providing a free open space for the public was viewed as a worthwhile investment by local authorities. The second change was the value placed on a green space to the population and

recognition of the impacts of the built environment on living conditions, wellbeing and health. Urban spaces were rapidly evolving through the nineteenth century. The impact of this on the people living within them was a constant need to adapt to expansive residential, industrial and commercial landscapes and deal with changing street layouts and infrastructure in a way that rural inhabitants simply did not.

As well as economic, built and governance changes, inhabitants of urban spaces needed to adapt to demographic diversity and density, both of which were rapidly expanding throughout the nineteenth century. Demographic change presented many opportunities and challenges that we would be familiar with today: ethnic diversity and attached prejudices can lead to cultural vibrancy and discrimination, population density can result in cheaper and more accessible markets but can also lead to competition for goods and employment. Negotiating such environments requires individuals living in urban areas, particularly those migrating from rural areas, to learn specific social skills and emotional resilience. Cultural and communal contexts of families impacted how parents chose to raise children. Extended formal education could be viewed as inferior to experience in a workplace when considering the recruitment of an apprentice. It was not a disadvantage to have more school years, but prior experience of a working environment was significant. Above all, the family unit was the most important social network for a child - even in situations where parents chose neither to support schooling or employment, families would remain socially and financially interdependent from birth to grave. Learning to survive and prosper in an urban space was therefore a communal effort of the family unit and additional learning experiences including schooling, urban environments and employment must only be viewed as supplementary.

Walvin argued that street children, destitute children who found their way on to the streets by 'well-trodden routes' (Walvin, 1982, p.151) were both a feature and a product of English towns. He quotes the social reformer Helen Bosanquet (1860-1925) who wrote in *Social Work in London 1869-1912* her reflections on the changes in London between 1864 to 1914:

It was before the days of the Board schools and compulsory education; and it is constantly stated by contemporary speakers and writers that there are in London at least 100,000 children 'destitute of proper guardianship, exposed for the most part, to the training of beggars and thieves (Walvin, 1982, p.149).

Walvin's own descriptions of street children are even more derogatory and graphic but serve to illustrate how these children were viewed by their contemporaries and the increasing panic at their growing number.

Orphaned, deserted, neglected or simply left to fend for themselves by working parents, there seemed no end to the supply of independent children infesting the streets, their resourcefulness and guile – and their bodies- their only marketable commodity. Prostitution, theft, hawking, robbing, scavenging were commonplace (Walvin, 1982, p.151).

The sense of panic resulted in a broad range of sources documenting the growing number of street children and debating what to do about it. These include investigative reports, early statistical evidence and news items. Other sources are available that demonstrate how severe conditions could be for these children, including early photographic evidence, criminal reports and death records. Walvin writes 'of thirty-three juveniles brought before one court and charged with stealing fruit or sweets, the youngest was six and the eldest thirteen. The latter, "little more than skin and skeleton"' (Walvin, 1982, p.151). The child was eventually charged with stealing and eating raw meat from a butcher.

Many street children were forced into a life of crime to survive. The problem of juvenile crime was brought to public attention by the works of many social reformers, including Henry Mayhew and Mary Carpenter (Walvin, 1982, pp.149-153). Carpenter wrote

her study *Reformatory Schools* in 1851 and proposed an alternative to prison for child offenders. Carpenter presented an argument to parliament that mirrored in several respects, the views of Rousseau. She believed that children should be treated as children and that their actions be viewed in the context of their childhood. She also argued that the state had an obligation to protect destitute minors (Walvin, 1982, p.153). By 1861 there were at least 45 reformatory schools in England and Scotland and 19 Industrial schools which sought to bestow a trade or a skill to a vagrant child (Walvin, 1982, p.153).

Many street children, despite the rise of public interest and philanthropic organisations in the mid-century, resisted institutions, compulsory schooling, and committed themselves to criminal activity. The law failed to distinguish between a juvenile and an adult criminal until 1847 (Walvin, 1982, p.159). Court records can provide insight into how minors were treated by the justice system and how state attitudes towards the protection of minors and treatment of criminals evolved through the nineteenth century. While adult penal institutions were concerned with punishing crimes, there was shift in the treatment of minors towards both punishment and reformatory education. The Juvenile Offenders Acts in 1847 and 1850, the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854 and the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 all reduced the number of 7-16-year olds in prison and offered compulsory schooling as an alternative to imprisonment where necessary (Carpenter, 1851; Walvin, 1982, p.160). Industrial schools were the first state-funded child protection institutions, and the first tentative steps in the 1850s to interfering with a family (Moore, 2008, p.359-362). They were an early example of the state attempting to consolidate its responsibilities to children and take large-scale action without fully understanding the issues or allocating sufficient resources.

2.4 RURAL EDUCATION

In 1800 agricultural production accounted for 33% of Britain's total GDP, by 1914 it had declined to 10% (Winstanley, 2004, p.218). This figure, though indicative of the declining importance of agriculture as a proportion of Britain's economy, hides a narrative of continual improvements in production methods and changes in the distribution of arable and pastoral land which impacted the demand for labour. Arable farming, which had remained artificially lucrative by the Corn Law tariffs relied upon a steady flow of casual labour. Between 1869 and 1914 wheat cultivation in England reduced from 3,400,000 acres to 1,700,000 and acreage for grazing and hay increased from 10,000,000 in 1870 to 14,00,000 by 1914 (Winstanley, 2004, pp.209-210).

The shift towards pastoral farming reduced the need for casual labour, which could be based on 6 to 12-month contracts (Counce, 2012, p.239). During the mid-century, arable counties of southern England were dominated by large farms. Agricultural workers were more likely to be hired on shorter-term contracts, often just weeks (Winstanley, 2004, p.214). In comparison, Northumberland and the border region were characterised as having smaller arable farm holds or farms which operated over larger pastoral areas but hired fewer employees (Winstanley, 2004, p.213). Pay and working conditions improved across England and Wales in the second half of the century, but outside Northumberland agricultural labourers continued to have the worst pay and living conditions (Winstanley, 2004, p.215). Casual workers, from the 1870s, also had to contend with mechanisation and relied heavily on poor relief (Winstanley, 2004, p.215). A strong regional network of hiring fairs, combined with smaller farm holds and rural depopulation contributed to higher wages, quality of life and stability for rural families in Northumberland (Cancer, 2012,

p.214). Stability which reduced demands on poor relief and the necessity for child labour to supplement family incomes simultaneously increasing the ability of children to attend school and families to pay for them to do so (Stephens, 1987, p.61).

Stephens attributes the higher levels of literacy in the Northern counties 1840-1870 to the type of agricultural practices unique to Northumberland in England (Stephens 1987, p.54). First, the proximity to the Scottish border which allowed northern and western Northumberland to absorb positive social attitudes towards education which were prevalent in lowlands Scotland. Second, the higher than average proportion of independent freeholders, particularly in the central region which meant small farming families could afford to pay for young members education. Third, the type of farming which allowed a greater amount of free time over the winter months which could be used for education and self-improvement. Finally, an 'unusually' large number of dispersed charity schools which both increased literacy in remote areas and access to education in others. This applies to both the distribution of church schools and the contribution of philanthropists.

The growth of coal and collapse of lead mining in Northumberland and Durham must be distinguished by opposing attitudes of these industries to the provision of schools for their workforces. Observing mining areas as a whole Stephens (1987, p.55-63) notes that literacy was declining. Illiteracy was lower than the national average between 1839 and 1845 but by 1880 Durham had the second highest proportion of illiterate grooms in England (Stephens 1987, p.63). A change which coincided with Coll's own analysis of post-1844 colliery education as being more concerned with stifling dissent than raising literacy (Colls, 1976, pp.75-76).

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This is an interdisciplinary study applying quantitative and qualitative methods to perform an objective enquiry into the role Private Adventure Schools played in post-1870 English education. In particular, this evaluates the role of low-cost or low-fee private schools in providing learning environments for ‘working class’ or lower-income communities. A low fee school is defined as one charging 9d a week or less.¹ Working-class or lower-income communities will be predominantly defined as parishes with a high concentration of labourers. This includes any occupation without management responsibilities including unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labourers. Occupational data will be sourced from national census returns.

The boundaries of the historic county of Northumberland, in the period of study, included Newcastle-upon-Tyne and those parts of Tyne and Wear (formed in 1972) north of the River Tyne. The historic boundaries of Northumberland made it one of the largest English counties in terms of geographic space. Contrasting landscapes across Northumberland provide insight into the development of education in a variety of environments and communities. These environments included a rapidly urbanising metropolis (Newcastle) with an economy based primarily on heavy manufacturing and services. With sustained economic growth, Newcastle was a strong force for urbanisation and attracted significant migration from rural communities in the North East, from across the United Kingdom and internationally. Peri-urban coal mining communities and industries

¹ The pre-decimal British Pound Sterling currency included Pounds, Shillings and pence (£Sd).

sprawling the River Tyne attracted helped mitigate the extremes of urban growth concentrated solely in Newcastle. The need to overcome the distances between semi-rural mines, river communities and seaports encouraged the growth of a highly intricate railway infrastructure. Railway systems connected communities but also stimulated the growth of existing and new settlements. Finally, Northumberland contained one of the longest coastlines in England, the highest concentration of smallholder farmers in a pastoral belt and some of the most remote arable areas where populations could be predominantly nomadic shepherds.

The range of unique environments and communities across nineteenth-century Northumberland makes it an ideal case study opportunity to evaluate the growth of education in nineteenth-century England. By limiting the study chronologically to a key 20-year period immediately before and following the 1870 Education Act a full-county case-study approach is feasible. This regional-case study approach will enable an exploration of the intention, implementation, reception, and impact of the 1870 Education Act. The object of inquiry, the impact of the legislation on entrepreneurial education, provides more than a focal point. The history of entrepreneurial education, particularly Private Adventure Schools, has been presented largely through a 'flat, one-dimensional bias' (Gardner, 1982, p.v). Stephens wrote 'Educational historians have traditionally tended to regard the advent of compulsory state-funded and state controlled public schooling as a development benevolently contrived' (1998, p.81). Grigg wrote in 2005 (p.259) that derogatory descriptions and complaints of Private Adventure Schools in Wales reported by school commissioners and inspectors had been 'accepted at face value by modern-day historians' without challenge. Over thirty-five years after Gardner published the *Lost Elementary*

Schools of Victorian England and over 50 years after E.G. West's *Education and the State* entrepreneurial education is still at risk of being 'virtually beyond the recall of history' (Gardner, 1982, p.v).

3.2 OBJECT OF ENQUIRY

This study will identify, map and analyse the existence of Private Adventure Schools in rural and urban Northumberland between 1869-1889. It will be argued that Private Adventure Schools, being wholly unaided by public funds, or in receipt of philanthropy, constituted a form of entrepreneurial education. Examining, contrasting and evaluating Private Adventure Schools will provide valuable insight into an education market which the Education Act of 1870 interrupted. Challenging conceptualisations of Private Adventure Schools made by contemporaries and historians of education will provide a revised history of education applicable to national and international history. Furthermore, understanding the impact of state intervention in the education sector from a historical perspective will provide context to current and future debates on the role of the state in education.

A case study approach on a county level will provide both breadth and depth in evaluating multiple aspects of structural changes in education post-1870. The chosen period of 1869-1889 incorporates the development aspects of the 1870 Education Act and its reception in Northumberland and extends across a period in which historical literature and School Board reports suggest Private Adventure Schools had collapsed. 1869-1889 was also a key period of economic, demographic and political change across England and Wales. In addition to understanding the role of the state in education, the role of education in society will be explored. The overarching research question will therefore be:

To what extent did the implementation of the 1870 Education Act cause the decline of entrepreneurial education in Northumberland?

3.3 HISTORIOGRAPHY

W.B. Stephens argued that there has been a divisive split between historians of education on Private Adventure Schools (Stephens, 1998, p.81). The majority of historians conclude that the arrival of state-owned, funded and regulated schools was a positive development. Indeed, it is undeniable that there was a persistent gap between the number of school-age children and available school places. The intention of the 1870 Education Act was to increase educational attainment and achieve universal attendance. Whether it was motivated by welfare principles, global economic competition or the need for a democratically informed electorate the outcome was an increase in available resources for schools. It also elevated the necessity for individuals to have an elementary education. Opponents of state education and advocates of Private Adventure Schools are placed into two diametrically opposed groups by Stephens. On one side are 'historians of the left' and on the other 'neo-laissez-faire historians' (Stephens, 1998, p.81). The former view compulsory state schools as a suppression of working-class education by limiting choice and imposing middle-class values on working-class teachers and schools. The latter considered Private Adventure schools to be free enterprises capable of filling the gap and capable of improving if given the opportunity to grow. These perspectives have been built on the same premise. That Private Adventure Schools in England and Wales were a phenomenon which ceased to exist shortly after the introduction of the 1870 Education Act.

The centenary of the 1870 Education Act was a pivotal year for history of education literature. In particular, it was an opportunity to evaluate the progress of state education from 1870 and the impacts of subsequent legislation. E.G. West's *Education and the State: A Study in Political Economy* was first published in 1965 and republished in 1970. West argued

that the government had ‘jumped into the saddle of a horse that was already galloping’ (West, 1994, p.173) as early as 1833 and followed the argument of Milton Friedman that state schooling was unnecessary (West, 1994, p.250). In contrast, John Hurt’s 1971 publication *Education in Evolution* epitomised an alternative perspective. Hurt argued that state schooling was necessary to break the monopoly of religious societies and build a truly universally accessible education system in 1870 (Hurt, 1970, p.222). Hurt’s later publication *Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918* was influential in shifting the focus away from political economy and introduce the ‘viewpoint of those who were recipients (Hurt, 1979, p.25). However, when Hurt makes the statement ‘traditional working-class patterns of behaviour, when continued, did so in defiance of the law’ (Hurt, 1979, p.3). These patterns of behaviour included using children for domestic tasks or to supplement household incomes. He did not incorporate data that large volumes of lower-income families were accessing Private Adventure Schools. Hurt argued that the 1870 Education Act and the additional compulsion powers introduced in 1876 were necessary to increase attendance. In his line of argument, the 1870 Education Act was necessary to provide greater choice to the ‘parental consumers’ and it ‘coerced the parental non-consumer’ (Hurt, 1979, p.51). In other words, state monopoly of education was justified on the grounds that the voluntary system had failed to reach the children of bad parents or provide quality education to the poor (Hurt, 1979, p.52-74).

In the development of arguments by leading historians of education such as Garry McCulloch (2005), Carol Dyhouse (1977), Jane Martin (1991; 1993; 1995), Brian Simon (2005), Philip Gardner (1982; 1984), Joyce Goodman (1998; 2012), Kevin Myers (2020), Roy Lowe (2020), Catherine Burke (2005), Ian Grosvenor (1999), W.B. Stephens (1980; 1987;

1998; 2000) James Walvin (1982) and Harry Hendrick (1997) who have influenced this thesis it is the position of John Hurt which has prevailed. Gardner (1982; 1984) critiqued West's position but he also challenged the absence Private Adventure Schools from the principle literary body. Even within the latest History of Education Handbooks, edited by Tanya Fitzgerald (2020) there is a discomfort with recognising the role of Private Adventure Schools. Kay Whitehead (2020, pp.657-658) in her chapter on headmistresses praised Private Adventure Schools as an opportunity for women to establish entrepreneurial businesses in nineteenth-century Australia and calls for greater attention to understanding the value of entrepreneurial schools in providing employment and education to women and girls. However, in the same anthology Susannah Wright (2020, pp.225-241) repeated almost verbatim the description of contemporary detractors, Dennis (1969) and Rallison (1934). Despite using Gardner (1984) as her source material who specifically challenged the view that working-class private schools were run out of desperation to avoid poverty. The bigger concern however is not that misrepresentations continue but that absence from discussions continues. This is the case for the majority of authors in both the Fitzgerald's handbook (2020) and McCulloch's reader (2005) for the study of education history. This absence is also noticeable, as of 2020, in the key journals *History of Education*, *Pedagogica Historica*, *Past & Present* and the *Oxford Review of Education*. Indeed, McCulloch's 150-year reflection on the 1870 Education Act which promises to be a benchmark for future studies of the Act talks about a school choice and a late nineteenth-century 'unexpected upturn in private school attendance' in the US but there is no consideration that the same upturn occurred in the UK (McCulloch, 2020, pp.528-529).

3.4 HISTORICAL METHODS

REGIONAL CASE-STUDY

The objective of this research is to observe the educational change in both rural and urban areas in England following the introduction of the 1870 Education Act. A regional case study provides the appropriate scale for a doctoral thesis. The demographic and geographic diversity of Northumberland provides both rural and urban spaces while the chronological period of 1869-1889 allows some evaluation of discussions leading up to the 1870 Education Act and the 1891 Education Act which made education free. Alternatives to a regional case study for this topic may include micro-histories of key individuals or a big-data quantitative national survey. A regional-case study however provides a balance of depth and breadth. It also allows the researcher to combine the best qualities of qualitative micro-histories with quantitative surveys and utilise a broader range of materials. Micro-histories and national surveys will, however, be encouraged, as a future iteration of this research and one expected outcome is to guide how such studies could be conducted. Regional histories are not written with the expectation that their findings could be extrapolated to the national unit (Royle et al., 2013, pp.1-4; Reeve and McTominey, 2017) nor should they be written to make an argument towards exceptionalism. They do however add to our understanding of how national policies are received differently in different parts of the country and they should provide a voice for the lived experiences of communities.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research is rooted in a historical methodology utilizing a mixed-methods approach to take advantage of recent progressions in the digitization of sources. Historical methodology, including the history of education, has had a long and rich development (Richardson, 2019, pp.49-56; Marwick, 2001, pp.51-151). The general trend in

historiography however has been to move away from cultural traditions of oral stories towards a more rigorous approach to the use and analysis of literary sources. The majority of historical research continues to use the Rankeian method of corroborating and cross-referencing archival material. However, the development of information technologies and the social sciences has led to innovative uses of mixed methods in historical research (Richardson, 2019, p.59). The history of education lends itself to innovative techniques as it is an interdisciplinary field able to apply both traditional qualitative historical methods and quantitative techniques from the field of education research (Carpentier, 2008). One of the key benefits of the education field is an emphasis on a formal discussion of historical methods as a part of the research design (Tight, 2019, pp.109-120). This includes a reflection on how historical material is to be analysed as new sources are revealed through the data collection period (Tight, 2019, pp. 135-144). By prioritising original archival material historians can add meaningful additions to prior historical consensus or provide a revisionist history that potentially changes the shape of historical and contemporary debates (McCulloch, 2019).

Isaac Gottesman distinguishes between two uses of theory by historians. The first is as a philosophy of history which the researcher must reflect upon, and the second is as an interpretive frame (Gottesman, 2019, p.67, 71-95). An awareness of historical theory is vital when approaching secondary literature to better understand the selection, treatment and interpretation of sources. Gottesman writes 'History is reliant on abstract thought, conceptualizations of the social world that frame all aspects of the inquiry process and the historical narratives created' (Gottesman, 2019, p.71). Effectively, it is impossible to entirely disconnect the historian from the history they write. Allowing data to speak for itself while

maintaining a scepticism of sources and cross-referencing material with both qualitative and quantitative data is the most rigorous method of writing history which is an expression of the past rather than a product of the present (Armstrong, 2003, p.202).

QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

As a mixed-methods study, this research will employ both quantitative data analysis and more conventional qualitative historical analysis. The first phase of the research will be a digitization of school records from Kelly's 1870, 1880 and 1890 trade directories. School sites data will be categorised into type and geographic location. Ordnance survey geographic coordinates will be inferred from street addresses once cross-referenced with digitised historic ordnance survey maps provided by Edina Digimaps. Each school site will be given a unique identification number which will be harmonized across 1870-1890 to track changes. Using GIS software, school sites will be mapped according to type across an open-source ordnance survey base map to ensure coordination projections remain consistent. This will provide the foundation of geospatial analysis in which the distribution of school types will provide a framework to guide historical research. Geospatial analysis will relate to where schools are located across Northumberland, how compact or dispersed school clusters are across the region and how school types across the region changed over time.

Census data for the historic county of Northumberland for 1871, 1881 and 1891 will be processed using statistical software such as SPSS. The key variables will be location, age, gender, occupation, and places of birth. Ages will provide school-age populations across the region. Tracking these figures across at least three census returns will indicate trends of decline or growth. The same is true for the general population increase or decline. The occupational variables will be coded into primary (rural), secondary (manufacturing),

tertiary (services) and quaternary (intellectual/knowledge) occupations. This will indicate the type of economic activities being conducted within the parish and suggest if it is predominantly a rural, peri-urban or urban area. A further breakdown of occupational data into unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled and proprietor status will be used to indicate the general wealth of a parish as a low, medium, or higher income. Where industries are highly represented such as engineering or retail, more detailed sampling of the census data may be taken.

Mapping census data using parochial digital boundaries will provide demographic contexts to school site locations. This will provide an effective framework to cross-reference with historical material. This will be particularly true when the availability of material is limited or when only one qualitative perspective, or voice, has survived. Census data of place-of-birth will be used to observe migrant population distribution in relation to school location. This will add depth to understanding the significance of population increase and cultural change from available quantitative data.

A purely quantitative approach to this research topic would provide a valid response to the research question. The lack of financial data surviving from Private Adventure Schools and the fragmented records surviving from grant-aided schools prohibits a purely qualitative approach. Financial data of school earnings, staff wages and overheads combined with details of school attendance would have allowed a historian to track accurately the impact of the 1870 Education Act, parental choice, and the daily operation of an Adventure School. Such data survives, for the most part, from larger School Board's such as the Newcastle School Board but without consistent data across all schools, a more traditionally qualitative approach utilising archival data remains the most appropriate method for understanding

educational change in the nineteenth century. The value of utilising available quantitative data is in its ability to broaden the scope of the research to the county level, tracking change over a long chronological period and guiding historical investigation.

HISTORICAL DATA ANALYSIS

Parallel to the initial quantitative analysis outlined above will be a search of available historical material at local and national repositories. Archival searches will continue throughout the research period as new search terms and resources are identified from the data. A systematic search strategy for archival material will provide the foundation for the use of conventional historical analysis which will now be discussed.

Primary sources are defined by this study as documents and other physical materials which were produced by individuals or organisations within the period of study or present original data from the period without interference or interpretation. In this instance, the main period of study is 1869-1889 with a broader chronological period of the nineteenth century. Digitized records, including datasets that have been processed into statistical software, can be considered primary sources if they maintain the original format of the source. Photographic reproductions of newspapers and verbatim transcripts of legislation are two examples.

Analysis of primary source beings with a consideration of its authenticity, credibility, representation and meaning (Martin, 2017, p.325). This requires an assessment of material retrieved by archivists to first examine its authenticity in relation to the declared provenance. This includes a physical inspection of the material and an independent conclusion of the material's condition, origin and intention. This assessment will ask what the material is, when it was produced, why it was produced, how the material was produced

and where. If any of these questions cannot be answered then an additional investigation may be required such as an inspection of surrounding material from the same archival accession. An archival assessment includes details of when the material was received by an archive and should provide details of the material's former location and associated material.

Determining the credibility and representation of material involves a closer examination of who produced the material. Questions should be asked about whether the author is writing about events they experienced themselves, as they were experiencing them, or if there was a significant temporal distance. Oral histories have not been used for this research, for example, as there is too great a distance between the research period and possible living descendants of individuals who experienced education in the nineteenth century. School Board reports, school logbooks and council minutes are highly credible documents with clear representation as they contain multiple unique identifiers and were produced soon after the events they recount. Hall's recollections, however, an account of his childhood at the Elswick Works School must be treated with an awareness that little is known about the author, there are no additional sources to corroborate his recollections and he is discussing a topic many years after they occurred.

Finally, evaluating meaning requires assessing the document's intended purpose and audience. Often the purpose and audience of material can appear clear, particularly if it is stated explicitly within a document but it is the role of a historian to acquire broader knowledge to place the material and its producer in context. Historical documents should be evaluated with the understanding that they were produced with potentially multiple purposes and perspectives. The overall value of a primary source lies not in the treatment of archival material as reflections of the truth, but through deductions and inference. Historical

analysis of a source requires evaluation of data from within the material, but it also must take into account the context of the material's production and preservation.

Secondary sources for this study are defined as documents produced through a critical interpretation of archival material or after a digital reformatting of a dataset where choices have been made in the presentation of data. Secondary sources are valuable in offering or drawing attention to specific details. The role of secondary sources is predominantly to express ideas or to present data in a particular fashion. The limitations of these sources are that they are not original documents, and they express the perspective of their authors. It is necessary to go back to the primary sources used within the secondary source, if possible, and evaluate the methodology and treatment of the original data. In some cases, secondary sources may be the only available record of primary sources. This can be the case when archival material has been lost, damaged, or destroyed. In which case the provenance of a source is particularly vital to identify and discuss.

3.5 SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

SEARCH STRATEGY

This research will take advantage of both online and physical archive sites. The quality of online resources has improved significantly since Gardner's study in 1982. The UK Data Archive, established in 2012, provides a source of high-quality big-data sets including digitised census data. The British Newspaper Archive, established in 2011, has become an invaluable resource for searching local and national periodicals. Other online archives provide complementary services and new archives are being created continuously. The wealth of online information puts a greater onus on the researcher to verify the credentials

and authenticity of a resource but the UKData Archive, along with the National Archive search engine 'Discovery' and the British Newspaper Archive are three key online resources for contemporary historical research.

The search strategy for both online and physical archives are essentially the same. A list of key search terms must be created before approaching catalogues. Historians must be aware that in creating, enlarging and curating search term lists they are making choices about the types of material they are hoping to find. The strategy for this research is to approach catalogues with general terms such as 'school', 'education', 'school board'. More detailed search terms will emerge upon evaluating the returns.

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

There are two principal archival repositories for the historic county of Northumberland; Tyne and Wear Archives and Museum Services (TWAM) and Northumberland Record Office at Woodhorn (NRO) which also contains the Newcastle of Society of Antiquities Collections and material from the Berwick Record Office. Beyond these archives however are several smaller organisations archives, special collections, and historic data repositories. These include the special collections of Newcastle, Northumbria, Sunderland and Durham Universities; the local history collections of Newcastle City and North Tyneside Libraries; the archives of the Newcastle Royal Grammar School and material held by the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers and the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. Material is also available from the formal network of local history societies in the region, the Association of Northumberland Local History Societies (ANLHS) and the much larger informal networks of local history societies which have formed in communities across the region with the aid of

social media. These repositories have been consulted and referenced where appropriate, however, not every repository contained relevant or quality material necessary.

NEWSPAPERS AND PRINT MATERIAL

This study makes extensive use of newspaper and print material available from 1869-1889 and beyond. The primary newspapers used for this study include the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle (WC)*, *Newcastle Daily Journal (DJ)* and *Newcastle Daily Chronicle (DC)* but care has been taken to include smaller periodicals with local audiences alongside the larger regional papers with national circulations. The political orientation of editors has been identified and considered. The principal repository for historic newspapers is the British Newspaper Archive, a service operated by the British Library. Microfilm copies of regional papers are accessible at Newcastle City Library. Alternative repositories include microfilm national papers held by Newcastle University Library and Gale Historical Newspapers.

TRADE DIRECTORIES

Trade directories are widely available at public libraries and special collections. There is a wide variety of trade directory publications for Newcastle and Northumberland in the nineteenth century including *Ward*, *Whellan*, *White*, *Whiteheads*, *Robson*, *Richardson*, *Pigot's*, *Mitchel*, *Mackenzie and Dent*, *Ihler* and *Christies*. Each directory provides a unique data set and cross-referencing available directories provides substantial insight into economic, demographic, political, geographic and environmental data. However, only Kelly's *Directory* provides consistent data collection, presentation and availability. For these reasons, Kelly's directories have been cited throughout this study as the primary directory source.

INTEGRATED-CENSUS MICRODATA

The ICeM project provides census data between 1851-1911. The only exception for English data, during the period of study, was 1871 census data. On limited occasions and where necessary, averages were taken from 1861 and 1881 to provide figures for 1871. The ICeM provides a database with 20 key variables and over 100 variables in total for each record across England, Scotland and Wales. The dataset can be used on a county level where downloads do not exceed 1,000,000 records or on a parish level and features coded data for individual census entries with households. The data was held by the UK Data Archive and was compiled with ESRC funding by the University of Essex, University of Leicester, and Find my Past. An anonymised version of the census data is available publicly, online, via the ICeM-Nesstar catalogue while the full dataset is available via special license to accredited researchers. For this study, ICeM data will be accessed for the historic county of Northumberland. The SPSS statistics software package will be used to analyse the datasets along with Microsoft Excel and ArcMap. Formatted data will be presented to the reader in Appendix One, Two and Three. The quantitative survey will be of particular use as context to the historical analysis of archival sources.

CARTOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS

To cartographically place the ICeM data in a geographic context which is vital to place schools in the socio-economic context of the communities they served, digital boundaries which correspond to ICeM data are required. Digital boundaries which correspond to the 1911 census have been provided by CAMPOP, the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. ICeM data and the 1911 CAMPOP boundaries have been used with the understanding that they are accurately harmonised datasets for

census returns 1851-1911. ArcMap 10 is the software package used to analyse and present geographic data.

Additional cartographic data was provided by EDINA, Edinburgh University through the Digimap service. This is an online service that grants access to digitized historic Ordnance Survey maps along with a range of other mapping services. The benefit of Digimap data over conventional archived maps is the clarity of reproduction, availability, and ability to apply digital coordinate projections accurately.

HANSARDS AND LEGISLATIVE DATA

The House of Commons and House of Lords parliamentary debates are recorded 'substantially verbatim', transcribed, and maintained as Hansards by the UK Parliament. Editing of the transcriptions is strictly limited to obvious mistakes and repetitions. Digital copies of sittings, debates and divisions from 1802 are publicly accessible records however incompleteness of online records increases in commonality for earlier years. The Law Library at Newcastle University Law School grants access to a complete collection of physical copies of legislation for the nineteenth century. Digital copies of legislation are accessed through the Thomas Reuters Westlaw repository. The Westlaw repository is not specifically designed for historical research but can provide information such as commentary and active states of law.

INCOMPLETE DATA AND DAMAGED REPOSITORIES

It is the nature of historical research for the historian to work with the possibility of incomplete or missing records. In terms of this research, the limits of physical archival material were compounded by the absence of catalogued sources for known issues such as flooding and unknown issues where the material was absent from the shelves. The

problems posed by the issue of missing archival data has been exacerbated by commercial ancestry research organisations. This affects educational research in particular as school records are of interest and have been digitised behind paywalls with physical records made inaccessible. School logbooks should exist, from 1862 for every school in receipt of government grants yet they do not. In addition, there is a 100-year embargo on school records according to data protection legislation designed to protect living descendants and vulnerable demographics. These records cannot be produced in public search rooms, but questions related to the material can often be answered via paid research applications. The 100-year embargo does not apply to material 1870-1890 however certain archivists still limit access or access to embargoed material. The lifting of the embargo on educational material from the 1870s to the 1970s allowed historians to enrich literature produced for the centenary of the 1870 Education Act. In addition to incomplete data and damaged repositories, the archives at Newcastle Royal Grammar School were in the process of a cataloguing transition with only temporary catalogue numbers available and a small portion of material. The completeness of cataloguing in the larger repositories however should not be assumed and new material may emerge.

COUNCIL MINUTES

The majority of municipal documents for Newcastle and North Tyneside, including School Board committee minutes, are held at Tyne and Wear Archives and Northumberland Archives. Council Minutes however are kept in public libraries along with birth and deaths registrations. Newcastle City Library local history collections contain the fullest set of council minutes and council committee minutes. These documents have not yet been digitized but certain local registration documents have been microfilmed

3.6 STRUCTURE

The structure of this thesis is a product of its position as a history of education incorporating both social-science and historical research methods. The main body of the thesis combines findings and analysis within thematic sections. There are three main parts to the main text which correspond to the three research sub-questions. Each part has three structural sections and within these are three sub-sections that correspond to themes or chronological periods where appropriate. A thematic approach was chosen over a historical narrative structure to explore a broader range of subjects and material. The structure intends to balance quantitative data and qualitative material by allowing the data to identify important themes. The use of datasets, archival material and historical documents to enable thematic analysis roots the study as empirical and inductive.

Part one will be an isolated evaluation of Private Adventure Schools in Northumberland. This will be built primarily on a survey of all schools in Northumberland between 1869-1889 and evaluate the communities the schools are located within. It will then move to analyse the structural impact of the 1870 Education Act to explore how and why Private Adventure Schools declined in number over the period. Three sections will frame an exploration of Private Adventure Schools as diverse, resilient and versatile education provision. Part one will answer the question: What changes and continuities were there in Private Adventure Schools as a response to the 1870 Education Act?

Part two will focus exclusively on Private Adventure Schools in an urban setting. It is anticipated that the majority of Private Adventure Schools will be located in urban areas along with the bulk of Northumberland's education provision. Urban environments were rapidly expanding in this period both economically and demographically. Demographic and

economic datasets will be identified and analysed in cross-reference to qualitative experiences of change of continuity. In particular, the political framework of implementing the 1870 Education Act will be explored with data from the Newcastle School Board. Other industrial and social factors that impacted education will be considered to provide context to the evolution of educational provision. This will allow conclusions to be made on how adaptive Private Adventure Schools were to socio-economic change as well as legislative change. Part two will answer the question: How did urban Private Adventure Schools adapt to political, economic, and social developments 1870-1890?

Finally, part three will explore changes and continuities in rural education. Key themes will be explored as they arise from the analysis of data as in part one and part two. The geography of Northumberland suggests three sections: remote and border educations, education in central agricultural communities and education in mining districts. Part three will answer the question: What role did Private Adventure Schools play across rural Northumberland educational landscapes?

A concluding paragraph will follow which will synthesise the findings and analysis of the sub-research questions and how they apply to answer the overall research question. Concluding remarks will discuss what, if any, findings of the studies can be applied to future education research and contemporary issues in education policy.

4.0 PART ONE

ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATION AND THE 1870 EDUCATION ACT



IMAGE 1: DR. EHRLICH'S RAVENSWORTH TERRACE SCHOOL.

Source: Google, 2020

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter argues that Private Adventure Schools were in communities of various socio-economic backgrounds, including those that are considered low-income. Furthermore, it demonstrates that contrary to prevalent and enduring criticism, these schools were diverse, resilient, and versatile forms of education. Private Adventure Schools were not homogenous. Each school had a unique sense of purpose, personality, and quality. The first section refutes the argument that post-1870, Private Adventure Schools were in a state of decline. In contrast, the data shows that the number of schools increased and continued to adapt to urban change. Census data provides the occupations within the communities around school sites. This allows us to determine the socio-economic backgrounds of catchment areas and communities in which clusters emerged. From this data, we can see that both low and middle-income communities accessed Private Adventure Schools. The diversity of Adventure schools enriched the overall structure of educational provision by providing greater variety and an opportunity to test new forms of learning. This eclecticism of educational perspectives was valued by the thousands of families who attended but was ignored by both local and national governments.

National and Local Government's criticisms of Private Adventure Schools are explored in section two. It will be argued that suppression of Private Adventure Schools was an explicit goal of the 1870 Education Act and the Newcastle School Board bye-laws. The spirit of the 1870 Education Act considered the removal of low-fee Adventure schools a vital part of the process to improve the overall quality of education. A narrative was established during parliamentary debates that Private Adventure Schools were detrimental to improving the quality of education in England and Wales. This narrative was beyond reasonable

objectivity and without rigorous evidence. The Newcastle School Board adopted the narrative and utilized the decline of Private Adventure Schools as a metric for its own success. Furthermore, the narrative was adopted uncritically by historians including the two histories of the Newcastle School Board by Dennis (1969) and Rallison (1934). Unsubstantiated and subjective criticism will be challenged by cross-referencing Board produced material with a broader range of sources.

The third section is an isolated case study of a single private school founded in 1873 by Dr Henry William Ehrlich (1826-1897). Ehrlich was an immigrant from Germany who developed an understanding of English education through work as a language teacher in Grammar schools. Before establishing his school, the Newcastle Modern School, Ehrlich had been hired by James Snape at Newcastle Royal Grammar School. The dramatic retirement of Snape disrupted education in Newcastle and thereby created an opportunity for new schools to develop alternative curriculums. The evidence available for Dr Ehrlich provides insight into a school that made sophisticated curricular and fee structures just a few years after the introduction of the 1870 Education Act. In particular, this case study provides a valuable perspective on critical issues explored later in the thesis, including the role of international migrants in providing alternative educational provision, the role of transportation in increasing access to education and how private education responded positively to socio-economic change.

4.2 DIVERSITY: 'A BEAUTIFUL TREE' OF PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS

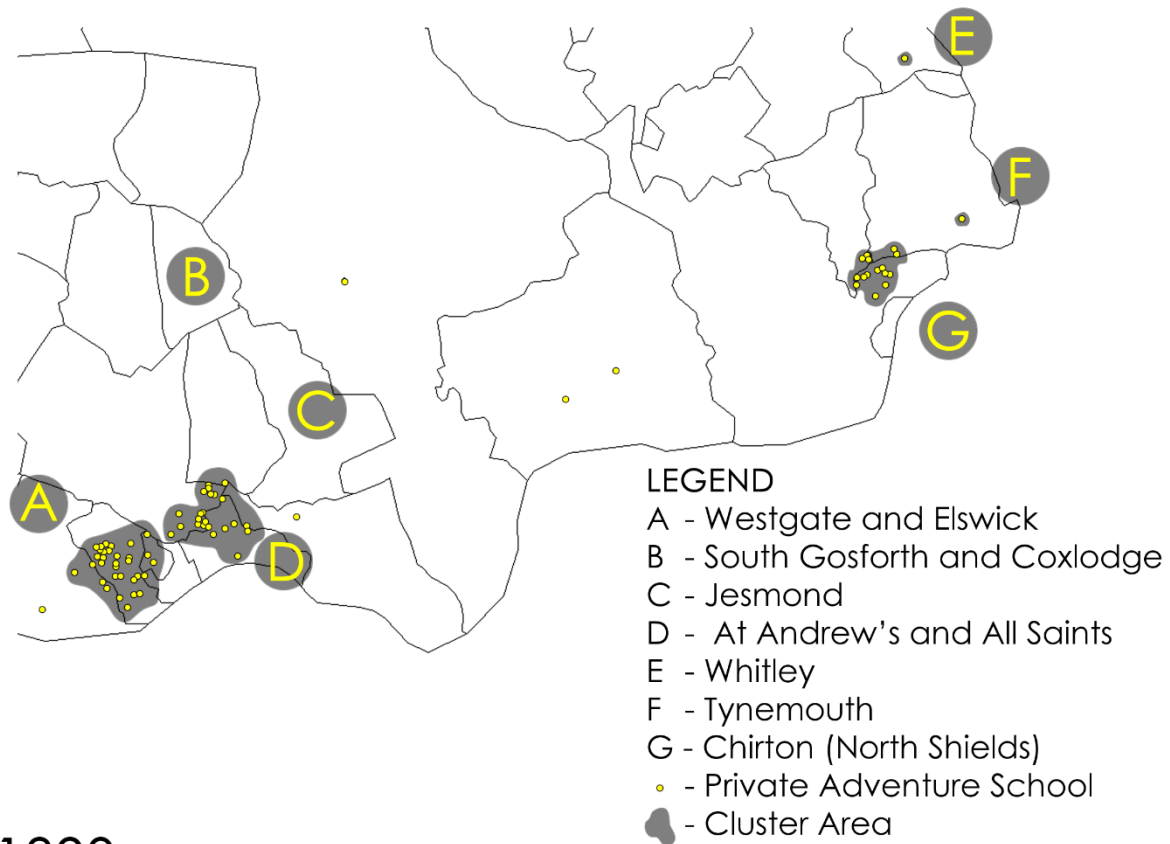
4.2.1 CLUSTER GROWTH

Between 1870 and 1890 seven distinct clusters of Private Adventure Schools existed in Northumberland, all of which were in the Eastern Region. These clusters demonstrate the enduring success of Private Adventure Schools. This section evidences the growth of the clusters before exploring the level of diversity within them. The argument made here is that not only did the number of schools grow after the 1870 Education Act but the homogenous descriptions prevalent at the time were inaccurate. The presentation of three maps from 1870, 1880 and 1890 shows the development of clusters visually (for full visualisation of school locations across Northumberland, see Appendix One). This is followed by an exploration of indicative occupations and the built environment within the clusters where Private Adventure Schools were located. Finally, we will look at some examples of these schools to demonstrate the variety of school structures and provisions, and how these schools were linked to employment opportunities. These clusters, mapped out in Map 1 below, are defined as follows:

Table 1: Private Adventure School Clusters A-G with Corresponding Parishes

Parishes (Cluster)	Number of Private Adventure Schools		
	1870	1880	1890
Westgate and Elswick (A)	28	25	25
South Gosforth and Coxlodge (B)	0	2	6
Jesmond (C)	1	4	11
St Andrews & All Saints (D)	22	12	4
Whitley (E)	1	1	5
Tynemouth (F)	3	4	4
Chirton (G)	10	6	10
TOTAL	65	54	65

Source: Kelly's 1873; 1880; 1890.

MAP 1: PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS IN THE EASTERN REGION 1870 AND 1890**1870****1890**

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries data from Satchell, 2018. Schools data from Kelly's 1873; 1890.

From table 1, we can observe that all of the PAS clusters were found either within or in close proximity to the largest urban populations in Northumberland (Newcastle and North Shields). In cluster A, most schools were found in Westgate, though some schools existed in Elswick. This was the largest cluster by a significant margin. Within this cluster was also located Newcastle Royal Grammar School, which opened its Rye Hill Campus in 1871. Most Private Adventure Schools located in Cluster D were found in St. Andrews parish, with a small minority located on streets within All Saints. Cluster G and Cluster F were present in 1870, both of which could be considered school provision clusters serving the North Shields urban area. Here, the number of schools stayed relatively stable. The most significant area of decline for Private Adventure Schools was in St. Andrews and All Saints.

Parishes such as Gosforth and Jesmond were areas of suburban growth for Newcastle. Middle to higher-income families sought refuge from the industrialising banks of the River Tyne. Tynemouth may also be included in this category, as having a more spacious and cleaner environment than North Shields. The growth of Whitley Bay can be attributed to the increasing number of wealthier residents who commuted via rail to North Shields, Newcastle, or Blyth. Railways also brought visitors to Whitley Bay, for day trips or longer residential periods (Walton, 2000, pp.30-35; Gregory and Henneberg, 2010, p.200). Tourism was firmly established by the 1890s, particularly from Glasgow (Ridley, 1970, p.87) but the area was also popular as a health retreat and place of retirement (Barke, 2015, p.65).

The map above presents the development of clusters across the Eastern Region in a visual way. It is possible to identify Private Adventure Schools existing in isolation outside of these clusters. A cluster has been defined here as a group of 3 or more schools within proximity to one another. It is also possible to observe that those schools within Chirton

parish are highly concentrated in an area above North Shields. Tynemouth has been identified as a unique cluster due to its distance from North Shields. These two urban areas were, and continue to be, connected by regular transportation options and to walk between Tynemouth and North Shields stations would take an average of 30 minutes. From the maps, however, there was a clear independent growth of schools in Tynemouth from North Shields with significant space between the two. From the maps, it is also possible to see the development of Clusters B, C and E as newly emerging between 1870 and 1890 and this is reflective of urban growth and the expansion of suburban areas.

The map shows where Private Adventure Schools were located, but they do not explain where schools were not located but perhaps should have been. For example, in each map, there is a single Private Adventure School in the northern area of Longbenton Parish. This was the location of the villages Longbenton and Benton. Why this did not develop into a cluster of schools as the populations in those areas increased is unclear. There was however a rail connection in both villages which provided passage to either North Shields and Newcastle, or South Gosforth if so desired. In the southern section of Longbenton parish, that part which touched the bank of the River Tyne in the mid-nineteenth century was a large industrial community focused around Walker and Willington Quay.

The absence of Private Adventure Schools in these areas suggests that there are limits to the assumption that these schools were located simply in areas of high populations. A new hypothesis must be made that the location of schools was linked to a specific demographic within the overall population. The maps show that Private Adventure Schools were not linked to shipbuilding. There is a noticeable gap at Walker and Willington Quay where the greatest concentration of shipbuilding was located. The greatest concentration of

Private Adventure Schools, which is in cluster A, was the location of a significant industrial population in 1870, which increased by the 1890s. Westgate on the other hand was an area where workers in more commercial occupations resided. The growth of a cluster in Jesmond, a popular choice for commercial workers such as solicitors, accountants, and clerks, suggests that Private Adventure Schools were more closely associated with the services sector and with middle-income families.

4.2.2 CONTRASTING PUPIL CATCHMENTS

Without direct sources from the majority of Private Adventure Schools, we are restricted to developing our understanding of them by analysing the built environments and demographic data within the school's catchment areas. Appendix Three provides an overview of occupational data for each parish, alongside schools and school-age population. Using census return data, it is possible to apply an estimated average weekly income to a wide range of working-class occupations. It is also possible to determine what level of education might be required for each occupation. Skilled industrial positions could still require apprenticeships of up to seven years in the mid-nineteenth century, though were more commonly shorter (Snell, 1996, p.316) while rural and urban labouring required very little experience or education. By categorizing occupations into industries and the skill of each role it is possible to analyse the socio-economic structure of individual parishes. The variety of occupations within each parish between 1850 and 1890 makes it difficult to quantifiably identify individual urban parishes as predominantly skilled, semi-skilled or low-skilled. Using specific indicative occupations only, it is possible to track changing trends in specific demographics. Table 2 below sets out a matrix of both incomes and education from high to low.

Using the matrix, we can assess whether a cluster of Private Adventure Schools was located within an area where the population was typically better educated, had higher incomes, or where occupations required less education and provided lower incomes. Other key indicative occupations could be used, of course, but the chosen occupations provide a practical spectrum of both occupations and incomes. The employment and domicile of domestic servants, for example, would indicate prosperity for those families that could

afford them. Domestic servants, however, did not always live in-situ. Drapers, grocers and even builders were typically the owners of small to medium-sized businesses. This would place them quite firmly within the middle class. While the census often gave additional information about how many men and boys were employed by a business owner, such information was far from universal across all enumerators. It was not possible, therefore, to distinguish between a business owner who operated a small shop from within their home and the owner of a large chain of shops employing tens of people without looking at each census record.

TABLE 2: INDICATIVE OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	INCOME
DOCTOR	ADVANCED	HIGH
SOLICITOR	ADVANCED	HIGH
ENGINEER	ADVANCED/MODERATE	HIGH/MIDDLE
ACCOUNTANT	ADVANCED/MODERATE	HIGH/MIDDLE
CLERK	MODERATE	MIDDLE
PATTERNMAKER	MODERATE	MIDDLE
MACHINIST	MODERATE/LOW	MIDDLE/LOW
LABOURER	NEGLIGIBLE	LOW

Advanced education denotes both elementary, preparatory and university education. Doctors and articled solicitors were often required to receive formal occupational. Engineers required strong elementary educations and for more advanced positions preparatory schooling. They were not required to have university training but occasionally did. Engineers did, however, require years of occupational training in the form of a preferential apprenticeship. Typically, these occupations would be high paying and highly sought after (Roderick, 1990; Musgrove, 1959).

Moderate education denotes strong elementary and preparatory education, typically leaving school at a later age, up to 16. For occupations such as a patternmaker, a shorter period of elementary education was complemented by a long period of apprenticeship in which an individual would receive occupational training for a specific role. Typically, these occupations would provide a good income with the opportunity for career advancement and higher incomes (Snell, 1996, pp.315-317).

Low to negligible education denotes the absence of a requirement for elementary education. The emphasis on previous experience for such a role would be highly dependent on occupational training. The requirement to read, write and do sums was minimal or absent. Typically, these occupations would be low paid with little opportunity for career advancement or higher incomes. These occupations could also be highly dependent on seasonal work or favourable market conditions. Some employers preferred a lack of education for minimal roles but from the mid-century employers recognised a correlation between basic education and a more reliable workforce (Brown, 1983, p.13).

Of the seven clusters identified between 1870 and 1890 three were in a state of increase, two remained stable, and the two largest clusters were in a state of decline. The two largest clusters, A and D, were constituted of four of the most highly populated Newcastle parishes: Elswick, Westgate, St Andrews, and All Saints. Within these parishes, there was a high concentration of doctors and medical professionals (included as 'tertiary' occupations in Appendix Three). The number of doctors living in the Eastern Region almost doubled between 1851 and 1891 from 99 to 191. Forty doctors lived in St. Andrews in 1851, rising to 46 by 1891, but as a percentage of all doctors, there was a decreased share from 40% to 24% (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891).

In Westgate, the number of doctors increased substantially from 0 to 27. There was also an increase in Elswick from 5 doctors to 11 between 1851 and 1891. Regarding solicitors, there was an increase from 0 to 15 solicitors in Westgate, in St Andrews the number of solicitors briefly increased but as a trend remained 17. There seems, therefore, to be no correlating decrease in doctors and solicitors with the decrease in Private Adventure Schools in St. Andrews. As a percentage share, however, of the total number of doctors and solicitors residing in the Eastern Region, there is a sharp decrease from 53% to 26 % and 34% to 12%. In All Saints, both the number of doctors and solicitors decreased from 12 to 3 and from 6 to 1. The only area of divergence was in Elswick. In this area, the number of doctors increased, but the number of solicitors decreased.

In Gosforth and Coxlodge, and Whitley, there were marginal increases in both doctors and solicitors. In 1851 Whitley had neither doctor nor solicitors as residents but in 1881 there were five solicitors recorded as living in Whitley. In 1891 the census showed three doctors and two solicitors. The numbers for South Gosforth remained relatively low for each, but in Coxlodge, there was an increase from 0 doctors and solicitors in 1851 to seven doctors and eight solicitors returned in the 1891 census. The most dramatic change, however, was in the newly constructed, spacious and leafy suburb of Jesmond. As the area developed, the number of doctors increased from one to fifteen, and the number of solicitors increased from 11 to 47. This represented an increase as a percentage of the total Eastern Region doctors from 1% to 8% and 16% to 29% of solicitors. Jesmond was also popular with engineers, showing an increase from 0% to 15% between 1851-1891. This was the largest concentration of engineers to be found across all the clusters. An increase in

doctors and solicitors seems to have coincided with either an increase or decrease in the number of Private Adventure Schools in that cluster.

With regards to engineers, Jesmond was indeed a popular location. The number of engineers was recorded as 30 in 1891, but engineers seem to be less concentrated than other occupations. 14% resided in Westgate, 10% in St. Andrew but engineers were employed in a variety of capacities throughout Northumberland, lending their skill sets in factories, offices and in rural areas where collieries required their expertise to maintain machinery and operations. Only the Jesmond increase is notable as this area lacked both collieries and factories. Engineers in this parish were living further away from where they were employed. The development of middle-class suburbs and suburban education was in line with national trends for urban centres in the late nineteenth century (Trainor, 2001, pp.673-714)

Across every cluster, and every parish within each cluster, the number of clerks increased. In some areas, dramatically so. As a trend, the growth of the clerks profession was the third-highest of all professions in Newcastle and the fourth highest in Tynemouth between 1851 and 1911 (Barke, 2015, pp.54-55). In Westgate, the number of clerks increased dramatically from just 1 in 1851 to 1,269 in 1891 (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891). In neighbouring Elswick, the increase was almost five-fold, from 105 to 508. This represented an increase from 12% to 37% of the total number of clerks in the Eastern Region. In South Gosforth and Coxlodge, the number of clerks increased from 2 to 178 and in Whitley, the number increased from 5 to 82. In Tynemouth, the increase was from 109 to 353, and in Chirton, the increase was from 8 to 117. In St Andrews and All Saints, the number of clerks remained relatively stable but did experience a moderate increase from 400 to 692.

Despite an increase in the number of clerks, as a percentage of the total, St Andrew saw its share of clerks fall from 25% to 8% and in All Saints, from 22% to just 6% (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891). This meant that the total percentage of clerks in Cluster D, as a whole, decreased from 46% to 14% between 1851 and 91. A relatively similar number of clerks may have lived within this cluster, but it was no longer a centre point for the occupation and Westgate had emerged as the most popular location for clerks to live. Between 1881 to 1901, the death rate per 1000 in Westgate declined from 21.8 to 16.6 while simultaneously the population density increased from 59.5 per acre to 88.3 (Barke, 2001, p.151). This suggests the area was becoming more popular in general but those moving into the area were wealthy enough to afford healthier qualities of life.

We turn now to occupations that required less advanced educations and provided lower incomes. Between 1851 and 1911 there was a steady decline in the number of labourers and domestic servants in Newcastle but an increase of both occupations in Tynemouth (Barke, 2015, pp.54-56). Pattern-makers and machinists were more likely to be found in the manufactories that lined the banks of the River Tyne, but 'labourers' is a broad term that includes agricultural labourers and labourers working in mineral extraction. Only 1% of the Eastern Region's patternmakers, machinists and labourers resided in Jesmond at any point between 1851 and 1891 (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891). Jesmond was an affluent suburb of Newcastle where industrial workers and lower-income families could not afford to live.

There were significantly fewer labourers in areas where Private Adventure Schools increased, but there were significant labouring populations present in areas where Private Adventure Schools had existed before 1870. The number of labourers living in Cluster B in

1891 was 197, an increase from 77 in 1851, but still representative of only 1% of the total labouring population in the Eastern Region (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891). Labourers recorded in All Saints in 1851 numbered 1,646, which then increased to 2,171 labourers by 1891. The largest increase in labourers, however, was in Cluster A. 13% of labourers lived in Westgate by 1891, followed by 7% in Elswick. This represented a combined population of 3,190 labourers. Smaller populations of around 600 labourers each lived in Tynemouth and Chirton, about 4% each. There is little doubt that labourers, who were living on highly restricted and unstable incomes could not afford to pay even a small financial contribution towards the education of their children but it is interesting to note that Private Adventure Schools were located within a relatively short distance to some of the poorest populations. However, new schools located in areas such as Jesmond were a significant distance from labouring populations. If Private Adventure Schools were not specifically targeting higher-income occupations in 1870, it appears that some were doing so by 1891.

Analysis of every street upon which a Private Adventure School was located might provide a level of accuracy about every neighbour to a school, but as we shall see later, even wealthy parents who could afford to send their children via transport to more distant schools still maintained a preference for schools within a 3km radius, up to 6 km. Analysis of individual streets within a 3km radius of a Private Adventure School would return a full spectrum of accommodation and occupations from large estates, to crowded tenements and wealthy proprietors to labourers. Analysis of some streets, however, may illuminate the size and situation of schools and their owners. Larger houses with rooms for servants could accommodate large classes and multiple boarding pupils while smaller accommodation in less affluent areas may suggest smaller enterprises charging smaller fees. Most of the street

view analysis is from Jesmond, an area where Private Schools were growing, St Andrew's and All Saints where schools were decreasing and Whitley, an isolated coastal location.

JESMOND

Fern Avenue was home to three Private Adventure Schools which included two-day schools for boys run by Robert Clay and Wilfrid Sandiland, and a 'Ladies School' run by the sisters Georgina and Mary Bryson. Though there are larger properties on the street and the houses are terraced numbers 13, 52 and 67 which were operating as schools were relatively large and had gardens at the front and rear of the property (Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam 1890, 2020). An advertisement published in 1889 for no. 6 Fern Avenue described the property as having three sitting rooms, two kitchens, six bedrooms, a storeroom, greenhouse, and a bathroom (*NJ*, 4 February 1889, p.1). At the east end of the street is a larger building that is currently in use as an Antiques Centre but was formerly a Co-operative Hall (Kelly's, 1890; Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam, 2020). It was a ten-minute walk from Fern Avenue to either one of the Jesmond train stations. On the west end of the street, which led out onto Osborne Road, there was access to one of the main Newcastle tram routes. Running parallel to Fern Avenue was, and still is, Holly Avenue, where Mrs Corby's school was located, catering exclusively for girls. The two streets could be defined as a middle-income area. Neighbours of the four schools included a Surgeon-dentist, tobacconists, butchers, greengrocers, a provision dealer, and a brewer's agent for the Halfmoon Yard (Kelly's, 1890). A few doors to the left of the school was the regional secretary of the Lancashire Fire & Life Insurance Co., and to the right resided Mr Henry Coates, the Deputy Master of Trinity House, an ancient seafarer's charitable guild which, incidentally, is still in operation.

Eskdale Terrace, which currently provides an entrance to Newcastle Grammar School, was formerly a football ground, tennis courts and an open field between 1880 and 1890 (Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam 1890, 2020). At the north and south corners of Eskdale Terrace were Sunday Schools, which were connected to Jesmond Church. The houses of Eskdale Terrace were commodious, each with gardens looking out onto the second set of tennis courts and a small park. The largest house was at No.1, a corner lot with a large surrounding garden. This was the location of the 'Newcastle Preparatory School for Boys', whose headmaster was J.C Tavner.

In 1881, Dr Henry William Ehrlich had moved his school from Ravensworth Terrace to Park Terrace in Jesmond. Park Terrace is a post-1870 development and formerly an access road to a small reservoir on the outskirts of Newcastle. Park Terrace had only recently been constructed before the school moved. By 1890, the road formed part of a small square of large houses at the rear of the Natural History Museum which was built in the mid-1880s. In the same period, Durham College of Science was being developed only a few hundred metres away. Dr Ehrlich's school was surrounded by open land, with both gardens and open fields at the front and rear.

The remaining Private Adventure Schools in 1890s Jesmond included Benjamin Shaw's on Clayton Road, Miss J. Heylin and Miss R. Spencer's on Jesmond Road, Miss Maria Jones and Mr F. Corder's on Osbourne Road and Mrs M. Smith's school on Sandyford Road. The four roads formed trunk roads into Jesmond along which most of the residential and commercial development occurred north of Newcastle, towards the parish of Gosforth. Osbourne Road was the central road running through Jesmond which initially ran parallel to the NER line before diverting eastwards towards St. George's Church. Jesmond Road and

Sandyford Road both run perpendicular to Osbourne Road with Sandford Road just a few hundred meters south of Jesmond. Both roads join at All Saints Cemetery with Jesmond Road becoming the main northern route between Newcastle and Heaton. The importance of Jesmond Road and the traffic which may have been present even by 1880 is reinforced by the eventual tramway which ran the entire length of Jesmond Road and half of Sandyford Road (Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam 1890, 2020). The section of Osbourne Road which runs between Jesmond Road and Sandyford was the location of the central Jesmond Station. The volume of traffic available to the schools in this area, as well as the transport options available make it difficult to determine who was accessing these schools, but this was an area where houses were terraced less densely, where a conscious effort was being made to either allow each house to have gardens or access to green spaces. We can also see that between 1880 and 1890, the houses being built were generally of larger proportions (Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam 1890, 2020). From an analysis of the streets, this was a middle-income area with some areas considerably affluent. It was also a well-connected area, and for the most part, within short walking distance of Newcastle. Proximity and quality of housing may have made schools on the central trunk roads, accessible and attractive to a broad range of customers.

ST. ANDREWS AND ALL SAINTS

As trade directories show, the number of Private Adventure Schools rapidly decreased in St. Andrews and All Saints. The nature of the schools also shifted from being small and intimate to larger establishments. Ridley Place was home to two schools: Allan's at number 11 and Miss Loraine's at No. 22. Allan's school was relatively new in 1890, but Miss Loraine was only the latest successor in a long line of school owners who had moved sites on several occasions and changed ownership just as many times since the 1850s.

The four schools still operating in 1890 included the Sandyford Academy, located on 1 Nixon Street, which was run by Mr Robert Wilson of Whitley; Sutherland's on Ridley Place; Miss Hudson's on Falconar Street and 'Smart & Co.', the local branch of a large educational company located on Grainger Street. The Sandyford Academy, though older than the schools of Jesmond, benefited from all the residential and infrastructure developments of Jesmond as the nineteenth century progressed.

Falconar Street was relatively new in the 1890s. Located in Shieldfield, the street was in an area with densely packed housing. Between 1880 and 1900 a new railway was built along with a former green space called Pandon Dene and a disused mineshaft. The railway forced the demolition of several large houses around Shieldfield Green which may have once been quite a peaceful, green, and open space, and replaced them with a large goods station. Only a single track exists today and is no longer part of any active route, but in the late-nineteenth century the line would have been very heavy with goods and passenger traffic and the area would have been transformed by the junction at Manors.

Falconar Street faced directly outwards onto the tracks, with the only green space left being Shieldfield Green. The houses on Falconar's street, which remain relatively unchanged today, are quite moderately sized. Each house has a very small front garden and small rear yard, but the size of the houses would have limited the potential school accommodation. No more than a few students, in either a single class or two classes could have been taught.

WHITLEY BAY

Percy Road and Victoria Avenue, the location of Hannah Field's boarding school for girls and Robert Wilson's school for boys, were two of the older terraces built perpendicular

to the coast. The later, Esplanade Road, upon which a Presbyterian Hall was opened in 1895, was much broader and can now accommodate the greater burden of modern car traffic. Percy Road is narrower but could have accommodated some nineteenth-century carriage traffic, but Victoria Avenue is even narrower and has only ever supported pedestrian traffic. Each terrace was supplied with coals via an auxiliary lane at the rear of the properties. The much narrower Victoria Avenue allowed the terraced houses to have extended front facing gardens. Each property also had a small rear garden. Even disregarding modern extensions, which most properties along these roads have added over the years, it is easy to see that the original structure could accommodate up to four bedrooms with additional space for a study or playroom. An advertisement in the *Newcastle Journal* for Coatham House on Percy Road described the property as ‘seven rooms, bathroom and cellar: coach house and stable’ (*NJ*, 14 June 1893, p.2). Until Esplanade Road was developed, two large fields ran parallel on either side of Percy Road and Victoria Avenue. This, is, of course, was in addition to the beaches and parks of Whitley which provided a great deal of open space for residents and visitors.

Neighbours of Mrs Field and Mr Wilson included a provision dealer Robert Dodd, W. Cummins a commercial traveller and a cab proprietor Thomas Scott. At Redcar House on Percy Road, Mrs Eliza Kidd was providing rooms for rent and at Avenue Cottage on Victoria Avenue, James Mackenzie was offering music lessons (Kelly’s, 1890, pp.1137, 1203, 1237). Mackenzie, formerly the choirmaster at Trinity Church, regularly advertised in the local *Shields Daily News* (*SN*, 1 November 1883, p.2). Mackenzie offered lessons in singing, pianoforte, harmonium, and violin for one guinea if the pupil came to him, or one and a half guineas for lessons in the pupil’s home.

In 1892, an advertisement described Field's school as a 'Seaside kindergarten and happy home school for girls' providing a 'thorough education, careful training, moderate charges, delicate and motherless girls lovingly cared for'. Education was provided by both 'Mrs and the Miss Field' suggesting a mother and her daughter operation (*EC*, 27 June 1892, p.1). Robert Wilson's school on Victoria Avenue was run in connection with the 'Sandyford Academy' on Nixon Street, Newcastle. The main school was on Nixon Street, but boarders were housed at Victoria Avenue, and presumably any lessons he provided there were in addition to or took place during school holidays. The Academy was established in 1868 purposefully for entry into commercial professions or as preparatory educations to aid university entrance exams. An advertisement in 1882 offered civil service and law examinations for which pupils would be 'prepared in the shortest time possible= success certain' (*DJ*, 4 July 1882, p.1). The academy marked its 20th year in 1888 by celebrating its alumni's success. Many had gone on to attend Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin and Durham Universities to study medical, scientific, pharmaceutical and legal qualifications. One student had been the recipient of a Jacob Bell Scholarship, an annual award that had been established as a memorial to Jacob Bell upon his death in 1859 and was supported and documented by the Pharmaceutical Society in their academic journal (*DC*, 21 April 1888, p.6).

A school at 5 Bede Terrace was run by Miss Mary Wilson (*EC*, 3 September 1899, p.1). Mary was the daughter of James and Winifred Wilson. James had worked as a solicitor in South Shields until his death in January 1857 aged 63 (*SG*, 13 January 1857, p.1). He was survived by his wife who died aged 93 in 1899. Both mother and daughter lived at 5 Bede Terrace, supporting themselves with the estate left to them by James and by teaching.

4.2.3 ECLECTIC PERSPECTIVES

Contemporary observers often referred to Private Adventure Schools as a homogenous group. This section introduces evidence from local periodicals which offer insight into the significant diversity within and between Private Adventure Schools. Dr W. Hodgson's report regarding a commission into the state of popular education in England was published in 1861 after a two-year investigation. The six-volume report was produced from 'personal observation by men of experience, intelligence and a special aptitude for the task on which they engaged' (*SM*, 12 June 1861, p.7). To be clear, this report was produced by a single stratum of society: well-educated, well-paid men. It is inevitable that their socio-economic background might influence a report based on subjective observations only, and that a single perspective is damaging to the authenticity of any study. Hodgson's remarks on his team's reception by private school owners are telling: 'On the whole, I could not but feel that my visits to private schools at least, were not more welcome than those of the tax-collector' (*SM*, 12 June 1861, p.7). Of teachers, he asserts 'none are too old, too poor, too ignorant, too feeble, too sickly, too unqualified in any or every way to regard themselves, and to be regarded by others, as unfit for school-keeping' (*SM*, 12 June 1861, p.7). Hodgson's fiery assessment of private school teachers goes on to claim that they were:

Consumptive patients in an advanced stage, cripples almost bedridden, persons of at least doubtful temperance, outdoor paupers, men and women of seventy and even eighty years of age, persons who spell badly (mostly women, I grieve to say), who can scarcely write, and who cannot cypher at all; such are some of the teachers, not in remote rural districts, but in the heart of London, the capital of the world (*SM*, 12 June 1861, p.7).

The report was widely published in 1861, informing public opinion and providing evidence for policymakers. Other evidence from 1870 simply does not confirm these

observations. There was a great variety of school structures and school ownership. Below are just a few examples of schools existing within the clusters: Seafield Academy, SMART & Co., Loraine's School, Gordon College and Dr Ehrlich's Newcastle Modern School.

SMART CO.

With its headquarters in London and branches dispersed across major commercial areas, SMART & CO. was a large and ambitious educational company. The company was founded in the mid-1840s at 7 New Street, Covent Garden, London (*AT*, 15 February 1845, p.13). In 1845, an advert in the *Atlas* promised Mr Smart could improve handwriting for any age, in 8 one-hour lessons, in a style that could be adapted to professional pursuits or private correspondence. By 1848, Smart's was offering lessons for ladies in a separate room, to be taught if preferred by 'Mrs Smart' (*MP*, 14 January 1848, p.1). By 1870 there were branches outside London, at Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and in Newcastle. All branches began as shared spaces, in buildings occupied by other businesses. Following the success of SMARTs, more permanent, purposed residences offered a broad range of courses.

The range of courses offered in 1855 was already significant. The company promised short, affordable, flexible courses with guaranteed employment for persons of 'any age, and either sex'. Courses were directly modelled on local employers' needs. Book-keeping, it was said, was based on the practices employed by the government, banking and merchant's office clerks and could be taught in eight one-hour lessons (*BG*, 1 October 1855, p.3). Short-hand was taught 'as written by Gentlemen of the London Press and in only six 'easy' lessons. English grammar, composition, elocution, and arithmetic could be taught as correspondence courses, but the emphasis was on establishing on-site classes and resources. The brand was

so self-assured that each successful pupil received a SMARTS certificate which, it was claimed, would be universally recognised for its 'well-known superiority' and be 'the means of securing first-rate commercial and other engagements' (*BG*, 1 October 1855, p.3). With branches located around the country in major towns and cities, the vision of the 1840s was by 1890 a legitimate possibility. SMART was also quite creative with its advertising. *The Manchester Evening News* ran a story in August 1870 of a bank clerk who had been suspected of forgery after a student of Mr Smart's tried to cash a cheque. The clerk had 'considered it impossible so great a change could be produced in the handwriting in so short a time' (*ME*, 3 August 1870, p.3). All branches advertised profusely in local newspapers, building progressively and collectively to further a national brand.

SMART's schools were restructured as 'Commercial' or 'Business' Academies by 1880, though the company continued to offer its short flexible courses and utilised broad marketing campaigns. A branch of SMART's was opened in Newcastle in the early 1880s, with the use of the Christian Association on Hood Street in the evenings, 3 p.m. to 9 p.m., offering writing, book-keeping and shorthand only (*NJ*, 22 May 1882, p.1). By 1886 however, the Academy had found enough success in Newcastle to open a larger facility at 23 Grainger Street, open from 10:00 to 21:00, and an additional branch in Sunderland (*EC*, 21 August 1886, p.1). Finally, in 1888, with some rebranding, the Newcastle School of Shorthand and Business Training Academy, also known as 'Smart's Commercial Academy', was opened at 42 Grainger Street, with an additional branch at 116 High Street in Sunderland.

The Commercial Academy offered private lessons and classes in shorthand for 5s per quarter in 1888 and rapid courses for handwriting in the Smart's System of Penmanship, at one guinea per term. The Academy also offered 'book-keeping by single and double entry

adapted to the requirements of every kind of businesses' as well as mathematics, English, French and German language lessons (*EC*, 26 December 1888, p.1) with evening classes at 5s. The offer was adapted to local business needs and changes in commercial practices. For example, in 1889, in response to customers enquiring for type-writing instruction and growing use of typewriters by clerks, the Academy hired an experienced teacher to deliver the course (*EC*, 23 March 1889, p.1). Language training was also offered in response to a demand for English merchants seeking to learn European languages, and migrant workers seeking to improve their English. By 1890 the Academy was advertising itself in Newcastle as 'now so well known that employers are continually applying to us for young men qualified to enter at once upon office duties' (*EC*, 13 February 1890, p.1). The focus was still upon educating men in desirable employable skills, but girls were still accepted, albeit in a highly segregated way. Segregation was not unusual but given the attention the Elswick Works school was given to educating girls in commercial skills, it is somewhat surprising that women were not given more priority as a potential market at a commercial academy. The courses offered by SMART & Co to women suggest marketing towards education for pleasure rather than utility:

Ladies wishing to improve their education receive PRIVATE INSTRUCTION daily at any hour from 10 a.m. till 9 p.m. in Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, Shorthand, Spelling, Letter Writing, &c. (*EC*, 17 October 1890, p.1).

The fees were designed to be low-cost to appeal to a larger market. This market included those trying to enter a commercial occupation but lacking family connections or preparatory educations. Entering the market with evening classes only and continuing with a business model which provided evening classes as a distinct service suggests they were

targeting people already in work. It was not uncommon for employees to be offered to an individual on the condition that they would attend night-schools to make up for weaknesses in their childhood education. Equally likely is that SMART & Co allowed individuals on their own enterprise to seek new skills to advance or change their careers. The later addition of day classes suggests a move to provide post-school specialised education, to ease the transition from school to commercial occupations.

SMART's 'unique selling point' of having a national presence, recognisable and respectable certificates, and graduate opportunities of guaranteed employment by 1890 is almost convincing with stories like that of Mr Fred Smart in Manchester. Mr Fred was not a student, alumni, or teacher at Manchester's Smart Academy. In fact, Mr Fred was so fed up of being mistaken for an Academy teacher and being asked for lessons in penmanship, that he eventually paid the *Manchester Courier* to print a notice that he was 'in no way related, nor has he ever been connected with his [Smarts] firm' (MC, 24 September 1892, p.18).

GORDON COLLEGE

Perhaps the most interesting of the Whitley Private Adventure Schools was Gordon College. At first glance, it appeared that the school ended abruptly after only a few short years of operation, but this was only part of a long evolution. The school was first listed in 1890 at 6 Wilfred Terrace, the house of Mr John McNay Remmington, a builder's merchant, and was run by John's daughter, Anne Elizabeth. The Remmington's had moved out by 1896 however, and the house was being advertised to let for £32 (EC, 10 January 1896, p.2). By 1899 the property was registered as the location of 'Whitley and District Laundry' (EC, 22 April 1899, p.1) with little evidence of the Remmington's school. The school had, in fact, moved just a few streets away to Gordon House on Gordon Square, and had subsequently

been rebranded as 'Gordon College'. In 2014 a Heritage Lottery Fund project entitled 'Rockcliffe Remembers' researched the history of the school and found that before the Second World War the school was still operating on strong foundations (Rockcliffe, 2018).

Gordon College never closed. The fact that the building had survived the war and offered such large commodious rooms made it an attractive space to accommodate families who had lost their homes to air raids. The intention was that families would use the school rooms only temporarily until new accommodation could be found, after which the school could reopen. After several years, it was clear that some families considered Gordon College their permanent home. The school was eventually recognised formally as sheltered housing.

Incredibly, the heritage project managed to incorporate a biographical history of one of the last students to attend Gordon College, Dorothy Brant. Mrs Brant (1907-2009) was a political campaigner and the daughter of a Gateshead-based vulcanite roofing salesman. She was employed at the age of 21 in Newcastle as a party-political organiser, eventually serving on the Conservative Women's National Advisory Committee in 1960. At Gordon's College, she would have learned drawing, music, and dancing as well as foreign languages, maths, and geography but her real passion were English lessons (Rockcliffe, 2018).

The school which began at 6 Wilfrid Terrace, and was based upon Miss Remmington's belief in traditional educations for girls, would perhaps have been at odds with Brant's story. Remmington taught subjects that suggest a greater emphasis on domestic employment for women. There were English and maths lessons, but also music, drawing, painting, and dancing and Swedish gymnastics. Swedish gymnastics was a form of open-air exercise consisting of light, gentle movements without equipment. Based on a European movement for Swedish gymnastics in 1800, the practice was seen to be an

acceptably sedate and 'scientific' form of exercise for women that was not strenuous. It was designed to maintain health but prevent any muscle development. It was almost a complete antithesis of Prussian gymnastics, which used fixed apparatus to build strength and endurance. By 1911, Gordon College was a well-known institution along the coast (*NJ*, 16 February 1911, p.6). The school performed 'A Midsummers Night's Dream', a quite demanding Shakespearean play, at St. Oswin's Hall in Tynemouth which was followed by a distribution of prizes to pupils. Present at the performance, along with Miss Remington and her assistant Miss Bailey were three Professors from Armstrong College.

SEAFIELD ACADEMY

At 28 Ridley Place, Newcastle, Mr George Sutherland operated Seafield Academy. Sutherland was a graduate of Classics and Natural History at Aberdeen University (*EC*, 11 April 1888, p.1). The school provided mixed education for boys and girls, evening classes and Saturday classes. Upon request, Sutherland promised to produce references from alumni, current pupils, and parents. In 1890 success stories of past students published in the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* show what professions, or further education, students of Seafield went into after graduation and also how far some students were travelling (*EC*, 18 April 1890, p.3). Annie MacGregor, from 28 North View in Heaton (3km east of the school) graduated as a teacher. Mr Bowes, a printer, graduated from a short course in preparation for a 'Certificate of Proficiency in General Education'. Perhaps the most distant student, however, was Thomas Clayton, from Clayton House in Felling, Gateshead. Clayton went on to study medicine at Glasgow before returning to Newcastle to complete his medical degree. Thomas Wray, who went on to teach at Haydon Bridge Sunday School, was also a Seafield alumnus. In 1889 Wray passed his examination to join the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, now the Royal Pharmaceutical Society (*HC*, 11 May 1889, p.5). Pharmacy,

and sciences, seem to have been a strength of Seafield, despite the decline of the chemical industry in Tyneside. By 1895 Seafield was, in fact, being advertised as operating in connection to Mr Merson's School of Pharmacy on Northumberland Street (*EC*, 12 January 1895, p.2).

One of the more interesting testimonies of Seafield in 1890 was from James Boyd (*EC*, 18 April 1890, p.3). By the age of 13, Boyd had mastered Latin, chemistry, arithmetic and algebra and was preparing for medical examinations in Glasgow. James was the son of Dr James Boyd, a prominent physician who lived at Somerset Place on Elswick Road. Dr Boyd was a well-known figure in the community and had stood for election to the Newcastle Board of Guardians to represent Elswick in April 1889. He lost the election but had received 1,120 votes (*EC*, 12 April 1889, p.4). Sutherland was, in a way, equally playing upon the fame of James' father as he was his academic achievement.

Of the property itself, 28 Ridley Place, we know its final occupant before becoming a school was an elderly lady who had died in 1869 (*NJ*, 28 January 1869, p.4). The property had been advertised for rent in 1864 which suggests the occupant was supplementing her income with a tenant (*DC*, 1864, p.2). It is possible the 'elderly lady' was Miss Quinlan. Quinlan had used the building to teach French and German to ladies (*NJ*, 18 July 1865, p.3). Whether Quinlan had made alterations to the building to better facilitate her school is unknown as it was not advertised as a school building but the space was conducive to a learning space as it attracted Sutherland to lay the foundations of his academy at the property.

LORRAINE'S SCHOOL

Just as buildings may pass from one owner to the next, so too did schools pass from one owner to the next, either through a chosen successor from the faculty or through a sale. One of the longest chains of succession was Loraine's School. Miss Loraine's school offers a scenario for the decline of PAS: forced closure in the event a successor could not be found. Loraine was at least the third owner of a single school for girls which had one tradition, amongst others, of passing the school from one Headmistress to the next. The school would then be advertised under the new Headmistress's name, despite keeping the same property, staff and presumably pupils. The new Headmistress, potentially a former assistant teacher, or a new owner, was then able to make staff changes or change locations. Announcements were made in the local press to declare the succession, thus ensuring continuity.

The question of why the school did not simply adopt a brand name, such as 'SMART & Co.' or Seafield is unclear. Having a brand name rather than a personal name would have made the succession process from one owner to the next far easier, but there were plenty of reasons why an owner would not want to do so. First, the school was both a place of learning and a boarding home for girls. Having the actual name of the headmistress rather than a pseudo name for marketing purposes may have added a level of personal familiarity to foster trust and emphasise an obligation of care for customers. Second, as the cost of advertisements in print increased per word, having both the name of the school and the primary contact as the same may have reduced costs and made it easier for clients to find the school through trade directories. Perhaps the strongest reason, however, is that each new headmistress wanted to stress the trust placed in them as a chosen successor whilst

also making it clear that the school was under new management and changes could be introduced.

When Miss Catherine Loraine, took over in 1875, she was the third owner of a school that had existed for 20 years and had moved location on four occasions. The school was originally founded by the Mather sisters on the 27 July at Eldon Place, Newcastle (*NJ*, 28 July 1855, p.1). The Mathers sisters founded their school, so they claimed, on a reputation for having long experiences in teaching. It is possible that this experience was gathered from working as governesses for local families or working as assistant teachers in other schools. In 1856, the sisters moved the school to 64 Northumberland Street where it would remain until 1866. The reason given for the move was that the rooms were more generously proportioned but the real reason could have been that Eldon Place was the Mathers family home and the sisters wished to establish a school. The move was fortuitous for both the sisters and their students as they were saved from a particularly gruesome experience at 06:00 in November 1860 (*DC*, 22 November 1860, p.2) when the family's 19-year-old domestic servant Elizabeth Nelson was set alight while starting the kitchen fire and their father, Christopher Mather, was unable to save her life.

64 Northumberland Street was divided into several 'teaching apartments' in which boarders were housed in some rooms while others were rented to individual teachers as teaching spaces. Only a year after moving from Eldon Place, Mrs R.H. Archer became the new owner. It is possible that the Mathers sisters continued to teach alongside or beneath Mrs Archer, but it is more likely that they relinquished the property and business to Mrs Archer and allowed her to take control of their clients.

Mrs Archer allowed teaching staff to continue to reside at the school and offer their services independently, in addition to the teaching they provided to her pupils.

Mademoiselle Hershiem, a Parisian woman, resided at No. 64 to teach French but also advertised herself independently. Music lessons were provided by Mr Henri F. Hemy who had been a prominent piano salesman, musician, and author since the mid-1850s. An advert in 1855 showed that he was selling pianos from 70 Northumberland Street and he had written a 70-page book, available for 5s, entitled *Hemy's Royal Modern Piano Forte Tutor* which had a new edition in print (*NJ*, 04 August 1855, p.1). Hemy had left Newcastle at some point in the late 1850s but returned in 1861 with an appointment as a pianist to Lord Ravensworth (*NJ*, 21 March 1862, p.1). In addition to his duties to Lord Ravensworth, Hemy offered himself as a music tutor to schools throughout Newcastle, Gateshead, North and South Shields, Tynemouth, and Hexham. His base, however, in the 60s was a teaching apartment at No. 64 Northumberland Street and he primarily taught the students of Mrs Archer.

The succession from Mrs R.H. Archer to Miss Catherine Loraine was announced in local papers in January 1862 (*NC*, 17 January 1862, p.1). Miss Loraine was well known in Newcastle, particularly amongst Newcastle's social and political elite. Before entering teaching, Miss Loraine had owned a book shop on 23 Mosely Street (*NG*, 5 February 1853, p.1) where she had also offered services in bookbinding and sold stationery. Her clients at Mosely Street would have been wealthy individuals who could afford to purchase books for personal consumption and commercial clients who required ledgers and daybooks to maintain their records. The shop was near St. Nicholas' Church, other commercial properties and the Literary and Philosophical Society, which may have provided a great deal of foot

traffic (Humes, 2018, pp.8-9). Loraine frequently advertised her business. One of her advertisements in 1853 proclaimed that she 'Respectfully returns her most sincere thanks to the nobility, gentry and public in general of Newcastle and surrounding neighbourhood for the distinguished support with which she has been favoured' (*NG*, 5 February 1853, p.1). This suggests either her client base was wealthy or that she aspired to serve that class.

Under Miss Loraine's management, the school continued to grow, eventually moving to Ridley Place in 1868, first to No.22, then on to No.6. On both occasions, the reason cited was to increase the teaching space. Later, the school moved away from a teaching apartments model. Mademoiselle Hershiem and Mr Hemy still provided teaching to the school, but both teachers had found their own accommodation. Hershiem moved into 18 Ridley Place just a few doors away and Mr Hemy stayed on Northumberland Street, moving into No 53 in 1871 then No 50 in 1873, only a few doors away from where he had first established his piano shop in the 1850s. Miss Loraine's final teaching year was 1874, she did not advertise her services at 6 Ridley Place in 1875. This was her final teaching year before she retired from a lengthy literary and educational career. The school was then taken over by Mrs Aisbitt and her daughter, but with little ceremony (*NJ*, 25 July 1874, p.1). The school moved shortly afterwards to 19 Ridley Place before finally closing at some point between 1878 and 1880.

The school which had begun as an enterprise founded by sisters in 1855, closed a little under a quarter of a century later under the management of another family. The emphasis on small ownership moving from one lady to another through personal connections, offering services to the children of friends, acquaintances and similar networks accentuates the communal nature of Private Adventure Schools but also highlights another

aspect for which they have been criticised - namely their supposedly transient model. By assuming that a school only existed for the length of time that it was associated with a single owner, it is easy to miss the points at which a transition is made from one owner to the next in a successor model. This is especially true if, as was often the case, the successor decided to move the schools' physical location to a new address soon after taking ownership. In 25 years, the school outlined above had five different addresses and four different owners, but the process of succession would have allowed pupils to experience a consistent education. This would apply if new school managers had formerly worked as pupil-teachers and external teachers such as Mr Hemy and Madame Hershiem remained in post for the entire life of the school.

SPENCER'S SCHOOL

An advert placed in June 1892 described Spencer's school as a 'Modern School for Girls' with '18 successes at examinations between 1891-1892' (*EC*, 22 June 1892, p.1). Lessons were taught by 'Misses Spencer (daughters of the late Rev. William Spencer, B.A.) assisted by Resident Governesses and Visiting Masters'. In this model, it appears that the daughters of Rev. Spencer, who had been home educated, succeeded him in running the school after he passed away. The daughters had, in fact, inherited a well-known and long-established school. In 1855, Spencer had operated his school at Nos.30 and 32 West Clayton Street as a day and boarding school for pupils preparing for university, public schools, or business. He had received a Bachelor of Arts from St. John's College Cambridge before teaching Classics at the Royal Institution School in Liverpool. Afterwards, he taught mathematics and classics at the Grange School in Bishopwearmouth before establishing his private school in Newcastle. Reverend Spencer's school focused on preparation for university, but by 1855 he had hired a female teacher to run a preparatory department for

pupils under the age of eight (*NJ*, 6 January 1855, p.1). The daughters' school continued to focus on exam results, and the promise of visiting experts demonstrates that their school was intended to be a serious educational institution, continuing their father's legacy. The Spencers had benefited from the education their father had given them to the degree that they were able to make a living from it and exploit the contacts they had made via their father and his peers.

The Spencer sisters advertised their school as offering a modern curriculum (as opposed to the classic Grammar educations) and offered their school to both genders, though it is not clear to what age. By 1892, Ehrlich's Newcastle Modern School had been firmly established in Park Terrace, a very short distance from the Spencers. Ehrlich however, only provided education for boys. It is possible that the sisters had positioned their school to compete with Ehrlich, borrowing from his popular educational offer but fulfilling a gap he was unwilling to step into. The Spencer's also had a resident governess to look after even younger pupils. Ehrlich's policy was to only accept pupils over seven years of age.

4.3 RESILIENCE: EXPERIENCING THE 1870 EDUCATION ACT

4.3.1 AN OPPORTUNITY AND A THREAT

Now that it has been established that entrepreneurial education was not only present in the 1869-1889 period but thriving, we can consider why their survival was so remarkable, given the threats made against them. This section argues that the narrative of Private Adventure Schools in the late-nineteenth century should be one of resilience in the face of a biased political environment rather than failure. Starting with the 1870 Education Act and what it was designed to do it will be argued that Private Adventure Schools should have had legitimate consideration. The evidence put forward to discredit their merit is then contrasted with the market share of total school accommodation they sustained throughout the early School Board period.

The 1870 Elementary Education Act was a key turning point for England and Wales education provision. The Act was intended to satisfy the desires on both sides of an energetic debate but in trying to find a workable compromise, however, the Act naturally fell short of some expectations. The journey from William Forster's first reading of the Elementary Education Bill on the 17 February 1870 to its Royal Assent on the 9 August was long, arduous, and volatile (Hansard, 17 February 1870, vol.199, cc 442; Hansard, 16 June 1870, vol. 202 cc.266-300; Hansard, 23 June 1870, vol. 202 cc.788-850; Maclure, 1965, pp.98-105; Baker, 2001), There was a great feeling of vitality in that, both houses regarded the introduction of an education act as overdue and significant. Though there were feelings of disappointment and hostility to the final Act, the need for educational change was a national issue. William Edward Forster, the man who introduced the Bill, was a Quaker Liberal MP for Bradford (Warren, 2008). His wife, Jane Martha Arnold, was the daughter of

Thomas Arnold and sister to Matthew Arnold. Both Thomas and Matthew were educationalists and reformers. Forster's parents were active in social reform, especially his mother Anna Forster, who campaigned with Elizabeth Fry for prison reform. His uncle Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton MP was a significant figure in the abolitionist movement who had submitted petitions to parliament before successfully seeking election for the Weymouth and Melbome Regis seat in Dorset.

Both the House of Commons and House of Lords were packed for many of the votes. Debates continued across multiple days to allow everyone the opportunity to speak. Forster was clearly in favour of the most comprehensive version of state education, and many of the debates were organised to ensure Forster's full vision for free, compulsory, and high-quality education was not realised. Forster was highly skilled at navigating the Act through parliament (Baker, 2001, pp.229-231). He fully understood that any action he took could have had an equal or greater reaction and thus, sought from the beginning a compromise the full house could agree to and would survive possible changes in government.

The standard procedure of guiding a bill through Parliament is subject to multiple stages. There are a significant number of opportunities for a Bill to be debated, amended or rejected. Most Bills pass through the process of checks and debates calmly, but occasionally Bills attempt to cut through controversial subjects and garner national attention. These Bills are often important pieces of legislation that confront the status quo, force the nation to reflect on its values or establish significant state infrastructure.

The first amendment made to the Act following questions received and answered from the 24 February was to remove public funds from the construction of religious schools. A second reading took place on 18 March after which questions shifted away from purely

financial questions, to how religious instruction would be approached. From 18 March to 21 July questions of denominational education and funding for religious education took precedence. Gladstone and Disraeli led the debate on 16 June (Hansard, 16 June 1870, vol. 202 cc.266-300). Gladstone again addressed the house on 23 June but remarked that the benches were not very crowded, indicating that he felt the issue required sustained interest, but the next day there was a parliamentary vote in which 481 MPs participated (Hansard, 23 June 1870, vol. 202 cc.788-850). Clause by clause the act was combed through with 13 clauses being introduced by MPs at the committee stage.

There is a difference then between the initial spirit of the Act introduced by Forster and the final version of the Act which had survived the full parliamentary procedure. The final Act was a compromise, which introduced state education, protected religious freedom, limited excessive burdens on the ratepayers but established increasing universal access to education in England and Wales as a responsibility of the state.

The key issues which arose during the process were to do with compulsion, regulation and finance. Forster argued that compulsion should be imposed at the discretion of local School Boards (Hansard, 17 February 1870, vol.199, cc 442). The freedom to enforce compulsion was open to School Boards until 1876. Over 40% of School Boards chose to enforce compulsion voluntarily until the 1876 Act expanded such powers. Eventually, the 1880 Act required compulsion. Forster was hesitant to enforce national compulsion because it was not clear at that point what the condition of schools was across the country. A census of schools had not been conducted, and there was a risk that blanket compulsion could force children to attend inefficient schools.

With regards to regulation, Forster wanted school inspectors to have the power to inspect any and every type of provision: 'Whether private or public, whether aided or unaided by government assistance, whether secular or denominational' (Hansard, 17 February 1870, vol.199, cc 442) with the power of inspectors to renew examinations linked to grants at any time. The issuing of certificates of educational standards and school efficiency would not be introduced until 1876. As an indirect method, certificates were an extremely efficient way of enforcing compliance with state regulations. Rather than punishing known institutions, certification deprived both known and unknown institutions of students and established an approved list of schools. Indirect compulsion remained supportive of the voluntary sector as it encouraged parents to send their children to any school but in monitoring, compulsion authorities determined what counted as legitimate attendance. In this regard, indirect compulsion opened the possibility of greater regulation of undesirable schools by designating attendees as truants.

The spirit of the Act was, therefore, supportive of all providers of education, but the structure of the act was directed towards establishing future limitations. One such limitation was the hegemony of Anglican provision. 'Secularisation' did not refer to suppressing or removing religious education, far from it. Secularisation was intended to open educational spaces to all denominations and increase religious freedom. Denominational segregation also prevented the issue of inspector impartiality. A system of having inspectors of the same denomination regulating only their own denominations schools, or being able to inspect schools of opposing denominations, was unpalatable by a broad base. Forster stated that:

It seems to be quite clear, if we approach the subject without any prejudice, that in taking money from the taxpayer to give his children secular education, we have no right to interfere with his feelings as a parent, or to

oblige him to accept for his children religious education to which he objects (Hansard, 17 February 1870, vol.199, cc 442).

The 'conscience clause' provided parents with the right to remove their children from religious instruction if desired. Forster explained the conscience clause in meticulous detail in the first reading of the bill. It was well understood by both the Liberal Party and Conservative party that the issue of religious instruction had obstructed the passage of previous educational reform acts. The concept of a School Board was partially designed to alleviate fears of religious hegemony. School Boards were intended to be representative of the communities they served and provide a full range of perspectives and religious practices. Forster even considered appointing a government representative to each Board to offer guidance (Hansards 17 February 1870, vol 199, col 469-470) but this was ultimately viewed to be too intrusive. There was a great deal of trust in the impartiality of School Boards and the ability of relatively frequent elections to root out and remove prejudice. Though as we shall find, this trust was not to be repaid.

One of the earliest powers the School Board exercised was the ability to use rate income to remit fees or cover the cost of fees for children from impoverished families. Forster was aware that free at the point of use education was a demand being made by the National Education League but was deeply opposed by others. Forster told parliament on the 17 February 'Shall we give up school fees? I know that some earnest friends of education would do that. I at once say that the Government are not prepared to do it' (Hansard 17 February 1870, vol 199, col 469-470). Forster believed that to make education completely free, the burden on both the state and the ratepayer would be crippling.

Why should we relieve the parent from all payments for the education of his child? We come in and help the parents in all possible ways; but, generally

speaking, the enormous majority of them are able, and will continue to be able, to pay those fees (Hansard 17 February 1870, vol 199, col 469-470).

A compromise was reached in how state provision would be funded by a combination of rates, government grants and school fees. Board schools were supposed to be a limited necessity, the cost of which would be absorbed by the state through loans. It was not Forster's intention, however, to create a free system of national education, as he felt that those who could afford to pay, should. Forster also believed the state should only build a school where there was a great necessity. He ensured that School Boards not only had the ability to remit the fees at state-owned schools but could also pay the fees on behalf of parents to voluntary schools.

The method of the School Board paying fees was initially intended to be via a ticket given to the parents to spend at a school of their choice. This voucher system would have supported schools of the parents' choice and given them much greater control of the education market. In turn, parents would have been more empowered as a paying customer rather than a recipient of aid requesting remission from the state and hoping that an approved school had available accommodation. In the initial reading of the Bill Forster outlined his intention:

We also empower the school board to give free tickets to parents who they think really cannot afford to pay for the education of their children; and we take care that those free tickets shall have no stigma of pauperism attached to them (Hansard 17 February 1870, vol 199, col 469-470).

An education ticket, or voucher, would also have allowed parents to provide a new source of revenue to Private Adventure Schools up to a value of 9d per week without compromising independence. Government grants required inspections and meticulous

record-keeping which increased pressures on teachers to ensure pupils performed well in exams and during inspections. The spirit of the 1870 Education Act was to nurture all forms of education, but this contradicted the standards and expectations that had already been firmly established. An indiscriminate system of ticketing and broader support for Private Adventure Schools would have arguably solved the other issues around denominational support.

Private Adventure Schools were secular by nature, accepting pupils of all denominational backgrounds (Gardner, 1982, pp.155-158). A school inspector for Northumberland and Durham expressed such fears as early as 1841. Private schools in the mining areas of Durham and Northumberland 'Must be considered, I fear, in the worst sense of the words, merely secular schools' (Gardner, 1982, p.290) Furthermore, morality was not the priority of teaching in Private Adventure Schools, so issues of denominational access were limited. Parents withdrawing their children from religious instruction would directly affect the income of school owners. Besides not wishing to risk their incomes unnecessarily private school teachers were less likely to have religious training or be subject to prejudicial oversight than many charitable schools were.

If secularism and increased burdens on the ratepayer were the primary concerns during the complex meandering process of progressing the bill from first reading to assent, it is somewhat surprising that Private Adventure Schools did not have a larger and more positive role in the parliamentary debate. The prevailing feeling in both Houses was that Private Adventure Schools offered far below the desired academic and moral standards. No policy for enabling Private Adventure Schools to attain an efficient standard was ever put forward and debated.

The clearest and most articulate statement of the government's position towards Private Adventure Schools, which defined the spirit of the Act, was made by Forster in his opening statement. 'Members will think, I dare say, that I leave out of consideration the unaided schools' (Forster, 1979, p.99). By unaided, Forster was referring directly to Private Adventure Schools which received no government grants and had no association with charities or religious organisation, 'But it so happens- and we cannot blame them for it- that such schools which do not receive Government assistance are, generally speaking, the worst schools' (Hansard 17 February 1870, vol 199, col 469-470). The Act therefore entirely dismissed the role of Private Adventure Schools, particularly those charging below 9d a week, as a legitimate provider of education. The immediate impact of this was their complete absence from a bill that would define the future educational landscape of a major provider of education.

The first tangible consequence of the official adopted misconceptions surrounding Private Adventure Schools was a failure to fully comprehend the educational landscape. In Newcastle, and across other major urban spaces, the role of Private Adventure Schools was underestimated and undeservingly rejected as a legitimate form of education. There is no doubt that some Private Adventure Schools were underperforming in comparison to other schools, but there are wide disparities within all school types. The Newcastle School Board would discover the scale of how many parents were using Private Adventure Schools through their survey and how unshakable these educational preferences would turn out to be in their efforts to stamp them out.

4.3.2 CONCERNS OF QUALITY

The predominant argument made against Private Adventure Schools was that they provided such a sub-standard form of education that the children attending them should be considered uneducated. ‘Nurseries of ignorance’ the Newcastle report went as far as to say they were ‘so foul as to be absolutely repulsive’ (Grigg, 2005, pp.249-250). This section will unravel the arguments made against Private Adventure Schools on the basis that, as a homogenous group, they lacked quality. Private Adventure Schools were thought to be of such low quality and ‘inefficient’ that providing support to raise their standards was dismissed in Forster’s opening statement introducing the Elementary Education Bill. The Newcastle School Board shared the view that unaided schools were beyond salvation.

The view of the Board and government has been shared by several significant educational historians (Hurt, 1979, pp.28-30; Grigg, 2005; Stephens, 1998, pp.12-20; Roderick & Stephens, 1978, p.15-16). Rallison, who wrote on School Board education in Newcastle, said of Private Adventure Schools Teachers ‘Of the educational standards of these teachers there can be little doubt. Many were obliged to teach school to avert starvation and the workhouse’ (Rallison, 1934, p.278). The assertion he is making follows the School Board’s belief that the operators of Private Adventure Schools were teaching out of desperation and were the least desirable people to do so.

We know from the Board’s survey that many schools were providing their owners with significant incomes. If the average school size was 58, and each child was charged 9d per week, then the average income was £2 3s 4d per week. This was an income equivalent to several skilled positions and quite respectable for a man. Many of the teachers, however,

were single women or married women providing an additional income for their families. In this context, £2 a week was much greater than the average female income.

We are also drawn to question Rallison's undervaluation of the skills required to run a school of twelve children or above and whether a parent would be motivated to pay a person without any redeemable characteristics to care for and teach their child. Managing twelve children of a variety of ages requires a skill set, whether it is done with care and due diligence or not. The current government guidelines for childminders is that they cannot have more than six children under the age of eight, of which only three can be under five, with no more than a single one-year-old (DoE, 2017, p.26). This is a modern standard but indicative of the challenges and attention required to care for several children. It is doubtful that a successful enterprise, operating in a competitive market, requiring a skilled workforce could be effectively served by individuals trying desperately to avert starvation.

Rallison supports his argument by providing examples of teachers he has researched. In Winlaton, he writes, a school was 'kept by a miner, who worked on the night shift, and who each morning when he had set lessons dragged off to sleep' (Rallison, 1934, p.276). In Benwell Village 'The Parish Clerk, an old man of 70 or 80 years of age, supplemented his slender wage by keeping a school. He taught the children to read and write for 3d and 4d a week. And there can be little doubt that many of the private schools on Tyneside were of this calibre.' (Rallison, 1934, p.278). Again, the Board's survey which Rallison is using as his source completely refutes that conclusion.

Several married women or older gentlemen may have used teaching as a means of increasing their incomes or supplementing a family income. This would not, however, repudiate the necessity to have the skills required to teach. However, we can look at the

Boards' census to easily see that the majority of schools were operated by women and the average school size would have provided an income capable of supporting a teacher reasonably well in relation to other employment opportunities. Men owned and operated 18 schools, with an average school size of 76. Women-owned 28 schools, with an average size of 40 children. However, we can further break down the female category into married and unmarried women. Married women were highly likely to be providing additional income to their families but may very well have been the primary earner. Unmarried women owned 13 schools with an average size of 50 while married women owned 15 schools but with a smaller average class size of 33. The conclusion we are brought to is that schools may very well have provided a significant income for a family, but differences in school size suggest schools provided a primary income for individuals who were treating their business as a professional occupation and not as a desperate scramble to avoid poverty. Rallison quotes Dr Hodgeson, a councillor in 1850 who affirmed his assessment of teachers. Hodgeson had said teachers in Private Adventure Schools were:

Persons of at least doubtful temperance, outdoor paupers, men and women of seventy and eighty years of age, persons who spell badly (mostly women, I regret to say), who can scarcely write and who cannot sypher at all (Rallison, 1934, p.278).

Hodgeson was correct in asserting that most schools were run by women, but there was no inspection data, no published accurate reports and no systematic testing of teacher's standards. It is possible Hodgeson was correct on all counts, though this is doubtful given the data we have, his position definitively cannot be proven. It is highly unlikely that parents would pay from their hard-earned income for lessons in reading and writing from individuals who could do neither. The overwhelming evidence that schools and

their teachers were providing some measure of quality education can be seen in the fact that 50 schools existed in 1873, providing education for over 3,000 children. It is unclear why Rallison does not question how so many Private Schools existed for prolonged periods, or why thousands of parents were supporting them financially.

A second point raised against the quality of Private Adventure Schools was the lack of certified teachers. Dennis, writing in 1969 on Board era education in Newcastle, quoted a report from the Newcastle School Board to the Department of Education. The report was written by the Board clerk Alfred Goddard during the second Board period in 1875 - the same year the first permanent schools were opened. A visitor to some Private Adventure Schools had found “the proprietors of the schools to be generally kind, respectable and industrious, with a fair amount of intelligence but lacking in qualifications” (Dennis, 1969, p. 130).

A full range of certifications would be introduced in 1876, but in 1875 it had not been a requirement for teachers to hold a teaching qualification, only a *preference*. The Board required their teaching staff to have passed certifications to meet their expectations which were understandable given the use of rate-payer funds. Certificates, however, were not something parents, or the broader public had any involvement in developing. Teaching certification was also something that no Board candidate had referenced in their electoral campaign and there is no clear evidence of a public demand that all teachers should have a certificate. Parents could judge for themselves, in comparing providers, which teachers were efficient or not. In the clearest terms, a certificate of the ability to teach does not guarantee a high-quality teacher.

The requirement for certification in 1876, of teachers and schools, was a weaponized attempt to control parental choice indirectly. They were a necessity, unforeseen in the 1870 Education Act, to prevent parents from choosing schools with ‘unqualified’ teachers over Board schools. To run a prosperous school without formal qualifications, an educator must have proven their ability through tangible results and popular opinion. It is worth noting that most of the teaching in Board schools was in fact carried out by unqualified pupil-teachers. This was a necessity given the size of classes. Teachers in Board schools and larger voluntary schools were reduced to a position of overseeing unqualified pupil teachers, who in turn relied upon the students themselves to teach lessons to younger, less able children. In comparison, Private Adventure School educators had smaller classes and could provide lessons more directly.

A further criticism of the quality of education in Private Adventure Schools was the lack of written records and the poor state of equipment. ‘They kept no proper attendance records, had meagre apparatus, and used old fashioned reading books. The children did their best in reading, their writing and spelling were bad, and their arithmetic utterly worthless’ (Dennis, 1969, p.131). This may well have been the case, but, unsurprisingly, schools with limited financial incomes could not regularly invest in new equipment and resources. However, one simple action on the part of the Board could have addressed the issue. Written into the scheme of education was the provision of supplying school resources to parents at cost price. This offer could have been opened to parents of children attending other schools, or to the owners of Private Adventure Schools. The state would not have been burdened with any additional cost. Again, this solution was not discussed.

With regards to keeping accurate records of student attendance, this was the prerogative of the Board, not the school owner. It is doubtful a school owner would not have kept track of who had paid or not paid their school fees, given that the school was a source of income and not a charity. What was lacking, was attendance data of use to the Board in its reports to the Department of Education. Keeping such records was not a requirement of an unaided school. An unaided school was only obliged to keep records of use to itself. A simple solution would have been to pay schools a negligible fund to supply them with the data they needed and provide training to school owners in maintaining the desired format for records. This option was not discussed.

ACCOMMODATION

In the words of Dennis 'The biggest attack, however, was made on the accommodation' (Dennis, 1969, p.130). These were criticisms of the school structure, the space per child and the built environment around the schools. It is interesting to note that the criticisms against Private School accommodation were made before the Board's permanent schools were opened, and during a time in which temporary schools were overcrowded and entirely inadequate in relation to the Boards' scheme of education standards. Indeed, the original school requirements, as written into the scheme of education developed between 1871 and 1873, were intentionally limited. It was unclear to the Board until the permanent schools opened in 1875, which desired standards were practical and workable. Playgrounds, for example, were desired but not specified.

Gymnastic equipment was desired, but the scheme makes it clear that such equipment is not guaranteed. Without specific regulations, judgements of the school accommodation were subjective, and the lived experiences of inspectors and Board members could be radically different from impoverished neighbourhoods (Hurt, 1979, pp.155-161; Stephens,

1998, p.18). This should not detract from legitimate health and safety concerns but must be kept in mind when reading contemporary opinions. We must also keep in mind that the conditions of school accommodation should be judged in relation to their surrounding built environment. A higher standard for building maintenance would be expected from schools located on wide-open terraces of Jesmond for example than schools serving poorer families amongst the compact streets of Sandgate slums. It is not clear which school is being referred to, or who the observer is, but Dennis quotes one contemporary as saying:

The schools were usually held in crowded and ill-ventilated dwelling houses with no playgrounds. Many shared toilets with neighbouring tenants, other children had to go considerable distances to public conveniences in the town and, in one case, children were expected to use an adjoining field (Dennis, 1969, p.131).

Hygiene, especially as a barrier to girls attending schools, is an issue that is only recently gaining traction around the world. With over half the total number of Private Adventure Schools being run by women, however, it is doubtful that such an important issue was ignored. It is more likely that given a lack of understanding or consideration for female hygiene, voluntary and Board schools which were predominantly managed by male teachers, male school managers, male school inspectors and an all-male school board failed to comprehend the connection. Smaller schools owned by women had fewer requirements for a built toilet block. Larger Private Adventure Schools operated by men may have had significant issues in providing a good standard of toilet facilities. It is possible, however, that smaller female-owned schools, providing education exclusively to girls, offered a more hygienic environment than larger Board schools.

Private Adventure Schools were built on a smaller scale to serve a specific local community, from within the locality they served. The built condition of schools, therefore, reflected the communities in which they were located. The observers, including Dr Hodgeson, represented a different socio-economic background to those school owners providing education to the poorest children. The perspective of the observer, the subjective lens through which they assessed schools, should be kept in mind. A more formal structure of surveying schools, with details of their surrounding areas, would have been preferable. Even more preferable would have been eliciting school owners, parents, and children's perspectives on the quality of the school and its environment.

The living conditions of Newcastle's industrial working class were amongst some of the worst in England. The average life expectancy in Newcastle was 34, which was influenced to a large extent by the high infant mortality rate. Between 1840 and 1906, over 25% of deaths in Newcastle were infants below the age of 1 (Barke, 2001, p.143). Infant mortality was 223:1000 in 1871, decreasing but remaining high in 1881 at 170:1000. To put this into perspective, the World Health Organisation has identified the country with the worst infant mortality rate in 2018 as the Central African Republic which is 85:1000 (World Bank, 2020). Child mortality in Newcastle in 1870 was 56:1000 for 1-4-year-olds and 15:1000 for 5-9-year-olds. Infant and child mortality were just one way of measuring the appalling conditions some of the poorest families were living in. They are indicative of a lack of access to health care, nutrition, and healthy environments.

Another stark indicator of the poor living conditions in Newcastle were the outbreaks of cholera in 1832, 1849 and 1853. Approximately 1,527 people, living mostly in Sandgate and Elswick, died through the consumption of dirty water, poor sanitation and lack

of health care. There was little to indicate sanitary conditions and access to clean water had been improved in Sandgate and Elswick between 1850-1870 (Callcott, 2001, pp.77-81).

Placing the condition of Private Adventure Schools in the context of the communities they served helps to explain why certain amenities may have been lacking. While it is a legitimate request that schools improve their own built environment and facilities, it was an unfair criticism that schools were responsible for the areas around them. The criticism should be directed towards the broader socio-economic issues which had enabled systemic poverty. However, the desire to improve educational environments is commendable, and certainly worthy of support. The solution of the Board was to purchase large areas for school grounds and construct new buildings a safe distance away from the most unhygienic communities. Following the lessons learned by the Ragged School, which had closed and moved further afield from Sandgate after outbreaks of disease, the permanent Board schools were built in cleaner areas. This provided relief for students and safe environments for children, but it did not tackle the underlying problems nor demonstrate any consideration of how to improve schools or their communities existing in such difficult conditions.

THE NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD'S VIEW OF QUALITY

One of the highest educational priorities of the Newcastle School Board was moral education. A significant portion of society in 1870 viewed poverty as a symptom of immorality and believed moral education was a socio-economic solution (West 1996, pp.31-44). Poverty, or the appearance of poverty, may well have been associated with a poor standard of teaching and lack of morality without any further investigation. Priorities for parents, however, were less likely to be morality lessons and bible study but practical skills

and the 3Rs. In seeking apprenticeships children had to demonstrate they could read, write, and understand simple sums. They had to demonstrate an ability to follow instructions, understand their role, and they had to stay healthy. Morality, so far as it extended to following the law and respecting superiors, was something a family could teach. Reading, writing, and arithmetic was more difficult for a parent to teach especially without resources.

In some cases, the Board did explain why they found a school inefficient. They offer glimpses into the superficial impressions the Board held of Private Adventure Schools. The Board only recognised 9 of the 50 schools to be sufficient. Of the nine schools, three were already at risk of slipping into the inefficient category. For example, Byker Hill School run by Mr Kidman was deemed to be overcrowded and would only be classed efficient 'if attendance did not exceed 60' (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.269).

Oversubscription is a consequence of popularity. The School Board was tasked with increasing attendance at schools and increasing school accommodation. The appropriate response to an 'oversubscribed' school is to learn from it and provide resources to increase accommodation. Support could have been given to Mr Kidman without directly providing financial assistance. Improving access to the building, selling resources at cost or providing a knowledge exchange could have had a significantly positive effect.

Carpenters Tower was another large school, located in Sandgate, providing education to the poorest families. It was also in an area with significant migrant populations. The school would be classed as efficient if 'approaches to the school improved' (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.269). Croft Street School, one of the schools controlled by Mr Loten was required to be 'washed and painted, a few maps must be provided, and suitable offices should be erected' (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.269). The above

comments are aesthetic. No comments were made on teaching quality, the curriculum or student success. It is worth repeating that there were no minimum specifications regarding equipment, resources, space per child, standards of teaching or building standards. No guidance, or support in attaining minimum specifications, was ever presented to Private Adventure Schools. For a school owner, the Board's assessment of efficiency must have felt like playing a game without knowing the rules or how to win. Clearly, with 44 of 50 schools being judged inefficient, most schools were at a singular disadvantage from the outset.

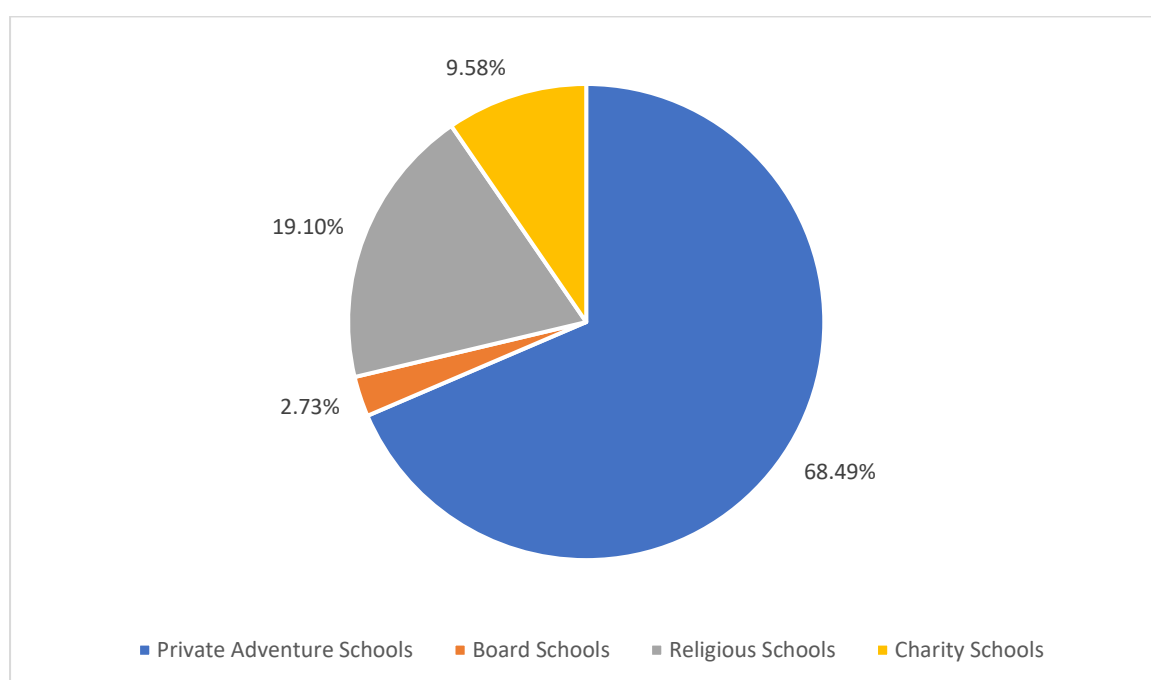
4.3.3 CONCERNS OF QUANTITY

Now that we have reviewed the concerns that were felt nationally over the quality of Private Adventure School, we can turn attention to the second major concern contemporaries had with these schools: their ubiquitous distribution and popularity. The first real test of School Boards across England and Wales was the implementation of a fully comprehensive survey of education in their boroughs. In Newcastle, there were several difficulties with carrying out the census and the conclusions were not accepted by the Department of Education without intense scrutiny and intervention. The final census, however, seems to have undermined the role of Private Adventure Schools. Given the prevalence of both the number of schools and the number of children in attendance, there was far too little discussion or attempts to better understand the role of Private Schools. Even less attention was given to the reason's parents were choosing schools. The Newcastle School Board categorised Private Adventure School attendance as either misguided or mischievous as soon as they had provided an alternative option for parents.

For the census, Newcastle was divided into four School Districts. These districts would later form the basis of attendance and sub-committee jurisdictions. The original divisions, the three dividing lines between the five districts, were based on geographic features rather than the districts themselves being based on demographic data. The River Ouseburn and Ouseburn Valley formed one division, Northumberland and the Great North Road formed another, and Westgate Road provided the third divisional boundary. Each division emanated from the banks of the Tyne and indiscriminately combined areas of wealth and poverty. For example, Jesmond, a wealthy suburb, was grouped within the same district as the slums of Sandgate.

The following graphs present the full extent of the Board survey visually and demonstrate how significant Private Adventure Schools were, charging less than 9d a week between 1871 and 1873. Private Adventure Schools accounted for 68.49% of the total number of schools in Newcastle. The two temporary Board schools accounted for just 2.73%, Religious schools (predominantly Anglican) accounted for 19.17%, and Charity schools accounted for 9.58% (Newcastle School Board, First Report, 1873, p. 119).

FIGURE 1: TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS IN NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE 1873



Newcastle 1873	No. Schools	% of total	No. of Students	% of total
Private Adventure Schools	50	68%	2,871	19%
Board Schools	2	3%	1,403	9%
Religious Schools	14	19%	7,238	47%
Charity Schools	7	10%	3,761	25%

Source: Harlow 2015, p.31; Dennis 1969, p.28-46; Newcastle School Board, First Report, 1873, p.119.

Religious schools (grey) can be broken down into Church Infant Schools, National Schools and smaller chapel-based mixed ages and gender schools. Included in this category are Anglican and denominational schools, including Roman Catholic, Methodist and Jewish

schools. Board schools (orange) were temporary and heavily overcrowded but were eventually superseded and closed by permanent schools. Charity schools (yellow) were, for the most part, secular, but depending on the source of philanthropic funding and the religious preference of the school manager, religion could have a significant presence. The Bath Lane schools, for example, established by John Rutherford, was secular but highly influenced by Rutherford's Presbyterian roots. This category also includes Jubilee School, Dame Allan's charity school, and the Ragged Schools. In many cases, the highest achievers from charity schools were offered scholarships to attend Bruce's Academy, a Private Adventure School (Rallison, 1934, p.30).

Charity schools, like religious schools and Board schools to some extent, were funded by a variety of philanthropic endowments, government grants, community fundraising and fees. Only Private Adventure Schools were prohibited from receiving government aid, gifted donations, or community funds. Instead, they relied entirely on the fees charged to students which were, of necessity, priced to compete with externally funded schools. Another significant factor was the lack of access to preferable funding for capital costs. The School Board, for example, had access to public works loans, repayable over 50 years at preferable rates. Religious schools and charity schools could draw capital funding from philanthropic sources or central national bodies if available. Private Adventure Schools were limited to commercial loans or personal savings. The playing field was inherently skewed.

Private Adventure Schools in 1873 were providing education to 2,871 students, accounting for 18.79% of the total student population (Harlow 2015, p.31; Dennis 1969, p.28-46; Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.119). This was after the introduction of two

temporary Board schools which had 1,403 students on their books. Charity schools were providing education to 3,761 students, just under a quarter of all students. Religious schools had the most significant student populations. With only 19.17% of the total number of schools, religious schools provided education for 47.39% of students.

With regards to average school size in 1873, religious schools had an average size of 517 while charity schools had an average size of 537 and temporary Board schools 705 (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.119; Harlow 2015, p.31; Dennis 1969, p.28-46). In contrast, Private Adventure Schools could provide much smaller class sizes and more personalised education as a result. The average school size, which also translated to class size, was 52.

By district, Private Adventure Schools had a strong presence across Newcastle. No other form of education could claim to have such a ubiquitous impact. In Eastern District A, Private Adventure Schools accounted for 80% of the number of schools and 48.8% of total accommodation (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.119). In Eastern District B the figures were 70% of the number of schools, and 20.5% total accommodation. In the Western District, 74% of schools and 23.9% of accommodation was provided by Private Adventure Schools. Only in the Central District did the share of schools drop below 70% and accommodation account for less than 20%.

Private Adventure Schools provided an alternative to religious schools, to Board standards and the stigma or qualifying characteristics required of charity schools. They also provided relief on rate-payer supporter, or government-aided accommodation demands and were not reliant on raising funds that could never be guaranteed. The size and scale of the Private Adventure School structure enabled them to be adaptable to the provision gap

and responsive to community needs. We know this because they were subject to market conditions and successful across a variety of locations. The small scale of Private Adventure Schools made it possible to move premises depending on need while the number of schools expanded and contracted to meet demand.

The goal of the first census was simply to catch as much data as possible. There was not, at the time, any motivation for the Board to present an argument. It is possible that the Board was motivated to minimise the scale of the education gap to limit the need for urgent intervention. However, it must have been viewed by the church, the Boards' primary competitor, as desirable to better understand the educational landscape and show off its ability to provide significant accommodation. From 1873 onwards, however, as the Board established its permanent schools, more serious questions of impartiality can be raised. The Board needed to demonstrate its effectiveness and make it clear that the education it provided was superior to that of the besmirched Private Adventure Schools.

In the initial Board survey, fifty unaided schools charging less than 9d a week were identified. Only four were found in Eastern District A which covered Byker and Heaton east of the Ouseburn River. Two of those schools were large, accommodating 75 and 80 pupils, operated by two schoolmasters Mr Kidman and Mr Hedley. The other two were smaller, but not insignificant, and run by Miss Bevistock and Mrs Kemp with accommodation for 40 and 30 pupils (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.119; Dennis, 1969, p.28-46). These schools provided access to education for students living in peri-urban spaces around Newcastle. The nearest voluntary school was St. Lawrence's, a Wesleyan School. Children would have to travel over a mile and a half to get to another school. From 80 pupils, Mr Hedley could earn a maximum $(80 \times 9d) / 240 = £3$ per week, which would be the modern equivalent of £320.42 a

week, or £16,661.84 annually. It was perhaps not enough to finance a religious school or Board school but enough to support an individual teacher. The Board would not consider constructing a school for Byker until after 1876 and would not open a temporary school in Byker until 1878, at which point the population had dramatically increased. Schools like Mr Hedley's provided access to education in locations that fell below the radar but were popular within their local communities.

In Eastern District B, there were 14 schools. Most of these schools were in Heaton and on the outskirts of Sandgate. The average school size in this District was 65, but three schools had student populations of over 100. Copland Street school run by Mr Anderson accommodated 127, located in Heaton. Elwicks Lane and Carpenters Tower school, however, were much closer to Sandgate, one of the poorest communities in England and accommodated 143 and 110 students each. Carpenter's Tower school was practically next door to the Royal Jubilee School on New Road, a charity school intended to serve the poorest children in Newcastle. Elwicks Lane school was a few streets away from St. Ann's National School and the Ragged and Industrial School at Gibson Street which did serve the poorest children.

A second curious feature of the schools located in Eastern District B was the existence of a chain of schools operated by Mr Loten. Loten operated a chain of three schools (Croft Street, Carliol Street and Union Street) to a total of 169 pupils. It is possible that these schools were run by family members, but this was not the only chain. Three schools were operated by a Mrs Walton for a combined 75 pupils and a Miss Laws was connected to two schools in the Western District for a combined roll of 214 pupils. Laws schools were located relatively close to the Elswick Works School and other works in Low

Elswick. Whether or not it was a single-family member or sisters, 214 pupils would have provided a maximum income of $(214 \times 9d) / 240 = £8$ per week, the modern equivalent of £854.46 per week or £44,431.92 (BoE, 2020).

This was the maximum income for any single school owner, but of course, any single owner providing education across two locations for such a large number of pupils would have significant overheads. The costs of two sites with associated running costs, as well as the hiring of pupil teachers and a more senior assistant to manage a site would have had a big impact on the income left for Miss Laws. However, the income for Miss Laws would have been far higher than most women could have attained. As an unmarried woman, Miss Laws would have had legal control of her business and her income.

The Central District was defined as existing between Westgate Road and the Great North Road (Dennis, 1969, pp.165-166; Kelly's, 1870). Most schools in this district were located along Westgate Road itself, north of Elswick. It was an affluent area, with a population engaged in commercial activities (ICeM 1871, 2020). Only 12 schools charging less than 9d a week were found here but we know that a larger number of private schools were operating in the same area, including Ehrlich's school. The same is true of Eastern District B (Dennis, 1969, pp.165-166; Kelly's, 1870). The missing schools were either left out of the initial census by human error or they were charging more than 9d a week. It is also possible that areas in which the School Board felt they might need to build a school were given more attention in their door-to-door survey (see Appendix One: 8.1.11-12).

The average school size in the Central District was just 33, the lowest average across the four districts (Dennis, 1969, pp.165-166). The highest school population was 87, at Dame Allan's school. Dame Allan's school itself cannot be readily identified as a Private

Adventure School. It would be quite right to class the school as a Charity school as it had been founded with substantial philanthropic support in 1705, but just as the Royal Grammar School went through changes of management style, curriculum and funding models, Dame Allan's has evolved over its more than 300 years of history. The Board must have felt that the category of Private Adventure School applied to Dame Allan's in the period 1871-73. By removing Dame Allan's, the average school size was 28 students with a range of 12 to 54.

The Western District contained the highest number of Private Adventure Schools charging under 9d just as it was the District containing the highest number of Private Adventure Schools across Northumberland (Dennis, 1969, pp.165-166). The average school size was 68, the highest average across the Districts, over a total of 20 schools serving 1,359. This was a significant number of children attending Private Adventure Schools but was more impressive for the competition offered by other schools. Some of the largest voluntary schools were located within Western District including the Elswick Works school and the Unitary Chapel Schools at Hanover Square. This District was also the site of the first temporary and permanent Board schools. The range in this district was between Mrs Walton's school on Rendal Street for 18 (who may have also owned a school for 33 on Barrack Square and a school for 24 on Blandford Street) and Miss Laws school on Pine Street for 154. The full range was 12 to 154 and the smallest school was run by Miss Binnie on Buckingham Street.

It is important to note that despite the School Board's survey being adopted by the Department for Education, after an intervention to consider a greater number of schools, there remained a discrepancy. This discrepancy was between the total combined number of schools the Board acknowledged which was 73. This figure included the two temporary

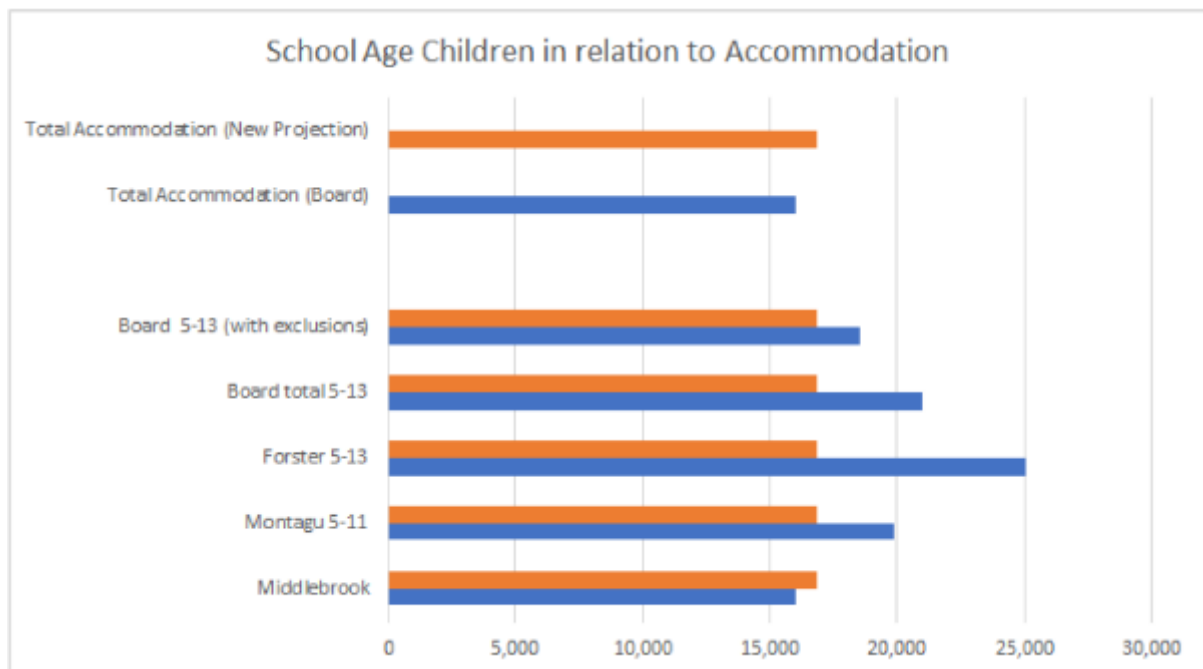
Board schools, voluntary schools, and Private Adventure Schools. The second source was publicly available during the 1870s both in Newcastle and in London. Fourteen different trade directories can be scrutinized used including *Whiteheads, Mitchell, Mackenzie and Dent, Ihler, Pigot, Richardson, Robson, Williams, White, Whellan, Ward, Christies, Kelly and Bulmer* to cross-reference the number of schools present in Newcastle at any point from the eighteen to the twentieth century. By looking at the full range of trade directories, it is possible to arrive at a figure of 87 for the total number of schools in Newcastle.

The average school size of Private Adventure Schools from the 50 schools acknowledged by the Board and counted was 58 (Dennis, 1969, pp.130, 165-166). If there were 14 schools the Board missed, then the total number of students attending Private Adventure Schools can be projected to be 3,701 rather than 2,889 that the Board estimated. Part of understanding the role of Private Adventure Schools in relation to the overall structure of education in Newcastle is evaluating their effect on the attendance gap. The attendance gap was, after all, the primary official goal of the Elementary Education Act and the one unifying issue which enabled reform in 1870. It was understood by groups on all sides of the debate that an attendance gap existed. The disagreements rested on what to do about it and whether the church, state or philanthropically funded schools should take the lead on closing the gap. The role of Private Adventure Schools in filling the gap was either little understood or disregarded as an illegitimate solution (Dennis, 1969, p.130).

To find the gap, one must navigate another point of contention in the education debate. If the gap was between the total number of school-age children, and the school accommodation available to them, then it was necessary to define what 'school-age' was. Lord Robert Montagu 1825-1902 (Norgate, 2004), Forster's predecessor, argued that school-

age was realistically 6 to 11 years of age (Hansard, 17 February 1870, vol 199, cc 442; Hansard, 11 August 1870, vol 203, col 58). He asserted that children below the age of 5 would not be capable of absorbing the kinds of moral lessons that were taught in schools and should instead learn from their parents. He also argued that children over the age of 11, especially from poorer families, would be looking for work or industrial training. If the state prevented the child from finding work from the age of 11, then this could put unnecessary pressure on family incomes and prevent the child from gaining practical skills or experience.

An additional 812 places would be provided by the missing 14 unaccounted Private Adventure Schools, raising the total accommodation projection to 16,839. Middlebrook calculated the total number of school-age children at 16,000, though he is not clear how this figure was reached (Middlebrook, 1950, p.287). Using the National Census for 1871, we have a fairly accurate calculation of 14,630 5 to 9-year-olds and 13,039 10 to 14-year-olds. This provides a total of 19,844 school-age children according to Montagu's definition of 5-11 or 25,058 according to Forster's definition of 5-13. The Newcastle School Board's calculation, however, which was approved by the Department for Education, was 20,964. The Board then excluded children who would be absent from school due to sickness or other causes, which they calculated to be 4,926 children, and arrived at a total 5-13 school-age population in Newcastle of 16,038. The total deficiency the Board found was 2,494. The below graph presents the various calculations for school-age children in Newcastle against the total actual accommodation.

FIGURE 2: SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN IN RELATION TO ACCOMMODATION IN NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

The orange line indicates the total accommodation, 16,082. It is the same figure throughout the graph. The distance between the end of the orange bar and the blue is the deficit. The most striking difference is between the Forster estimate and the Board projection. It is unsurprising in this context why the Department of Education had such a difficult time accepting the Boards' original statistics. There is not, however, such a large difference between the final Board projection and the actual projection. Considering all school-age children, the true school deficit was between 8,219 and 4,125. The Boards' final deficit calculation of 2,494 would be reduced to 1,692. A strong argument could have been made between 1871 and 1873 to support Private Adventure Schools as a cost-effective way to tackle not only the conservative deficit estimate but the more realistic deficit of 4,125.

If every Private Adventure School was given the support to increase their class sizes by just 42, which would have increased the average size up to 100, then an additional 2,688 places would have been created. The burden on the ratepayer would have been negligible and limited to supporting means-tested scholarships and attendance inspections. The only

costs of increasing a school size would have been restricted to capital costs of physical expansion. When considering the costs of land purchases, construction and maintenance associated with permanent Board schools, it was a viable alternative option. It is easy to look back at historical decisions and question why a choice was made. It is reasonable, however, to question why viable options were not explored when all the necessary data was available. Private Adventure Schools were not an unknown phenomenon or a non-viable solution to the Newcastle School Board, but the spirit of the Elementary Education Act reinforced prejudice against them. There was no question of providing support, financial or otherwise and no exploration of the role they could play in closing the gap.

4.4 VERSATILITY: THE NEWCASTLE MODERN SCHOOL

4.4.1 DR. EHRLICH OF ELXLEBEN (1826-1897)

Newcastle Modern School was one of the longest-running, most successful and more disruptive schools to emerge as a Private Adventure School in nineteenth-century Newcastle. The school provides an important case study for a Private Adventure School in the region as it is one of the only such schools from the 1870 to 1900 period for which we have enough evidence. This section cross-references evidence from the school with census data, local periodicals and the archives at the Royal Grammar School.

The school was established in 1871, and after just two successive headmasters, closed its doors for the last time at some point in 1932. The history of the school is entwined with the personal history of its founder, Dr Henry William Ehrlich, and the misfortunes of Newcastle Royal Grammar School. Using newspaper sources and data extracted from an 1879 school prospectus, as well as archival material from the Royal Grammar School, the 1881 census and ordnance survey maps from 1880, it has been possible to explore the life of Ehrlich, the founding of Newcastle Modern School, and capture both the student cohort and financial data for 1879.

The history of Newcastle Modern School is entwined with the personal history of its founder. That founder, being a foreign national, was forced to overcome many obstacles in fulfilling his ambition. His life experiences, however, allowed him to lay the foundations for a school that was unique and expressive of vibrant life and a diligent understanding of education in both his adopted home and former home. Newcastle Modern School became one of the primary competitors to the Royal Grammar School, succeeding in many ways, Dr

Bruce's Percy Street Academy. Indeed, such was the level of the immediate success of the Modern School that the Royal Grammar School was arguably forced to adapt to it.

Dr William Henry Ehrlich was born in Elxleben near Erfurt, Prussia, in 1826 (*HC*, 31 July 1897, p.2), a small town in the region of Thuringia, where Ehrlich attended a Gymnasium, and close to the more famous city of Weimar. Weimar, which was one of the focal points of the German Enlightenment, experienced a revival between 1830-1850 as a centre of music and architecture. Ehrlich went on to attend Halle University, which had a reputation for breaking from traditional German university education in favour of more liberal approaches. This approach emphasised systematic lectures taught by professors but gave students more autonomy over what subjects were studied. Ehrlich graduated with a Bachelor of Arts then moved to Rostock, the same Baltic port which Christian Allhusen and Henry Bölckow had lived and worked less than 20 years previously. Allhusen and Bölckow were both instrumental in the foundation of Middlesbrough.

Ehrlich received his PhD in 1846 from the University of Rostock and left Germany as a political refugee (*HC*, 31 July 1897, p.2). As a liberal republican living in an emerging autocratic country, Ehrlich was on the wrong side of a political movement that would eventually lead to the 1848 German revolution (Roberts, 1996, pp.402-405). One major cause of the revolution was an economic depression: the culmination of poor harvests and urban unemployment from industrial stagnation in the 1840s. At the same time, however, ideas were forming about the future of a unified Germany and whether the unification should be dominated by a single hegemonic power such as Austria or Prussia, or if a different approach could be taken in which all states had a single currency, free movement of people and goods and security agreements but remained autonomous. Ehrlich's vision

was of a liberal unified German Republic and a more integrated democratic Europe which spoke strongly to Liberals and Radicals in Newcastle, particularly to Joseph Cowen Junior (Allen, 2007, pp.40-44, 51).

Despite living in Rostock, a close trading partner with Newcastle, Ehrlich took the long road to his destination (*HC*, 31 July 1897, p.2). After five years of tutoring in France, he found employment as a tutor in French and German at a school in Hertfordshire. It was at this school, in 1854 that Dr Ehrlich took and passed his examination from the College of Preceptors and received a certificate in teaching modern foreign languages. The certificate awarded was, in fact, a first-class, which could only be awarded to the most successful candidates. One year later he was again awarded a certificate by the College of Preceptors, but this time in Latin. With nationally recognised teaching qualifications, Ehrlich was able to seek new opportunities which included a professorship at Stockton High School. While living at 16 Church Row, Stockton on Tees, Ehrlich was teaching French and German simultaneously at Gainford Academy, Bath House Academy, Miss Whitfield's Seminary, Norton and in Hartlepool but seeking to move (*NJ*, 31 January 1857, p.1). Dr Ehrlich moved to Newcastle in 1860 where he taught at Newcastle Royal Grammar School under Dr Snape and in Sunderland as a visiting professor to multiple schools (*HC*, 31 July 1897, p.2). Ehrlich also taught privately across the same region, establishing for himself a broad *alumnus* and a reputation amongst wealthy and middle-income families for excellence. Teaching at a variety of schools across the region exposed him to a broad range of school structures, teaching systems and parental connections. During this time, he was also looking at gaps in local education provision and applying this knowledge in establishing his first Private Adventure School at 40 Westmorland Terrace in 1861 (*NG*, 20 July 1861, p.1).

In 1864 an advertisement for Ehrlich's Private school showed that he was offering to teach French, German, Italian, Latin, and Greek at his Westgate home and No. 16 Holmeside, Sunderland. By this time, he could claim to have had former pupils passing exams at Durham University, and he included in these testimonials pupils he had taught at the Royal Grammar School and Mr Wood's School in Sunderland. The years between 1860 and 64 were formative for Ehrlich, in terms of developing his personal and professional reputation and yet, in March 1864, he wrote several articles in the *Newcastle Daily Journal* and took to the public stage to make an unpopular argument (DJ, 28 March 1864, p.2; DJ, 29 March 1864, p.2). Pushing through a packed pro-Danish audience, Ehrlich took a stand against many who would be considered members of Tyneside's social and political elite (WC, 2 April 1864, p.8). Besides directly sparring with Sir John Fife and Rev. J. Jeffreys, several high-profile and influential individuals were present at the meeting including the mayors of Newcastle and Gateshead, Hugh Taylor, Ralph Carr, Captain Blackett, and Charles Hammond. His argument was greeted by loud, angry jeering, hisses and calls to remove him from the stage with shouts of 'no! no!'. The argument was sophisticated and perhaps lost on the audience, given their mood. Ehrlich opposed Prussia and Austria, but if the people of Schleswig-Holstein were given a vote of self-determination, they might very well wish to become a part of Germany. It was unlikely, Ehrlich claimed, that the people of Schleswig would vote to remain in Denmark, or that they would vote for independence, but if that were the result, it should be respected. 'Why have a war?' Ehrlich was asking, and why frame their debate as either being on the side of Denmark or Germany, surely, they should prioritise the wishes of Schleswig people (WC, 2 April 1864, p.8).

If the argument was lost on the majority of the audience, it was not lost on Joseph Cowen Jr. Ehrlich had, in Cowen's eyes, inserted himself into a much more profound debate, that of Irish Home rule (*DJ*, 31 March 1864, p.3). When Cowen rose to speak, he began by thanking Ehrlich directly for his contribution, politely disagreeing on some of his points, then went on to say that he took 'the case of Ireland as it was parallel with that of Schleswig' (*DJ*, 31 March 1864, p.3). That there was as much dissatisfaction in Ireland as there was in Schleswig. If the people of Schleswig were to be given a vote, then why not Ireland? For standing up and defending his position, and against such a hostile crowd, Ehrlich had gained respect from Joseph Cowen Jnr and the Liberals. Ehrlich had identified himself as a liberal who was confident enough to make and defend liberal ideas publicly against a hostile crowd. He had shone a spotlight on himself, and despite temporarily alienating himself from some of his peers, he had given himself a significant public profile. In 1870 Ehrlich joined Cowen on a platform at the Newcastle Lecture Room for a public meeting in support of the French Republic and against Prussia's 'long career of aggression and aggrandisement' (*EC*, 10 September 1870, p.7).

Mrs Ehrlich was first mentioned publicly on the 2 of April 1864, the same Saturday in which news of her husband's electrifying speech to Newcastle Lecture Hall on the Danish Question was reported. It is not difficult to imagine that public interest in Mrs Ehrlich's personal life was motivated by a demand to know more about the Grammar Schools' controversial language teacher. The incident involved an overcharge of Mrs Ehrlich for a cab ride to her home, which resulted in a violent altercation and a 5s fine (*NG*, 2 April 1864, p.8). Six years later Mrs Ehrlich is a leading figure in a collection organised by a large group of women in aid of French and German soldiers involved in the Franco-Prussian war (*NJ*, 22

August 1870, p.2; Price, 2000, pp.219-225). Amongst the names of ladies assisting Mrs Ehrlich are several prominent Private School owners including Miss Mathers, Miss Arundale and the wife of perhaps the most prominent Newcastle educational reformer, Mrs Rutherford. Dr Ehrlich may well have taught languages at these Private Adventure Schools, but in either case, it is not a stretch to imagine that the owners of such a school, being in the same occupation, may have formed both social and professional relationships. However, the role of a language teacher, who traditionally circulated between several schools, may not have been viewed as an adversary. Both Dr and Mrs Ehrlich may not have required subterfuge to gain a greater understanding of the education market in Newcastle.

4.4.2 FOUNDATION AND GROWTH: 1873-1879

Now that we have explored the extraordinary early career of Dr Ehrlich we can turn our attention to the enduring private school he established in Newcastle. At the age of 47, twelve years after arriving in Newcastle and with 19 years experience, Dr Ehrlich made his move to establish the Newcastle Modern School on the 8 August 1873, at Ravensworth Terrace. For two years he was joined in partnership by Mr Malloch, a former teacher at the Royal Grammar School where Ehrlich had previously taught. Together they formed an article of association and recruited a range of teachers and supporting staff to complement the subjects they would teach themselves. In 1875 Mr Malloch left the venture to form the Newcastle Commercial School with James Easton (*NC*, 22 July 1870, p.1). Like Malloch, Easton had been a former assistant to Snape at the Royal Grammar School and had been employed by Ehrlich (*DC*, 07 April 1875, p.1). The dissolved partnership gave Ehrlich full ownership of the school. The school was considerably successful at Ravensworth which allowed Ehrlich to move the school in 1881 to the newly constructed premises at Park Terrace. The *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail* wrote in 1897 that news of Ehrlich's death would be received with 'much regret by thousands in the North of England who passed through his school' (*HM*, 26 July 1897, p.1). Unfortunately, his wife died in 1888, and despite remarrying in 1891, Dr Ehrlich never had any children (*HC*, 31 July 1897, p.2). The school was therefore passed, not to a family member, but to a new Headmaster, J.R. Sisling (*DC*, 10 September 1897, p.3).

The gap in the market which Ehrlich had identified in the late 1860s was a desire by the middle classes for more modern school provision. Newcastle council had intended to reorganise the Royal Grammar school on modern principles when it had moved to Rye Hill -

an intention which was at odds with Rev. Snape's preference for a classical grammar school education. The difference between the two styles is summarised by Badger (1944, pp.62-84): that the Trivium and Quadrivium of classical education would provide a pupil with an understanding of 'knowledge', rather than knowledge in a specific subject. In comparison, Modern education would provide pupils with skills for commercial occupations through modern languages, arithmetic for engineering, geography and broader literature less reliant on Greek or Latin.

One of the key reasons for Snape's departure was the appointment of Reginald Broughton as a second master. This appointment was an intrusion on Snape's authority and intended to move the school away from its Classical curriculum (Mains and Tuck, 1986, p.115). The nature of the departure and the school's financial difficulties allowed Ehrlich to establish a Modern school more rapidly and capture the Royal Grammar School's market. The parents who chose to remain at the Grammar school were happy with the Classical approach, making change all the slower. In 1894 the Newcastle Modern School was advertised simply as 'Dr Ehrlich's' and described as 'a Modern School with a Classical side' (*DC*, 22 August 1894, p.3) suggesting that, in competition with the Royal Grammar School, it was willing to shift its curriculum depending on the prevailing trends. During and after the First World War, Ehrlich's name was removed due to anti-German sentiment and the school reverted to using the 'Newcastle Modern School' for marketing rather than curricular reasons. A satellite school in Gosforth was established during the war named after St. George, the patron saint of England (*NJ*, 25 August 1917, p.3).

As a Private Adventure School, Ehrlich's knowledge of both ancient languages and texts, combined with modern Foreign Languages enabled his Modern School to provide a

sophisticated response to a national debate. In areas where Grammar schools were deemed to be overly classical, private schools could provide a more modern curriculum. Likewise, in areas where Grammar schools had already reformed, Private Schools could provide more traditional education and offer a return to classical structures. Ehrlich was able to compete against the Royal Grammar School on multiple fronts, both with the successful university application to study arts and sciences, as a supplier of highly educated pupils to commercial and engineering apprenticeships, and employable graduates.

Ehrlich's liberal democratic philosophy would possibly have allowed him to exploit another gap in the market. Many of the oldest families in Newcastle and Northumberland had attended Newcastle Royal Grammar School from its medieval foundations. The heritage and prestige of attending the school were undoubted. As a former teacher there, Ehrlich founded the Newcastle Modern School with an intimate knowledge of the Royal Grammar School. He would have also been aware, from long conversations with Dr Snape, of the challenge Dr Bruce's had posed to Snape in his early years as headmaster.

STUDENTS IN 1879

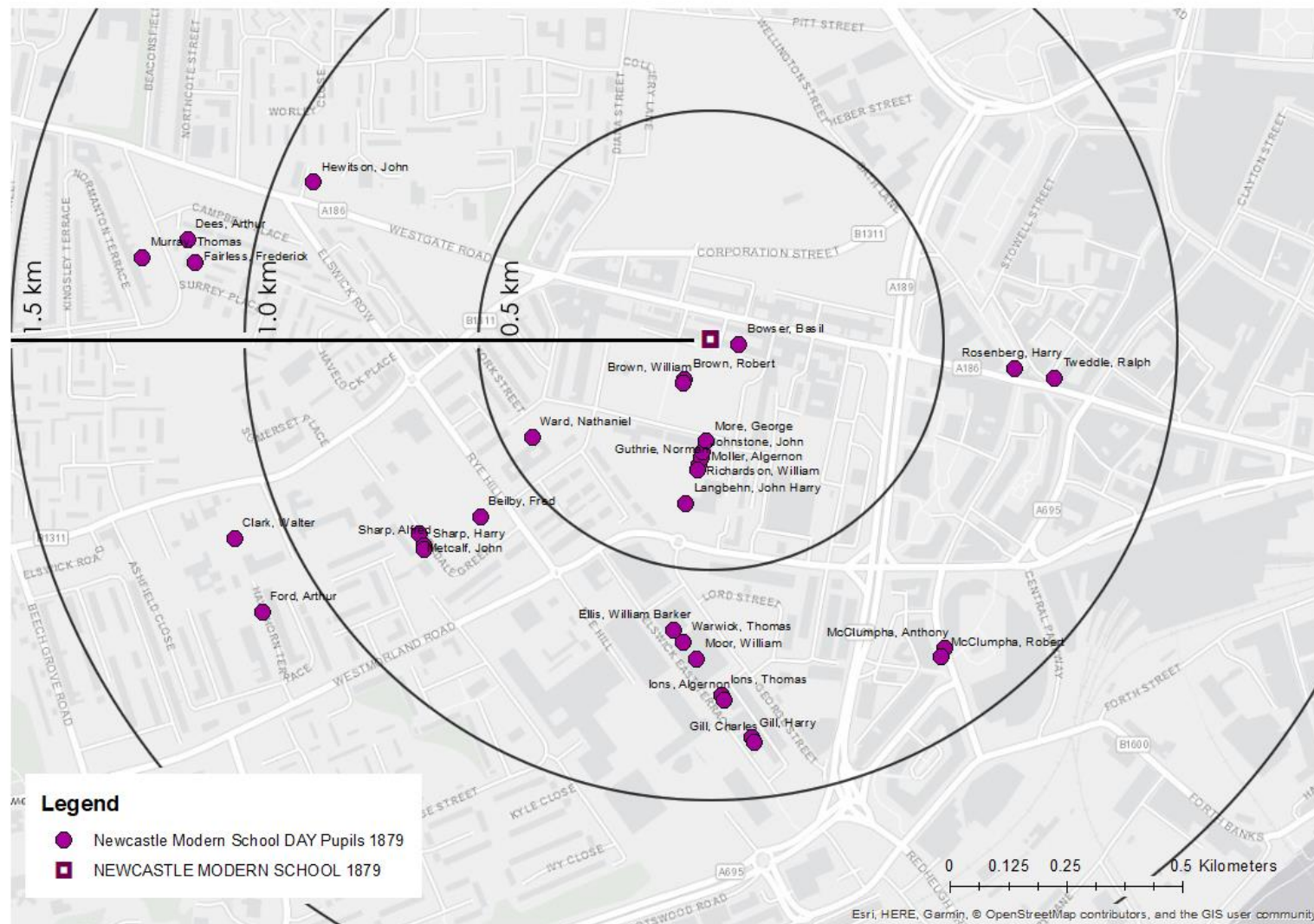
In the 1879 prospectus for the Newcastle Modern School, Ehrlich published not only the fees and curriculum but a magnum opus of school advertising (NLS, CR/21/26). The document was divided into four parts with the first part describing the history of the school and Ehrlich's pedagogy. The second part is a leaderboard, showing every school Ehrlich judged to be his main competitors, with his school quantitatively more successful in the Cambridge Local Examinations and the Durham Local Examination, as well as junior candidates in the Cambridge Local Examinations. These successes were published in local periodicals. The third part is a list of every pupil attending Ehrlich's school in the fourth

quarter of 1879. The message here was that Ehrlich was so confident that every pupil of his, and their parents, would provide a positive testimonial. If this was indeed the case, then the distribution of Ehrlich's 'brand ambassador' pupils could advertise the school across Northumberland and Durham. The fourth and final part of the prospectus is a transparent explanation of prices with the promise that 'no further charges, except for books and stationery' would be paid by a parent (NLS, CR/21/26, p.8).

For the register of pupils in 1879, Ehrlich provided an address, which, when cross-referenced with the 1881 census and Kelly's 1879 Trade Directory for Northumberland and Durham, provide us with the accurate location and parental occupations for 108 of the 110 pupils. This not only gives us more information about the pupils attending Ehrlich's school, such as their age, class size, and socio-economic backgrounds but also shows us the spatial distribution of the pupils attending the school across the region. The map below shows the distribution of Ehrlich's pupils in 1879 except for one boarding pupil whose father was a doctor at New Shildon, near Stockton. The map shows an area that could be equated to the modern Tyne and Wear county. In-set to this map is a focus on the school in its position at Ravensworth Terrace.

MAP 2: THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS AT NEWCASTLE MODERN SCHOOL 1879 (REGIONAL SCALE)

Source: Original map. Ehrlich's 1879 school prospectus, NCA 309/H6/220/1. Basemap OS data © Crown Copyright and database right 2019.

MAP 3: DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS AT NEWCASTLE MODERN SCHOOL 1879 (LOCAL SCALE)

Source: Original map. Ehrlich's 1879 school prospectus, NCA 309/H6/220/1. Basemap OS data © Crown Copyright and database right 2019.

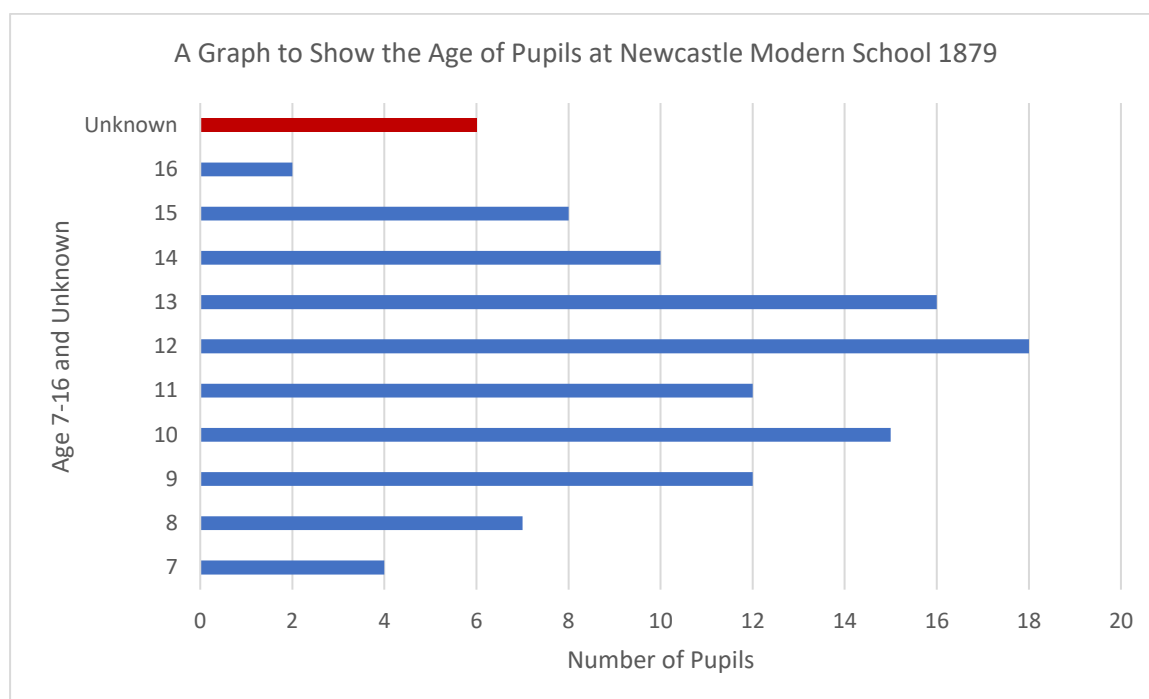
The map demonstrates the distances some pupils travelled, which could be up to 24km, far beyond the maximum catchment area 1870 Elementary Education Act outlined. The distance to Sunderland was 19km by train, with one km of walking between the school and Newcastle Central Station. Chester-Le-Street is a shorter, but still significant distance of 12km by train, with 1 km of walking. Indeed, all the outlier pupil locations visible on the map, including Scotswood, Ryton, North Shields, South Shields Walker and Forest Hall, are notable for having rail access. This seems to be a determining factor in how pupils commuted beyond what may be defined as the 6km 'core area'. It is interesting to note that aside from the pupils journeying from Washington, Ryton and Shildon, the majority of pupils are from areas where Ehrlich had previously worked while teaching at the Royal Grammar School and offering services privately from his home. Demonstrating that the reputation of an individual teacher could trump that of an institution.

Taking the average walking speed of an adult as 5km per hour, then a 3km walk to Ehrlich's for a young adult would be between 30-37 minutes. Within an urban area, this timeframe was both possible and reasonable for the morning, evening, and lunchtime commutes. This same distance in a rural area during this period would be uncommon especially given challenging terrain, agricultural landscapes and dangerous weather. Even so, the use of transportation for Ehrlich's schools within this area was utilised, especially by those from higher socio-economic backgrounds. The largest two clusters of pupils are within a 3km radius of the school on the Newcastle bank of the River Tyne and within a 4km radius towards Gateshead. This would have been a reasonable walking distance for all but the youngest of pupils. The second reason to believe walking distance was an important factor, or at least, the ability to get to the school within 30 minutes, was the school schedule.

Morning classes began at 9:00 but ended at 12:00, and the classes would resume in the afternoon at 14:00 and proceed until 16:30. Ehrlich notes that 'boys from a distance may stay in one of the school-rooms and playgrounds between 12 and 14:00' suggesting that most of the pupils would opt to return home, if possible, for the lunchtime meal. For this to be economical, the walking distance of 4 trips per day may very well have factored into school choice.

A second pattern that emerges is the importance of word-of-mouth. Ehrlich, like many owners of Private Adventure School who could afford to, advertised widely in local newspapers but many of the pupils attending the schools, particularly within the core zone of 3-6Km, came from multiple neighbouring families. In Gateshead, at least eight different families lived either on Bewick Road or a neighbouring street. A similar situation existed in Newcastle around Rye Hill. This feature suggests that while newspaper advertising was an important factor, the most powerful tool for recruitment were parental testimonies spreading positive reviews to their friends, neighbours, and local communities.

The Newcastle Modern School divided its fees into five age categories, but it is unlikely that the classes were divided as such. The school claimed to have seven regular masters with on average 17 boys to each master. In 1879 the ratio was 1:18 due to ten fewer boys than the 119 average attendance claimed but also a vacancy of the seventh teaching position. The age of pupils was as follows:

FIGURE 3: THE AGE OF PUPILS AT NEWCASTLE MODERN SCHOOL 1879

Source: Ehrlich's 1879 school prospectus, NCA 309/H6/220/1

Those pupils for whom the ages are unknown are primarily due to either an error in the recording of address by Ehrlich or a lack of data from both census and trade directory. It is assumed that either the family moved properties on too many occasions between censuses, or that they were boarders during their school years in Newcastle, domiciling in Newcastle for the years between two censuses. It cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. From this graph however we can see that the majority of pupils were studying at Ehrlich's school between the ages of nine and fourteen with a few students staying beyond fourteen for further study, perhaps to take university entrance exams for medical or law courses. Only eleven pupils are below eight which constituted the lower class which Ehrlich claimed allowed younger pupils to attain a more favourable ratio with teachers.

From the 1881 census, we are given a picture of some of the opportunities secured by this cohort after they left the school (ICeM, 2020, 1881). Some, like James Craven,

advanced to public schools such as the Ley's School, an independent school in Cambridge which was founded in 1875 and Nathaniel Ward who advanced to the Ark House School in Oxfordshire. These pupils left Ehrlich at the age of eleven and twelve which supports the idea of Newcastle Modern School being viewed by some parents as a steppingstone to more specific forms of education. Such was the case for William Lawson who left at age twelve to become an apprentice to a jeweller. Lawson's father was also a jeweller, and he had this career in mind but wished to give his son a more holistic education before teaching him a trade.

Another group of 1879 alumni were listed as medical students in 1881. Predictably, they included Albert Davis, son of Robert Davis who was a General Practitioner based in Wrekenton. A total of six doctors were the fathers of students in 1879 (ICeM, 2020, 1881). More notably however is Harbit Brown from Walker. Harbit was an extraordinary student who passed the Cambridge Local Examination, allowing him to pursue his medical studies, to study both law and pharmaceutical courses without any other preliminary examination. Harbit's father was a successful butcher and his brother, Joseph, who was five years his senior and employed as a chemist, seems to have been equally successful academically (ICeM, 2020, 1881).

The most common next step for those leaving Ehrlich's school, and the most typical occupation for the brothers of alumni if they had them, was as a clerk. This was the transitional step into a well-paid occupation as an alternative to an apprenticeship. The age of recruitment was between fourteen and fifteen, and the variations of employment were numerous. George R. Cockburn became a clerk to an engineer, whilst William Ellis was employed as a clerk to a chemist (ICeM, 2020, 1881). Two pupils became clerks to

merchants whilst others were employed by a Shipbrokers and an accountant. It was a junior position that allowed pupils to use their academic skill set to learn the administrative elements of various industries.

The socio-economic background of pupils attending Ehrlich's school was varied and by no means restricted to wealthy individuals. There was, of course, Alfred Milvain, son of Henry Milvain Esq. who occupied North Elswick Hall and was a principal landowner in Benwell as well as a shipowner and manufacturer. Other families had simply found prosperity in an occupation or trade. No single occupation or source of wealth dominates the financial background of parents/guardians. Five fathers were listed as engineers with a further two listed as engine builders, three were listed as builders and five were drapers. Four were managers or foremen of industrial works, and two were butchers. Many seem to either be individuals who had had success in various enterprises, such as John Grisdale, the father of Joseph Grisdale, who had established a building company that employed twelve men. John had been 43 when his only son had been born, the rest of his five children had been daughters, the eldest 25 in 1881. John Reay, the father of Charles Reay, had been fifty-three when he was born. Charles was the son of John and his second wife, Jane. He had one other son George, who worked as a draughtsman at his Sunderland ironworks, which by 1880 was employing fifty men and four boys. Finally, John Dobson Wardale, the father of John Wardale was a forty-four-year-old mechanical engineer and engine builder in 1879. John took the education of his children seriously as not only did he manage to get his eldest son a position as an engineer via apprenticeship, his eldest daughter Martha was listed in 1881 as a student-teacher at the age of 18. John had six children aged between 19 to 10,

three daughters and three sons, who were all in school in 1881. Table 3 presents a breakdown of the occupations of parents and guardians in 1879.

TABLE 3: PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS OF NEWCASTLE MODERN SCHOOL PUPILS IN 1879

OCCUPATION	NO. PARENTS EMPLOYED
Widow	9
Gentleman	1
Commercial Clerk, Accountant, Auctioneer, Architect or Newspaper Editor	6
Manager or Foreman	4
Solicitor	4
Doctor or Medical Practitioner	6
Government official, surveyor, tax collector	2
Agent for; Railway, Estate, or General	5
Chemist, Engineer (Civil, mining, general) or Engine Builder	7
Organist or music teacher	1
Merchant* (Grocer, tea, iron, corn, wine, general, commission), Shipbroker	16
Proprietor* (draper, tailor, forge works, shipowner, butcher, printer, rope manufacturer, nail manufacturer, paint manufacturer, builder, watchmaker, or jeweller)	22

* the distinction between merchant and proprietor is defined as a proprietor owning a business that employs others to produce something, while a merchant may employ others, he is concerned with the trading of goods.

Source: Ehrlich's 1879 school prospectus, NCA 309/H6/220/1; ICeM 2020, 1881.

From the above table it is important to note that while many of the parents may be listed as an employee in the 1871 census, such as the manager of a factory, an engineer, the majority would be considered either an employer or a living by their own means. Newcastle Modern School was not elitist in its selection of pupils from a certain background, but families had to be able to afford tuition fees, the price of books and equipment and the costs of transportation. The goal of parents sending their children to Newcastle Modern School seems to have been primarily to attain for them commercial occupations, with a few exceptional pupils being encouraged to pursue university entrance exams. This seems

evident by the curriculum devised by Ehrlich which mirrored but also deviated from Newcastle Royal Grammar School.

EHRlich'S CURRICULUM

The core subjects of the curriculum included arithmetic, dictation, grammar, mathematics, science, and drawing. In addition, Sergeant Conroy was employed to teach drill and gymnastics, and there were some freedoms to choose specific courses. Thirty-seven boys were said to be studying Algebra and Euclid, which was divided into four classes, while a class of 9 pupils was being taught mechanics. Another class of just nine was learning French, German and Latin together. The smallest class was of 4 boys who had decided to learn Greek.

Perhaps unique to Newcastle Modern School was Ehrlich's focus on foreign languages. This was perhaps his unique selling point, and the basis of the schools' reputation for excellence as Ehrlich's experience and expertise in teaching foreign languages was widely known. This was partly due to his ten years of teaching throughout the Tyne and Wear area and due to his published manual on teaching French. The study of French was obligatory and foundational for all except the lower class of the youngest pupils. Only after becoming adept at French were pupils allowed to advance to other languages, which included German and the Classics. If parents wished to, their children could learn both classics, French and German but initially, the choice was to learn French with German or French with Latin. The classical languages had long been viewed as an entry requirement to universities and the foundation of a grammar school education. Modern Foreign languages, however, had greater value to commercial occupations. Newcastle was both a major

international exporter and importer of goods. French and German were far more useful to employers than Latin or Greek.

FEES

There were no scholarships available to pupils and no discounts other than a sibling discount. For each progressing year, the cost of tuition increased. The justification was that more advanced lessons were taught and more options were available for study. Chemistry, for example, was only taught as an advanced subject to the older forms. The 16+ prices, which were the highest, only applied to those preparing for university exams and most likely, for those resitting exams or requiring one-to-one support. For boarders, the price increased for those staying between 11:00 Saturday to 9:00 Monday. The cost of boarding was also charged by ten-week periods whether or not the full ten weeks were used. Additional fees could be paid for tuition between 18:45 and 21:00. Laundry service was an additional charge, as were daily meals for boarders. Every Day Pupils were also charged 5 shillings to cover 'miscellaneous expenses' and could opt for pianoforte lessons for £1 11s and 6d per quarter. Fees did not cover books or stationery.

At first glance, the list of fees seems excessively detailed and perhaps overly complex, but what was presented to parents was a fees structure divided in two. First, a flat rate was charged for all pupils to cover incidentals and, secondly, a school fee based on age, which could also be increased to cover additional classes. What appears to be complex is in fact, transparency which would have allowed parents to see how much would be owed to the school for each quarter and what was or was not covered by those fees.

The table below presents the fees charged by Newcastle Modern School for day and boarding pupils, along with the number of pupils those fees applied to in 1879. A full annual

amount has been extrapolated based on the same pupils attending for all four quarters in 1879, though it must be recalled that ten pupils had left at some point during the year. As the number of pupils subscribing to pianoforte lessons and evening lesson preparations was low these two have been left out. We are also missing the ages of 6 pupils. For those six pupils, the mean age of the remaining 103 pupils was calculated at 11.4, which places them in the 11-14 age price group. Five of those pupils were day, and one was a boarder. We also do not know how many of the ten boarding pupils were weekly or full-term boarders so the lower amount, the charge for Monday to Saturday only has been taken to determine the minimum income.

TABLE 4: FEES FOR NEWCASTLE MODERN SCHOOL 1879

Prices Per Quarter (10 Weeks)	Day Pupils	Boarders (full board)	Boarders (week only)
Under 8	£2 2s 0d.	12 Guineas	11 Guineas
8 to 11	£2 12s 6d.	13 Guineas	12 Guineas
11 to 14	£3 3s 0d.	14 Guineas	13 Guineas
14 to 16	£3 13s 6d	15 Guineas	14 Guineas
Over 16	£4 4s. 0d.	16 Guineas	15 Guineas
2 Siblings	4-6 Guineas		
3 Siblings	6-8 Guineas		
4 Siblings	8-10 Guineas		
Additional Expenses	5s		

Source: Ehrlich's 1879 school prospectus, NCA 309/H6/220/1.

Using the above table alongside the pupil registration, it is possible to determine the total minimum income for Ehrlich's school in the fourth quarter of 1879. This figure was £461, the modern equivalent £56,272.40. The annual turnover could, therefore, be estimated at £1,845, the modern equivalent of £225,211.65. The average weekly fees charged to day students were 6s 4d, and the average annual cost would have been approximately £12 12s. The modern equivalent would be approximately £366.20 per

quarter and £1,464 per annum. Whether these fees were paid in advance or in weekly instalments is unclear. Given that a full term's notice was required before the withdrawal of a student suggests fees were payable in instalments. For boarders, the fees were considerably higher. Despite only having ten boarders in the above sample, which constituted 9% of the total student population, they constituted 36.7% of the total income. While a great deal of this income was required to pay additional costs of feeding and housing it was still a more profitable endeavour. This may explain the very small number of boarders staying at Ravensworth Terrace but also why the availability of a boarding option was advertised so widely. The school itself, while located at Ravensworth, occupied three houses: Nos 6, 7 & 8. The first two of those properties were entirely reserved for boarders and potentially, the residence of schoolmasters.

4.4.3 REPUTATION AND LEGACY: 1880-1907

One criticism of Private Adventure Schools, and low-cost private schools around the world today, is their seemingly short life spans but the Ehrlich's school demonstrates that with the right conditions and support Private Adventure Schools could flourish. The school was a strong competitor to the Newcastle Grammar School in the late nineteenth-century -a fact that has only faintly been acknowledged by RGS's officially produced histories.

According to the most recent history of the Grammar School, an edited volume was produced by Brian Mains and Anthony Tuck in 1986.

The only one of Snape's assistants who had not left when his dispute with the Council was at its most acrimonious was Dr Hans Ehrlich. He seems, however, to have had second thoughts and wrote to the press defending Snape, whereupon he resigned and opened his own establishment on Westgate Hill (Mains and Tuck, 1987, p.116).

It is commendable that Dr Mains, the long-time archivist for the Grammar School discovered and acknowledged Ehrlich's support of Rev. Snape, but this singular comment would perhaps mislead his readers into thinking the relationship between the two men was inconsequential to Ehrlich, or indeed Peter Malloch, a co-founder at the Newcastle Modern School.

The relationship between Snape, Malloch and Ehrlich was one of mutual respect. Snape delivered his resignation in April 1871 during the Easter break in protest at the low wages for his staff and the Newcastle Committee for Schools and Charities' restructuring of the school (Mains and Tuck, 1986, p.115; *DJ*, 6 July 1871, p.2; *DJ*, 8 June 1871, p.3). Not only had the Council reneged on promises for Snape's pension and staff wages but the hiring of Reginald Broughton in 1870 as Second Master had begun a process by which unqualified staff were replaced by university graduates. Snape's assistant teachers, except for Ehrlich, immediately resigned with him (Mains and Tuck, 1986, p.116). Between 1871 and 1881 the

Grammar School struggled to retain teaching staff, debts of £12,000 were accrued, and the school fees were more than doubled (Mains and Tuck, 1986, pp.119-120).

Snape counted both Peter Malloch and Ehrlich as two of his closest colleagues.

Malloch was born in Perth, Scotland in 1844 and, at the age of 17, he was listed as a pupil-teacher living with his mother, a housekeeper. His older brother, by two years, was a cabinet maker while his three older sisters Helen, Catherine and Mary were all mill workers, possibly the corn mill located on the Almond River near Perth Barracks. Malloch could have gone on to an industrial occupation, but he chose academia and joined Snape's staff as an assistant master in 1865 at the age of 21. In 1871 he wrote of Snape 'As a gentleman, he is highly respected; as a teacher, he enjoys the confidence alike of parents and pupils; and as a principal, he is beloved by all his subordinates, for in him they find both a wise counsellor and a true friend' (Snape Papers, 1871, RGS Temporary No. 390). Newcastle Modern School, therefore, was aligned with Snape's stewardship but quite motivated to compete with the direction the Grammar School was taken in between 1871 and 1888 under headmasters Reginald Broughton (1871-73), Brian Christopherson (1873-83) and Samuel Logan (1883-1912). Ehrlich was described by Snape as 'one of the best and most successful teachers whom I have ever known' (*DJ*, 8 June 1871, p.3). Indeed, Ehrlich's name was mentioned above all others, including Reginald Broughton, who had been Snape's Second Master.

On 21 May 1871 in a letter to Alderman Sillick explaining the reasons for his protest, Snape cited the desperate position he was in to try and retain his teaching staff over the summer (*DJ*, 8 June 1871, p.3). He argued that some of his staff had left and were already receiving higher-paid offers of employment elsewhere. He wrote that he was afraid Dr Ehrlich, whose contract at the Grammar School had terminated in the mid-summer, was at

risk of not being re-engaged if the council did not provide the funding required. Both Ehrlich and Malloch wrote in defence of Rev. Snape during his attempts to return to the school. Malloch's defence is particularly emotive when considering the journey, he had been through and the personal debt he owed Snape for his successful career (Mains and Tuck, 1986, p.116).

Until 1888 when the ineffective and harmful scheme of 1858 was finally replaced, Newcastle Modern School had the advantage. The scheme dictated how much teaching staff could be paid, including how much the Headmaster and Second Master could earn. £105 and a house (or £100 in lieu) was paid to the Headmaster from the corporation, but a minimum pay structure of assistant masters was not guaranteed by the corporation, but rather by a £440 payment to be received from the Virgin Mary Hospital. From these £440 instalments, £190 was to be spent on scholarships for poor pupils, and £250 was to pay for wages and building maintenance. Split between 6 masters, this equals roughly £41 per master. The remainder of the salaries was to be paid from school fees. Even here, assistant masters got a raw deal. The scheme dictated that one-half of the school fees would go to the Headmaster, one quarter to the Second Master and the remaining five assistant masters had to split one-quarter of the fees between them (Mains and Tuck, 1987, p.117). Between 1870 and 1888, St Mary's Hospital only made one of its annual payments, and this singular payment was the result of a High Court order in 1881. Snape was aware of the inadequacies of the scheme and the risk it posed to the financial security of the Grammar School, but his protest was viewed as simply a reaction to the corporation's decision to cut his pension from one-half to one-third of his £105 salary. The challenges were much more significant and realised only too late. Trapped by the scheme, the school faced significant financial issues and was forced to raise school fees to make even partial payments to its faculty. In

1873 the fees were increased from £4 to £6 18s for boys under-14, and from £4 to £9 annually for older boys. In 1877 the fees for under-14s were raised to £9. Fees did not include stationery and Ehrlich did not offer any scholarships.

Despite having an equal number of teaching staff and not having access to additional sources of income, the annual fees charged by Newcastle Modern School were reasonably competitive. In 1877 the Modern School was £2 cheaper for a seven-year-old, then £1 more for an eight to eleven-year-old. For eleven to fourteen-year-old, the Modern School charged £3 more and for fourteen to sixteen-year-old, a significant increase of £5. The Grammar School admitted students up to the age of 17. If their seventeenth birthday occurred during a term, however, they would be asked to leave at the end of that term. The £9 fee was still applicable, but at the Modern School, the fee was £16. According to Ehrlich's 1879 prospectus, very few students stayed beyond the age of 14, which meant that most students were paying between £10-12.

Two factors in Newcastle Modern School's fee structure may have made it more affordable than the Grammar School, despite not offering scholarships. The fees were charged termly, which meant parents did not have to pay for the full year and the annual costs were broken down. Then there was the matter of the sibling discount, which in 1879 applied to 43 of the Newcastle Modern School's 110 pupils. The two-sibling rate meant that rather than paying £9 per child, parents could send two children to the Modern School for between £4 1s 8d to £6 2s 6d. For three siblings, the cost was between £6 2s 6d. to £8 3s 4d. These prices applied to siblings across the age range of 7 to 17. So, while a single fee-paying pupil would pay more to attend Newcastle Modern School than the Royal Grammar School, households with siblings could save a significant amount.

Turning now to the differences in curriculum, no prospectus which predates the 1907 move to Jesmond survives for the Royal Grammar School. This is due to a combination of archival floods in 2008 and 2012 and the presumed lack of space for archival material at Charlotte Square. Between 1847 and 1871 Snape had restored the Grammar School from a period in which only 11 pupils attended, and teaching space was extremely limited. The move from Rye Hill, which did have additional storage, to Jesmond also impacted the survival of material. The best earliest account of the Royal Grammar School's curriculum was at a point of change in 1888 when the 1858 Scheme was finally replaced (RGS, 1888 Act, 2020 Temporary No 329). In explaining why the Act was necessary the authors of the Act unsuspectingly provide a valuable history of the school.

First of all, to be accepted as a student, all boys, including those of 7 years of age, were required to submit themselves for an examination in reading, writing from dictation and prove they could follow two simple rules of arithmetic with the multiplication table. The exam was adjusted according to age, becoming progressively more difficult. There was no such requirement for Newcastle Modern School. Christian religious instruction at the Grammar School was mandatory, though interestingly, the religious requirements of the school's governing body were specifically relaxed: 'Religious opinions or attendance, or non-attendance at any particular form of religious worship shall not in any way affect the qualification of any person for being one of the Governing Body under this scheme [1881] of the St. Mary's Hospital Act (RGS, 2020 Temporary No 329, p.24). The other key difference between the two schools' curriculum was a continued preference for Latin over modern foreign languages.

The curriculum of the Royal Grammar School from 1888, however, clearly reflected an awareness of the need to reform. The curriculum reforms which were carried out mirrored the founding principles of Ehrlich's school. Along with reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, Latin, literature and grammar which formed the core of a traditional grammar school education, natural sciences was introduced: 'In Natural Science special attention shall be given to Chemistry, Geology, Mechanics, Metallurgy and such other branches of Natural Science as especially bearing upon the leading branches of industry in Newcastle-upon-Tyne or the neighbourhood' (RGS, 2020 Temporary No 329, p.35). Finally, there was a recognition that the former curriculum had become unsuitable for most students who intended to find commercial and industrial occupations after graduation. Until this point, Private Adventure Schools had provided graduates who had been trained towards commercial occupations rather than university entrance examinations.

The final connection between the Grammar School and the Modern School was their geographic locations in the 1870s and 1900s. When Ehrlich founded his school, he made a purposeful decision to locate the school within a few minutes' walk of Rye Hill. Indeed, from Newcastle Central Station, both schools were an equal 11 minutes' walk. In the 1880s, when Ehrlich moved the school to Park Terrace in Jesmond, he was only a street away from the future site (the current site) of the Royal Grammar School. Ehrlich had almost 26 years of exclusive access to Jesmond before the Grammar School made its move to its current location on Eskdale Terrace. Between 1881 and 1907, Ehrlich provided 'the middle-class families of the town's prosperous suburbs with yet another argument against sending their sons all the way down to Rye Hill for their schooling' (Mains and Tuck, 1987, p.118).

FINAL DAYS

Remarkably, the Newcastle Modern School survived the First World War. Records show that the school was advertising for the beginning of its summer term on 1 May 1918 and was still located at Park House, Park Terrace. Not surprisingly, but quite unfortunately, Ehrlich's name is missing from the advertisement. The school was proud of its heritage stretching back to 1873, but any association with German roots could have been an issue. It may have been that if the school had not been formed as a partnership with Malloch, and the registered name had been 'Ehrlich's Academy' as it may well have been, it might not have survived the First World War (*NJ*, 1 May 1918, p.4). In fact, the school had established a branch school in Gosforth, St. Georges, at Causey House, 8 Elmfield Road (*NJ*, 16 April 1918, p.4). The principals of St George's in 1918 were Miss Jones and Miss Dixon, but the headmaster resided at Park Terrace at the Newcastle Modern School. The Modern School is listed in a 1921 trade directory under the stewardship of Walter Leopold Thompson (*Kelly's*, 1921, p.733). Records show that Thompson died in 1941 at the age of 76 at his daughters' home in Sunderland (*NJ*, 18 February 1941, p.2). By 1933 the Park Terrace school had closed. The last headmaster was Mr Gerald W. Spink, who was living at No.7 Park Terrace with Rine, his wife. By this time the school only occupied a single house on Park Terrace. The space is now occupied by Newcastle University student accommodation.

While the Newcastle Modern School did not provide lower-cost schooling in comparison to Board schools, it did provide a better value education in comparison to Newcastle Royal Grammar School. For parents with sibling boys, the Modern School could provide a substantially cheaper form of education, however, and matched with payments by instalments, its pricing structure could have been more affordable to many parents. Ehrlich benefited from the dispute between Snape and the Schools Committee, which helped him

to secure Snape's endorsement and wider support to establish a rival school. Ehrlich also gained immensely from the financial insecurity of RGS which resulted from the erroneous 1858 scheme. Between 1871 and 1888, the Grammar School had annual financial deficit of £440 which was a serious impediment to staff retention and maintenance of the quality of provision. Only in comparison to the increased fees of the Grammar School was Ehrlich's school able to present itself as an economical alternative. Above all else, the success of the Modern School must be credited to Ehrlich's personal qualities as an excellent teacher and entrepreneur. The long period he spent understanding the provision of education across Tyne and Wear, and his ability to seize the moment allowed him to capitalise upon a complex moment.

5.0 PART TWO

URBAN EDUCATION: CHANGE AND CONTINUITIES



IMAGE 2: CASTLE GARTH, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, 1881

Source: Photo by Lyddel Sawyer, TWAM 1881 DX872/8

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the role of Private Adventure Schools in relation to broader education provision in Newcastle Upon Tyne. Newcastle was the largest urban area in the North-East in the nineteenth century. The greatest concentration and diversity of schools were found in urban areas. Newcastle also contained the most powerful School Board in the region. The Board had the largest number of staff, pupil population and budget and therefore had a significant role in the region after 1870. The presence of the Newcastle School Board and the impact of its bye-laws was intended to transform education provision and disrupt the prevalence of low-fee Private Adventure Schools. The success of the School Board between 1870-1890 was limited. It failed, on multiple occasions, to hold elections and it was not until subsequent legislation was introduced that it was empowered to make effective suppression of competition provision.

The first section outlines the three stages of the Newcastle School Board between 1870 and 1890. These stages correspond to elections held and show how the Board was established and how its ability to find consensus and extend its power grew over time. It will be argued that disrupting Private Adventure Schools was an explicit goal. Sections two and three explore education in the context of social and economic growth. Section two shows that the demographic growth of North Tyneside was not only rapid, but it was also ethnically and culturally diverse. The influence of Irish, Scottish, Welsh incomers and international migrants had a significant impact on educational needs and diversity of provision. International influences on education are argued to be much deeper however as the public debates of the 1860s were heavily informed by international visits and visitors. This helps to provide some context to the Newcastle School Board's decision making while

also showing alternatives to those decisions that were known to contemporaries. The section ends with the social impact of economic growth and the role of education.

Finally, the relationship between education and the rapid growth of heavy industries will be explored. The Elswick Works school was developed by Lord W.G. Armstrong as a potential model for Tyneside education. This was a system in which employers provided the initial costs of building a school and supported operational costs through subsidized school fees by employers. The unique aspect of a works school was the opportunity to educate young people in a way deemed useful for the company in exchange for providing an almost guaranteed route to employment. This section examines the risk of the system, which manifested through strike action just a few years after the school opened while also highlighting the benefits of apprenticeships. Evidence from the Elswick Works hiring process is used to illuminate the relationship between employment and education in this period.

5.2 NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD: ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATION AND POLITICS

5.2.1 FINDING CONSENSUS: 1871-1873

One of the most prevalent arguments regarding Private Adventure Schools, especially those existing in low-income areas, is that the 1870 Education Act caused a *natural* decline (West, 1996, pp.189-191; Stephens, 1998, p.81). This position insists Private Adventure Schools charging 9d or less per week were only supported by parents out of desperation who could neither find a school place at their local voluntary schools or a form of childcare while they worked. Some historians, as Stephens argues, claim that the shift to state schools was proof that private schools were bad while ‘neo-laissez-faire’ historians have accepted the natural decline argument as proof of bureaucracy stifling free enterprise (Stephens, 1998, p.81). Analysing the Newcastle School Board between 1869 – 1889 is an important history for explaining how the decline of entrepreneurial education was not due to a natural trend.

This argument assumes a hierarchy of quality between Private Adventure Schools charging low fees of 9d per week, voluntary and Board schools. The same assumptions can be found today in relation to contemporary low-fee Private schools in some developing economies. In countries where low-fee Private schools have flourished, they have done so in an environment where their primary competitors have been free at the point of entry state-run schools teaching national standards and staffed by qualified teachers. Parental choices to send children to private schools rather than state schools is not purely based on price or proximity but on a range of factors, including personal relationships to staff, curriculum, class size, location, and reputation.

This chapter will explore the roots of the Newcastle School Board through its formative years, growth period and entrenchment. Through three periods, 1870-1873, 1874-1877 and 1877-1889, the Newcastle School Board established a working consensus, developed an identity, and reached its maximum authority. School Boards were established across England and Wales to enforce the 1870 Education Act. These Boards were voluntary for rural and smaller urban centres but for significant urban areas such as Newcastle they were unavoidable despite local opposition. In January 1871, the first School Board elections reflected local responses to the Act. Where there had been strong support for the Act, in cities such as Birmingham, the School Board could act more aggressively in pursuit of the National Education Leagues objectives. These objectives included using increased rates to cover the cost of school construction, maintenance and free access to unsectarian education. Alongside increased provision, the League wanted School Boards to have the power to compel school attendance. The most significant opposition to the League was the National Society for Promoting Religious Education, which was more commonly referred to as the National Society. The Society had been founded during the Napoleonic Wars and still exists to promote the CoE's vision for education. There are currently 4,644 CoE schools in England (CoE, 2020) all of which follow common values but exercise individual autonomy. The National Society's goals in 1870 were to maintain the autonomy of Church education, protect the financial support it received but, primarily, to defend a moral education it felt it was most qualified to deliver.

Throughout this chapter, it will be argued that Private Adventure Schools successfully resisted the market disruption that Board schools created in the mid-1870s. Crucially, however, it will be demonstrated that before the 1876 Education Reform Act, the Board had recognised the continued popularity of Private Adventure Schools and had

become actively hostile to them. The Board used strengthened powers of compulsion granted by the 1876 Act to prevent parents from sending their children to Private Adventure Schools charging 9d a week or less. The Board's responsibility was to encourage and support increased school attendance and yet there is clear evidence of attempts to squash certain provisions rather than outperform.

The Newcastle School Board elected in 1871 had the authority of the 1870 Education Act to survey the number of school places in comparison to school-age children and develop plans to establish their schools if there was a significant lack of places. The latter was defined as a demand which the voluntary sector could not reasonably address. The actions of the Newcastle Board, potentially the largest and best-resourced between Berwick Upon Tweed and Middlesbrough, had the potential to influence how national education policy was interpreted across the North of England. The election of 1871 was the last battle in the debate between state invention and church responsibility.

Between 1871-1897 there were three clear periods of the Newcastle School Board's development. The first period between 1871-1876 was defined by the chairmanship of John Brunton Falconar and his vice-chair Reverend Berkeley. The failure to hold an election in 1874 allowed for a second term in which only three members withdrew but a new consensus had formed. A mix of displeasure at the failure to hold an election and disinterest set the tone that the second term would be the last for many members and by 1876 the heat of the late 1860s education debate had dissipated.

The national debate leading up to Board elections in 1871 was vibrant, public and often heated. Public debates within and between camps in favour and against the introduction of an education act had occurred in Newcastle between leading political figures

throughout the 1860s. The debate over whether a school Board should be created in Newcastle framed the 1871 election with some candidates, such as Charles Frederick Hamond, having openly argued against School Boards and attempted to prevent the creation of a board while sitting on the town council. Other candidates such as the radical Liberal candidate Joseph Cowen Jnr had argued in favour of universal free education.

It is important to be aware that the views held by Charles Hamond and Joseph Cowen Jnr transcended the education debate and cut across a range of economic and social issues. Their combative relationship played out on several stages including the town council, public debates, parliamentary elections, the local press and in 1871, the Newcastle School Board election. The energy of the debate, in part amplified by the passionate disagreement between these two individuals, migrated into the election and did a great deal to generate additional public attention. Interest in the Board declined after the initial election results with a slight peak of negative attention in 1874.

The 1871 Newcastle School Board election was, therefore, one of the most critical moments of educational change in Newcastle and arguably, of Northumberland because it set the tone and direction of policy for the entire School Board era and was pivotal as a moment in which the broadest number of people participated in setting that direction. Crucially, for our purposes, the elected Board did not have a clear mandate to disrupt the education provision already established in Newcastle and certainly was not elected to target and reduce the number of Private Adventure Schools.

The 1871 election was held on Wednesday 25 January with the result declared the following day. The results were published across regional newspapers from Thursday across the following week. The total number of votes cast was 119, 010 distributed among 27

candidates. This might appear to be a large number of candidates, but, notably, there had been 32 candidates up to 16 January, when several had withdrawn their registration. There was a clear and absolute winner in Charles Hamond who had secured 12,220 votes for a platform of severely curtailing the new Board's powers. William Leighton secured second place with 5,206 votes fewer.

As a metropolitan area, any person on the burgess roll had the right to vote (1871 Education Act, 29 & 30 Vict. C.118 p.455). Although male pronouns were used throughout the Act about candidates and voters, by stipulating 'any' name from the roll had the right to stand or vote, women were able to do so. No women stood in the Newcastle Board elections for 1871, 1876, 1880 elections or replaced elected candidates during the Board period. However, women did vote in the 1871 election and were received positively. Every voter was afforded as many votes as there were seats on their Board. For Newcastle, 15 seats and 15 votes were available.

The electoral results (tables 5-7) highlight the success of the Church vote where 42% of the vote was secured by church candidates and Hamond but only 5 seats were won constituting a third of the School Board. The League, in contrast, won fewer votes but secured more seats. Of 11 candidates only 4 Independents were successful but of these, William Haswell Stephenson, and John Brunton Falconar were nonconformists belonging to the Wesleyan church.

TABLE 5: 1871 NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION RESULTS

ELECTED CANDIDATES	OCCUPATION	PLATFORM	PARTY	VOTES
Hamond, Charles Frederick	Barrister-at-law	Conservative and CoE.	Independent (Church)	12,220
Leighton, William Brogg	Printer	Nonconformist: Primitive Methodist	Independent (League)	7,014
Lintott, Rev. John	Clerk in Holy Orders	To limit the Board's development.	Church	6,501
Boyd, William	Engineer	To limit the Board's development.	Church	6,165
Stephenson, William Haswell	Coal Owner	Nonconformist: Wesleyan	Independent	6,086
Luckley, George	Shipowner	Free, compulsory, and universal education.	The Education League	5,850
Watson, Robert Spence	Solicitor	Free, compulsory, and universal education.	The Education League	5,739
Falconar, John Brunton	Solicitor	Nonconformist: Wesleyan	Independent	5,653
Alexander, John Bennett	Gentleman	To limit the Board's development.	Church	5,621
Addison, Rev. Berkeley	Clerk in Holy Orders	To limit the Board's development.	Church	5,588
Cowen, Joseph Jr.	Manufacturer	Free, compulsory, and universal education.	The Education League	5,358
Main, David Darling	Secretary		Independent	5,316
Bell, Isaac Lowthian	Iron Master	Free, compulsory, and universal education.	The Education League	5,312
Rutherford, Rev. John Hunter	Doctor of Medicine	Free, compulsory, and universal education.	The Education League	5,205
Carse, Adam	Hatter		Independent	4,959
UNELECTED CANDIDATES	OCCUPATION	PLATFORM	PARTY	VOTES
Drysdale, Rev. Canon Alexander	Catholic Priest	Roman Catholic, poor and migrant families	Roman Catholic	4,524
Shortt, Rev Edward	Vicar of St. Anthony's	To limit the Board's development.	Church	4,210
Gibson, Thomas George	Solicitor	To limit the Board's development.	Church	4,117
Lamb, Robert	Coal Owner	Roman Catholic, poor and migrant families	Roman Catholic	3,575
Pollard, Joseph	Merchant	To limit the Board's development.	Church	2,326

Bruce, Rev. Dr John Collingwood	Minister of the Gospel	To limit the Board's development.	Church	1,734
Savage, Edward	Railway Agent	Roman Catholic, poor and migrant families	Roman Catholic	1,575
Humble, Dr Thomas	Doctor of Medicine	To limit the Boards development.	Church	1,441
Fisher, Robert	Warehouseman	Working class and socialist candidate	Workingmen	1,422
Bayfield, Thomas James	Iron Moulder	Nonconformist: Secularist	Independent	1,412
Signal, William Anthony	Publisher		Independent	87
Bradburn, John	Dyer	Protect nonconformist education.	The Education League	Withdrew
Hodgkin, Thomas	Banker	Nonconformist: Society of Friends	Independent	Withdrew
Pumphrey, Thomas	Grocer	Nonconformist: Society of Friends	Independent	Withdrew
Strachan, T.Y.	Public Accountant	Presbyterian	Independent	Withdrew
Youll, John G.	Solicitor	Nonconformist: United Free Methodist	Independent	Withdrew
Young, Thomas	Draper	Nonconformist: Presbyterian	Independent	Withdrew

Source: *DJ*, 21 January 1871, p.2; *DJ*, 27 January 1871, p.4.

TABLE 6: FINAL NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD COMPOSITION BY PARTY 1871

Church	Votes	The Education League	Votes	Independents	Votes
Charles Hamond (Ind)	12,220*	William Brogg Leighton (Ind)	7,014*	William Haswell Stephenson	6,086
Rev John Lintott	6,501	George Luckley	5,850	John Brinton Falconar	5,653
William Boyd	6,165	Robert Spence Watson	5,739	David Darling Main	5,316
John Burnett Alexander	5,621	Joseph Cowen Jnr.	5,358	Adam Carse	4,959
Rev. Berkley Addison	5,588	Isaac Lowthian Bell	5,312		
		Rev. John Hunter Rutherford	5,205		
TOTAL	36,095		34,478		22,014

*Charles Hamond ran as an independent but attended Church electoral meetings. His platform closely aligned with that of the Church but as an independent, he could secure independent votes. A similar strategy was employed by William Brogg Leighton who stood as an Education League candidate. The League asked Leighton to stand independently to secure non-League voters.

Source: *DJ*, 21 January 1871, p.2; *DJ*, 27 January 1871, p.4.

TABLE 7: TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES IN THE NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION 1871

Party/Electoral Group	Total Votes	Vote Share	Total Candidates	Elected Candidates	% of the Board
Church (of England)	49,923	42%	10	5	33%
Education League	34,478	29%	7	6	40%
Independent	23,513	20%	11	4	27%
Roman Catholic	9,674	8%	3	0	0%
Workingmen's Candidate	1,422	1%	1	0	0%
TOTAL	119,010		32	15	

Source: *DJ*, 21 January 1871, p.2; *DJ*, 27 January 1871, p.4.

At the public reading of the results, Mr Hamond took it upon himself as the most successful candidate, to thank the electoral organisers. He was 'pleased to see that the election, in which so much excitement was expected, had been carried on with so much good feeling on all sides, and the total avoidance of some of those exhibitions seen at other elections'. There were clear political disagreements between the candidates but they had experience in negotiating with each other across different forums. Furthermore, Hamond said it 'augured well for Newcastle at future elections' that there had been a great courtesy displayed by the main portion of the voters to those ladies who had exercised their privileges for the first time' (*DJ*, 27 January 1871, p. 4).

The Anglican church had nominated five candidates: Rev. Berkley Addison, Rev. John Lintott, Mr J.B. Alexander, Mr William Boyd, and Joseph Pollard. Addison was appointed vice-chair which secured the church's position on the Board and required a member of the church to be present at all Board and committee meetings. The church's electoral strategy won 42% of the total votes but only secured 33% of the Board seats. Despite securing the most votes, the electoral strategy of the church was heavily criticised by its voters following the result. Lintott secured the third-highest share of the vote, Boyd the fourth and Alexander ninth. Only Pollard failed to secure a seat. Four other candidates stood on a platform of being 'churchmen' including Hamond, T. Gibson, Humble and Rev. E. Shortt. Of these four men, only Hamond secured a seat.

The second-largest bloc of candidates and votes was organised by the Education League. This bloc was supportive of the Education Act and represented those who had wanted it to go further. The Education League as a national organisation argued in favour of compulsory universal education across England and Wales, free at the point of access and

with a curriculum that supported all religious denominations (Hurt, 1979, pp.77-80; Stephens, 1998, pp.78-79). This position was confirmed at public meetings in Newcastle, espoused on electoral platforms during the campaign and expressed in the School Board committee meetings.

The Education League fielded six candidates on the ballots and five were successfully elected (see table 7). William Leighton, a League candidate who had stood down to run as an independent, won the highest vote as he was able to convince voters who were sceptical of the pro-School Board party. The League attracted 29% of the votes but as a bloc, represented 40% of the final School Board composition.

William Leighton sailed under a false flag of independence to secure more undecided voters for the League, just as Charles Hamond had done so for the Church. The remaining Independents who were successful included William Haswell Stephenson, John Brunton Falconar, David Darling Main and Adam Case. Combined they represented 20% of the votes and constituted 27% of the School Board. As all these candidates were nonconformists, William Stephenson and Falconar being strongly associated with the Wesleyan Methodists, their primary objective was to ensure religious tolerance was instilled in the new Board's values.

A majority vote on the School Board would have required 8 members. The League came the closest with 6 members, and with varying degrees of certainty, could also rely on nonconformist independents to support them. The Church secured the most votes but had to work harder to attain majority votes. The overall objective of the Church to limit the progress of the Board was unattainable. Overall, the new Board reflected a balance

between two extreme views with both agreeing to enact the Education Act and keep each other in check.

In 1874 Isaac Bell, Joseph Cowen and Charles Hamond resigned removing two supporters from the League ticket and one from the Church. John Bradburn, Alexander Drysdale and William Sutton were nominated in their place to maintain balance and consensus. Bradburn had been a secondary League candidate in the first election and William Sutton also supported the aims of the League. Drysdale was the first Roman Catholic member of the School Board but was a good replacement for Hamond as a strong supporter of religious autonomy despite no official affiliation to the Churchmen ticket.

From 1871 to 1876 the Education League was kept in check by a consistent block of Church seats on the School Board and through the vice-chairmanship of Rev Berkeley Addison. The balance established in 1871 was reconfirmed in 1874 when both Falconar and Addison were re-elected by the Board to their positions as chair and vice-chair. Understanding the balance which existed between 1871-1876 during the formative years is crucial to analysing the actions of the Board towards the structure of education in Newcastle. In our analysis, it is clear to see that the balance between Church ticket, independents and the Education League was a mandate to take a cautious approach to implement the Education Act and only support the introduction of limited measures. Furthermore, the electoral success of Hamond suggests strong support for the pre-existing structure of education and resistance to change.

John Bennett Alexander was the Treasurer of the Newcastle CoE Institute between 1869-1870, an organisation that had increased in membership between 1868 and 1869 from 466 to 526. As G. Baguley, the secretary noted this was 'without precedent during the last

seven years, in fact, since quite the early days of the institute' (DC, 15 January 1869, p.4).

The surge in interest was attributed to the expansion of the Institute's library to 3,882 volumes with a circulation of 11,050. This coincided with a lecture programme and night schools for adults and assistance provided to local Sunday schools. The Institute was committed to extending CoE education.

There were questions from the wider church community over how the final five church candidates were selected and what qualified them over other church leaders to represent the CoE on the School Board (NC, 6 January 1871, p.8). In the case of Alexander and Addison, who had both worked together promoting religious education across Newcastle before the School Board elections, a strong case for their candidature could be made. William Boyd, however, was a partner in a Walker-based engineer works, Thompson, Boyd and Co. Boyd, the son of the Vicar of Arncliffe, relied on his family connection and reputation for his credentials. Nevertheless, it must have been of some concern to Boyd's supporters that a family connection alone was a tenuous qualification.

On 4 of January, an anonymous writer submitted a letter for publication to the editor of the *Newcastle Courant* stating, 'it is beside the question now to ask, why those five names should have been chosen'. He admitted Boyd had 'still his spurs to win' but Boyd intended to build a church in Newcastle and pay out of his own pocket for the construction of a church school. The author calls for a united effort to send all five church candidates to head to the poll and to stop worrying over credentials.

Outwardly the Church vote seemed organised and strategically focused. The five candidates standing in 1871 were backed by a broad base of support whether it was a church, religious institute, society, or a combination of all three. Religious networks were

ideal landscapes to provide political campaign support. A committee of 91 members for 'conducting the election of the five church candidates' was established at 34 Blakett Street. The committee of 91 members met daily in the lead-up to the election chaired by John J. Hunter and Nathaniel Clayton (*DJ*, 21 January 1871, p.2).

A lack of unity among the Newcastle church group was commented upon immediately after the election across the North of England which highlights the importance of the elections beyond Newcastle for the region (*CP*, 27 January 1871, p.7). The League was accused of being 'judicious and level' in its voting strategy', asking supporters to provide enough votes for all five candidates. In comparison with the League, the Church's aggregate vote should have been able to provide seven seats if the spread had been more evenly distributed between candidates. Certain candidates such as John Lintott who received 6,501 votes could have spared some to help elect Edward Shortt who had been knocked out of the race with 4,210. The Roman Catholics, however, were accused of 'squandering their strength' by the same author. The total Roman Catholic vote was 9,674, with Canon Drysdale Alexander only 436 votes short of securing the last seat. The absence of a Roman Catholic representative was significant not only because it deprived the Board of unique knowledge of school finance, and an effective organisational base, but also an ardent supporter of the voluntary sector.

Sir Charles Hamond (1817-1905) had been elected on a Conservative ticket with the support of the local Church. Described as 'strongly opposed to the unthinking, tyrannical Toryism of the old school as he was to the sleek Whiggism of the Manchester cult. He was a Tory Democrat and urged its principles' (*DC*, 3 March 1905, p.6). Hamond had publicly protested against the development of the Elementary Education Act and its implementation

in Newcastle. As a member of the town council, Hamond had attempted to prevent the establishment of a Board. Hamond wrote to the *Daily Journal* on 14 January 1871 (p.2), 'any school deficiency would have been amply met by voluntary subscriptions' and he attempted to delay implementation of the Act for two months. Although he was in favour of voluntary provision Hamond's primary motivation was to prevent any potential increase to local rates. He promised during his campaign to keep a close eye on fiscal policy and financial activity, positioning himself to combat 'extravagance and useless spending' (*DJ*, 14 January 1871, p.2). The electorate was aware that they could not prevent the establishment of a School Board in Newcastle, but they were equally aware that Hamond would stay true to his values and prevent the Board from raising rates as much as possible.

On religion, Hamond had promised to uphold the Elementary Act in an impartial spirit but wished to 'hold fast' to the principle of having the Bible 'not only read but also explained'. This was one of the main aims of the CoE and a concern for nonconformists. Explaining biblical stories rather than simply reading them could privilege the teaching of a single interpretation of religious practice. For Hamond, the issue was less about promoting one religious practice over another and more a conscientious objection to ratepayers of one denomination paying towards the teaching of an opposing one. Hamond strongly believed that the system of education already in place, the majority of which was provided by the CoE, was sufficient in providing the basics of literacy and morality. This was for two reasons: firstly, that where there were gaps in accommodation, the church was more capable than the government to provide new places and second, that the church was far more qualified than the government to provide lessons in morality. Hamond expressed and represented an opposition to the School Board which was closely aligned to the CoE. As an independent,

Hamond presented himself as a rational individual who had come to his decision without a personal stake in expanding church influence. He also made himself available as a candidate to nonconformists concerned with tax implications.

The church which agreed with Hamond that religious instruction should be the primary concern, also believed that the CoE should be responsible for the reading and teaching of the bible. They promised to make careful selections of school masters and mistresses to ensure they had the appropriate religious understanding. On expenditure, they promised to be economic but also to avoid 'such parsimony as would abridge the usefulness of the schools' (*DJ*, 21 January 1871, p.2). In other words, the Church saw the Board as an opportunity to supplement their existing school provision and saw income from rates as a useful revenue stream. The Church was therefore not against the 1870 Act or the establishment of a School Board, as Hamond was, but they recognised an opportunity to harness School Board resources and legal powers to enhance their educational objectives.

A more significant indicator of Board influence than electoral results is attendance at Board and committee meetings, and the decisions taken at those meetings (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.2). The overall attendance at Board meetings was 67% while average attendance at committee meetings was 50% between 1873 and 1876 when records were published along with the triennial reports. The average attendance of Board meetings was even between Church (71.94%), League (70.74%) and Independents (67.37%). This was despite John Falconar's declining health and his 36.96% personal attendance rate. Falconar's low attendance and Addison's higher than average attendance does suggest the church was able to steer Board meetings, but Falconar retained ultimate authority and Board votes were evenly spread.

Larger discrepancies can be found in the committee meetings. They considered a range of issues, but one of their central responsibilities was overseeing and enforcing bye-laws in each school district, including compulsion and fee exemptions. Independent candidates had an average attendance rate of 45.41% (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.2). Church candidates attended 44.28% of meetings while League candidates' average attendance was much higher at 60.64%. Higher attendance at committee levels allowed for a more direct influence on how bye-laws were interpreted and enforced on a case-by-case basis. It also represented a greater contribution of time and input into the development of education in Newcastle. The highest attendance can be attributed to William Brogg Leighton who attended 45 of the 49 Board meetings and 137 of the 147 committee meetings, an attendance record of over 90% across the three years.

The 1871-1873 period was spent simply understanding the structure of education across Newcastle parishes, calculating the number of school-age children in relation to school places and discussing a scheme of education. Across these three areas, the Board proved incompetent and sluggish. The full number of schools and educational environments was never fully understood as a limited quantitative approach with superficial narrative analysis was made. The Board's census of schools and calculations for attendees was repeatedly rejected by the Department of Education. The Board's understanding of the school structure was based on anecdotal evidence captured by the surveyors of the flawed census. The scheme of education does provide evidence of a final consensus being formed by the Board; however, the final delayed publication, demonstrates a preoccupation with the 1870 parliamentary debate devoid of any input from local educators.

This first requirement of the School Board, as outlined by the 1870 Act, was to determine the scale of the gap between the number of school-age children and available accommodation (it was a prior assumption for urban areas that there would be a gap). At this stage, the distinctions between different forms of accommodation were less critical than determining overall attendance across Newcastle. The Education Department requested a report tabulating the total number of children between 3 and 5, and 5 and 13 and how many were attending a current school or a school under construction. There was no distinction between the form of the curriculum the schools provided (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, pp. 3-4). The only distinction was between 'efficient' and 'inefficient' elementary education. A standardised metric for analysing a distinction between those two categories was not provided to surveyors and instead, the Board gathered anecdotes as qualitative data.

A seven-member sub-committee, the committee of educational returns, was established by the Board on 9 February 1871 to collect numerical data and meet the requirements of the Education Department in supplying figures of the local accommodation deficiency (Dennis, 1969, p.12). The failure to apply a standardised metric for evaluating the distinction between efficient and inefficient resulted in the Education Department dismissing the validity of the committee's conclusions (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.3-6). Concerns were also raised that not all of the schools within the Newcastle Borough had made returns to the Newcastle School Board and returns made by other schools were deemed to be incomplete. It was 14 August 1871, six months after the elections, that the Board was finally presented with the necessary actionable data, but issues continued.

In November 1871, the Newcastle Board submitted its report to the Education Department on the deficiency of accommodation and its proposal to build new schools. These reports were immediately rejected for being an overly conservative estimate and what transpired next was a back-and-forth interaction which evidenced the infancy of the relationship between the national and local authority on education (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.4-5). The Department sent H.E. Oakeley, an Inspector of Schools, and R. Durnford, an Inspector of Returns to redraft the Board's assessments of efficient and inefficient schools and provide the statistics of total accommodation, accommodation deficiency and attendance. The Department adjusted the total efficient elementary schooling down from 16,027 to 15,681 and increased the accommodation deficit from 2,494 to 2,840. As the results were based on a mix of quasi-statistical methods and subjective evaluation, the survey was arguably the product of agenda over a commitment to accurately record the structure of education in Newcastle. The Board was aware that the higher the deficiency, the larger the rate-funded investment would be.

The Education Department allowed the Board to develop a proposal to meet its revised deficiency. The eventual proposal included three pairs of schools, with each pair providing 1,000 places, for a total of 3,000 school places across Newcastle (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, pp.6, 10-11). This would have met the deficit of 2,840 with an additional 160 places. The breathing room would allow for future population growth or simply allow schools to have more space. The Department stepped in one final time to slightly amend the balance of mixed to infant accommodation. Each pair of schools would provide 600 mixed and 400 infant places which had previously been 700 mixed and 300 infants.

The Department of Education exerted a level of scrutiny that raises questions about how autonomous the Board was. However, the inaccuracies of the initial statistics which under-reported the accommodation deficit, and the subsequent delays to the accommodation proposal may reflect the initial objections of the Church.

BYE-LAWS

A significant proportion of the Board's time during the period 1871-73 was spent discussing and producing bye-laws. For some Board members, such as Charles Hamond, the priority was not to identify and meet attendance deficits but ensure that the School Board had appropriate checks and balances in place which would protect the ratepayer and voluntary sector. The bye-laws of the School Board, in a broad sense, outlined a local interpretation of the Act. In the most abstract form, the bye-laws determined how far the Newcastle School Board was prepared to extend the role of the state in education. The final bye-laws were agreed on 29 January 1872, a year after the original election.

The difficulties in agreeing to bye-laws stem from the diverse nature of the Board. Every candidate had promised to adhere to the requirements of the Education Act. Some had admitted to wishing they did not have to do so but understood there were minimum requirements. Several Independent candidates had clear preferences for either Liberal or Conservative interpretations of the legislation. Once elected, two powerful and diametrically opposed blocs sat upon the same Board. Blocs who had fiercely opposed each other publicly in the debates leading up to the passing of the Act.

TABLE 8: NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD BYE-LAWS 1873

Bye-law	Impact
1. Interpretation of terms	Sets out specific definitions for key terminology.
2. Requiring parents to cause children to attend schools	Interpretation of the compulsion clause.
3. Determining the time during which children shall attend School.	Outlined that it was required for children to not only attend a school but to remain at school for the full duration that the school is open.
4. Proviso for total or partial exemption from attendance if a child has reached a certain standard.	This allowed high achievers to seek exemption.
5. Defining reasonable excuse for non-attendance	Exemptions for children under efficient instruction somewhere other than a school, for those who were ill or children who were living beyond 1.5 miles of a school.
6. Relief from proceedings.	Parents to have 14 days after a notice of a breach of the bye-laws before formal proceedings occur.
7. Penalty for breach of bye-laws	This limited the maximum penalty a parent could be charged for breach of the bye-laws.
8. Power to revoke or alter bye-laws	This required the full Board to have a minimum of 21 days to respond to proposed changes or alterations to the bye-laws.
9. When bye-laws come in force.	That the bye-laws would come into effect as soon as the Education Department approved.

Source: Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, pp. 17-19.

The first point of the bye-laws (Table 9) relates to the clarity of language in line with the 1870 Education Act. Point two, however, which at first glance seems to clarify the school-age of children, alludes to a broader debate around compulsion. School-age was determined to be 5-13 years. This was one of the earlier debated points between Forster and Montagu. A longer school-age period had a direct impact on the attendance deficit calculation. There was a belief among some policymakers, such as Montagu, that children should be in a working environment by the age of 13, learning practical rather than academic skills (West, 1994, pp.202-206). As this point had been debated and specifically outlined by the Education Act, local School Boards could not refute it. The second bye-law is less to do with the school-age and more to do with parental compulsion.

Private Adventure Schools, charging 9d or less per week, were accused of surviving after 1873 because parents wished to circumnavigate the School Board's bye-laws. Bye-laws which required children to attend an approved school for specified amounts of time made it more difficult for children to work, to receive morality lessons their parents may have disagreed with and less likely to evade fines for truancy. Below we explore some of the bye-laws which Private Adventure Schools were supposedly circumnavigating.

The second bye-law stated that 'the parent' of every school-age child 'shall cause such child to attend school'. The term 'school' had been identified as a Public Elementary School as defined by the 1870 Education Act. It included Free Schools but not Industrial Schools. The 1870 Education Act defined a Public Elementary School as 'a school or department of a school, at which elementary education is the principal part of the education there given' (Elementary Education Act, p.444). Further, the Act stated that any school or place of instruction charging fees exceeding ninepence per week were not

elementary schools. Children receiving instruction exceeding ninepence per week would need to be reviewed under the fifth bye-law.

By sticking to the Act's minimal definition of an Elementary school and not stipulating additional requirements, perhaps one of the initial battlegrounds of debate for the Newcastle School Board on compulsion had been adopted and would be enforced (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, pp. 17-19). These additional requirements included minimum square feet per child, playgrounds, gymnastic equipment, quality of the building, classroom equipment or learning resources. There were no requirements for proposals to be presented and approved by the Board and no comments on the quality or content of lessons. The bye-law was therefore broadly accommodating of all schools delivering instruction under ninepence per week. It was a significant vote of support for the voluntary sector, but it was also a compromise.

The Board was not immediately required to enforce compulsory education, but compulsory education was a primary goal of the Education League. Board members representing the voluntary sector would view this bye-law as one method through which they could vicariously increase their attendance levels. If a voluntary school was the only school within a 1.5-mile radius of the child's house, then the bye-law would compel attendance under penalty of a fine. However, indirectly, and perhaps unintentionally, the compulsion bye-law as it was worded could be satisfied by attending Private Adventure Schools.

Rather than being specific about the type of content being taught in the broader educational community, the Board focused more on outlining the specific times at which children would be expected to attend school. Perhaps this reflected the fear that parents or

children would sign a register in the morning and disappear immediately afterwards. The third bye-law dictated that a child be present at school for 'the whole time for which the school shall be open' (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, pp. 17-19). All children were, however, regardless of their religious background, not required to attend school during Christian holidays (Sundays, Christmas, Good Friday and any public feast day). Children could also be withdrawn from school for entire days based on parental religious observance.

The fourth bye-law dictated that any child between the age of 10 and 13 who had already achieved the fifth Standard would be exempt from half of the school week and any child who had achieved the sixth standard would be exempt. The simplest explanation for this bye-law is that the Board felt the extent of its duty was to ensure a minimum standard of education was being delivered to children. It was not the intention of the Board to detain children against their will, or the will of their parents if they had already achieved the minimum standard. Parents could choose to continue their child's attendance at a school of their choice, but there was the option to remove the child and engage them in work or further training.

This kind of bye-law is indicative of the types of compromises possible between the liberal Education League, the church and independent sceptics. Liberals would have been satisfied that as long as a recognised standard of education was required, then a choice should be given to parents. Removing high achievers would have freed space for other students. Independent sceptics would have viewed the removal of high-achievers as the removal of rate-supported students and a system that encouraged high-achievers to either enter the workforce earlier and gain industrial skills or allow parents to receive financial support other than the rate. For the Church, freeing up time required for teaching the 3Rs

could increase the amount of religious instruction it could offer or allow new fee-paying younger students to join the school.

For Private Adventure Schools, the bye-law allowed them to provide an offer for high achievers aged ten and upwards. Students who were outperforming at Board schools or other voluntary schools were more likely to seek private tuition if they intended to apply for higher education or to seek more challenging higher-paid occupations.

The seventh bye-law limited the maximum fine given to a parent for breaching the Board's rules at 2s 6d. As 'affordable' schools were set 9 pence or less per week for school fees the fines represented just under a month of fees minimum. The penalty was capped for all breaches within a single week. This meant that if an entire week of schooling was missed by a child, the parent would not be liable for five separate penalties. However, if the child or parent committed more than one type of breach in the same week, they could receive two or more fines. The total fine a parent could receive for all penalties was capped at 5s. The sixth bye-law required the Board to wait for a period of fourteen days between the time of receiving the notice and proceedings before a penalty or conviction could proceed.

Both the penalty cap and the fourteen days were removed after the 1876 Education Act. The fourteen days was intended to give both the parents and the Board time to prepare a case and defence for the infraction. Parents could explain an absence, talk to their children and the school, or use the time to save up a penalty fine if they were confident it was coming. The fourteen days could even be used by the child or parents to demonstrate good behaviour, which might have boosted their chance of avoiding the penalty. Waiving the fourteen days meant parents could be issued with fines on the same day in which an attendance officer made an accusation. By 1880, attendance officers had a greater degree of

authority to issue fines. Officers frequently received praise for both the number of house visits and the number of convictions made. As the Minutes show, the burden of penalties being issued to parents, which increased on an annual basis, was not explored by the Board, neither was the intrusive nature of many thousands of house calls carried out. Indeed, the increased number of house-to-house calls and penalty fines were viewed only as a marked success. We are also not given any indication of the questionable ethics by which penalty fines were used in part to fund the officers charged with collecting them. The balance of power in relation to penalties was weighted towards attendance officers.

5.2.2 BUILDING CONFIDENCE: 1874-1876

The Newcastle School Board initially spent considerable time debating and formulating a scheme of education, but this was not implemented until after re-elections due to construction delays. The scheme highlighted that although there was criticism of Private Adventure School education, the School Board simply wished to implement a curriculum with alternative objectives. Notably, the Board did not take account of family preferences or attempts to consult them. Understanding the scheme enables us to understand the type of education being introduced in Newcastle from 1874 to 1876.

The first stipulation of the scheme was that the Bible should be read by children and the teacher was limited to, but encouraged, to give explanations to aid better understanding. Teachers were forbidden to ‘attach children to, or detach them from, any particular denomination’ (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.13). However, teachers were given relative freedom to provide whatever ‘explanations’ they saw fit. The hiring process for teachers determined how much and what type of instruction was offered. Teachers and school managers had the potential to provide as much or as little religious explanation as they wished while a parent’s only true course of protest or criticism was to exercise their right to withdraw a child from Biblical instruction periods. Biblical instruction was a priority for both the Infants school and mixed schools subjects of instruction, along with ‘Principles of Morality’ and this is suggested by the precedent infant education along with ‘Biblical Instruction’ took over Reading, Writing and Arithmetic (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.13).

In the listing of subjects, Bible class and instruction was the foundation block permeating and integrating the entire curriculum. The use of prayers and hymns was

mandated not as a class, but as a requirement in school activities. This form of religiosity is more difficult to withdraw from or insulate oneself from if so desired. The Board instructed teaching staff to adhere to the Education Act with regards to religious activity in both a literal sense and in spirit. In principle, this meant exercising the right for parents to withdraw their children from tangible exposure to a specific denomination, but it did not address an intangible exposure to the pervasive culture of a specific denomination. It was also clear that the Board was consciously seeking a balance between denominations but still required a Christian education.

The 'Principles of Morality' was a contemporary phrase that implied a Christian sense of right and wrong. It had been used in a variety of contexts, including empire until it was found to answer the pedagogical conundrum of how to elucidate the moral lessons of the bible without promoting a specific interpretation. Moral lessons which cut across all denominations taught that lying, stealing and murder were wrong while honesty, hard work and caring for one another were right. However, the ambiguity of guidance provided to teachers and concerns of overstepping into denominational teaching unintentionally could lead to a failure to deliver morality lessons at all. This was the case in some schools across London at which point greater clarification was given in a letter to teachers.

The committee have reason to know that in some cases the Bible lesson is confined too exclusively to mere formal explanations of the history or geography or the grammar of that portion of the Scripture which is selected for the day. The committee believe that in these cases the teachers do not avail themselves of the full liberty which they possess, owing to some misapprehension as to the wishes of the Board. The committee accordingly direct that the Board, while assigning due weight to the explanations referred to, attach great importance to the instruction in the principles of morality and religion, which their resolution of 1871 has in view (*LM*, 18 June 1878, p.6).

So it was seven years following the London School Board's instruction to teach the principles of morality that they were finally outlined in clearer terms. They asked teachers to keep morality in mind and 'that every opportunity will be seized earnestly and sympathetically to bring home to the minds of the children those moral and religious principles on which the right conduct of their future lives must necessarily depend'. Even by 1877 however, when this letter was published publicly, many people including Helen Taylor (the niece of John Stuart Mill) took exception to offer anything more than the facts of the bible (*LM*, 18 June 1878, p.6). The 'principles of morality' therefore shifted the extremely complex responsibility of deciding how far to take moral lessons into biblical territory and, as the London letter suggests, many teachers were reluctant to use the bible for morality lessons at all.

The general structure of Newcastle Board education was divided between core and additional subjects. Core subjects for infants included Bible Instruction, 3Rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic), singing, physical exercise and 'object' lessons. Object lessons, based on the kindergarten system, was a method of teaching using a bible to deliver religious instruction. Object lessons either used an item to teach didactically, or children could be taught in a tactile manner through play. Infants education, therefore, focused on morality and religious instruction.

Mixed school's education had a broader education, but bible study and Principles of Morality remained a priority. A broader range of subjects was introduced including geography, English history, elementary physiology, drawing, vocal music, drill, and 'systematized object lessons' with a focus on physics. English grammar and composition were taught in addition to the 3Rs. Geography was taught as physical, political and

commercial geography. While these subjects alone do not constitute a unique system, the combination of physics, commercial geography and drawing would have given students a much greater contextual knowledge for the kinds of occupations students were likely to secure on Tyneside. Girls at mixed Board schools followed the same 'essential' curriculum as boys but time was taken away from core subjects for 'plain needle work and cutting out: and (for advanced classes,) Domestic Economy' (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.14).

Additional subjects which could be taken at a student or parents' discretion or enforced at a school level by a manager could include book-keeping, mensuration, geometry, algebra, and any subject recognised by the Education Department's Code of Regulations. If schools did not directly offer those subjects which would have been desired for certain apprenticeships, then parents could pay additional fees for night classes at Board or voluntary schools or pay higher fees for private tuition.

Evening schools were gender-segregated for children over 12 and followed a similar curriculum as the day school. School fees were at the discretion of individual school managers, but a proportion of the fees collected were given to the headteacher. There was a material benefit for schoolteachers to attract as many evening school students as possible and to charge higher fees. As day school attendance could fluctuate, evening schools provided teachers with an additional income. Training pupil teachers was a secondary use of evening schools. Pupil teachers were required to attend monthly exams which were organised externally by the Teacher's Association. Evening classes allowed pupil teachers to receive tuition delivered by the Physical Science College or the Science and Art Department (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.15).

The Board outlined that all schools, except infant schools, shall provide gymnastic apparatus 'wherever practicable' (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.14). It was only a requirement that apparatus be provided if space on the school grounds was adequate to equip them. This allowed the Board to express the provision of gymnastic equipment as a preference but not hold themselves accountable. At the time of approving the scheme on 24 June 1872, the Board were a month away from opening the first of their temporary schools. Any minimum standards relating to class sizes and equipment could not have been met by the temporary schools and would not be met until the opening of the first permanent schools three years later (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, pp.7-10).

Other forms of equipment which would be used by children daily for classes, were to be provided by parents. Only the materials and books necessary to pass a non-essential class would be provided by the school. All subjects classed as essential, which were most of them, required parents to provide books, materials, equipment, and clothing. However, the Board would sell any necessary supplies to parents 'at cost price' to those parents who could pay and 'gratuitously, at the discretion of the Board, to all whose parents are too poor to purchase them' (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.14). The Board was also required to supply a diverse selection of reading books. On 11 September 1876, an additional fund was established to 'relieve the necessities of the more-deserving poor' which included food and clothing. £15 was raised in total which was mostly spent on providing shoes.

The Board scheme's final remaining sections related to teacher salaries, school fees, timetables, corporal punishment. Not much is written on these issues other than to ensure due diligence would be given. The minimum amount of time for which a child was required to attend was established as five days a week, for five hours a day in mixed-schools and four

and a half hours in infant's schools. Weekly fees were set (in 1872) at 2d for seven years or younger, 4d for children between seven and ten and 6d for children aged ten to thirteen. Fees were paid weekly by all parents who could afford it. For parents who could not afford the fees, a petition could be made to the School Board to exempt a parent temporarily or continuously from paying fees. The School Board could either provide payments for children to attend voluntary schools or remit fees to a boarding school once they had been established. This was in-line with the ability for any School Board in England to remit fees though many, including London, wanted to but believed the public were not ready for free schools 1870-1873 (Sutherland, 1973, p.167).

SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION

With a plan to establish three sets of mixed and infants schools for a combined 3,000 places, the Board had to identify locations which would have the most significant impact. The permanent schools would be funded via the Public Loans Commission pending final approval by the Education Department. Loans would be released on condition that an open competition had occurred which secured the best value (not necessarily the lowest cost) site, architectural plan, and construction. The Board was also acutely aware and rather optimistic about planned and potential voluntary school construction. The Board predicted an increase of 18.86% of voluntary provision (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, pp.4-5). The initial accommodation estimate and location scouting included projections of future voluntary school construction. The growth of voluntary schools did not bloom as expected by 1874. By 1876, the optimistic belief that the voluntary sector would be encouraged rather than suppressed by state education had faded. Voluntary provision met the 1870 projection in 1882, representing a 20% increase over 12 years (Newcastle Board, Fourth Report, 1882, p.10). In this same period the total population of Newcastle had increased by

14.5% by 1881 and 50% by 1891 (Barke, 2001, p.136). This further encouraged the School Board to take greater control of school infrastructures and expand their role.

The first stage to opening board accommodation was the establishment of temporary schools. In a sense, these schools served as pilot tests to gauge public interest in attending Board schools. Temporary schools also allowed the Board to develop its bye-laws, organisational structures and better inform them about changes that may have been needed to the permanent school plans.

The first temporary schools were located at St. Lawrence and Tindal Street on Arthur's Hill in Westgate. An effort was also made to secure premises on Scotswood Road, but these 'proved fruitless' in the words of the Board (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.6). Opened 542 days after the 1871 election on 22 July 1872 these schools represented the first state provision in Newcastle under the 1870 Elementary Education Act. The delay, as explained by the Board, was not in action, but to allow detailed discussions on the development of a curriculum.

Newcastle Industrial School was entitled to support from the School Board. This was honoured on 23 October 1871, and from that date onwards financial support was offered and eventually provided to the Newcastle Training Ship (Godfrey, 2014). The Board provided 3s for each child aged between 6-10 years each week who were inmates at the Newcastle Industrial School. For children aged between 10-16, only 1s was paid each week. These children were either housed in the industrial school or on the Training Ship. Only a small proportion of the children were sent to the training ship, but conditions were extremely poor, and the lack of funds did little to alleviate the 28.

In the period 1871-1876, the Board were barely able to establish permanent schools. Westmorland and Arthur's Hill were opened in June 1875 and the third school, St Peters, did not open until June 1876. The risk of losing a significant number of Board members in the election while construction plans were still ongoing was a concern for the original 1871 School Board. Equally, complications associated with the construction of the schools was a genuine preoccupation and required significant attention at Board meetings. In the event, elections were not the highest priority.

The task of scouting and negotiating school sites, overseeing architectural competitions and reviewing contracts was delegated to specific committees. Committees were smaller sections of the main School Board which consisted of the Chairman and a small group of Board members with either an interest or skill set to carry out a specific brief. The work of a task-and-finish committee can be highly detailed and easily upset by the departure of one or more members. By 1873 the Newcastle School Board had committees overseeing two overcrowded temporary schools, the construction of two permanent schools (Westmorland Road and Arthur's Hill) and managing the planning stage for the third school at St. Peters. With regards to St. Peters, the Board was stuck negotiating between the former site owners (North-Eastern Railway Company) and the Education Department who had the authority to recommend a Public Works Commission loan. To call an election during this period in which momentum had finally found traction could have been disastrous. The Education Department accepted the Board's reasoning for missing the deadline to call an election as a clerical error and decided to expunge rather than postpone the 1876 election. The decision was pivotal in exposing two traits of the 1870 Education Act as it was being applied in Newcastle. First, that direct participation from stakeholders was less important

than preserving infrastructure development. Second, the policies of the Newcastle School Board had received state mandate. When School Boards acted against the wishes of the Education Department they were corrected, coerced into changed or replaced. Such was the case in Cornhill, which will be expanded upon later.

A third significant consequence of abandoning electoral integrity was the effective stifling of female suffrage. Having been able to participate in 1871 women were unable to develop the catalogue of electoral participation. Thus, female disenfranchisement was reaffirmed as the social norm within both the national collective memory and in Northumberland.

A decision was made to roll over the 1871 Board into 1874 without an election, as did the 1880 School Board. Elections that were originally proposed to be held annually were held only three times between 1871 and 1889. The roll-over decisions diminished democratic participation across the School Board period. The lack of democracy created stability for School Boards to construct permanent accommodation, curriculum and bye-laws. It also established Private Adventure Schools as the form of education with the greatest parental influence.

PERMANENT ACCOMMODATION

Westmorland Road school opened on the 26 July 1875, Arthur's Hill opened on the 20 September 1875 and the third school, St Peter's was opened 24 July 1876 (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.6). Each school had been originally designed to accommodate a standard accommodation of 1000 children but they were all modified during construction to increase both the size of the site and the number of spaces. Reasonable delays included the engineer's strike of 1871 (which will be addressed later in

the thesis) and the challenges of negotiating with landlords (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, pp.5-7). Particularly with the North Eastern Railway Company for the St Peter's Site (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.10).

TABLE 9: COST OF WESTMORLAND, ARTHUR'S HILL AND ST. PETER'S BOARD SCHOOLS 1873-1877

School	Opening Date	Area of Site m ²	School Accommodation	Cost of Site* (2019)	Cost of Building* (2019)	Lowest Average Attendance	Highest Average Attendance	Average Expenses 1877-79 per scholar ⁺
Westmorland Road Board School	26/06/1875	3045	1139	£1,453 (£168,918)	£11,335 (£1,317,751)	76% (1877)	96% (1887)	£2 4s 9d
Arthurs Hill Board School	26/06/1875	3909	1162	£1,799 (£209,143)	£10,941 (£1,271,947)	60% (1877)	97% (1889)	£2 3s 17d
St Peter's Board School	24/06/1876	5364	1225	£962 (£111,837)	£11,745 (£1,365,416)	40% (1877)	80% (1886)	£2 7s 17d
Total		12,318	3,526	£4,214 (£489,899)	£34,021 (£3,955,115)			£2 5s 7d

* 2019 costs calculated by converting pounds, shilling and pence of the 1873 cost into pence and then finding modern value based on the Bank of England inflation calculator.

⁺Total expenses include; salaries of teaching staff, books, apparatus and stationary, the net cost of books to the School Board (the cost of books minus income for books sold), fuel and light, replacement of repairs to furniture, cleaning, repairs to the building, rents, rates, taxes, insurance and other miscellaneous or sundry expenses.

Source: Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.5; BOE, 2020.

TABLE 10: AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AT WESTMORLAND ROAD, ARTHUR'S HILL AND ST. PETER'S BOARD SCHOOLS 1876-1888

School		1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888
Westmorland Road (Capacity 1,139)	Average Attendance	924	860	914	989	1,012	999	1,043	1,009	1,027	1,032	1,028	1,092	1,057
	% of Capacity	81%	76%	80%	87%	89%	88%	92%	89%	90%	91%	90%	96%	93%
Arthur's Hill (Capacity 1,162)	Average Attendance	776	703	879	902	973	953	987	975	1,005	1,026	1,068	1,115	1,132
	% of Capacity	67%	60%	76%	78%	84%	82%	85%	84%	86%	88%	92%	96%	97%
St Peter's (Capacity 1,225)	Average Attendance	563	493	623	612	635	668	676	676	849	920	978	925	932
	% of Capacity	46%	40%	51%	50%	52%	55%	55%	55%	69%	75%	80%	76%	76%
Total		2,263	2,056	2,416	2,503	2,620	2,620	2,660	2,660	2,881	2,978	3,074	3,132	3,121

Source: Newcastle Board, First to Fifth Reports, 1873-1888

The original plan had been to construct three sets of schools with each set providing 1,000 children (Newcastle Board, First Report, 1873, p.5-6). The first permanent school, Westmorland Road, provided accommodation for 1,139 children based on the Board's calculation of 8 sq. ft per child. The total site area was 32,760 square feet. By comparison, the third school at St. Peter's (57,735 square feet) was 76.24% larger. The total accommodation of the three schools was therefore 3,526 pupils. The original deficit calculated by the Board in 1871 had been 2,494, which meant the new Board schools provided 129.26% of the original deficit. The requirements of each school had expanded similarly. Rather than simply providing adequate schools, they aimed to provide a superior model of education. Each school was required to have three private rooms for teachers, a committee room, playgrounds, and gymnastics equipment as well as a residence for a caretaker.

At the same time, temporary Board schools continued to operate as auxiliaries to the permanent schools. Tindal Street School was closed in September 1875 and the children there were transferred to Arthur's Hill School, a permanent school. St Lawrence's had served as an auxiliary to St. Peter's permanent school and closed the same month the new school opened.

A new temporary school was opened at Byker in November 1875, and already the Board was considering further expansion. The idea of building a school in Byker had been considered during the original Board elections. Edward Shortt, the Vicar of St. Anthony's who had received 4,210 votes and failed to secure election, had argued in his election address that the east-end of the town risked being ignored (*DJ*, 21 January 1871, p.2). Shortt

was against the rates being used for 'educating the children of the improvident'. He was also strongly in favour of religious instruction.

By the end of the 1876 Board, the three originally planned schools were not only up and running but were providing more space than originally conceived (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.5). There were plans to open future schools but at a manageable pace. The Board had also minuted its experiences of scouting and negotiating for school sites and had operational experiences. It had put into practice and amended its curriculum and bye-laws, placing it in a much more stable condition to hand over control to a new Board.

1876 EDUCATION ACT

The 1876 Education Act increased the powers of compulsion indirectly by limiting the number of children who could be employed. Employers could not hire children under ten, and if children were not at work, they were required to attend school. Moreover, employers could only hire children over the age of 10 if they had attained certificates of proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic or if they had attended a school that had been certified as efficient. The penalty for an employer could be up to the 40s.

This section of the legislation had the dual intention of increasing the number of children the Board had authority over and combating inefficient schools. The requirement to have an approved certificate or have attended an approved school represented a dynamic shift in the state's authority over education in England and Wales, arguably to a more significant extent than the 1870 Education Act. Compelling children to attend school and controlling which schools and educations were legitimate or not would have

significantly changed the educational landscape in 1870, even without the provision of state schools. As most children were already attending schools and the majority of School Boards had already imposed compulsory attendance by 1876, this clause of the 1876 Act could be viewed as an attempt to provide uniformity in responsibilities across all School Boards. Compulsory attendance of approved schools, however, was nothing less than a direct targeting of schools deemed inefficient, namely Private Adventure Schools.

For six years, the state and voluntary sector had had the opportunity to provide education of such calibre and at a significantly lower cost to compete effectively against the private sector. With access to public works commission loans, government grants and rate-payer support state schools were able to provide education at lower fees. Education and school supplies were even provided free to those who could not afford them. Yet the state could still not deter a significant number of parents from choosing small-scale Private Adventure Schools. The state was forced to resort to legislation to indirectly compel parents to take their children from Private Adventure Schools and enrol them at approved schools with approved educations.

Direct compulsion was introduced in 1880. Power was granted to the school attendance committees, established under the 1876 Education Act, to make attendance bye-laws without prior authority of the parish. As compulsory attendance was already in force across Newcastle, and the 1876 Act had increased the powers of the Board to enforce indirect compulsion, the 1880 Act served to further strengthen its authority. Consequently, the School Board had significant new powers to not only direct parents to send their children to school, but to dictate which school, under penalty of a criminal conviction and limited employment opportunities for their children.

5.2.3 EXTENDING AUTHORITY: 1877-1889

The 1877 election brought an almost complete change to the constitution of the Newcastle School Board but set in motion a much harsher environment in which Private Adventure Schools had to survive. This was a period in which suppressing entrepreneurial education was an open goal and the powers of attendance officers were used effectively to achieve that aim. Nine members were either not returned or failed to be reselected. Adam Carse, William Leighton, David Main all stood on their records and failed to poll over 5,566. William Haswell Stephenson polled only 3,395 and was placed twentieth overall. He would be brought back to the Board in 1880 following the resignations of Rev. Francis Bromley and Dr Henry W. Newton and stayed in position until 1891. Stephenson was an individual whom the Board wished to have but had not achieved success in a public election. Along with George Luckley, John Rutherford and Robert Spence Watson, Stephenson was almost a continuous member of the Board from 1871 to 1891.

Only six of the fourteen members from the 1873-1876 Board stood for and survived the 1877 election. There would not be another full public election until 1889, twelve years later. The Board repeatedly voted to conduct uncontested elections. This allowed members to resign and be replaced by Board-approved candidates. Two members (Francis Bromley and Henry Newton) resigned in 1880. Between 1880 and 1891 onwards 33 members would join and leave the Board - an average of 3 per year. Neither John Rutherford nor George Luckley contested the 1891 election. The long-time vice-chair and chair of the Board who had both been a significant presence on the Board were replaced by Somerset E. Pennefather and Walter R. Plummer, two members who had joined in 1886.

The period 1877 to 1889 was, therefore, one of relative continuity and stability both in terms of people and policy. The 1877 election was key to establishing a new balance. A criticism of the 1871 election was a failure of the church to maximise its voter base to carry a greater number of members to the Board. The mistake seems to have been repeated in the 1877 election. The table below outlines the proportion of votes received by the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Unsectarian, Presbyterian, Independent, Methodist and Secularist candidates as reported by the *Newcastle Courant* (NC, 19 January 1877, p.8).

TABLE 11: NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION RESULTS 1877

ELECTED CANDIDATES	OCCUPATION	PLATFORM	1877 Vote	1871 Vote
Drysdale, Rev. Canon Alexander	Catholic Priest	Roman Catholic	15,143	4,524
McAnulty, Bernard	Warehouseman	Roman Catholic	14,272	
Burrell, John	Manure Manufacturer	Churchman	11,944	
Bromley, Francis	Clerk in Holy Orders	Churchman	11,345	
Fenwick, George Anthony	Baker	Churchman	10,995	
Clayton, Nathaniel George	Solicitor	Churchman	9,731	
Rutherford, John Hunter	Surgeon	Unsectarian: Formerly The Education League	9,698	
Watson, Robert Spence	Solicitor	Unsectarian: Formerly The Education League.	9,508	5,739
Newton, Henry William	Surgeon	Unsectarian: Liberal Party Candidate	9,214	
Luckley, George	Shipowner	Unsectarian: Formerly The Education League.	9,131	5,850
Houldey, William Ephraim	Clerk in Holy Orders	Churchman	9,023	
Bradburn, John	Dyer	Unsectarian: Formerly The Education League	8,103	Withdrew
Thompson, John	Presbyterian Minister	Unsectarian: Liberal Party Candidate	7,745	
Rowell, Robert	Coal Fitter	Unsectarian: Liberal Party Candidate	7,552	
Sutton, William	Mercer and Hosier	Unsectarian: Formerly The Education League	7,363	
UNELECTED CANDIDATES				
Main, David Darling	Secretary	Presbyterian	5,566	5,316
Carse, Adam	Hatter	Independent	4,734	4,959
Leighton, William Brogg	Agent	Wesleyan Methodist	4,486	
Symes, Joseph	Elocutionist and Teacher of Classics	Secularist	4,161	
Stephenson, William Haswell	Coal owner	Wesleyan Methodist	3,395	6,086
Stephens, William David	Steamship Owner	Presbyterian	2,650	
Murray, Hamilton	Chemist	Independent	816	
Dransfield, John	Clothier		Withdrew	
Harkus, George	Cabinet Maker		Withdrew	

Source: NC, 19 January 1877, p.8.

TABLE 12: TOTAL VOTES IN THE NEWCASTLE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION 1877

Party/Electoral Group	1871 Vote	1877 Votes	Vote Share	Total Candidates	Elected Candidates	% of the Board
Churchmen	49,923	53,038	30%	5	5	33%
Unsectarian (ex-League)	34,478	43,803	25%	5	5	33%
Unsectarian (Liberal Party)	0	24,511	14%	3	3	20%
Independent	23,513	25,808	14%	7	0	0%
Roman Catholic	9,674	29,415	16%	2	2	13%
Workingmen's Candidate	1,422	0	0%	0	0	0%
TOTAL	119,010	178,452		22	15	

Source: *NC*, 19 January 1877, p.8; *DJ*, 27 January 1871, p.4.

The Church managed to get all of its nominated candidates elected but with 30% of the total vote only secured five seats. There was a marked shift towards unsectarian candidates who secured all 8 of their target seats. The Catholic body which had failed to secure any seats in the initial 1871 election managed to acquire two seats. These were occupied by Canon Drysdale who sat continuously between 1874 to 1887 and Bernard McAnulty who sat from 1877 to 1882. The Catholic vote had concentrated on its two candidates and secured two seats with 17% of the vote. The opposite could be said of the Methodist candidates of whom William Haswell Stephenson was counted. Methodists spread 10,531 votes across three candidates and therefore failed to get a single seat. The breakdown in religious voting reflects the sophistication of the religious landscape in Newcastle and to what degree each faith community felt compelled to have input on the future of education in the region.

It was not a dramatic shift towards the Liberals and sympathies with the Education League, but the 1877 vote did solidify the position of those in favour of expanding the educational programme in Newcastle. The new Board was more heavily constituted of members in favour of school buildings, curriculum development and the centralisation of educational regulation. The new priority was a consolidation of authority and a more confident implementation. More importantly, fewer members remained fundamentally opposed to the 1870 Education Act since they had experienced it in action. The triennial reports between 1877 and 1889 were overwhelmingly filled with how the powers of the 1870, 1876 and 1880 acts were being utilised and what further powers the Board hoped to receive in future legislation. A unified belief in the legitimacy and authority of state education had certainly not been present on the original 1871-1873 Board. From 1877, the

Board was unanimously in favour of extending the influence of state education and Board authority over education in Newcastle.

The 1889 election was noted by the press as being quiet and slow. Such a long time had passed since the last School Board election that ratepayers barely understood how to cast their vote. Each eligible voter received 15 votes under a cumulative system. Voters could cast all their votes for an individual or spread their vote across multiple candidates to show a preference. The Board which had sat from 1886-1889 issued a joint statement asking supporters to distribute their 15 votes equally amongst each candidate, allowing the entire Board to move forward as a unit. The *Newcastle Journal* reported, however, that despite this compact the various religious interests had petitioned their supporters to focus their votes only on their candidates (*NJ*, 15 January 1889, p.8). For example, Catholics and Anglican supporters were told only to vote for Catholic and Anglican candidates despite those candidates publicly petitioning against partisanship.

The 1889 election was different from the 1877 and 1871 elections for another reason. There was growing popular support for working-class candidates. Three socialist candidates were included on the ballot: William Hill, John Laidler and Alex Stewart. A blacksmith, a bricklayer, and a patternmaker. Laidler was elected twice in 1889 and again in 1895. Stewart sat on the Board between 1889 and 1891. Hill served in 1891 following a resignation but was not re-elected. These three candidates were all from the Elswick area. It was noted that in South Elswick 500 men had recorded their votes in the 10 hours between 8:00 and 18:00, but between 18:00 and 21:00, as the factories emptied, another 700 votes were cast. Seven hundred factory voters represented 10,500 votes. Overall turnout, nevertheless, was bitterly low, especially given that it was the first vote in over a decade.

Only 12,600 of 29,877 eligible voters participated in a turnout of 42% (*NJ*, 15 January 1889, p.8). The election in 1877 had a voter turnout of 62% of the eligible vote.

Temporal distance from the prior election was significant in the disconnect voters felt from the election and resulted in a low turnout. After the public debates in 1869, there had been some hope by liberals that the School Boards could emulate the type of direct public participation they had heard existed in the United States but this never occurred during the Board period in Newcastle. It was operating quietly in the background, resistant to public elections and resistant to criticism. 1873 had been an opportunity to initiate a tradition of public elections and maintain the spark of public curiosity and debate in education. The slow progress of the initial School Board and only three elections over eighteen years had resulted in a certain apathy amongst the electorate. The 1870 Education Act had intended to introduce direct public involvement through elections but this was almost non-existent in Newcastle during the School Board period. Elsewhere in the country, School Boards saw frequent elections as open doors to ‘faddists’ and were similarly predisposed against them. These were independent candidates who were able to use the cumulative voting method to secure a seat and challenge traditional socio-political elites (Sutherland, 1973, p.100-105). Reluctance to hold elections was therefore not purely a trait of Newcastle.

ACCOMMODATION AND ATTENDANCE

The nature of school attendance across England and Wales changed following the 1876 and 1880 Education Acts. Both of those Acts increased pressure on local School Boards to implement and enforce compulsory attendance (Sutherland, 1873, pp.115-162). The Newcastle School Board was perhaps in a better position than most Boards. By 1876 only

40% of the School Boards were imposing compulsion (Hunt, 1979, p.189). The Newcastle School Board had implemented compulsory powers in 1872 and it had employed an attendance officer in March 1872 to enforce the bye-laws. This individual had trained two other officers so that three officers were operational after 8 months. In November 1872, compulsion was brought into full effect. At that point, there were no permanent Board schools. Compulsion was enforced to attend religious schools, charity schools and to a lesser extent, the very few 'efficient' Private Adventure Schools. Between 1871 and 1876 the goal of the compulsion officers was to increase school attendance, rather than guide parents towards making a choice.

The borough was divided into three school districts, each district having a committee and a Board officer. Between 1873 and 1876 the Board gradually increased the powers and remit of the three officers. Between them, the officers made '9,477 house calls, oversaw 20,931 cases of irregular attendance and served 4,465 notices.' (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p. 10). A total of 756 fines were issued with the maximum fine, 2s 6d, being served 75% of the time.

Four attendance officers were employed in 1876, which increased in 1879 to six. All six attendance officers at that time were entirely engaged in enforcement issues and required to make daily house calls to the families of pupils. Each officer had the power to invoke proceedings against a parent on the day in which they visited, which could result in fines or legal proceedings in the worst-case scenario. There was particularly intense scrutiny of parents whose children were deemed, habitual absentees. For some families, for the first time in history, education was transformed from an opportunity to a threat. Between 1876 and 1879, 737 convictions were made. Nestled amongst the attendance report is the

curious placement of a note on Private Adventure Schools. 'The number of Private Adventure Schools in the borough, wherein the ordinary fee charged does not exceed 9d a week, has decreased since 1875 from 41 to 16' (Newcastle Board Third Report, 1879, p.18). This curious placement between attendance committee convictions and the number of convicted children confined to the industrial school suggests that Private Adventure Schools were placed in the same category as causes and consequences of absentee children.

This conclusion is supported by how the Board reported Private Adventure Schools in 1876. After a request from the Education Department, the Newcastle Board was required to enquire into the condition of the Private Adventure Schools charging 9d or less. The 1876 survey found 41 schools, serving 2,034 children between 3 and 14, but only eight schools were considered efficient. One of the previously efficient schools had failed to improve. The Board reported to the Department 'As a rule, the teachers were incompetent; no record of the daily attendance of the scholars were kept; the premises were unfit for educational purposes, and the sanitary accommodations defective; the books and apparatus were of a meagre description; and the discipline and instruction unsatisfactory' (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.15). This description may as well have been given in 1870. It was a common perception of the schools voiced by those who had not visited and those who claimed to have objectively inspected the schools. The comment that comes afterwards however is far more interesting: 'Evidence, moreover, was not wanting to shew that careless parents often sent their children to these schools to evade the bye-laws of the Board' (Newcastle Board, Second Report, 1876, p.15). This speaks to the lack of regard for parental choice. The accusation that parents would choose Private Adventure Schools rather than Board or religious schools as an intentional retaliation against the bye-laws set a

dangerous precedent. It was also an illogical suggestion that Private Adventure Schools were the result of mischievous parents since they pre-dated the bye-laws by several decades. The report section ends with a statement that the Board believed that 'these, and similar schools, throughout the country will, in all probability, rapid decline in the future through the operation of the Elementary Education Act, 1876'. Thus, suggesting that not only were Private Adventure Schools positioned as a competitor but as a threat to the bye-laws. Parental choice was not only viewed as illegitimate but malicious. The reforms in 1876 to the Elementary Education Act were received positively by the Newcastle School Board. Whereas there had been concerted efforts by its members to hinder the introduction of a Newcastle School Board in 1870 the Reform Act was welcomed. Welcoming the power to enforce greater compulsion and direct children towards schools believed to be of higher quality was a sign that the School Board had arrived at a consensus that they had the moral authority and obligation to provide educational opportunities to every child. However; the 1876 reforms and how they were used made it even more clear that the Board was not interested in providing additional school accommodation but that it was determined to prevent families from attending schools it deemed unworthy.

5.3 CITY STATUS: ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE

5.3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH AND EDUCATION

The economic and social development of Northumberland in the nineteenth century, particularly in the latter half of that century, was heavily influenced by migrant populations and the international community. The growth of education in Northumberland was inextricably linked to seismic economic and demographic changes. It is important to recognise that Private Adventure Schools developed symbiotically with these changes while state education, new to the scene, was an imposition. Not only was the leading paper, the *Newcastle Chronicle*, well informed by international contacts but several of the region's leading industrialists either had international heritage, education or business contacts and contracts. Robert Stephenson (1803-1859) for example, studied at Bruce's Academy and Edinburgh University but then spent three years in Columbia in 1824 before taking up a permanent position at his family's Newcastle works (Kirby, 2004). Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell (1816-1904) followed a similar path. Bell received an education in German and Danish manufacturing between graduating from Bruce's academy in Newcastle and studying at Edinburgh University (Tweedale, 2004). Sir Charles Palmer (1822-1907), after an education at Bruce's Academy, received commercial training in Marseilles (Linsley, 2004). John Wigham Richardson (1837-1908), also educated at Bruce's Academy spent a summer upon graduation from University College London in Tübingen to improve his German (Baker, 2004). William Armstrong's early career focused on legal training and therefore, he did not receive an international education (Linsley, 2006). Armstrong's business partner, however, and the co-founder of Armstrong Mitchell & Company in 1882 was the Aberdeen born engineer Charles Mitchell. Armstrong was also joined by the Scottish artillery expert, Sir Andrew Noble (1831-1915) in 1860. Noble provided the technical expertise and military

experience, which helped further develop the rifled breech-loading Armstrong gun (Linsley, 2013). Noble was the son of a Scottish father and an American mother and was husband to Lady Margery Noble (1828-1929, nee Campbell), a Canadian. His military experience was the result of almost eleven years stationed abroad as an artillery captain.

Leading Tyneside industrialists benefited from exposure to foreign business practices and manufacturing techniques. Tyneside was also attractive to the international community as a place to learn, work and live. The most striking example of international influence on Tyneside and the North East is arguably located 30 miles south of Newcastle on the River Tees. Middlesbrough owes a significant debt to its first Mayor and first MP Henry William Ferdinand Bölckow (1806-1878), who was born Heinrich Wilhelm Ferdinand Bölckow in Sülten, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Germany (Cookson, 2004). Bölckow's first employment was at the Baltic port town of Rostock, which maintained a trade route to Newcastle, and it was via this connection that he arrived in the North East. Bölckow was instrumental in the founding and success of Middlesbrough but between 1827-1841 he lived and worked in Newcastle with a fellow German entrepreneur of note, Christian Allhusen (1806-1890) who was both a corn merchant and the owner of a large chemical factory in Gateshead (Coley, 2004). Bölckow maintained his connection to Newcastle through personal, financial, and business relationships throughout his life. Domestic and international migration had a profound impact on the social, political, and economic development of Tyneside, with profound consequences for the provision and attendance of schools in the Eastern Region.

The Eastern Region of Northumberland in the nineteenth century has been defined for this study as roughly corresponding to the Ordnance Survey grids NZ 16, 17 and 37, with NZ 16, NZ 26 and NZ 36 also being included where land is north of the River Tyne. The River

Tyne acted as both a geographic and administrative border between Northumberland and Durham in the nineteenth century and formed a southern border to the region. NZ 17, 27 and 37 allow us to track urban expansion and analyse peri-urban areas which were associated with Tyneside urban development. A partial area of NZ 15 is also included which roughly corresponds to the present border of Northumberland, but this would be more accurately discussed as part of the Southern Region.

The region is predominantly topographically level and forms part of a river basin and mouth for the River Tyne. There are, however, areas of steep gradient, which for the most part, are still present today. Valleys exist between Newcastle and Denton and between Newcastle and Byker. The latter of the two, Ouseburn, presented a more serious barrier to the thoroughfare. The Ouseburn Viaduct completed in 1839, and Byker Bridge completed in 1878, allowed for easier passage but until its abolition, charged a toll for access. For residents of Newcastle and North Tyneside, a multitude of transport options were available both for internal movement within the metropolitan area and outwardly to the rest of Northumberland, England, Scotland or internationally. For the latter half of the nineteenth century, transport between Tynemouth, North Shields, South Shields and Newcastle was efficiently met by steam ferries and by rail. Additionally, as an international port, Tyneside was a point of origin and a destination for international travel. As transportation options increased, so the distance and the likelihood of individuals travelling for goods and services increased. We must keep in mind that by 1890, individuals were no longer restricted to the services or employment in the immediate area of where they lived.

The region defined above, as an urban area, was one of the most densely populated areas of both Northumberland and England in the nineteenth century. By 1880 Newcastle

compared to other major industrialised urban areas such as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and London. By Letters Patent, in August 1882, Newcastle was formerly recognised as a city. As one of the more rapidly developing urban areas in England, Newcastle was exposed to similar significant challenges. The supply of freshwater and the safe treatment of sewage was continually pressured by the rate of population expansion. Outbreaks of Cholera and other infectious diseases had devastating impacts, particularly on the most over-populated areas such as the Sandgate area in All Saints, Newcastle. Population growth presented a wide range of pressures on local services including fire safety, policing, flagging of pavements and the provision of adequate housing stock (Barke, 2001, p.141-154). Though improvements were made, the threat of a health crisis was ever-present and infant mortality, in particular, remained high throughout the period. It is important to keep these pressures in mind when critiquing a single issue or policy, such as the provision of education.

As the North East of England's primary metropolitan area and principal port, Newcastle and the Tyne River provided both a point of origin and a destination for international travel and emigration. International, Welsh and Scottish migrants settled throughout Northumberland, but the numerical majority settled in Newcastle and the Tyneside area. This had profound cultural impacts, not least the growth of the Catholic Church, which rapidly expanded with the increased influx of Irish migrants after the 1847 famine. Social growth and diversity were matched by economic opportunity and industrial innovation. Along with traditional Tyneside industries including glassmaking, ropemaking and wood shipbuilding new industries emerged along the river, including steel shipbuilding, armaments manufacturing and an expansion of chemical and ironworks (Wright, 2011, p.46;

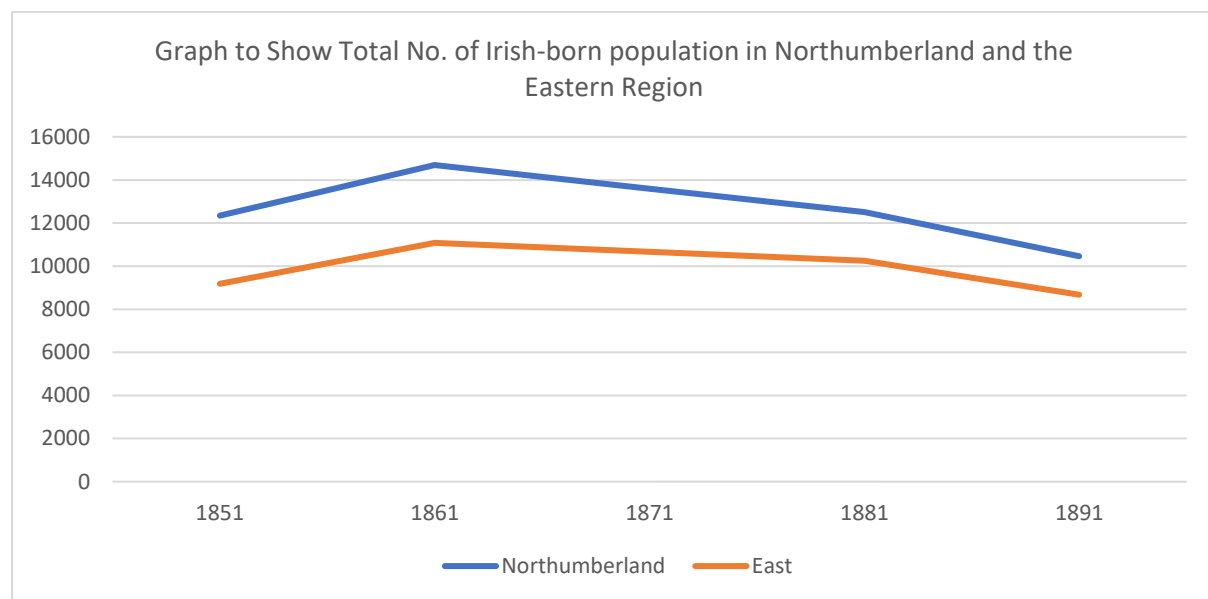
Barke and Taylor, 2015, p. 44). Newcastle was also a centre for publication and financial services. We must take into account population growth, ethnic diversity and new economic opportunities when considering the growth and changing role of education provision in the region. We must also take into account the rapidity in which these changes were occurring.

TYNESIDE IRISH

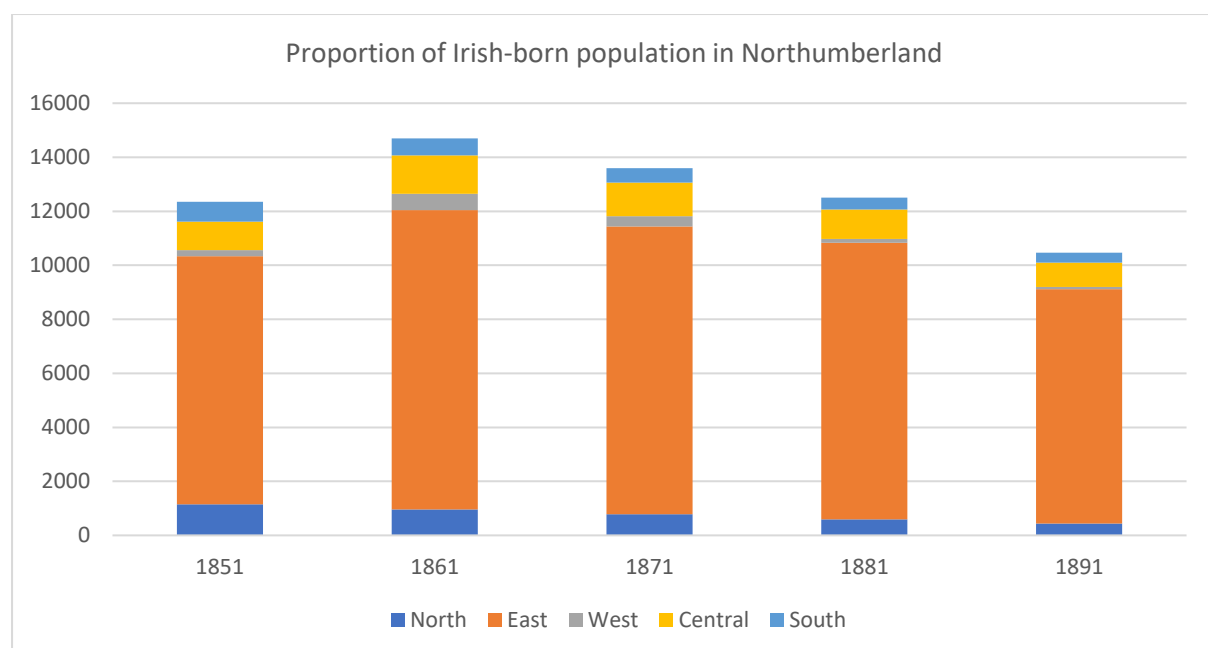
From 1851-1891, between 74-83% of the total Irish-born population in Northumberland lived within the Eastern Region, predominantly along the River Tyne (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891). The census data only gives us information on place of birth, not origin, which means we can only make conclusions of direct migration rather than chain/step migration in which second-generation migrants arrived from places like Scotland. Collectively, 'Tyneside Irish' refers to all Irish-born migrants and their descendants living along either bank of the River Tyne and may also include, broadly speaking, a much broader Irish diaspora spread throughout Sunderland and Durham. For this study, 'Tyneside Irish' refers to the Irish-born population living in the Eastern Region. The Tyneside Irish community in the nineteenth century was a relatively small proportion of the total Tyneside population. Nevertheless, the concentration of Irish migrants from a limited number of Irish counties was just one contributing factor to the presence of a large, integrated, self-sufficient and confident Irish community, specifically, a strong Catholic-Irish community (Cooter, 2005, pp.7-20).

The number of Irish-born migrants arriving in Northumberland between 1851 and 1891, based on the census returns, peaked in 1861. After this, the number of Irish-born migrants declined both in Northumberland and in the Eastern Region as a whole. By 1891, the population of Irish-born migrants was lower than 1851 levels but from 1861-1881 over

10,000 Irish-born migrants were living in the Eastern Region, which represented 71-85% of the total Irish-born population settling in Northumberland.

FIGURE 4: TOTAL NUMBER OF IRISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND THE EASTERN REGION

Source: ICeM 1851, 2020; ICeM 1861, 2020; ICeM 1881, 2020; ICeM 1891, 2020.

FIGURE 5: PROPORTION OF IRISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN NORTHUMBERLAND

Source: ICeM 1851, 2020; ICeM 1861, 2020; ICeM 1881, 2020; ICeM 1891, 2020.

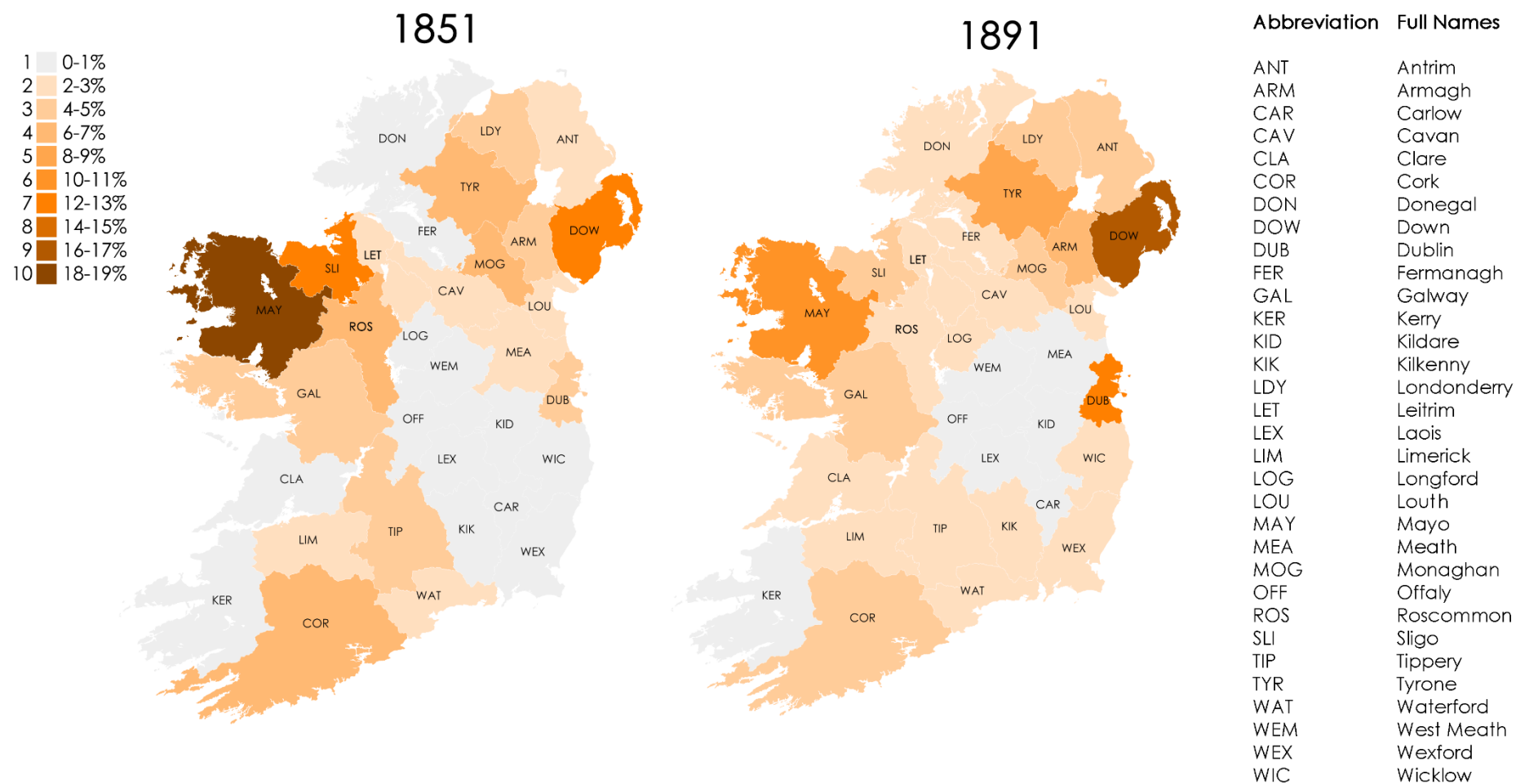
The total size of the Irish-born population living in the Eastern Region in 1851 was 9,182, the equivalent of 74.34% of the total Irish-born population in Northumberland and 6.18% of the total population in the Eastern Region (ICeM, 2020, 1851). In 1861, the Irish-born population had increased numerically to 11,080 and proportionately to 75.41% of the total Northumberland Irish-born population (ICeM, 2020, 1861). This was a marginal decline, however, as a proportion of the total Eastern Region population from 6.18% to 5.95%. From 1861-1881 the total Irish-born population in Northumberland declined from 14,692 to 12,506 and declined further still to 10,461 in 1891 (ICeM, 2020, 1861; 1881; 1891). The majority of the Irish-born decline was absorbed outside of the Eastern Region. While the Irish-born population in Northumberland as a whole declined by 15.3%, Eastern Regions decline was only 5.52%. Between 1851 and 1891, the Tyneside Irish community declined from 9,182 to 8,675 after a period between 1861-1881 of an average of 11,000 (ICeM, 2020, 1861; 1881). Again, it is important to note that these figures represent the population of people born in Ireland, or in other words, first-generation migrants from Ireland. It does not include second-generation migrants who would be recorded as being born in Northumberland. The true size of the Tyneside Irish community is therefore likely to be significantly larger and was potentially not in decline at all. To calculate the population of second-generation Irish, Frank Neal advises us to add 9%, but calculating the total Irish population is unnecessary at this stage (Cooter, 2005, p.16). It is only necessary to be aware of the number of first-generation Irish migrants arriving in Northumberland and to know which Irish counties these migrants were arriving from. Each first-generation migrant represents both a renewed injection of Irish culture to the host population but also a new direct link back to relatives, friends and acquaintances who remained in Ireland.

The entire island of Ireland was, until the twentieth century an integral part of the United Kingdom and as such recorded births in the same detail available for English, Welsh or Scottish migrants. It is, therefore, possible to plot both the location and density of the Irish-born population within Northumberland, the Eastern Region and also the point of origin within Ireland on a county level. However, there is a caveat for using this data as a large percentage of the Scottish, Welsh and Irish county of origin was left undefined by census enumerators. This could have been for a variety of reasons, including a lack of interest or a perceived lack of necessity on the part of enumerators. Table 13 below outlines the available sample for each census decade in relation to the total Irish-born population and the total population of Northumberland:

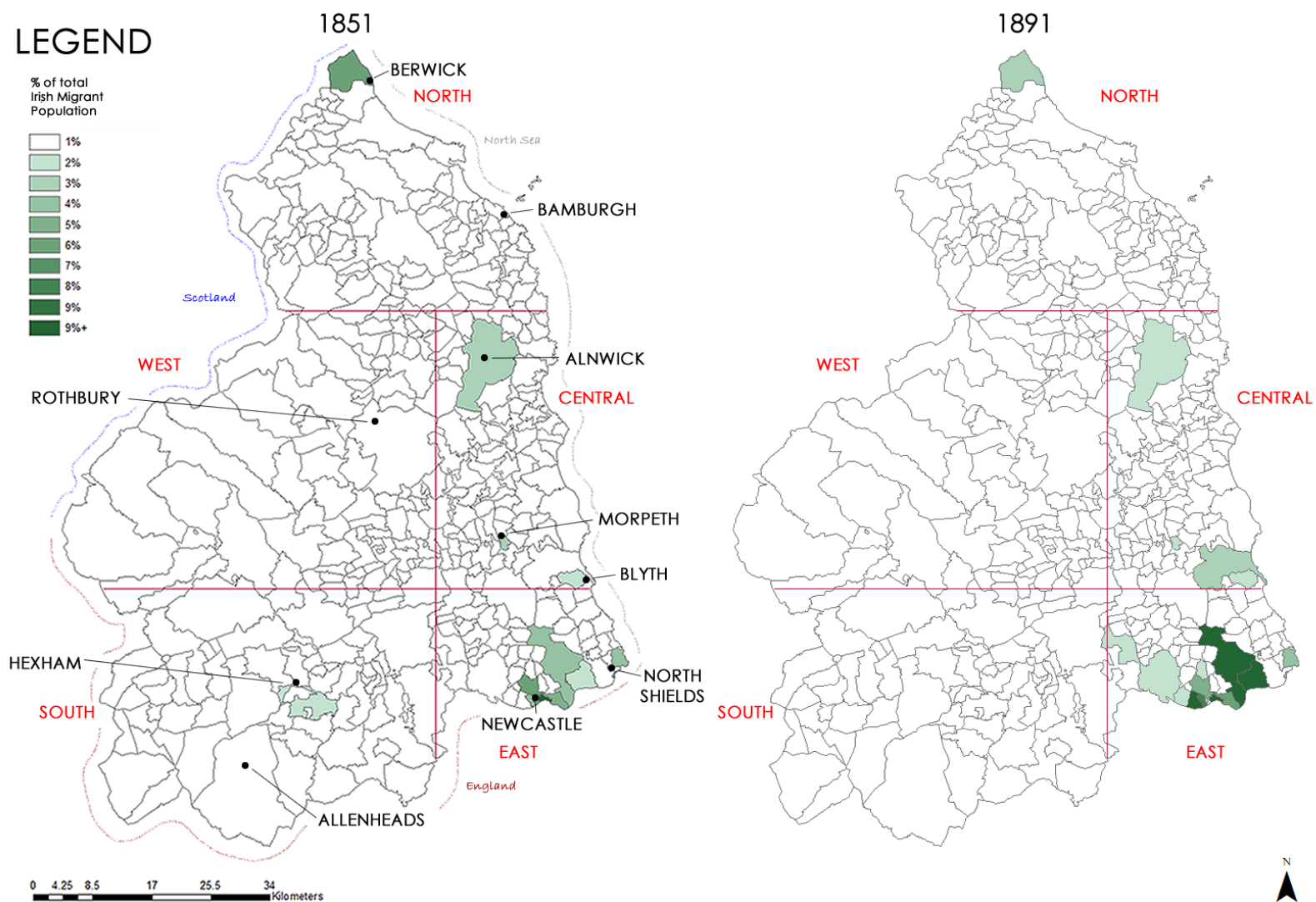
TABLE 13: IRISH-BORN MIGRANTS TO NORTHUMBERLAND 1851, 1861, 1881 AND 1891

	1851	1861	1881	1891
Total Irish-born population in Northumberland	12,338	14,688	12,349	10,442
Total Irish-born population in the eastern region	9,182	11,080	10,244	8,675
Eastern region Irish-born as % of Northumberland total	74.42%	75.44%	82.95%	83.08%
Irish-born eastern-region sample	1,907	1,283	1,581	1,716
Sample as % of Total Irish-born Population	15.46%	8.74%	12.80%	16.43%

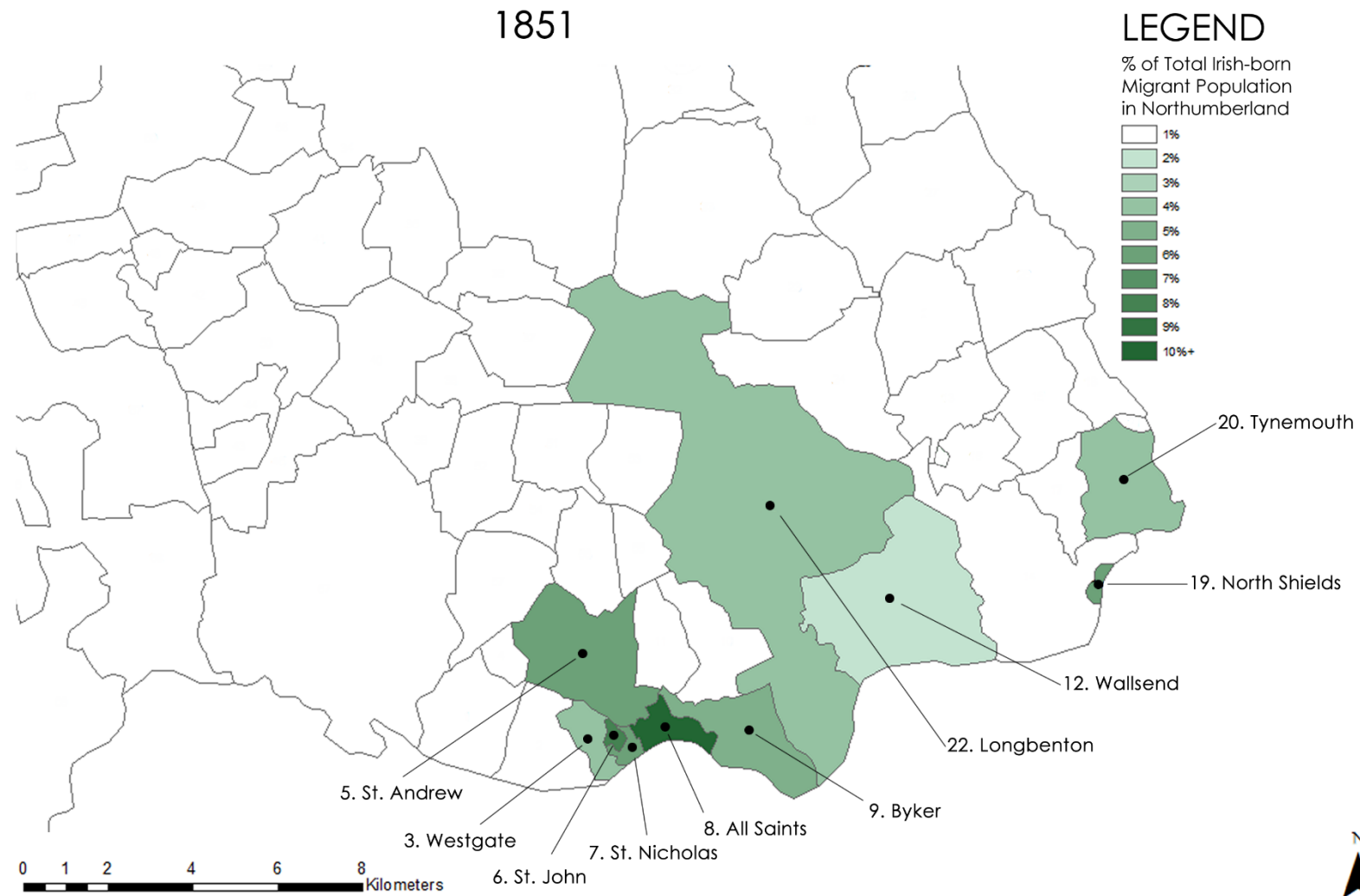
Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

MAP 4: IRISH COUNTY ORIGINS FOR IRISH-BORN MIGRANTS TO NORTHUMBERLAND 1851 AND 1891

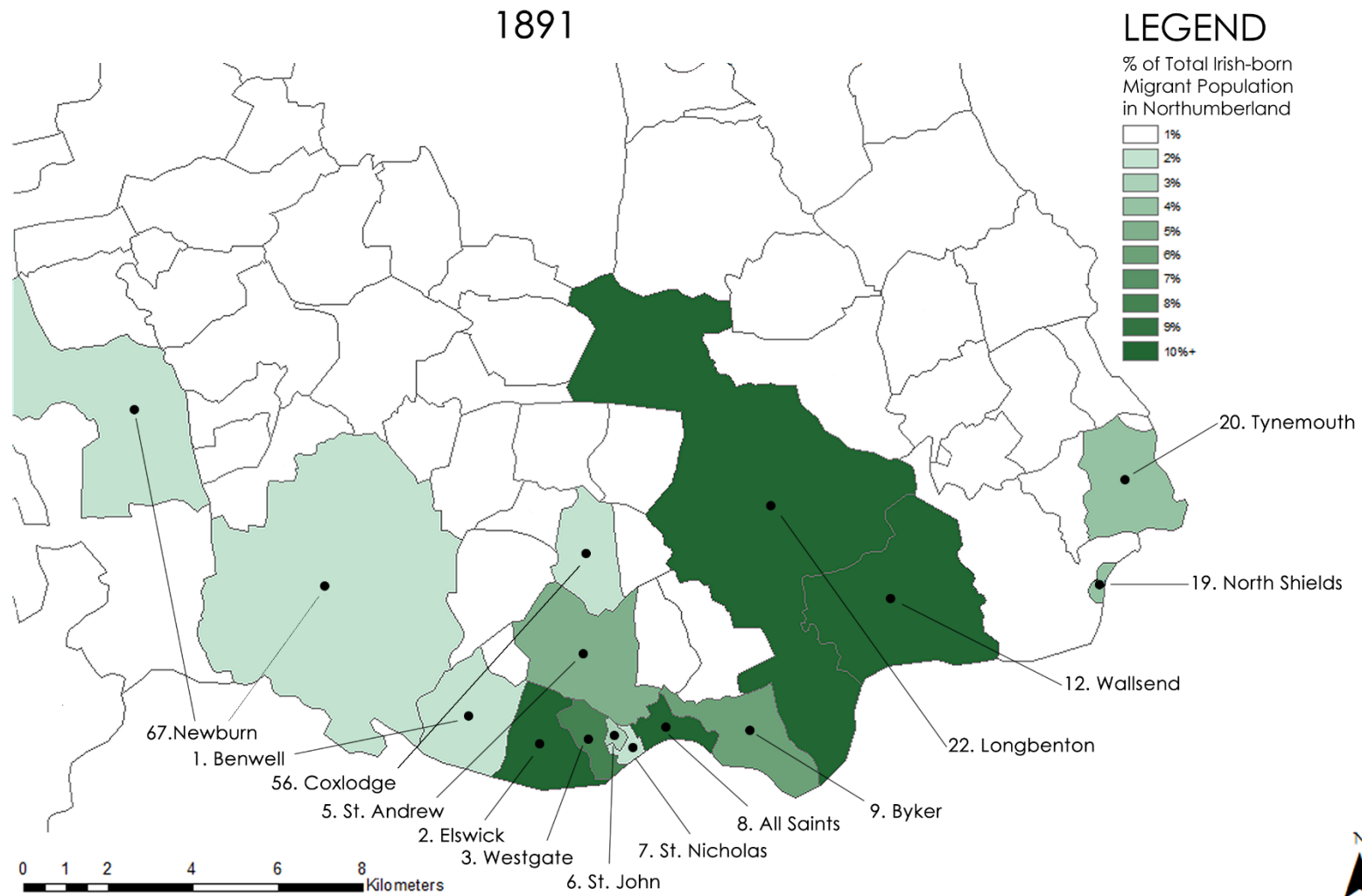
Source: Original map. Digital boundaries data from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891.

MAP 5: THE POINT OF DESTINATION PARISH FOR IRISH-BORN MIGRANTS TO NORTHUMBERLAND 1851 AND 1891

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries data from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891.

MAP 6: THE PERCENTAGE OF IRISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN THE EASTERN REGION 1851

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries data from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1851.

MAP 7: THE PERCENTAGE OF IRISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN THE EASTERN REGION 1891

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries data from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1891.

IRISH MIGRATION: ANALYSIS

We can see from the full Northumberland choropleth maps that, in relation to all five regions of Northumberland, the Eastern Region contained the majority of the Irish-born population during the second half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the population is mostly confined to Newcastle and its environs. The dark central cluster of V_ID 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 represents the core Newcastle parishes of Westgate, St. Andrews, St Johns, St Nicholas and All Saints. By 1861, we can already see a shift in population concentration towards Westgate and its neighbouring parish of Elswick. We can also see a slight reduction at St Andrew and an increase at Byker. The darker shade of Longbenton which denotes a strong Irish population could be due to the size of that parish but also the dual industrial development of collieries at Longbenton, Benton and Killingworth, and riverside works at Walker which included significant shipbuilding. By 1881, the majority of the North bank of the River Tyne, except for Benwell, had a significant Irish presence. We can also see that the population at Elswick and Wallsend increased significantly between 1861-1881 (ICeM, 2020, 1861; 1881). This coincided with both improvements to the river and the development of heavy manufacturing in those two parishes. At Elswick, Armstrong's works had been established and developed significantly in this period and at Wallsend, shipbuilding (including the Neptune works), metallurgy, and the construction of new colliery staithes expanded, along with neighbouring Willington Quay (Lendrum, 2001, pp.39-42). The conclusion is that Irish migration predominantly targeted not only urban areas but those with significant shipbuilding development.

Turning now to where Irish-born migrants were emigrating from we can see that from 1851-1891 there is a small number of Irish counties where significant numbers of migrants originated, and a number of counties where little-to-no migrants originated. On a

provincial level, Ulster, which now forms the majority of present Northern Ireland, consistently sent a high number of Irish migrants. In 1851 however, it was the province of Connacht on the western coast and the counties of Mayo and Sligo in particular, sending the highest number of migrants. The vast majority of both Mayo and Sligo migrants settled in All Saints. All Saints, which includes the Sandgate area, was one of the poorest and most deprived parishes, not only in Newcastle but of England. It is no surprise however that these migrants, from rural Irish counties, suffering from the worst of the Irish Famine (1845-1849), were forced to settle in low-quality housing where accommodation was cheaper (Swift, 1987, pp. 264-266; Cooter, 2005, pp.118, 122). Migration from Connacht and Ulster was noticeably high, but we can also see migration at this time from Munster. Noticeably absent, however, is any significant migration to Newcastle and Northumberland from the counties in the province of Leinster.

By 1861, we can see the beginning of the trend in which Ulster is the province sending the majority of migrants to Newcastle, with some significant migration from Dublin. We can see however that migration from Mayo, Sligo and the rest of Connacht has eased. By 1881, there is almost an exclusivity to migration originating in Ulster and Dublin with low migration from Connacht and barely any from Leinster. Between 1881 and 1891 the home rule, the question which favoured an independent Ireland within the British empire had taken a new turn. The 1884 Representation of the People Act, tripled the Irish electorate and threw Charles Parnell's (1846-1891) Irish Parliamentary Party into a powerful position following the 1885 general election (Coakley, 2018, p.118; Foster and Jackson, 2009, pp.414-417). Parnell's rise accentuated the political divide between Ulster and the rest of Ireland. Ulster continued to send a significant number of Irish migrants to Northumberland in

proportion to the total Irish-born migrant population, though there were fewer of them, and migration from the rest of Ireland reduced further.

Migration from Ulster was no doubt aided by the relative proximity to the North of England, but there were close similarities between the province and Tyneside on cultural, religious and economic levels. Belfast, County Down and the surrounding counties within Ulster constituted Ireland's largest industrialised region. Belfast was a major centre for shipbuilding. Migrants from Ulster's industrial towns and Dublin were more likely to have received a higher level of education and more likely to speak English. Ulster also had strong Anglican and Presbyterian heritages which fit well with the Presbyterian traditions of the much larger Scottish migrant community. The Great Famine was one of the worst humanitarian crises in European history. It affected every Irish family at the time and for many decades after with irreparable damage to Anglo-Irish relations. Those arriving from urban Ireland, who had been employed in the services or manufacturing industries, were marginally more likely to emigrate and be in better physical and financial health. The above factors suggest almost ideal circumstances for integrating into the Tyneside population being educated, industrially trained and protestant.

The Irish protestant community was large and continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century, but it was a minority population in comparison to the larger Catholic-Irish community in Tyneside. Between 1851 and 1914, the Catholic population of Northumberland and Durham, which was almost but not exclusively Irish, grew from 26,000 to 190,000 (Allen, 2007, p.139). Though the census sample suggests a reduction in migration from Mayo and Sligo, the two rural Catholic counties continued to send significant numbers of migrants throughout the late-nineteenth century. Combined with migrants originating

from the rest of Connacht, Southern Ireland and Ulster Catholic families, Irish Catholic migration to Newcastle and Tyneside, was consistent and sustained. Not only were rural migrants more likely to be Catholic, but they were more likely to be Gaelic speakers, less educated, less financially resourced and more likely to support home rule. Large numbers of the Catholic population arriving in the North East settled in coal mining communities in Durham, but in Northumberland, the vast majority settled first in All Saints, then spread to industrial communities along the Tyne with particularly large communities at Wallsend and Willington Quay where shipbuilding was concentrated.

While it could be argued that the Protestant Irish community was better equipped to integrate into the Tyneside community, the Catholic community was arguably far more integrated and cohesive. The Protestant Irish did indeed have Orange Order lodges, but the structure of Irish Catholicism was a powerful tool for maintaining traditional cultural activities (Cooter, 2005, pp.100-101). The argument here is not that the Catholic Church directly encouraged an insular attitude but that the role of the Church in supporting the community was so significant that insularity was a consequence. This is not to say that the Catholic-Irish were ignorant, dismissive or absent from local politics or the cultural life of Newcastle, far from it. Catholic Churches in the nineteenth century, were present at every key moment of an individual's life, at every significant event throughout the year, accessed weekly for mass and at moments when spiritual, personal or family advice was needed. Tyneside Catholic Churches provided a space that was almost exclusively Irish. The Church had a vital role in maintaining Irish cultural identity. On a practical level, the structure and resources of the Catholic church provided a point of contact for newly arriving migrants and supported the Tyneside Irish community through the establishment of relief, funds for

unemployment and debilitating illness. Church supported societies and associations provided further relief, anything from clothing to legal advice, as well as opportunities for social activities and political organisation (Morris and Gooch, 2000, pp.24-25; Cooter, 2005, p.36).

IRISH MIGRATION: EDUCATION

When considering if Private Adventure Schools were a consequence of Irish migration, we are compelled to differentiate between multiple Irish migratory communities and the context of the Irish experience at different moments in the nineteenth century. The pre-famine Irish community in the North-East between the 1830 and 1840s was a mix of Anglo-Catholics, Catholic converts, and only a minority of Irish migrants. Large Catholic churches, including St. Mary's Cathedral in Newcastle, were built later to accommodate a more Anglo-Catholic base and financial contributions from wealthy families were gladly given. Catholic education from this period was aimed at supporting the Anglo-Catholic community. Some historians argue that the ostentatious design of churches like St. Mary's in Newcastle was intended to represent an assertiveness in Anglo-Catholicism in the wake of a broader Catholic Emancipation in England after 1829 (Cooter, 2005, pp.45-51).

The scale of migration during and following the Great Famine in the North East counties of Northumberland Durham, constituted the fourth largest Irish community in England. These migrants were defined by rural Irish customs, religiosity and for many, the Gaelic language. The host Anglo-Catholic community in the Eastern Region could not turn away Irish migrants from services, but it was both ill-prepared and disinclined to encourage the scale of Irish migration. The majority of Irish migrants between 1841-1851 who arrived were destitute and were not eligible to receive parochial financial relief under existing Poor

Laws. This placed an enormous financial strain on Anglo-Catholic communities which began to withdraw their financial support for the Diocese. Cooter (2005, pp.52-58) argues that despite several attempts to encourage wealthy Anglo-Catholic families in Northumberland and Durham, the Northern District Fund which would have provided relief, services and the construction of new church accommodation, declined between 1844-1846, from £206 16s 4d to just £169 14s 8d, despite this being a period in which relief funds were needed the most. As the demand from destitute Irish migrants increased, the money available to support them was reduced. By 1846 Cooter writes 'there was a clear indication that appeals to the wealthy would no longer suffice, and the needs of the poor must in the future be met by the poor themselves' (Cooter, 2005, p.55).

The solution, according to William Hogarth, who would become Bishop Hogarth of Hexham and Newcastle in 1850, was to finance the Northern District Fund through smaller payments collected from the entire diocese. Hogarth introduced a scheme in which every Catholic adult (defined as anyone over the age of 14) would contribute one halfpenny every week. This scheme was introduced with great success from 1849 onwards. The money Hogarth was able to collect from small payments soon surpassed previous collections which had focused on large subscriptions from a limited number of notable Catholic families. The Diocese was more financially stable, but a fundamental and lasting rebalance of power had occurred in North East Catholicism in which poor Irish migrants constituted both a numerical majority in every congregation and provided the majority of the church's income. By 1860 'the halfpennies of the poor became almost the sole source of income for the diocese' (Cooter, 2005, p. 57). Through the fund new Churches were built, priests were maintained, relief funds were financed, and social-religious activities were financed.

The fund was also used to finance the construction of new schools and financially support them once built. Additional small donation collections were established in local areas, and every Catholic church established a collection point to fund the Catholic Poor-school Committee. Cooter uses the example of Jarrow, where admittedly, employment of Irish migrants was plentiful, high-waged and relatively secure due to the success of the Palmer factory. At Jarrow, a school for 800 Catholic pupils was opened at a cost of £900 from 6d weekly contributions collected over a period of five years. Once opened, the school was supported on an ongoing basis through the fees paid by parents and the financial support of the Diocese Fund and the Catholic Poor-school Committee, both of which were in turn financed by small weekly donations and the halfpenny fund (Cooter, 2005, pp.56-58).

Catholic schools were not entrepreneurial, as they were a communal effort, led and organised by a Catholic Priest (Cooter, 2005, pp.68-69). Catholic schools were also non-profit, meaning that any surplus income generated, however unlikely, would go back into supporting the school or be directed towards a different Catholic fund. The successful establishment of a Catholic school, it could be argued, was the result of a particularly animated community or an enterprising priest but the establishment of Catholic schools within Catholic communities was expected, not enterprising. The schools were, however, low-fee, community-driven and to some extent, despite the traditional aspect of Catholic education, adaptable to their local communities. In this sense, they were established by the poor, for the poor, and whether they were conscious of it or not, accountable to the poor.

North of the river, at Newcastle, Elswick, North Shields, Wallsend, Walker and other areas of significant Irish communities the same halfpenny model was applied. By 1871 there were nine Catholic schools in the Eastern Region which included Carliol Square RC, St.

Andrew's RC, St. Mary's RC (All Saints), Walker RC (located in Walker but contained within Longbenton's demographic data), Westmorland RC and St. Michael's RC (Elswick) and a further three additional Roman Catholic schools including Annitsford RC (Seghill), St. George's RC (Newburn) and Coxlodge RC (Kenton). The number of Catholic schools increased between 1871-1891, but this was mostly attributable to the separation and segregation of infant schools alongside established schools, including St. Mary's RC Infant School at St. Johns and St. Michael's RC Infant School at Elswick. There was never a time, however when Catholic school provision was adequate to meet the demands of the Catholic population. The table below demonstrates that although there was established provision within key Irish communities, there was barely enough school accommodation to provide for newly arriving Irish-born school children, let alone the already established communities. The table does not account for the children of second or third generation Catholic Irish. The halfpenny scheme was therefore successful in providing some of the much-needed Catholic education, but it was not able to meet the full demands of the community.

TABLE 14: IRISH-BORN POPULATION AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN NEWCASTLE 1871-1891 BY PARISH

PARISH	1871		1881		1891	
	Irish-Born Population	Catholic Schools	Irish-Born Population	Catholic Schools	Irish-Born Population	Catholic Schools
All Saints	2,305	Carliol Square St. Andrews	1,448	Carliol Square St. Dominics St. Andrews	1,029	St. Andrews St. Dominics
BYKER	617		576		623	
ELSWICK	758	Westmorland Road, St. Michaels	1,187	St. Michaels	1,421	St Michaels Infant, St. Michaels
Longbenton	1,340	Walker	1,398	Walker	1,119	Walker
NORTH SHIELDS	769		673		336	
ST ANDREW	576		608		514	
ST JOHN	611	St Marys	342	St Marys	245	
ST NICHOLAS	457		343		133	
TYNEMOUTH	391		428		365	
WALLSEND	856		1,188	Wallsend R.C.	988	Wallsend R.C. Our Lady and St Aidan
WESTGATE	758		896		788	

Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891; Kelly's, 1873, 1879, 1890.

The example of Jarrow, and the above examples of schools established in Tyneside, are a clear indication that Irish Catholic communities were willing to pay for the education of their children. Furthermore, in areas of industrial employment where wages were higher and working men were more able to support their families comfortably, subscriptions to local school funds and the payment of school fees were more likely, especially if pressed by the presence of a Catholic school. There is room for an argument that where Catholic schools were slow to develop, and demand for such education was high, Irish Catholic families may have turned to alternative provision. The evidence to support this conclusion is the organisational capacity of the Catholic Irish, the culture of associational life, the insular nature of the Catholic community and the willingness of Catholic families to spend their incomes, no matter how small, on religious activities.

If we use Catholic Schools and churches as the epicentres of Irish Catholic communities, then we can evaluate the spatial distribution of Private Adventure Schools in relation to them. In 1870, there were no Private Adventure Schools close to Annitsford RC, Coxlodge RC or Walker RC Schools and it is unlikely, though possible, that the schools run by Mrs Elizabeth Edmundson or Ms E. Laws were educating the Irish population given the proximity of St. Georges RC. By 1880 Mrs Edmundson's and Ms Law's schools had shut and St. Georges' was still operating.

In Elswick, the two schools of Westmorland RC and St. Michaels RC were entirely inadequate for the size of the Irish population in that parish. St. Michael's, located on Clumber Street, was built for a maximum accommodation of 278 boys, 277 girls and 140 infants. By 1890, the RC school on Westmorland Road had closed, suggesting it was a site of temporary accommodation. In its place, St. Michael's opened an infant's school on Brunel

Terrace. There were plenty of opportunities for Irish families to access Private Adventure Schools in Elswick. Those schools in closest proximity to St. Michael's included Mrs R. Briggs (girls), Mrs S. Bone (girls), Mrs H.C. Kidd (girls), Miss Henrietta Sophia Scott and Miss Mary Scott's (girls) and finally; Mr Michael James Kelly's school at 62 Westmorland Road (Kelly's, 1890, pp.1216-1217). It is possible that these schools served the Irish community, fulfilling a gap in education for the female population, but it seems more likely that Mr Michael Kelly's school served the Irish community. Michael Kelly was qualified with a Masters degree which was a rare qualification to hold and would have brought him great prestige in 1870 as a teacher. He could, therefore, charge a premium for fees. His school was exclusively for male pupils, and given his qualification, suggests that he may have taught more advanced subjects to a higher level than St. Michael's. His position on Westmorland Road meant he was in close proximity to St. Michael's and the Irish community. Michael James Kelly was a Fenian, who was eventually forced to emigrate to America. In the early 1880s, the school had been adopted by the Catholic church and renamed St. Cuthberts (Morris and Gooch, 2000, p.26). The private school the diocese had inherited had been expanded to occupy both 62 and 64 Westmorland Road.

All Saints was historically the destination and location of the poorest Catholic-Irish population. Sandgate, in particular, is cited as one of the worst slum areas in England, and although the Catholic-Irish did not exacerbate the already dire state of the neighbourhood, their numbers and rural customs (particularly for keeping swine) did not ease conditions. All Saints was served by Carliol Square RC and St. Andrew's (St. Andrews church is one of the first Catholic churches established by Irish migrants, erected in the 1840s in a former Presbyterian church). The Sandgate population had access to the Ragged and Industrial

school, but there was also a number of Private Adventure Schools. It is a highly presumptuous method, to use the surnames of school owners to determine ethnicity since Irish families married into local populations - or indeed may have decided to anglicise their name. In the case of All Saints, however, there is a prevalence of Scottish surnames such as Laing, Pearson and Mitchison and a lack of names of Irish origin that suggests these schools were not established to serve the Catholic-Irish population. We must also take into account that alongside Carliol Square RC, St. Andrew's RC and the Ragged school, the poor had access to All Saint's Charity school. At these three schools, which were built with mass education in mind, attendance was reportedly below maximum capacity. All Saint's Charity school was built for 323 boys, 379 girls and 150 infants but the average attendance was 450 (Kelly's, 1890, pp.854-855). St. Andrew's RC was built for 420 boys, 275 girls and 194 infants but had an average attendance of 406. The Ragged and Industrial school did operate at capacity. It was built in 1847 for 140 boys and 60 girls, and in 1888 attendance was recorded at 130 boys and 67 girls. There could, however, be multiple reasons for poor attendance at schools in All Saints. First and foremost, the levels of poverty may have prevented attendance even at free schools. Indirect costs, which could include necessities such as clothes and shoes, were difficult for many impoverished families to afford. There was also a greater need for the wives and children in this area to support the income of Irish-working men not able to gain employment in large industrial works. It must be noted that Irish working men, particularly those from rural backgrounds without industrial experience, had a reputation for being willing to work for less pay. This assumption was more of a consequence of the employer's awareness of a desperate need for employment amongst rural-Irish migrants. Children may have been expected, out of necessity, to work and forsake their education and thus continue a cycle of deprivation.

North Shields was served by two Catholic schools between 1870-1889; Nelson Street school was established pre-famine in 1840 to accommodate 500 children and had an average attendance of 380 (Kelly's, 1890, p.1035). St. Mary's Convent was built in 1868 on Albion Road with an average attendance of 140 girls and 100 infants. In close proximity to these two schools was the Royal Jubilee, also on Albion Road, built-in 1809 with accommodation for 1,116 pupils. Its actual average attendance, however, was reportedly 230 boys, 164 girls and 400 infants.

There were several Private Adventure Schools close to the RC Schools. Between 1870 and 1890, however, the number of schools declined rapidly in this period. In 1870 four schools were serving the Tyneside Irish communities: Mr William H. Ryder's (boys), Mr Duncan Sharpe's (boys), Miss I. Watson's (mixed) and Rev. Michael Henderson (boys). By 1880 only Mr Ryder's, Miss Watson's and Rev. Henderson's remained, and by 1890 all the original schools had closed but a new school for boys, Mr Thomas Manson's had opened (Kelly's, 1890, pp.1216-1217). The Irish community may have accessed these schools, but none of the surnames indicates any particular Irish connection. We can assume with some confidence that given the availability of Catholic provision and alternative accommodation, that Private Adventure Schools were not established by the Catholic-Irish community in North Shields.

Another factor that prevented the establishment of Private Adventure Schools in Catholic-Irish communities was the establishment of Board schools from 1870 onwards. As has been mentioned previously, Catholic-Irish communities were some of the poorest in the region. The purpose of the School Board, from a legislative perspective, was to identify deprived communities where there was an education gap. In other words, where provision

was lacking in relation to the school-age population or where provision was inadequate or inaccessible. The 1870 Education Act specifically articulated that Board schools were not to suppress the development and growth of voluntary schools. Board schools were obliged, between 1870 and 1876, not to use financial or legislative powers to undercut the fees of voluntary schools, provide a higher quality service or misuse the power of compulsion to dictate school choice.

In the case of Catholic education, School Boards in Northumberland did not actively target Catholic-Irish communities, but the communities in which the Catholic-Irish settled were often those with the highest deprivation. The concept of ‘Little Irelands’ developing across England in the nineteenth century has been disputed in recent literature. Newcastle and the Sandgate area, in particular, have previously been described as a ‘Little Irelands’, a euphemism for ghettos where the Irish were confined as the sole occupants of bleak accommodation (Cooter, 2005, pp.22-23). More recent studies, particularly into the demographics of Newcastle by Frank Neal, have shown that areas like Sandgate from 1830-1890, though dominated by poor Irish families, never became exclusively Irish. The same squalid conditions were experienced by a range of destitute families.

Several Board schools were established close to RC schools. At Elswick Westmorland Board school was established on Westmorland Road and Bell’s Terrace, just a few streets away from St. Michael’s RC (Newcastle Board, Second Report, p.5). The school was constructed at a cost of £13,627, inclusive of a £1,584 land cost - far more than could be expected of the halfpenny scheme. The school had an average attendance of 316 boys, 330 girls and 405 infants between opening and 1890. Those living in Elswick would also have Bentick Board school and by 1890, to the west, South Benwell and New Benwell Board

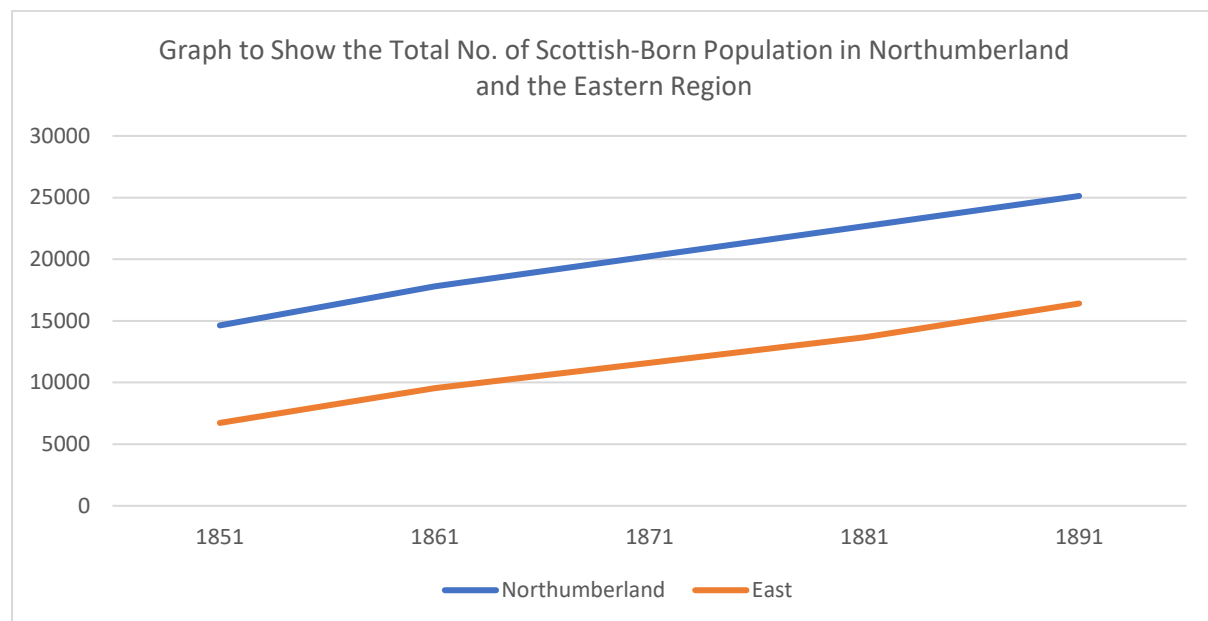
school. At All Saints, the Royal Jubilee school was rebuilt in 1885 for 1,100 pupils. There was no RC school in Byker, another growing Irish population. Byker Board school was established in 1879 at a total cost of £11,186 for 339 boys, 338 girls and 550 infants (Newcastle Board, Third Report, p.7). At Walker, St. Peters Board school was constructed at a cost of £13,176 (including a site cost of £1,025) for 338 boys, 338 girls and 400 infants. Two Board schools were established in close proximity to Walker RC; Walker East was built in 1877 and enlarged further in 1885, for a capacity of 1,040 and Walker West enlarged in 1885 which could accommodate 888 girls, boys and infants. At Wallsend, a Board school was established very close to Wallsend RC in 1876, with a capacity of 1,160. Three Board schools were established in close proximity to Our Lady and St. Aidan RC in Willington Quay: Willington-on-Tyne built-in 1878 for 600 children; Stephenson Memorial school, built for 700 children, and; Addison Potter, an infant's school for 500 children built in 1887. These Board schools were all built within or near Catholic-Irish communities. They were built to scale, meaning that the accommodation was calculated to consider continual population growth. There is only one location in the Eastern Region where a Catholic school is not in direct competition to a Board school between 1870-1880, and that is at Newburn where there was a significant distance between St. George's RC and the nearest Board schools at Whorlton and Benwell. Indeed, the only schools in proximity to St. George's in this period were the two National Schools at Sugley and Holy Saviour. This school was therefore rather immune to the 1870 Education Act, but in all other cases, the Catholic Irish population had access to Board schools where gaps existed in Catholic school provision which they could supplement with regular Catholic teachings at churches. There is little evidence to suggest the Catholic-Irish turned their attention in any serious way to the establishment of Private Adventure Schools as an alternative or complementary structure of education to that provided by the Diocese,

and it is highly unlikely that representatives of the Catholic church, who were regularly campaigning for donations towards the upkeep of Catholic churches, would encourage the communities they had influence over to seek alternative provision, especially Board schools (Cooter, 2005, pp.69, 118).

SCOTTISH MIGRANTS IN NEWCASTLE

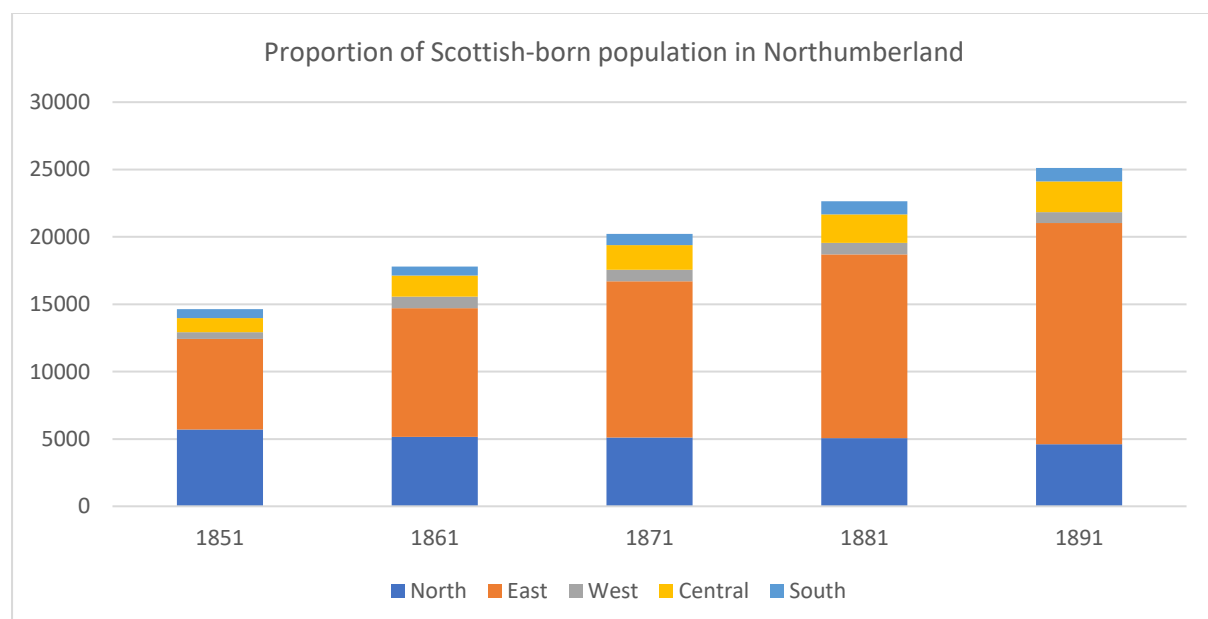
As a county bordering Scotland, the number of Scottish-born residents living in Northumberland was, perhaps unsurprisingly, consistently high throughout the nineteenth century. The northern border was particularly porous along the river Tweed at Cornhill-on-Tweed and at Norham where an individual could cross the border to find work or accommodation whenever required. Towns and villages along the Scottish border could contain a significant number of Scottish-born migrants in proportion to the host population. The influence of Scottish culture and practice, which extended to religious practice and educational provision was strong in these areas. However, from the mid-century onwards, the numerical majority of the Scottish-born population was located within the Eastern Region where they were a smaller proportion of the host population, and it seems, quite willing to adapt to local services and provision than establish specifically 'Scottish' schools.

FIGURE 6: THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND THE EASTERN REGION 1851, 1861, 1881 AND 1891.



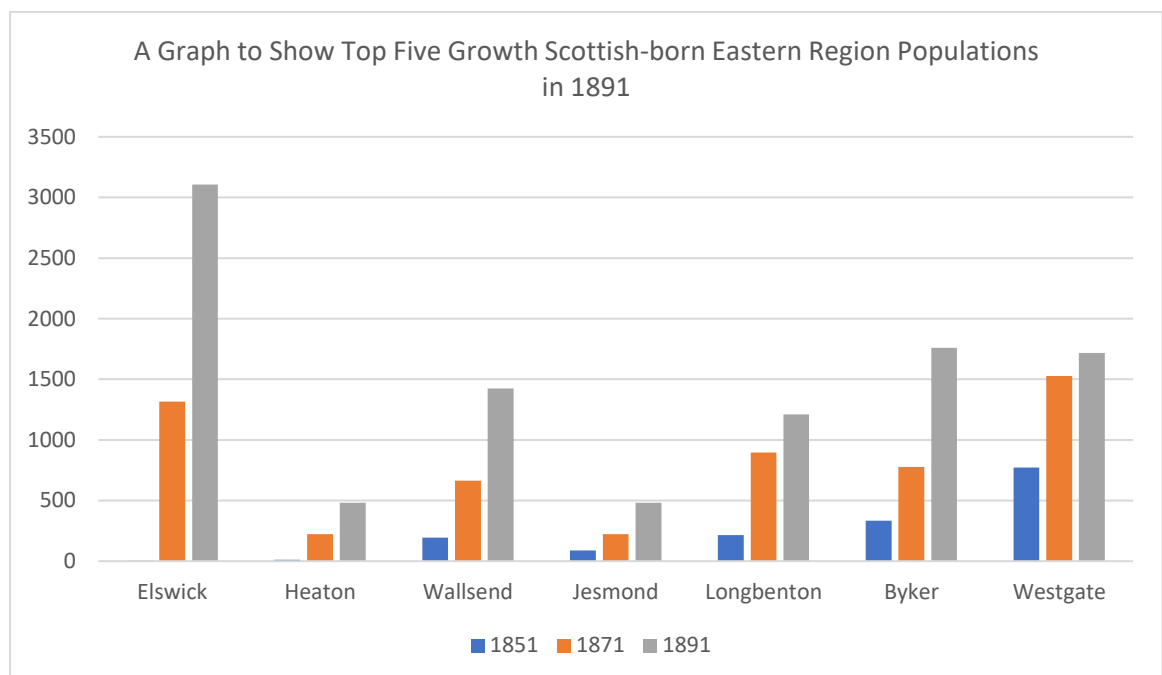
Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

FIGURE 7: THE PROPORTION OF SCOTTISH-BORN POPULATION IN NORTHUMBERLAND 1851- 1891.

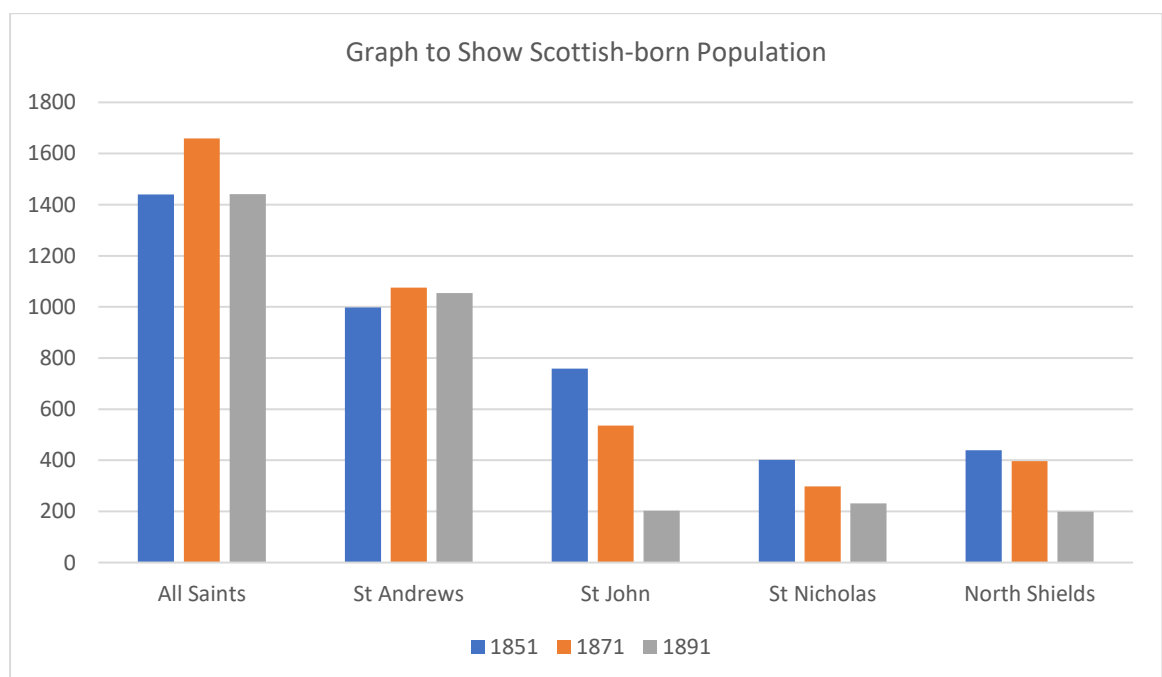


Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

Of the 14,632 Scottish-born population in the 1851 census, 6,724 were living in the Eastern region. This was the equivalent of 4.53% of the total East population but accounted for 45.95% of the total Northumbrian Scottish population. By 1891 the Scottish population in the Eastern Region accounted for just 4.85% of the total population but accounted for 65.29% of the total Northumbrian Scottish-born population. At this time 16,406 Scottish born people were living in the Eastern Region, more than the total number of Scottish people living in Northumberland in 1851. Not only was there an increased Scottish-born population but it was an increasingly urbanised population concentrated around Newcastle, particularly within Elswick, Byker, Westgate, All Saints and Wallsend. There was also a population shift as the majority of newly arriving Scottish-born migrants chose to settle outside of traditional Newcastle parishes (St Andrews, St John and St Nicholas) in preference to Elswick, Byker, Westgate and Wallsend.

FIGURE 8: TOP FIVE GROWTH SCOTTISH-BORN EASTERN REGION POPULATIONS IN 1851, 1871 AND 1891

Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

FIGURE 9: SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS 1851, 1871 AND 1891

Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

Though the population of All Saints and St. Andrews remained stable in terms of new Scottish migrants, increasing by 0.07% and 5.61% respectively, the number of Scottish-born migrants settling in St. John, St. Nicholas and North Shields significantly declined. At the mouth of the river, the population of Tynemouth increased from 504 to 969 Scottish-born migrants while at North Shields the population decreased from 439 to just 199. The population at St. Nicholas declined from 402 to 232 and at St. John's, from 758 to 202 between 1851- 1891. In 1851, just four parishes contained 59.04% of the population whereas in 1891 the top four parishes contained 48% of the total Eastern Region Scottish migrant population. The movement of Scottish-born migrants away from the traditional urban centres of Newcastle and North Shields was part of a larger trend of linear urban development along the length of the River Tyne. By 1892 the largest concentration of Scottish-born migrants was in Elswick. Here, a population of 3,101 represented 18.93% of the entire Eastern Region's Scottish-born population.

The section below on mapping the point of origin of Scottish-born migrants is based on samples from the 1851, 1861, 1881 and 1891 Census. The samples, though larger than those available for mapping Irish migration, were still only a small proportion of the total Scottish migrant population in each decade. We are also faced with the additional challenge that the Scottish migrant population was more evenly spread across Northumberland, with well-established communities existing in the Northern Region, at Cowpen and Alnwick in the Central Region and Hexham in the Southern Region. Though the Scottish-born population was increasingly settled in Newcastle and along the River Tyne by 1890, this still only constituted 66.86% of the total Scottish-born population in Northumberland. The table below outlines the available sample, (census returns for which enumerators noted the

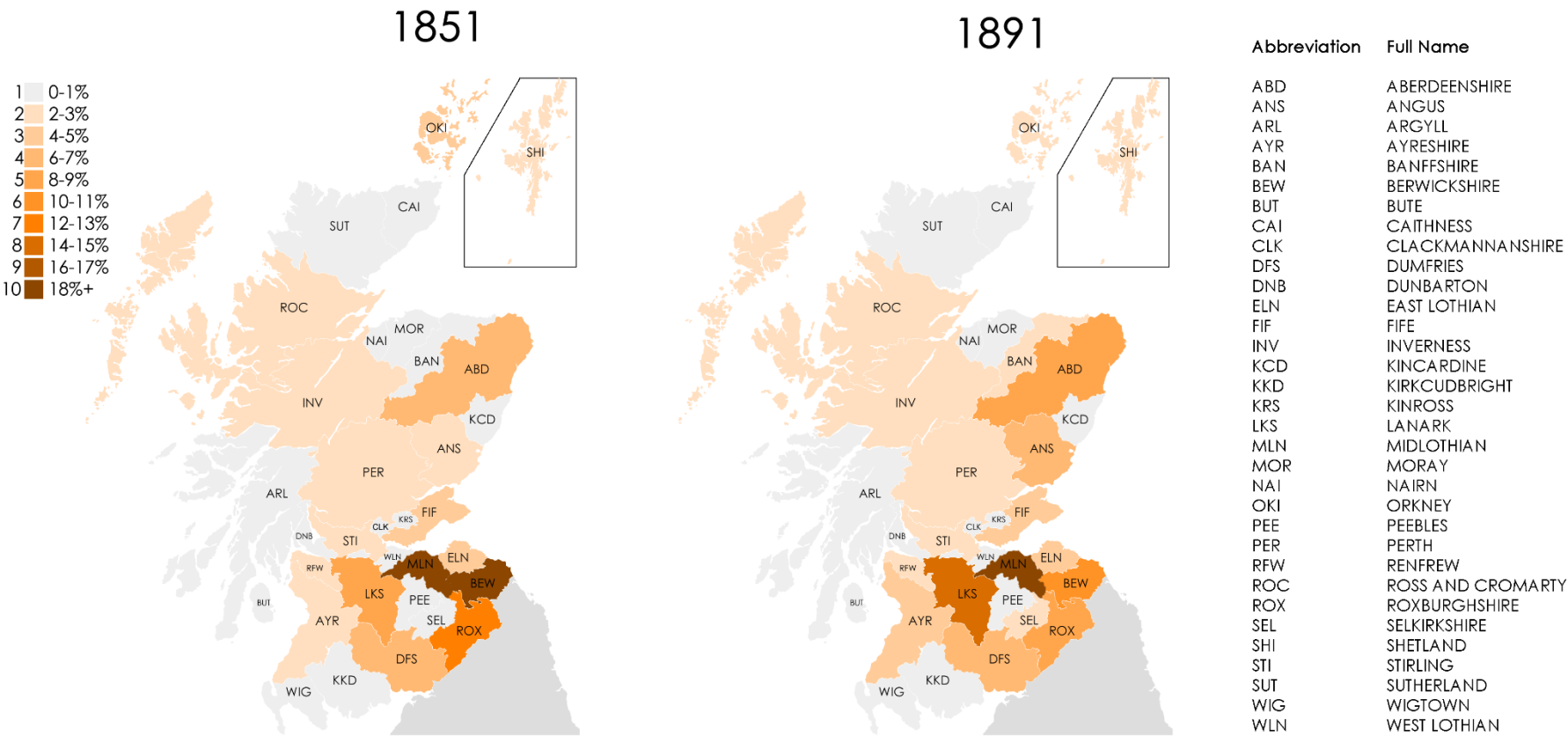
Scottish shire of origin) in relation to the total Scottish population. There is a further breakdown of the sample available in the Eastern Region in relation to the total Scottish-born population in Northumberland. We are fortunate that for the most part, the majority of the total sample is indeed located in the Eastern Region and only in 1861 does the sample for the Eastern Region constitute less than 10%.

TABLE 15: SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS TO NORTHUMBERLAND 1851, 1861, 1881 AND 1891

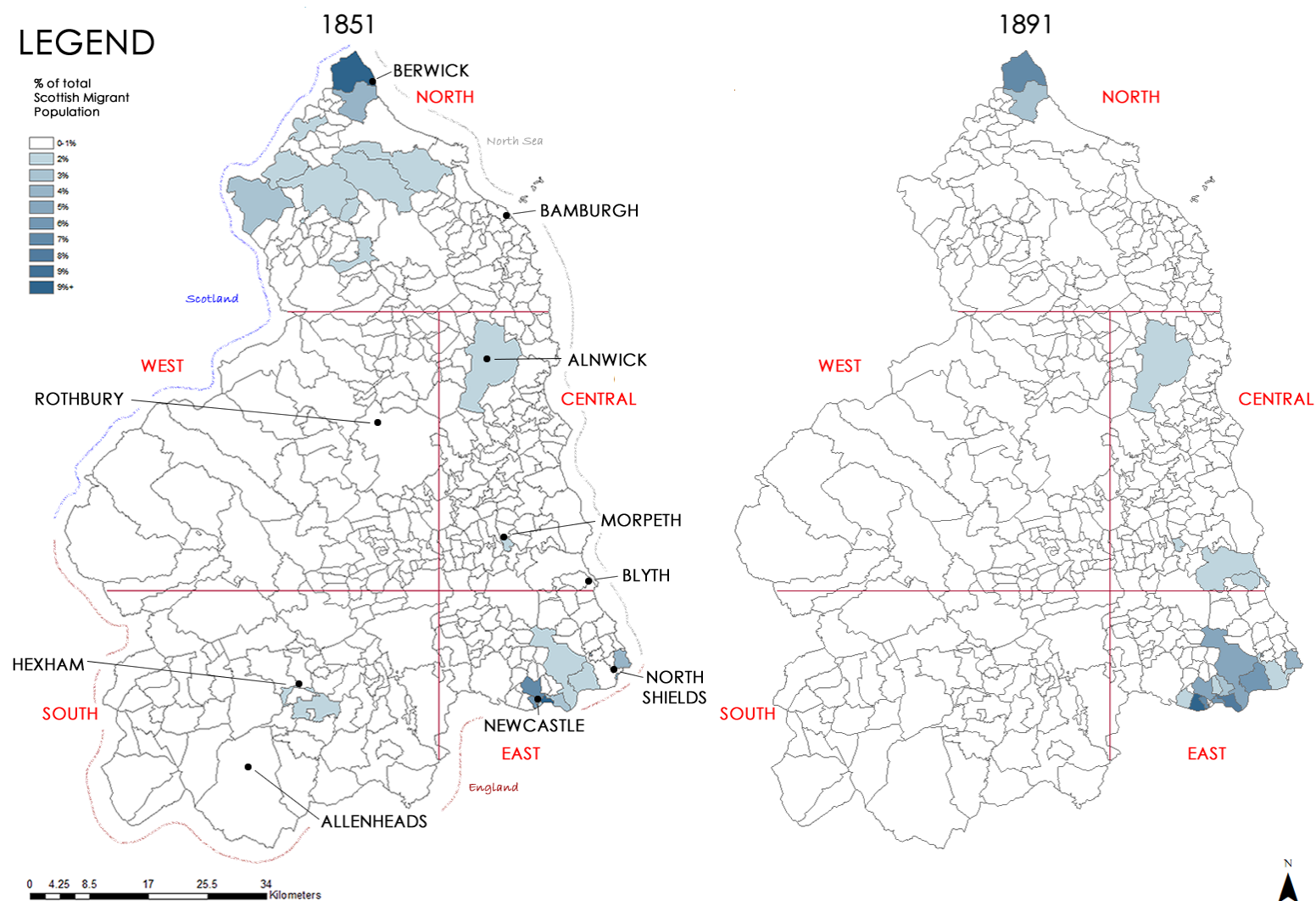
	1851	1861	1881	1891
Total Scottish-born population in Northumberland	15,073	17,886	23,343	26,018
Total Scottish-born population in the eastern region	7,007	9,603	14,123	17,395
Eastern-Region Scottish-Born Population as a % of Total	46.49%	53.69%	60.50%	66.86%
Scottish-born eastern-region sample	1,683	1,500	2,867	3,787
Sample as % of Total Scottish Population	11.17%	8.39%	12.28%	14.56%

Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

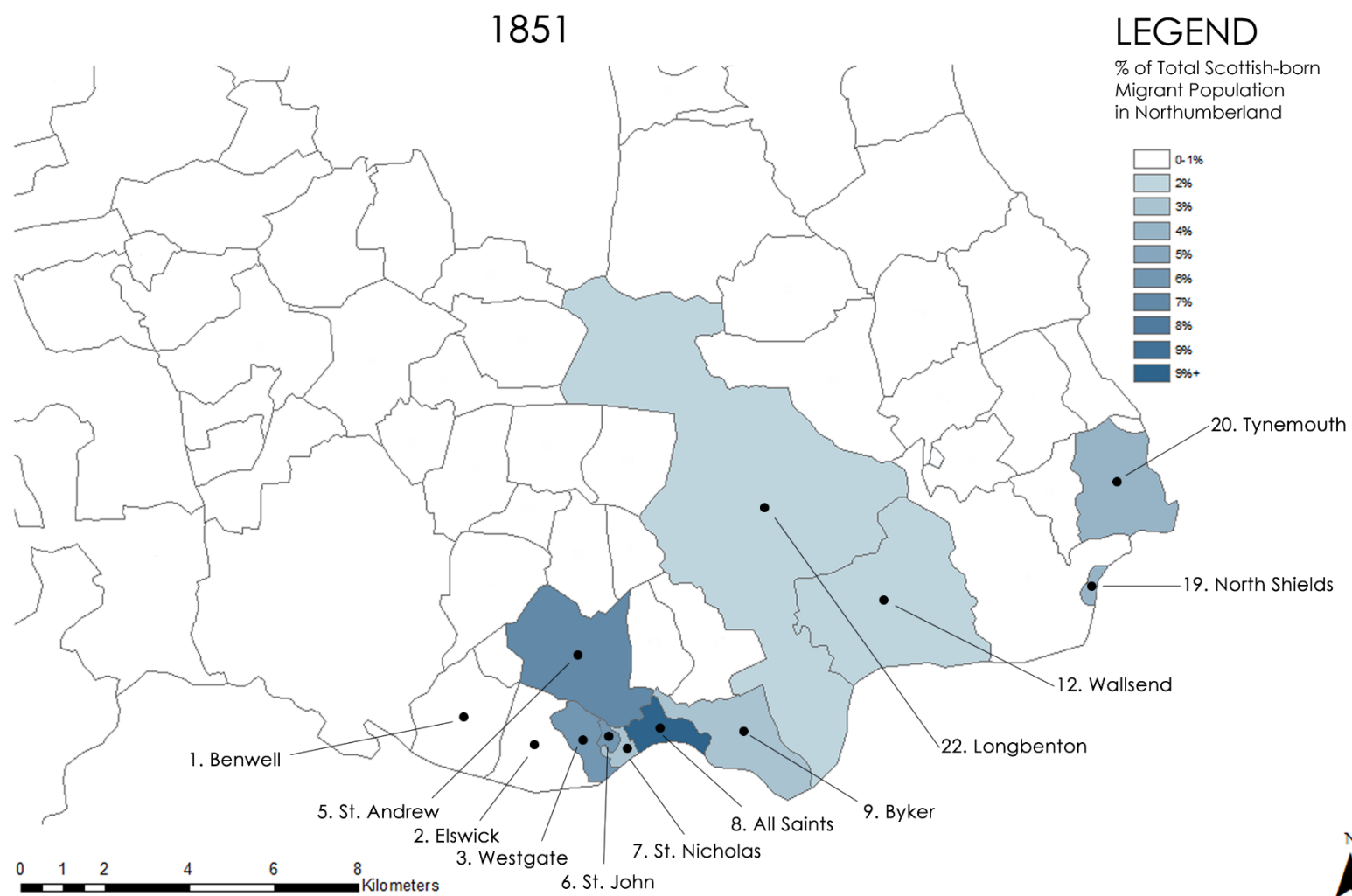
MAP 8: THE POINT OF ORIGIN FOR SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS TO NORTHUMBERLAND 1851 AND 1891



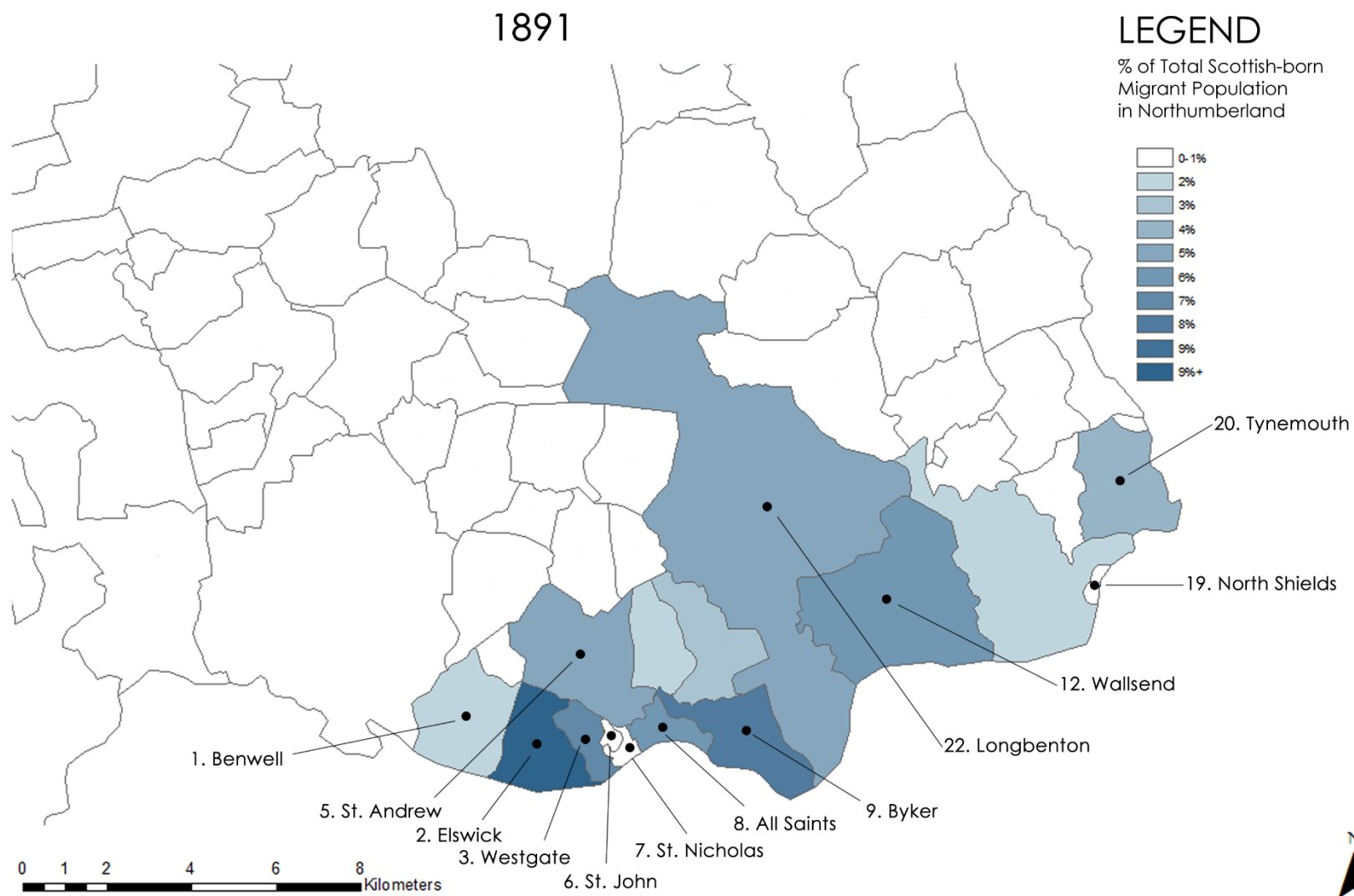
Source: Original map. Census data from ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891.

MAP 9: DESTINATION PARISH FOR SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS TO NORTHUMBERLAND 1851 AND 1891

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891.

MAP 10: THE PERCENTAGE OF SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN THE EASTERN REGION 1891

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1851.

MAP 11: THE PERCENTAGE OF SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN THE EASTERN REGION 1891

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1891.

SCOTTISH MIGRATION: EDUCATION

Scottish migration in the Eastern Region between 1851-1881 followed the same trend as Irish migration in that the majority of settlement was to newly-industrialising areas such as Elswick, Walker and Wallsend. Unlike Irish migration, there was no particular moment in which migration massively increased. Scottish migration was consistently high throughout the 1851-1891 period, and from the same shires of central and southern Scotland, complemented by Aberdeen. In comparison to the Irish Scottish migrants, generally speaking, had received a more formal education, and were financially more stable. The majority of Scottish migrants to Newcastle were coming from urban areas and found it easier to incorporate themselves into protestant communities than rural, poor, Catholic Irish families. There were significant similarities between Scottish migrants in the Eastern Region and Irish migrants arriving from Ulster Province. Both populations were predominantly from industrial areas: in Scotland, these included Aberdeen, Midlothian (Edinburgh) and Lanarkshire (Glasgow), and both populations had a Presbyterian heritage (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891).

In the Eastern Region, there were two Presbyterian schools between 1869-1889. The first was in North Shields, on Howard Street which was built in 1841 to accommodate 400 children and had an average attendance of 300 (Kelly's, 1890, p.757). The second Presbyterian School was located at Seaton Delaval. The school was built in 1849 for 140 and was noted in 1890 as being at 'full [capacity]' (Kelly's, 1890, p.1035). It is worth noting that the Scottish-born population in Seaton Delaval was 37 in 1851, rising to 92 in 1881 before declining to 66 in 1891. We can, therefore, assume that the school was accommodating the

second generation of Scottish-born pupils as well as providing services to non-Scottish children.

One indication of family heritage and ethnicity, which could be used to identify ethnic heritage is a family name. At Newcastle, for example, a cursory glance at the surnames of RC schoolmasters and mistresses reveals a Dougherty, McMahon, McShane and a Corcoran but in the case of Presbyterian schools, no obvious surnames are apparent (Kelly's, 1870, 1880, 1890). Of the fifteen Private Adventure Schools near the Scotch Church School, only one name stands out suggesting Scottish heritage: John George Bruce Macdonald. The rest, including the schoolmaster of the Scotch Church School in North Shields, Adam Traill, is inconclusive. We must also consider the frequent occurrences of intermarriage between communities in which religious conversions took place, and cultural heritages were mixed. It is therefore not possible to use individual names as evidence of heritage, nor is it useful to assume in the Eastern Region that Presbyterian services were indicative of a Scottish community. There were no Presbyterian schools in areas where Scottish-born populations were high (Kelly's, 1870, 1880, 1890; ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891). For example, at Elswick, where there was a population of 3,106 Scottish-born migrants, Westgate where there was a population of 1,717, Byker where there was a population of 1,760 or at Wallsend where there were 1,425 (ICeM, 2020, 1891; Smith, 2005, p.106). Each of these communities was large enough, and excepting Elswick, well-established enough to warrant the construction of a dedicated Scottish church if there had been a demand. These figures do not even take into account the second-generation Scottish population, nor do they include the Anglo-Presbyterian or Irish-Presbyterian populations. We can conclude that the Scottish-born population was content, unlike the Catholic-Irish

migrant population, to use whichever educational provision pre-existed their arrival. There were also far more faith site options for Presbyterian migrants whereas the Catholic church had a greater need to avoid lapsation by educating the next generation of Catholics directly.

If the Scottish-born migrant population in Northumberland was accessing the pre-existing educational provision then they were also accessing Private Adventure Schools. However, there is little evidence to suggest Private Adventure Schools were accessed specifically as a method of preserving Scottish identity. We must conclude that if Scottish migrants were accessing Private Adventure Schools, it was for the same reasons the local population was accessing them. Whether this was for economic, social or pedagogical reasons. The clusters of Private Adventure Schools correlating with areas where the Scottish-born population was highest included Westgate and Elswick, Heaton and Jesmond, North Shields and Tynemouth. Clusters where there was little-to-no Scottish presence according to the Census 1851-1891, included Gosforth and Whitley Bay. From this, we can make a preliminary conclusion that the Scottish population in the Eastern Region was both industrial and based in key Tyneside manufacturing settlements, but unlike the Irish migration population, Scottish-born communities were expanding into more affluent areas of Newcastle, including Heaton and Jesmond.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Although several internationally-born figures of importance to the development of the North East in the nineteenth century lived and worked in Newcastle, no significantly large international community was ever established in Newcastle or North Shields (Boase, 2004). One individual of particular note was Henry Bölckow (1806-1878). Immigrating to Newcastle in 1827 through merchant networks, he established a very successful business in

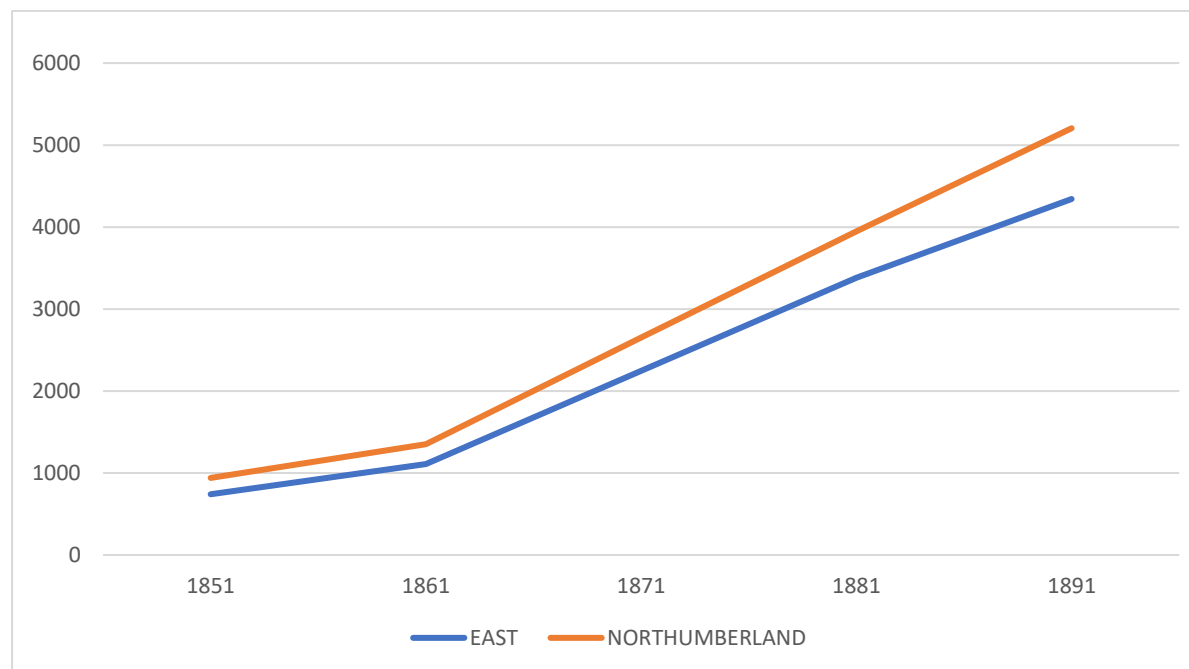
Newcastle which allowed him to move to Middlesbrough to establish one of the most successful and vital iron and engineering works there. In 1868 Bölckow's philanthropy helped establish schools and parks for the people of Northumberland and as the town's first elected MP, sitting as a Liberal candidate, from 1868-1874, he represented not only the people of Middlesbrough but a lifetime of networks rooted in Newcastle. Bölckow is just a single example of how international immigrants and visitors had an enormous impact on the industrial and social development of the North East despite there being a relatively small international-born community.

As two highly active ports, both Newcastle and North Shields benefited from transient international communities. Before the Tyne Improvement Act, cargo ships were required to wait in North Shields and further off the coast to be loaded by barge. It could be a slow process depending on the goods, quantities, and weather. As such, North Shields benefited greatly from providing services to sailors who came to shore. The Tyne Improvement Commission increased accessibility to the river and allowed for more riverside industries to develop efficient loading technologies. The time required for international sailors to stay in port was decreased, but there were still purpose-built services. One instance was the construction of a Scandinavian Seamen's Church in North Shields. Lutheran churches were a sign of Nordic cultural influence but also symbolic of the demand for local services at port destinations, particularly for established regular trade routes. Newcastle had such links to a number of international destinations. Small communities of international labourers, merchants and other visitors, however transient, provided a potential demand for specific services. Nations with consistent populations in Newcastle, despite being unlikely to settle permanently, included Scandinavia, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia may

have compelled the establishment of both religious and educative services. Indeed, the presence of these nationalities and the importance of international trade to Tyneside may have precipitated local interest in attending international classes for cultural and language learning (Saunders, 2011, p.76).

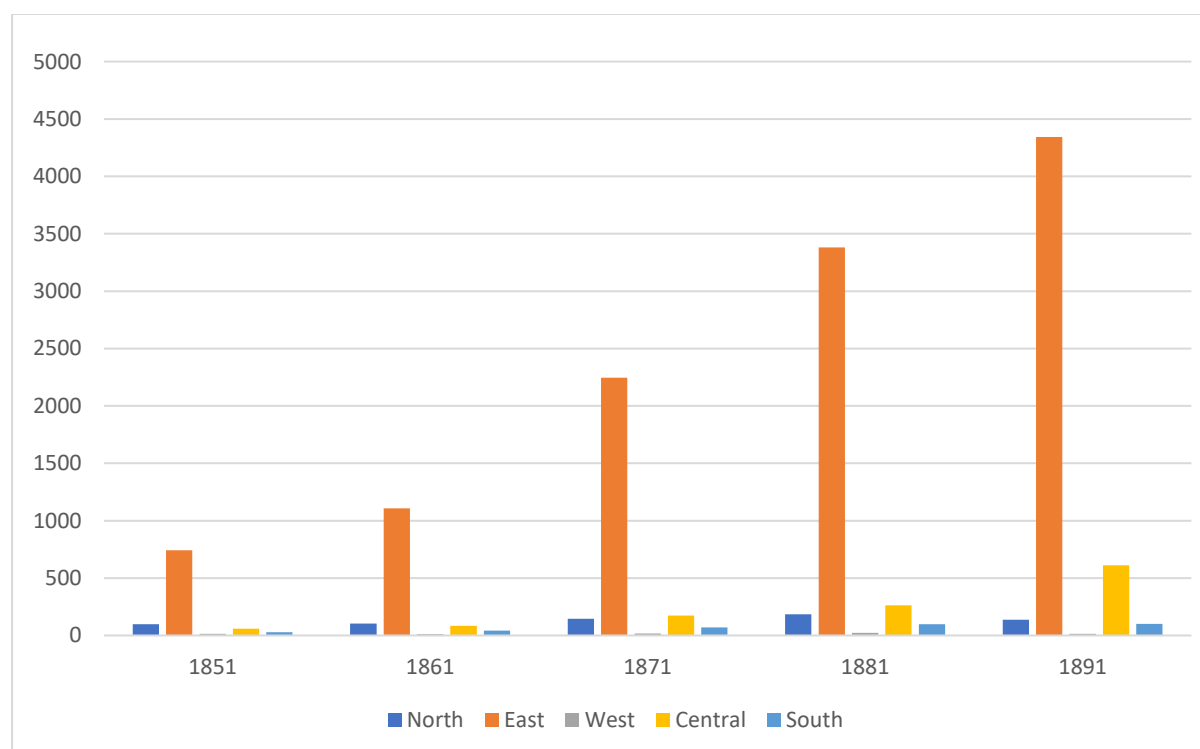
Bölckow and Allhusen were perhaps the most prominent and influential international residents shaping the economy of Tyneside and the North East, but there was an international community in Northumberland throughout the nineteenth century. Most of the population worked and lived within the most significant urban areas which were Newcastle and North Shields. The international-born migrants included labourers, diplomatic services, employees and merchants as well as more transitory occupations including transportation and merchant sailors. Significant trade destinations maintained a consistent population in Tyneside, which helped develop services specific to certain cultures such as the previously mentioned Scandinavian Seamen's Church in North Shields.

FIGURE 10: TOTAL NO. OF INTERNATIONAL-BORN MIGRANTS IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND THE EASTERN REGION 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 AND 1891



Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

FIGURE 11: PROPORTION OF INTERNATIONAL-BORN MIGRANTS IN NORTHUMBERLAND 1851-1891



Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

Between 1851 and 1891, the total international population had increased by 454% from 940 to 5,205. Just over 83% of those 5,205 people lived within the Eastern Region, and this only represented 1.28% of the total Eastern Region's population. 5,205 is the total number of international-born migrants but represents a plethora of different nationalities, each constituting much smaller communities (ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891).

This international 'cohort', though small in relation to other migrant groups, represented a range of unique languages, religious practices, and cultural preferences, all of which a migrant family may have wished to inculcate. Of the two hundred and ninety-six internationally born school-age children in 1881, sixty-two were born in Europe, eighty-four in North America, twelve in South America, fifteen in Africa, ninety-seven in Asia and twenty-six in Australia (ICeM, 2020, 1881). Of course, given the nature of the British Empire and the demographic movement in the nineteenth century, it is possible that all of these individuals could have been born to British parents who then returned home. This is a more likely scenario when considering children born in Africa or Asia. It is also possible however that children born of foreign parents while in England would be recorded by the census as English. If we take the European figure alone, which accounted for sixty-two school-age children, and expand upon it: fourteen were born in Germany, eight in Poland, seven in France, six in Denmark, five each from Malta, Norway and Sweden and four in Russia, two were born in Italy, one in Belgium and another in Austria. The multiplicity of languages is matched by the variety of religious practices and associated educational cultures, including; Catholic, Lutheran, Jewish and a range of denominational influences within each. It may be, for example, that preferring the Prussian system of education, German families took advantage of their community numbers to form an independent voluntary school, or at the

least, formed an educational society to promote the German language. Such a school would be classed as a Private Adventure School, which may have been advertised via word-of-mouth rather than in any formal publication.

5.3.2 CONCEPTUALISING STATE PROVISION

The strength of Private Adventure schools in Newcastle and Northumberland can partly be explained by the international connections thanks to the region's globally significant trade in minerals and ships. Dr Ehrlich's school is a good example of tangible international imports of pedagogical ideas. The debate around international education in the late 1860s helped construct concepts of state education which eventually made their way to School Board personnel. Overwhelmingly, these debates supported the ideals of universally free, compulsory and secular education. Exploring these ideological developments helps us to understand how those in favour of expanding education became hostile to Private Adventure Schools, a key form of provision.

Throughout the 1860s the *Chronicle* published an increasing number of articles that both outlined and made a case for, a national education system based on international examples. Between 1863-1870 the *Newcastle Chronicle* sought out, published, and promoted international examples of education systems across Europe and America. Through the editorial choices of W.E. Adams (1832-1906) to print specific models of education, consistently promoting certain aspects of education such as secularism, free-at-the-point-of-entry, democratic controls and compulsion, the *Chronicle* consistently promoted a specific vision of education which its proprietor wanted to see implemented in England and Northumberland (Ashton, 2009).

The Newcastle Chronicle was one of the most widely read and most influential newspapers in print in Tyneside in the nineteenth century. The examples of foreign education systems given by the paper were chosen to highlight the views of the editor

rather than to critically analyse. The chronicle printed General Cary's description of the Ohio system for example while excluding any form of criticism.

Anecdotes of international education systems were success stories of the types of reforms Joseph Cowen Jnr., the *Chronicle*, and the National Education League were seeking. It did not matter how accurately each article was reporting on its subject. The foundations were being established in the public imagination that Britain was falling behind the world. Furthermore, anything less than free, compulsory, democratic and secular education would maintain the disadvantage. As the seat of a global mercantile empire, the thought of Britain falling behind the world was a powerful argument.

Each international example offered policymakers in Newcastle a unique approach to education. The American system presented from the perspective of Ohio was costly but the direct relationship between families and teachers was hailed as the key to building a successful structure of schooling. The possibility of a harmonious secular education was presented by the Dutch system. The Danish system was presented as a mechanism for closer class relations. For the Prussian system, the importance of compulsion was stressed. Free, secular, compulsory, democratically controlled and state-provided education was held up to readers as the ideal form of education. In all examples, it was a state-sponsored national system that prevailed and there were no models in which the role of the voluntary sector was explored as a partner to the state, least of all the role of private schools, low-cost or otherwise.

OHIO

The *Chronicle* press was decidedly anti-slavery and pro-North with regards to the American Civil War. A speech given in 1863 by the elderly Lord Brougham to the Edinburgh Social Science Congress was criticised by the *Chronicle*, not for his advocacy of national education, but his comments on Irish migrants. Brougham was a proponent of national education and was using his speech to attack the argument that education in America had resulted in the civil war. He argued that the ‘anarchy and revolution’ in the Free States, ‘the most educated of any [nation] in the world’ (*WC*, 10 October 1863, p.4) was due to immigrants in that country, specifically one minority: ‘The incendiaries who set fire to private houses, and the wretches who butchered the negroes in cold blood, were not Americans at all, but Irish’ (*WC*, 10 October 1863, p.4). Two years later, the *Weekly Chronicle* repeated the claim that the best system of education in the world at that time existed in America in a series of articles promoting emigration to the States (*WC*, 5 August 1865, p.4).

By way of a tax on all, ‘public schools are perfectly free to scholars’, and ‘the people are universally intelligent’ as a result. Two articles which were published a month apart on the 12 of March and 20 February 1864, both claim that ‘every child’ is educated and that beyond schools, large cities contain ‘free libraries, schools of design, gratuitous lectures and such means, to foster the desire for mental refinement and intellectual improvement in the young who are unable to pay for such instruction’ (*WC*, 12 March 1864, p.2; *WC*, 20 February 1864, p.5). Whether the system of education in America was as universal as these articles suggest, the fact that free education went hand-in-hand with the availability of highly paid labour is no small point. The presence of universally free education as a key argument to promote emigration points to an understanding, or at least, an assumption, that this would convince working-class Tyneside families to move to America during a civil

war. The February article concludes with the claim that, with American education, children of even the humblest mechanic would be ‘eligible to be elected President of the Republic’.

The 1868 Taunton Report committee, which included W.E Forster sent Matthew Arnold as a representative to France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, and Rev. James Fraser to Scotland and the United States. The report concluded that

Of the American plan it is urged, that no other so effectually stamps the education of the people with its true value, as a great national duty, to be put on a level with the defence of the country or the administration of justice; that the experience of New England proves that gratuitous education does not of necessity in any degree pauperize those who receive it; that it is a matter of national interest that intellectual ability, in whatever rank it may be found, should have the fullest opportunities of cultivation, and that none of it should be lost to the country because poverty has prevented its attaining due development (The 1868 Taunton Report, 1979, p.96).

The committee went on to argue that the success of the American system of education, which was directly responsible for the country’s economic prosperity was proof ‘that a system of free schools secures better than any other that general diffusion of education, which all now concur in considering almost a necessity to the happiness and prosperity of the country’ (The 1868 Taunton Report, 1979, p.96).

The subject of education in America is once more approached by the *Chronicle* at the close of 1869 in two articles written (WC, 18 December 1869, p.3; WC, 29 January 1870, p.5) during the ‘Reconstruction Era’. A period of rebuilding society, political structures and the economy in the United States which followed the Civil War directly changed the nature and organisation of education across the States (Rury, 2005, p.3; Lazerson, 2005, p.97; Black, 1961, p.41). The first article is an account of General Cary, an ex-congressman and chairman of the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives, speaking at a public breakfast in Newcastle a few days prior to publication on 15 Wednesday, December. Cary, a

native Ohioan, described in detail to a large crowd their system of education which he claimed provided free universal education of the highest standard. This was achieved without legal compulsion, adopted by other states because:

Parents- even those who were uneducated themselves, and who had such peculiar religious opinions as the people who came from Ireland- that the parents were all ambitious to have their children in school, and their children would not let their parents sleep if they did not willingly let them go (Laughter and applause) (WC, 'The American System of Education', 18 December 1869, p.3).

In response to the claim that only 70% of children aged between 4 and 18 (Ohio's school enrolment age) attended school. Cary named several possible reasons, all of which were positive. Ohio, he argued, listed all children on the public-school rolls, because all were eligible, but some children's parents paid for private education. Other children, by the age of seventeen, were so successfully educated that they had already been offered employment, and this was acceptable. Children wanted to attend school as much as possible due to a grading system that encouraged competition between children. Pupils were only allowed to move to the next grade with their peers if they could pass the examination. Teachers, who were mostly female, also took annual examinations and were required to pass additional exams to teach at higher levels. Any woman who was 'of good character' was able to take a teaching exam, overseen by court-appointed academics. Each school had a board of trustees, made up of citizens, who were able to regulate the teaching staff. In rural areas, each school had three trustees whereas, in cities such as Cincinnati, where there were 20 school wards, each ward had a single trustee. Trustees appointed the academic committees which evaluated the quality of education. In turn, the committees had powers to select curriculum and textbooks.

The system of education described by General Cary would have captivated Cowen, who was in attendance at that meeting, and local members of the National Education League whom he was addressing. The system Cary advocated, was an established model of the ideal system the League and the *Chronicle* were campaigning for: a system free at the point of entry, funded through taxation (though earlier articles on America claimed that only those who could afford to pay paid tax), and entirely, or so it seemed, controlled by parents. The role of the state was therefore restricted to that of a financier and regulator. Even as a regulator, the state was restricted to assessing only the quality of exams, not the content. Furthermore, Cary claimed that both parents and children were self-motivated and ‘impatient to be taught’, which was contrary to arguments made in Britain at the time that low-income families were incapable of recognising the benefits of education. Ohioan state education was not authorised to fund schools of a single faith, which reflected a key aim of the National Education League that a tax on all required education inclusive of all faiths. The Ohio model afforded a practical example of limiting tax expenditure funding without explicitly banning denominational schools from operating as private institutions. The system of boards of trustees, an equivalent to the initial School Board established in Newcastle in 1870, contained all denominations and political backgrounds and thus, Cary argued, prevented any single ideological teaching from taking hold. He went on to argue that the intellectual skills taught in schools, and the lack of denominational teaching, actually encouraged children’s curiosity and desire to learn more from religious teachers on Sundays. Cary’s final point was about teachers’ remuneration, which he claimed in Ohio, could range between £200 to £400 annually according to the grade taught. This equated to £22,631.58- £45,263.16 (BoE, 2019), salaries which he argued attracted the best applicants, but presumably was only made possible through higher taxation.

DANISH, DUTCH, AND FRENCH EDUCATION

The earliest comparison to a European system of education offered by the *Chronicle* came in 1863 with a report of a speech by Louis-Napoleon (Napoleon III, 1808-1873) to the French Chambers (WC, 7 November 1863, p.7). We must keep in mind that in 1870 Napoleon, and the Second French Empire which he had established, was ended by a Prussian invasion and so the influence of Napoleon's system of education was perhaps short-lived. Nevertheless, Napoleon claimed that 'five millions of children, a third of whom pay nothing, are attending elementary schools. But our efforts must not slacken, for 600,000 children are still without education'. The claimed success of education in France and their system of state intervention so close to British shores must have had some impact on British lawmakers. That the French system claimed it was able to educate the underprivileged for free, was also significant (Price, 2009, p.210).

Other European countries such as Holland, Denmark and Germany were discussed in more detail, however. In Denmark, remarked Rev. J. Jeffrey, speaking at the Trinity Church Mutual Improvement Society on 12 March 1864 to applause, argued that they do not ask how much money a man has or who their father is, but 'what measure of education he enjoyed' (WC, 12 March 1864, p.2). Education was hailed as 'the great leveller' and professors of universities were invited to attend select parties given by the Queen of Denmark. 'Where was the same privilege afforded to English or Scotch Professors of universities?', Jeffrey asked. Education had deconstructed class boundaries, and there was no longer a 'spirit of separation' between them. In April that same year, Rev. Jeffrey gave another speech to a large meeting at the schoolroom at Gresham Place, Newcastle (WC, 2 April 1864, p.2). This time he went further and claimed that there was not a single individual in Denmark who could not read and write. Compulsory education was the reason for this

and 'he could not help thinking it would be a good thing if they had something like compulsory education in this country [England]'. Jeffrey pointed to the state's intervention in Denmark if parents were unable to afford school educations. This suggested that while schooling was compulsory, it was not free but universally free education at the point of entry was unnecessary if the state provided financial support to the poorest.

In 1868 'An Outline of the American School System', written by Jesse Collings, had helped establish the National Education League in England. Collings, the mayor of Birmingham between 1878-1880, who incidentally had been educated at a 'dame school', was passionate about education reform and heavily inspired by international examples (Asby, 2008). In the summer of 1870, however, Collings was still looking for international comparisons to promote the ideal of free, non-sectarian and compulsory systems of national education which he believed would provide and encourage access for the poorest children, Collings turned his attention to Holland, and the *Chronicle* followed. Dutch schools, the *Chronicle* reported, suffered from a lack of legal compulsion, with the consequence that 20% of the school-age population (six to twelve-year-olds) refused to attend a school. This was despite Dutch schools being universally accessible through 'very low' fees of as little as sixpence per month per child. The *Chronicle* went on to report that the Dutch government would even provide discounts for siblings and exemptions linked to the parent's income. Particular focus was given to the secular nature of Dutch education. In Holland, Collings argued, all religious instruction was banned, and the Bible could not be read on school grounds during teaching hours - at least not in any official capacity. Schoolrooms which were publicly funded were available to any denomination outside of school hours, but this had to be undertaken by a minister and strictly not by any schoolmaster.

In May 1870 the National Education League received a letter from the Government Inspector of Schools in South Holland, Dr Lindo. This letter was published in full in the *Chronicle* in June 1870 (*WC*, 4 June 1870, p.7). Lindo relates a case which exemplified, to him, the enforcement of secularism. Lindo recounts receiving a complaint in 1867 from the schoolmaster of a private, denominational school. The complaint concerned the loss of pupils at his school due to the local public schoolmaster reading the bible and teaching psalm-singing. Despite the public schoolmaster conducting bible studies outside of school hours, which the law allowed on the premises, he was ordered by Lindo to cease all religious instruction or be removed from his position.

PRUSSIAN EDUCATION

In 1867, Matthew Arnold wrote in his annual general report on the effects of the revised code 'In Prussia, which is so often quoted, education is not flourishing because it is compulsory, it is compulsory because it is flourishing. Because people there really prize instruction and culture, and prefer them to other things' (Arnold, 1965, p.81). Private Adventure Schools were viewed as incompatible with the Prussian model, as West quotes from the 1868 Schools' Inquiry Commission: 'The one thing in which we have an advantage over Prussia, for instance, is that our schools are not moulded into the sort of mechanical uniformity which is, perhaps, the chief defect in the Prussian system' (West, 1994, pp.93-94). The school inquiry praised the 'unsystematic state of education' in England, of which Private Adventure Schools were the most informal, as the biggest difference between English and Prussian education.

The emergence of the German Confederacy as a military and economic power in the mid-nineteenth century was due in large part to closer integration of German states and the

adoption of a free customs union known as Zollverein, both of which were Prussian. The success of Prussia's unification of Germany resulted in the formation of the German Empire on 18 January 1871 (Allen, 1988, p.28; Roberts, 1997, pp.406-414). *The Chronicle* published a series of extended articles in the summer of 1866 to understand the changes occurring in the German Confederation. The third instalment, focusing exclusively on Prussia, was published only four days after the Battle of Königgrätz on 7 July 1866 (WC, 7 July 1866, p.2). Königgrätz was a decisive military victory for Prussia over its Austrian rival and secured Prussia's hegemonic status over the German Confederation. Between 3 July 1866 and 17 April 1867, the North German Confederation ratified a new federal constitution with Prussia as the main beneficiary. The King of Prussia, Wilhelm I became the Bundespräsidium of the North German Confederation, then Emperor of Germany in 1871. The Chancellor of Prussia, Otto Von Bismarck became Chancellor of the German Empire. The central role of Prussia in the unification of Germany was not lost on the international community. The victory at Königgrätz which caught the attention of Britain was widely reported as being the result of the Prussia education system - a system which was 'held to be a more perfect one than any other on the continent of Europe' (WC, 7 July 1866, p.2). Between 1848 and 1866 the Prussia government had increased control of schools through the systematic professionalism of *Beamten*. Beamten were civil servants charged with centralising education beneath the Prussian state who took it as their responsibility to 'represent and assert the educational interests of children' but felt these interests were 'to prepare German male youth for careers in state service' (Herbst, 2002, pp.330-331). In December 1866, Joseph Kay's article for the *Manchester Examiner* on education in the North German Confederation was reprinted in the *Chronicle*. Kay argued:

Out of the great Prussian army only one in 250 cannot read and write! I have heard Prussians themselves say that they all feel the admirable conduct and discipline of their troops in the late great campaigns, the wonderful intelligence with which they executed their movements and the oneness of spirit by which they were animated, were in no small degree owing to the primary schools in which they had all been taught (WC, 22 December 1866, p.2).

For the National Education League, and for the *Chronicle*, the example of Prussia as an international template to follow was somewhat awkward. Education was not free, nor was it secular in Prussia. The system also lacked those mechanisms of democratic organisation which the Ohioan system would later promote. The school management was organised by parishes and not by citizen committees. Teachers were appointed by the state and not by the citizen-appointed School Board and, unlike the Dutch system, religious instruction took part in schools as a core component of the curriculum. A final divergence, though admittedly, not of any consequence to male-dominated legislators in 1866 England, was the gendered difference in teaching. When Cary visited Newcastle in 1869, he would consistently use either gender-neutral or female pronouns about teachers, and female pronouns when referring to high salaries attracting the best candidates. He would say, of the most heavily funded system in America, that ‘the teachers employed consisted very largely of females’ (WC, 18 December 1869, p.3). Both statements were met with applause. The Prussian Primarschulen system in 1866 consisted of 33,617 male teachers and only 1,755 female teachers (WC, 7 July 1866, p.8).

The Prussia education system, despite being lauded as Europe’s most efficient, supported the reformists’ vision on only two counts. First, it was the strongest example of the effectiveness of compulsory education and second, it provided, albeit a limited model, of free education for the poorest as the Prussian state-provided ‘assistance’ to parents

unable to afford fees. Joseph Kay was keen to make a vital distinction between education in Germany and elsewhere. In the German Confederation, Kay argued, it was 'one of the principal legal duties of a parent to the state that he shall provide for the proper education, instruction and training of his child', and not the state's duty to a parent (*WC*, 7 July 1866, p.8). The state's role in providing schooling was a recognition 'that it is for the highest interest of the state to assist the parent to perform this duty' (*WC*, 7 July 1866, p.8). Kay had been researching and publishing on education, in Europe and Germany in particular, for twenty years. Accordingly, the onus and expectations were placed on parents to choose which school their child will attend, or to home school their child. The state could not dictate which school the child attended but 'will no more allow a parent to neglect the religious, intellectual, and physical training of his children than they would suffer him to neglect to provide them with food' (*WC*, 7 July 1866, p.8). The argument could be made therefore that, Prussian law both allowed parental freedom of choice, but retained the right to intervene if the wrong decision was made.

5.3.3 ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EDUCATION

This section will cast a lens on the immediate economic environments surrounding Private Adventure Schools in the Eastern Region to analyse if it is possible to assign economic categories to schools. It is assumed that most pupils attending Private Adventure Schools would reside within a 3km distance and this helps to determine whether schools were in low, middle or high-income areas. A 3 km distance would assume that most pupils reside within the same parish, with the likelihood of additional pupils living in a neighbouring parish. By placing Private Adventure Schools within the context of occupational data for each parish, some informed assumptions can be drawn about the socio-economic background of pupils attending such schools.

Data from Levi Leone's 1885 report to Sir Arthur Bass on Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes has been used as a guide to how contemporary policymakers understood the distribution of wages in England and Wales (Leone, 1885). The report also gives insight into the economic condition of industrial occupations in Northumberland which provides the context of parental incomes to this study. Since urban parishes such as Elswick, contain such a large variety of occupations, a choropleth approach attempting to determine whether parishes were low or high income is inappropriate and unhelpful. Instead, we can use a sample of indicative occupations and look at how each high, middle or low-income occupation changed over time and whether these changes match or contrast with an increase or decline in Private Adventure Schools within parishes.

The use of street maps has also been applied. Schools located on streets containing large and commodious houses, with neighbours in prosperous occupations, may be deemed to match their cultural surroundings. These schools, it is assumed, were designed to appeal

to a middle- or higher-income client base. Schools located in smaller accommodation, in more industrialised areas could similarly be assumed to be providing education to more industrial populations. From the plotting of Private Adventure Schools across Northumberland, we have already observed that the majority of schools were located within the Eastern Region, and within that region, largely centred upon Newcastle and North Shields. These were the two largest urban centres in the Eastern Region. A closer look at the Eastern Region, however, suggests the development of seven distinct clusters of Private Adventure Schools either established or newly emerging between 1869-1889. The compact nature of these schools suggests to us a homogenous pattern.

This assumption is then challenged. Taking examples from across several of the clusters, and within individual clusters, we can see that each school has its own story. Several models were presented including the large national chain SMART & CO., a school passed from a father to his daughters, a school that was passed down through generations of teachers, a school established after a family bereavement and an academy established to provide scientific education.

The final element of this section is an assessment of the Elswick Works apprenticeship registry. The apprentice registry provides insight into the decision-making process of recruiters to apprenticeship schemes and the role of education in securing a position in Elswick. This perspective is used to demonstrate that a school education was important and that in some cases, applicants were asked to attend evening schools to develop skills they lacked.

INCOMES

The use of Levi Leone's report to Sir Arthur Bass in 1885, which was his second such report on incomes of the working classes provides a useful and informative tool for understanding average weekly and annual incomes for a wide variety of occupations between 1850 and 1885 (Leone, 1885). Leone was provided with income information from a network of employers, politicians and academics across England and Wales. The resulting tabulated data, taken as loose approximations, can be used in conjunction with the larger variety of occupations returned in censuses, to make estimations of the average weekly and annual earnings of industrial, commercial and agricultural workers. More serious problems arise when approaching Leone's analysis of the data. The section below briefly explores some of the strengths and weaknesses of Leone's data and conclusions.

Leone asserts that between 1867 and 1883, average incomes across the working classes increased, with a peak period between 1871-1873 (Leone, 1885, p.149). By 1884, Leone argues, wages were decreasing but were still markedly higher than they had been in 1867. Concurrently, the cost of living remained the same. This was based on the average prices of wheat, beef, mutton, coal and potatoes as they were sold in London. The price of these goods remained relatively stable between 1867 to 1883, though there were spikes in 1862, 1867 and 1873. In particular, the price of household coal in London fell by 7.14%, which decreased the cost of heating food and houses during winter. This meant, in real terms, according to Leone, the working classes had more disposable income. The following table is presented by Leone and shows the value of goods purchasable for £1 based on prices in London between 1850-1880. Despite some fluctuations, prices by 1880 were either similar to what they were in 1850 or cost less (Leone, 1885, p.151).

Leone was interested in how the working classes spent their disposable income, and he was keen to stress the differences in expenditure between the working classes and the middle/higher classes. His overall conclusion was that while the middle and higher classes used their money efficiently for the benefit of themselves and others, increasing the wages of the working class led to wastage and vice. The below table is taken directly from Leone's report. His conclusion to Sir Arthur Bass was that 'The working classes appear thus to devote a larger proportion of their incomes to luxuries than the middle and higher classes, a fact all the more to be regretted since the working classes are left with so much less available for the necessities of life.' (Leone, 1885, p.61).

INFRASTRUCTURE

TABLE 16: PURCHASE VALUE OF THE SOVEREIGN 1850-1880

Purchase Value of the Sovereign (quantities attainable for £1)

Date	Flour (lbs)	Beef (lbs)	Butter (lbs)	Coal (lbs)
1850	190	93	32	280
1855	103	42	28	215
1860	145	44	25	235
1865	183	41	21	234
1870	163	40	18	255
1875	170	34	19	197
1880	173	39	21	300

Source: Leone 1885 p.151.

TABLE 17: GROSS OR PERSONAL EXPENDITURE 1882**Gross or Personal Expenditure 18821**

	Working Classes		Middle and Higher Classes	
	£ (000s)	%	£ (000s)	%
Food and Drink	299,400	71.01	201,000	43.84
Dress	61,800	14.66	86,000	18.76
House	39,300	9.34	77,100	16.87
Tobacco	9,200	2.18	3,900	0.85
Education, &c.	4,200	1	30,800	6.72
Amusements	1,900	0.45	10,600	2.32
Taxes	4,700	1.12	42,800	9.34
Locomotion	1,000	0.24	6,000	1.30
TOTAL	421,500	100	458,200	100

Source: Leone 1885 p.61.

The table concerning gross personal expenditure suggests key differences in every category. This was especially true when we use Leone's definition of the 'working class' (Leone, 1885, p.25) as 75% of the population, with the middle and higher classes being combined as 25%. Therefore, according to Leone's calculation, 25% of the total population accounted for 52.09% of total expenditure. The middle and higher classes accounted for 85.71% of locomotion expenditure, paid 90.11% of the total tax bill and 88% of the total expenditure on education. For their part, Leone's estimated working classes paid only 1% of the total expenditure on education and spent more than double that amount on tobacco.

We should not, however, let Leone's assumptions of what families on lower incomes should or should not have spent their money on, detract from the detailed work he had

undertaken in collecting occupational incomes in a comparable format. Leone had access to key industrialists, statistical literacy and the ability to present tabular data concisely. His narrative conclusions are debatable and strewn with problematic arguments, not to mention an unclear definition of what 'working class' meant to him. Taken as raw data, the report to Arthur Bass is a highly useful gauge of national wages from across the English economy between 1860-1880 including data directly from Northumberland.

Fluctuating incomes have a direct impact on a parent's ability to pay school fees or whether or not they required children to contribute to family incomes in periods of hardship. Leone is particularly inclined to stress the instability of 'full time' employment and fluctuations across the year in working-class incomes in the mid-nineteenth century. This included highlighting occupations that were paid weekly, by the hour or by piece work. Employers had the advantage of reducing or increasing the number of hours. Reducing the hours could reduce the wages bill, but increasing the number could also reduce incomes if fewer overtime hours could be claimed by workers. Piece work, when contracts were plenty, could provide the opportunity for workers to earn more, and perhaps feel a sense of pride and independence. However, if there was no contract, then there was no work, and no obligation on an employer to provide an income.

Piecework was particularly prevalent in Tyneside amongst ship workers, and this meant that the incomes of Tyneside shipbuilders fluctuated from being higher than average to far below the national average. Leone cites the national average of wages of shipbuilders in 1883 as 'Platers, 36s; drillers, 25s; riveters, 34s; ship carpenters, 34s; joiners, 33s 6d; saw millers, 31s' (Leone, 1885, pp.110-111; Viles, 1993, pp.28-29). There were some benefits to the workers who were able to complete tasks more efficiently, as they could earn more or

end their working day quicker. For workers who were not so efficient, however, or for a variety of reasons including all the possible medical reasons, hours could be longer and the pay less. The logic behind this form of payment in shipbuilding is that the owners of the works had to win contracts. If the owner only got paid when a ship was delivered, then each worker would only get paid if their components were provided. However, if there was no contract for a ship, then there was no need for components and workers would not get paid. This meant, as was the case in the 1880s, that any prolonged fall in demand for ships had an immediate impact on the household incomes of workers. Other arguments in favour of piece-work include a greater pressure on all workers to complete contracts quickly and at a high quality. There was a vested interest by all to cultivate a reputation that could win future contracts.

Strikes were a frequent occurrence in the nineteenth century and helped workers raise incomes or improve their working conditions (McCord, 1980, pp.18-63). In the history of industrial relations, strikes appear to be effective weapons in a workforce's arsenal, and great attention is spent studying them. They were, however, risky ventures which did not always work successfully if an employer had the financial strength to withstand them. Employers could even benefit from strikes in some instances. A lock-out could be instigated by an employer in periods of poor economic conditions to cut a business's cost. Lockouts could also be used to force employees to accept less favourable working conditions or lower wages.

One of the most insecure and fluctuating incomes was fishing, a major North East industry, which flourished in the Eastern region at North Shields, Cullercoats and smaller coastal villages. Women in Northumberland participated in mining and fishing with equal

grit and sacrifice as men, without equal political or economic recompense (Hall, 2004, pp.526-529). It is therefore not surprising that Leone's data did not capture women's incomes or roles. Incomes from fishing were dependent upon the haul and how the income of the haul was divided amongst crews once overheads and the shipowner had been paid. Agriculture was seasonal work with higher rates of pay at harvest periods and lower rates of pay for the rest of the year, but industrial occupations could be equally seasonal. Lulls in contracts, particularly over winter periods, could lead to the temporary closure of ship works. The increased costs of raw materials or decreased value in iron or steel could temporarily close blast furnaces. A variety of market changes could be used by employers to cut incomes, extend hours or terminate employment.

Workers were aware of global market conditions. The *Newcastle Courant* printed a long-running article called 'Trade, Work and Wages' (NC, 'Trades, Work and Wages', 14 August 1885, p.4). Even if they could not read, workers would be aware of what incomes were being paid at neighbouring factories and other industries. Workforces were often kept apprised of the global market by employers, both in times of prosperity when wages were increased, and times of hardship contracts were few and wages were cut. This must be kept in mind when considering the cost of services accessed by the working class and how a household may have budgeted across a week, month or year. In this context, for the majority of families, the school fee would be paid weekly, and in times of hardship, several weeks could be missed.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION

By 1890, the average income of workers in Tyneside was relatively higher than elsewhere in England. Several factors contributed towards this including; the high

population of engineers and demand for skilled labour by competitive engineering works along the River Tyne, the relatively lower cost of living, and arguably, the prevalently liberal attitudes of Newcastle's industrial and political leaders. Another factor, however, was the willingness and effectiveness of Tyneside's workforce to take industrial action to improve both working conditions and incomes. It is important to note that industrial action, on both the Rivers Tyne and Wear, was largely due to strong labour leaders, rather than trade unions (McCord, 1980, pp.45-50). During the Strike, McCord calculated that with only 330 members, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers represented only a small fraction of those eligible to register (McCord, 1980, p.45). Strike leadership, therefore, came from individuals with influence within the workforce.

If we take the Engineering Strike of 1871 as an example; the sophisticated demand of the strike leaders and the behaviour of the strikers, revealed a complex hierarchy that existed between and within various trades amongst workers in Tyneside industries. The objective of the strike was to reduce working hours from 59 to 54 per week. This would bring the standard working day down to 9 hours over six days. The argument presented by workers was that the 5 hours freed up, 1 hour each day, would be spent with family and on self-improvement. In reality, it is assumed that the strike was about increasing wages, but in a surreptitious way that would garner public support. Engineers could, and were often required to, work overtime at higher rates of pay during periods of high demand. The five hours 'freed' if still worked, would be paid at overtime rates, thus increasing annual income. McCord argues that another key reason for choosing to reduce hours, rather than directly demand increased wages was to avoid opening a confrontation between skill levels and trades. A strike for income would benefit only the engineers but reducing the working day

would have an equally positive outcome for all workers. A final argument for the strike demand was that workers were campaigning for greater control of their own time. Some workers could choose to use their time for self-improvement or use it for leisure. This is an important distinction between the 9-hour movement and other wage disputes; it was a strike for choice (McCord, 1980, pp.42-63).

The leader of the Tyneside strikers, John Burnett, was born in Alnwick and educated at the Dukes' School (Allen, 2007, pp.73-78). Strikers gravitated towards Burnett as a leader because of his intelligence, his skills as a worker and his involvement with previous reform campaigns via Tyneside Liberals and Newcastle Mechanics' Institute. During the 1871 strike, Armstrong had excluded strikers' children from his engineering works school. The school was first closed as a punishment to workers' families and then used to temporarily house black-leg labour from Europe. Conversely, after the strike broke, Burnett was employed by the *Newcastle Chronicle* and then given a position by the Education League (McCord, 1980, pp.62-63).

Education and skills training was both a source of pride and a fiercely contested space, and occasionally, a cause to strike in its own right (McCord and Thompson, 1998, p.342) as skilled trades jealously guarded their training, hoping to give employability advantages to their sons. In 1875, a Delegates Meeting of colliery enginemmen passed a resolution that only the sons of enginemmen could be taught the 'art of braking'. Apprenticeships, which provided specialized training towards highly skilled industrial positions, were contested. Foremen, who had the power to accept new apprentices, were frequently solicited. There was, however, limits to the allowances Foremen and employers could make to their workforce. Strike action could not prevent employers from seeking boys

with genuine aptitude and intelligence. Burnett himself, a strike leader, was orphaned as a child and began his career as an errand boy. His education allowed him to overcome the absence of a father to advocate on his behalf.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

It is vital to differentiate the lives of socio-economically deprived, and privileged women and girls in the nineteenth century, while acknowledging the shared experiences all women endured as socially, economically and politically limited. Marriage, for example, was an act of legal surrender for a woman. Married women were unable to have an independent Will and any Will written before the marriage was annulled. The Married Women's Property Act 1870 allowed married women to be the legal owners of the money they earned and inherit property. Before this date, any monies earned or gifted to a married woman became their husband's property. The law was replaced with a more substantial act in 1882 but the struggle for legal equality between married women and their husbands persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. We must also remind ourselves that ability to make a legal case does not ensure individual freedom to do so. With regards to property, married women had some ability after 1882 to inherit property and keep it but signing new contracts was restricted. Major steps towards equality in contract law did not take place until twentieth-century reforms. Notably, the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act which

With divorce being difficult to attain without a husband's approval, even in the most unfortunate situations where married women had escaped from domestic abuse, her husband still had legal rights over her. Opportunities for women to earn money in Tyneside were higher than elsewhere in Northumberland and Durham. This was particularly the case in Newcastle with a demand for servants, dressmakers and shop workers. Opportunities

were, however, still limited. Incomes for women also reflected the expectation that it was as a supplementary wage to a family's income, not a living wage to support independence. Opportunities were limited even further by societal expectations upon daughters and married women from privileged backgrounds not to take any employment. Upper-middle-class women were expected to be dependents of their fathers, husbands or brothers with limited scope for acceptable employment. The most acceptable employment, and employment for which women were educated, were closely related to domestic activities. This included sewing, laundry, domestic servitude and caring for children. The majority of female economic activity was restricted to these areas, but there were opportunities to claim new spaces in the later nineteenth century by expanding the definition of domesticity (Mitchell, 2015, p.150; Lendrum, 2001, pp.37-39). This allowed married women in some areas to stand for elections and volunteer as poor-law guardians for example. Though this work was unpaid it provided opportunities for direct control over a significant system of taxation and distribution of financial resources.

In all industries where women were employed, wages reflected that female labour was valued less than male work (Rose, 1988, p.191-193). Men were provided with a 'family wage' whereas female employees were given a 'women's wage', 50-60% of a male rate for the same work (Rose, 1988, p.196). The *Newcastle Chronicle*, for example, openly printed gendered pay rates in employment advertisements. One such advert was printed on 10 April 1869 for a household cook offering £1 (20s) to male applicants but only 15s to women (*WC*, 10 April 1869, p1). There was one potential advantage to lower wages again demonstrated by labour advertisements. Some occupations were specifically ring-fenced for women. Occupations such as retail, grocers, drapery, but also teaching and office work, targeted

women for a perceived favourable gendered skill set but also the lower cost of employing women. In Newcastle, the growth of the retail and services sector meant an increase in employment opportunities, but this did not directly increase wages for female workers and demand for female work remained consistently high, favouring employers.

Education, traditionally the responsibility of mothers, was closely associated with domesticity. While most school proprietors and managers were male, it was socially acceptable for women to assume several roles within education that included teaching, school management and in some cases, positions on School Boards. Few women were elected to school boards outside of London and there was a complete absence from the Newcastle School Board in the nineteenth century. The education sector provided an opportunity on a cumulative level to demonstrate the capability and effectiveness of women in positions of trust. Teaching as a profession provided a gateway and socially acceptable reason for women to pursue higher forms of education, regardless of whether they intended to teach upon graduation or not. The lower costs of hiring female teachers, meant demand, particularly amongst Catholic and voluntary-sector schools, was high. The ownership and management of Private Adventure Schools, however, provided one of the very few opportunities for women from any socio-economic background to operate and manage their own businesses.

NEW EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Though they were intimately entwined, it is essential to differentiate the economic growth of Newcastle from the rest of Tyneside (Lendrum, 2001, pp.41-42; Barke and Taylor, 2015, pp.43-47; 54-56). Indeed, it is possible to crudely identify three unique areas of economic growth between 1850 and 1890: the services sector growth in Newcastle, the

heavy industrial growth of Tyneside and the development of tourism along the Tynemouth seafront. The availability, quality and stability of employment in the Eastern Region was the result of economic diversification. This diversification was built upon the simultaneous development of complementary light and medium manufacturing works, heavy manufacturing, retail, banking, financial services, transportation and education. The success of diversification, however, was the result of a close community of individuals and families who were politically active, highly skilled and socially entwined through marriages, shared investments and the intimate nature of a geographically isolated provincial town.

Diversification was to be found not only in the adaptable and responsive way in which Tyneside industries capitalised on new innovations and world events. Examples are the development of both rail and locomotive manufacturing, which included the Stephenson works backed by local bankers. Rail manufacturing and associated rail services became a major employer between 1850 and 1890, including passenger services through the emerging North Eastern Railway (1854-1922) and more lucrative freight networks that connected Tyneside works, Northumberland pits and agricultural centres to staithes, quays and docks along the River Tyne. As an international supplier of ships, including warships and armaments, Tyneside was greatly impacted by world events, particularly conflicts. The Elswick Works owned by Armstrong, which would become the largest direct and indirect employer of engineers in Newcastle by 1890 was originally founded in 1847 to produce hydraulic mechanisms for cranes and bridges (Linsley, 2006). By 1900, 23,000 jobs were directly dependent on the Works but thousands more were indirectly reliant through supplier contracts (McCord and Thompson, 1998, p.275). The national demand for armaments generated by the Crimean War (1853-1856) turned Armstrong's attention from

heavy industrial equipment towards developing a new generation of ordnance (Linsley, 2006). In 1859 Armstrong established the Elswick Ordnance Company (EOC) and designed the rifled breech-loading Armstrong Gun. Providing the patents to the British War Department secured Armstrong a knighthood in 1859 (Linsley, 2006). He merged the EOC back into the Elswick Works in 1863 and began to supply global contracts.

Armstrong's company operated in a way that epitomized the acumen of Tyneside business as a whole. Armstrong was aware of how his artillery was being used by the British admiralty and in 1867 he resigned from the War Department and supplied both the British and foreign navies with Tyneside built warships (Ville, 1993, p.18). After 1883 Armstrong and Mitchell supplied warships to Russia, Norway, Denmark, Turkey, Portugal, Spain Italy and Romania in Europe but also Japan, China, Brazil, the United States, Argentina and Chile (Ville, 1993, p.11; Saunders, 2011, p.93). The local availability of expertise in shipbuilding in Tyneside, the willingness of Tyneside investors to provide financial backing, and the relative ease of sharing material, personnel and equipment across Tyneside, facilitated collaborations. For Armstrong, this meant coordinating the ordnance production in Elswick and the steel shipbuilding at Charles Mitchell's yard in Walker. The success of this particular collaborative relationship resulted in a formal merger between the two companies in 1882. Armstrong's works was one of the largest employers in Newcastle. However, it was only one of several innovative works leading in its field and not the only firm to amalgamate with complimentary works, or suppliers, to increase efficiency. Even if the formal process of establishing a new company was not the end result, Tyneside industry was interwoven and constantly seeking advantageous working relationships. The ability to combine industries, matched with proximity to natural resources and the often personal relationship between

entrepreneurs and local financial services made the economy of Newcastle and the Eastern Region highly self-sufficient, but also foreshadowed the self-reliance which presented significant economic risk in the twentieth century. Formal partnerships between Tyneside businesses provided stability, prosperity and new opportunities for employees, particularly engineers, who could adapt to technological changes. For example; engineers who had developed locomotive engines between 1830-1850, adapted to the growth of marine engines between 1850-1890. Engineers at Armstrong's Works in Elswick could be transferred to Mitchell's or vice-versa.

Partnerships were just one way in which the diverse economy of Tyneside was closely interdependent. On a personal level, many industrialists and business leaders were involved not only in their own commercial interests but provided their expertise to numerous boards of directors at once. This 'integrated social elite' identified by Oliver Lendrum (2001) was perhaps not unique to Newcastle but the relative geographic isolation, consistent prosperity from low-value but high-quantity coal exports and the integrated nature of Tyneside engineering works arguably facilitated a closer community of fewer individuals than elsewhere in England.

It is no surprise that the small group of local business and industrial leaders who were involved with one another in commercial enterprises were also the political leaders of Tyneside (Lendrum, 2001, pp.27-46; McCord, 1979, p.51). William Armstrong, for example, who sat on the committee of the Tyne Improvement Commission and the North Eastern Railway, also had an enormous influence on Newcastle's Town Council. It is not difficult to see the potential for conflicts of interest, but the motivations to improve conditions for business also resulted in effective change that benefited the region as a whole. Joseph

Cowen Snr., who was knighted for his work in improving the River Tyne, was also someone with the potential to make significant financial gain from river improvements (Allen, 2007, p.18). His brickworks, the source of his wealth, was located upriver at Blaydon. Prior to the River Tyne improvements, Armstrong's Elswick Works was inaccessible to seafaring cargo ships and outwardly faced onto one of the largest river islands (Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam 1860, 2020).

This small social and enterprising elite would also be instrumental in establishing and controlling local School Boards in 1870. Their interests were split between the burden of paying higher rates, the benefits of educating their future workforce and creating a safer community to live with by spreading virtuous morality. Indeed, Armstrong had seen the need for an educated workforce long before 1870. His own privately established school had been established in 1869 at the Elswick works and employees of the works were able to contribute a portion of their salaries as schools' fees (Elswick Works, D.VA/118/1).

Constant innovations along the River Tyne allowed new industries to develop and rapidly expand between 1850 and 1890 (Barke and Taylor, 2015, p.52). Radical changes in transport capacity, the health of the river and the development of marine propulsion and steel ships over sail-powered wooden ships resulted in the decline of traditional industries such as rope-making, sail-making, wood-ship yards and traditional water-trades. Traditional industries could potentially require long periods of apprenticeship but may not have required formal academic education, new industries required highly skilled technical knowledge, which its employees had to deliver or be capable of learning on-site. Navigating the river, for example, required great physical strength, detailed memory of the river, and the ability to predict changes in the water as well as knowledge associated with building,

maintaining and operating a barge. The Keelmen were one such community that was associated with the River Tyne. Sandgate became one of England's worst slum areas between 1724-1850 (Wright, 2011, p.46; Neal, 1999, pp.76-77). It was formerly the cultural hub of the Keelmen (bargemen) who had benefited from the poor state of the river until river improvements in 1850 (Wright, 2011, p.4). Keelmen were forced to adapt to new professions in a relatively short period and lost the 'peedee' style apprenticeships that guided youth into the profession.

Developments across England, Wales and Scotland between 1850-1890 in transportation and a rising lower-middle class led to the establishment of another new industry in the East-region: mass tourism. The seaside towns of Whitley Bay and Cullercoats were isolated enough to provide space away from the industries that dominated Tyneside, but close enough to benefit from local and national transportation. Access increased after 1860 as railways expanded along the coast. These connections were complimented by electrified trams in 1914. Large train stations were constructed at Tynemouth, Cullercoats and Whitley Bay. Hotels, parks, recreational areas, bathing areas and entertainment businesses were developed to meet the demand of seasonal and long-term visitors. Temperatures may have struggled to reach 20°C and the North Sea, known then as the German Sea, provided invigorating winds, cold waters and high precipitation of up to 100mls even during the summer months (Met Office, 2019). Nevertheless, Whitley Bay attracted large numbers of visitors who enjoyed, among other activities, sea bathing. Tynemouth Park was built partly in response to increased tourism. The Spanish City, which would become iconic of Whitley Bay, was built later in 1910 in response to a tourism industry that had developed in the nineteenth century. The perceived health benefits of a

moderate climate and the distance from toxic industrial urban centres were widely discussed. Individuals with the means or inclination could choose to temporarily rest, work or study along the coast between North Shields and Whitley Bay (Walton, 2000, p.32).

THE RIVER

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the River Tyne was polluted, shallow and barely navigable. The health of the river was increasingly compromised as residential and industrial communities on the banks of the Tyne developed, even before 1850. As growth in demand for coal increased nationally, the inadequacies of the river became intolerable to pit owners and coal merchants. The capacity to export and import goods at Newcastle was reducing and economic regression was a serious threat. Parliamentary intervention established the Tyne Improvement Commission (TIC) in 1850.

The impacts of the TIC were swift and transformative (Wright, 2011, pp.32-33; McCord, 1998, p.283; Rowe and McCord, 1977, pp.51-54). Dredging, the act of removing sediment, waste and refuse from the bed of a river, took place between 1847 and 1875 but increased considerably after 1850. The length of the river was dredged from Tynemouth to Newcastle which deepened the channel from 6 feet or less, to 20 feet. River islands and other significant obstacles were removed, and the river was widened at several locations. This resulted in a massive increase in shipping tonnage able to navigate the river. Large vessels which had previously been forced to dock at North Shields or held in the estuary were then able to navigate all the way to Newcastle Quay. Not only did this allow for more efficient and higher capacity exportation but it also allowed for the rapid industrial growth along the river where new staithes, docks and quays were constructed. The river became a highway for international shipping and domestic transportation services, increasing the

connection between North Shields and Newcastle. After river improvements were made, steamboats ferried passengers between North Shields and Newcastle every half-hour (Barke and Taylor, 2015, p. 53; Middlebrook, 1950, p.248).

Making the river west of Newcastle accessible had long been prevented by successive static bridges at Newcastle. Indeed, the original Roman name for Newcastle was a 'Pons Aelius' ('Hadrians Bridge') and Newcastle had developed since as a fortified point of crossing. Until the nineteenth century, bridges at Newcastle were low, static constructions of stone or wood. The only vessels which could pass beneath the bridges were barges called 'Keelboats' which could lower and raise their masts to pass beneath bridge arches. This changed in the late 1860s in preparation for the construction of the Swing Bridge, which opened in 1876. The bridge was designed and built at the Armstrong works and was both a showpiece for Armstrong's hydraulics company and the gateway to his works at Elswick. With the river opened, industrial and residential development west of Newcastle was transformed. The river was further dredged and improved so that large vessels were able to navigate as far as Newburn. Between 1866 and 1884, Newcastle Quay was rebuilt between the location of the Swing Bridge and the mouth of the River Ouse. Shipbuilding tonnage along the River Tyne was able to expand as direct access to the river, and the capacity of the river to handle the birthing of larger ships increased.

Far from having a detrimental effect on the economy of North Shields, the opening of Newcastle as a deeper water port benefited the town from increased traffic. The TIC however also made some of its most significant improvements at the mouth of the river, providing employment opportunities to North Shields residents and increasing the demand for services. Construction of the harbour walls at North and South Shields began in 1854 and

were one of the first projects approved by the Commission. The harbour walls were a priority but faced significant engineering challenges, including weather, and were not completed until 1895. Deeper waters, land availability and more direct access to mining railways made the area immediately west of North Shields an ideal location for the development of rail loading staithes. Northumberland Dock was opened in 1857, just east of Willington Quay, followed by the Albert Edward Dock in 1884. Tyne Dock, which opened in 1859 near Jarrow on the south bank, provided employment to those north of the river (Barke and Taylor, 2015, p.52; Lendrum, 2001, pp.28-33).

While the economy of Northumberland was generally dominated by mineral extraction, the economy of Tyneside was inextricably linked to the health of the River Tyne. Improvement of the river increased economic opportunities. The majority of demographic growth in nineteenth-century Northumberland took place along the River Tyne. New communities arose or were rejuvenated. The leadworks at St. Anthony's was aided by the dredging of a large sand bar. The Neptune Yard at Wallsend first opened in 1860 with 200 employees, with an output of 2,000 shipping tonnes (Morrison, 2019; Lendrum, 2001, p.41). In 1883, however, the yard produced 25,000 shipping tonnes in a single year. It was able to achieve this through several works built along the newly-defined Tyne River. Willington Quay, as a final example, not only benefited from the industrial development of ironworks and shipbuilding but experienced a political restructuring. The Local Government Act was introduced to Willington Quay in 1863 allowing the town to elect a School Board.

RAILWAYS

Before the advent of combustion engines at the close of the nineteenth century, trains were the fastest and most efficient mode of land transportation. Railways spread like

roots from Northumberland, where major advancements in technology were developed (McCord and Thompson, 1998, pp. 195-198; Gregory & Henneberg, 2010; Schwartz, 2010). The development of self-propelled steam engines on standardised fixed gauge metal rails were early nineteenth-century inventions designed by mining engineers, many of whom like George Stephenson (1781-1848) of the Killingworth colliery, were born in the Eastern region. Stephenson's track gauge of 1,435mm, remains the global standard track gauge to this day (Kirkby, 2008). Stephenson's contributions to the development of modern rail continued with the Stockton and Darlington Railway (S&DR). The S&DR, opened in 1825, was the first steam locomotive passenger railway in the world and just the first of many consultative projects for Stephenson. The S&DR symbolised the beginning of a transition from a purely industrial development of rail to one which recognised the benefits of mass transportation. George Stephenson and his son Robert developed a locomotive workshop in Newcastle which became a global leader in the design and the hub for consultative engineering developing railways around the world.

For Northumberland, the locomotive represented more than just another advanced technology requiring an educated workforce. In a truly practical sense, continual world-leading developments of locomotives in the Eastern region were vital to meeting the demands for over-land transportation capacity. Until the world caught up, Northumberland had a competitive advantage in the global economy as an area in which people and goods could be transported more rapidly than anywhere else in the world.

Traditionally, mines had been sunk as close to the River Tyne as possible to allow for transportation. This did not always correspond to the location of high quantities of coal or the best quality of coal. Rail transportation allowed for mines to be sunk further away from

the river but they also allowed for more efficient loading of coals onto cargo ships via staithes that were located along the river. Rail allowed isolated communities in rural areas to be connected with labour and resources. Networks also supplied the Eastern Region with high-quality coal and other raw materials which fuelled further economic growth.

There was another advantage to being a hub for railway development. That was the increased free movement of people in the region and the integration of communities along with the rail network (Barke and Taylor, 2015, p.52). By the mid-century, the North Eastern Railway (NER) was emerging as a dominant force in passenger railways in Northumberland. A conglomeration of multiple individual passenger railways, NER had absorbed the York, Newcastle and Berwick Railway (1854) Newcastle and Carlisle Railway (1862) and the Blyth and Tyne Railway (1874). NER held a monopoly over passenger railways in the North East but it was an effective organisation that increased efficiencies rather than complacencies. Travel options expanded, stations were opened in more remote areas and Newcastle was firmly established as a transportation hub for Tyneside and Northumberland. By 1890, railways were in reach of almost every Tyneside community, with regular services, and linked to most major employers. Both passenger and cargo rail, being organised by human labour, required a significant supply of highly educated individuals and had done so from early years though this did not always directly benefit local populations (Sheppard, 2004).

The expansion of railways helped secure and stabilise industrial growth along the Tyne, opened up the opportunity for new industries to emerge and new employment opportunities (Barke and Taylor, 2015, pp.51-53). It also allowed for workers to commute from further afield or access distant services at a greater frequency. Railways were themselves, an opportunity to procure and peruse literature and contributed to the

development of daily newspapers (Stephens, 1998, p.147). Educational organisations were able to enlarge their day-provision catchment areas expanded as passenger rail services increased.

Education and access to railways was a mutually beneficial relationship. Railways were attracted to communities where services and industrial development was already occurring, but the building of a station could spur further economic growth (Gregory & Henneberg, 2010). While schools with grant funding, endowments or wealthy patrons were not reliant upon the establishment of a station, Private Adventure Schools could be. Schools that depended upon access to as large a market as possible and benefited from access to students beyond the reach of the village school or the local estate were stimulated by the railway. Private Adventure Schools offering board and located near a station could effectively offer services to any child living in Northumberland, and just as urban-based boarding schools attracted rural parents looking to provide their children with different opportunities and lifestyles, rural schools could be attractive to urban parents.

If we analyse the location of Private Adventure schools in 1890 outside the major urban centres of Newcastle, North Tyneside, Blyth, Hexham, Morpeth or Berwick-upon-Tweed we can see the relationship with rail. In 1870 there were seven schools that match the criteria, expanding to 16 by 1890. The seven schools located at Belford, Blaydon-on-Tyne, Corbridge, Haltwhistle all had access to stations. Belford station was on the mainline and opened in 1847; Haltwhistle had a station from 1838, which is still in operation. Haltwhistle was also the terminus station for the Alston railway which operated from 1851-1976. Corbridge and Blaydon stations were opened on the same line as Hexham and

Haltwhistle in the 1830s. There is, therefore, a connection between early rural Private Adventure Schools and the availability of railways.

By 1890 the location of new rural Private Adventure Schools included Bedlington, Alnmouth, Acklington, Bellingham, Haydon Bridge, Stocksfield and Whitley (later Whitley Bay). Stocksfield and Wylam stations were constructed at the same time as Corbridge and Hexham stations. Bedlington station operated between 1850-1964, Alnmouth opened in 1847 and became a junction in 1850 between Newcastle and Alnwick, and Edinburgh. At Whitley (Whitley Bay) a station had been present since 1860. The station was first a part of the Blyth to Tynemouth rail and then from the 1880s extended by a Tynemouth to Monkseaton line. Not all stations on central lines had Private Adventure Schools, but every known Private Adventure School was near a station both in 1870 and 1890. This suggests that rail links were not a direct cause of Private Adventure Schools but could be a key factor in their success. Alternatively, we must be aware of the method of data collection for trade directories. It is highly possible that the greater number of Private Adventure Schools were located around the rail network because directory surveyors used the same network. Likewise, a Private Adventure School was more likely to advertise itself further afield if a rail network expanded its catchment area.

Railways encouraged the expansion of education through increasing accessibility and choice but also by providing skilled employment opportunities. Employment opportunities ranged from navvies (labourers who built the railway) to engineers and drivers and station masters. Organising the railway timetable, human resources, financial operations, line and station maintenance, and business development were herculean administrative tasks (Census, 1881). The NER was one of the largest employers in the region and rail companies

in England. The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (DC, 25 January 1884, p.2) used the North-Eastern Railway Dividend as a metric with nearly 30,000 shareholders and £2,800,000 divided annually (worth approximately £341 million in 2018). Despite the financial success, the *Chronicle* reported that ‘if wages fall, it can take advantage of the change in the labour market, and it employs so many that the relief thus obtained is great’. The wages bill in 1878 was already considerable; the *Newcastle Journal* calculated wages and salaries cost £800,000 every six months (NJ, 8 January 1878, p.4).

5.4 INDUSTRY: ENTREPRENEURIAL EDUCATION AND THE ECONOMY

5.4.1 EDUCATION DISRUPTED: THE ENGINEERS STRIKE

Now that it has been established that Northumberland was a region of rapid industrial growth and the impact this had on educational policy, we can examine in more detail how industrialisation may have been perceived from a family perspective. We will look at three key issues including the lived experience of industrial unrest and how competing schools were able to work together to facilitate disrupted educations. We will then move on to the role of education in recruitment processes, the value of academic study over work experience and the ability of post-school entrepreneurial education to increase employability.

In 1912, the 'Old Boys' of Elswick Works School, an alumni organisation, were due to meet for the third time for an annual dinner and night of recollections of 1870 (*Hall's Recollections*, 1912, Unpaginated). For unknown reasons, the dinner was cancelled. In its stead, a consolation of sorts, a pamphlet of recollections was circulated. The pamphlet had been produced by J.R. Hall, whom we know little of other than he produced the pamphlet and had attended the school between 1869 and 1871. His education at the school had been cut short by the engineer's strike, during which his classes were suspended, and his school rooms were used to house black-leg labour. It is remarkable that forty years after attending the school, and after just under two years attending it, Hall's recollections were so vivid and cherished. Hall credits his time at the school as life-changing. In his words, Mr Hall attended the school 'at an impressionable age' and it 'permanently influenced my life in the right direction' (*Hall's Recollections*, 1912).

The choice of recollections is as interesting as the recollections themselves. Hall wrote about the school songs that were sung, games that were played after school and the routes taken to school by the children, often against the instructions of their parents. The strike is mentioned only briefly as an explanation of why he left in 1871. It may be assumed that Halls' father was not part of the strikes, but that the community felt supportive of the strike and shared a sense of collective responsibility towards the strikers. Hall remembers the strike in a positive light, despite the disruption to his education that it caused. Hall wrote that he and the other children 'noisily supported the strike' but that 'the rights of the matter never worried us'. The boys would sing along with the strikers 'the doggerel':

Persevere, persevere, awel ye that's sitting here,
Persevere, persevere, they've gett'n't on the Wear,
Ye men upon the banks of Tyne, Aa think thors little fear
But ye'll get the nine oors movement, If ye'll only persevere
(*Hall's Recollections*, 1912).

The strike forced the Works pupils to enrol at either South Benwell School or St. Mary's, a school closely associated with the Royal Grammar School, which, by the authors own admission, was a significant disruption. There was camaraderie at the school of the Armstrong works as well as a strong sense of belonging and an identity which the pupils continued to honour long into adulthood as alumni (*Hall's Recollections*, 1912). The division of pupils into rival schools which held similarly powerful identities was a major change in Hall's life. Boys from rival schools would play sports and games competitively. At other times there would be fights either friendly or more violent. Hall wrote fondly of a rivalry with boys from 'Baty's school or Ushers' 'for no earthly reasons except that they were not one of ours' (*Hall's Recollections*, 1912). This he described as a friendly rivalry. The boys of other Scotswood schools were part of the same socio-economic background, and there was a

sense of shared identity. One expression of friendly rivalry was playing a game much like Cowboys and Indians. The context was the 1870-1871 Franco-Prussian War, however, and the preferred side to be on was the Germans in their fight against Britain's foe, the French. A boy of 10 in 1870 would have been 44 years old at the outbreak of WW1. Readers of the pamphlet in 1912 were only two years away from the conflict. In the streets of 1870s Scotswood, to the imagination of young boys, Prussia filled youthful imagination and the foundation of the German Empire was a welcomed victory. Violent confrontations were reserved for pupils of the Royal Grammar School, which was by 1871 located on Rye Hill. 'Woe betide the unlucky Grammar schoolboy with his 'micky' board that if we chanced to meet him' (Hall's Recollections, 1912).

Hall states that his family could not afford luxuries: 'we had no money for football clubs, or cricket clubs, or bicycles or the like, we got plenty of healthy fund in the Dog Dairy, Kinghorn's and other fields, flying kites or playing buck' (Hall's Recollections, 1912). Yet, Hall's parents were able to afford the school fees that sent him to the school. If his parents were not employed by the works, which is not mentioned, they would have been required to pay the full fees rather than the discounted rate taken from wages. They were also able to transfer Hall directly to alternative accommodation without hesitation. Hall writes about the financial pressures his parents were under, and the pressures his peers' families would have felt, but he does not mention school fees. This could suggest that the paying of school fees was a household expense for Hall's family that was neither a significant issue in 1871 or of no interest to Hall and his peers in 1912.

5.4.2 EDUCATION CONTINUED: APPRENTICESHIPS

Most children leaving school in the Eastern region would be hoping to gain employment in a Tyneside factory. The restructuring of apprenticeship registration in 1871 provides details of what employers were looking for and how much value they placed on education (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893, Unpaginated). Private Adventure Schools were predominantly sustained by parents seeking to meet the employability criteria. This section offers a bottom-up approach to education to argue that Private Adventure Schools may have been more appropriate than morality-focused curriculums. The register, which is one of a handful of documents surviving from the Elswick Works education programmes, provides insight into what employers were seeking from candidates and how valued schooling was in comparison to other entry requirements. The following section explores apprenticeships across the Eastern Region, entry requirements to employment at the Elswick works, the works school and the opportunities available to girls.

A standard apprenticeship in the nineteenth century lasted approximately 4 years but could extend up to 7 years (Snell, 1996, pp.315-316; Leone, 1885, pp.97-146). An apprentice was entitled to an income that could begin as low as 3d per week but would increase annually until reaching the age of majority at 21. The last year of an apprenticeship could be rewarded with 12 shillings per week or more. At 21, an apprentice would receive the standard male income of a man in whatever trade he was employed. Depending on the position, a worker could be required to provide their own tools or pay a weekly sum to their employer for the use of tools. The same could be true for items of clothing, including boots. Some occupations such as letter-delivery required a uniform costing over £4, which was provided by the employer free of charge. However, the costs of maintaining a uniform could

be significant. In manufacturing, tools could cost as much as £16 which was several times an annual wage in certain trades. A patternmaker earning 32s a week would earn in a good year less than £7. A worker would therefore pay a weekly amount from his income for an initial loan, as well as 6d a week to maintain communal tools. Tools were usually passed down through the family from father to son. This tied generations to trades and reduced the need for purchasing new tools, but replacement and shared tools were also required.

An apprentice's costs, if they exceeded the weekly amount paid to them, could become the burden of a parent. There was some remit for the Poor Law Boards to fund a limited number of apprenticeships (Levene, 2010, pp.915-941). Savings could be made between a father and son in the same works, sharing tools for example, but in effect, children relied upon the support of their parents. This was especially true in the early years of an apprenticeship when wages were low. It was at the discretion of an employer whether to take on an apprentice whom they felt could not afford their own upkeep. In situations where an applicant was orphaned or impoverished, it helped to have a personal connection to the works to make a case on their behalf. This was the case of a group of boys from Rothbury who applied to the apprentice scheme at Elswick Works. Rothbury was the home of Cragside House, Lord Armstrong's private home. The boys and their parents were apparently known to Lord Armstrong, perhaps working on his estate. All the boys from Rothbury were enrolled as apprentices without any record of references, testimonials, address or remarks. Written in the margins of their applications, was a special dispensation from Lord Armstrong himself requesting that the boys be taken on despite their fathers being unable to pay and costs towards them. The same was true for Brice, a boy of 14, who

had been orphaned. Lady Armstrong vouched for him, which allowed him to commence work. He was, however, discharged by a foreman after only a few weeks for misbehaviour.

Another route into an apprenticeship, was prior enrolment at a school either attached to the place of employment or known to it. Many collieries across Northumberland and Durham established colliery schools, and larger factories might also have established schools to supply the next generation of workers (Colls, 1976, p.76). In Newcastle, the largest works school was attached to the Elswick Works. Established in 1869 principally for the sons of those employed by Lord Armstrong, school fees were paid out directly from a parent's weekly pay if they were employees. For boys like Plews, aged 15, the school was a fast track into the works (Elswick Apprenticeships, DS.VA/2/35, 1893). Not only did the boy have a parent employed in the Elswick Works but he was known to other workers who could vouch for him. Plew's education had been tailored to the needs of the factory and he was able to blend seamlessly into the labour force. No external reference was required, and no additional work experience was required as any necessary vocational experience had been acquired directly.

Apprenticeships were competitive and selective but provided access to well paid, more secure employment, and indirectly, could increase social mobility. Some apprenticeships could result in leadership positions, and in the most fortunate circumstances, technical skills could allow an individual to establish their own works. Being designed to grant access to technical vocations, apprenticeships were strictly male-orientated programmes. It was not necessary, but it was desirable to have both vocational and academic experience before applying. In certain employments, apprenticeships were streamed. Applicants could request certain trades and would be assigned to foremen based

on skill sets and vocational preference (though most applicants it appears either did not have a preference or were willing to allow their employer to assign them to whatever positions were available). Higher educated applicants were streamed towards more intellectually demanding roles. Technical drawing, for example, required an eye for detail and a broad range of academic skills while riveting required physical endurance and technical skill. Wealthy parents were able to pay large sums to ensure enrolment and request training towards higher-income positions. These apprenticeships were designed to recruit directly into operations, management and advanced engineering roles. The sums required were very significant, but these 'preferential apprenticeships' were those most likely to develop the next generation of industrialists. It is interesting to note, that John Reece, who bought the Elswick Works in 2015 was the son of Dr Alan Reece (1927-2012) who was himself an apprenticed engineer at Vickers-Armstrong in 1948 (BBC, 2015).

TYNESIDE APPRENTICESHIPS 1851-1891

The table below indicates the census responses of individuals who identified as an apprentice between 1851 and 1891. The age of apprenticeship in this period was between 15 and 21 years, though many were recruited at 14 and completed their training before 21. The income of an apprentice increased on an annual basis, and it was expected that each year the individual would receive increased responsibilities to match their training development. By the end of the first year, it would be known to the foreman whether the apprentice was suited to the role assigned to them upon commencement or not. Discharge based on misbehaviour, unsuitability or inadequacies could take place at any point during the apprenticeship but usually occurred within the first few months. Beyond the initial year, once a specialism had been chosen or homogeneity had occurred with an assigned work

team, an apprentice would personally identify with a trade. There is also the likelihood that enumerators would record an apprentice under a specific trade out of ease.

TABLE 18: THE PROPORTION OF APPRENTICES IN THE EASTERN REGION IN COMPARISON TO NORTHUMBERLAND, 1851-1891

Apprentices		TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	MISSING
1851	NORTHUMBERLAND	369	348	6	15
	EASTERN REGION	225	213	4	8
1861	NORTHUMBERLAND	355	341	14	0
	EASTERN REGION	224	216	8	0
1881	NORTHUMBERLAND	119	111	7	0
	EASTERN REGION	88	82	6	0
1891	NORTHUMBERLAND	363	313	24	26
	EASTERN REGION	327	285	19	23

Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

TABLE 19: A SAMPLE OF OCCUPATIONS REQUIRING APPRENTICESHIPS WITH AN ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF APPRENTICES FOR EACH

15-21 in Skilled Trades		PATTERNMAKER	FITTER	ENGINEER	BOILERMAKER	MACHINIST	RIVETTER	TOTAL
1851	NORTHUMBERLAND	81	122	16	38	12	37	306
	EASTERN REGION	50	90	11	30	9	18	208
1861	NORTHUMBERLAND	106	401	18	153	25	21	724
	EASTERN REGION	87	387	15	151	18	21	679
1881	NORTHUMBERLAND	122	523	54	204	108	332	1343
	EASTERN REGION	105	497	40	196	98	305	1241
1891	NORTHUMBERLAND	303	1027	31	356	431	430	2578
	EASTERN REGION	270	992	25	347	413	428	2475

Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

It is clear to see from the above tables that not only did the number of apprentices increase significantly between 1851-1891 but that apprenticeships were highly centralised in Tyneside within the Eastern Region. While applications to Tyneside works were received from throughout England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, most applications were received from young people living in Newcastle, in close proximity to Tyneside works (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). Applicants from a distance were also keen to press family connections in the region, and many applicants moved to Tyneside in advance of sending applications, boarding with relatives or privately. Testimonies and references, which were vital to successful applications, were often recorded in an informal manner using first names and minimal details which suggests whoever is intended to read the record would have shared familial knowledge of the foremen at local works, shopkeepers and schoolmasters. Providing a reference was vital but providing a local reference from a known source was an advantage.

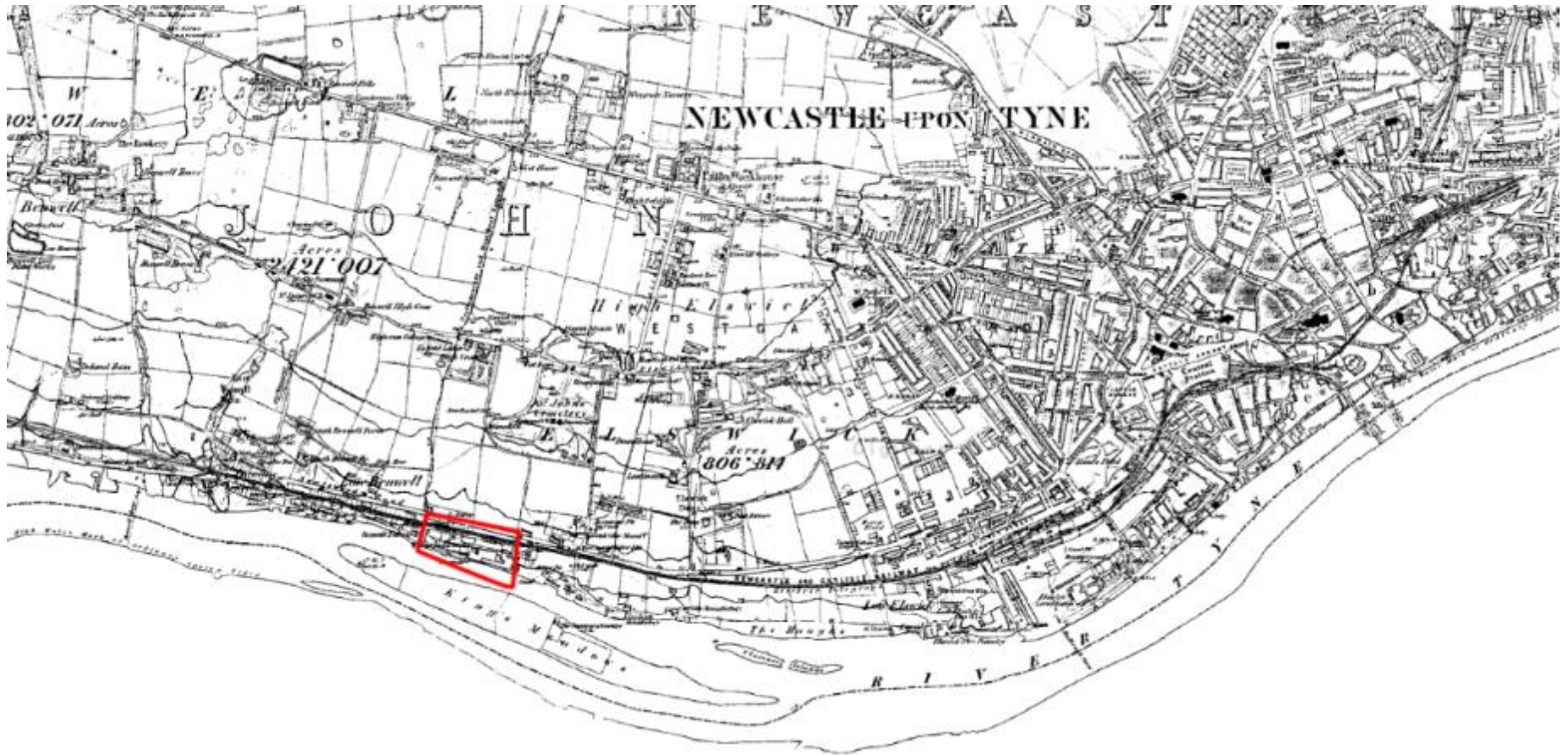
Educational attainment was judged in part by an interviewer's opinion of a school or schoolmaster's reputation rather than success in a written examination. The Ragged School in Sandgate, for example, had a bad reputation for not providing adequate schooling. The Royal Grammar School, however, provided applicants of a 'superior class' (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893).

The Elswick Works, by 1870, was already one of the largest Tyneside employers. The works were divided between civil engineering which focused on hydraulics and an ordnance division that produced field guns and rifled artillery. In 1882, a formal merger took place with Mitchells Low Walker shipbuilding yard which increased the Armstrong works capacity for producing warships and refitting existing ships with new armaments. The works had

been established on a 5.5-acre property in 1847 as a small-scale engine works. By 1890, the sprawling works dominated the riverside from its original site almost to the Redheugh Ferry. Middlebrook estimated that workshops associated with Armstrong industries covered 230 acres (Middlebrook, 1950, p.243). An estimate of the true size of the full works, based upon measurements taken from the Ordnance Survey suggests that the full scale of the works was up to 90 acres. Contemporary sources claim 60-acres in 1880, increasing to 70 acres by 1953 and occupied over a mile of the riverbank west of Newcastle (Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam 1880, 2020). The maps below show the massive expansion of the works from 1850 to 1890.

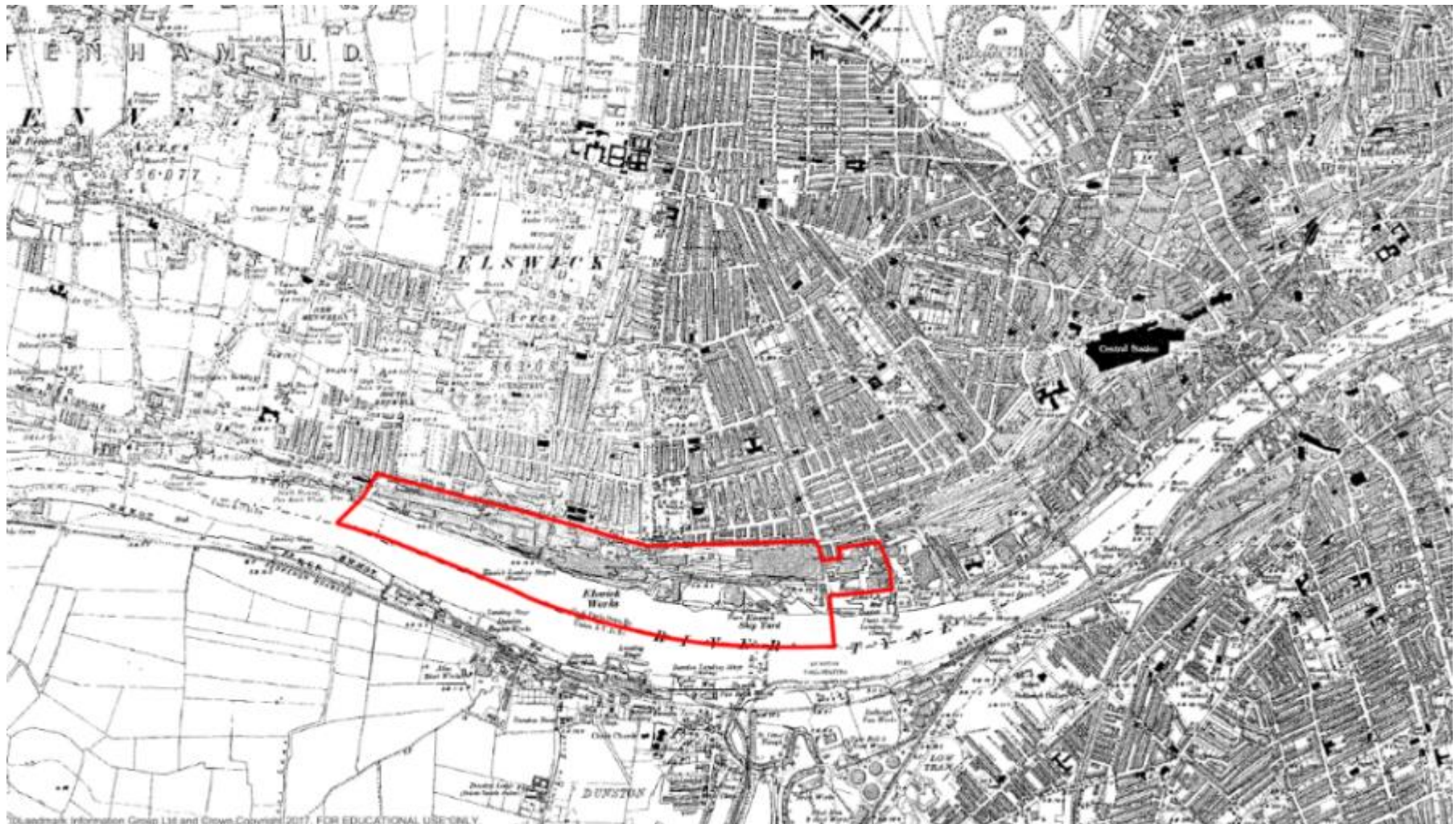
The maps below also demonstrate the impact such a large employer had on the urban development of Newcastle. The development of housing, in part determined by the topography and contours of the river, was heavily influenced by the needs and development of the industry. By the early twentieth century, McCord estimated that '23,000 jobs were directly dependent upon the Armstrong enterprises, with many more relying indirectly upon the company' (McCord, 1998, p.275).

MAP 12: THE ELSWICK WORKS IN 1850



Source: Edina, 2019, OS Map of Newcastle in 1890

MAP 13: THE ELSWICK WORKS IN 1890



Source: Edina, 2019, OS Map of Newcastle in 1890

ELSWICK WORKS APPRENTICESHIPS DATA: 1871

During the month of September 1871, the record-keeping of apprenticeship applicants to the Elswick Works was restructured. Whereas in previous years the record book would simply contain a name, contact address and whether the applicant had been accepted or not, from September new columns were added. The immediate reason for the change can be attributed to both an increase in applications and a need to more accurately keep records of the quality of applicants. Between October and December 1871, the first three full months of the new record-keeping, 148 young men applied for apprenticeships at the Elswick Works. In doing so, each applicant was required to provide the address at which they or (more likely) their parents or guardians were residing, provide a reference from an employer or schoolmaster and attend the works in person for a conversation and visual, physical assessment. Before outlining the valuable data which the Register of Apprenticeship Applications presents, it is important to reiterate that 1871 was the year of the 'Great Engineers Strike'. Several engineers and other tradesmen involved in the strike were either unable to return to work or found other employment during and after the strike. The strike led to heavy recruitment, at great cost, of a temporary workforce to maintain production. The reduced number of working hours, though many worked overtime for a 1¼ higher rate of pay, required additional labour to maintain production output. These factors both increased recruitment and lowered the standards required for entry for new apprentices to help rebuild an effective and compliant workforce.

The reputation of the Elswick Works, and Lord Armstrong, as an employer had been damaged, particularly in comparison to Palmer's works in Jarrow where the strike was much shorter, and Palmer was viewed more favourably. Better qualified individuals could choose

a different employer, and the Elswick Works may have had to make do with those willing to work for them. This may have suppressed applications to work at Elswick, especially for apprentices who were committing themselves to an indenture of 4 to 7 years. Table 20 below shows both the number of applicants who applied between October and December 1871, information collected for each candidate during the interview and the comments made by the interviewer.

TABLE 20: 1871 ELSWICK WORKS APPRENTICESHIP REGISTER

ATTRIBUTE		OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
AGE	13 years old	0	0	1
	14 years old	5	3	2
	15 years old	35	11	0
	16 years old	29	13	4
	17 years old	21	7	3
	18 years old	6	4	1
	19 years old	2	0	0
	Unknown	1		
REFERENCE	Parent/Guardian	5	2	0
	Employer	48	21	7
	Clergy	5	1	0
	Schoolmaster	20	12	3
	Unknown	21	2	1
PHYSICAL	Strong/Healthy	48	21	7
	Weak/Not Healthy	13	5	0
	Unknown	38	12	4
EDUCATION	Schooled	55	28	6
	Vocational	24	6	4
	None	0	1	0
	Unknown	20	3	1
INTELLIGENCE	Highly Intelligent	19	9	2
	Apparently Intelligent	35	13	5
	No Intelligent	9	6	0
	Unknown	36	10	4
APPEARANCE	Respectful	60	20	7
	Not Respectful	10	1	0
	Unknown	29	17	4
TOTAL		99	38	11
OUTCOMES				
Successful		72	35	5
Unsuccessful		14	0	0
Applicant Declined		11	2	6
Place Held		1	0	0
Unknown		1	1	0
TOTAL		99	38	11

Source: Elswick Works Register of Applications for Apprenticeships 1856-1893, (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893)

Of the 148 applications submitted 99 were submitted in October, 38 in November and only 11 applications in December (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). With 112 successful applicants out of 148, the success rate was over 75%. This figure, however, could be considered higher as one place was held and 19 applicants withdrew their applications either formally (by informing the works) or by not providing promised testimonials which would indicate a withdrawal. Only 14 rejections took place, all in the month of October. It is highly probable that, although 148 applications over just three months seem high, this was, in fact, a register only of successful applicants, or candidates chosen for further consideration from a much larger body of applicants.

Once an apprentice was accepted, they would be assigned to a foreman and a work team. The register shows that the first fortnight was a vital period for recruits, in which a foreman could arbitrarily dismiss an apprentice without giving any reason. In practice, misbehaviour or concerns over the physical ability of an apprentice to handle the work safely was often given as a reason. An apprenticeship was considered a probationary period. Legally, the employer, and by proxy the foremen, maintained the right to dismiss an apprentice at any point throughout the 4-7 year period without requiring a reason. Beyond the right to earn and learn, an apprentice had few rights in relation to their employers (Snell, 1996, pp.315-316).

The register can be used to determine what qualities an employer was looking for and how valued prior education was for the success of an applicant. Of the 99 applicants in October, 85 were between the age of 15-17. Only one applicant was 13 years old, and this applicant was declined for being too young. 14-year-old boys were accepted into the works but were more likely to be rejected. One boy aged 14 was accepted but had his place held

until he turned 15, on the condition that he continued his education. Even 15-year-olds could be turned away based on age, as was the case for a boy named Hoggarth. His place was held until he turned 16. The reason for this, it seems, is that Hoggarth's education qualified him for a certain position, and he was being asked to complete another year of schooling to develop his academic skills.

From the registry, applicants were expected to be school leavers with 1 or 2 years of employment experience. The remarks on applicants who were over 17 show a higher rate of rejection, especially on the grounds of not 'looking' respectable enough. Those who were accepted over the age of 17 either required an exceptionally positive employment reference or had made a promise to attend night school. Henderson, who was 17, was described as 'not very intelligent' due to having had little formal schooling, but he was successful after promising to attend night school. Henderson promised to attend a night school for a year and then let his employers be the judge of his improvement to allow him to remain employed. Edwards, who was 18, had to demonstrate he had worked for the previous three years in engineering and had attended drawing classes for the previous two years. The oldest applicant, Wilckie, had the note 'Mr Hutchinson [a foreman] well acquainted with the lad's family' written in the margins (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). The youngest applicant, Armstrong, was also successful on the basis of a family connection to a foreman.

To prove the ability of a candidate to read and write, employers would often require 'a letter, in the handwriting of the applicant'. This would test not only the literacy of a candidate but also the standard of their ability to format a letter. There was no such requirement for apprentices upon application to submit a letter in their own handwriting to Elswick Works, though many may have done so anyway to demonstrate their ability. A boy

named Kyle, 16 years old, was described in the following terms: 'Boy well educated. Writes a very good letter. He's acting as timekeeper for his father' (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). It may be that the act of recording an ability to read, write or cypher only for 15 of the 148 applicants suggests that it was a special skill worthy of an additional note. Certainly, this was the case on the few occasions in which an ability to draw was recorded. However, given that 89 applicants, attended school, it is more likely that the majority, if not all applicants were required or expected to have achieved a standard of literacy. We can, therefore, assume that the recording of an ability to read, write or cypher was either intended to highlight a particular strength or simply to embellish the applicant's character in aid of their recruitment by the interviewer. This seems even more likely when considering the explanation one candidate gave for his lack of education. Mellan was aged 15 and was aware that his lack of an education needed explanation. 'He was educated for four years at ragged school. Little education. To attend night school and let us see what improvement he makes at the end of his six months trial' (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). Mellan was apparently successful in improving his literacy for there is no record of a dismissal on the grounds of misbehaviour or lack of ability.

It is curious that out of the five characteristics which were commented upon the most, education did not rank (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). The most commented upon attributes were physicality, appearance and intelligence. In this regard, whoever was conducting the face-to-face interviews, relied upon subjective assessments of whether the applicant was strong, healthy, smart, and trustworthy. As Floud comments, using physical attributes to assess an applicants health and quality was not unique (1983, p.36). In some cases, the applicant would have had an opportunity to work with a foreman in the works,

perhaps at the invitation of a particular individual. The physical qualities were commented upon for 63.51% of candidates. Intelligence was commented upon for 65.54% of candidates and appearing respectable was commented upon for 66.22% of candidates (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). We can assume that an ideal candidate from a physical perspective was a boy who was tall for his age, healthy, showed muscle definition and perhaps expressed energy or vitality. A poor candidate would easily be identified, especially a boy who had experienced starvation in his youth. Stunted growth, a clear indicator of malnutrition could have suggested an inability to develop the required physical strength for an industrial job and a poor constitution at risk of debilitation. Pragmatically, rejecting candidates with a weak constitution would prevent a compromise of the production process. It was also an expensive endeavour to train an apprentice who would be unable to progress to a sufficient competency. Any lapse in the physical contribution of a worker would be borne by others. This could slow production, but also create a dangerous working environment where the chance of deadly accidents was increased. For the candidate, however, rejection on the ground of unsuitability could be a blessing in disguise. Removal from the toxic and strenuous environment of heavy manufacturing works could prevent the exacerbation of their poor health. The observation that a boy was 'small for his age' could have been a significant comment. To be remarked upon as strong may have simply indicated average health by today's standards. Significant physical attributes, inspiring comments as those received by Armstrong, a boy of 18, could also be a detriment to the ambitions of a candidate. Armstrong wished to be a marine engineer. This was the profession he thought he was applying for. His physical strength, however, described as being 'very strong, big youth, looks 20 at least' may have ear-marked him towards more physically demanding roles in the ordnance works that others were less suited to. Armstrong's physicality may

very well have been more attractive to the employer than his academic achievement (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893).

Respectability was perhaps the most subjective of the three main attributes. What constituted a 'respectable' or 'not respectable' appearance was not recorded but was most likely reliant on the interviewer's assessment of attitude, body language, their response to questions and perhaps other indicators of class such as accent, vocabulary and mannerisms. The clothes an applicant wore was especially commented upon and also the appearance of their parents (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). Morris, who was 16 years old, was brought to the works by his father whom the interviewer remarked as 'a respectable looking man'. Kempster, who was 15 years old, was brought to the works by 'his mother, a very respectable looking woman'. In other cases, respectability referred to the connections of a boy's father or that the boy belonged to a more educated or wealthier family. The two Richards brothers applied for apprenticeships together when the younger brother was ready. Aged 15 and 16, both were described as 'apparently highly respectable and of a superior class'. Williamson, who was aged 16, was said to have been 'Educated at Royal School Dungannon [Ireland]. Said to possess considerable taste and talent for drawing' (Elswick Apprenticeships, 1893). For another boy, the fact that his father was 'an artist and respectably connected' was a point in favour, despite Couch being 18 years old and slightly older than the usual intake. Respectability, therefore, seems to indicate an applicant either of a similar socio-economic background to the interviewer, or a perceived superiority to it.

A clear distinction was made between education and intelligence. An apprenticeship was a period of training. Only prior *experiences* of learning or working, rather than specific formal qualifications, constituted an entry requirement. Applicants had to prove they were

educated or suggest that they were capable of learning and responsible enough to maintain a commitment to learning.

Often an applicant would provide a reference and testimonial from both a teacher and an employer. An application was marked as pending until both testimonials were provided if they had been promised. There was, however, a clear preference for providing and receiving a vocational rather than a school reference. This was particularly true if the applicant had been out of school for two or more years. Of the 78 references received by the interviewer in 1871, which were references provided in advance or at the meeting, only 20 were from a schoolmaster, five from clergy, and five from parents or guardians, with a total of 48 being provided by employers where an applicant had worked for at least a year. It must also be mentioned that, of the applicants who provided a reference from a parent or guardian, some had either been employed by their father or their fathers were employed by the Elswick Works.

Intelligence, as an attribute, appears to be an assessment of how able and interested the individual would be in learning the trade they were applying for. Vocational references were intended to demonstrate industrial skills, the capacity to develop in an industrial environment or to demonstrate professionalism. It is clear that formal education was indeed valued, and perhaps presupposed, and that the contents of a quality education marked an applicant more favourably. Vocational skills however were valued *more* and the variety of vocational experiences and skills were judged with greater scrutiny. A physical occupation such as mining could have suggested to the employer that the applicant had great physical endurance and awareness of his surroundings. A boy called Morris, who was 14 years old at the time of his application, claimed to have already had 4 years of experience

working at Coxlodge colliery. Although Morris eventually withdrew his application and found employment elsewhere, he was accepted despite his young age and despite older boys having their places held or rejected based on their age. The interviewer seems to have distinguished between emotional intelligence, which would allow an applicant to cope with the demands of a heavy manufacturing occupation, and more traditional definitions of intelligence. The latter was an ability to 'acquire and apply knowledge and skills' (OED, 2019). This, too, before the rise of sophisticated curriculums, would be best discovered through an evaluation and written testimony of vocational experiences acquired as a child rather than through formal schooling as this was predominately by rote learning and didactically, rather than experiential.

5.4.3 EDUCATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

If an apprenticeship was the objective of many school children in Newcastle, then the Elswick Works school was perhaps the best way to attain one. The school was designed with employment in mind, and employment needs at Elswick Works in particular (*DC*, 11 April 1866, p.2; Middlebrook, 1950, pp.387-388). It provided a model for the type of education most likely to gain access to an industrial occupation. There were key differences between the works curriculum and Board school classes and key advantages Private Adventure Schools had in emulating the works school.

Lower-paid workmen paid a weekly penny while higher-paid employees were docked twopence (*DC*, 11 April 1866, p.2). Nor was Armstrong's interest strictly to promote the pleasure of reading. On the children of Elswick he thought they were 'eventually to bear the shame and suffering of the vices they contact'; 'the establishment of schools', he thought, 'would go a great way to better the position of the children whose moral perversity he could neither conceal from himself nor fail to deplore' (*DC*, 11 April 1866, p.2). As president, Armstrong had ultimate control of the school but the fees allowed workmen to exercise some power. This is evidenced by a vote held in 1891 in which workmen voted in favour of continuing to support the school financially at which point a foreman argued 'it is a privilege, unitedly, and at such a small cost [then 1d or ½d], to assist in the education and elevation of our own class' (*DC*, 16 October 1891, p.8).

Besides being the largest employer for boys and men, the works was also a major employer for women in clerical roles and the works schools had designed a curriculum for boys and girls which reflected specific gendered occupations from its inception in 1886 to

the first world war (Elswick, 1915). The girl's curriculum was half an hour shorter each day than the boys, but the subjects were diverse and stimulating and not at all domesticated.

A cursory look at afternoon lessons suggests that the school wanted to extend some flexibility to female students. However, closer inspection reveals an anomaly. From Tuesday to Friday, the final session 15:00 – 16:00 was either tutorial time or reading. During this time, it is possible girls were allowed or chose to return home to assist with domestic tasks. On Mondays and Fridays, the class immediately before and following the two-hour lunch period was English literature or penmanship. If the girls skipped these classes, with or without permission from teachers then they would have had four hours to assist with domestic tasks through the middle of the day.

The anomaly however is that the final lesson of Monday is science. Traditionally wash day in England and the North East was on a Monday. It was one of the most physically demanding domestic chores and for many girls, a source of income. Placing a science lesson at the end of the day on Monday could have been a strategic decision to ensure girls stayed in school the entire day or perhaps the opposite. Since there are no details of what science was taught, it could be taken to mean 'domestic science'. Domestic science was taught specifically to girls across a range of schools to include laundry as well as cooking, keeping a hygienic domestic environment.

In this section, we explored the socio-economic context in which Private Adventure Schools were located. The overarching conclusion is that most Private Adventure Schools were located within more prosperous communities. The growth of schools within emerging communities such as Jesmond further suggests that if Private Adventure Schools were not specifically targeting middle-income families in 1870, they were in 1890. However, if we are

to take the 3km radius as a rule, as suggested in the introduction and confirmed by Newcastle Modern School's prospectus, then schools were geographically accessible to a full range of occupational backgrounds. Schools may have been affordable to most occupations, but for industrial workers, significant sacrifices would have had to be made to afford the education of even a single child. However, Private Adventure Schools were providing increased access to a rising proportion of families where the primary income was from commercial employment. Furthermore, Private Adventure Schools seem to be intentionally focused on providing education for families intending their children to follow them into commercial occupations.

The requirements for apprentices, presented by the Elswick Works Register, along with the data provided by Ehrlich's prospectus, begin to present a narrative in which young people intending to pursue an industrial career would attend school, attain employment experience, then apply for an apprenticeship. For young people following a commercial career, after their elementary education, they could enrol at a Private Adventure School to acquire specific commercial skills which might include book-keeping and typewriting, or in the case of Ehrlich's students, modern foreign languages. This would make them a more appealing candidate to commercial employers. However, Private Adventure Schools could still be attended by apprentices, as supplementary educations, to improve whatever inadequacies were found in reading, writing and arithmetic. For ambitious apprentices, classes in technical drawing or languages could be taken to elevate them from the factory floor to higher-paid office-based roles. Private Adventure Schools fulfilled a gap beyond attendance. They provided a form of education that was responsive, adaptive and flexible to local economic needs. For those who could afford them, the variety of schools not only

provided choices for young people and their families but could enable them to have a greater variety of choices in their careers upon leaving.

TABLE 21: SCHOOL TIMETABLE FOR THE ELSWICK WORKS SCHOOL IN 1914

SUBJECT KEY

SCIENCE

TECHNOLOGY

ENGLISH

ARTS

MATHS

FIRST YEAR's COURSE BOYS

Day	9-10	10-11	11-12	12-2	2-3	3-4:30	
Mon	MATHS	ENGLISH	SCIENCE	DINNER	MECHANICS	TUTORIAL	
Tue	MATHS	PRACTICAL GEOMETRY			GEOGRAPHY	PHYSICAL LABORATORY	
Wed	MATHS	ENGLISH	SCIENCE		COMPOSITION	MECHANICAL DRAWING	
Thur	MATHS	MECHANICAL DRAWING			TUTORIAL	PHYSICAL LABORATORY	
Fri	MATHS	ENGLISH	HISTORY		MECHANICS	GEOGRAPHY	

SECOND YEAR's COURSE BOYS

Day	9-10	10-11	11-12	12-2	2-3	3-4:30
Mon	SCIENCE LECTURE & LABORATORY		MATHS	DINNER	MACHINE DRAWING	
Tue	MECHANICS	ENGLISH	MATHS		SCIENCE	GEOGRAPHY
Wed	ENGLISH	HISTORY	MATHS		PRACTICAL GEOMETRY	
Thur	MATHS	ENGLISH	MATHS		GEOGRAPHY	TUTORIAL
Fri	SCIENCE LECTURE & LABORATORY		MATHS		MACHINE DRAWING	

GIRLS						
Day	9-10	10-11	11-12	12-2	2-3	3-4
Mon	ENGLISH	ARITHMETIC	PENMANSHIP	DINNER	ENGLISH LITERATURE	SCIENCE
Tue	GEOMETRICAL DRAWING	ALGEBRA	COMPOSITION		COMMERCIAL ARITHMETIC	READING
Wed	HISTORY	ARITHMETIC	GEOGRAPHY		SCIENCE	TUTORIAL
Thur	GEOMETRICAL DRAWING	ARITHMETIC	COMPOSITION		COMMERCIAL ARITHMETIC	READING
Fri	ENGLISH	ARITHMETIC	PENMANSHIP		ENGLISH LITERATURE	TUTORIAL

Source: Elswick Works Institute Day and Department Junior, Technical and Trade Preparatory School, Guide and Timetable 1914-1915 (Elswick, 1915)

TABLE 22: NUMBER OF HOURS SPENT BY BOYS AND GIRLS ON EACH SUBJECT AT THE ELSWICK WORKS SCHOOL

Hours per subject per week	Maths	English	Science	Drawing	History	Geography	Tutorial
Boys Year 1	9	4	4	3	1	2	1
Boys Year 2	9	3	5	4	1	2	1
Girls	7	10	2	2	1	1	2

Source: Elswick Works Institute Day and Department Junior, Technical and Trade Preparatory School, Guide and Timetable 1914-1915 (Elswick, 1915)

Despite lacking an advanced year, the female curriculum was more decidedly focused on Commercial Arithmetic and more advanced reading skills as opposed to the mechanics, machine drawing, chemistry and physics lessons that boys were taught. It is clear, and not surprising that boys' education provided a basic grounding in engineering and the theoretical context to the broader production process. It would have given boys who went into works employment a greater understanding of the manufacturing process. For example, lessons would cover ferrous and non-ferrous metals and would explain oxidation leading to rust. This would explain why certain metals were used at various points in production. Even for a worker on the shop floor, this theoretical knowledge could have a practical purpose in improving quality.

Girl's education was, arguably, simply a more advanced form of education based on the 3Rs. There were key differences, however. First, Reading was split into three distinct classes: English, English Literature and Reading. Reading was an afternoon lesson, and with access to the school library, this time was most likely a more informal period which may have provided girls with the freedom to explore subjects of their choosing. This potentially created an opportunity for girls to decide their own learning, a luxury denied to the boys. The distinction between English and English Literature would have been a distinction between a technical understanding of English (including more advanced reading skills and spelling) and English Literature (focused on knowledge of classic English texts). Penmanship, a more advanced form of writing skill, was a commercial skill. This included learning to format and write letters, duplicate documents, make notes and accurately record dictated correspondence. Composition related to advanced lessons in grammar and creative writing.

Boys were taught composition in year one, a single hour lesson per week. Girls, however, received these lessons throughout the week.

Maths was also divided, this time between four specific subjects. These were Arithmetic, Algebra, Commercial Arithmetic and Geometrical Drawing. While Commercial Arithmetic relates to the calculation of monetary values, Algebra and Geometrical Drawing (which were taught for two hours every week) each seem to provide a greater mathematical understanding, rather than practical skills. Girls also received two hours of science, an hour of history and an hour of geography lessons per week. The provision of such heavy mathematics and science curriculums for girls was far from the norm and was not mirrored in School Board curricula across England and Wales (Davin, 1996, pp.142-149). Dyehouse discusses the conflict between educators on decisions to teach girls' hard sciences or domestic science and concludes that mathematics for girls was 'widely regarded as of little use to women'. Indeed, science was viewed as a threat to femininity, to be kept at a minimum and as a waste of time (Dyehouse, 1977, p.25). Evidently, The works valued scientific education above all others and extended this curriculum to its female cohort.

6.0 PART THREE

RURAL EDUCATION: DISPARITIES AND SIMILARITIES IN NORTHUMBERLAND



IMAGE 3: PATH TO THE CHEVIOT, 2016

Source: Mart in the Hill (2016)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

After focusing on urban school structures, this section expands the study to rural areas of Northumberland. A thematic approach is designed to reinforce that there were multiple experiences of education in rural Northumberland. The county has been divided into five distinct regions (see Appendix One, 8.1.2) for the purpose of this thesis. Each with a unique socio-economic character. For the four rural regions of Northumberland, there were distinct environments that impacted the development of education including remote areas, borderlands, landed estates, and mining districts. It will be argued, that by exploring the experiences of each environment, there were multiple reasons for the absence or presence of Private Adventure Schools. The impact of the 1870 Act was diffused by the difficulties of rural implementation and there were disparities between regions in the use and misuse of education.

Section one begins with a discussion of the difficulties Northumberland's size and remoteness posed to educational structures. As a border county, the remote areas of Northumberland were influenced by Scotland's distinct and successful education system. The education practices of remote communities offer a stark contrast to the urban experience. Section two deals with the more traditional nineteenth-century agrarian society. The influence of powerful landed elites on education as well as their reaction to the 1870 Education Act is critically evaluated. A complex relationship existed in which estates both supported educational provision while simultaneously restricting school choice. Resistance to School Boards was influential. We see how the failure of one Northumbrian School Board became a national symbol of resistance. It was not, however, resistance to progress. With philanthropic support, some rural Northumberland schools were

progressively ambitious. The final section looks at the growth of educational culture within mining areas. It begins with the enduring impact of the 1844 Great Strike on education in the late nineteenth century. Mining was a significant economic sector for Northumberland. So much so that unique cultures and independent practices emerged within mining communities. The argument of Robert Colls (1976) that education was used as a tool for social control within mining culture will be addressed. In response, the structure of education in lead mining and coal mining areas will be contrasted. It will be concluded that despite the differences within rural Northumberland there was a unifying belief, accepted by 1870, that education was vital for both economic and social life.

6.2 EDUCATION IN THE PERIPHERIES

6.2.1 EDUCATION IN REMOTE AREAS

Rural Northumberland in the nineteenth century constituted an entirely different educational environment to the predominantly urban Eastern region. Northumberland remains one of the largest counties in England. Therefore, this study is divided into five regions, four of which are distinguishable sub-regions. Despite the geographical distinctions between them, Part Three of this study adopts a thematic approach.

Between 1870 and 1880, the Western Region had the fewest schools between 1870 and 1880 outside of the Eastern Region but had the highest percentage increase in schools (Kelly's, 1870; 1880; 1890). Only 32 schools existed in 1890, less than half of any other region: 14 of those schools were National, 2 were Presbyterian, and four were charitably endowed. The region did, however, have two Grammar schools, both based in Rothbury, one for boys and a separate school for girls. Of Private Adventure Schools, there was only one. This was run by James Risdale Ferguson in Bellingham. Part of the reason for the absence of Private Adventure Schools could be that there was no need to advertise broadly as communities were small, isolated, and tightly integrated. A second reason may have been the prevalence of Board schools. It could be argued that outside of Newcastle and Tyneside, the areas which most benefited from the 1870 Education Act were rural communities in western Northumberland. By 1890 six School Boards and six Board schools had been established, as shown in the below table. The Board schools provided education in areas where populations could support them and where such populations required additional provision. National Schools, though fewer in number than in other regions, provided school accommodation in more remote areas.

TABLE 23: WESTERN REGION SCHOOL BOARDS 1869-1889

Parish	School Board Area	Date Est.
Alwinton	United District of Netherton North Side, Netherton South Side, Biddlestone and Burrowden	1881
Corsenside	West Woodhorn	1883
Falstone	Plashtets and Tynehead	1877
Rothbury	United District of Thropton, Cartington, Snitter, Little Tosson, Great Tosson & Rye Hill, High & Low Threwhitt and Warton	1880
Whittingham	United District of Glanton and Shawdon	1873
Whittingham	United District of Callaley, Yetlington and Lorbottle	1874

Source: Kelly's, 1890, pp. 713, 751, 765, 1026, 1072

The most remote school was an Endowed school at Wellhaugh erected in 1849 by the 4th Duke of Northumberland, Algernon Percy. The distance between Wellhaugh and Falstone, the next nearest school, was over 11km. The area is now completely submerged by Kielder Reservoir which was built in the late 1970s and flooded in 1982. Wellhaugh was not alone in its isolation. The small National school built by the Archdeacon Singleton at Byrness had an average attendance of only 20 children and was 9km from the nearest school at Rochester, and over 16km from the closest town, Otterburn. It was the last school on the road between Jedburgh and Newcastle. As a National School, St Cuthbert's rectors at Elsdon 13 miles away was a direct superior, but administratively, Rothbury, (30km to the West) was responsible for ensuring access to education for local children (Kelly's, 1890; Edina Digimaps, Historical Roam, 2020).

The population of the Western Region declined between 1860 and 1890 which, of course, had an impact on the number of school-age children and local education policy. The total number of school-age children declined from 3,285 in 1860 to 2,385 in 1890 (ICeM 2020, 1861; 1891). This population decline was uneven across the region with some communities growing and others declining more rapidly. The average decrease was 17, while the average increase was just 8. However, even these figures disguise the scale of

decreases in some parishes. Bellingham, for example, had a decrease of 128 school-age children between 1860 to 1890 (ICeM, 2020, 1861, 1891). Coldwell, Birtley, Wellhaugh, Rothbury, Alwinton, Whittingham and Glanton had decreases ranging from 41 to 85. In areas like Glanton, where the Board school's average attendance was between 50 to 60 students, the decline in numbers could potentially mean entire schools were becoming redundant. In 1890, 65 of the 86 Parishes in the Western Region had fewer than 28 school-age children (ICeM, 2020, 1891). The population of school-age children was disproportionately centred in towns like Rothbury and Bellingham, but these same towns were also the sites of the greatest overall population decline by percentage (ICeM, 2020 1851; 1891).

The trend of decline in population centres in the Western region meant ratepayers in these areas could make a stronger argument against the establishment of a School Board if they wished to do so. There was also less incentive to develop an entrepreneurial model of school provision in these areas where populations, and therefore the market, was in decline. Schools built to accommodate 100 or more students may have struggled to find less than half that number with only nine parishes containing 100 school-age children in 1860 and four parishes in 1890 (ICeM, 2020, 1861; 1891). When local low-fee schools and charitable schools were struggling to attract and maintain sustainable attendance, the market conditions for opening a Private Adventure School were unfavourable.

Only one Private Adventure School was recorded for the Western Region between 1869-1889. This was located at Ridsdale, approximately 7km East of Bellingham and run by Mr James Ferguson. Bellingham had a significant but declining population. The importance of the town to the surrounding rural area was amplified by its railway station which

provided social and economic opportunities (Gregory & Henneberg, 2010, pp.205-207). Agricultural products were transported to Newcastle for consumption or export while passenger services connected Bellingham to Hexham and Newcastle. The existence of Mr Ferguson's school in a region devoid of all other Private Adventure Schools would have been singularly intriguing alone.

The *Morpeth Herald* reported in 1884 (*MH*, 6 December 1884, p.5) on a confrontation between Mr Ferguson's school and the Corsenside School Board. Jacob Dickenson, who was 12 years old at the time, was accused of truancy for not attending a Board school. The boy's father, also called Jacob, was hauled in front of a petty session in Bellingham which was described by the *Herald* as 'School Board versus Voluntary Schools'. The School Board was represented by L.C. Lockhart, a solicitor from Hexham and an individual who was heavily involved both as a Board member and clerk for School Boards in Northumberland. Mr Dickenson was forced to hire Mr William Webb, a solicitor from Morpeth, to represent him. It is worth noting at this point that not all parents would be able to afford the services of a solicitor, and it was a more expensive undertaking than simply paying a fine. Mr Lockhart, who had originally written the Corsenside School Board bye-laws himself, determined that it was up to Jacob Dickinson to prove he attended an efficient school. Jacob was then forced to submit himself to an academic exam in front of the court which included Rev. Robert Powell, Sir John Swinburn, George Anderson, and John Robson. Thankfully, Jacob performed adequately in the exam.

In delivering the verdict that it was acceptable for Jacob Dickinson to continue his education at Mr Ferguson's, the court admitted that he was not alone in being a student of Mr Ferguson's brought before the court. Another boy, we know only by his surname 'Wear'

had also been subject to the same treatment, as had three girls. The court ruled that Mr Ferguson's was efficient only for boys. Mr Ferguson did not teach sewing, and the three girls, described by the *Herald* as 'good scholars' were not allowed to return to the school. Ferguson was forbidden to accept girls as students. The parents of the girls who had attended Mr Ferguson's, whether they were interested in sewing or not, were all fined 1s. Mr Ferguson promised to teach sewing in the future, but until he could, all girls were barred from his school and required to go elsewhere. Appendix 8.1.8 shows visually that there were no alternative Private Adventure Schools within a realistic distance, only a Board school some miles away and the schools of Bellingham.

Why the Corsenside School Board and Mr Lockhart felt it necessary to bring individual parents in front of a court and issue fines directly to them rather than inspect Mr Ferguson's school is questionable. It was within the power of the Board to inspect Mr Ferguson's; indeed, it was a requirement imposed upon them. It shows great loyalty to the school that Mr Dickinson bore the costs of a solicitor to defend his right to send his son to Ferguson's school rather than simply abide by the Board's demand that Jacob attended one of their own schools. Similarly, the parents of the girls, having made a choice to send their children to a school without sewing classes, bore the risks and the costs of a fine to make their decision and stand by it. The girls living in Ridsdale attending Ferguson's school in 1884 were forced to attend the next nearest Board school at West Woodburn 2 miles to the North. This was half a mile beyond the prescribed 1.5 miles catchment area for a Board school.

NATURAL BARRIERS TO SCHOOLS

The 1870 Education Act stipulated that all children should have access to a school within 1.5 miles, approximately 2.4km (Education Act 1870). In rural areas where populations were sparsely distributed across large areas, this provision was difficult to achieve. A sample of 135 children attending Glanton school between 1875 and 1880 show that twelve of the children lived either 2.4 km away or greater (Glanton Register, 1877). The furthest distance travelled was 4.3 km from Bolton and Titlington. The shortest routes from Titlington or Bolton could have taken an hour for an adult to traverse and significantly longer for a child. The catchment area for a rural school was still predominantly the immediate area in which the school was situated. Of the 135 samples from the School attendance register which covered a period from the 19 April 1875 to the 28 September 1880, 51 children lived within a kilometre of the school, either at Glanton or at Glanton Pyke, the remaining 84 lived further afield (Glanton Register, 1877).

Those children living at the peripheries of the catchment area, however, had other options. At Bolton, for example, whereas in 1880 at the age of 12 and 9, Margaret and David Elliott commuted, there was already a well-established National school. The Bolton Village school founded in 1853 for 70 children had an average attendance of just 48 in 1890. We know from records at Glanton that a change in Headmaster in 1878 led to a drop in enrolment from an average attendance of 52.6 on the 19 April to just 17.7 on the 3 of May (Glanton Logbook, 1907). The log for the 17 May entered by the temporary Master reads 'The number attending this school is still keeping low and the time grows wearisome from want of sufficient work for the teachers.' James Wood, the new Master who joined the school in mid-May 1878, observed 'Attendance exceedingly small owing to differences between the School Board and my predecessor'. That week only nine girls and ten boys had

attended the school which had been attended by more than 62 children only six months prior to the log entry. The absence is attributable to a period of uncertainty of the new Master and a sense of loyalty to the last.

We know that parents were making choices, even in rural areas where options were fewer, about the education of their children. The choices were predominantly made on personal connections to the schoolteachers and the School Board. Contemporary research presents a strong argument for the importance of pupil and parents' relationships with their teachers (Hutchins et al., 2008). The new School Master, Mr Wood, introduced a much broader curriculum, with some elements of commercial education (Glanton Logbook, 1907). The quality of log entries suggests he was a more competent teacher. Mr Wood was a certified teacher, which his predecessor was not, but he also introduced Bible studies, drawing, French and taught geography to a higher standard. School inspection summaries indicate the change in quality. The 10 April 1878 Inspection spoke of issues with higher standards of learning: only the first four standards were rated excellent to good, but the fifth and sixth standards were rated bad. Singing, needlework and record-keeping of admission registers were all requiring attention, but it was the loss of grants for Grammar and Geography tuition which spurred the Board to dismiss the former teacher. The assessment of infant provision was most damning 'The Infants were backwards as a class, though a few did very fairly well; they were weak in counting' (Glanton Logbook, 1907). Yet there was clearly significant support from at least two-thirds of the school who withdrew their children following the teacher's dismissal.

More difficult to explain is the slow return of children to the school despite the leap in quality. The number on the books for 1878-79 was 67 yet average attendance for the year

was pulled down to just 33.3 (Glanton Logbook, 1907). A note entered on 21 February 1879, 10 months after he had left stated 'Entered 28 new scholars, 17 boys and 11 girls. The number on roll 67. Most of these have been at school before but had left with Mr Grabb, the former teacher'. The inspector's report in March 1880 described a radically different school. The school had two certified teachers, and the rates were: Reading 'Very Fair', Dictation 'Very good' in all Standards, Handwriting 'Fairly Good' in all Standards. Arithmetic was 'Fairly Good' in the second, third and fourth standards but 'Below Par' in the fifth and first Standard. This was still a significant improvement in a year. For Infants, who had been described as 'backward' the previous year, the only note was for arithmetic which required improvement. Grammar and Geography were still not sufficiently good, but they were not a complete failure. The inspector reported 'The children were very timid and did not seem to have been taught to use their intelligence' (Glanton Logbook, 1907). As educationists know teaching 'thinking skills' takes time and a particular skill set. The class had only had a sufficient map for a few months prior to the inspection. There were improvements in English Literature, singing and discipline, Domestic Economy and Needlework. The overall summary would be that improvements could be made, but progress had been made across the Board and in a relatively short period of time between March 1879 and March 1880. Mr Wood followed the inspection with notes on how he was working to make improvements, notably with new Geography classes starting on the 9 April 1879 (Glanton Logbook, 1907). Mr Grabb had followed his inspections without any noted changes or reflection.

It took over a year to return to the same level of attendance that the previous teacher had enjoyed with a 10-month period in which parents had kept children away rather than trust the new teacher. This indicates both the importance of a parental

relationship with teachers and how long it took for a new teacher to gain a similar level of trust with their community. A trusted teacher could attract scholars from a broad geographic area and extend the catchment potential of a rural school. A more qualified teacher could improve the teaching standards of a school and the rate of success in examinations, but in areas where compulsion was expensive and difficult to enforce and, without a personal connection, attendance could drop significantly.

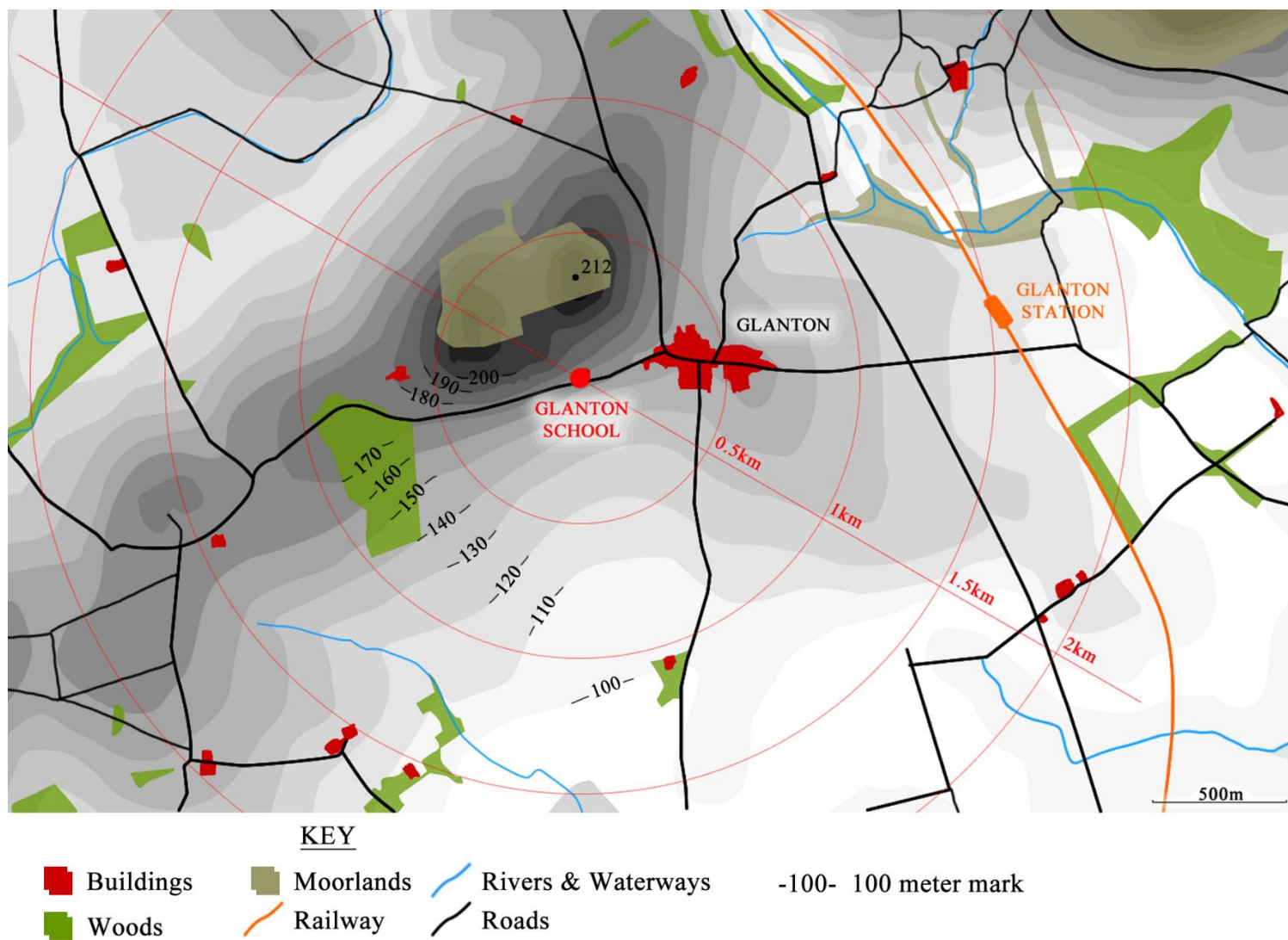
One of the biggest barriers to education in rural areas was the weather. Attendance dropped dramatically during stormy periods, both for teachers and pupils. Even slight rain could be a serious barrier to attendance. Children from severely impoverished backgrounds could often barely afford rudimentary clothing. Shoes, which were barely adequate for general use in rural areas, were certainly not adequate for journeys of several miles across claggy, waterlogged trails. Cold rainy weather could trap children in homes where families required help preventing flooding, but there was also a genuine health concern about prolonged exposure to cold, wet, and windy conditions. The potential for contracting an illness was a considerable risk. Penicillin would not be discovered until the early 20th century, and many viral and bacterial infections we consider minor were dangerous in 1870. Compounding the dangers of illnesses more prevalent during winter or periods of inclement weather such as colds, sore throats, asthma, and flu, was the limited access to medical facilities and knowledge in rural areas. Good weather was equally a threat to attendance. Agricultural labourers made the best of clement and temperate conditions to complete outdoor tasks, often involving their children.

The logbooks of remote schools demonstrate the persistent battle schoolmasters had against weather and the effects of sickness over the winter period (Glanton Logbook,

1907). The log records kept by Glanton Headmaster between 8 June 1877 and 19 April 1878 give an average attendance of 54 with averages of 26 girls and 28 boys. On weeks with strong weather, attendance could fall to less than half that number. Between September and March, poor weather is reported more frequently. On the 9 March 1877, the schoolmaster recorded 'Attendance this week is very bad. Weather and sickness prevent many children from being present'. A year later, the 25 January 1878 entry reads 'Sickness and stormy weather account for the very low average this week' (Glanton Logbook, 1907, p.15). The lowest attendance of the year was in the final week of January and the first week of February. Bad weather affected attendance throughout the year, but the combination of stormy weather and illness in the winter months severely affected attendance. Average attendance for June and July was 59.4 while January and February it was only 47.7, this is comparable to other years at the same school. Storms affected both boys and girls equally, but the sickness of children and families affected girls to a greater extent. Of the 32 girls enrolled in 1877 an average of only 16.8 attended during the first two weeks of February.

Child mortality was a significant risk. Sending a child out to walk for more than an hour in any difficult weather was a threat to their health but also a legitimate threat to their lives. Navigating the terrain in poor light and short visibility was also a danger posed by the winter months. Although the routes would be familiar to both children and adults, there was a chance of disorientation in extreme weather. Ordnance Survey maps from both 1860 and 1890 show a long clear road between Glanton, Bolton, Titlington and Powburn but we must imagine the view that a child may have had in winter weather, in a rural environment with limited geographical features and the difficulties of navigating in the darkness of early mornings and evenings.

Another consideration which parents may have factored in before allowing their child to make a significantly long journey in poor conditions was the lifespan of clothing. Extreme weather could severely damage clothing, including shoes which may have been passed down and were expected to be passed down again to a younger sibling. The further children had to travel, the more wear and tear their clothing endured. This would be in addition to the wear and tear endured in normal childhood activities such as play, sport and assisting their parents with labour. Without adequate protection from heavy rain, poorer families would not risk their children travelling extended lengths of time. Perhaps in urban areas, a child might find cover from the rain and shelter from strong winds, but in rural areas, a child could be exposed to the elements with only the partial cover of a tree to dive beneath. The map below of Glanton and its surrounding area was produced by combining the features of an 1891 ordnance survey map with the topographical data of a contemporary ordnance survey map. We can see an area of high moorland directly north-west of the village. The roads north and west climb upwards while the roads east and south descend into a valley. Areas of woodland straddle streams and the borders of farm estates. Cutting through the landscape on the right-hand side of the map was the NER railway. None of these barriers could prevent ingenious, energetic, or mischievous rural children but they could slow them down and present greater dangers during severe weather.

MAP 14: GLANTON SCHOOL AND SURROUNDING AREA 1890

Source: Original map. OS data © Crown Copyright and database 2019.

The terrain can form natural barriers to education where geography directly or indirectly impacts the journey between a school and a domicile. On a much more abstract level, terrain affects living conditions and weather. High mountain ranges, for example, cause higher levels of rainfall, physically prevent passage from one community to another and pose additional threats such as landslides. In the Western Region, the Northern and Southern Cheviot Hills range was mostly unpopulated and uncultivated moorland. The highest point, The Cheviot, 815 feet high, was located close to the Scottish and English border. The range of hills and valleys stretched along the country border from Kirknewton to Haltwhistle and had a major impact on where settlements were located, how infrastructure such as roads and rail were invested in and the relationships between communities. Settlements around the Cheviots in the Western region were in valleys between hills. The most successful communities, such as Glanton, were ones where a limited amount of industry could develop, where markets could be held, and agricultural hiring festivals took place (Counce, 2012).

The maximum distance a child was required to commute by the Education Department did not take account of the plethora of transportation options available, or the relatively flat terrain, in an urban area. In a rural area 1.5 miles as the crow flies may not take into account the discombobulated routes children may have to take to navigate streams, roads, fields, woodland, private property, hills, railroad tracks and other geographical features and human obstacles. Rural roads do not always take the most direct route, rather the route available at the time of construction which considered land ownership and topography. There are fewer roads to choose from in remote rural areas, and the quality of roads decreases depending on the amount of traffic.

Certain terrain, particularly hilly areas, are more susceptible to seasonal change. High rainfall could easily turn a ford into an impassable torrent. Landslides in hilly areas can easily turn torrents into mudslides. These are dangers that coastal urban areas and the Tyneside urban area did not have to contend with, but the challenges of difficult terrain could affect rural communities in discrete ways such as adding time and difficulty to journeys, and in significant ways such as trapping weather systems and increasing the dangers of natural events. The terrain can limit the demographic and economic growth of a community if access and resources are limited. When physical access is limited, volatile and subject to seasonal socio-economic events, the ability to attain a sustained income from education is limited. This goes a long way to explain the absence of Private Adventure Schools in the Western Region and the difficulties all schools across the educational landscape faced in attracting and sustaining attendance. The only sustained incomes were possible through rates or better: endowments from wealthy patrons. Unlike in Berwickshire and the Northern Region, there was enough motivation to establish and support multiple School Boards and a great many national schools.

To summarise; remoteness posed a unique set of challenges to educators between 1869-1889. Sustaining attendance was made difficult by the terrain, poor weather and seasonal events. To compound problems of distance faced by policymakers, the region was declining in population. The challenges of implementing the 1870 Education Act were met, however, and several more School Boards were established than were present in the Northern Region. The Glanton school logbook provides insight into just one school, but from it, we can see the impact of distance, weather, and terrain on attendance. We also see that

trust in teaching staff is one of the most important factors in drawing children from across long distances in challenging locations.

6.2.2 EDUCATION ON THE BORDER

Education in Scotland was distinctive from England and Wales, it was also highly effective. Proximity to the border created a unique environment and although there was a lack of school buildings, including Private Adventure Schools, a different form of privately-hired education developed in border communities which deserves attention and context. The 1870 Education Act and the 1876 Education Act applied only to England and Wales. Additional education acts were presented, debated, and passed by parliament for Scotland and the island of Ireland (Anderson, 1985). The structure of British education was able to develop independently in each country with different views on finance, regulation, provision, and religious education. As the northernmost county sharing a border with Scotland Northumbrian citizens were able to pass freely into Scotland to access services, work and recreation, and Scottish citizens could access Northumberland unimpeded.

The border between Northumberland and Scotland is over a hundred kilometres long, but while there was movement along its entire length, the natural barrier of the Cheviots limited the number of high traffic crossing points to the north (Readman, 2014, p.178). Most of those crossing points were along 35 km of the River Tweed, between Berwick and Carham Burn, and a 9km border between the River and a road between Shotton and Yetholm Mains. The border was extremely porous, not only for the ease of crossing points but for the symbiotic way in which cross-border settlements developed. At various points along the northern border, the principal village or town is either in Scotland or England, enabling people to live in one country and work in the other.

In relation to educational access by 1872, Scotland was subject to an adapted version of the Forster's 1870 Act and local administrative authorities on both sides of the

border had an obligation to ensure children had access to school (Anderson, 1985, p.192-195). From 1872, the Scottish system of kirk schools was directly replaced by School Boards with the administration of the Scottish system being centralised in London under the Scotch Education Department. The negative impact of the 1872 Act, however, was an anglicization of Scottish culture through a curriculum regulated in London (Anderson, 1985; Stephens, 1998, p.17). This included not only a suppression of the Gaelic language, but punishments for children found learning and speaking Gaelic. Similar treatment of native languages and culture was experienced in Wales which had been included in the 1870 Act. As early as 1847, J.C. Symons' report on the state of education in Wales, now known as the 'treacherous' Blue Books, described the Welsh language as 'evil' (Symons, 1979, p.62). He wrote in his report to parliament that Welsh 'distorts the truth, favours fraud and abets perjury, which is frequently practised in courts, and escapes detection through loop-holes of interpretation'. Native languages of the British Isles, other than English were to men like Symons 'a mockery which must continue until the people are taught the English language; and that will not be done until there are efficient schools for the purpose' (Symons, 1979, p.62). The effects of anglicization on Scottish and Welsh languages are a key aspect to the narratives of both British education and British culture. The effects of anglicization along the Scottish border, however, were marginal as border culture had for hundreds of years homogenized. Not as hegemonically Scottish or English, but idiosyncratic.

In raw numbers, most Scottish-born migrants were living and working in Newcastle and in the wider Tyneside area throughout the 1869-1889 period (Census, 1871,81,91). However, as a proportion of the communities in which they were living, the impact of Scottish-born migrants was culturally more significant in North Northumberland Parishes.

Map 15 illustrates visually the Scottish-born migrants data in Appendix Three as a percentages of the total population of each parish across Northumberland between 1850 and 1890. Using Census records and GIS, we can see that between 1851 and 1890 the porosity of the border increases and Scottish-born migrants as a percentage of the total population for each parish increases further into Northumberland over time. Parishes in 1851 with 20% or more Scottish-born migrants were limited to those directly located on the Scottish border, but by 1891 the majority of the Western and Northern Region had high percentages of Scottish migrants as well as several parishes in the central region. Throughout the nineteenth century, however, unsurprisingly, it was the northern border with Scotland and the Northern Region where the majority of parishes had a strong Scottish presence and where parishes with the highest percentage of Scottish-born families could be found.

The influence of Scotland and Scottish Presbyterianism on education in Northumberland not only provided an alternative organisational structure but provided a different set of cultural values (Readman, 2014, p.179). Presbyterianism stressed the importance of education. This had an impact on border shepherds, the Northumbrian 'Hinds', who had a much higher level of literacy in comparison to arable farm labourers in the lowlands (Hurt, 1979, pp.38-39. There were differences in labour practices between pastoral and arable farming, but the requirements of literacy and numeracy were not more essential. The greater value placed on educational attainment and the efforts Shepherding families made to educate their children was the result of cultural and religious influence.

The work was physically demanding, isolating and could be highly hazardous, a fact which was frequently reported in the press during lambing season. It was also a labour

practice which passed through families generationally. The skills required were passed down from father to son, and the nature of the work meant that mechanization had a limited impact on disrupting that process (Sheeptaes, 2020). The trails shepherds took were often impassable by tractors. In Northumberland, Foster (2004, p.145) identified a Shepherd boy in 1906 who was living in the Western Region and attending school at Haltwhistle. Equally, Robert Kerr Murdie walked ten miles every day until his father procured for him a donkey. Before returning home completely, he would shepherd on the north side of his father's land (Foster, 2004, p.145).

Shepherds were used to crossing the border not only for services but to track stray animals. Knowledge of the landscape either side of the border was not only essential, but it could also be lifesaving. *The Scotsman* reported an incident on the 23 December 1874 which was during a particularly severe winter with storms and blankets of snow. Heavy snowfall alone could disguise landscapes, and the snow was reportedly two and a half feet deep. Henry Hall, aged 23, returning to Blindburn where he was employed from Whiten Moor House where his father lived, a distance of 7 miles, was killed by the storm (*SM*, 23 December 1874, p.4; Foster, 2004, p.147). A search party spent a week looking for him across a large area, but to no avail. Storms could disorientate shepherds and take them miles from their intended destinations.

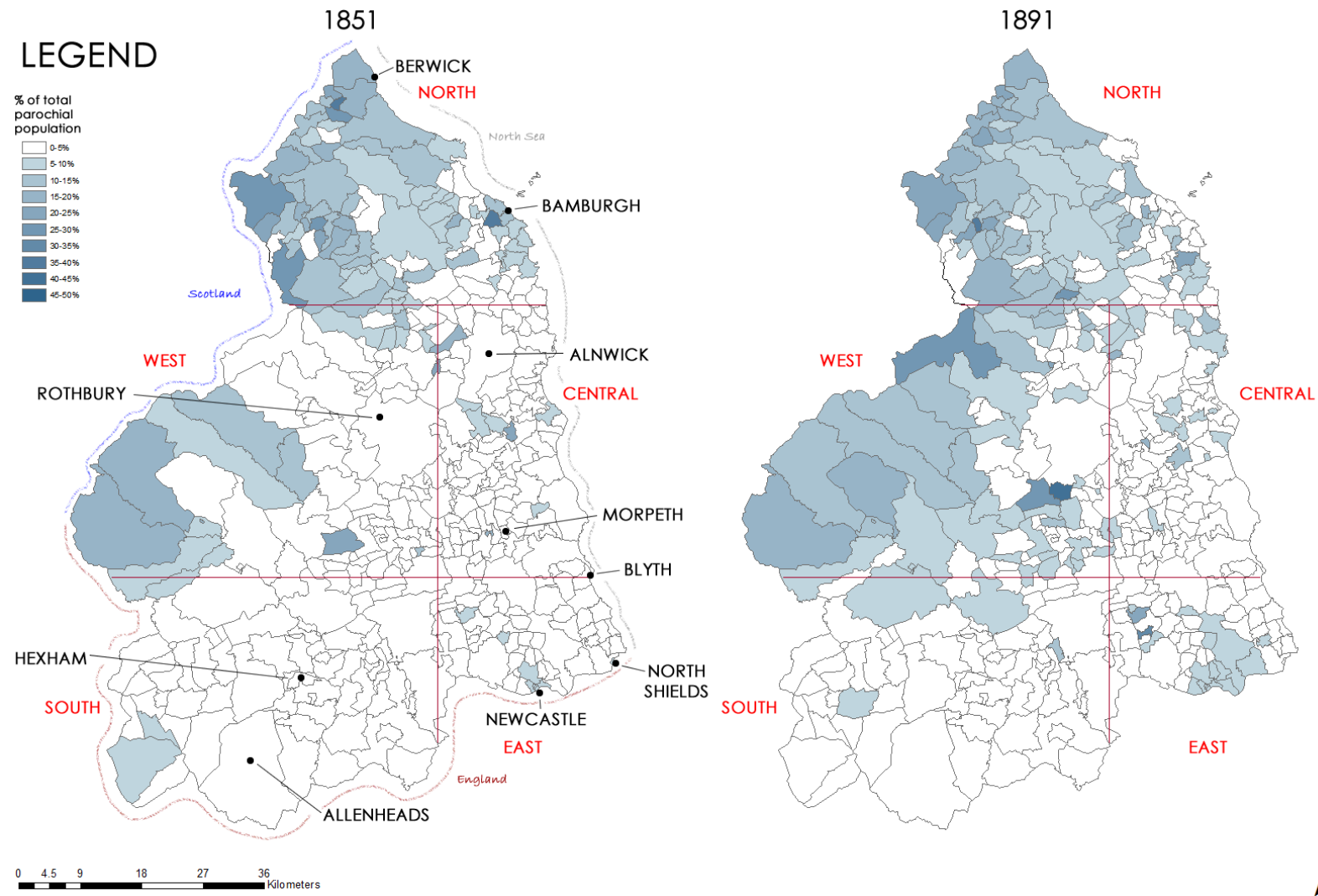
Shepherds were required to travel significant distances, even after the ascent of the railways in North Northumberland (Charlton and Roberts, 2014, p.53). They were encouraged from a young age to travel and experience landscapes which as adults they would traverse as droving networks as adults, routes which were passed down generationally into the twentieth century (Sheeptaes, 2020). Schools that were located far

from shepherd's family's houses were not so much of an inconvenience as a form of preparation for working life. There was also significant independence of Shepherd families in their attitudes to education (Readman, 2014, p.172). Children were frequently withdrawn from schools for various tasks such as wool gathering, but these were necessary training experiences. In the winter months, isolated communities could employ a tutor to teach a group of children (Stephens, 1987, p.58). This was not the establishment of a formal school or Private Adventure School, but a practice referred to as employing a 'Scotch Lad'. At a time when schools were struggling to maintain pupil numbers through poor weather and illness, teachers could find temporary employment as a Scotch Lad which could be as beneficial to them as it was to the remote families they lived with. The schools in Wooler which included a Presbyterian school for 150 children built in 1855 was used as a centre for the sons and daughters of shepherds, particularly older children of up to 14 and 18 years old, for lodging and education over winter. A network of Presbyterian Schools in the Northern Region at Tweedmouth, Crookham, Lowick, Bowsden and Wooler founded between 1846-1878 provided accommodation for up to 603 children. We know the importance of Presbyterian Ministers to shepherds along the Scottish border in the 1870s from such records as Reverend John Young from Bellingham (Foster, 2004, p.149) who provided materials to Scotch Lads living in the hills with Shepherd families. For families living in border villages such as Maxwellheugh, the closest Presbyterian services, or any religious services, were in Kelso on the Scottish side.

Map 15 shows the Scottish born migrants as a percentage of the total population in each parish across Northumberland. It is clear that in 1850 communities with high percentages of Scottish-born migrants were in the Northern Region. Almost every parish in

the Northern Region contained 5-15% or higher Scottish-born families. Between 1851 and 1891 the influence of Scottish communities increased across Northumberland but remained focused on the border regions.

The coal trade in Scotland was severely threatened in 1886. After accepting a 7.5% wage cut in the summer of 1887 Lanarkshire Miner's Association begged colliery owners to show some humanity and allow workers enough money to prepare for winter 'not unaware of the depressed condition of the coal trade' (AA, 24 September 1887, p.2). This was intended to restrict the movement of miners but this only increased pressures on employees to leave or protest. This led to the 'wee darg' protests, which were a restriction of working hours from the miners themselves. This type of protest worked when demand for coal was at its highest, usually over the winter months. One consequence of the pressures was increased migration from Scottish Coal regions into Northumbrian coal districts. We can see from the maps below that the number of parishes where Scottish-born migrants were 10-20% or higher of the total parish population increased between 1851-1881.

MAP 15: SCOTTISH-BORN MIGRANTS BY PERCENTAGE IN NORTHUMBERLAND, 1851 AND 1891

Source: Original map. Digital boundaries from Satchell, 2018. Population data from ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1891.

BORDER CHILDHOODS

Joan Foster's work on the lives of children in rural Northumberland explored the impact of the Scottish border on the experience of childhood in relation to the rest of the County (Foster, 2004, pp.79-116). In 1855, agricultural practices in Northumberland were a model 'scarcely to be equalled in any other part of England' (Foster, 2004, p.133).

Northumbrian agricultural workers were considered far better off both economically and in labour rights than comparable workers in Southern England. The moorlands of the Western region however were only suitable for grazing. This was harsh, untamed territory which now constitutes a great portion of the Northumberland National Park, and which even today is the least populated national park in England. Northumbrian Hinds were the traditional occupants of the rugged and oft-times dangerous rolling Cheviot hills. Hinds were shepherds who valued education and financially resourced younger generations to ensure they received both formal and informal educations (Stephens, 1987, pp.57-58; Robson, 1996, p.71).

Exploring the relationship between a Northumbrian Hind and his family, Foster (2004, pp.143-156) scrutinized the influence of the annual bond on rural families. A hiring bond was an agreement between an employer and an agricultural worker for a year of employment. Shepherds were hired between March and April, and in 1870, school logs show hiring festivals were given as holidays for children. Hiring festivals were significant affairs with a great deal of celebration and pageantry. Hiring traditions included the gifting of a shilling, beer and food from employers. Brightly coloured ribbons could be worn to signify an engaged or free labourer. Hiring practices across England differed greatly between counties. Some areas offered weekly employment or daily employment when required, but in Northumberland, the normal practice was a half year to a full year's employment, and so

festivals signified financial security for a year (Counce, 2012). The longer a relationship between an agricultural worker and an employer could develop then more longer-term decisions could be made by the family, including enrolment of children to a local school. The stability this afforded had a significant impact on childhoods. Limiting the mobility of agricultural families, children could form more meaningful attachments and develop social relationships resembling urban social groups. Stability was also afforded to their school experience, with teachers able to form closer relationships and a great understanding of the child's learning experience. The more isolated communities were from competing for labour forces, then the more stable the living and learning experiences of childhoods were able to be.

Labour agreements and practices mirrored the Scottish system where children were often not expected to work until 14 years old. Though shepherds valued the assistance of their children and took the opportunity to pass down essential skills, providing quality and rigorous education was a strong priority. The rates of pay for agricultural workers in Northumberland were, by 1870, paid in money rather than payment-in-kind, and were second only to Lancashire (Foster, 2004, p.90). Foster calculates the weekly rate for adult-male agricultural workers in 1870 at 17s 6d, approximately £9,120 in 2018 (BoE, 2019). However, this income did not need to cover the cost of renting or purchasing a property as a cottage was included in the bond of employment. Moving from one farm to another, referred to as a 'flitting', was often viewed by families as a positive experience. The standard of cottages was dependent on the landowner, but generally, the accommodation was poor. Living in rural areas could be far healthier than living in the toxicity of densely crowded, industrialised urban areas, but poor-quality housing could be comparably hazardous in rural

communities. Poor thatching, shared spaces with livestock, small windows, limited air-circulation and the practice of lighting fires without adequate ventilation, and large or multiple families sharing limited spaces could emulate the worst conditions of Sandgate slums in the mid-nineteenth century. Poor quality rural housing increased the risks from extreme weather conditions, harsh winter temperatures and exacerbated the risks of contracting illness (Barke, 2010). The poor conditions of cottages led to the formation of societies dedicated to their improvement (Foster, 2004, p.98) spearheaded by the clergy who had concern for the health of children in their parishes. It is interesting that the protest movement for improved housing did not originate from the labourers themselves, particularly given the relative security they had in pressing for greater labour conditions. The movement began with a speech in Berwick, 1840 and formally established in Alnwick a year later. The speech, given by Reverend W.S. Gilly, claimed that northern peasants were not inclined to protest, rather they tended to give up their labour and move away from the border farms. With labour demands rising in Tyneside in the mid-nineteenth century, there were plenty of opportunities in South Northumberland.

By 1870 cottage standards were improving. Landowners in Northumberland were beginning to experiment with direct tenant models of farming, and this dovetailed with interest in developing model villages with new cottages (Barnwell, 2000; Barke, 2010, p.27). Matfen Village built by the Blackett family, Cambo Village built by the Trevelyan family near Wallington Hall and Ford Village built by Lady Waterford all included new models of housing and provided village schools along with other welfare provision. However, along the border with Scotland where there were fewer significant landlords with great wealth, improvements in housing were slower, and the risks from poor accommodation persisted.

6.2.3 STRUCTURES OF RURAL EDUCATION

Although there were few Private Adventure Schools in rural Northumberland outside of the market towns, some did exist. They survived, like the urban-based schools after the 1870 Education Act. This section focuses on the geographical regions of Northumberland to explore similarities and differences between ‘educational landscapes’, the networks of schools that existed in relation to each other, and how Private Adventure Schools struggled to find a place.

NORTHERN REGION

Between 1870 and 1890 there was an increase in the total number of schools but no significant changes in the structure of the educational landscape (Kelly’s 1873; 1879; 1890). The National schools, which numbered 37 in 1870 increased to 44 by 1890. Only one Board school was established, at Cornhill, and this was towards the end of the period. The three principal reasons for the absence of School Boards were the strength of rate-payer groups organising opposition to Boards, the variety of schools in the region and the corporation school system in Berwick.

As a comparison to the Newcastle School Board, the Berwick Corporation’s schools followed a more advanced curriculum which included bible study but also Greek, Latin and English grammar (*BN*, 15 July 1879 p.4). Students in higher classes also learnt French and Algebra as standard rather than as an additional curriculum. Interestingly, despite being an English territory, the history curriculum was focused on Scottish history, and geography classes were British rather than Anglo-centric. There were also signs of gender parity in attainment. Margaret Eleanor Thompson was an outstanding student in 1879, not only did she win school prizes, but she also won a public spelling bee which incidentally, was mocked

by the local press as ‘ridiculous’ with difficult words such as ‘quean, incinerate, inchoate, Cameleopard, hypochondriacal, rhododendron’ (BN, 15 July 1879, p.4). Of the 119 academic prizes given to students of the Corporation Academy in 1879, 63 went to 28 female students. The highest individual achievers were girls, including three who claimed five or more prizes. These prizes were all in categories where girls competed equally with boys: English, History, Geography, Arithmetic and Modern Languages. This indicated a curriculum which was trying to be gender-neutral despite having a female-only sewing prize. The highest overall individual achievers (who also received special prizes) were all girls: Margaret Eleanor Thompson, Florence Glendinning and Jane Sanderson (BN, 15 July 1879, p.4).

The National School structure overwhelmingly dominated the educational landscape in the Northern Region. Between 1869-1889 the percentage share of National Schools to all others dipped only slightly from 67% to 63% (Kelly’s 1873; 1879; 1890). The overall narrative in Berwick and Berwickshire is one of continuity, which in itself is significant. Despite legislative changes across England and Wales and Scotland, the structure of education was resilient and effective enough to be sustained. In Berwick, this meant the corporation and grammar school education which allowed girls to flourish academically as much as boys survived. Private Adventure Schools were able to continue to operate as usual unhindered. However, the maintenance of a status quo meant that the gaps which existed in the 1870s largely remained in place in the 1890s. The choice was limited, and vast areas had little to no access to any schooling.

The structure of education in the Northern Region was underpinned by a network of Anglican village schools sparsely distributed, reaching even the most remote areas. Though

there are a few noticeable gaps in 1870 such as at Kyloe, Horton, Aderstone, Lucker and Duddo, the absence of a National School in 1870 at Bamburgh can be explained by the influence of the Lord Crewe Charity which was inherently Anglican. Between 1870 and 1890 the network of National Schools increased and Lucker did get its own school. Two 'voluntary schools' were founded at Fenwick and Beal in 1872 and 1876. These schools provided accommodation for 140 children (Kelly's, 1880). Beal was home to Rev. James Henderson, the Vicar of Ancroft, who was responsible for a National School in his parish and was also a local examiner for Durham University in the North of Northumberland. Neither the Fenwick nor Beal schools were a part of the National School network, but they were under the direction of a parish council that also hosted Sunday Schools indicating Anglican roots (*BN*, 10 January 1890, p.2).

By 1890 only one School Board and one Board school had been established in the Northern Region. This was the lowest number of Board schools for any region in Northumberland. That regions and areas with similar levels of dependency on rural occupations had significantly more Board school discounts the notion that agriculture was a factor. The School Board was established for Cornhill-on-Tweed and Twizell in 1877, and the school was built in Tilmouth for 90 children (Kelly's, 1890). The number of British and Foreign School Society (BFSS) schools and the number of Presbyterian schools had both increased between 1870-90. The number of BFSS in the Northern Region was almost equal to the rest of Northumberland combined, with a similar situation for Presbyterian schools (Kelly's, 1890). Yet the number of Roman Catholic schools, which was only two, declined to only one school by 1890. A greater number of BFSS outside of urban areas was in line with

their national policy to transfer urban schools to School Boards while maintaining a rural presence to provide an alternative to rural Anglican schools (Bartle, 1990).

The number of Presbyterian schools, which trace their roots to the Church of Scotland, was a consequence of proximity to the border. The Northern Region also had the highest number of National Schools, 44 in 1890, up from 37 in 1870 (Kelly's 1870; 1890). In comparison, the Eastern Region which had the second-highest number of National Schools had only 38 in 1890. Rather than diversification of school types, the narrative in the Northern Region is one of a voluntary sector responding to the 1870 Education Act as a stimulus to both protect and reinforce a traditional structure.

Only two Private Adventure Schools were listed in 1870, rising to 6 in 1880 and 7 in 1890 (Kelly's, 1870; 1879; 1890). The two schools in 1870 were separated by more than 22km: one at Berwick and the other at Belford. Both were schools for girls, run by female teachers and Miss Margaret Ann Bromfield was still running her Belford School 20 years later in 1890. Apart from Miss Bromfield, the remaining Private Adventure Schools were all located in Berwick Upon Tweed.

Only one Private Adventure School, run by William Paterson in Berwick, was run for boys. Parade Academy, the *Berwick Advertiser*, announced in 1887, offered 'A sound and liberal education' with 'equal attention bestowed on the Commercial and Classical Departments' (*BN*, 4 February 1887 p.2). From the same advert, we can see that fees were charged at 1-2 guineas per quarter. A guinea was the equivalent of 21 shillings, and so the weekly fee was between 20-40d per week. This was significantly more than the 9d per week fee which the Education Department defined as generally affordable.

In Belford, one of the reasons Miss Bromfield's school was able to succeed was the intense opposition from the town against establishing a School Board. In 1878 Bromfield was reported as a noted musician and teacher of music who, on the verge of publishing her own compositions, housed and taught girls in music and other subjects. Belford was home to a mixed National school (built-in 1870), and a British school (1868) for a combined 250 children but struggled to maintain funding for a Presbyterian school. G.D.A Clark of Belford Hall along with other ratepayers successfully squashed the establishment of a School Board, which would have allowed the Presbyterian school to access a variety of funds but also would have established a new rate (*BN*, 8 February 1878, p.2).

CENTRAL REGION

As an archipelagic state, the United Kingdom is defined by its coastal geography. Northumberland is dominated by its coastline and its role as an interface to international trade, but in the nineteenth century, the coast also provided the most significant connection to London. The Central Region of Northumberland features the longest stretch of coast. The relationship between coastal communities and the North Sea was dominated by the fishing industry in the early nineteenth century but as mining activity increased many coastal settlements became points of export (McCord & Thompson, 1998, p.284). Blyth and Cowpen, examples of such settlements, rapidly expanded with colliery railways using the former fishing port to export coal and eventually as shipbuilding docks from the late 18th to 20th century (McCord, 1979, p.145). In 1883 the Blyth Shipbuilding & Dry Docks Company supercharged an embryonic shipbuilding industry and attracted an array of skilled labour. The educational requirements and opportunities for children with greater literacy expanded with economic development while fishing still provided opportunities for the less literate, requiring a different skill set.

The central region also provided Northumberland's largest areas for arable land in the nineteenth century. The difficulties of taming the wildlands on the western border continued to focus arable activity in the lower, flatter lands between the coast and the hills. Significant landowners controlled large estates across the Central region. The Ducal seat was in Alnwick, the Greys occupied Howick Hall, the Swinburns lived at Capheaton Hall, and the Trevelyan's were situated at Wallington Hall. Landowners had an encompassing authority over education in rural areas but particularly so in the Central Region (Hattersley, 2007). Landowners and their agents were compelled to provide land, property, gifts and endowments to parish churches and chapels of ease on their property and sphere of influence. This also included money to support the foundation of National schools and 'the living' (an income provided to Anglican clergy). School management, curriculum and development were supposed to be gifted to the church and therefore independent. In practice, however, the financial dependency of the church and the social capital of the landed elite ensured the relationship between benefactor and beneficiary could be as close or as distant as the landlord desired (Monks, 2016, pp.103-104).

For the landed elite, the introduction of School Boards with democratic elections could appear threatening. The relative ease and ability of elites to procure a Board seat in rural districts either directly or through a proxy if desired meant the threat was only minimal. Rural elites also had significant power to prevent the establishment of School Boards. No School Board was established at Alnwick, despite its population increasing from 6,861 in 1860 to 7,544 in 1890 (Census, 1861, 1891). Alnwick was connected by railway from 1850 - the same line which linked Newcastle to Edinburgh and eventually London. The educational landscape in Alnwick, however, was dominated by the directly endowed Duke's

school for boys founded in 1810 and the Duchess's school for girls. These schools provided education for families of moderate means while a Ragged school founded in 1848 and a corporation school founded in 1853 provided education for the most vulnerable children and privileged children of freemen (Kelly's, 1890). A National school was also built in 1849 and enlarged in 1854, and in 1877 an infants school was opened in connection to the National School. Henry George Percy, the 7th Duke of Northumberland, styled Earl Percy, laid the foundation stone on 10 July (*DJ*, 11 July 1877, p.4) 'New Infants School at Alnwick'. His father, Algernon George Percy, the 6th Duke of Northumberland, had laid the foundation stone of the original National School in April 1849. The Corporation School was built on a site gifted by the 4th Duke of Northumberland. The Ragged school on Lisburn Street was founded in 1848. Indeed, the only Alnwick-based school in which the Percy family did not have a significant role in its foundation and operation was St. John's Catholic School on Howick Street.

Landowners adopted a responsibility, often referred to as 'paternalism', though this gendered term disguises the enormous contribution of female philanthropists (Hattersley, 2007). Mirroring a supposed harmonious relationship between the landowner and those living within an estate paternalism was viewed as a reciprocal relationship where employees provided the labour and employers provided security, comfort and moral guidance (Joyce, . Traditional agrarian relationships were challenged in the nineteenth century as a greater variety of working-class voices entered political spaces previously inaccessible through increased democratic participation. The Second Reform Act in (1867) broadened the electorate and expanded representation, but it was not intended to allow a labourer to sit as an MP. School Boards provided an opportunity for a broader base of individuals to stand

and be elected to committees. Rural paternalism was incompatible with greater democratisation.

WESTERN REGION

A significant proportion of the Western Region of Northumberland was designated the Northumberland National Park in 1956. The park is described today as ‘the most remote from large urban areas, least visited and least populated’ of the 11 National Parks across England and Wales (Frodsham, 2004, pp.2-6). The Western Region was the most sparsely populated area of Northumberland, and one of the most sparsely populated areas of England (Census 1861,81,91). The region is dominated by the Cheviots Hills which limited economic and infrastructure development on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border. In the long history of Northumberland, iron age forts occupied the summits of many of the hills. Yeavering Bell, a hillfort in the northern tip, was a tribal capital for the Votadini, allies to the Roman Empire north of Hadrian's Wall (Frodsham, 2004, pp.37-38, 43-44). The hills had been culturally, economically and politically vibrant centres for centuries but once communities had moved to the lowlands and coastal areas by 79AD there was little interest in developing or preserving large parts of it until the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Frodsham, 2014, pp. 132-145).

Small communities were scattered across the Western Region, but these sparse and remote settlements decreased further in the nineteenth century. The issues faced by these communities were extreme and included, hostile terrain, harsh weather, isolation and poverty exacerbated by seasonal labour practices. The impact of population decline is amplified when occurring in an area with an already low population.

The nineteenth century was a period of rapid demographic growth. The Western region's decline in population was not only against the norm but indicative of pervasive socio-economic contraction. Between 1860 and 1890, the population of the Western Region, 645.37 and 32% of Northumberland declined from 15,153 to just 12,982 people (Census, 1861; 1891). The population density in the Northern Region declined from 45:1km² to 36:1km² but the Western Region declined from 9 to 8 people per square kilometre. To put this in a local perspective, the population density of the Eastern Region increased dramatically over the same period from 362:1km² to 820:1km². The small population reduced demands on education, but sparsity presented the challenges of physical access, and a smaller population limited the availability of rateable individuals to fund services.

6.3 EDUCATION IN ESTATES

6.3.1 TRANSITIONS OF TRADITIONS: LANDED ELITE AND EDUCATION

So far, with regards to rural Northumberland, we have concentrated on areas of pastoral agriculture where individuals worked in relative isolation and were allowed greater independence to live and work as they wished. This resulted in a remarkably sophisticated form of education, underpinned by private hiring of teachers to serve small communities. Now we turn to pastoral areas in which hierarchies were deeply entrenched. Private Adventure Schools and private education, indeed all schooling, was either directly or indirectly subject to the pressures from an integrated landed elite.

The third Duke of Northumberland increased his direct influence on the lives of agricultural workers in the 1830s by removing the bonding tradition between labourers and tenant farmers (Foster, 2004, p.95). The Duke directly employed labourers on his estate, which strengthened the relationship between the Duke, or his agent, and labourer families. The benefit of this new arrangement was the construction of new cottages and a superior source of funding for maintaining cottages at a higher quality (Barke, 2010). This also directly increased an obligation on the duke to provide better conditions for labourers, including incomes, payments-in-kind and community services such as churches and schools. Labourers were less likely to be required to move as agreements were essentially open-ended. This preserved the quality of new and old cottages as they were not subject to the trauma of perpetual removals. The relationship between a tenant and a long-term property also changed with a far greater motivation for families to maintain and make improvements to their cottages. Upon the death of a tenant worker, a cottage could be rebuilt entirely (Foster, 2004, p.96). The quality of this housing had a positive impact on children and the

health of a family, and the stability afforded improved childhood social development and educational experiences to a much greater extent than the bonding system.

In her study of landed gentry in rural Northumberland between 1850 and 1900 Anne Hattersley explored the relationship between significant landowners and the rural poor (Hattersley, 2007). Until 1891 funding for education was conditional, to a larger extent, in rural areas than urban, on whether or not an individual was 'deserving' or not. Conditionality was based on academic success to a limited extent; the better children performed in examinations, the more funding their schools received. Landowners could set their own conditions, however. Piety, the employment of parents, or the subjects taught in schools could determine how much financial support parents received, and the curriculum taught to children. The abolition of school fees in 1891 removed some of the power of School Boards and landowners because it removed the dependency of vulnerable families on conditional financial support and allowed children struggling with academic demands to receive support (Hattersley, 2007, p.112).

The involvement of the landed elite was encouraged by school managers. The closer wealthy individuals were to a school the more a school could benefit from gifts and the influence of the individual. This could include gifts of land and capital investment, but regular visits could provide an equally impactful contribution to teaching and learning. Upon visiting a school, a broken clock might be replaced, and maps, books and furniture gifted. School performance in inspections could be overlooked by wealthy patrons who felt a sense of ownership and responsibility. Where inspectors had to be harsh and deny grants based on examination results, a patron could sympathise and provide the funds necessary to purchase learning aids. Relying on the benevolence and understanding of patrons, however,

subjected school managers to the partisan judgements of those same individuals who may or may not have been qualified judges. Private support was not guaranteed to be consistent, fair or systematic and certainly was not guaranteed between generations. Hattersley found that 'gentry inspections' could be equally scrupulous and consequential. Withdrawal of funding from patrons could be as devastating as the denial of grants, but teachers and school managers could be removed by some patrons who chose to exert their influence, and this could be based purely on personality differences which inspectors were less able or inclined to do. Despite having no official position, Hattersley argues that the 'gentry paternalists never forgot their position in their domain, exercising their authority as managers, their benevolence through rewards and their superintendence by inculcating notions of respectability in the scholars and parents alike'. She arrived at this conclusion through analysis of six village schools in Northumberland between 1850-1900 (Hattersley, 2007, p.113).

For many landed elites, the 1870 Education Act provided motivation to better understand the provision of schools on their estates and take a more active role (Monks, 2016, p.97). Some landowners, such as the Duke of Portland, reacted with hostility to an encroachment on their direct authority. For Portland, the erosion of the Church's role in schooling represented an attack on tradition but in looking to its defence the Duke accumulated a much greater knowledge of his personal impact on schooling within the estate (Monks, 2016, p.104).

Landed elites became acutely aware of their impact on the education of children living within their estate, often criticising unexplained absences from school while encouraging the absences they caused for personal needs. The practice of hiring young boys

to assist on shooting days as beaters was purely beneficial to the rural elite. Sir John Swinburne took seven boys from school in 1884 to assist him for a personal shooting day. The shoot provided a break from academia, an additional income and the opportunity to impress one of the most powerful men in the County. For a young boy and his family, the benefits were enormous, and the consequences minimal. It was highly unlikely boys would suffer the wrath of a schoolteacher who was himself subject to Swinburn family favour for his employment. Some landowners listened to the school managers and were open to criticism of their impact on attainment. Charles Bennet, the 6th Earl of Tankerville and occupant of Chillingham Castle, introduced a rule that opportunities for boys would only be granted once they had reached the third Standard. This ensured that boys who needed additional schooling had the time and incentive to achieve (Hattersley, 2007, p.115). Withholding opportunities was one way in which the landed elite could motivate academic success. Arguably, these rewards were more effective an incentive than the gifting of academic prizes which often only went to a small handful of students, or in some cases, a singularly brilliant scholar. Employment and a close relationship to their future employer was a reward open to a great number of students.

School prizes, gifted by wealthy patrons, were often entirely disconnected from school examinations. Academic competitions could be limited to individual schools but were often open to any student in a particular area. They had shared spaces in which multiple schools and stakeholders could gather and celebrate academic achievement across a community. They were the only opportunity in which pupils from a Private Adventure School could compete and share a community experience with pupils from any other school outside of university examinations. Prizes could be substantial sums of money, valuable

gifts, free years schooling or scholarships to attend prestigious schools. Winning prizes could also bring gifted children to the attention of influential people and future employers.

Depending on the success and vibrancy of competition, additional prizes could be awarded by a member of the organising committee or audience to children they felt were deserving.

In Alnwick prizes were distributed by the Duke and Duchess to the town's inhabitants across a range of cultural activities, including education. At Christmas a large dinner was served for children of the Duke and Duchess's school in Alnwick Castle. The meal was attended by the Duke and Duchess who distributed the prizes personally and spoke to each recipient. Prizes were awarded for each subject and awarded for good conduct. Children leaving the school were presented with a bible and a prayer book. One boy, M. Gibbison, received a writing desk as a Christmas gift in 1885 for good conduct over the previous seven years (AG, 26 December 1885, p.5). This personal interaction allowed the Duke and Duchess to monitor the progress of pupils and the education they received but also allowed the Percy family to be thanked by the children and staff. At the end of the meal, the guests would give three cheers to the family. The relationship was, therefore, mutually advantageous. Both parties received validation and prestige.

Teachers were often restricted to teaching the essentials, and schools benefited from the personal attention, inspiration and character of patrons who expanded the curriculum. Ensuring the 3Rs were adequately taught across a cohort of 100 children of all ages and abilities was an unenviable task without the additional disruptions of rural life-affecting attendance. Flittings, festivals, arable tasks, pastoral tasks, marriages, markets, weather, illness, and agricultural training meant the ability to sustain the attention of children and overcome interferences was already a heroic achievement. Expecting teachers

to sustain a passion for education and inject their own personal flair to the curriculum was perhaps a feat too far. The fleeting visits of wealthy patrons and indeed enthusiastic Board members often provided children with less utilitarian experiences and a bit of excitement. Hattersley writes of the Marchioness of Waterford's gift to Ford School. The Marchioness frequently made gifts to local causes. In 1878 she held a public garden party and Rose Show at Ford Castle, charging 2 shillings per person for the party and 6d extra for the Rose Show with the proceeds being gifted to a Duddo Church (*BN*, 28 May 1878, p.2). The personal connection to Ford school, evidenced by gifts of maps and items for object lessons was an important asset for both teacher and students. Not only were the resources vital but the personal interest and support of a patron championed and encouraged both teacher and students.

The pressure of additional scrutiny prevented the adoption of bad habits by teachers. If adequate resources and financial support were being provided, we might assume that higher expectations were made of fortunate teachers. Between 1880-1888, under the watchful eyes of the wealthy Blackett family, five schoolmasters were voluntarily or forcefully removed from Matfen school. Hattersley attributes all five unfortunate cases to poor inspection results and the successive reductions in grants. Reductions were made for poor student results and poor log keeping, and over time could result in a severe reduction in a school's income. The Blackett family may have seen this as a threat to the children's education and an increased financial and social risk to them as a family associated with the support and success of a school serving children living on their estate (Hattersley, 2007, p.118).

Private Adventure Schools did not receive any form of personal support from wealthy patrons. Indeed, a wealthy patron to an endowed school or national school may have viewed Private Adventure Schools as much of a threat to their school's attendance as the establishment of a School Board. The practice of employing a 'Scotch Lad' amongst isolated shepherd communities over the winter months was not a threat to distant landowners as direct authority was already limited. In the lowlands of Northumberland however it may have been unintentionally symbolic for an agricultural labourer to reject the benevolence of their landlord. Employment opportunities for the family at annual and bi-annual hiring fairs could be threatened by sullied reputations (Caunce, 2012, p.214-215). In rural communities where cultural and social activities were shared by small integrated groups, conformity was expected and nonconformity more noticeable.

While it was less likely a tenant family would have cause to reject the benevolence of their employer, religious differences and future employment aspirations (particularly urban-commercial employment) may have given cause for agricultural labourers to seek a specific curriculum. As Matfen school demonstrates, not every privately endowed school was a success. Agricultural workers in Northumberland were arguably in a far better financial position to independently support their children's education than comparative workers in Southern England (Caunce, 2012). The intimacy of rural communities, however, meant any decision to reject the educational provision of an employer was an uncomfortable decision, especially for schools such as Cambo or Ford where the personal involvement and investment of a patron was so high. This could help explain the absence, at least publicly, of Private Adventure Schools in rural areas, even where incomes and inclination could have supported them.

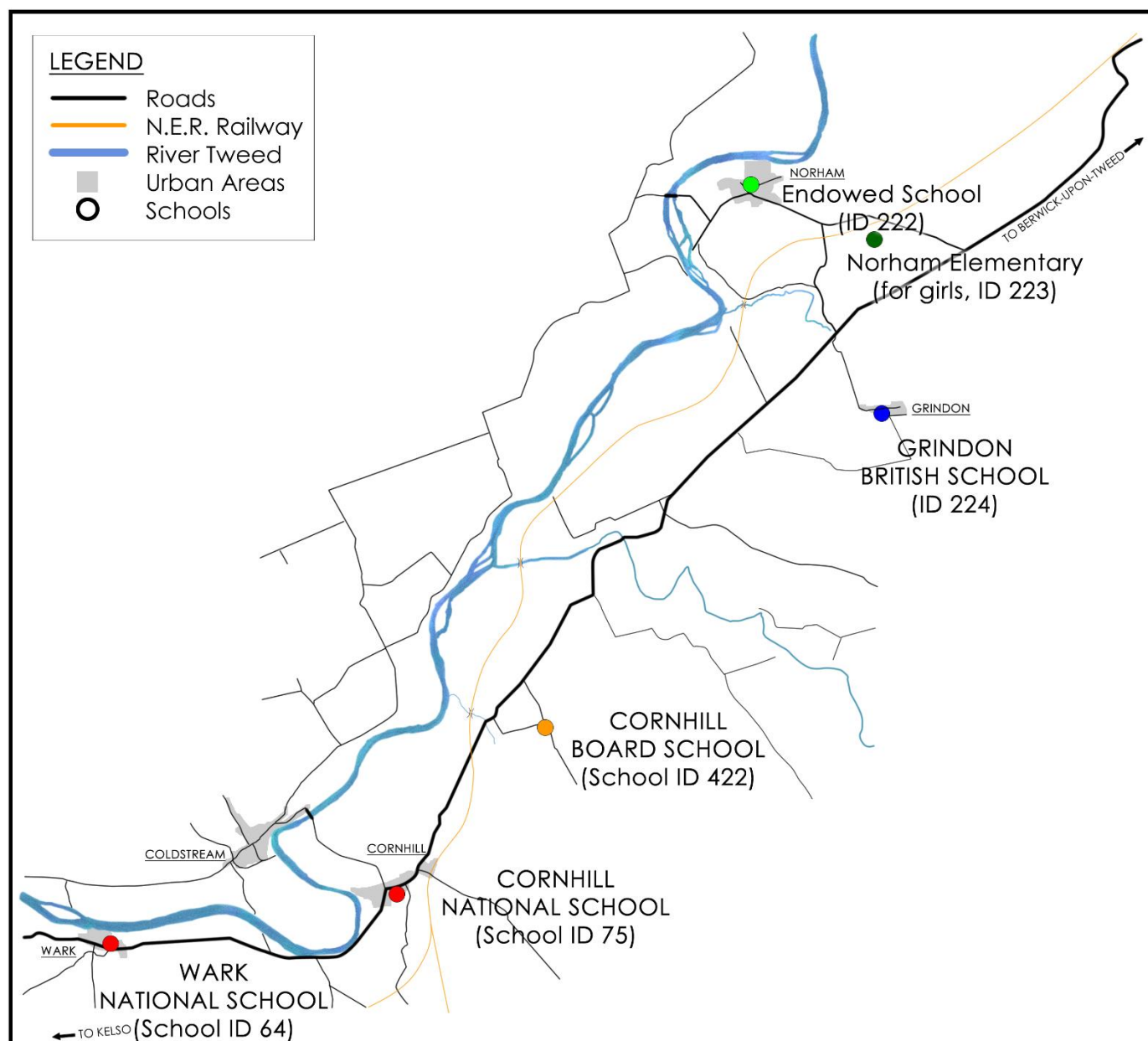
The rewards for accepting the benevolence of a patron and accepting paternalistic charity could include prizes, clothing, gifts, the waiving of school fees and perhaps, the dismissal of fines. The long-term rewards could be more secure employment for parents and future employment for children, which could begin during their school career through opportunities to work as beaters for landowners. These benefits far outweighed the potential benefits from a Private Adventure School education for an agricultural labourer who intended his child to follow in his footsteps. Lastly, divorcing themselves from paternalism was not only a rejection of a landed elite but a rejection of traditional community practices. Where communal activities and behaviours were highly valued as a source of belonging and mutual support, any deviation or withdrawal presented little reward and increased the risk of marginalisation.

The preceding analysis has shown that the development of education was shaped in this region by a duality of paternalism. The economy, which was dependent upon the primary industrial activity, was dominated by landowners. In arable areas, landed gentry and wealthy patrons played a significant role in establishing schools and preventing the School Boards. In mineral areas, which in the Central Region was primarily coal mining, coal adopted the paternalistic traditions of landowners to establish a structure of education that fostered more favourable industrial relations. This had the effect of suppressing alternative forms of education, including Private Adventure Schools, but eventually brought them into conflict with School Boards.

6.3.2 ISOLATED SCHOOL BOARDS: CORNHILL

The Cornhill School Board was formed on 8 February 1876 with its first and only school opening in 1877 for 90 children (Kelly's, 1890, p.751). The school was not only as the most northerly School Board in England but it was also unwanted by its local population who were satisfied with the existing provision. The difficulties it caused the Department of Education were published nationally. The school was located between Cornhill and the neighbouring village of Twizel at Tilmouth. Cornhill is, in fact, less than the mandated 1.5 miles from Coldstream, a much larger town on the Scottish side of the border where alternative services could have been accessed. The original Cornhill village school had been built in 1837, a time when the village was officially designated a part of County Durham and under the authority of the Prince Bishop. The original school had been enlarged in 1868 to accommodate 100 children, remained independent of the School Board and was still in use as late as 2012. It was noted in 1890 that, with an accommodation of 100 and an average attendance of 75, the Board school's average attendance of 52 could easily have been met by an additional expansion for which there was a demand. The Cornhill Board, composed of five members, appears to have competed directly with the National school but provided the choice of secular education.

The Cornhill and Twizell Board first met on the 2 March 1876 (*BN*, 19 September 1876, p.3). Originally intended to be two Boards, one for the district of Cornhill and a second for Twizell, they merged after facing opposition from Cornhill. Mr Blake of Twizell granted land to the Board on the 19 September, large enough to situate a school, a master's house, and offices at Tilmouth. This would become the only school the Board established, and no further efforts were made to acquire or establish a school elsewhere.

MAP 16: CORNHILL BOARD SCHOOL IN RELATION TO NORHAM AND CORNHILL-UPON-TWEED 1890

Source: Original Map. Edina Digimaps Historical Roam 1890, 2020. © Crown Copyright and Database 2020. © Ordnance Survey 2020.

The Tilmouth school was located 2.5 miles from Cornhill National, 3.5 miles from a proprietary school at Duddo (which was also the main provision for Felington), 3.5 miles from Etal National and 4 miles from Norham endowed school which was nearing its maximum capacity in 1890 (Kelly's, 1890). It would not be unrealistic to require children to make the journey to Cornhill, but in providing a school at Twizel, a much larger area was served. However, there definitely was a capacity for the Cornhill School Board to establish other schools or take control of schools in the area to ensure significant geographic gaps were closed.

In 1884 the Board was dismissed for refusing to act by the Education Department and an entirely new Board was elected in February (*BC*, 28 February 1884, p.6). The dismissal was not without controversy. Mr Waite wrote a letter to the editor of the *Berwick Advertiser* just as the story was attracting national attention (*BA*, 29 February 1884, p.2). The 'so-called' dismissal' wrote Waite, was initiated by the Board itself. Captain Williams, Mr Thomas Scott, J. Waite and Mr Dunlop, the clerk to the Board, made it clear to the Department of Education that they would be stepping down and taking no further action with regards to the Board. This necessitated a full election and dismissal of the other Board members. The controversy was monitored by School Boards across England as it was unclear whether the Board had voluntarily stepped down or had been forcefully removed. The *Southend Standard* in Essex (*SA*, 28 March 1884, p.5) drew comparisons between the Twizell Board experience and the Prittlewell School Board and argued that members of the Board should be paid so that they might be more professionalised. The paper advised the Chairman of the Prittlewell Board to stand firm and risk being 'Twizelled' as they would either be relieved of responsibility or re-elected on their convictions.

6.3.3 PLACES FOR PHILANTHROPY

No discussion of education in rural Northumberland would be complete without addressing the significant role of philanthropy on structures of education (McCord, 1979, pp.175-180). Dr John Sharp built what has been described as a 'mini welfare state', including a system of free education at Bamburgh from the eighteenth century onwards within the estate of Lord Crewe's Trust (McCord & Thompson, 1998, p.169). Experiments of this nature had long lasting effects on local schooling as they provided quality education at no cost. This did not eliminate the possibility of private education, but it did create competition that was difficult to match and set an example for the state and other philanthropists to provide free education.

Philanthropic support of education across Northumberland is long-standing and continued to play a vital role in increasing access and tackling the attainment gap (McCord & Thompson, 1998, pp.165-167). Urban areas such as Newcastle, North Shields and Berwick in the Northern Region benefited from the continuous financial support of local philanthropists. As centres for most large social activities, urban areas were more capable of raising funds through soirees and events. Access to financial support was more difficult in rural areas where there were fewer deep pockets, and those pockets were more discerning. In these areas, endowments were significant sources of incomes which provided stability.

An endowment could be a gift of land, property or the gift of a fund which could be given on unrestricted terms to a cause or, more likely, given with specific instructions to aid a community or interest. The highest-profile and enduring educational endowment in Northumberland was in Newcastle, at Dame Allan's (Middlebrook, 1950, p.289). Founded in 1705 with a gift of land from Dame Eleanor Allan bequeathed in her will for the purpose of

establishing a school, the school still operates as one of the most successful institutions in Newcastle. As a philanthropist, Dame Allan was not a unique woman, women took a leading role in eighteenth century educational philanthropy (Baker, 1997). The endowment required supplementary finance, but without it, the school would not have been established or been able to survive the centuries. Dame Allan's school is an important institution in the educational landscape of Newcastle but one of many schools available. Endowed schools in rural areas could be a lifeline where other forms of schooling were financially unsustainable even with government grants (Stephens, 1987, pp.57-58; Monks, 2016).

At Haydon Bridge, 5.5 miles west of Hexham, an endowment fund bequeathed by Rev. John Shaftoe established a Grammar school in 1685 (Haydon Bridge Development Trust, 2019). The school was founded to provide free education for boys and girls from the community. The school provided high-quality education to children from all backgrounds because the only restriction was that they had to live in or near to Haydon Bridge. The school was able to elevate children who took advantage of the opportunity, including the Romantic artist John Martin (1789-1854), one of five siblings to a publican (Feaver, 2008). The Shaftoe endowment provides a fund in perpetuity and continues to provide educational grants (Shaftoe, 2019). Having an almost guaranteed income allowed for freedom other charitable organisations continue to struggle with: to make truly long-term decisions, such as large-scale capital expenses like building construction.

One of the oldest and largest philanthropic organisations in Northumberland remains the Lord Crewe Charitable Trust (McCord & Thompson, 1998, p.182). The Crewe charity was estimated to have an income of £9,000 per annum in 1864 (Kelly's, 1890, p.718), the equivalent of £1,123,281 in 2018 (BoE, 2019). The Crewe Trust will be celebrating its

third centenary year in 2021, but throughout the nineteenth century, the role of the Crewe Trust in Northumberland was substantial, consistent, and unconstrained in providing an alternative vision of nineteenth-century education in the County. The Crewe Trust offered an important model for endowed education and one with its own fascinating history.

Lord Nathaniel Crewe (1633-1721) was Bishop of Durham between 1675 and 1721 and used the last few years of his life to outline and establish a charitable trust in his Will. As a senior proctor for Oxford University in 1663, Crewe developed a relationship with Charles II (1630-1685) and later James II and VII (1633-1701), which allowed him to secure favourable positions, including, Kings Chaplain in 1666, Bishop of Oxford in 1671 and eventually the Lieutenant and Bishop of Durham between 1674- 1722 (Seaward, 2011). Durham was at the time a palatinate and from 1673 an enfranchised county. This gave the Bishops of Durham almost complete autonomy as a mini state within England with the powers to raise armies and taxation. The monarch had to have complete trust in any individual given the position.

When James II was supplanted by William of Orange in 1688 Crewe withdrew from the London court to Durham. He married locally, twice, first to Penelope (1655-1699) in 1691 and then to Dorothy Forster (1672-1715) in 1700 (Johnson, 2004). Through his marriages, his attitude to Durham changed radically to one of benevolence, and during his lifetime he made great efforts to develop the economy of the region and provide welfare. Both wives had died childless and relatively young, but through them, Crewe had inherited significant property, incomes, and land. He spent the final years of his life at Stearne developing a Will which would divide his significant estates in Northumberland for charitable causes. The Will ensured that the money was spent for the benefit of

Northumberland people in perpetuity but flexible enough to grant discretion to the charity trustees. Education was a priority for the charity, particularly Lincoln College at Oxford which continues to deliver a 'Crewian Oration' annually. The fund established and supported several schools across Durham and Northumberland and 300 years later remains a significant presence in the Northumberland's third sector (Crewe, 2020).

The discretion granted to the charity's trustees was tested in the late-18th century. Dr John Sharp (1722-1792) had inherited both the Archdeaconship and a Crewe Charity Trustee position from his father in 1758. The inheritance of positions was an exercise in privilege, but upon the death of his brother, John inherited the family estates and had the means to use his positions and resources to realize bold socio-economic visions. Bamburgh Castle and the surrounding village, which was a Crewe Charity asset, was used by John as a playground for his ideas, becoming the 'Bamburgh Charities' (McCord and Thompson, 1998, p.169). One of the most enduring products of the Bamburgh Charities was the Lukin Boat, the first patented lifeboat used to rescue sailors and goods from shipwrecks along the Northumbrian coast. Another project was 'The Surgery' which existed from 1772-1920 providing free healthcare almost as a precursor to a National Health Service hospital.

Sharp's vision included education, which resulted in perhaps the most beautiful schools in Northumberland built within a renovated Bamburgh Castle. The school was re-established in 1853 to accommodate a library and accommodation for 30 girls. The Castle school remained girls-only between 1869-1889 while the Crewe charity constructed a mixed school in the neighbouring Bamburgh village in 1877 for 120 children. An advertisement for the position of Mistress for the Bamburgh castle school in 1873 (*YP*, 29 September 1873,

p.1) offered apartments and coals with an annual stipend of £60 - a significant income for a headmistress of a school with an average attendance of 25.

To summarise, the role of the Scottish Border and the proximity of Scottish culture shaped both the physical development of education in the region but also educational culture. Education was highly valued, and great efforts were made by traditional shepherding communities and newly industrialising communities to ensure children were attending school and receiving a quality education. Education was a priority for the region long before the 1870 Education Act, and unlike other parts of Northumberland, the structures in place before 1870 were of such a high standard and so well regarded that little change was required.

6.4 EDUCATION IN MINING AREAS

6.4.1 THE GREAT STRIKE AND THE SELF-EDUCATION OF THOMAS BURT

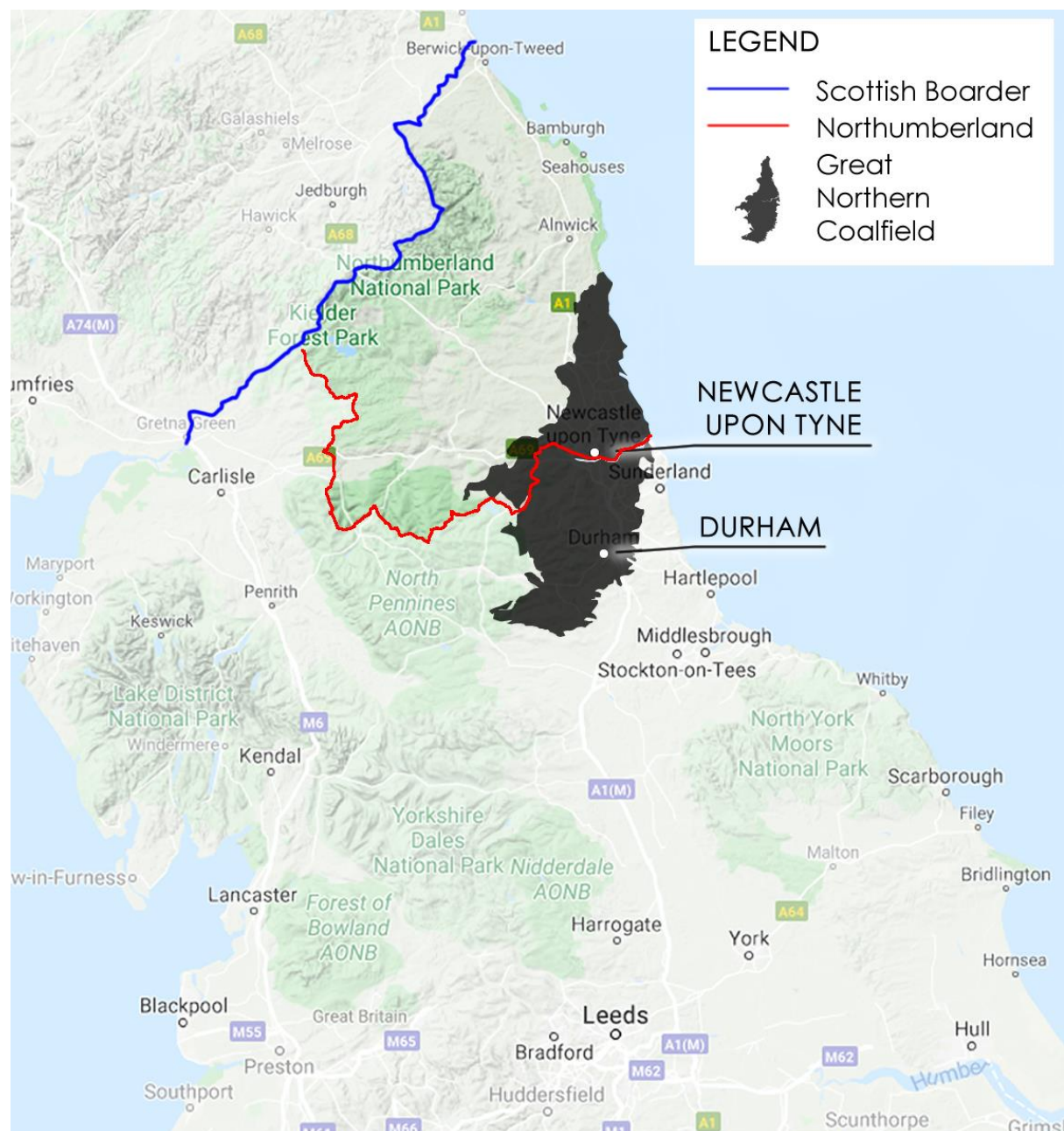
We have discussed earlier the impact of the engineers strike on a single year of education in Newcastle but one strike in particular impacted education in rural Northumberland for decades. Understanding this event is vital for grasping the context to which education was suppressed within an industry synonymous to the region and covering a significant geographic area. Grigg (2005) offers a comparable case study of colliery education in Wales during the nineteenth century in which he also looks specifically at the role of Private Adventure Schools. The Great Strike set the Northern Coalfield on a particular course that diverged from the Welsh experience though Welsh migrants to Northumberland brought with them their own educational practices (Daunton, 2001; Kirkby, 2012). Juxtaposing this was the experience of Thomas Burt MP. Burt's of self-education was not unique to the mining districts of Northern England, but it paints the starkest contradiction to the direction set after the Great Strike. Burt represents a failure of colliery owners' suppression but also provides a noticeable embodiment of self-directed learning and educational freedom resulting in remarkable achievements.

The pitmen's strike in Northumberland and Durham, lasted five months from the 5 of April 1844 (Colls, 1976; Duffy, 1981, 2018; Milne, 1977). The strike, which was remembered throughout the nineteenth century as 'The Great Strike' had a significant impact on the relationship between mine workers and colliery owners. The experience and memory of the strike permeated through generations of miners and irreversibly shifted the paradigm of industrial relations. The *Chronicle* printed a remembrance article in 1893 (*DC*, 17 August 1893, p.4). The condition of the strikers which was remembered the most by the

general population was a demand from miners to receive work equalling 15s a week but that they not be required to work more than 3s worth of work in a single day. The demand would guarantee enough work in a week without making too much of a demand on any single day was an attempt to distribute labour more evenly across the Northern Coalfield.

Thirty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety men were on strike across Northumberland and Durham with an estimated economic impact of £500,000, the equivalent of £63 million in 2018 (BoE, 2019). The strike ultimately failed, but the intentions of the strikers were remembered by labourers across the region positively. The level of disruption caused by the strikers was a valuable tool in labour negotiations from the 1840s onward, as no industrial leader wanted to risk a similar occurrence.

The largest number of strikers came from the Tyne District where more than 15,556 men downed tools and barely 1,051 striking in Hartley and Blyth (*DC*, 17 August 1893, p.4). The ability of the strike to spread throughout the coalfield and garner both national support and animosity came as a shock to colliery owners. Despite the strike resulting in the 'unconditional surrender of the miners', the organisation, scale and conduct of the strike was a wake-up call to the dangers and economic cost of future strikes, the population of miners in Northumberland and organisation increased through trade unionism.

MAP 17: THE GREAT NORTHERN COALFIELD

Source: Original Map. Using Edina Digimaps Geology Room, 2020. Geological Map Data BGS
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The resolution to strike was passed at a conference of Northumberland and Durham miners in Glasgow and three days after a meeting at Lookout Cottage at Black Fell, near Washington (*YH*, 13 April 1844, p.5). The *York Herald* reported that 20,000 people were present at the meeting chaired by Mr Mark Dent. Five resolutions were passed. The first was that every man had the right to seek the best price for his labour. They agreed that monthly bonds to collieries were insufficient employment contracts, that the miners proposed bond was more reasonable, that a lengthy strike was not the goal and every miner should seek to negotiate with colliery owners for mutual gain and, finally, that an export duty introduced in 1842 should be repealed as it was injurious to the interests of miners.

The final two resolutions demonstrate the sophistication of the strike demands. The mix of abstract goals combined with specific targeted objectives was a mark of the growing sophistication in working-class political movements. Many of the miners would have been Chartists and 1844 took place in the context of broader national working-class efforts to wrestle suffrage from a political elite (Church, 1991). The Chartist movement included intricate methods of securing parliamentary seats alongside moments of violent physical confrontations. The miner's demands in 1844 were intended to illustrate a desire by the miners to protect the coal industry for the benefit of everyone, including the colliery owners. Strikers were directing the attention of colliery owners towards a legislative attack on the price of coal and making the point 'we are in this together'. This framed the demand for more secure bonds and higher pay to protect workers and the coal industry.

Not every recollection of the strike was positive. An anonymous letter to the editor of the *Durham County Advertiser*, signing as 'Pony Putter', writing in the sarcastic voice of an ill-educated mine worker, mocked trade unions and threatened a second Great Strike if his

working hours were not reduced to 8 so that he can 'throw stones at and insult respectable people who have no ill-will towards us' (DA, 16 February 1872, p.7). The Pony Putter is looking forward to his time for 'idleness and mischief'. The 1844 strike was referred to as an effort for colliery owners to introduce a monthly bond that was advantageous to both parties, but miners could 'turn and twist matters' anyway they liked, determined to strike:

Father says we shall not then be buried half our time in a coal pit, but that we shall be well educated, and be like the children of the middle-class people and others - civil towards the officials and those in authority at the collieries. But I tell you, sir, we care nothing about education. We love to be ignorant: and we think we have a perfect right to give as much insolence to the overman and others in charge of the work as it is possible for us to empty ourselves of (DA, 'Correspondence: The Durham Miners and their Union', 16 February 1872, p.7).

The irony of characterising pitmen as seeking more idle time rather than self-education is that idleness over self-education was likely to be more palatable to colliery owners. Robert Colls (1976) argued that 1844 was a turning point in the education of colliery children precisely because of the quality and effectiveness of self-education. Self-education was viewed by colliery owners as one of the most significant contributing factors in causing the strike and sustaining it. Colliery education between 1844 and 1870 in Northumberland and Durham is described as a 'climax in a struggle for cultural hegemony' (Colls, 1976, p.76). Of the Colliery schools established between 1856 and 1875, beginning at Bedlington and Mickley, Stephens argues that paternalism and philanthropy were combined in pursuit of social engineering, not for the benefit of employee's children, but to prevent future industrial disruption (Stephens, 2000, p.233).

Colliery schools, suggests Colls, were a deliberate attempt to suffocate self-education, to depoliticize adult miners' education and quash the radical lessons some children were receiving at home (Colls, 1976; Cohen, 2015). The investment in schools was

outwardly presented as a concession to mining families, but Colls believes this to be false.

The true intention of colliery schools was to subdue radical consciousness and instil a value-system more conducive to industrial relations and favourable to colliery owners. Miners' education was 'quantifiably different' before and after 1844.

Owners grew to recognize the need to catch children for long enough before they went down the pit, then teachers were pressed in their communication with the parents to cooperate with the employers and others in removing the lingering prejudices and suspicions, and the common preference for inferior schools ... such was the policy of education in the colliery districts of Northumberland and Durham up to 1870 and beyond it (Colls, 1976, p.98).

After 1844 colliery owners sought to use education as a tool of disempowerment. Literacy and arithmetic could have limited uses for employers seeking physical strength, endurance but intelligence enough to follow instructions. Lessons of morality instilled messages of work-ethic, respect and acceptance of a natural hierarchy while at the same time teaching of the dangers of revolution, resistance and discontent.

The establishment of colliery schools in 1850-70 ran parallel to the restriction of other forms of education. This included the development of Private Adventure Schools, which were a form of self-education as they were a product of the communities in which they were situated (Colls, 1976, p.76). Colls argues that Private Adventure Schools were under systematic attack from the middle classes because they were in a 'tight relationship with the class and the community' (Colls, 1976, p.90). Private Adventure Schools expressed and enhanced underlying community beliefs and class consciousness, including a belief in workers' empowerment. Beyond this, however, Private Adventure Schools were a threat to colliery owners because they were not a part of the establishment's solution. There was no

incentive for Private Adventure Schools to promote the kind of industrial relationships colliery owners were attempting to instil.

The two most direct ways colliery owners could restrict Private Adventure Schools in the 1860s was to invite and support school structures with compatible value-systems (such as National Schools and Methodist Schools) or establish their own independent colliery school. A directly-controlled colliery school provided the opportunity for even greater control of curriculum, teaching staff and morality lessons but an 'independent' school such as a National School could provide a similarly beneficial education while offering enough distance from the owner to suggest impartiality. By 1876, compulsion was an asset to colliery schools, as most schools were viewed as efficient under the conditions of the 1870 Act. Education in colliery schools was already inherently gendered and compliant to government grant funding.

Colliery schools worked to suppress self-determination in choices of education. By promoting what a school should look like, how a teacher should behave, and what lessons were taught, colliery owners were aligned with government specifications of what counted as a school and what did not. Seymour Tremenheere (1804-1893) an Oxford Masters graduate, barrister and member of the Central Society for Education was in favour of secular state education before becoming a school inspector under the Mines and Collieries Act in 1842(Paz, 2008). Tremenheere was deeply interested in expanding working-class education, but his vision was relayed back to the Home Office in regular reports and included 'obedience, free-market economics, and the evils of trade unions' (Paz, 2008). He was a firm believer that colliery schools were a solution to combat the growth of trade unions and self-education, which he viewed as suspicious and seditious. Despite being forcibly removed by

the British and Foreign School Society organisation as an inspector of its schools for relentless attacks on monitorial education and hostile reports, Tremenheere was celebrated by the colliery owners for his support, and his inspectorate remit was expanded to several other industries between 1850 and 70, including lace-works and agriculture.

While the British and Foreign School Society did not have the direct authority to remove Tremenheere, they did have the organisational strength and resources to levy for his dismissal. Without organisational strength or combined resources, Private Adventure Schools were easy targets for Tremenheere. In his first report of the Mining Districts in 1842, Tremenheere wrote that of course an ordinary labouring man could teach children to read, write and cypher and he could do this as a schoolmaster, but 'All persons now agreed that this is not education' (Colls, 1976, p.90). As colliery schools and colliery-based schools expanded, they encroached into space traditionally served by a combination of self-education and Private Adventure Schools.

Attacking traditions of self-education did not just impact the education received by miner's children but also impacted on a much broader educative culture in mining communities (Heesom and Duffy, 1981). Self-education had no graduation day, expiration, or culminating examination. Self-education was life-long and developed from childhood into adulthood. Colliery Schools, by introducing a structure in which childhood education had a definitive conclusion, reinforced a structure that there was a time to learn, and a time to work. In contrast, Private Adventure Schools reinforced educative empowerment, life-long learning and the community as capable of taking ownership of its own pedagogy. The coal owners' attempt to stamp out self-education ultimately failed.

THE SELF EDUCATION OF THOMAS BURT

When exploring the literature and evidence of educational changes in the Northern Coal Field we are given the impression that colliery schools were designed to prevent the rise of a self-educated, politically sophisticated, trade unionist, radical individuals who were capable of strengthening trade unions, organising and leading economically disruptive behaviour. In 1844, the prospect of a trade union leader from the Northern Coal Field, making his way to a seat in parliament was a frightening and absurd prospect. Enter Thomas Burt (1837-1922) the self-educated trade unionist and Radical Liberal MP for Morpeth between 1873-1918 (Benson, 2004; Satre, 1999, pp.1-14). Burt had benefited from exactly the type of individual education, according to Colls, the colliery owners were attempting to stamp out and yet he, and others, still managed to slip through the net and become community leaders.

Burt was born in Murton, a small mining village in North Tyneside but was forced to move to Durham early in his childhood after his father became targeted for trade union activity. As a seven-year-old at the time of the Great Strike, what would have been his school years coincided with the beginning of colliery owner's appropriation of education. With his father's convictions and the disruption to his childhood, and the infancy of colliery schools, Burt evaded the absorption of any cultural indoctrination from colliery owners. Indeed, Burt's formal education was extremely limited, with some biographers claiming only two years (Benson, 2004). In spite of this limited formal education, or perhaps because of it, Burt's self-reliant form of education meant that even after he started working as a trapper at the age of 10, he continued to develop his learning and interests. At the age of 16, then in Cramlington, he joined the trade union and became an active member like his father. He was nominated as a union delegate at 26, and two years later his proficiency and

intelligence elevated him to a full-time union secretary and agent for the Northumberland Miner's Mutual Confident Association. The financial resources of the Association, based on small contributions from members, accumulated to such a degree that a broad range of services could be offered by the union, a similar funding model that the penny campaigns of the Catholic church had operated in Tyneside decades earlier. Burt was, therefore, able to represent the union in parliament as a full-time MP from 1873 with his salary and expenses paid for through union dues.

The election of Thomas Burt came too late to contribute to discussions leading up to the 1870 Education Act in the 1860s, but he did speak on education in the 1870s. As soon as he entered parliament in 1874 he said 'educate a man, not simply because he has got political power, and simply to make him a good workman; but educate him because he is a man. Educate him because he has an intellect – an intellect of almost boundless power and capacity' (Satre, 1999, p.61) In 1876 he spoke on the Education Reform bill which had a significant impact on strengthening the authority of School Boards in England and Wales. On the 5 August 1876 Burt expressed the view of the Northern Counties and the miners that if there was to be a national system of education, then it must be 'based upon the principle of being free, compulsory, and entirely unsectarian' (Hansard, 5 August 1876, vol.231, cc566-615; Satre, 199, p.62). This was a direct contradiction, he believed, to the fallacy of the English working-class demand for religious education. Burt's central point, which he wished to stress to Parliament, was his regret

that so much had been said in favour of giving education to the working man to make him a mere valuable money-making machine, rather than as a means of developing what was best and noblest in his nature and character, and promoting his intellectual and moral advancement (Hansard, 5 August 1876, vol.231, cc566-615).

This statement revealed Burt's belief in holistic education and his own personal experience as a beneficiary of educational empowerment. It was also a sign that the colliery schools' worst fears were being realised. Here was the son of a targeted trade unionist, addressing the House of Commons on the merits of miner's culture of self-education, being well-received and contributing meaningfully to the debate.

When Sir George Bowyer rose to respond to Burt, he described his honourable colleague as a fresh voice and declared that it was 'impossible not to feel that the speeches made by the honourable member on these questions are a great addition to the discussions in the House' (Hansard, 5 August 1876, vol.231, cc566-615). Burt was perceived to be a voice of the working class and spoke about the attitudes of working people towards the Board of Guardians (which he had described as 'Guardians of the Rich') and the independent self-help spirit of the miners in refusing to accept charity during poor economic conditions. On education, he argued against compulsion if it did not allow children to build up the necessary physical strength and understanding of mine work, and, most importantly, that the commencement of work should not signify the conclusion of a person's education. The only way he could see compulsion being applied in a fair and advantageous manner was if there were assurances of working people sitting on School Board committees. Only through direct representation would education serve the working class rather than something imposed upon them. Mr Bowyer's response to direct representation was to say it would be a positive thing, but any assurance of representation was unwarrantable. In other words, if the trade unions wished to have representatives on the School Board, they should seek to elect and support them in the same way Burt had been elected to parliament. There was no desire, impetus, nor foresight to include working-class people on the committees

assigned to design and implement education for working-class people. Neither was there a meaningful discussion of the message Burt conveyed from mining communities: that working families already had a clear vision of how a holistic education should be structured. There was already a culture of self-education and a desire that children and adults be educated. Resistance to compulsion was not resistance to education but a rejection of the post-1844 colliery education which stressed social and industrial compliance rather than the proficiency, aptitude, and ability to explore intellectual pursuits collaboratively and independent of employer's restraint.

6.4.2 COAL: EDUCATION CONTESTED

The Great Strike set the direction of education in mining districts after 1844, but by the 1870s new colliery schools were firmly established and inevitably, the role they played in communities had evolved (Colls, 1979; 1981). Evidence suggests that colliery schools became deeply entrenched in their respective communities, but it was a contested space in which Private Adventure Schools found some perch. Understanding this contested space is to further the argument that Private Adventure Schools offered an additional choice when educational spaces became battlegrounds.

The number of colliery schools in Northumberland increased as the industry expanded, between 1870-90 from 17 to 19, with a peak of 22 schools in 1880 (Kelly's 1873; 1879; 1890). There were consistently more colliery schools than Presbyterian schools or British and Foreign School Society schools. Colliery schools represented the sixth most prolific form of schools in Northumberland. Most colliery schools were operating in the Central and Eastern Region with only four schools outside of these regions. Most of these schools were founded between a decade or two decades prior to the 1870 education Act. Colliery Schools charged low fees. John Gilholmes at Cambois Farm, who was employed as Hind but attended Cambois Colliery school - despite not working for the Cowpen and North Seaton coal company who owned it - reported that he 'could send all his family to Cambois Colliery school for 6d per fortnight' (*MH*, 13 November 1886, p.7). Gilholmes had three sons, the youngest being 9 years old in 1886. The schools were supported financially by a coal company or colliery owner, but they were also able to access grant funding for achieving examination standards and financial support from wealthy patrons in certain rural areas.

At Mickley Colliery schools ‘through the liberality’ of the Mickley Coal Company, 237 children were ‘regaled with an excellent tea’ at which the parents and friends of the school children were entertained by a concert performed by the children (*DC*, 17 January 1866, p.2). As the children sang to their parents from a carefully selected repertoire, all full of the food-and-drink supplied by the coal company, the paternalistic message would have been clear: the coal company was a provider. The annual feast of the Bedlington Colliery School in 1891 was hosted by order of the Rechabites, a temperance organisation founded in 1835. The school rooms were offered at no cost, and the event included temperance leaders from across Tyneside giving speeches, singing songs of morality, and consuming a substantial meal for 300 people (*MH*, 3 January 1891, p.5). ‘Bedlington Rechabites Annual Feast and Concert’. Larger events included trips for the children. The Bebside colliery school had an annual excursion to Whitley and Tynemouth, which was enjoyed by 600 children in 1883 (*MH*, 22 September 1883, p.5). Providing short breaks and cultural events further reinforced the idea that colliery schools and their financiers were caring and compassionate.

Beyond curriculum decisions, coal owners attempted to shape the self-education of adult learners. Bedlington colliery school provided public shorthand classes by a reporter certified as a teacher of shorthand and charging 5s per quarter (*MH*, 23 March 1889, p.4). At the same school, there were ambulance classes, attended by 85 people. These were an early form of first aid classes provided by St. John’s Ambulance Association. After the classes, the students, who were from Bedlington, Barrington and West Sleekburn Collieries, were encouraged to continue to practice, train and read on the subject. At the end of the class, Dr James and P.H. McLaren who had taught on the course noted that a further 100 students of the Bedlington Coal Company were already signed up for future classes. Undoubtedly, the

provision of first aid classes and the establishment of group learning around health was a positive endeavour with serious benefits for dangerous occupations. It is difficult to escape the fact that a healthy workforce capable of handling and recovering from injuries was beneficial to colliery owners. By structuring the learning around topics that were removed from political or cultural dialogue, and more didactic than dialectic, miners were navigated away from activities that could evolve into radical discourse. Another example of useful classes at Bedlington Colliery school was the 'principles of mining' course. These were offered to both adults and children of the school with prizes being distributed for successful completion (*MH* 28 June 1890, p.6). That these classes were published in the local press is indicative of the colliery owners desire to promote their education agenda as an opportunity.

Not every colliery school survived into the 1880s. Those closest to Board schools were under additional scrutiny. Westmoor, Killingworth and Walker schools were all replaced by the Longbenton School Board. The decline of Walker School was turbulent. The school had been founded in 1858 and erected at the cost of the Walker Colliery. The school taught English grammar, geography, reading, spelling, arithmetic, biblical history and offered night classes. At the end of its first-year examinations were held with a local vicar distributing prizes (*DC*, 20 January 1859, p.2). The school had a good relationship with its local community, including hosting coffee mornings for Methodists (*SG*, 16 March 1866, p.2), concerts (*NJ*, 19 May 1868, p.2), public lectures and fundraising, (*NJ*, 23 February 1881, p.3) and the Walker and District Floral and Horticultural Society shows (*NJ*, 19 September 1881, p.4). None of these activities were unique to colliery schools. The large halls of all school rooms were adaptable and often rented out to a variety of organisations. The gifting

of the rooms, however, was a form of indirect philanthropy on the part of colliery owners and the choice of uses was discretionary. Walker school was embedded as a communal resource.

A letter published by the *Jarrow Express*, admittedly heavily edited, voiced heavy resentment from miners towards the schoolmaster in Walker who was neglecting the evening schools' which adults relied upon (*JE*, 11 March 1881, p.5). The master had been appointed in October 1880 against the wishes of the community after a series of temporary teachers who had all been received positively. The last of these schoolmasters, Mr Winstanley, had been running the school in September and in a short time had built a good rapport with the community. 'Why in all the earth did they not appoint this applicant, who knows all our wants, and we are sure of that, as he has been reared up amongst us' (*JE*, 11 March 1881, p.5). It was, perhaps, precisely because Winstanley was linked to the miner's community that he was rejected as an ambassador of the colliery's educational priorities. There were severe consequences of this, however, namely on the literacy and intellectual pursuits of the adult community and their ability to assist their children's education.

What we want is a master that we know, and that our sons (even ourselves [sic]) can go and ask him questions we are incompetent to answer, and that we might take lessons ourselves during these long winter nights ... There is plenty of married men here who cannot read or write and feel ashamed to go to anyone except they know him (*JE*, 11 March 1881, p.5).

If we draw upon Coll's analysis, any pursuits beyond moral education could be viewed as threatening to the collieries. A teacher who was able to instil morality lessons yet discourage broader literacy amongst the adult population was almost an ideal candidate if the objective was to culturally suppress the mining community. This was not, however, the

objective of the School Board and an incompetent teacher who was unpopular with the community was not an asset.

At Longbenton, the Second Triennial Report of the School Board there for the period 1876-1879 showed that school accommodation increased from 596 to 2,676 between 1876-78 (*MH*, 19 July 1879, p.3). This was due to the opening of schools at Benton Square, Dudley, Seaton Burn, West Walker and East Walker and this directly impacted the pre-existing colliery schools at both Walker and Killingworth. The speed at which new Board schools were established, aided by significant public loans and supported by ratepayers, was problematic for colliery schools. Colliery schools also had access to significant resources depending on how large the coal company was and how strong education was a priority for company directors.

By March 1882 pressures were mounting from the Longbenton School Board to close Walker colliery school. On the 2 March, the Board met and resolved to communicate to the Department of Education that the school was no longer fit to operate (*JE*, 1882, 3 March, p.8). The reason given was a failure to keep adequate registrations of school attendance which was impeding the Board's obligation to enforce compulsion. Similar arguments were made against Private Adventure Schools. Indeed, the item of discussion immediately following Walker Colliery was the intended closure of Miss Fenwick's Private Adventure School. The resolution passed in this case was 'That the Board Officer take the necessary proceedings against parents of children attending this school' (*JE*, 3 March 1882, p.8). The Board had been approached by the community in Walker to support efforts to protect teachers who reflected their values. The result was the further loss of community-rooted education and the supplanting of one conflicting values system with another. The Board

took advantage of dissatisfaction but ignored the communities wish to have a greater say in the employment of teachers who were representative of their needs.

6.4.3 LEAD: EDUCATION CONSERVED

The legacy of the 1844 Great Strike was not the only mining legacy creating rifts in post-1870 education. There was a different legacy in the south of Northumberland, a one of benevolence and freedom which nonetheless had the same impact on Private Adventure Schools (Barmby, 2012). The absence of Private Adventure Schools, despite the economic similarities, has an entirely different explanation.

The Southern Region of Northumberland lies south of the River Tyne and is dominated by the North Pennine landscape. The area was industrialised relatively early, particularly with lead mining around Allendale and iron goods manufacturing (Barmby, 2012). The area had, from the early years of the nineteenth century, an extensive waggon network (Hughes, 1963, pp.69-73). Throughout the century traditional routes were upgraded to the railway, some of which can still be traversed by steam locomotive today. The Tanfield line, for example, still operates as a heritage railway and is a prime example of a steam railway being built upon a traditional wagonway. Thus, industrial heritage was well established in the Southern Region - unlike other areas north of the River Tyne where economic and industrial development occurred in the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. Geographers refer to Green and Brownfield development where Greenfield refers to fresh construction and Brown to repurposed land. With this terminology, we might refer to industrial development in the Southern Region between 1840-1890 as brownfield as changes often replaced established structures. We can see this trend had a dramatic impact on the educational landscape. The largest School Board outside of Newcastle, in accommodation, and in the number of schools and geographic area covered, was the

Allenheads School Board which for the most part, absorbed the pre-existing structure of British and Foreign School Society buildings, staff and students.

The Southern Region contained several Private Adventure Schools which only declined from 10 to 8 between 1870 and 1890. These schools were all located in communities along the River Tyne, with access to the Carlisle to Newcastle Railway, at places like Hexham, Corbridge, Haydon Bridge, Warden and Haltwhistle. There were no recorded Private Adventure Schools for communities in Alston, Allendale or Allenheads which were core towns south of Hexham. This is in large part due to the dense structure of schooling and the variety of schools in those areas. The absence of Private Adventure Schools in Allendale is a key component in understanding the relationship between communities and education in the Southern Region and what makes this Region distinct from others, namely the decline of the lead industry.

As a rural area, the physical landscape of South Northumberland had a significant impact on the distribution of settlements, infrastructure and the positioning of schools. As a mining region with a rich industrial heritage, the geography above and below ground had an impact on socio-economic development. A major benefit for the Southern Region, however, was the dense structure of roads, wagonways and paths connecting settlements and the structure of settlements surrounding a triangle of principal towns: Alston, Allendale and Allenheads. This structure, as opposed to the distances between principal towns in the Western Region, meant that there were closer connections to a greater variety of services, employment opportunities and shared cultural activities. Allendale and Alston enjoyed close connections to Hexham, Haydon Bridge and Haltwhistle, but there was enough distance to develop a sense of independence.

There was a significant shift between 1870 and 1890 in school administration. The number of Board schools in 1890 was 12, the highest number of Board schools outside of Tyneside and the Eastern Region (Kelly's 1873; 1879; 1890). The number of Catholic schools increased from one school for 130 children at St. Mary's in Hexham to five schools at Hexham, Prudhoe, Hawkwell, Espersields and Chollerton for over 500 children. The number of National Schools remained consistent, but they were significant given the proximity to Hexham Abbey. In a broader sense, closer proximity to Durham was a source of the significant endowment but perhaps this was because the Southern Region already contained the second-highest number of National Schools in Northumberland and further expansion was impractical.

Blanchland must also be mentioned. As an area under the protection of the Crewe Trust, Blanchland village is 14 kilometres south of Corbridge, 30km west of Durham and shares a similar history to Bamburgh by being under the control of the trust. Unlike Bamburgh, however, Dr John Sharp had not established any initiatives in the eighteenth century. Without his personal involvement, there was no drive or incentive for the Crewe Trust to establish any distinct form of education in the area. Blanchland demonstrates the impact of Dr Sharp in Bamburgh and the community's willingness to maintain and protect his interventions. Instead, at Blanchland, the Crewe Trust supported a modest parochial school for 50 boys and 70 girls and infants (Kelly's, 1890). The school was built in 1850, and unlike Bamburgh, it offered no additional boarding provision for girls. The closest the Southern Region came to an endowment as innovative and socially conscious as Dr Sharp's was that made at Haydon Bridge by Reverend Shafto, founded in 1685 (Pickering, 1981, p.287).

In summary, it could be argued that the key factor in making the Southern Region distinct and more progressive than other regions of Northumberland was its own economic collapse. The decline of the lead industry opened participation in education to a broader range of occupations and established a model of a rural School Board working precisely as the 1870 Education Act intended. The lead industry's approach to education was almost the antithesis to the coal owners: as both an example of education in a mining district, and as a Board with parity of participation. Allendale was, unfortunately, ignored. Colliery owners, urban and rural School Boards did not see the benefits education had provided to lead mining communities, or the lead mining industry.

This study has, for the most part, focused predominantly on the Eastern Region of Northumberland, which was the County's urban core. While most Private Adventure Schools were in the Tyneside area and this warranted a greater balance of attention, the remaining four regions North, Central, West, and South contained their own unique cultures and educational developments. In the North, the influence of the Scottish border had a significant impact on the social, economic and cultural development of Northumberland which translated into the educational structure. The Western region, which at first may seem desolate and underpopulated, presented the issue of distance and remoteness to educators. One solution to the remoteness came from shepherd communities themselves. The Northumbrian shepherd, also known as a 'Hind', developed the 'Scotch Lad' tradition of hiring live-in teachers over the winter months. In the Central region where coastal fisheries and arable farming were predominant the role of the integrated landed elite played a vital role in influencing the location and success of schools on their estates. The rise of colliery schools in the Central region introduced a powerful new hegemonic power with its own

educational priorities, which were incompatible and hostile to Private Adventure Schools and, eventually, School Boards. In contrast to the experience of the rising colliery districts, the declining lead industry in the Southern region made Private Adventure Schools redundant by incorporating a policy of inclusivity, which translated well into the School Board period. Across all the regions of Northumberland outside of Newcastle, Private Adventure Schools faced the dual challenges of limited markets and hostility from landowners. However, Private Adventure Schools can be found across Northumberland serving rural populations between 1869-1889, with no significant rate of decline.

There was a rapid decline in lead mining between 1870 and 1880 (McCord & Thompson, 1998, pp.278-279). Small farms provided some measure of employment and additional income to lead miners and lead works (Hunt, 1968, p.264). Small-holding employment was primarily a form of subsistence farming to ensure the family had enough food to survive. Once it was clear the lead industry was in terminal decline and jobs were unlikely to return, the remaining solution was emigration.

TABLE 24: PARISHES OF THE SOUTHERN REGION IN DECLINE

Area/Parish	1851	1871	1891	51-91
Southern Region Total	41,381	41,677	44,356	+2,975
Allendale	6,376	5,224	3,296	-3,080
Knarsdale	917	531	406	-4,511
Stamfordham	1,781	1,640	1,352	-429
Shotley High Quarter	559	386	298	-261
Halton	262	49	60	-202
Kirkhaugh	285	206	122	-163
Slaley	581	501	428	-153
Hexhamshire Low Quarter	488	414	352	-136
Wark	854	859	740	-114
Hexhamshire Middle Quarter	312	262	201	-111
Henshaw	607	528	500	-107
Hexhamshire High Quarter	243	203	138	-105
Blenkinsopp	788	598	699	-89
Hexhamshire West Quarter	279	256	198	-81
Bingfield	125	79	46	-79
High Fotherley	142	87	65	-77
Shotley Low Quarter	668	599	595	-73
Simonburn	486	455	425	-61
Haughton	168	115	115	-53
Wall	474	443	431	-43
Ridley	245	226	210	-35
Little Bavington	82	72	49	-33
Thornbrough	89	76	57	-32
Thorngrifton	305	310	276	-29
Hallington	106	106	80	-26
Little Whittington	38	17	14	-24
Whitfield	339	341	316	-23
Wall Town	81	65	59	-22
Capheaton	226	188	206	-20
Shilvington	63	87	48	-15
Kirkheaton	153	167	140	-13
Cocklaw	195	192	183	-12
Chirdon	83	65	71	-12
Coanwood	152	174	146	-6
Fallowfield	38	45	33	-5
Aydon Castle	23	24	19	-4

Source: ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891.

The three largest lead mining organisations in the nineteenth century were the Beaumont family, the Blackett Family and the London Lead Company (McCord and Thompson, 1998, pp.213-214; Nossiter, 1975). The London Lead Company, which had Quaker roots, had been established in Alston in the seventeenth century. The company's first smelt was opened in Allendale with a significant investment in 1825 to rebuild Nenthead as a model lead mining village (Hunt, 1968, pp. 233-234). The Blackett family established itself in Allendale during the eighteenth century but by 1840 employed a larger workforce. The 1830s were a highpoint both in terms of population for lead mining communities in Allendale, at a time when Britain was producing two-thirds of the world's lead. But even by 1840, the level of national production was half of the global production (McCord and Thompson, 1998, p.213). The increase of cheap imports overtook the region, and within 40 years the lead industry in Allendale was unsustainable. The London Lead Company withdrew in 1883 a year after the Beaumont family had completely withdrawn from Allendale (Hunt, 1968, p.318).

The collapse of the lead industry and lead communities between 1870 and 1890 had a significant impact on incomes, living conditions and the number of school-age children in the district (Thompson, 1967, p.71). Disposable income among workers of a once highly profitable industry was reduced to near zero. Subsistence farming and part-time mine working was gruelling, and often only elderly family members could find such employment. Both activities required physical stamina, entirely different skill sets and the psychological fortitude to withstand relentless low-pay labour while living in a deteriorating community.

The mix of agricultural and mining work in the 1870s was not the only key difference between the declining lead industry and rising coal industry. The system of employment was

radically different too. While coal miners operated on a bond system of monthly, bi-annual or annual contracts, lead miners operated on the 'Bargain System'. This governed the relationship between employers and employees. This system was supposed to accommodate the needs of the lead company and the needs of the lead workers. Between 1842 and 1870, however, the balance of power shifted considerably in favour of the employers with the introduction of new time management and discipline (Thompson, 1967, p.71; Hunt, 1968, p.55; Barmby, 2016). The bargain was traditionally a partnership between a group of miners or a miners' family and the landowner. The agreement struck could be the extraction of a quantity of ore over a period of time at a designated location but bargains could be established for a range of mining activities including the crushing and washing of ore which was usually conducted by 10-year-olds for 4d a day (Waldock, 2009). This system was highly beneficial for miners when there was a high demand for labour, and the method of extraction was small scale surface mining. As deeper shafts were sunk and populations increased, the landowners had greater leverage to reduce wages, dictate working shifts and reduce the number of festivals and cultural activities. In 1864 a time clause was added to the bargains presented by landowners which required miners to work regular hours (Hunt, 1968, p.57).

The ability to determine their own working day, what E.P. Thompson refers to as 'time-budgets', was a cherished benefit for lead miners (Thompson, 1967, p.71). The removal of this privilege was symbolic of the increasing pressures on the lead industry. It was not, however, a reaction of the landowners against trade unionism. Miner's leaders could call strikes without a union, as demonstrated in 1849 in Allenheads (Hunt, 1968, p.212). Without the threat of unionism, there was no impetus to utilise education as a

mechanism of cultural hegemony. There were, therefore, no schools of the same model as directly-owned colliery schools but there were schools financially supported by landowners. When the lead industry collapsed the support of landowners towards the local school structure collapsed too. The vacuum created was both financial and organisational as key individuals who were able to leave and find favourable employment elsewhere did so. The number of school-age children had declined from 1,460 in 1861 to just 586 in 1891 in Allendale, and the need for younger members of the family to assist with financial support had increased, yet there was still a need across the region for a stable structure of schooling (ICeM, 2020, 1861; 1891).

The Newcastle Report in (1861) favourably compared Allendale lead miners in relation to coal miners (Hunt, 1968, p.383). Hunt gives three reasons for superior education: shorter working hours, a later start at working life for children and the influence of Methodism. Another important factor was the relatively early establishment of schools in lead mining district. The first school established in Allendale was 1692, the same time the London Lead Company established itself in the area. This meant that lead workers could pass down the benefits of their education through generations (Hunt, p.389) and as a result literacy, as evidenced by Bargain Book agreements, was much higher than in coal districts. Between 1849 and 1861 there had been a spate of school building and renovations. Thomas Sopwith, an agent for the Beaumont family, took responsibility for gathering funding from mineworkers and landowners (Hunt, 1968, p.403). The new system gave W.B. Beaumont significant financial control of the schools but placed school management decisions in the hands of district committees. Each committee was composed of two mine agents and four mineworkers who would be elected by their peers. Committee members had the right to

inspect schools whenever they wished to and, collectively, they had the power to set the school curriculum and employee teachers. This system was precisely what colliery workers desired but were purposefully denied. The fees were set at 6d per month, open to any child of a lead worker and non-sectarian. Sopwith was so impressed by his system that he often spent the morning spying on children entering the school through a telescope, gauging their disposition towards attending (Hunt, 1968, p.405). His vision was of an education which would transcend the skills necessary for labour and cultivate positive intellectual interests to be pursued during leisure time. The system, which allowed direct communal engagement, was so pervasive, effective and well-resourced that the space in which Private Adventure Schools could exist was marginal. The comparison to coal mining districts in the 1860s-1870s was striking in that one system suppressed the development of intellectual pursuits and felt threatened by any form of Private Adventure Schools, while the other, in lead mining areas, made private education redundant through low fee, high quality and community orientated education.

When the system collapsed through external economic pressures, Sopwith's structure of schools was superseded by the Allendale School Board, established on 2 April 1877. Schools at Forest Low, Keenley, Ninebanks and Carr Shields were absorbed into the Board between 1877-1883 (Kelly's, 1880, pp.547-549). Between 1883 and 1890 Allendale, Allenheads, Catton and Forest High were relinquished (Kelly's, 1890, pp.699-702). The new Board had access to greater government funding including significant public loans, but as the Beaumont' family, London Lead Company and large swathes of lead workers themselves left the region, the structure of workers committees disintegrated. The new Allendale School Board was comprised of 11 members in total, with four candidates unsuccessful in

the first election. Seven hundred and forty-five valid voting papers were submitted at polling stations in Allendale Town, Allenheads and Ninebanks casting a total of 8,288 votes.

TABLE 25: ELECTED CANDIDATES 1877

ELECTED	VOTES	LOCATION	OCCUPATION
Joseph Cotes	1,507	Allenheads	Mining Engineer to W.B. Beaumont
William Sparke	926	Allenheads	Corn Mill Inn and Miller
George G. Lee	759	Keenley	Farmer, Chapel House Farms
Matthew Henderson	732	Keenleyside Hill	Farmer, Keenleyside Hill
Joseph Pickering	697	Allendale Town	
William J. Johnson	687	West Allen	Farmer, Black Clough
Rev. R.E. Mason	623	Allendale	Rectory to Allendale
Thomas Brown	381	Catton	Shopkeeper
George Stobbs	377	Park	
Isaac Hall	372	High Studdon	
Thomas Robinson	370	Sinderhope	Farmer
UNELECTED			
Matthew Stephenson	305		
Matthew Lee	223		
Thomas Dawson	184		
John Maughan	145		

Source: HXC, 7 April 1877, p.5; Kelly's, 1873, pp.483-486.

TABLE 26: ELECTED CANDIDATES 1889

ELECTED	VOTES	LOCATION	OCCUPATION
Charles James Connon	574	Allenheads	Doctor, Elia House
Thomas Charlton	564	Allendale Town	Farmer, Studdon
John Ridley	554	Allenheads	Mining Engineer to W.B. Lead Co.
Joseph Charlton	519	Allenheads	Farmer
William Pigg	495	Allendale Town	Boot, Shoe and Clog Maker
Ridley Robinson	461	Ninebanks	Shoemaker and Farmer
Caleb Hetherington	459	West Allendale	Farmer
William Temperly	438	Wooly, Allendale Town	Road Surveyor, Wooly
Lancelot Bell	400	Allendale Town	Rose and Crown Inn Keeper
William Thirwell	396	Allendale Town	Farmer
John Forster	382	Allendale Town	Draper and Grocer
UNELECTED			
William Ridley	371	Mill Cottages	Unknown
John Hall Shield	355	Burn Law	Unknown
William Maughan	325	Sinderhope	Unknown
Isaac Chester	243	Catton	Unknown
John Short	119	Spital Farm	Unknown

Source: NWJ, 23 March 1889, p.6; Kelly's, 1890, pp.699-702.

At least five of the Board members in 1877 were listed as farmers, not lead workers, though some may have been involved in peripheral mine work. Only one member was an engineer linked to the Beaumont family, and he received the most votes, at 1,507. The rest of the candidates suggest a shift away from lead mining occupations while maintaining a broader base of occupations than School Boards elsewhere in Northumberland. This was the legacy of the Sopwith structure. Indeed, the local newspaper at the time stated that there was 'no display of party feeling' (*HC*, 7 April 1877, p.5).

The election in 1889 shows both changes in the composition of the Board and the overall reduction in engagement. The candidate with the most votes received barely more than a third of those secured by the leading candidate in 1877. Despite the withdrawal of the Beaumont family, John Ridley, a mining engineer with experience from that company, still fared well. Yet again, we see the further dissipation of educational control away from lead mining interests to an even more diverse range of occupations. These occupations were not dominated by religious parties or high-income occupations. This diversity was due to the quality of educational structure supported by the lead mining industry in the early nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, which allowed for a greater pool of literate individuals and a strong motivation to protect a structure of schools which had supported the community for generations.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis set out to answer the question ‘to what extent did the implementation of the 1870 Education Act cause the decline of entrepreneurial education in Northumberland?’. The question was designed to re-evaluate the role of Private Adventure Schools through a critical re-examination of previously used sources and cross-referencing with new sources, methodology and technology resources. Three areas of study structured the thesis: Private Adventure Schools as a form of entrepreneurial education, change and continuities in urban education and contrasting educations in rural Northumberland. Within these parts, quantitative and qualitative data analysis were combined to identify key themes.

To answer the question a full survey of schools was conducted for Northumberland 1869-1889 (see Appendix One, Two and Three). The schools were categorised into types according to main funding streams or ownership and census data was gathered to provide demographic context to schools surrounding areas. Using this survey it was possible to see that Private Adventure Schools formed a significant proportion of education provision, particularly in urban areas. Not only did the schools appear to survive post-1870, in some areas they thrived. The geographic and demographic surveys served to highlight themes for further study. These routes of investigation involved discovering and analysing new archival material and cross referencing these sources with the archival material of School Boards. Cross referencing and critically examining previously used sources challenged past studies of Newcastle and Northumberland (Dennis, 1969; Rallison, 1934). As a regional case-study with complimentary methods to Gardner’s 1984 book this thesis will provide an even stronger

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platform for future research into the role of entrepreneurial education and the 1870 Education Act.

Part one used evidence from a survey of schools to show that not only was there a significant number of Private Adventure Schools in North Tyneside between 1869-1889, but that the number actually increased. Clusters of schools across North Tyneside suggested highly competitive markets which responded to changes in urban growth and economic change. The homogenic depiction of low-cost Private Adventure Schools was challenged. The diversity between schools, school communities and school ownership demonstrated an inherent value of entrepreneurial schools for providing choice. As a form of education that was competitive to attract pupils and retain them, quality and reputation must have been a priority for school owners. This argument is further supported by the way in which ownership of schools carefully changed hands to preserve reputations.

In the wake of the 1870 Education Act there was potential for a plural structure of education to remain. The role of the state, according to W.E. Forster, was to support voluntary education and provide only the number of schools required to ensure universal access. To exclude Private Adventure Schools made the task of universal education much larger. Targeting Private Adventure Schools for closure in the years following 1870 not only went against the spirit of the 1870 Education Act, but it also reduced the choices available to families. The evidence presented by this thesis challenges previous histories of Private Adventure Schools which had largely adopted the same perspective as Forster and contemporary detractors. Arguments which stressed the poor quality of schools and poor choices of those attending them failed to critically assess the evidence used in establishing this point of view.

CONCLUSIONS

Each Private Adventure School had its own individuality, history and purpose. There were as many different types of school owners as there were reasons for teachers to teach. The variety of schools and diversity of origins has been demonstrated. They were unique, individualistic but ultimately isolated from one another. Competition between schools, often located in the same street, resulted in a lack of unified voice to advocate their cause. There was no mechanism for collective protection once the School Boards had been established. There was no representation upon School Boards nor a voice to speak on their behalf at public meetings. We have seen that some individual parents challenged legal actions designed to punish those attending Private Adventure Schools. There were not enough parents willing to fight on behalf of school owners. They voted with their feet and attended private schools for as long as they could. Illuminating this fact is important in reassessing the role of entrepreneurial education in the nineteenth century.

The most significant School Board in Northumberland in terms of budget, pupil population and influence was the Newcastle School Board. Three distinct periods were found in the development of the Board. The overarching evolution of the Board was one of hostility towards to 1870 Education Act between 1871-1873, followed by a three-year period of consensus building. By 1889 the Newcastle School Board was not only supportive of state intervention in education it was actively seeking stronger ways to implement national policy. With regards to economic and demographic change, Private Adventure Schools were arguably better able to adapt and respond to change. The focus of the School Board was heavily focused on issues of religious education. The difficulty of creating a system that could accommodate teaching religion in a non-denominational way slowed development of the curriculum in other areas. This set a precedent of inclusivity in state

CONCLUSIONS

education but there is no evidence to suggest Private Adventure Schools were not equally inclusive. The issue state education had was with regards to public funds and the moral implications of asking opposing religious denominations to fund each other. Dealing with that issue was the 'conscience clause' of the 1870 Education Act which allowed parents to withdraw their children from religious activities on their own religious principles. Private Adventure Schools did not draw from public funds and were already accountable to the parents who paid fees. These schools were able to focus exclusively on developing a curriculum that would provide economic and social benefit to students.

In rural Northumberland the focus of the study became an exploration of the reasons for a lack of Private Adventure Schools. The survey of schools suggested multiple structures of education depending on geography while demographic data of occupations revealed different economic conditions. The data revealed the possibility of contrasting experiences which was supported by archival material. The introduction of state education in rural areas was a slower process and met with resistance. In remote areas the most prevalent form of education was a network of Church of England Schools. In the most remote communities however, among the Northumberland Shepherds, private education was the only practical solution. This allowed Shepherd communities to balance an appetite for educational knowledge with the practical occupational skills they needed to survive. Although there were no physical school buildings recorded, individual teachers were employed on a private basis collectively by shepherd communities. In the most remote areas, private education was an affordable and practical solution.

Elsewhere in rural Northumberland the absence of private education was arguably the result of political forces and cultural tradition. The reaction of large estate owners was to

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take a greater interest in the educational provision under their control and preserve the influence they had. This made it difficult for private education to develop within or around large estates. Philanthropic interest in education across Northumberland provided several schools that were accessible and experimental but universal access could not be achieved via philanthropic means. In mining districts evidence suggests that education was valued but there is a debate over whether education overseen by colliery owners was a positive force (Colls, 1976, 1981; Duffy 1981, 2018; Stephens, 2000). The evidence suggests that colliery educations provided a reasonable foundation from which individuals could pursue personal interests. The spaces for education were carefully managed by colliery companies who feared the consequences of a highly educated workforce. The growth of education in former lead mining districts as opposed to the relative stagnation of education in coal mining districts suggests a lack of investment in education by colliery owners in proportion to available resources. The limits of private education can be explained by an unwillingness of colliery owners to allow formal independent structures of education. Private education, as demonstrated by Thomas Burt M.P., did take place on an individual basis with significant consequences. To answer the question of what role Private Adventure Schools played in rural Northumberland we can deduce two things. First, that private education and entrepreneurial education did not always take the form of Private Adventure Schools. Second, spaces to pursue independent study free were equally important in rural areas to urban areas. In areas where economic opportunities were fewer and systems of social control were more intimate, choices in education were limited but the impact could be significant.

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The long-term impact of the 1870 Education Act was to cause the decline of Private Adventure Schools and other forms of entrepreneurial education. The evidence from Northumberland confirms that the decline was not the natural consequence of Board Schools providing a superior quality of education. Tactics were deployed by urban School Boards to suppress parental choice largely through the punitive powers of compulsion introduced in 1876. Concurrently, structures of social control in rural areas prevented the growth of Private Adventure Schools.

The increase in the number of Private Adventure Schools in urban areas immediately after 1870 demonstrated their ability to adapt to legislative, demographic, and economic change. Use of courts in false-truancy cases (where a pupil had been attending an undesired school) created highly stressful situations for both parents and children. Parents with low-incomes were disadvantaged through an inability to provide a legal defence. In the case we do have of a parent challenging a truancy charge the schoolboy involved was able to demonstrate their knowledge and the case was dropped. The school involved in that case was however forced to dismiss all of its schoolgirls as a consequence. The ability of Private Adventure Schools to adapt and overcome suppression tactics had its limits.

The purpose of this study was to expand our understanding of a lost form of nineteenth-century schooling and provide a more accurate historical context to current education policy discussions. In 2020 the World Economic Forum (WEF) published a report on 'Schools of the Future' in collaboration with Google, Amazon Web Services, Microsoft, PayPal, Unilever, Proctor and Gamble and 85 others with additional input from 53 school leaders (WEF, 2020, pp.31-32). The founder of the WEF, Kevin Schwab, had previously written that 'the demand for highly skilled workers has increased while the demand for

CONCLUSIONS

workers with less education and lower skills has decreased' (Schwab, 2015). The world was on the precipice of a technological revolution that would fundamentally alter the way we live, work, and relate to one another. In its scale, scope, and complexity, the transformation will be unlike anything humankind has experienced before. To deal with the scale of change the world needs to reimagine education systems and be open to all possibilities.

The history of the 1870 Education Act will be particularly useful as an example of large-scale system change in education as a response to broad social, economic and political change. This thesis provides greater clarity and a new critical perspective on the implementation of the Act. It presents the argument that in the years immediately following 1870 there was a period of maximum plurality in educational provision with numerous possible futures. Private Adventure Schools and entrepreneurial education was a key component of that plurality. The system we have inherited was only one of many possible structures which could have evolved from that period. When we imagine the future of education we can be inspired by its history.

8.0 APPENDICES

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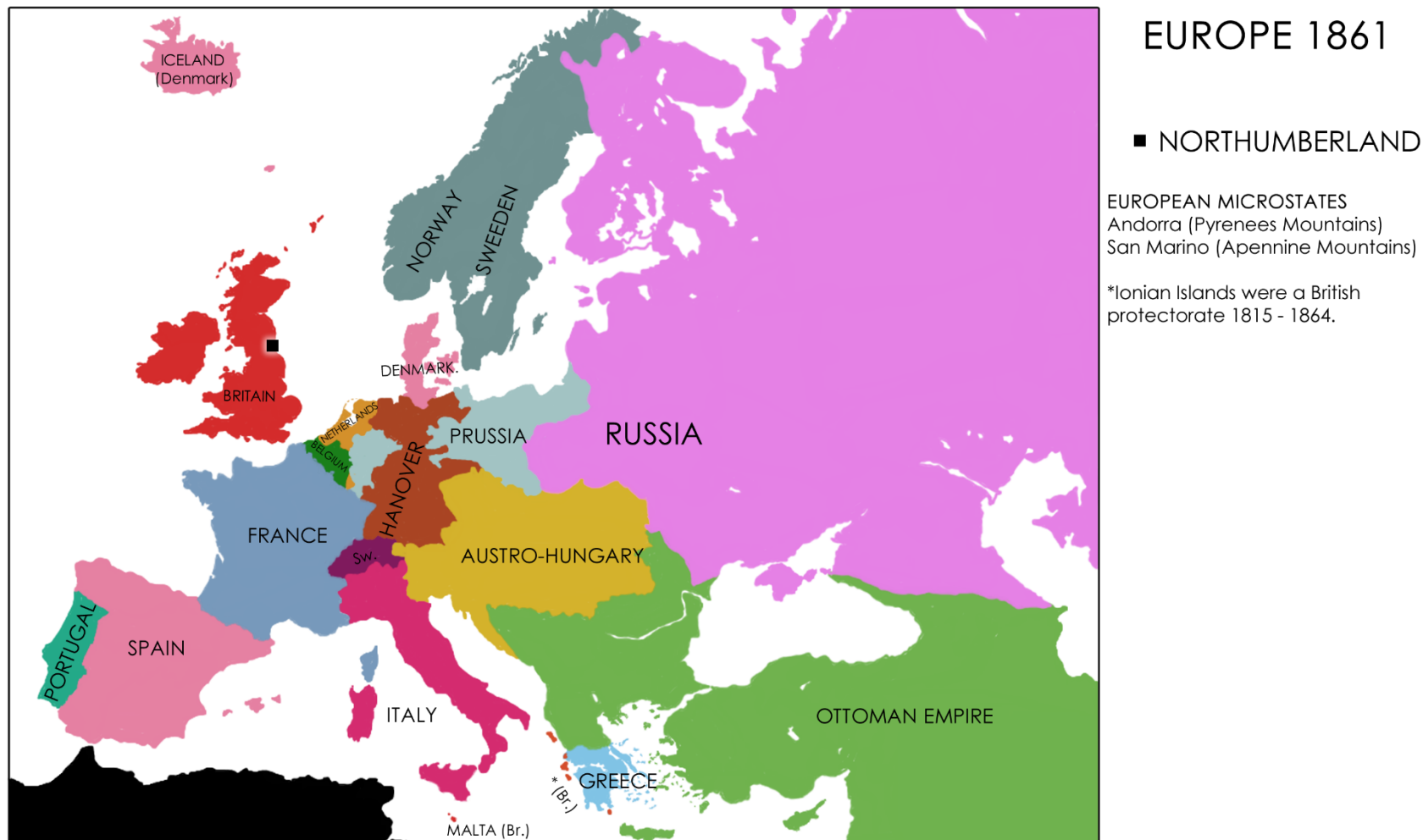
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APPENDIX TWO: NORTHUMBERLAND SCHOOLS DATA 1859 – 1889	P.408
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IMAGE 4 NETWORK OF SCHOOLS, ORIGINAL IMAGE

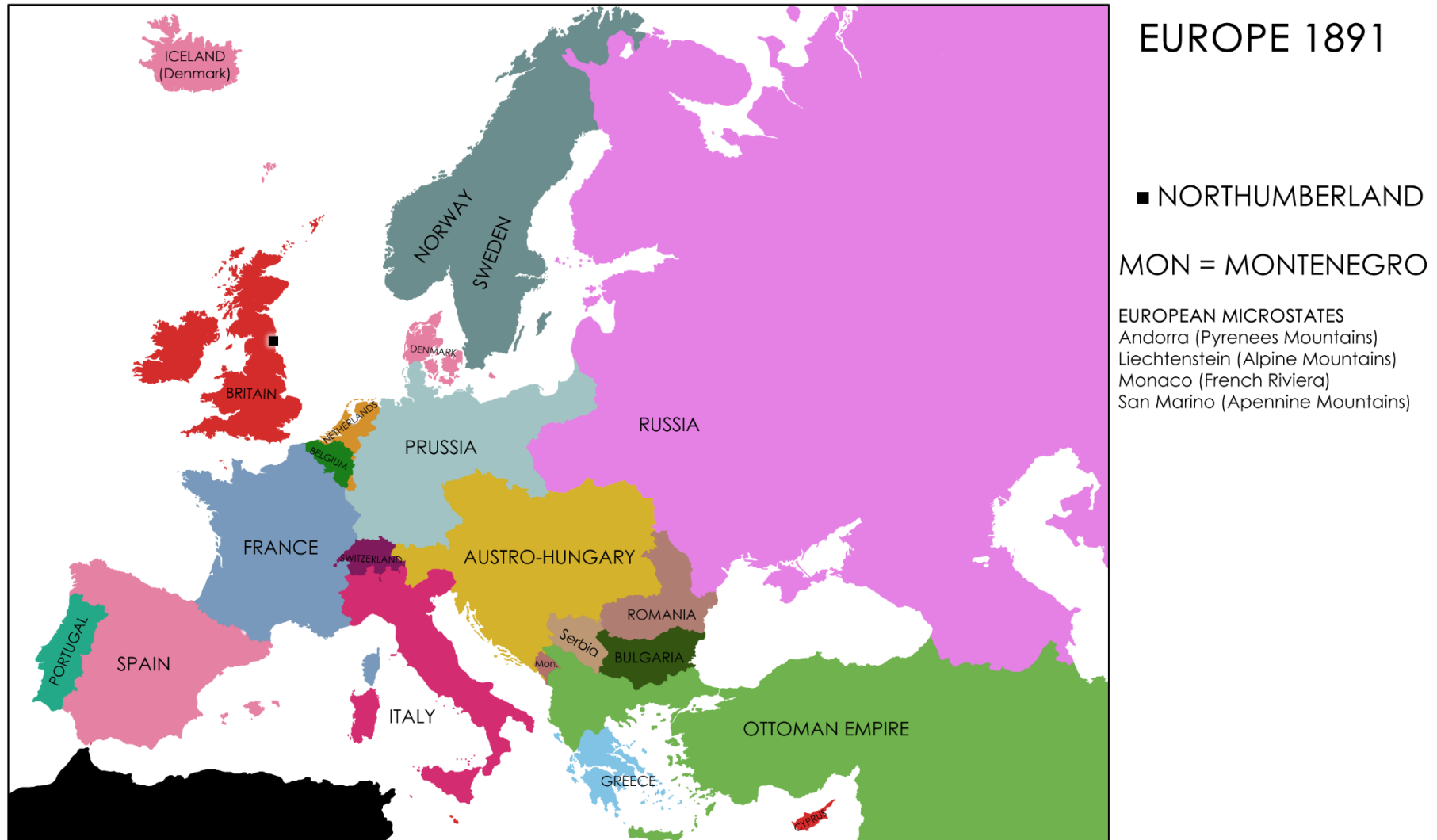
Source: Google, 2021

8.1 APPENDIX ONE: MAPPING SCHOOLS IN NORTHUMBERLAND 1869-1889

8.1.1 EUROPE 1861, 1891, 2020



Source: Original Map. Könemann, L. (2010) *Historical Atlas of the World*. Bath: Parragon. 115-121.

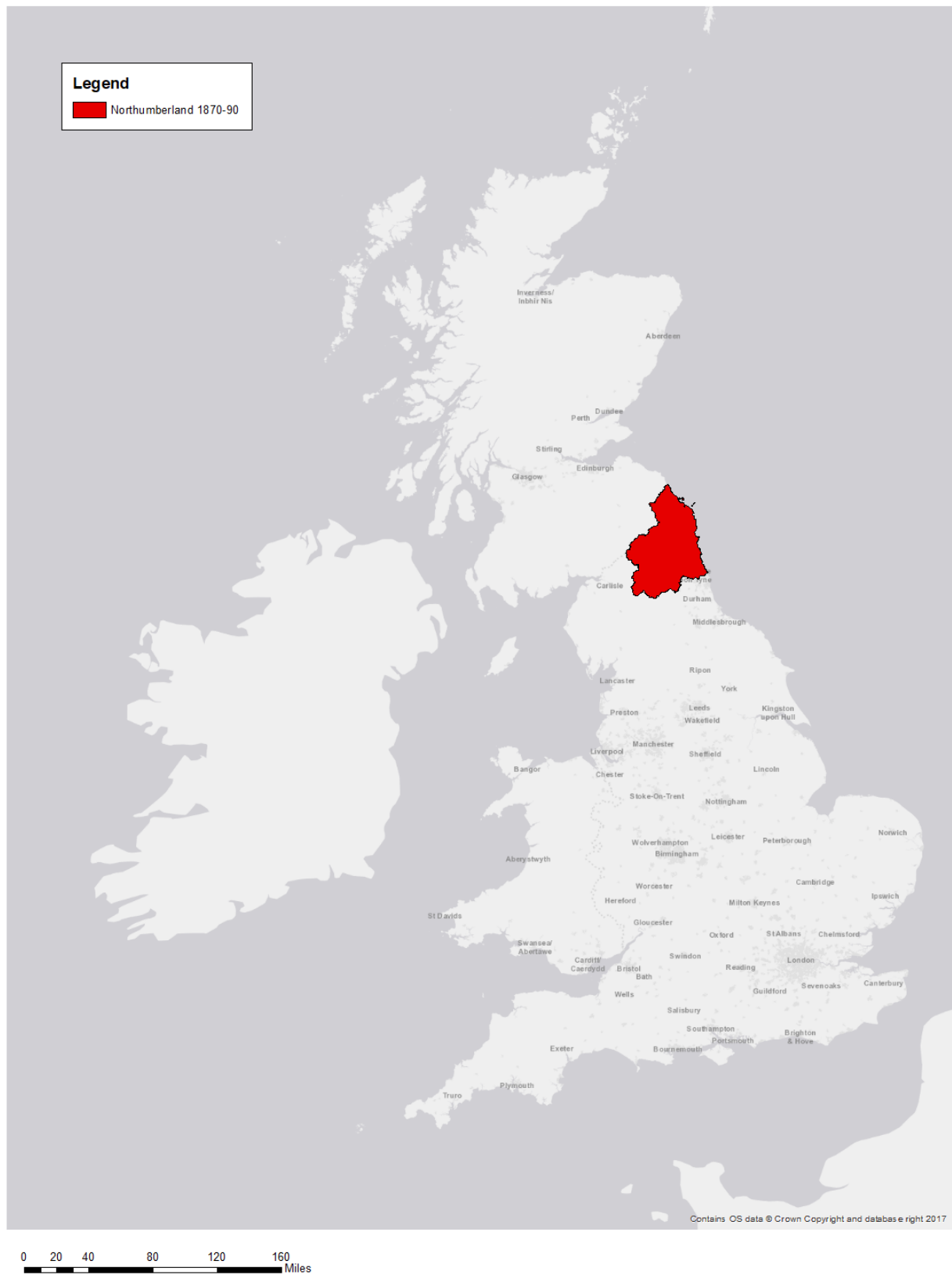


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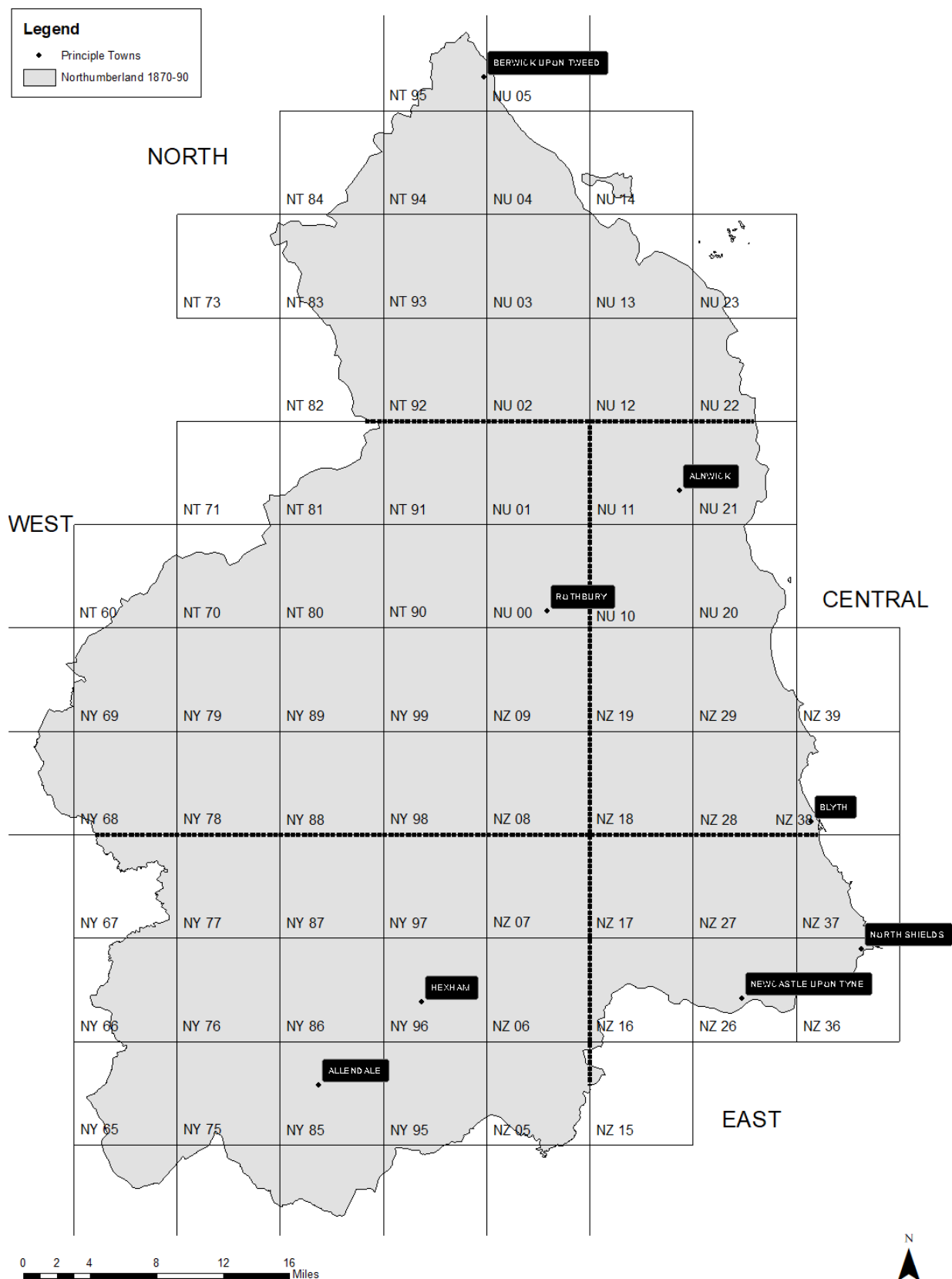
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8.1.2 NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORTHUMBERLAND

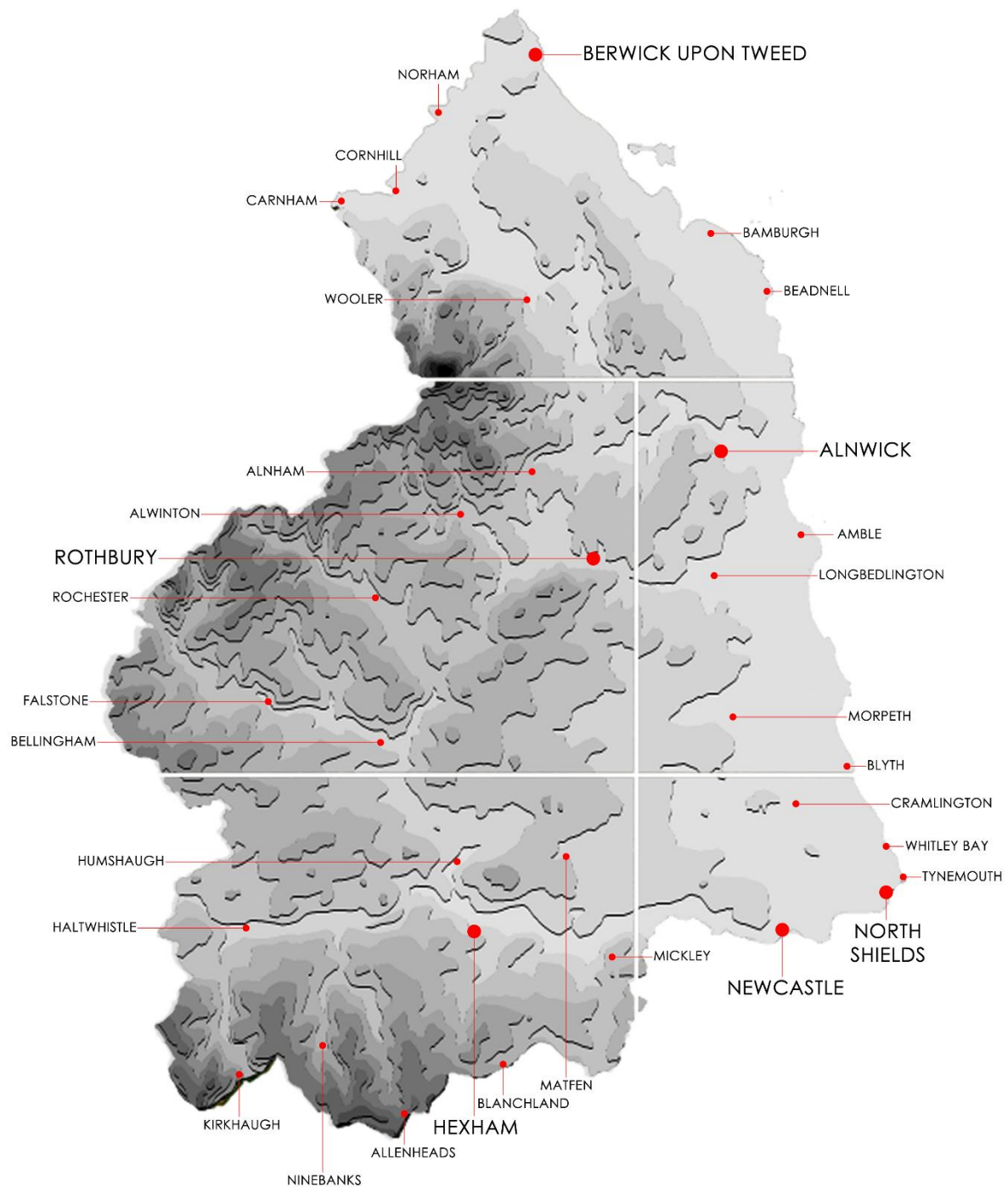


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REGIONS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORTHUMBERLAND WITH OS GRID OVERLAY

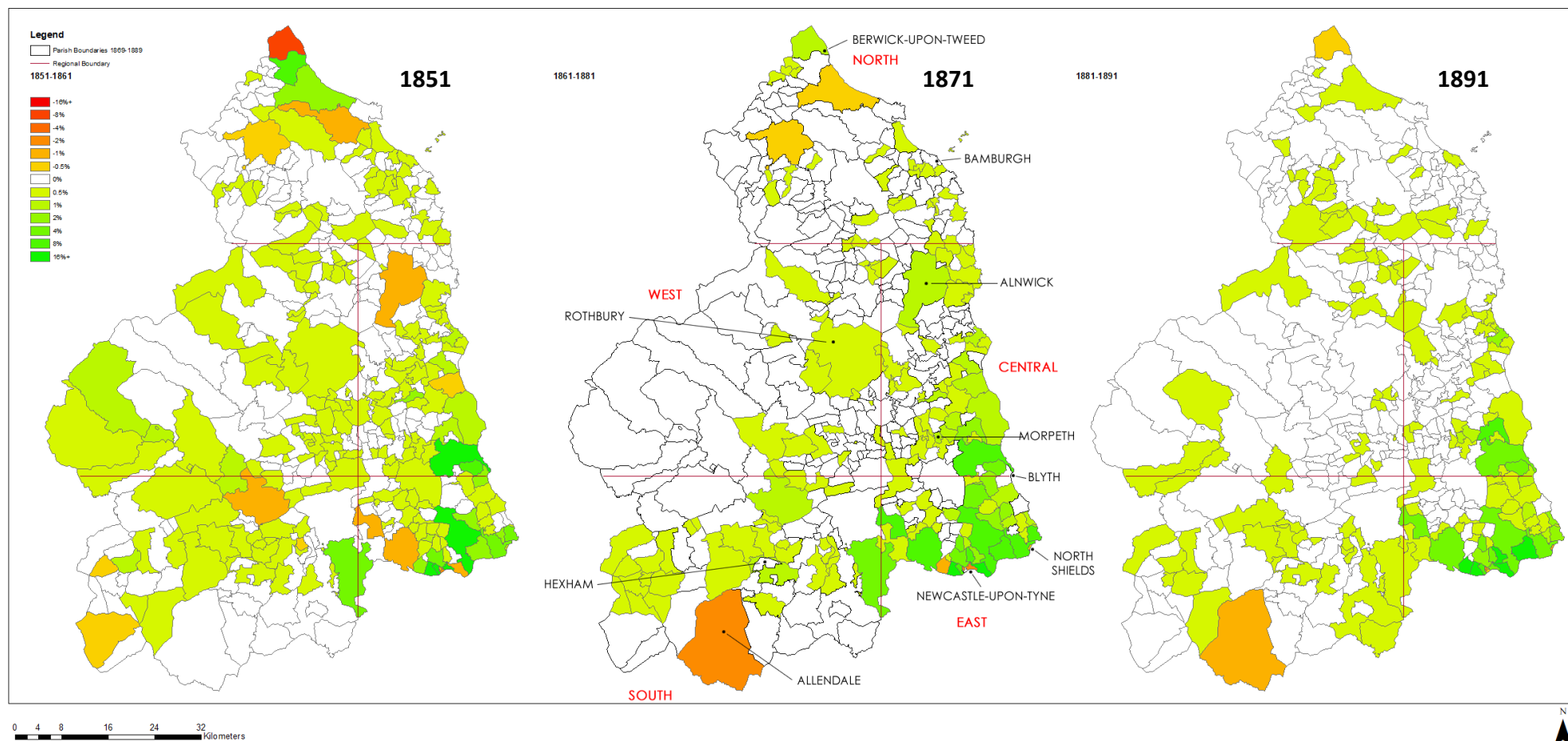


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TOPOGRAPHY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORTHUMBERLAND

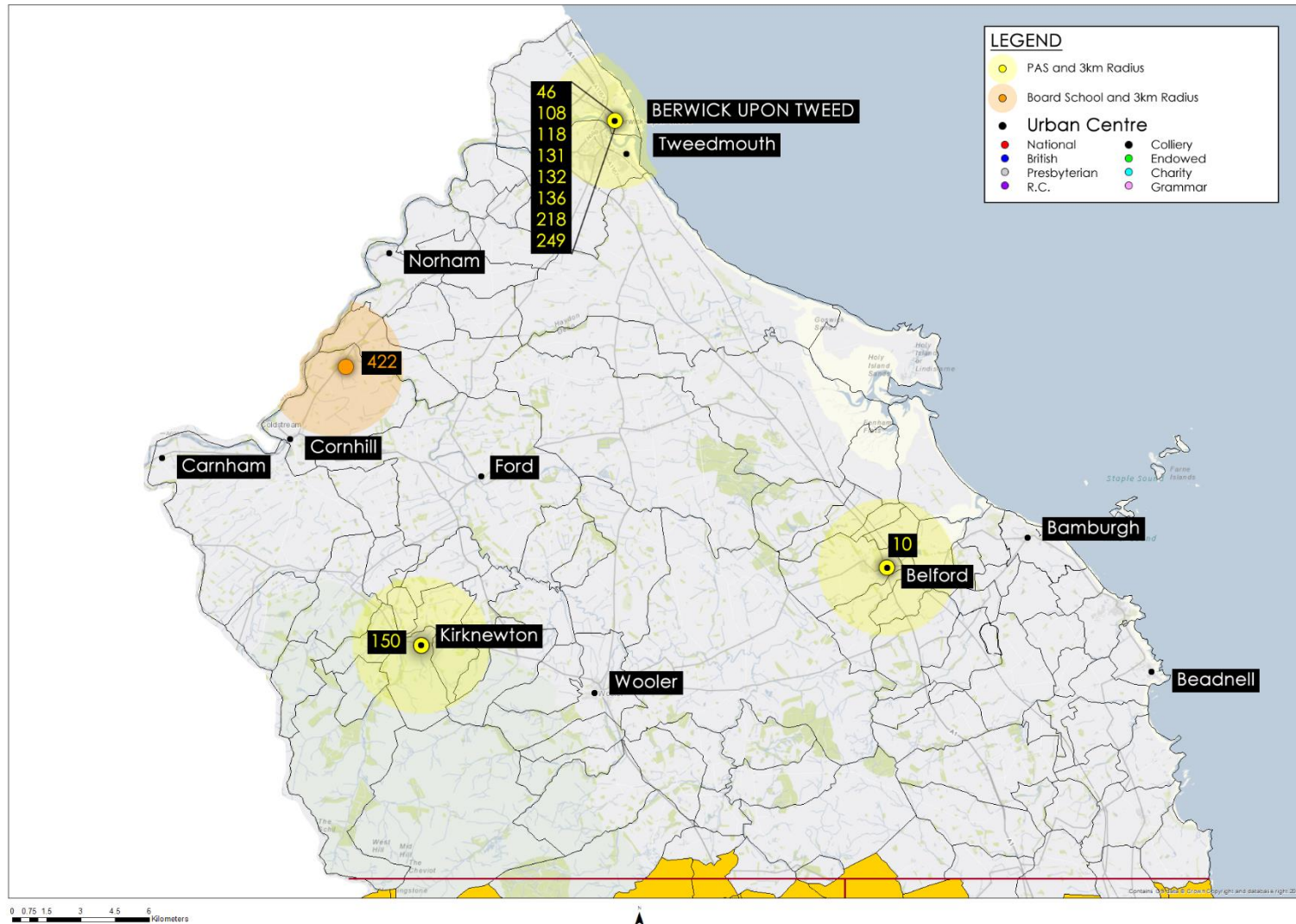
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8.1.3 NORTHUMBERLAND'S DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE 1851 – 1891



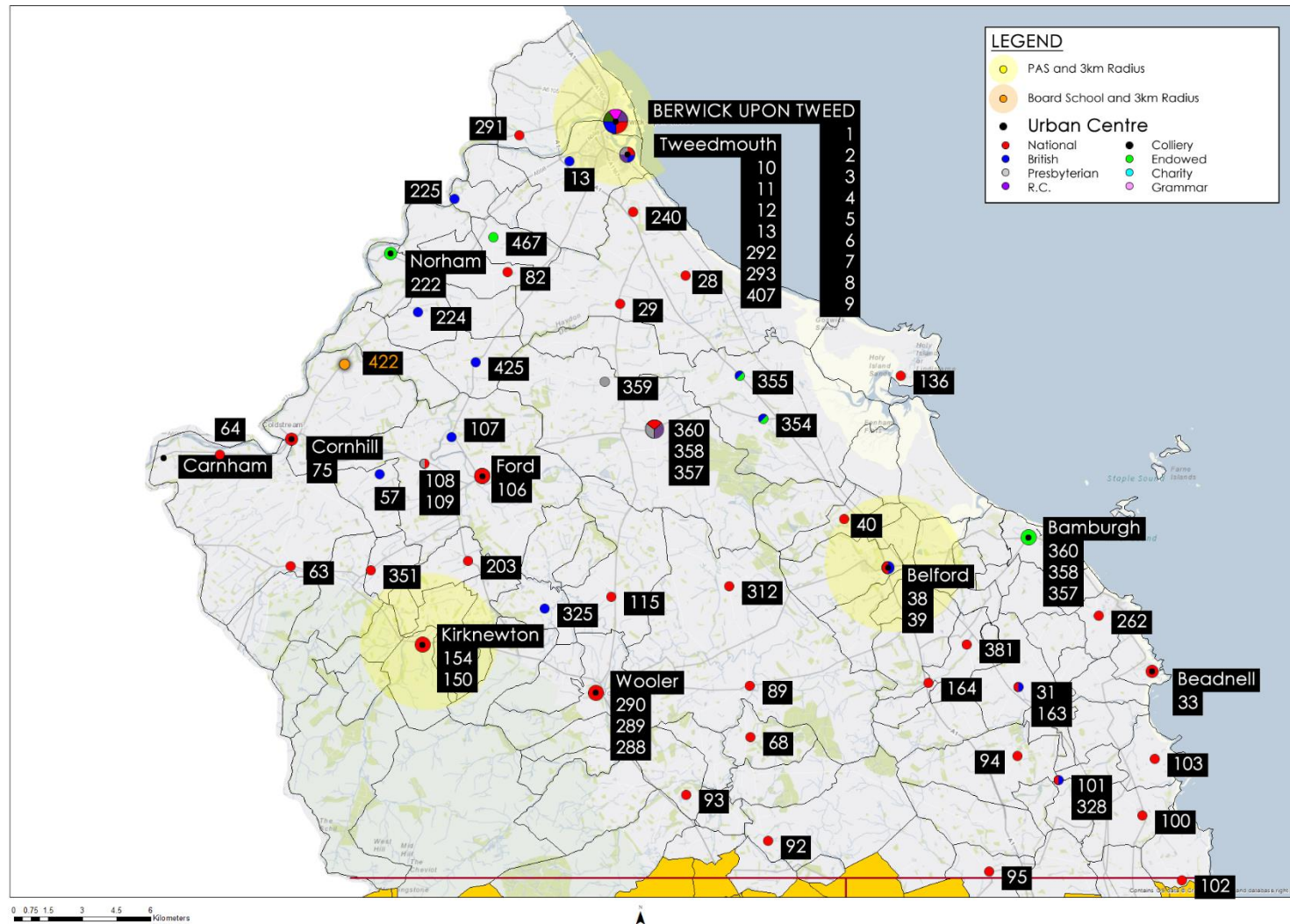
Source: Original Map. Edina Digimaps, 2020. © Crown Copyright, 2020. ICeM, 2020, 1851; 1861; 1881; 1891. Satchell (2018) CamPop Digital Boundaries 1851-1911.

8.1.4 NORTHERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS) AND BOARD SCHOOLS



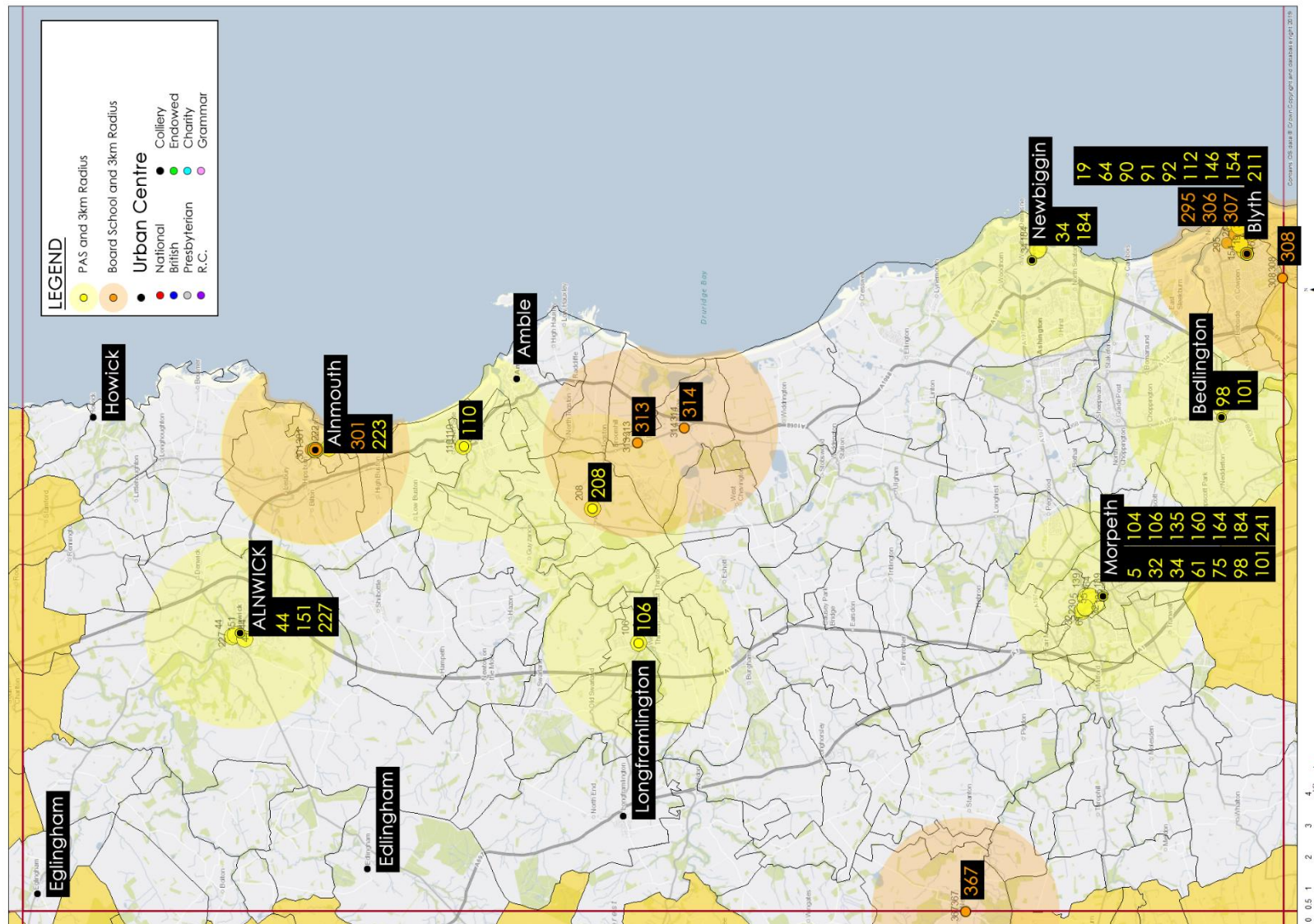
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Kelly's 1873; 1879;
1890.

8.1.5 NORTHERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): ALL SCHOOLS (EXCEPT PAS)

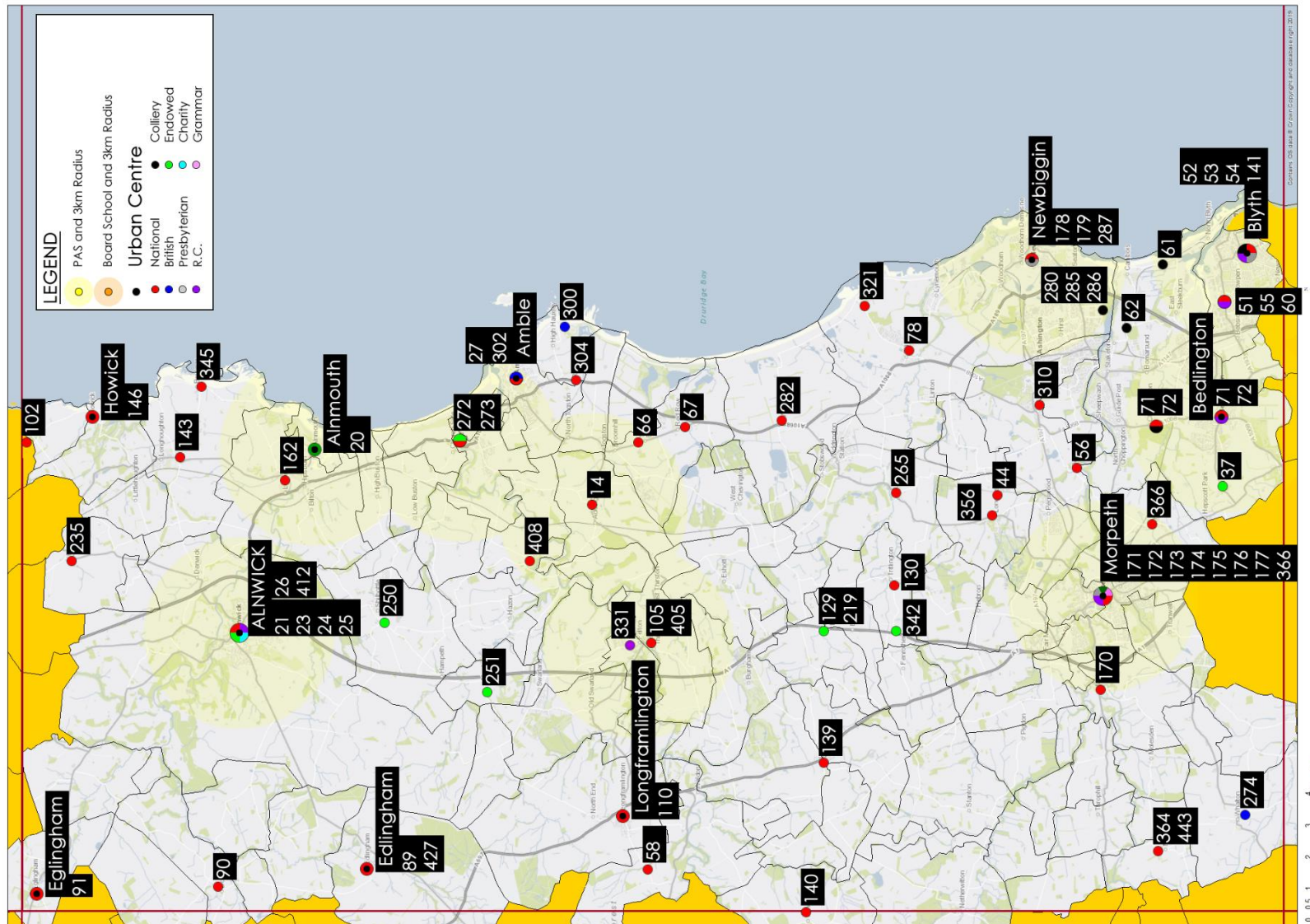


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 Digital Boundaries 1851-
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 1890.

8.1.6 CENTRAL REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS) AND BOARD SCHOOLS

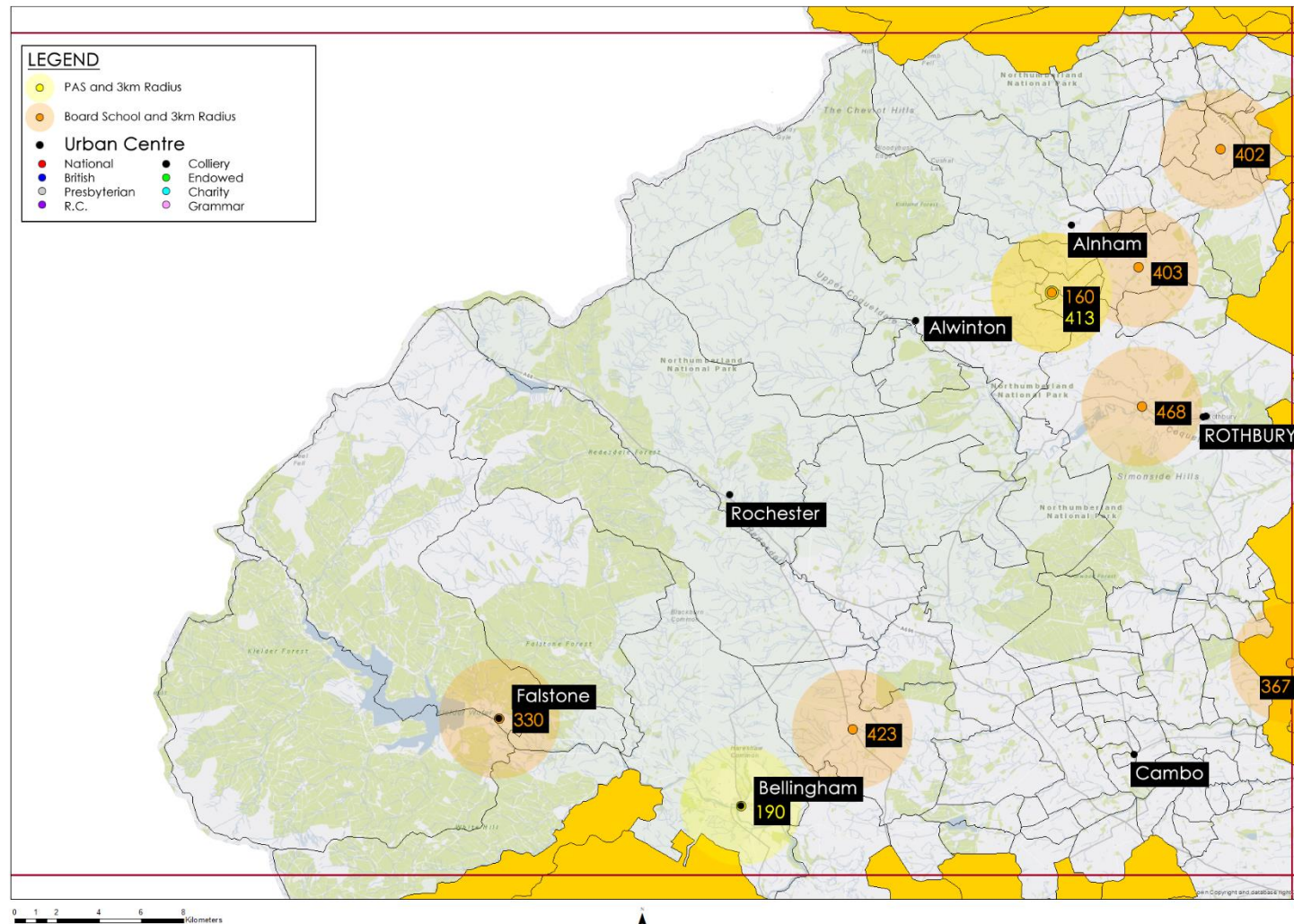


8.1.7 CENTRAL REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): ALL SCHOOLS (EXCEPT PAS)



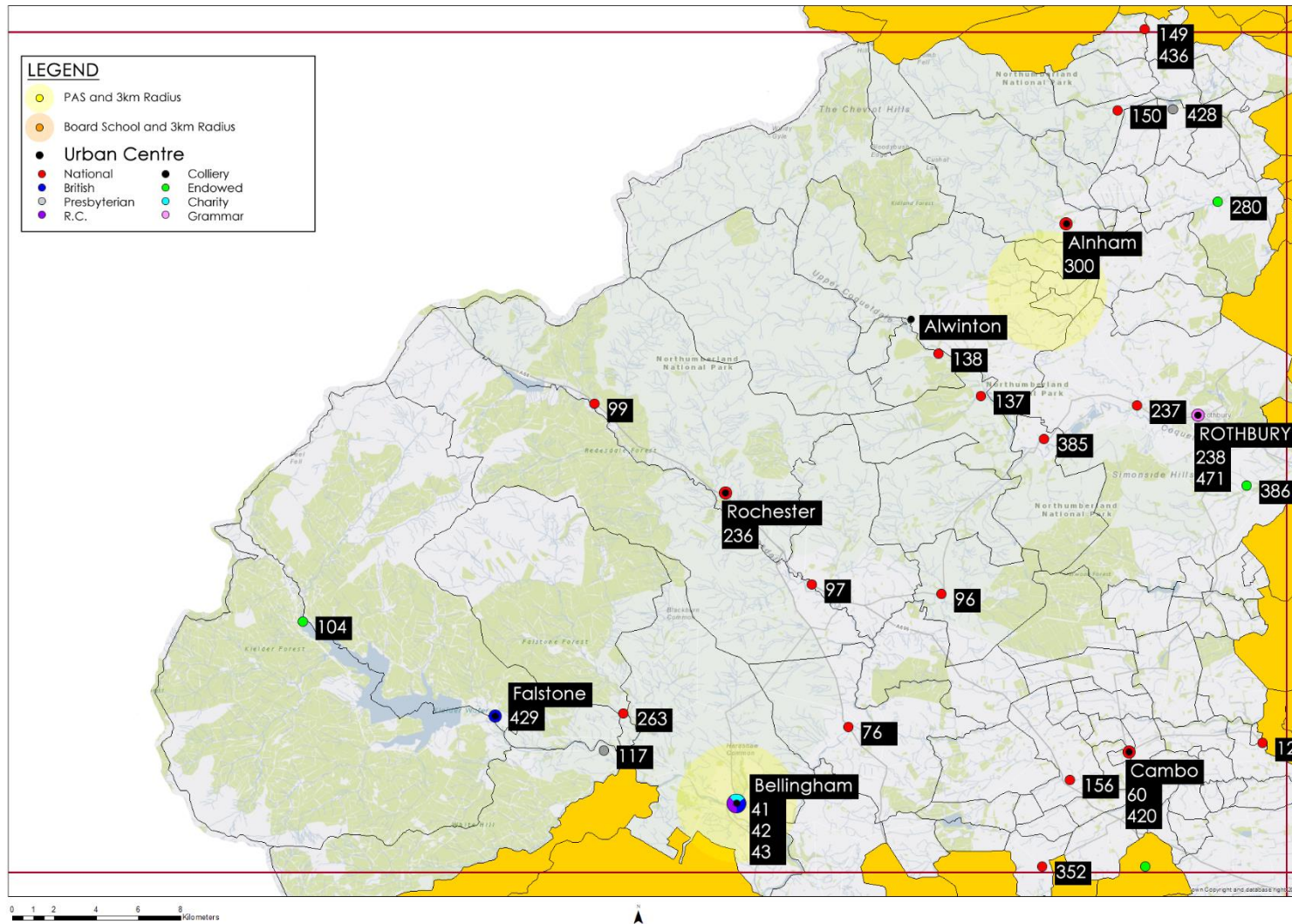
Source: Original Map. Edina Digimaps, 2020. © Ordnance Survey. Satchell (2018) CamPop Digital Boundaries 1851-1911. Kelly's 1873; 1879; 1890.

8.1.8 WESTERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS) AND BOARD SCHOOLS



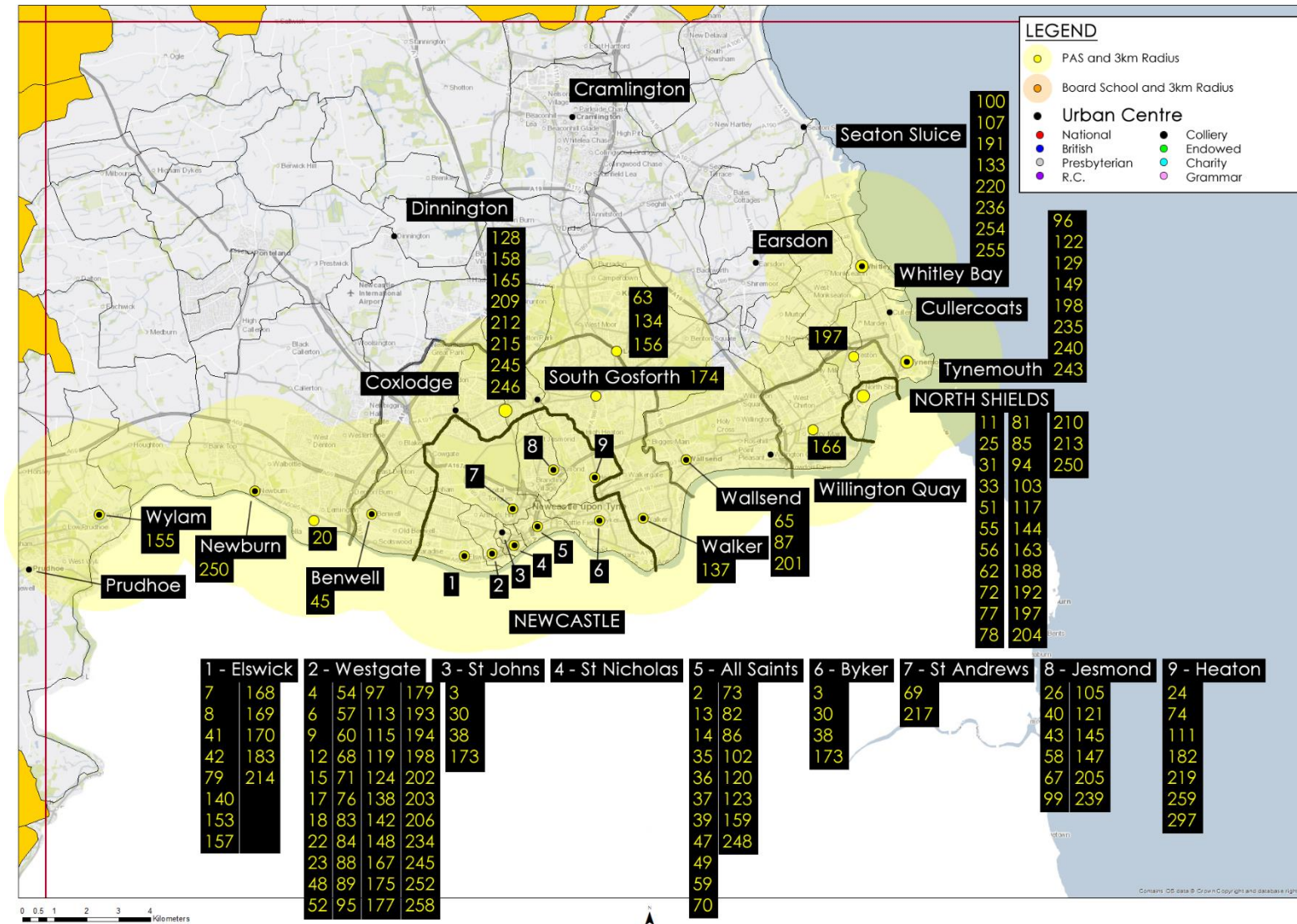
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1911. Kelly's 1873; 1879;
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8.1.9 WESTERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): ALL SCHOOLS (EXCEPT PAS)



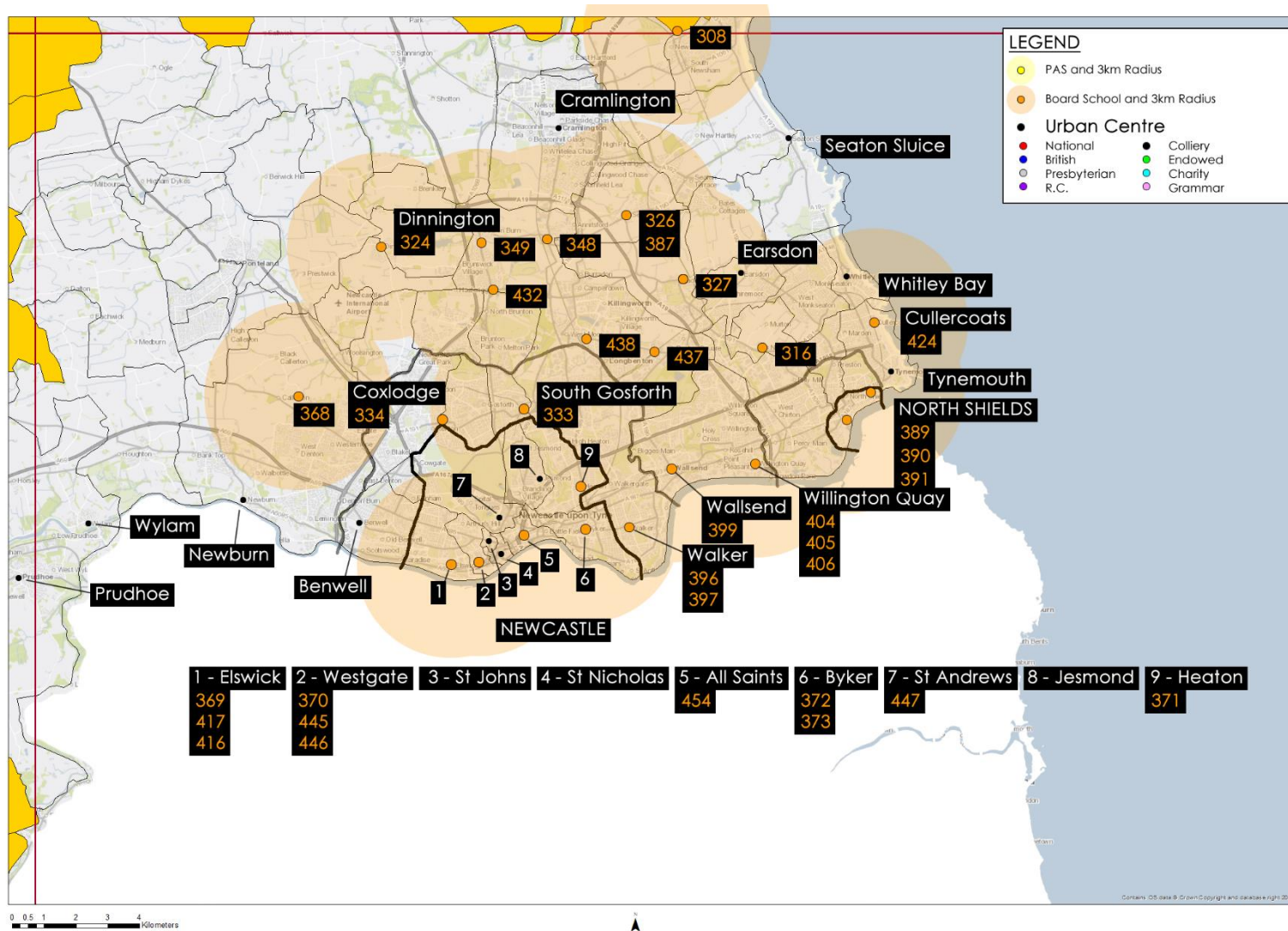
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1911. Kelly's 1873;
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8.1.10 EASTERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS)



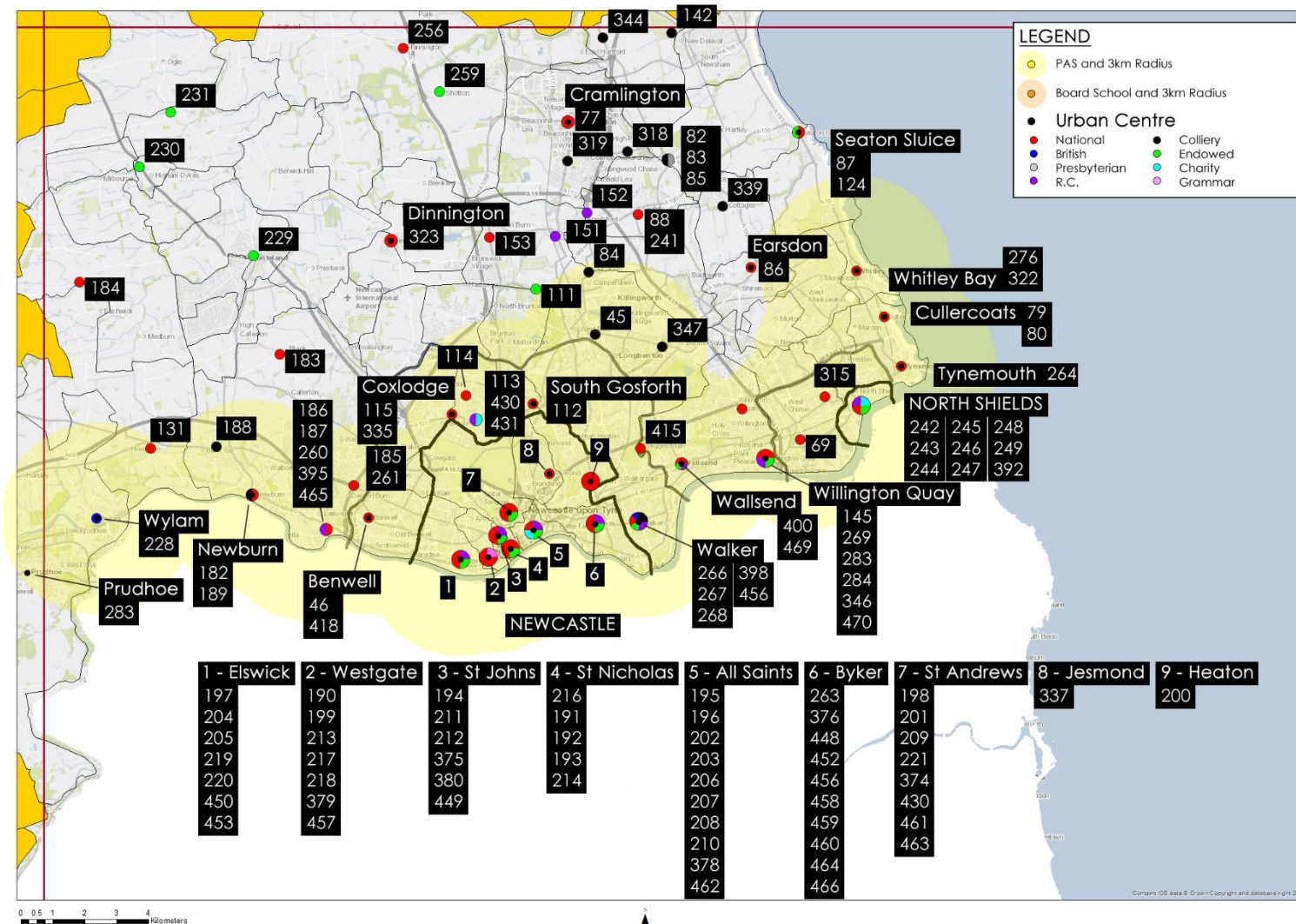
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8.1.11 EASTERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): BOARD SCHOOLS



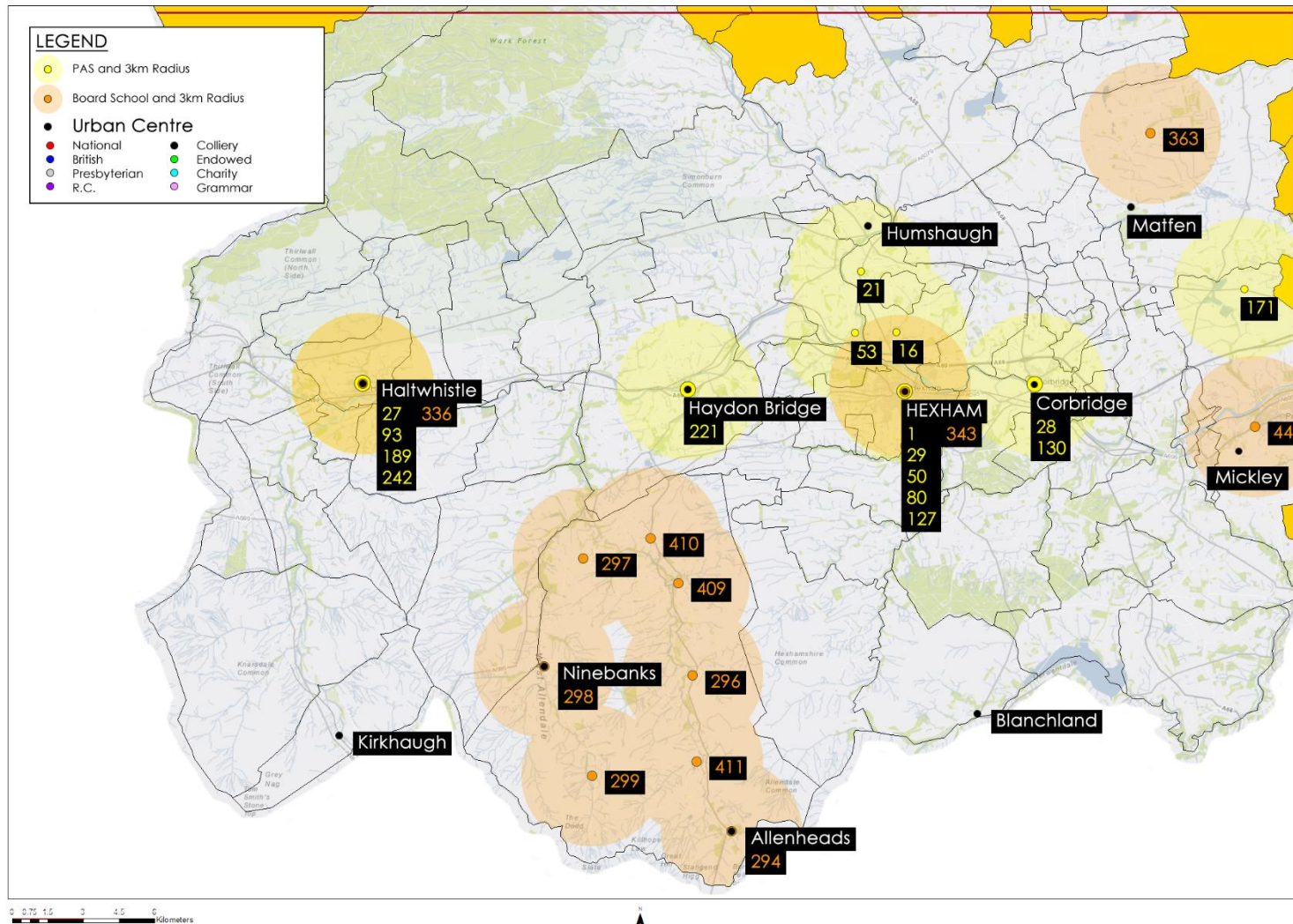
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CamPop Digital
Boundaries 1851-
1911. Kelly's 1873;
1879; 1890.

8.1.12 EASTERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): ALL SCHOOLS (EXCEPT PAS OR BOARD)



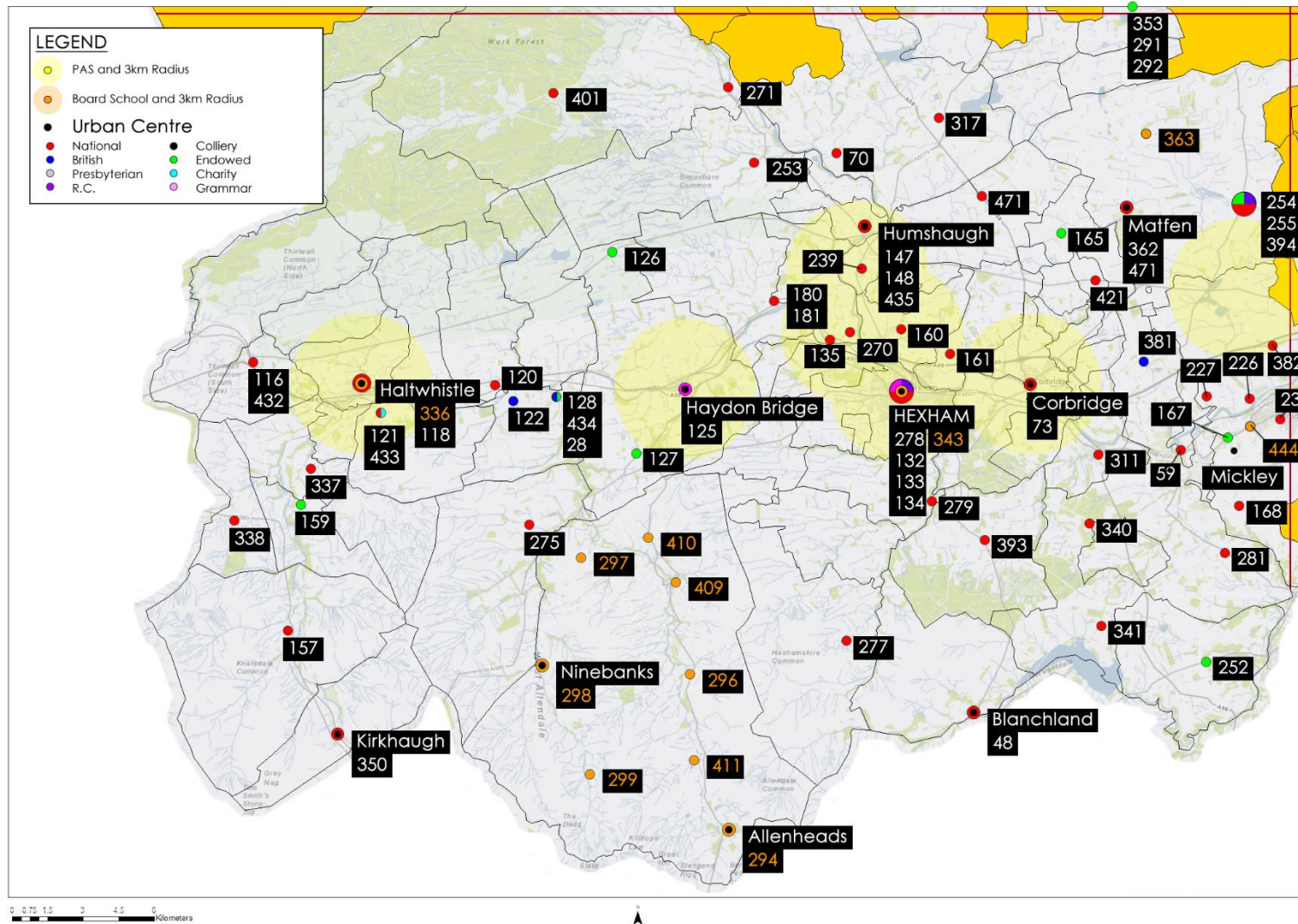
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1911. Kelly's 1873; 1879;
1890.

8.1.13 SOUTHERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS) AND BOARD SCHOOLS



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Digital Boundaries
1851-1911. Kelly's
1873; 1879; 1890.

8.1.14 SOUTHERN REGION (1871, 1881 AND 1891): ALL SCHOOLS (EXCEPT PAS)



Source: Original Map. Edina Digimaps, 2020. © Ordnance Survey. Satchell (2018) CamPop Digital Boundaries 1851-1911. Kelly's 1873; 1879; 1890.

8.2 APPENDIX TWO: NORTHUMBERLAND SCHOOLS DATA 1870 - 1890

8.2.1 NORTHERN REGION: PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS)

SCHOOL	PAS ID	DATES (1800s)	STREET/LOCATION	TOWN	COORDINATES	ADDITIONAL
Batters, Mrs M.	108	80, 90	Quay Walls	Berwick	499889 552607	Girls Only
Bromfield, Margaret Ann	10	70, 80, 90		Belford	410893 533785	Girls Boarding
Evans, Thomas Rees	118	80, 90	Ravensdowne	Berwick	400091 552878	
Laws, Rosa	46	70	Castlegate	Berwick	399562 653268	Girls Only
Miller, Miss	131	80, 90	Sandgate	Berwick	399888 652714	Girls Only
Mitchell, Miss Isabella	132	80, 90	Ravensdowne	Berwick	399584 653264	Girls Only
Parade Academy (William Paterson)	218	90	Parade	Berwick	400024 553106	
Pentland, Isabella	136	80	Ravensdowne	Berwick	400067 552814	Girls Only
Thompson, Miss Ellen	249	90	Ness Street	Berwick	400086 552675	Girls Only

8.2.2 NORTHERN REGION: ALL (NON-PAS) SCHOOLS

SCHOOL NAME	ID	DATES (1800S)	SCHOOL TYPE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
Berwick Corporation Academy	1	70, 80, 90	Corporation Academy	
Berwick Grammar	2	70, 80, 90	Grammar	The Grammar School, founded in 1632 was reconstituted in 1880, & has an endowment of £150 yearly: in 1865 the school was removed to a new building in Palace Street, erected at the cost of about £3,000: attached to the school is an exhibition of £8, tenable for two years, derived from the Johnstone Prize Fund: the control of the school generally is entrusted to a body of 12 trustees.
Berwick (Boys)	3	70, 80, 90	National	Erected to accommodate 200 children with an average attendance was 160.
Berwick (Girls)	4	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1856 for 200 children; average attendance was 80.
Berwick (Infants)	5	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 120, average attendance was 80.
St. Mary's	6	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1866 for 333 children; average attendance was 316.
Berwick (Mixed)	291	80, 90	National	Erected 1873 for 60 children; average attendance was 25.
Berwick	7	70, 80, 90	British & Foreign	Erected in 1859 and enlarged in 1880 for 380 children; average attendance was 380.
Berwick (Infant)	8	70, 80, 90	British & Foreign	Erected in 1859 for 130 children; average attendance was 98.
Berwick R.C	9	70, 80, 90	Catholic	Erected in 1882 for 150 children; average attendance was 130.
Berwick	10	70, 80	National	
Tweedmouth	11	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected in 1846 for 133 children; average attendance was 122
Tweedmouth (Boys)	12	70, 80, 90	National	Established in 1824 and enlarged in 1868 for 150 children; average attendance was 159.
Tweedmouth (Girls)	407	90	National	Built for 150 children; average attendance was 134
Spittal	292	80, 90	National	Erected in 1872 for 150 children; average attendance was 110.

Spittal	293	80, 90	British	Enlarged in 1878 for 180 children; average attendance was 166.
The Green (in Ord)	13	70, 80, 90	British School	Located on 'The Green' at Ord. for 120 children, average attendance was 70.
Ancroft	28	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1858 for 120 children; average attendance was 53. The children of Haggerston attend the school at Cheswick.
Ancroft	29	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1868 for 80 children; average attendance was 64.
Bamburgh Endowed	305	80, 90	Endowed	Erected and endowed in 1877 by Lord Crewe's trustees for 120 children; average attendance was 87.
Bamburgh Castle	30	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Founded in 1853 for 30 children; average attendance was 25. Girls school and library.
Newham Village	31	70, 70, 80	CoE	
Beadnell National	33	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1820 for 110 children; average attendance was 70. Trustees of Lord Crewe.
Belford National	38	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1870 for 150 children; average attendance was 68 boys and 54 girls and 30 infants. School Attendance Committee Meets at the Board Room of the Workhouse every fourth Thursday, immediately after the meeting of the Guardians. Henry S. Johnson of Alnwick is Clerk; Robert Guthrie of Belford is Attendance & Inquiry Officer. The workhouse at Belford was erected in 1834. Is a building of stone and will hold 50 inmates. Henry Arthur Treble is master; Charles Clark Burman (L.R.C.P.Edin) is a medical officer; Mary Ann Tyzack is matron.
Belford British	39	70, 80, 90	British	Erected 1868 for 100 children; average attendance was 90.
Middleton Village	40	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected 1868 by John T. Leather for 96 children; average attendance was 48.
Branxton	57	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1864 for 100 children; average attendance was 60; the school is the property of and entirely supported by Watson Askew.
Mindrum	63	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1857 for 88; average attendance is 50. The children of Carham attend the school at Wark. The children of Downham attend the school at Mindrum. The Children of Learmouth East and West attend the school at Cornhill. The children of Money Laws attend the school at Branxton. The children at Sunilaws attend the school

				at Wark. The Children of Tithehill attend the school at Cornhill. The children of Presson attend the school at Wark. The children of Hagg attend the school at Mindrum. The children of Howburn attend the school at Wark.
Wark	64	70, 80, 90	National	For 100 children; average attendance was 70.
Chatton	65	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1857 for 250 children; average attendance was 60.
Chatton	312	80, 90	National	Erected 1863 for 60 children; average attendance was 30.
Chillingham	68	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1835 for 120 children; average attendance was 57. The Earl of Tankerville pays £20 pa for the education of 10 poor children.
Cornhill	75	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1837 and enlarged in 1868 for 100 children; average attendance was 75.
Cornhill	422	90	Board	Erected 1877 for 90 children; average attendance was 52. A School Board of 5 members for the townships of Cornhill and Twizell was formed on 8 February 1876; A.L. Miller of 11 Silver Street, Berwick Upon Tweed is Clerk; Thomas Rules of Norham is Attendance Officer.
Ewart Village	325	80	CoE	Property and supported by Sir Horace St Paul.
Doddington	81	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1851 and enlarged in 1883 for 180 children; average attendance was 120; the school is the property of and is supported by Sir Horace St. Paul bart.
Shoreswood	82	70, 80, 90	National	A building of stone erected in 1836 at the cost of £550; the schoolroom was much improved in 1872 and will hold 90 children; average attendance was 41. Built by the late Rev. Dr. Gill, the Colliery Co. and the National Society.
Duddo	425	90	Proprietary	Erected for 80 children; average attendance was 56. Children of Felkington attend Duddo.
Ellingham Village	94	70, 80, 90	CoE	Built in 1856 for 110 children; average attendance was 76.
South Charlton Village	95	70, 80, 90	CoE	Average attendance is 14 boys and 21 girls.
Embleton	100	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1712 and endowed in that year with endowed with 8 1/2 acres of land by Rev. Vincent Edwards (M.A.). It will hold 100 children; average attendance was 86.

Brunton	101	70, 80	CoE	Placed at Burnhouses, halfway between Brunton and Doxford.
Dunstan	102	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected for 80 children; average attendance was 58.
Fallodon	328	80, 90	CoE	Erected for 80 children; average attendance was 30.
Newton-by-the-Sea	103	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 50 children; average attendance was 48.
Ford	106	70, 80, 90	National	For 180 children; average attendance is 150; 30 of the children are paid for by the Marchioness of Waterford; running around the schoolroom is a deep arcaded frieze painted by Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, with a series of scriptural subjects with corn & flowers on the spandrels & texts as labels; at each end of the room is a subject covering the whole space. Lending library in Felton.
Etal Infants	107	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected 50 children; average attendance was 22; supported in part by James Laing Esq.
Crookham	108	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected 1856 for 120 children; average attendance was 105.
Crookham	109	70, 80	National	(Attendance of 50). Endowed by Sir Henry Askew, Knt.
Holy Island	136	70, 80, 90	National	Erected 1869 for 135 children; average attendance was 80.
Horton	344	80	National	Placed at St. Mary's Chapel
Bebside and Choppington Coal Co.	141	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected 1860 for 450 children; average attendance was 386.
New Delaval	142	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected 1864 and since enlarged for 470 children; average attendance was 370.
Roddam	149	70, 80	National	Erected by the late William Roddam Esq.
Roddam	436	90	National	Formerly Roddam School. Erected in 1850 by the late William Roddam Esq. for 578 children; average attendance is 46.
Kirknewton	154	70, 80, 90	CoE	Built in 1780 for 50 children; average attendance was 42.
Howtel	351	80, 90	National	Erected in 1875 for 60 children; average attendance was 45.
Milfield	155	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1864 for 120 children; average attendance was 80.
Fenwick School	354	80, 90	Under Gov. Inspection	Erected in 1876, for 60 children; average attendance was 24.
Beal School	355	80, 90	Under Gov. Inspection	Erected in 1872, for 80 children; average attendance was 31.

Lowick	357	80, 90	National	Built in 1873 for 90 children; average attendance was 58.
Lowick	358	80, 90	Presbyterian (Free Church Of Scotland)	Erected in 1874 for 120 children: average attendance as 70.
Bowsden	359	80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected in 1878 for 80 children; average attendance was 45.
Lowick	360	70, 80	R.C.	
Lucker	361	80, 90	National	Erected in 1871 by Duke of Northumberland. For 70 children; average attendance was 31
Newham	163	70, 80, 90	British	Built in 1864, for 50 children; average attendance was 34.
Warenford	164	70, 80, 90	National	Built in 1837 for 60 children; average attendance was 45.
Newton Hall	381	80, 90	National	Erected in 1874 at the sole expense of the late Col. J. Joicey J.P. for 150 children; average attendance was 80.
Norham School	222	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Built for 180 children; average attendance is 139; with an endowment of about £30 pa and house and garden for the master; the children of freeholders are taught free; the remainder pay a small sum weekly.
Norham Elementary	223	70, 80	girls	80 scholars (girls) and reading room.
Grindon	224	70, 80	British	
Horncliffe	225	70, 80, 90	British	Erected in 1833 and enlarged in 1878 for 100 children; average attendance was 73
Thornton School	467	90	Endowed	Erected in 1887 for 80 children; average attendance was 57 and supported in part as stated above. Thornton is just over 4 miles south-west from Berwick and 4 miles east from Norham. It is a hamlet in Norham Parish, the property of the trustees of the Bambrough estate, from whom the school here derives its principal support.
Scremerston	240	70, 80, 90	National	Erected with master's residence, in 1843, on the south side of the church for 150 children; average attendance is 131; the school receives an annual grant of £10 from the Lords of the Admiralty
North Sunderland	262	70, 80, 90	National	in 1830 for 250 children; average attendance was 80 boys, 70 girls and 69 infants.

Wooler	288	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1837 and enlarged in 1859 and again in 1889 for 200 children; average attendance was 80 boys, 70 girls.
Wooler Infants	289	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1859 and enlarged in 1885 for 120 children. I've placed it on the site of the above school at Wooler as no alternative could be found.
Wooler	290	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected in 1855 for 150 children; average attendance was 100.

8.2.3 CENTRAL REGION: PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS)

SCHOOL NAME	PAS ID	Dates (1800s)	STREET/LOCATION	TOWN	COORDINATES	ADDITIONAL
Aitken, Anne	106	80	Felton R.S.O	Morpeth	418475 500467	
Armstrong, Sarah	5	70, 80, 90	Oldgate	Morpeth	419730 585966	Girls Boarding
Ayre, Mary E.	164	90	1 Howard Terrace	Morpeth	419888 586280	Boarding
Burns, William	110	80, 90	Warkworth	Acklington	424721 506035	
Clifton, Eliza Emily	112	80	Wellington House, Waterloo	Blyth	431150 581411	Girls Only
Dryden, Jane	19	70, 80, 90	Wellington Street, Waterloo	Blyth	431691 581413	Girls Only
Duggan, Mrs Sarah Jane	184	90	West Croft House, Newbiggin, Morpeth	Morpeth	430953 587812	Girls Boarding
Henderson, James	32	70, 80	Newgate Street	Morpeth	419780 586026	Boys Boarding
Heslop, Isabella	34	70	Springfield Terrace, Newbiggin	Morpeth	430939 587810	Girls Only
Hyslop, John	127	80	Hencoates	Hexham	393230 563912	
Kinnear, Mrs M.A.	208	90	Acklington	Acklington	422749 501931	Girls Only
Knowles, Mrs M.	211	90	Waterloo Road	Blyth	431126 581411	Girls Only
Langridge, Jesse	44	70, 80, 90	Bondgate Street	Alnwick	418688 513355	Girls, Boarding
Morton. J.	61	70	Newgate Street	Morpeth	419633 586253	Girls Only
Paton, M.B.	135	80	Newgate Street	Morpeth	419590 586299	Girls Only
Patterson, M.	64	70	2 Freehold Street	Blyth	431702 581548	
Preparatory School (Rev. David Moore)	223	90	Sea Bank	Alnmouth	424654 510296	
Robson, Ellen	75	70	Montagu House, Newbiggin	Morpeth	430984 587764	Girls Only
Robson, William	143	80	Melfield	Alnwick		

Scott, Mrs Eleanor	238	90	65 Bondgate	Alnwick	418754 513260	Girls Only
Smith, Miss Jane	241	90	100 Newgate Street	Morpeth	419603 586308	Girls Only
Spence, W.	146	80	Waterloo Road, Waterloo	Blyth	431206 581438	Boys Only
Sutton, William	150	80	Kirk Newton	Alnwick	391450 630181	
Temple, Edward	90	70, 80	Crofton	Blyth	431474 581025	Boys Only
Temple, Thomas	91	70	Ridley Street	Blyth	431873 581603	Boys Only
Thompson, Miss Elizabeth	151	80, 90	Percy Terrace	Alnwick	418612 512955	Girls Only
Trotter, G,	92	70	Grey Street, Waterloo	Blyth	431292 581404	
Trotter, Grizell	154	80	Waterloo	Blyth	430915 581252	
Whittle, George	98	70, 80, 90	Bedlington	Morpeth	426023 581907	
Wilson, M.	101	70	Bedlington	Morpeth	425949 581985	
Wright, E.	104	70	27 Howard Terrace	Morpeth	419964 586284	Girls Only
Young, George	160	80	Netherton North Side, Rothbury	Morpeth	498758 507676	

8.2.4 CENTRAL REGION: SCHOOLS (NON-PAS)

SCHOOL NAME	ID	DATES (1800s)	SCHOOL TYPE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
St John	14	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected with residence for the master in 1852 for 70 children; average attendance was 60.
Guyzance	408	90	CoE	For 40 children; average attendance was 25.
Alnmouth	301	80, 90	Board	Alnmouth School Board was established on 23 November 1874. G.E. Watson of Alnwick, is clerk to the Board. Alnmouth Board school was built in 1876 for 112 children; average attendance was 70. The school receives £20 pa for the gratuitous education of 20 poor children connected with the Wesleyan Chapel.
Wesleyan School	20	70, 80	Methodist	20 poor children are taught gratuitous education
Alnwick Corporation Schools	21	70, 80, 90	Corporation	Erected in 1853, at the cost of the borough, on a site given by Algernon, 4th Duke of Northumberland, endowed with £500 pa from the Corporation funds; the schools are free to the children of freemen & are open to others on payment of fees. Supported by freemen. Free to children of freemen
Duke of Northumberland's (1810)	22	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Founded on 25 October 1810 by Hugh, 2nd Duke of Northumberland, for the education of 100 boys free & opened 12 August 1811.
Duchess of Northumberland	23	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Built for the clothing and education of 50 girls; average attendance was 60.
Alnwick National	24	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1849 at a cost of £1,408 and enlarged in 1854 for 860 children; average attendance was 593.
Ragged (or Industrial)	25	70, 80, 90	Charity	Founded in 1848 and now held in the buildings of the old infant's school erected in 1838 for 200 children; average attendance was 70.
St. John's Catholic School	26	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected for 160 children' average attendance was 85.
Alnwick Training School for Girls	412	90	Endowed	

St. Cuthbert's CoE	302	80, 90	Church	Erected in 1872 and enlarged in 1879 for 230 children. Average attendance was 200.
Hauxley British	303	80, 90	British	Erected with residence for the mistress in 1863 for 80 children, average attendance was 48.
Radcliffe CoE	304	80, 90	CoE	
British	27	70, 80, 90	British	
Bedlington National	34	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 300 children; average attendance was 250.
Bedlington Infants	414	90	Infants	Erected for 204 children; average attendance was 160.
Bedlington Colliery	35	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected for 1856 for 388 children; average attendance was 165 boys and 164 girls.
Bedlington R.C.	36	70, 80, 90	Catholic	Erected in 1869 for 250 children; average attendance was 110 mixed and 90 infants.
Netherton School	37	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1846 for 150 children; average attendance was 80 and endowed by the Earl of Carlisle with £25 yearly and by Canon Whitley with £15 yearly
Presbyterian School at Blyth	50	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	
Board School at Blyth (boys)	306	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1870 for 170 children; average attendance was 115. A School Board of 7 members was formed on 2 February 1874 for the United District of Cowpen and South Blyth; Joseph Richardson Davidson Lynn of Waterloo Road Blyth is Clerk to the Board.
Board School at Blyth (infants)	307	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1878 for 130 children; average attendance was 100.
CoE at Cowpen	51	70	CoE	
Cowpen Quay (Mixed)	295	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1876 at the cost of £4,710 for 500 children; average attendance was 560.
Newsham: Isabella School	308	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1876 at the cost of £3,616 for 300 children; average attendance was 200 boys and girls and 80 infants.
National (Mixed)	52	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1858 for 250 children; average attendance was 132 boys, 127 girls and 51 infants.
Cowpen Colliery	53	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1866 and enlarged in 1889 for 230 children; average attendance was 230.

Our Lady and St. Wilfrid's	54	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1875 for 180 children; average attendance was 150.
St. Cuthberts	55	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1843 for 140 children average attendance was 65.
National School	56	70, 80	National	4 schools mixed (page 578)
National School (Ashington Colliery)	310	80, 90	National	Erected in 1873 for 1000 children; average attendance was 375 boys, 330 girls and 278 infants.
National School	58	70, 80, 90	National	The children of High Brinkburn attend the Long Framlington School.
Cambois Colliery School	61	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1869 and enlarged in 1872 for 540 children; average attendance was 433.
West Sleekburn Colliery School	62	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1866 and since enlarged for 330 children; average attendance was 250.
CoE School	66	70	CoE	
Board North School	313	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1874 at the cost of £2,715 for 451 children; average attendance was 150 boys, 99 girls and 120 infants. A School Board consisting of 7 members was formed 17 March 1874 for the united district of East and West Chevington, Hadston and Bullock's Hall. W.Webb of Newgate Street Morpeth is clerk to the Board; James Guy of Broomhill is attendance officer.
National School at Red Row	67	70	National	
Board South School at Red Row	314	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1848 for 146 children; average attendance was 100.
Choppington Colliery	71	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1870 for 165 children; average attendance was 150.
St. Paul's CoE	72	70, 80, 90	CoE	
Cresswell Village	321	80	CoE	
Ellington Village	78	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1838 for 100 children; average attendance was 60. Aided by A.J. Baker-Cresswell.
St. John's CoE	89	70, 80	CoE	
Edlingham National	427	90	National	Erected for 56 children; average attendance was 25.
Bolton National	90	70, 80, 90	National	Erected by Bryan Burrell in 1853 for 70 children; average attendance was 48.
St. Maurice's CoE	91	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1868 for 124 children; average attendance was 70.
Old Bewick National	92	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1860 for 80 children; average attendance was 30.

Brunton Presbyterian	428	90	Presbyterian	Erected for 54 children; average attendance was 45
West Lilburn National	93	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1861 by E.J. Collingwood Esq. for 82 children; average attendance was 45.
St. Michael's Parochial	105	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Amalgamated with the Presbyterian School, erected in 1830 for 200 children; average attendance was 87.
Felton R.C.	331	80, 90	R.C.,	Erected in 1872 for 60 children; average attendance is 54.
Long Framlington Parochial	110	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Erected for 120 children; average attendance was 90. Endowed with £500 for the education of 20 children for free.
Causey Park Endowed	129	70, 80	Endowed	Endowed School for Girls found at Causey Park Bridge.
Tritlington Endowed	130	70	Endowed	
Tritlington Endowed	342	80, 90	Endowed	Erected in 1872 for 70 children; average attendance was 45.
Long Horsley Parochial	139	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Erected in 1849 for 112 children; average attendance was 30.
Wingates Village School	140	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1840 for 50 children; average attendance was 30.
National School at Long Houghton	143	70, 80, 90	National	
Boulmer and Seaton House Infants School	354	80, 90	CoE	School is also used for divine service on Sundays, afternoons and evenings alternately by the Vicar of Long Houghton.
Howick CoE	146	70, 80, 90	CoE	Built for 60 children; average attendance is 41.
Lesbury Village	162	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1857 by Algernon 4th Duke of Northumberland for 232 children; average attendance was 120.
Longhirst CoE	356	80	CoE	Erected in 1870 by Rev. Edward Lawson M.A. (who also built the church in 1875).
Longhirst National	441	90	National	A building of stone erected in 1870 by the late Rev. Edward Lawson (M.A) for 150 children; average attendance was 145.
Meldon Village	364	80	CoE	Supported by Isaac Cookson Esq.
Meldon National	443	90	National	Erected in 1872 for 60 children; average attendance was 40. Supported chiefly by J.Cookson Esq and the rector.
Parochial School at Mitford	170	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1873 for 100 children; average attendance was 42 boys and 26 girls.

St. Robert's R.C.	171	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1850 for 80 children; average attendance was 70. School Attendance Committee: Meets before the first meeting of the Guardians in each month at 10:30. George Brumell of Bridge Street Morpeth is Clerk, John Dowson of Newgate Street of Morpeth and George S. Waterson of Bedlington are Attendance and Inquiry Officers.
Cottingwood Road	172	70	Presbyterian	
St. George's Boys	173	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected in 1860 for 225 children; average attendance was 170.
Morpeth Grammar School (King Edward V.I.)	174	70, 80, 90	Grammar	The Grammar School, formerly held in an old chapel situated in Chantry place was founded by King Edward VI in 1552 but at the beginning of the 18th century was made the subject of a Chancery suit, which after lasting 150 years was terminated in 1856 and the school was re-opened 2 February 1857. In 1858 new school buildings were erected from designs by Mr Benjamin Ferrey, architect, on a delightful and healthy site purchased from the Earl of Carlisle and the Corporation of Morpeth and overlooking the town and in 1889 a new schoolroom was built at the cost of £800: adjoining the school is a playground of nearly 4 acres. The governors supply a sum of £100 pa in maintaining scholarships tenable at the school by boys residing in the Parliamentary borough of Morpeth: they also apply a sum of £90 pa in maintaining three Exhibitions each of the value of £30 pa tenable at one of the Universities of the United Kingdom, or the Newcastle-on-Tyne College of Physical Science, or any place of higher education appointed by the governors and to be competed for by boys who are being and have for not less than two years been educated at the school. Charles (Howard) 3rd Earl of Carlisle (d. 1 May 1738) and William, 4th Baron Widdrington (d. 1743) were both educated here. The school is managed by a body of 14 governors, and there were 103 boys in 1889.
Morpeth Borough Girls	175	70, 80, 90	Borough	Erected in 1837 for 400 children; average attendance was 156
Morpeth Borough Infants	176	70, 80, 90	Borough	Erected in 1837 for 200 children; average attendance was 131

St. James Boy's	177	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1844 for 330 children; average attendance was 180.
Hepscott Village	366	80	CoE	
Board School at Netherwitton with Lending Library	367	80, 90	Board School	Board School built with residence for the master, in 1875 for 89 children; average attendance is 60. A School Board of 7 members was formed 30 October 1875 for the united district of Netherwitton, Ewesley, Healy and Comb Hill, Nunnykirk, Stanton and Witton Shields. Joseph Lawton Jnr. is Clerk to the Board; Joseph Lawton of Netherwitton is attendance officer.
National School at Newbiggin and Woodhorn (mixed and infants)	178	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1869 for 200 children; average attendance was 40 boys, 35 girls and 37 infants. There is a village library established by Miss Fraser containing 1,000 volumes.
Newbiggin Presbyterian	179	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected for 1870, for 60 children; average attendance was 45.
Rennington National	235	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 150 children; average attendance was 90.
St. Jame's Endowed Parochial	250	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected for 140 children; average attendance is 110. Supported by Duke of Northumberland and the Trustees of the late Hugh Taylor, Esq. Attendance Officer is Henry Taylor.
Newton-on-the-Moor Village	251	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected for 100 children; average attendance is 60. Endowed with £11 pa with other contributions
Ulgham Parochial	265	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Erected with master's residence in 1830 for 70 children; average attendance was 40.
Warkworth National	272	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1820 for 170 children; average attendance was 85.
Warkworth Borough	273	70, 80, 90	Borough	Erected in 1728 for 90 children; average attendance was 40.
Whalton British	274	70, 80, 90	British	Erected in 1831 for 100 children; average attendance was 61 and endowed with £2 pa derived from glebe land.
Widdrington	282	70, 80, 90	National	Erected, with residence for the master in 1862 for 40 children; average attendance was 35.
North Seaton and Cowpen Coal Co. Schools	285	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1859 for 350 children; average attendance was 320.
Infants School	286	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1863 for 150 children; average attendance was 120.

Woodhorn and Newbiggin Village	287	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1869 for 225 children; average attendance was 56 boys, 44 girls and 73 infants. Seems to be counted twice, Newbiggin-by-the-sea also has an entry).
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8.2.5 WESTERN REGION: PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS)

SCHOOL	PAS ID	DATES (1800s)	STREET/LOCATION	TOWN	COORDINATES	ADDITIONAL
Ferguson, Joseph Ridsdale	190	90	Bellingham, R.S.O	Bellingham	383860 583318	

8.2.6 WESTERN REGION: ALL (NON-PAS) SCHOOLS

SCHOOL NAME	ID	DATES (1800s)	SCHOOL TYPE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
Alnham	300	80, 90	National	Erected with Masters house in 1870 for 60 children, average attendance is 29.
Netherton (Mixed)	413	90	Board	Erected in 1885 at the cost of £300 for 60 children; average attendance was 45. Children in these Townships attend the Board school at Netherton. Alwinton, Biddlestone, Burradon (or Burrowdon). Children of Farnham attend the Holystone Parish School. A School Board of 7 members was formed 31 March 1881 for the united district of Netherton North Side, Netherton South Side, Biddlestone and Burrowden. J.R. Arkle is Clerk to the Board, lives in Carrick.
Reeds	41	70, 80, 90	Charity	Erected with Master's residence about 1850 for 126 children; average attendance is 40 and in part supported by the interest on two allotments now producing £25 pa. School Attendance Committee meet at the workhouse on alternate fortnights; R. Riddle of Con Heath is Clerk; Thomas Aynsley and Thomas Hedley of Bellingham are Attendance & Inquiry Officers. The workhouse was built of stone erected in 1839 and enlarged in 1874 at the cost of £700 to hold 53 inmates; Thomas Hedley is Master; John Elliott is Surgeon; Miss Margaret Anne Waites is Matron.
Bellingham	42	70, 80, 90	British	Built in 1857 for 126 children; average attendance is 80.
Charlton	43	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1849 by the late Frank Charlton eq. for 60 children; average attendance is 30.
Bolam	309	80, 90	National	Erected in 1870 for 150 children; average attendance was 75 (Possibly endowed by Sir Arthur Edward Middleton).
Cambo (Mixed)	60	70, 80	CoE	There is also a reading room and a subscription library.
Cambo (Mixed)	420	90	CoE	Built with Master's residence in 1886 for 150 children; average attendance was 56.

St. Cuthberts	76	70, 80	CoE	A School Board of 5 members was formed on 23 November 1882. R.Riddle, Con heath, Clerk to the Board; Robert Davison, attendance officer. Est 1818, enlarged in 1876.
West Woodhorn	423	90	CoE	The site was presented in 1818 by the Rev. Anthony Hunter, vicar of Kirkwhelpington & the building, with master's residence, erected by voluntary subscription; it was repaired and enlarged in 1876 at the cost of £200, & taken over by the Board & rebuilt in 1883; it will hold 205 children; average attendance of 88.
St Cuthberts	96	70, 80, 90	CoE	CoE built with Master's residence in 1835 for 60 children; average attendance was 50 (Patronage of the rector, £25 per year).
Otterburn	97	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1858 by the Misses Davidson & the old school added to the master's residence; average attendance was 50 (endowed by Lady James Murray, of Otterburn Hall).
Bryness	99	70, 80, 90	CoE	Built at the expense of Archdeacon Singleton while rector of Elsdon; it will hold 35 scholars; average attendance was 20.
Falstone	330	80, 90	Board	A School Board of 5 members was formed for Plashetts & Tynehead on 24 May 1877; L.C. Lockhart of Hexham is clerk to the Board and attendance officer.
Falstone	429	90	British	Enlarged in 1884 at the cost of £100 for 60 children; average attendance was 36.
Wellhaugh	104	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected in 1849 by Algernon 4th Duke of Northumberland and endowed by him with £15 pa. It will hold 50 children; average attendance was 20.
Hott	117	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected in 1851 and enlarged in 1877 at the cost of £100 for 60 children; average attendance was 38.
Hartburn	123	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1848 for 70 children; average attendance was 40. The schools lending library has 370 volumes.
Holystone	137	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Erected in 1850 for 50 children; average attendance was 28.
Harbottle	138	70, 80, 90	National	Erected with a master's house in 1834 for 80 children; average attendance was 53. The school is endowed with £24 pa for which 12 children are to receive their education gratuitously.
Ingram	150	70, 80, 90	CoE	Built for 50 children; average attendance was 28. supported by the rector and landed proprietors. Including John Roddam Roddam

Kirkwhelpington	156	70, 80, 90	National	Supported by the G.Anderson, the Duke of Northumberland and Sir W.C. Trevelyan. Erected in 1858 for 80 children; average attendance was 45.
Great Bavington	352	80, 90	Presbyterian	A 15th-century building, formerly used for other purposes; it will hold 90 children; average attendance was 42.
Chapheaton (Boys)	291	70	Endowed	Erected by the Swinburne Family; Sir John Swinburne, in the 17th century for 80 children; average attendance was 60.
Chapheaton (Girls)	292	70	Endowed	
Chapheaton (Mixed)	353	80, 90	Endowed	Erected by the Swinburne Family; Sir John Swinburne, in the 17th century for 80 children; average attendance was 60.
Rochester	236	70, 80, 90	National	Built for 60 children; average attendance is 40; endowed by the Late Earl of Redesdale: the porch of the school is entirely built of stones taken from the Roman camp of Bremnum.
Rothbury Grammar (Boys)	471	70, 80, 90	Grammar	Founded and endowed by the Rev. J. Tomlinson in 1719 for boys of the Paris. The school will hold 100boys; average attendance is 70. The endowment has since been augmented by various other benefactions (School Attendance Committee: Clerk is Joseph R. Arkle of Meldon Park farm, Morpeth; Attendance Officer is Charles Frederick E. Graham, Rothbury).
Rothbury Grammar (Girls)	238	80, 90	Grammar	Erected for 150 girls; average attendance was 100.
Hepple	385	80, 90	National	Erected in 1872-3 by Sir W.B. Riddell bart.
Hepple (Rothbury Grammar)	386	70, 80	Endowed	Endowed with £15 per annum in connection with Rothbury Grammar School: the schoolhouse is a good building of stone, with master's house attached constructed in 1866 at the cost of the Duke of Northumberland who contributes towards its support; it will hold 70 children; average attendance was 25.
Thropton	237	90	CoE	
Thropton	468	70, 80, 90	Board	Erected in 1867 for 120 children; average attendance was 70. A School Board of 7 members was formed in 15 May 1880 for the United District of Thropton, Cartington, Snitter, Little Tosson, Great Tosson & Rye Hill, High & Low Threwhitt and Warton. Anthony Snaith of Rothbury is Clerk to the Board.
Thorneyburn	263	70, 80, 90	National	Erected with Master's residence in 1864 for 65 children; average attendance was 40

Whittingham (Ravensworth)	280	80, 90	Endowed	Erected in 1850 for 100 children; average attendance is 82. The school is supported by Lord Ravensworth.
Whittingham	402	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1875 and will hold 120 children; average attendance is 83. A School Board of 5 members was formed on 19 December 1873 for the United District of Glanton and Shawdon: G. E. Watson of Alnwick is Clerk to the Board.
Yetlington	403	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1876 for 70 children; average attendance is 51. A School Board of 5 members was formed 29 December 1874 for the United District of Callaley-with-Yetlington and Lorbottle: E. Arkle of Carrick is Clerk to the Board.

8.2.7 EASTERN REGION: PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS)

SCHOOL NAME	PAS ID	DATES (1800s)	STREET/LOCATION	TOWN	COORDINATES	ADDITIONAL
Agars, Miss Ann	161	90	25 North View, Heaton	Newcastle	427077 565201	
Allan, Henry	2	70, 80	Ridley Place	Newcastle	424932 564794	
Allison, Isabella, M.	107	80	14, Grafton Road	Whitley	436181 571802	
Anderson, J.	3	70	74 Blandford Street	Newcastle	424186 564032	Boys Only
Anderson, James	162	90	Stratford Road, Heaton	Newcastle	426325 565069	
Arundale, Annie Isabella	4	70, 90	14 Wentworth Place, Gloucester Road	Newcastle	423404 564105	Girls Only
Ashmore, Mrs Elizabeth	163	90	28 Camden Street	North Shields	435596 568366	Girls Only
Bates	6	70	Gloucester Road	Newcastle	423355 564231	Preparatory
Bates, Miss Annie Edith	165	90	Gosforth Villas, Gosforth	Newcastle	424430 567794	Girls Boarding
Batey, Miss Alice	166	90	Middle Row, Percy Main	Newcastle	433932 567306	
Bell's Kindergarten (Miss Annie Bell)	167	90	24 West Parade	Newcastle	423607 563891	Girls Only
Bennett, D.	109	80	26, Lily Crescent	Newcastle	425278 566153	Girls Only
Betts Kindergarten (Miss Betts)	168	90	Froebel House, Westmorland Road	Newcastle	423460 563627	
Billson, Misses	169	90	Benwell View, Bentinck Road	Newcastle	422814 563959	Girls Only
Bone, S.	7	70	52 Elswick Road	Newcastle	422959 563863	Girls Only
Boston, Miss E.	170	90	90 Park Road	Newcastle	423371 563760	Girls Only
Briggs, R.	8	70	64 Scotswood Road	Newcastle	422451 563302	Girls Only
Brockbank, E.	9	80, 80	95 Gloucester Street	Newcastle	423304 564272	Girls Only
Brown, Margaret	11	70, 80	28 Camden Street	North Shields	423612 568339	Boys Only
Brunner, Mrs Selina	172	90	41 Bolingbroke Street, Heaton	Newcastle	426443 565042	Girls Only
Bryson	12	70, 80, 90	8 Ashfield Terrace East	Newcastle	423319 564114	

Buckham, Miss Ann	173	90	Greenfield House, Swinburne Place	Newcastle	424031 564106	Girls Only
Bushell, Annie	13	70	64 Jesmond Road	Newcastle	425039 565224	Girls Boarding
Cargey, The Misses	174	90	Sommerville House, Forest Hall	Newcastle	427979 569739	Girls Only
Cargey, Miss I.J.	175	90	138 Rye Hill	Newcastle	424041 563541	Girls Only
Charlton, Margaret	111	80	8, Alexandra Place	Newcastle	425381 565081	Girls Only
Clay, Robert	176	90	13 Fern Avenue	Newcastle	425603 566136	Boys Only
Collier, Mrs J.	177	90	6 Hartington Street	Newcastle	423141 564298	Girls Only
Colquhoun, Miss Isabella	178	90	49 Rothbury Terrace, Heaton	Newcastle	427364 565790	Girls Only
Coltman, Hester	14	70	115 Northumberland Street	Newcastle	424884 564707	Girls Only
Cooper, Mrs I.	179	90	57 Tamworth Road	Newcastle	423227 564707	Girls Only
Corby, Mrs	180	90	56 Holly Avenue	Newcastle	425529 566057	Girls Only
Corder, F.H.	181	90	36 Osbourne Road	Newcastle	425351 566132	Girls Only
Craggs, George	15	70, 80, 90	34 Maple Street	Newcastle	423737 563624	Boys Only
Curtis, Misses	182	90	37 Clarence Street	Newcastle	425715 564826	
Darley, Anna	113	80	123, Pine Street	Newcastle	423632 563402	
Davison, James	17	70	102 Westgate Road	Newcastle	423523 564280	Boys Only
Davison, Annie	18	70	13 Summerhill Street	Newcastle	423809 564102	Girls Only
Davison, Mrs, A.	183	90	90 Elswick Road	Newcastle	422957 563861	Girls Boarding
Davison, William Thomas	256	90	1 Hawthorn Road, Gosforth	Newcastle		
Duncan, J.	114	80	16, Brandling Place	Newcastle	424970 565551	Girls Only
Edmundson, Elizabeth	20	70	Lemington	Blaydon	418364 564480	
Ehrlich, Dr. Hy. William	115	80	251, 253 & 255, Westgate Road	Newcastle	422441 564562	Boys Only
Elliott, Catherine	22	70, 80	East Parade	Newcastle	423603 563969	Girls Only
Elliott, Amelia	23	70	21 Ashfield Terrace East	Newcastle	423381 564028	Girls Only
Elliott, Eleanor	116	80	Clayton Park Road	Newcastle	425105 565719	Girls Only
Elliott, Sarah	257	90	7 Hawthorn Road, Gosforth	Newcastle		

Evans	117	80	3 Preston Road	North Shields	435350 568666	Girls Only
Evans, Miss Mary	188	80	19 Northumberland Square	North Shield	435534 568615	Boys Only
Field, Mrs Hannah	191	90	Nile House, Percy Road	Whitley	435892 572224	Girls Boarding
Field, Richard Henry	192	90	13 Northumberland Square	North Shields	435892 568596	Boys Boarding
Findley, Emily	119	80	112 Elswick Road	Newcastle	423341 563896	Girls Only
Fletcher, Miss E	193	90	115 Pine Street	Newcastle	423709 563437	Girls Only
Gilechrist, M.	120	80	18 Nixon Street	Newcastle	425100 565099	Girls Only
Glass, M.F.	121	80	3 Queen Square	Newcastle	425040 564616	Girls Only
Glenton, F.	24	70	3 Albert Terrace	Newcastle	425632 564591	
Glenton, F.	258	80	48 Waverley Terrace	Newcastle		
Grainger, J.	194	90	1 Summerhill Street	Newcastle	423828 564075	
Hall, Margaret	26	70	2 Pleasant, Shieldfield	Newcastle	425447 564642	Girls Only
Hall & Sinclair	25	70	9 Alma Place	North Shields	435235 568759	Girls Only
Harrison, J.R.	196	90	12 Wentworth Place	Newcastle	423503 563871	Boys Only
Harrison, Miss Jane Margaret	197	90	14 Preston Lane	North Shields	435202 569598	Girls Only
Hedley, C.	30	70	Westgate Road	Newcastle	424108 564139	
Hedley, D.	31	70	165 Grey Street	North Shields	435770 568838	
Henderson, Michael	33	70, 80	11 Nile Street	North Shields	435315 568491	Boys Only
Herbert, Emily	122	80	9 & 10 Northumberland Terrace	Tynemouth	436919 569105	Girls Only
Herbert, Miss	198	90	Manor Terrace	Tynemouth	436769 569446	Girls Only
Hewison, Louisa	35	70	54 Jesmond Road	Newcastle	425040 565180	Girls Boarding
Hewison, Elizabeth	36	70	56 Jesmond Road	Newcastle	424974 565143	Girls Boarding
Hewison, Louise	123	80	54, 56 & 58 Jesmond Road	Newcastle	425126 565235	Girls Only
Heylin. Miss J.F.	200	90	62 Jesmond Street	Newcastle	426041 565887	Girls Boarding
Hodge, Miss Mary	201	90	The Green	Wallsend	430037 566862	
Hodgshon, M.A.	124	80	7 Mather Street	Newcastle	423714 563629	Girls Only
Hodgson, Mrs M.	202	90	62 Grove Street,	Newcastle	423271 564006	Girls Only

Hodgson, Mrs. M.A.	203	90	112 Rye Hill	Newcastle	424059 563487	
Hortonm Mrs M.	204	90	91 Linskill Street	North Shields	435699 568697	
Howse, Richard	37	70, 80	17 Saville Row	Newcastle	424977 564625	Boys Only
Hudson, Miss Elizabeth	205	90	52 Falconar Street	Newcastle	425496 564784	Girls Only
Hunter, D.	38	70	23 Wellington Street	Newcastle	424083 564471	Boys Only
Hutton, Annie	39	70, 80	18 St. Thomas Crescent	Newcastle	424592 564784	Girls Only
Hutton, Miss	126	90	107 Jesmond Road	Newcastle	425488 565468	
Ingram & Spencer	40	70	11 Newbridge Street	Newcastle	425665 564514	Girls Only
Irvine, R.H.	206	90	37 Havelock Street	Newcastle	423583 564078	Boys Only
Jones, Miss Maria	207	90	71 Osborne Road	Newcastle	425159 566927	Preparatory
Kell, Mary Eliza	128	80	High Street, Gosforth	Newcastle	424386 467826	
Kelly, Michael James	41	70, 80	62 Westmoreland Road	Newcastle	424281 563842	Boys Only
Kidd, H.C.	42	70, 80	84 Park Road	Newcastle	423403 563727	Girls Only
Kirsopp, Miss Rebecca	209	90	Roxburghe House, Gosforth	Newcastle	424426 567814	Girls Only
Knott, J.L.	210	90	32 Vicarage Street	North Shields	435156 567982	
Laing, S.	256	80	7 Percy Terrace	Newcastle	425046 564588	
Lang	43	70	3 Queen Square	Newcastle		Girls Only
Lascelles, Miss Ada	212	90	69 Grove House	Newcastle	424534 567586	Girls Only
Laws, E.	45	70	Scotswood	Blaydon	419986 563808	Girls Only
Lee, Robert	47	70	30 Simpson Street	Newcastle	425138 565091	Boys Only
Lipscombe, Frances A.	129	80	76 Front Street	Tynemouth	436911 569381	Girls Only
Lishman, M.	48	70, 80	3 Cromwell Street	Newcastle	423426 564195	
Loraine, C.	49	70	6 Ridley Place	Newcastle	424932 564812	Girls Only
Macdonald, John George	51	70, 80, 90	3 Preston Road	North Shields	435307 568821	Boys Only
Manson, Thomas	213	90	8 Albion Street, Albion Road	North Shields	435083 568428	Boys Only
Marchbank, J.	54	90	115 Elswick Road	Newcastle	423613 564047	
Marley, Alpena	55	70	2 Upper Norfolk Street	North Shields	435653 568513	

Mavor, John	56	70	Old Fellow's Hall, Saville Street West	North Shields	435445 568176	
McLagan, H.	52	70, 80	5 Campbell Street	Newcastle	423488 564209	
Milne, Mary Ann	57	70	186 Westgate Road	Newcastle	423451 564310	Girls Only
Mitchison, John	58	70	Sally Port Gate, Causey Bank	Newcastle	425498 564129	Boys Only
Morrison, J.	60	70, 80	10 Abinger Street	Newcastle	423830 564326	
Muse, Miss E.	214	90	6 Malvern Street	Newcastle	423156 564077	Girls Only
Newbiggin, Miss Emma	215	90	12 Salters Road, Gosforth	Newcastle	424168 568092	Girls Only
Newcastle Modern School	187	90	Park House, Park Terrace	Newcastle	424767 565367	Boys Boarding
Newcastle Preparatory School for Boys (J.C. Tavner)	216	90	Eskdale Terrace	Newcastle	425249 565569	Boys Only
Nichols, T.B.	133	80		Cullercoats	436129 571452	
Noble, Mary	59	70	5 North Street, Saville Row	Newcastle	424997 564673	Boys Only
Ogilvie & Purdom	62	70	10 Preston Road	North Shields	435323 568751	Girls Only
Oliver	63	70	Long Benton	Newcastle	427166 568429	Girls Only
Oliver	134	80	South View, Forest Hall Station	Newcastle	427780 569764	Girls Only
Olley, Miss R.	217	90	4 Scotswood Road	Newcastle	424262 563650	
Patterson, Robert	65	70	Rose Hill, Willington	Newcastle	431398 567007	Boys Only
Pattison, Elizabeth	66	70	8 Benson Terrace, Sandyford	Newcastle	425301 565271	Girls Only
Pattison, Miss E.	219	90	29 Chester Street	Newcastle	425507 565070	
Pattison, Miss Jane	220	90	3 Wilfred Terrace, Whitley Road	Whitley	435974 571881	Girls Boarding
Pattison, E.	259	80	75 Shield Street	Newcastle		
Pearson, Sarah Maria Rock	67	70	Picton House, Picton Place	Newcastle	425300 564555	Girls Boarding
Potts, Ann	137	80, 90	Victoria Street, Walker	Newcastle	429671 564607	Girls Only
Pringle, Mary Elizabeth	68	70	48 Wharnccliffe Street	Newcastle	423969 563544	Girls Only
Proctor, Jane	69	70, 80, 90	17 Westmoreland Terrace	Newcastle	424049 563828	Girls Only
Proctor, Miss Maria	138	80, 90	18 Ashfield Terrace West	Newcastle	423323 564019	

Purdy, Miss Phoebe O.	139	80, 90	Dacre Street	Newcastle	419977 586164	Girls Only
Purvis, E.A.	140	80	19 Crown Street	Newcastle	423223 563992	Girls Only
Quick, Louisa	70	70	1 North Street, Saville Row	Newcastle	425005 564657	Girls Only
Ray, William	71	70	55 Cromwell Street	Newcastle	423418 564204	
Ray, Mrs E.	234	90	88 Cromwell Street	Newcastle	423434 564119	
Reid. Mark Nicholson	72	70	24 Northumberland Square	North Shields	435539 568622	Girls Only
Reid, Miss M.	235	90	21 Percy Park Road	Tynemouth	436854 569629	Girls Boarding
Rimington, Miss Annie Elizabeth	236	90	6 Wilfred Terrace, Whitley Road	Whitley	435968 571885	Girls Only
Robertson, Gilbert	73	70, 80	101 Percy Street	Newcastle	424781 564901	Boys Boarding
Robinson, M.	74	70	Wilfred Street	Newcastle	426423 564738	Girls Only
Jesmond Collegiate School (James Robinson)	141	80	Haldane Villa, Haldane Terrace	Newcastle	425170 465877	
Robson, A.	142	80	64 Scotswood Road	Newcastle	424121 563491	Girls Only
Rowe, E.J.	76	70, 80, 90	36 Rye Hill	Newcastle	424032 563572	Girls Only
Russell, E.	77	70	10 Linskill Terrace	North Shields	435726 568909	Girls Only
Ryder, William H.	78	70, 80	8 Albion Street	North Shields	435248 568518	Boys Only
Sandiland, Wilfrid	237	90	67 Fern Avenue	Newcastle	425509 566165	Boys Only
Scott, Mary	79	70	16 Crown Street	Newcastle	423239 563991	Girls Only
Sharpe, Duncan	81	70	8 Widderington Terrace, West Percy Street	North Shields	435145 568367	Boys Only
Shaw, Benjamin	82	70, 80	56 Northumberland Street	Newcastle	424877 564634	Boarding
Sinclair, E.	144	80	6 Preston Road	North Shields	435340 568697	Girls Only
Singleton House School (Benjamin Shaw)	260	90	26 Clayton Park Road	Newcastle		
Smart and Co.	239	90	42 Grainger Street	Newcastle	424786 564283	
Smith, M.	83	70, 80	25 Gloucester Street	Newcastle	423439 564021	
Smith. Mary	84	70	21 Summerhill Street	Newcastle	423801 564055	
Smith, Mary Ann	85	70	56 Northumberland Square	North Shields	435595 68530	

Smith, M.	145	80	1 Pleasant Row	Newcastle	425483 564610	Girls Only
Smith, Charles	240	90	22 Hotspur Street	Tynemouth	436947 569733	Boys Only
Smith, Mrs M.	242	90	126 Sandyford Road	Newcastle	425781 565433	
Smithson, Mary	86	70	5 Terrace Place, Leazes Lane	Newcastle	424456 564476	
Smithson, Mrs M.	243	90	1 Dawson Square	Tynemouth	436781 569333	Girls Boarding
Spencer, R.	147	80	8 Higham Place	Newcastle	425127 564576	Girls Only
Spencer. Miss R.	244	90	4 Jesmond Road	Newcastle	426072 565944	Girls Only
Spraggon, Hannah Eliza	87	70	The Farm	Wallsend	430606 566565	Girls Only
Stamp, G.	88	70	West Parade	Newcastle	423674 563816	Girls Boarding
Stocks, Mary	148	80	73 Westmorland Road	Newcastle	423613 563697	
Stocks, Mrs W.	245	90	144 Rye Hill	Newcastle	424060 563491	Girls Only
Storey, Isabella	149	80	Argyle Street	Tynemouth	436894 569671	Girls Only
Story, M.	89	70, 80	Elswick Row	Newcastle	423629 564112	Girls Only
Story, Miss Mary Elizabeth	246	90	25 Warwick Street, Heaton	Newcastle	426365 565204	
Stowell, Miss	247	90	18 Heaton Road, Heaton	Newcastle		
Sutherland, George	248	90	28 Ridley Place	Newcastle		
Thompson, Mary	153	80	93 Gloucester Street	Newcastle	423603 563570	Girls Only
Marine Engineering (William Thompson)	250	90	45 Borough Road	North Shields	435403 568143	
Usher, Robert	251	90	Oak Street	Newcastle	423799 563385	
Usher, Robert	252	90	374 Scotswood Road	Newcastle	423909 563370	
Watson, I.	94	70, 80	Sidney Street	North Shields	435291 568479	
Watson, W.	95	70, 80, 90	395 Scotswood Road	Newcastle	421767 563469	Boys Only
Watson, Miss Elizabeth	155	80, 90		Wylam	411750 564621	Girls Boarding
White, Thomas	96	70, 80	9 Huntington Place	Tynemouth	436748 569395	Boys Boarding
White	97	70	1 Belgrave Terrace	Newcastle	423607 563805	Girls Only
Wilkinson	156	80	1 Benton View, Long Benton	Newcastle	427694 569697	Girls Only

Willins, James	99	70	32 Carliol Street	Newcastle	425092 564454	Girls Only
Willoughby, Mary	157	80	51 Westmorland Road	Newcastle	423467 563628	
Wilson	100	70	12 Alexandra Terrace	Whitley	435898 571883	Girls Only
Wilson, Robert	102	70, 80, 90	1 Nixon Street	Newcastle	425115 565073	Boys Only
Wilson, Miss Mary	254	90	5 Bede Terrace	Whitley	435794 572021	Girls Only
Wilson, Robert	255	90	25 Victoria Avenue	Whitley	435899 572087	Boys Only
Wood, William Bennett	158	80	Landsdowne Terrace, Gosforth	Newcastle	424381 568311	Boys Only
Wright, Elizabeth	103	70, 90	1 Northumberland Square	North Shields	435485 568584	Girls Only
Wright, Ada	159	80	119 Sandyford Road	Newcastle	425177 565173	Girls Only
Youll, Mary	105	70	3 Bolton Terrace, Lovaine Crescent	Newcastle	425264 565032	Girls Only

8.2.8 EASTERN REGION: ALL (NON-PAS) SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	ID	DATES (1800s).	SCHOOL TYPE	ADDITIONAL
Long Benton	44	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1871 for 209 children; average attendance was 175.
Bigges Main	415	90	National	
Westmoor	45	70, 80	Colliery	
Benwell Village	46	70, 80, 90	National	Benwell Village school is chiefly supported by Mrs Pease and Mrs Hodgkin. It was built for 60 children; average attendance was 63. A School Board of 5 members was formed in 1889; F. Purvis is Clerk to the Board. Girls only.
South Benwell	416	90	Board	Built for 500 mixed and 300 infants; average attendance was 420 mixed and 200 infants.
Benwell	417	90	Board	Erected in 1889 for 1,000 children.
Benwell	418	90	CoE	Erected for 260 boys and 78 infants; average attendance was 209 boys and 70 infants.
Percy Main	69	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1869 for 450 children; average attendance is 325 mixed and 72 infants. What happened to the Chirton School Board?
Chirton	315	80, 90	National	Erected in 1877 for 323 children; average attendance was 200.
New York	316	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1874 and enlarged in 1888 for 280 children; average attendance 203.
Cramlington Village	77	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1880 for 235 children; average attendance was 225.
East Cramlington	318	80, 90	Colliery	Erected for 400 children; average attendance was 320.
West Cramlington	319	80, 90	Colliery	
Shankhouse	320	80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1875 for 580 children; average attendance was 370.
Cullercoats Village	79	70, 80	CoE	
Cullercoats Infants	80	70, 80	CoE	
Cullercoats	414	90	Board	Under the Tynemouth School Board. Erected in 1886 for 260 boys and 180 girls and 78 infants.

Whitley	322	80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1870
St. Matthew's	323	80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1871 by Matthew Bell Esq. for 120 children; average attendance is 70.
Mason	324	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1877 for 26 children; average attendance is 256. A School board of 5 members was formed for Mason Township on 8 February 1875. George Steele of Dinnington is clerk to the board and attendance officer.
Seaton Delaval	83	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1867 for 550 children; average attendance was 500. A School Board of 5 members was formed for Backhouse on 7 November 1873; Vickers Williamson is Clerk to the Board.
Burradon	84	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1861 for 600 children; average attendance was 320.
Seaton Delaval	85	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian	Erected in 1849 for 140 children; attendance was 'full'.
Earsdon	86	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Erected in 1855 for 250 children; attendance was 'full'.
Seaton Sluice	87	70, 80	National	Seghill School Board (committee of 5).
Seghill	88	70	National	
Seghill	326	80, 90	Board	There is a second school at Seghill. Clerk to the School Board: Adam Dodds at Seghill, V. Williamson at Backworth.
Backworth	327	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1875 for 505 children; average attendance was mixed 380 and 140 infants.
Thomas Eustace Smith's School	111	70	Endowed	
Mason School	332	80		United School Board District of South Gosforth (Coxlodge, South Gosforth, (united in 1872 under Local Government Act of 1858), Faldon and West Brunton).
South Gosforth	333	80, 90	Board	A School Board of 7 members was formed 19 January 1875, for the united district of South Gosforth, Coxlodge, Fawdon and West Brunton; office, 34 High Street; meeting days, third Thursday in each month; Robert Reay, Coxlodge, clerk to the board; John Cummings, Coxlodge, attendance officer.
High Street	112	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1863 for 350 children; average attendance was 250.

Chadwick Memorial Industrial School for Catholic Boys	430	90	Industrial	Erected in 1883 and dedicated to St. James, occupies the building once used as the grandstand on the old racecourse. 150 boys resided here and were taught various trades.
Chadwick Memorial Industrial School for Catholic Girls	431	90	Industrial	Dedicated to St. Elizabeth. Half a mile north of the boy's institute, and near the village of Coxlodge
Coxlodge	113	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1862 for 125 children; average attendance was 75.
Coxlodge	334	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1877 for 600 children; average attendance was 400.
Coxlodge	114	70, 80	National	
Kenton	335	80	CoE	
Kenton	115	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1845 for 125 children; average attendance was 90.
North Gosforth	432	90	Board	Erected in 1888 for 200 children; average attendance was 80.
Hartley	124	70, 80, 90	Voluntary	Erected for 214 children; average attendance was 130.
Holywell	339	80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1872 for 273 children; average attendance was 250.
Heddon on the Wall National	131	70, 80, 90	National	Erected of stone in 1851 for 150 children; average attendance was 131.
Our Lady and St. Aidan's	346	80, 90	R.C.	
Willington Quay Methodist Free Church	145	70, 80	Methodist	
Killingworth Colliery	347	80	Colliery	
Killingworth	437	90	Board	Benton Square Board School (mixed) under Long Benton School Board, erected in 1878 for 335 children; average attendance was 260.
Dudley	151	70	National	
Dudley	348	80, 90	Board	Board School under Long Benton School Board (mixed and Infants) erected in 1878 for 487 children; average attendance was 401
Annitsford	152	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1867 and dedicated to St. John the Baptist
Seaton Burn	153	70	National	
Seaton Burn	349	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1877 for 472 children; average attendance was 309.

Westmoor	438	90	Board	Board School, formerly a Colliery School (mixed) for 355 children; average attendance was 170.
Newburn	182	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected for 121 boys and 132 girls; average attendance was 110 boys and 130 girls. These schools were being rebuilt in 1889 on a site given by the Duke of Northumberland K.G. at the cost of about £3,000 to hold 600 children.
Black Callerton Day School	183	70	Day	
Dalton National	184	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1843 for 40 children; average attendance was 25.
East Denton Village	185	70, 80	CoE	Voluntary Subscriptions, established 1865.
St. George's	186	70, 80	R.C.	Established in 1875 by Richard Lamb Esq.
Sugley	187	70, 80	National	In connection to Holy Saviour Church and the Tyne Iron Works.
Throckley Coal Co.	188	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected with a master's residence in 1873 for 400 boys and infants; average attendance was 300.
Wallbottle	189	70, 80, 90	Colliery	for 200 children; average attendance was 160.
East and West Whorlton	368	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1874 for 74 children; average attendance was 49. A school board of 5 members was formed 11 December 1874 for the united district of Black Callerton, East * West Whorlton, Butterlaw and Newbiggin. Rev. R. R. Mangin of Wallbottle is clerk to the board.
Westmorland Road	369	80, 90	Board	Erected at the cost of £13, 627 (including £1,584 for the site) for 316 boys, 330 girls and 405 infants. 1890 School Attendance: Meets at the Workhouse on the 2 Wednesday in each month. Clerk is John W. Gibson of 127 Pilgrim Street; Attendance Officer is Richard Sinclair of 127 Pilgrim Street. 1890 Newcastle School Board: 31 Grainger Street West, Newcastle. Meetings of the Board are held on the third Saturday in each month at 2:30 p.m. Clerk to the board is Alfred Goddard of 33 Grainger Street West; Treasurer is L.G. Dickinson; Solicitors are Gibson, Pybus, Maples and Pybus; Inspector of Schools is W. Breakwell; Bookkeeper is Alfred Bosomworth; Assistant Clerk is Henry J. Eggleton; Cookery Teacher is Miss Rothead; Attendance Officers are John Gibson of 25 Dianna

				Street, Benjamin Holmes of Rose Cottage Benton, Joseph Scott of 3 Morpeth Street, Robert Fleming of 141 Jefferson Street.
Arthur's Hill	370	80, 90	Board	Erected at a cost, including the site (£1,878) of £14,254, for 330 boys, 329 girls and 397 infants. Mixed: 800 on rolls, average attendance was 740. Infants: on rolls 500, average attendance was 430.
Scotswood Road	445	90	Board	Erected in 1882-3 at the cost of £13,000 (including site £3,701) for 649 boys and girls, and 364 infants; average attendance was 950.
St. Peter's	371	80, 90	Board	Erected at the cost of £13, 176 (including £1,025 for the site) for 338 boys, 338 girls and 400 infants. Average attendance was 1000.
Byker	372	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1879 at a cost £11,186 (including £1,845 for the site) for 339 boys, 338 girls and 550 infants. Average attendance was 617 mixed and 500 infants.
Bentinck	446	90	Board	Erected on 24 July 1882 at the cost of £10,360 for 600 boys and girls, and 400 infants. Average attendance was 645 mixed and 380 infants.
Bentinck Infant's	373	80	Board	
Spital Tongues (infants)	447	90	Board	Opened 1 January 1881 at the cost of £1,584, for 215 children, average attendance was 181.

Royal Free Grammar School	190	70, 80, 90	Grammar	Founded in 1525 by Thomas Horsley and situated in Westmorland Road, consists of two large buildings in the Gothic style, erected in 1866-70 by the Town Council of Newcastle, chiefly from the funds of the Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin. The school was formerly held in the old hospital buildings of Neville Street, opposite to where Central Station now stands: the present building consists of eight spacious school rooms, to hold 350 scholars, Master's house under the same roof with dining hall, dormitories, lavatories and classrooms for the use of boarding. In front of the school-buildings is a playground of about 2 acres.
University of Durham College of Medicine	347	80, 90	Higher Education	There is a full structure of staff including Council, Representatives of the Senate of the University in the Council of the College of Medicine, Finance Committee, Calendar Committee, Secretary, Representative of the College of Medicine in the Senate of the University, Representative of the College of Medicine in the Body of Governors of the Durham College of Science, Representative of the College of Medicine in the Body of Governors of the Newcastle Royal Grammar School, Auditors, Officers of the College of Medicine are officers of the University in the Faculty of Medicine.
University of Durham College of Physical Science	191	70, 80, 90	Higher Education	
Government School of Art	192	70, 80	Higher Education	
Government School of Design	193	70, 80	Higher Education	Allan's Endowed School
The School of Science and Art	375	80, 90	Endowed	Allan's Endowed School. Founded in 1878 and opened by the Marquess of Hartington in 1879 is a public secondary school with preparatory school under the Department of Science and Art and connected by its public examinations with the University of London: there are ten spacious school rooms and extensive laboratories on the top story and ground floor, affording space for 600 students.
Heaton Road Science and Art	448	90	Endowed	Allan's Endowed School. Built for 250 students.

Bath Lane Schools	194	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Allan's Endowed School. Established in 1705 by Eleanor Allan and subsequently enriched by the gifts of later benefactors, were reconstituted by the Charity Commissioners in 1877 and a new school built in Bath Road in 1880 for 150 boys, 150 girls. There are 60 scholarships, half of which are to be given to children attending the Public Elementary schools Newcastle & the other half to pupils attending the schools on the foundation; chemical and physical laboratories are attached to the boys' school. The schools are managed by a board of eleven governors, of whom five are ex-officio. Three were chosen by the Corporation and three more were co-operative. The annual income of the charity was about £900.
Bath Lane Elementary	449	90	Endowed	Erected for 610 boys, 610 girls and 280 infants.
Bath Lane	194	70, 80, 90	British	Erected for 54 boys and 164 girls; average attendance was 182.
Byker	376	80, 90	CoE	Erected for 300 children.
Christ Church	195	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 500 boys, 500 girls and 170 infants.
All Saints' Charity (formerly Clergy Jubilee Trades')	196	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected for 323 boys, 379 girls and 150 infants; average attendance was 450.
Elswick Works (Mixed)	197	70, 80, 90	Voluntary	Erected for 1,000 boys and 800 girls; average attendance was 850 boys and 670 girls.
Elswick Works (Infants)	450	90	Voluntary	Erected for 440 children; average attendance was 397.
Prudhoe Street Mission	198	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected for 160 boys, 160 girls and 200 infants; average attendance was mixed 300 and 120 infants.
Diana Street (Infants)	199	70, 80	CoE	
Diana Street (Infants)	451	900	Board	Erected for 190 children; average attendance was 168.
Jesmond Vale	200	70, 80	Voluntary	
Jesmond	377	80, 90	National	Erected for 80 girls.
Orphan House Wesleyan	201	70, 80	Methodist	

Ragged and Industrial	202	70, 80, 90	Charity	Situated off the New Road, on a site formerly known as 'Garth Heads' and was established in Sandgate in 1847. Its objective in 1847 was to feed and educate 50 poor children: it was next removed to Gibson Street, and subsequently to the present site. It is a structure of brick with stone dressings and has dormitories for 140 boys and 60 girls; the average attendance in 1888 was 130 boys and 67 girls. The children who live on the premises are such as come under the provisions of the Industrial Schools and Elementary Education Acts: other children attend during the day only, receiving food and education and returning to their homes at night: one half are employed in various industrial occupations: the boys in the workshops are under the care of trade instructors and a large amount of work was accomplished in printing, tailoring, shoemaking, sack and mat making, and firewood chopping: there is an excellent boys' band of brass and reed instruments. In connection with these schools a seaside in the course of the year. The schools, certified as Industrial in 1859, and under the inspection of the Home Office, are managed by a committee of gentlemen.
Carliol Square	203	70, 80	R.C.	
St. Lawrence's	452	90	R.C.	Erected in 1884 for 425 children; average attendance was 330
St. Michael's	204	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected for 278 boys and 277 girls and 140 infants
St. Michael's	453	90	R.C.	Infants Only
Westmorland Road	205	70, 80	R.C.	
Royal Jubilee	206	70, 80	British	Boys Only.
Royal Jubilee	207	70, 80	British	Girls Only.
Royal Jubilee	454	90	Board	Rebuilt in 1885 for 1,100 children; attendance was full (1,100 assumed).
St. Ann's	208	70	National	
St. Andrew's	209	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 277 boys, 277 girls and 117 infants; average attendance was 217 boys, 140 girls and 72 infants.

St. Anthony's	456	90	National	Erected in 1863 for 150 boys and 89 girls; average attendance was 220.
St. Andrew's	210	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected for 420 boys, 275 girls and 194 infants; average attendance was 406.
St. Dominic's	378	80, 90	R.C.	Erected for 298 boys, 298 girls and 141 infants; average attendance was 556
St. John's	211	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 450 boys and girls.
St. Jame's	379	80	National	
St. John's	212	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 250 children; average attendance was 175.
St. Mary'	213	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected for 430 boys; average attendance was 360.
St. Nicholas'	214	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 197 boys and 203 girls; average attendance was 140 boys and 145 girls. Placed on Hanover Square/Hanover Street. The school at this location exists until 1910 when the site is converted to a brewery.
St. Nicholas	216	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 140 children; average attendance was 110. Infants Only
St. Mary's	380	80, 90	R.C.	Erected for 434 girls and 364 infants; average attendance was 340 girls and 250 infants.
St. Paul's	457	90	National	Erected for 216 boys, 216 girls and 147 infants.
St. Paul's	217	70, 80	National	
St. Paul's (Sunday)	218	70, 80	Congregational	
St. Stephen's	219	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 170 girls.
St. Stephen's	220	70, 80	CoE	Sunday School
St. Thomas's	221	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 253 boys, 214 girls.
Ford Pottery	458	90	Voluntary	Built for 300 girls; average attendance was 183.
Heaton Road	459	90	Unsectarian	Built for 290 boys and 290 girls.
Heaton Road	460	90	Unsectarian	
Leazes Lane	461	90	Hebrew	Infant day school
Newcastle	462	90	Methodist	Erected for 116 boys and 116 girls; average attendance was 200.

Orphan House Science and Art	463	90	Methodist	
Clarence Street	464	90	Methodist	Erected for 182 boys and 150 girls and 180 infants; average attendance was 401. Wesleyan Day
Holy Saviour	465	90	National	155 boys were on the roll; average attendance was 126. Infants on roll was 95; average infant attendance was 51.
Camden Street	466	90	CoE	Built for 200 boys and 210 girls. Day School
Miss Bells	229	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Endowed with property (originally £70 pa but has now increased) (Miss Bell erected a day and Sunday school in 1852. She has since passed away. The teacher has a guaranteed income of £25 pa). Erected in 1731 rebuilt in 1831 and 1873 and now (1889) is being enlarged. School attendance committee meets at the Board room in Ponteland every month at 3 p.m. from March to October and 2 p.m. during the remaining months. George Wilkinson of 32 Grainger Street West, Newcastle, is Clerk to the Board. Day and Sunday School
Higham Dykes	230	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected in 1852 by the late Miss Bell for 60 children; average attendance is 30.
Kirkley	231	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected in 1861 for 30 children; average attendance is 30 and entirely supported by J.S. Ogle Esq.
Seghill	241	70	National	
Seghill	387	80, 90	Board	Erected for 200 boys and 140 girls and 160 infants; full attendance (assumed 200 boys, 140 girls and 160 infants). A School Board of 5 members was formed on 8 October 1875; Thomas Spence was clerk to the Board.
Eastern	289	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1876 for 1,120 children; average attendance was 330 boys, 250 girls and 283 infants.
Holy Trinity	242	70	National	
Holy Trinity	390	80, 90	Board	Erected for 380 children; average attendance was 290
Western	391	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1875 for 1,280; average attendance was 301 boys, 301 girls and 420 infants.
Nelson Street	243	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1840 for 500 children; average attendance was 380

Albion Street	244	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1870 for 600 children; average attendance was 266 boys, 190 girls and 134 infants.
Borough Road	392	80, 90	National	Erected in 1870 for 300 children; average attendance was 147 girls and 53 infants
Royal Jubilee	245	70, 80, 90	Charity	Erected in 1809 for 1,116 children; average attendance was 230 boys, 164 girls and 400 infants.
Kettlewell	246	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Founded in 1825 by Mr Thomas Kettlewell; it will hold 300 boys; average attendance is 250
Howard Street	247	70, 80, 90	Presbyterian (Scotch Church)	Erected in 1841 for 400 children: average attendance was 300
North Shields Union	248	70, 80, 90	British	Erected in 1837 for 520 children; average attendance was 373
St. Mary's Convent	249	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1868; average attendance was 140 girls and 100 infants.
Stannington	256	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1873 for 200 children; average attendance was 110 and endowed with £7 15s annually.
North Eastern Reformatory for Boys	258	70, 80, 90	Reformatory	Established primarily for the counties of Durham and Northumberland; but boys were also received from other counties: there are now (1889) 221 boys in the school who farm 500 acres of land and manufacture agricultural implements and were taught other useful trades.
Stannington Village	259	70, 80	Voluntary	
Sugley	260	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1838 for 300 children; average attendance was 220
East Denton Village	261	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected in 1865 for 86 children; average attendance was 84
St. George's	395	80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1875 by Richard W. Lamb Esq. for 150 children; average attendance is 110
Tynemouth Priory	264	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1860 for 460 children; average attendance was 250 (Tynemouth School board was established in 1871 and consisted of 13 members; bye-laws were framed in 1871 and 1882. Clerk to the Board: John W. Lambton of Howard Street, North Shields; Solicitor: H.A. Adamson of 99 Howard Street North; Attendance Officers: John Henry Hogg of 152 Grey Street; William Priestman of 33 Howard Street North Shields; George Hogg of 26 Little Bedford

				Street; W.C. Foster of 82 Linksill Street North Shields; Drill Officer is Henry Baker of East Percy Street North Shields).
Walker	266	70	British	
East School	396	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1877 and enlarged in 1885 for 1,040 children; average attendance was 500 boys and girls and 1900 infants. Walker was included in the School Board District of Long Benton.
West School	397	80, 90	Board	Rebuilt in 1885 for 888 children; average attendance was 404 boys and girls, and 152 infants.
Walker Colliery	267	70, 80	Colliery	
Walker	268	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected for 532 children; average attendance was 365 boys and girls, 146 infants.
Walker	398	80, 90	Methodist	Erected in 1868 for 90 children; average attendance was 75
Wallsend Village	269	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1875 for 288 children; average attendance was 227. The school board, consisting of 9 members, for the townships of Wallsend and Willington, was formed 10 December 1874. C.H. Newland of Jarrow is Clerk to the Board; James Elliott of Willington Quay and J. Stephenson of Willington Quay are attendance officers.
Wallsend	399	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1876 for 1,160 children; average attendance was 1, 094
Wallsend	400	80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1876 for 321 children; average attendance was 300
Buddle Street Methodist	469	90	Methodist	Erected for 250 children; average attendance was 234.
Whitley	276	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1871 by Mrs Abbott on ground given by the Duke of Northumberland, for 260 children; average attendance was 160.
Willington-on-Tyne (Possibly Bewicke School at Willington)	404	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1878 for 600 children; average attendance is 500. See Wallsend for School Board information, Wallsend and Willington School Board.
Stephenson Memorial	283	70	Charity	
Stephenson Memorial	405	80, 90	Board	Erected for 700 children; average attendance was 590

Addison Potter: Board	406	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1887 for 500 children; average attendance was 210.
Our Lady and St. Aidan's R.C.	470	90	R.C.	
Willington Quay United Methodist	284	70, 80, 90	Methodist	Erected for 250 children; average attendance was 239.

8.2.9 SOUTHERN REGION: PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS)

SCHOOL NAME	PAS ID	Dates (1800s)	STREET/LOCATION	TOWN	COORDINATES	ADDITIONAL
Alexander, E.	1	70, 80	Battle Hill	Hexham	493557 563932	Girls Only
Boyd, Miss F.	171	90	Harlow Hill	Stocksfield	407845 568323	
Dale, Mary	16	70	West Acomb	Hexham	393187 566491	
Eadie and Farmer	185	90	St. John's College	Hexham		Girls Only
Edwards, Mrs Fanny D.	186	90	Battlehurst	Hexham		Girls Only
Elliott, Robert	21	70, 80	Wall	Hexham	391601 569052	
Farish, Miss Caroline	189	90	Newton Street	Haltwhistle	370217 563871	Girls Only
Hall, Miss Emma	195	90	Halgate	Hexham	393714 564056	Preparatory
Halliday, Francis	27	70		Haltwhistle	370825 564138	
Harrison, Thomas	28	70	Main Street	Corbridge	399022 564295	
Healey, George	29	70, 80	Hencotes	Hexham	393218 563915	
Hexham Modern School (Hyatt, John H.)	199	90		Hexham		
Hope	125	80	Market Street	Hexham	393560 564186	
Loraine, Thomas	50	70, 80	Battle Hill	Hexham	393575 563940	
McNaughton, Finaly	53	70	Grindon	Warden	391410 566486	
Michael, A.I.	130	80	Watling Street	Corbridge	398787 564516	Girls Only
Percival, Mrs Mary Elizabeth	221	90	South Side	Haydon Bridge	384344 564204	Girls Only
Sewell, Margaret	80	70, 80	The Abbey	Hexham	393544 564116	Girls Only
Warrener, Miss Louisa	253	90	West gate	Haltwhistle	370548 564008	Girls Only
Warrington, Elizabeth	93	70		Haltwhistle	371147 564230	

8.2.10 SOUTHERN REGION: ALL (NON-PAS) SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	ID	DATES (1800s)	SCHOOL TYPE	ADDITIONAL NOTES
Allendale	15	70, 80	Charity Trust	First established in 1693. A school board consisting of 11 members was formed 2 April 1877, B. Dixon Clerk to the Board.
Allenheads	16	70	British	
Allendale Town	409	90	Board	Erected in 1879 for 200 children; average attendance was 50 boys and 66 girls.
Allenheads	294	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1848 transferred in 1877 for 230 children; average attendance was 42 boys and 58 girls.
St. Peters at Forest High	17	70, 80	National	
St. Mark's	295	80, 90	CoE	
Catton	410	90	Board	Erected in 1879 for 100 children; average attendance was 65.
Forest High	411	90	Board	Erected in 1879 for 100 children; average attendance was 40.
Sinderhope School at Forest Low	296	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1856 for 80 children; attendance was 40.
Keenley	18	70	British	
Keenley	297	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1875 for 50 children; average attendance was 25.
Ninebanks	19	70	British	
Ninebanks	298	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1854 with residence for schoolmaster and mistress for 140 children; average attendance was 56.
Carr Shield	299	80, 90	Board	Erected in 1851 with residence for Master and Mistress for 200 children; average attendance 45.
Birtley (Broomhope) Formerly Chollerton	47	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1834 and enlarged in 1858 for 70 children; average attendance is 59; endowed with £5 pa by the trustees of Betton's charity and with £10 pa by the Duke of Northumberland.

Blanchland (or 'High Quarter', formerly Hexham)	48	70, 80, 90	Parochial	The Parish Schools were erected by the trustees of Lord Crewe's Estate in 1850 and are partly supported by them: they will hold 50 boys & 70 girls and Infants; average attendance is 30 boys and 34 girls and infants.
Bywell-St-Andrew	311	80, 90	National	Erected in 1871 for 120 children; average attendance is 70. Attached to the school is a library of 180 volumes.
Bywell-St-Peter Free School	59	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1851 with a dwelling of the master with a £1000 donation from W.B. Beaumont Esq. M.P. Built for 130 children; average attendance is 98.
Chollerton	70	70, 80, 90	National	With teacher's house attached, for the use of the schoolmaster. The school will hold 120 children; average attendance was 86.
St. Mary's	317	80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1870 to hold 78 children; average attendance was 43.
Corbridge	73	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1855 for 310 children; average attendance was 225.
Halton Shields Village	421	90	CoE	Erected in 1873 to hold 63 children; average attendance was 25.
Greenhead	116	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 120 boys and 120 girls; average attendance was 80 boys and 80 girls.
Lady Capel's	118	70, 80, 90	CoE	Enlarged in 1871 and again in 1889 for 450 children; average attendance was 69 boys and 98 girls. A school board of 5 members was formed on 8 March 1871; J.Maxwell, West End, clerk to the board; Thomas Ridley is Attendance Officer. School Attendance Committee: John Maxwell of Haltwhistle is Clerk; John McClare Clark of Cumberland Union Bank, Haltwhistle is Treasurer; William Coulson of Haltwhistle is Surveyor.
Haltwhistle	336	80, 90	Board School	Erected in 1875 for 500 children; average attendance was 248.
Featherstone	337	80, 90	National	Erected in 1875, can accommodate 90 boys and girls; average attendance is 75.
Hartleyburn	338	80, 90	National	Erected in 1874 for 50 children. Also, at Hartleyburn is a mechanics institute and reading room with a small library of 200 books.
Haltwhistle Industrial School	433	90	Industrial School	Established on 8 October, 1885 is now (1889) being enlarged for 26 girls; there are 21 at present in the home, who oversee a matron and assistant matron. Girls Only.
Henshaw	120	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1870 for 120 children; average attendance was 80.

Plenmeller	121	70, 80	CoE	Erected on Rev. Dixon Browns land and supported by him. Erected for 80 boys and girls.
Willimoteswick	122	70, 80	National	
Haydon Bridge Free Schools	125	70, 80, 90	Grammar School	Erected in 1880 (possibly rebuilt from schools established in 1685) at the cost of £3,200 for 300 children. The free Grammar School founded and endowed in 1685 by the Rev. John Shaftoe, Vicar of Warden, for boys, girls and infants, new buildings being erected in 1880 at the cost of £3,200 for 300 children. At the same time the alms-houses for 20 poor persons of the chapelry, founded by the trustees in connection with this charity, were reduced to 10, the weekly dole being increased from 3 to 6 shillings weekly, with an allowance of coals; the charity is governed by seven trustees. Yearly grants are made from the funds of the charity to schools at Grindon, Langley, Newbrough, Warden and Belford, near which the property of the trustees is situated.
Grindon Village	126	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Supported in part by an annual grant of £10 from Shaftoe's charity.
Langley Village	127	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected in 1852 by the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital and endowed with £10 pa from Shaftoe's charity.
Haydon Bridge	128	70, 80	CoE	Infants only
Dean Row Village	434	90	Endowed	Erected in 1852 by the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital and endowed with £20 pa from Shaftoes Charity.
Healey St. John	340	80, 90	National	Erected for 40 children; average attendance was 32.
Espershields with Mill Shields	341	80, 90	R.C.	

Hexham Grammar	132	70, 80, 90	Grammar	Founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1599 and regulated by a decree of the High Court of Chancery in 1827. Open to boys of Hexham (£1 and £1 10s per quarter). Miss Mary Robson (School Mistress) also on The Union Workhouse Board). The Union Workhouse, situated at Peth Head, and erected in 1839, is a substantial building of stone, and has room for 264 inmates; John W. Jameson, Master; Thomas Stainthorpe M.D. Medical Officer; Mrs Eliza Jameson, Matron; Mrs Jane Brown, industrial trainer. School Attendance Committee: Mets at the Board room monthly, on Tues, 11:45 a.m. Clerk, Isaac Baty, Hexham; Attendance Officers, G.A. Shield, Hexham; John Johnson of Haydon Bridge; W.J. Richardson of Stocksfield; J.Henderson of Acomb; W.Philipson of Prudhoe. Inquiry Officers, G.A. Shield of Hexham; George Dickinson of Allendale; W.J. Richardson of Stocksfield; J. Henderson of Acomb. A School Board of 7 members was formed 6 February 1874. L.C. Lockhart, clerk to the board; attendance officer is James Smith, Market Street.
Hexham	133	70	National	
Hexham	343	80, 90	Board	Subscription school now Hexham Board School. Clerk to Assessment Committee, School Attendance Committee and Bellingham Highway Board Isaac Baty Junior. Beaumont Street. Built on a site given by W.B. Beaumont Esq. M.P. for 900 children; average attendance was 700.
St. Mary's	134	70, 80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1840 for 180 children; average attendance was 130.
Bagraw	135	70, 80, 90	National	Built by subscription in 1830 and was endowed with £9 pa by the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, for which nine poor children are educated at half the fees paid by the other pupils; the school will hold 50 children; average attendance is 40.
Humshaugh	435	90	National	Erected in 1833 for 120 children; average attendance was 91.
St. Peter's	147	70, 80	CoE	
Humshaugh Infants	148	70, 80		
Kirkhaugh	350	80, 90	Parochial	Plan house built with Master's residence attached in 1870 for 50 children; average attendance is 21 and endowed with £2 10s pa; arising out of Teasdales Bond.

Knaresdale	157	70, 80, 90	National	Built about 1852 and recently (1889) enlarged for 100 children; average attendance is 51 and endowed with £5 pa, the rent of 5 acres of land
Herdley Bank	159	70, 80, 90	Colliery	For the parish of Lambley erected in 1863 by the Coanwood Coal Co. by whom it is principally supported; it will hold 160 children; average attendance was 125.
West Acomb	160	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1860 for 180 children; average attendance was 140.
Anick	161	70, 80, 90	National	Supported in part by the trustees of the late William Cuthbert Esq.
Matfen Village	362	80	CoE	Supported by Sir Edward Blackett
Matfen	442	90	National	Erected for 70 children; average attendance is 60. and chiefly supported by Major-Gen. Sir Edward W. Blackett bart
Great Whittington	165	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected for 60 children; average attendance was 50 and has a small endowment
Ingoe	166	70	Voluntary	Erected in 1851 but converted to a board school in 1876. Ingoe School Board formed in 1876 with 7 members. Richard Little was clerk to the board.
Ingoe	363	80, 90	Board	Erected by subscription in 1851 and transferred to the School Board in 1876 for 70 children; average attendance is 28. A School Board consisting of 7 members was formed 4 April 1876 for the United District of Ingoe, Kearsley and Walrdige; Rev. W.B. East of Matfen is Clerk to the Board; Martin Jameson of Ponteland is Attendance Officer.
Mickley	167	70, 80, 90	Colliery	Erected in 1856 by the owners of Mickley colliery for 290 children; average attendance was 250
Eltringham	444	90	Board	Board School erected in 1886, for 146 children; average attendance was 97. A School Board of 5 members was formed for Eltringham on 11 August 1884; W.Dodd of Gateshead is Clerk to the Board; John Philipson of Prudhoe was Attendance Officer.
Hedley-on-the-Hill	168	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 45 children; average attendance was 28.
Newbrough	180	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1853 for 150 children; average attendance was 95
Newbrough	181	70, 80, 90	National	Girls and Infants erected in 1880 for 100 children; average attendance was 85.
Ovingham	229	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 75 children; average attendance was 56

Horsley	382	80, 90	National	Erected in 1877 at the cost of Major Matthew Charles Woods of Holeyn Hall. It will hold 80 children; average attendance was 50.
Ovington	227	70, 80, 90	CoE School	Erected in 1843 and enlarged in 1850 and in 1880 for 150 children; average attendance was 80.
Wylam	228	70, 80, 90	British	Erected in 1854 for 220 children; average attendance was 180.
Prudhoe	383	80, 90	National	Erected in 1874 by the Mickley Coal Co. for 190 children; average attendance was 84.
High Prudhoe	234	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1866 for 460 children; average attendance was 360
Prudhoe	384	80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1873 for 230 children; average attendance is 166.
Bingfield	238	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Erected for 50 children; average attendance was 16.
Wall Village	239	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected to hold 120 Children; average attendance was 80.
Shotley Village	252	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Erected 150 children; average attendance was 50 (founded and endowed by A. Young in 1796 and rebuilt by subscription in 1834. The former schoolhouse was transformed into the schoolmaster's house. The present school was erected in 1874 mainly by the trustees of Lord Creme and the late Thomas Wilson Esq.
Simonburn	2253	70, 80, 90	National	Erected for 80 children; average attendance was 36. The school received £45 per annum through an endowment. The farm of Tecket belonged to the trustees of Hiles Heron's Charity, yearly value of £250 for the educational purposes and distribution in money. Half the amount goes to support a school in Wark with the rest assigned to the poor inhabitants of the old parish of Simon burn.
Slaley	393	80, 90	Parochial	Erected in 1873 for 80 children; average attendance was 50. Endowed with £3 10s pa and the rent of a house.
Stamfordham	254	70, 80, 90	Endowed	Founded in 1663 by Sir Thomas Widdrington. £170 endowment pa. Reorganised under a scheme given by Order in Council 29 June 1878; the present building was erected in 1879 and will hold 200 boys; average attendance is 74. The yearly income arising from the endowment is now £170 with a house and garden for the Master and a small field in the village. The children of Wallridge are part of the Ingoe United School Board District and therefore attend the school at Ingoe.

Hawkwell	255	70	National	
Hawkwell	394	80, 90	R.C.	Erected in 1857 for 80 children; average attendance was 45. Endowed by Miss Isabella Riddell of Cheeseburn Grange
Warden Village	270	70, 80, 90	CoE	Erected for 104 children; average attendance was 95.
Wark	271	70, 80, 90	National	Founded by the Will of Giles Heron in 1679 a new building was being constructed in 1889 for 200 children. Endowed with £150 per annum derived from rental and charitable revenue. The old schoolroom with master's residence, erected by the Governors of Greenwich Hospital and the trustees of Heron's Charity, was rebuilt in 1879 and will hold 200 children; average attendance was 94.
Crookbank	401	80, 90	National	Erected in 1876 for 30 children; average attendance was 20. The school was supported financially by a voluntary rate
Whitfield	275	70, 80, 90	Parochial	Established by the late William Ord Esq. for 65 children; average attendance was 25
High Quarter	277	70, 80, 90	National	
Dalton	278	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1849 for 76 children; average attendance was 40.
Ordley	279	70, 80, 90	National	
Whittonstall	281	70, 80, 90	National	Erected in 1841 for 80 children; average attendance was 45.

8.3 APPENDIX THREE: NORTHUMBERLAND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA 1851 - 1891

8.3.1 ALL REGIONS (OVERVIEW)

A) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL POPULATION				
REGION	1851	1891	CHANGE	% Change
NORTHERN	46,354	37,452	- 8,902	- 19.20
CENTRAL	40,414	74,938	+ 34,524	+ 85.43
WESTERN	15,153	12,982	- 2,171	- 14.33
EASTERN	150,729	341,560	+ 190,831	+ 126.61
SOUTHERN	41,318	44,308	+ 2,990	+ 7.24
TOTAL	293,998	511,240	+ 217,242	+ 73.89

B) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION				
REGION	1851	1891	CHANGE	% Change
NORTHERN	9,866	7,293	- 2,573	-26.08
CENTRAL	8,101	15,779	+ 7,678	+ 94.78
WESTERN	3,011	2,385	- 626	- 20.79
EASTERN	29,488	70,800	+ 41,312	+ 140.09
SOUTHERN	8,502	8,865	+ 363	+ 4.27
TOTAL	58,968	105,122	+ 46,154	+ 78.27

C) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL PRIVATE ADVENTURE SCHOOLS (PAS)				
REGION	1870	1880	1890	Change 70-90
NORTHERN	2	7	7	+ 5
CENTRAL	11	14	13	+ 2
WESTERN	0	1	1	+ 1
EASTERN	82	64	83	+ 1
SOUTHERN	10	9	9	- 1
TOTAL	105	95	113	+ 8

D) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL SCHOOLS (NON-PAS)				
REGION	1870	1880	1890	CHANGE 70-90
NORTHERN	55	68	66	11
CENTRAL	60	71	69	9
WESTERN	23	31	34	11
EASTERN	90	127	126	36
SOUTHERN	53	68	67	14
TOTAL	281	365	362	80

E) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL PRIMARY INDUSTRY OCCUPATIONS

REGION	1851	1891	CHANGE	% Change
NORTHERN	8,968	6,644	- 2,324	- 25.91
CENTRAL	6,794	14,433	+ 7,639	+ 112.44
WESTERN	3,813	2,316	- 1,497	- 39.26
EASTERN	10,408	18,546	+ 8,138	+ 78.19
SOUTHERN	8,570	8,048	- 522	- 6.09
TOTAL	38,553	49,987	+ 11,434	+ 29.66

F) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL SECONDARY INDUSTRY² OCCUPATIONS

REGION	1851	1891	CHANGE	% Change
NORTHERN	4,340	3,320	- 1,020	- 23.50
CENTRAL	4,718	5,851	+ 1,133	+ 24.01
WESTERN	1,183	1,081	- 102	- 8.62
EASTERN	25,328	56,625	+ 31,297	+ 123.57
SOUTHERN	4,389	3,503	- 886	- 20.19
TOTAL	39,958	70,380	+ 30,422	+ 76.13

G) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL TERTIARY INDUSTRY³ OCCUPATIONS

REGION	1851	1891	CHANGE	% Change
NORTHERN	4,340	3,320	- 1,020	- 23.50
CENTRAL	4,718	5,851	+ 1,133	+ 24.01
WESTERN	1,183	1,081	- 102	+ 24.01
EASTERN	25,328	56,625	+ 31,297	+ 123.57
SOUTHERN	4,389	3,503	- 886	- 20.19
TOTAL	39,958	70,380	+ 30,422	+ 76.13

H) ALL REGIONS: TOTAL QUATERNARY INDUSTRY⁴ OCCUPATIONS

REGION	1851	1891	CHANGE	% Change
NORTHERN	8,278	6,681	- 1,597	- 19.29
CENTRAL	6,452	10,984	+ 4,532	+ 70.24
WESTERN	2,320	2,020	- 300	- 12.93
EASTERN	21,615	55,886	+ 34,271	+ 158.55
SOUTHERN	6,083	7,719	+ 1,636	+ 26.89
TOTAL	44,748	83,290	+ 38,542	+ 86.13

¹PRIMARY INDUSTRY (Economic sector concerned with or relating to extraction and harvesting of natural resources such as agriculture, mineral extraction and forestry etc.).

Occupations include: Agriculture, Estate work, Forestry, mining and quarrying and miscellaneous rural labourers.

²SECONDARY INDUSTRY (Economic sector concerned with processing and manufacturing goods such as factories, industrial plants and transportation etc.).

Occupations include: Food industries, drink industries, tobacco industries, clothing, textiles, wood industries, industries using leather, bone and feathers, rope, furnishing, paper, printing, earthenware or pottery, glass, precious metals, instrument making, chemical production, rubber manufacturing, fuel industries, iron and steel manufacturing, non-ferrous metal production, metal working, machine or tool making, electrical goods or equipment, gas equipment, coach or cart building, boat or ship building, locomotive manufacturing, stone and mineral processing industries, building and construction industries, road works, railways, water and sewage industry, minor manufacturing (cottage industries) and miscellaneous production.

³TERTIARY INDUSTRY (Sector of the economy concerned with the provision of services such as retail, entertainment, legal or financial services etc.).

Occupations Include: Merchants, sellers and dealers; small traders; food, drink and accommodation services, storage, entertainment, media, personal services, funeral services, building maintenance, sanitary services, laundry work, domestic service, financial services, commercial administrative services, regulation or measurement, agents, engineers, legal services and the armed forces

⁴QUARTERNARY INDUSTRY (sector of the economy concerned with research, intellectual and spiritual pursuits such as ecclesiastic and educational services etc.).

Occupations include: Artistic professions, religious services, educative services, academic positions; students, pupils or scholars; landowners and communications.

8.3.2 NORTHERN REGION

PARISH	ID	TOTAL POPULATION		SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION		SCHOOLS (NON-PAS)			SCHOOLS (PAS)			PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS					
												PRIMARY		SECONDARY		TERTIARY	
		51	91	51	91	70	80	90	70	80	90	51	91	51	91	51	91
HAREHOPE	252	62	47	13	11							12	8	6	1	15	7
DITCHBURN	253	86	37	11	5							29	14	0	0	12	1
STAMFORD	258	125	139	28	24							50	56	6	4	9	14
DUNSTAN	260	256	251	52	46	1	1	1				74	63	15	18	31	30
EMBLETON	261	656	667	126	153	1	1	1				120	97	79	70	64	98
NEWTON BY THE SEA	262	274	225	63	52	1	1	1				65	59	12	5	35	22
FOLLODON	263	122	77	29	7	1	1					33	23	7	2	11	15
ROCK	264	248	215	56	35							55	73	13	6	27	32
BRUNTON	267	73	35	7	7		1	1				26	5	8	0	8	9
SOUTH CHARTLON	268	239	98	46	11	1	1	1				56	16	23	15	23	12
NORTH CHARLTON	269	175	181	33	32							41	55	14	9	26	30
DOXFORD	270	75	95	13	18							23	22	2	1	6	27
ELLINGHAM	271	400	259	78	48	1	1	1				115	60	28	12	61	34
CHATHILL	272	47	61	13	9							15	9	1	0	6	18
NEWSTEAD	273	139	109	32	14							50	38	5	9	6	6
RATCHWOOD	274	16	4	3	0							7	2	0	0	1	1
LUCKER	275	322	212	77	32	1	2	2				106	56	19	10	36	33
WARENFORD	276	30	15	5	0							12	4	0	1	2	5
WARENTON	277	135	102	29	11							52	45	3	0	8	12
MOUSENN	278	70	69	9	15							34	30	0	1	5	3
OUTCHESTER	279	118	90	31	16							41	37	0	2	8	8
SPINDLESTONE	280	143	92	32	10							27	19	6	3	13	18
BRADFORD	281	53	86	10	18							24	25	0	3	3	9
ADDERSTONE	282	299	256	63	47							103	77	20	13	29	33
NEWHAM	283	373	255	80	48	1	1	2				136	61	15	16	29	27
FLEETHAM	284	61	60	8	9							26	26	1	2	7	6

SWINHOE	285	187	132	49	26							64	41	5	7	10	14
TUGHALL	286	134	89	31	19							51	31	1	0	11	16
BEADNELL	287	326	320	75	72	1	1	1				70	67	20	10	41	55
NORTH SUNDERLAND	288	1198	918	269	182	1	1	1				224	136	95	74	153	128
SHORESTON	289	98	95	18	18							30	22	5	5	16	9
ELFORD	290	123	66	32	9							44	25	1	2	6	3
BURTON	291	98	96	21	12							39	43	3	2	4	4
GLORORUM	292	47	35	13	5							16	14	1	3	2	2
BUDLE	293	93	63	16	12							25	17	0	2	16	12
BAMBURGH	294	416	431	59	80	1	2	2				134	50	18	38	73	83
FARNE ISLANDS	295	20	16	4	1							0	0	0	4	6	5
BELFORD	296	1226	886	232	177	2	2	2	1	1	1	163	102	139	92	220	190
DETCANT	297	150	101	31	15							58	35	6	6	14	18
EASINGTON	298	174	123	34	17							41	32	17	8	22	27
EASINGTON GRANGE	299	78	57	20	6							31	26	0	4	12	12
MIDDLETON	300	111	161	23	34	1	1	1				27	42	3	6	11	39
ROSS	301	49	49	12	9							20	21	0	1	4	6
ELWICK	302	69	51	7	11							42	25	3	1	6	2
ANCROFT	303	1385	1579	338	301	3	3	3				64	487	215	76	242	167
HOLY ISLAND	304	948	460	242	94	1	1	1				250	92	24	18	43	75
KYLOE	305	1637	833	348	160	0	2	2				91	248	282	38	278	118
TWEEDMOUTH	306	3241	5497	770	1226	4	6	6				545	460	263	773	401	1025
BERWICK UPON TWEED	307	12003	8715	2448	1663	9	9	9	1	5	6	952	474	1664	1057	2579	2580
LONGRIDGE	308	74	122	13	22							32	18	1	10	10	39
LOANEND	309	176	102	39	16							56	38	5	2	22	19
HORNCLIFFE	310	358	318	76	60	1	1	1				88	57	32	27	38	53
THORNTON	311	167	110	36	22			1				59	39	1	9	22	9
NORHAM MAINS	312	109	94	22	21							39	36	1	6	12	8
DUDDO	313	286	207	70	43			1				80	61	16	8	23	26
NORHAM	314	1033	886	197	166	2	2	1				203	148	90	77	153	222
SHORESWOOD	315	428	220	102	35	1	1	1				133	76	12	10	26	21
FELKINGTON	316	186	109	45	25							63	36	5	7	9	3
GRINDON	317	132	109	22	14	1	1					60	46	4	3	16	17
TWIZELL	318	366	250	91	45							115	83	17	8	21	25

CORNHILL ON TWEED	319	939	652	206	124	1	1	2				253	163	51	35	103	123
CARHAM	320	1354	1057	253	190	2	2	2				439	312	86	75	140	155
BRANXTON	321	284	224	60	57	1	1	1				92	59	17	24	37	20
HOWTEL	322	195	119	38	21		1	1				51	36	3	5	38	12
KILHAM	323	258	145	58	26							79	49	16	7	23	13
PASTON	324	208	170	50	35							88	60	2	5	9	22
COLDSMOUTH AND THOMPSONS WALL	325	20	8	2	1							7	3	0	0	3	1
GREYS FOREST	326	44	39	10	5							14	11	0	0	9	5
HETHPOOL	327	44	12	9	1							17	2	1	0	9	4
WESTNEWTON	328	91	51	18	4							27	22	2	1	21	4
CROOKHOUSE	329	37	29	7	2							12	13	4	1	2	0
LANTON	330	118	77	19	16							34	31	8	1	12	9
KIRKNEWTON	331	41	71	10	18	1	1	1		1		17	18	0	0	1	8
YEAVINGER	332	29	50	8	11							7	19	0	1	1	4
COUPLAND	333	160	97	46	15							24	18	8	3	14	28
MILFIELD	334	246	174	54	31	1	1	1				68	30	25	16	32	31
FORD	335	2301	1471	501	293	4	4	3				499	347	169	108	268	232
LOWICK	336	1915	1338	426	260	1	4	3				483	323	149	99	153	184
DODDINGTON	337	397	225	87	45	1	1	1				95	74	41	11	37	25
EWART	338	157	81	26	13		1					47	16	13	7	21	12
HUMBLETON	339	159	140	25	37							48	27	11	12	13	16
EARLE	340	49	76	9	27							20	22	0	4	6	3
MIDDLETON HALL	341	66	57	17	17							17	13	3	0	5	11
MIDDLETON	342	207	70	57	14							72	22	7	1	11	8
ILDERTON	343	120	117	31	23							26	37	1	3	11	11
ROSEDEN	344	92	52	19	8							30	21	1	1	8	7
SELBYS FOREST	346	99	57	19	14							30	19	4	0	8	9
AKELD	347	186	158	40	26							43	40	11	8	21	22
NESBI	348	125	218	26	32							47	67	3	10	12	40
WOOLER	349	1869	1312	388	251	3	3	3				232	86	271	191	313	311
CHATTON	350	1815	1173	387	196	1	2	2				490	314	146	66	174	173
CHILLINGHAM	351	158	148	37	36	1	1	1				47	19	6	12	24	28
HEPBURN	352	107	78	23	15							43	28	4	2	12	10

NEWTON	353	115	108	16	17							49	42	7	0	9	19
WEST LILBURN	354	234	233	41	44	1	1	1				68	64	12	4	46	47
EAST LILBURN	355	100	84	19	19							38	30	2	1	7	11
OLD BEWICK	356	101	169	27	41	1	1	1				35	44	9	8	6	13
NEW BEWICK	357	191	75	45	12							39	35	15	1	24	9

8.3.3 CENTRAL REGION

PARISH	ID	TOTAL POPULATION		SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION		SCHOOLS (NON-PAS)			SCHOOLS (PAS)			PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS					
												PRIMARY		SECONDARY		TERTIARY	
		51	91	51	91	70	80	90	70	80	90	51	91	51	91	51	91
COWPEN	29	4045	13127	898	2729	7	8	7	2	4	1	569	2148	568	1412	414	1569
BEBSIDE	30	127	91	27	21							17	19	27	7	4	16
EAST THORNTON	161	73	54	18	13							26	11	10	0	6	6
NETHERWITTON	164	293	173	55	33		1	1				44	22	43	15	54	46
WITTON SHIELDS	165	25	0	4	0							7	0	3	0	3	0
STANTON	166	110	70	20	9							39	29	10	3	15	10
LONGSHAW	167	43	25	7	3							16	8	1	0	3	7
BIGGES QUARTER	168	280	239	50	57	1	1	1				54	40	23	12	44	42
RIDDELLS QUARTER	169	201	91	43	15							55	22	15	3	24	9
FREEHOLDERS QUARTER	170	119	108	15	26							22	15	9	7	16	22
FENROTHER	171	96	43	14	4							35	22	5	0	5	8
CAUSEY PARK	172	93	78	17	8	1	1	1				22	22	7	8	10	13
HIGH AND LOW HIGHLAWS	173	101	87	23	24							33	19	6	3	12	15
PIGDON	174	46	39	11	4							9	6	0	0	11	13
NUNRIDING	175	31	22	4	3							8	7	0	0	0	2
THROPHILL	176	71	26	9	4							19	13	10	0	13	2
NEWTON PARK	177	17	12	6	1							4	6	1	0	0	0
NEWTON UNDERWOOD	178	92	60	21	10							26	23	3	2	4	7
BENRIDGE	179	58	59	13	13							16	16	3	0	3	7
MITFORD	180	217	200	49	48	1	1	1				43	37	15	11	43	51
MOLESDON	181	25	34	3	6							16	15	3	3	1	4
SPITAL HILL	182	18	21	2	3							3	6	0	0	8	9
EDINGTON	183	24	22	3	3							9	6	0	1	2	3
MELDON	184	144	149	24	19		1	1				35	12	10	15	29	49
RIVERGREEN	185	34	26	7	6							14	7	2	1	3	6
MORPETH	186	4336	5879	815	998	6	6	6	4	4	4	183	360	784	834	974	1697

MORPETH CASTLE	187	171	256	30	59							46	29	5	6	27	68
NEWMINISTER ABBEY	188	125	192	21	30							26	26	4	15	27	68
TRANWELL AND HIGH CHURCH	189	68	74	11	12							27	18	0	2	9	15
HEPSCOTT	190	208	188	48	40		1					46	42	12	10	12	20
BEDLINGTON	191	5099	16979	1025	3757	8	8	9	2	1	1	1088	4058	665	923	460	11427
WOODHORN	192	1638	2687	324	601	6	6	5	2		1	351	761	144	93	259	201
WIDDRINGTON	193	841	954	155	216	1	1	1				175	262	71	32	143	84
WEST CHEVINGTON	194	104	587	19	144							25	147	5	20	11	34
BULLOCKS HALL	195	20	15	4	2							8	6	0	0	0	2
EAST CHEVINGTON	196	376	1550	90	382	2	2	2				116	456	17	73	21	102
HADSTON	197	103	79	21	14							34	30	1	3	11	4
ULGHAM	198	329	695	56	166	1	1	1				69	217	18	17	27	53
OLD MOOR	199	84	72	20	19							23	21	5	1	4	8
ASHINGTON AND SHEEPWASH	200	77	145	19	30							27	31	3	8	11	10
BOTHAL DEMESNE	201	267	5476	69	1377	1	2	1				85	1456	22	253	18	262
PEGSWOOD	202	215	1400	35	348							83	377	22	33	31	50
LONGHIRST	203	293	814	50	182		1	1				33	252	29	33	26	60
COCKLE PARK	204	95	30	20	3							19	6	5	1	5	2
TRITLINGTON	205	123	103	22	15	1	1	1				29	22	8	6	16	21
EARSDON	206	68	1247	11	292							23	381	4	53	8	73
EARSDON FOREST	207	26	22	5	3							9	7	0	0	4	3
HEBRON	208	117	110	31	21							25	31	7	9	7	7
BOCKENFIELD	209	116	89	18	26							50	17	3	4	11	8
EAST AND WEST THIRSTON WITH SHOTHAUGH	210	281	252	39	46	1	1	1				57	45	26	29	48	39
ESHOTT	211	135	127	19	28							53	36	6	2	8	28
FELTON	212	708	535	131	105		1	1		1		74	38	115	69	113 7	102
ELYHAUGH	213	15	15	2	1							5	6	1	0	1	3
SWARLAND	214	174	144	48	27							39	32	6	5	17	29
GREENS AND GLANTLEES	215	50	17	8	2							21	4	1	0	4	3
ACTON AND OLD FELTON	216	94	92	11	9							28	26	1	0	25	24
HAZON AND HARTLAW	217	118	62	28	16							47	15	0	0	9	12

NEWTON ON THE MOOR	218	287	221	48	48	1	1	1				64	38	33	21	54	29
SHILBOTTLE	219	636	459	151	96	1	1	1				192	105	38	27	59	47
WOODHOUSE	220	41	31	8	8							7	11	7	0	0	2
GUYZANCE	221	213	168	46	34							67	24	16	16	16	24
MORWICK	223	70	74	16	18							11	19	7	0	5	7
ACKLINGTON PARK	224	104	77	17	18							9	23	30	3	11	11
ACKLINGTON	225	284	238	50	43	1	1	1			1	43	55	48	16	36	40
TOGSTON	226	207	502	41	102							54	136	13	19	59	41
HAUXLEY	227	817	1025	205	233		2	2				190	258	36	42	92	43
AMBLE	228	1041	3019	273	589							94	463	96	280	105	446
GLOSTER HILL	229	45	39	12	3							10	8	3	2	6	8
WARKWORTH	230	837	709	158	121	2	2	2		1	1	98	70	93	71	154	176
BIRLING	231	73	104	11	29							18	27	2	8	11	16
STURTON GRANGE	232	130	89	26	15							32	26	1	0	22	13
LOW BUSTON	233	109	98	22	13							35	41	1	1	20	16
HIGH BUSTON	234	97	85	8	9							22	15	9	6	29	18
ALNMOUTH	235	488	600	112	126	1	2	1			1	63	23	28	56	74	162
LESBURY	236	744	955	144	202	1	1	1				176	152	36	75	70	151
ALNWICK	237	7319	7544	1379	1465	6	5	7	1	3	3	539	465	1143	995	165 0	1900
BASSINGTON	238	8	8	0	2							3	2	0	0	2	1
ABBERWICK	239	148	88	35	16							51	23	4	6	13	15
BOLTON	240	165	121	34	29	1	1	1				43	17	11	7	30	33
LEMMINGTON	242	149	70	30	10							49	24	9	2	14	7
BROOME PARK	243	78	50	15	8							14	14	0	0	21	12
TITLINGTON	246	81	81	18	21							26	13	10	1	5	12
EDLINGHAM	250	149	114	31	18	1	1	1				39	32	9	3	25	18
EGLINGHAM	251	357	284	66	56	1	1	1				80	35	35	27	53	45
SHIPLEY	254	147	59	34	14							62	21	4	3	18	3
LITTLEHOUGHTON	255	165	121	42	18							40	42	17	3	21	20
LONGHOUGHTON	256	986	607	155	84	1	2	2				143	155	80	37	75	89
HOWICK	257	315	271	70	40							59	55	21	10	58	60
CRASTER	259	222	197	49	40	1	1	1				59	42	3	8	40	41
RENNINGTON	265	269	260	58	58	1	1	1				94	72	14	17	31	35

BROXFIELD	266	28	20	3	4							13	12	0	0	3	1
BRINKBURN	376	225	169	37	24	1	1	0				63	35	11	6	33	40
LONGFRAMLINGTON	377	549	470	100	100	1	1	1				75	80	76	40	38	59
TODBURN	378	18	18	2	4							9	8	0	0	0	1
WINGATES	379	183	102	36	17	1	1	1				50	29	9	6	18	9

8.3.4 WESTERN REGION

Parish	ID	Total Population		School Age Population		Schools (non-PAS)			Schools (PAS)			PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS					
												PRIMARY		SECONDARY		TERTIARY	
		51	91	51	91	70	80	90	70	80	90	51	91	51	91	51	91
BOLAM	61	634	554	124	107		1	1				119	59	54	58	86	122
EAST SHAFTOE	62	30	24	6	7							16	8	1	0	3	3
WEST SHAFTOE	63	36	15	5	1							10	10	5	0	3	2
BIRTLEY	99	428	395	77	83	1	1	1				108	64	41	35	56	81
SMALESMOUTH	126	167	140	33	29	1	1	1				69	26	13	7	20	17
WELLHAUGH	127	333	259	72	43	1	1	1				99	71	21	25	26	59
PLASHETTS AND TYNEHEAD	128	224	405	43	69		1	2				46	56	20	26	30	67
ROCHESTER	129	459	351	93	56	2	2	2				118	81	37	25	71	88
OTTERBURN	130	415	264	87	43	1	1	1				73	49	39	34	38	63
THROUGHEND	131	264	236	47	40							93	63	11	12	34	48
THORNEYBURN	132	167	121	37	27							72	17	10	4	20	27
BELLINGHAM	133	1593	1305	362	225	3	3	3			1	343	178	131	127	224	338
TARSET WEST	134	173	101	39	26	1	1	1				63	29	4	1	11	15
CORSENSIDE	135	579	680	118	156	1	1	1				97	104	44	71	55	77
CARRYCOATS	136	33	37	10	6							7	5	2	5	3	5
SWEETHOPE	137	22	8	3	0							4	3	1	0	1	1
GREAT BAVINGTON	140	78	37	18	5		1	1				20	8	4	2	10	8
WEST HARLE	141	22	7	7	0							3	3	0	0	4	3
CROOKDEAN	142	6	5	0	0							1	3	0	0	2	2
WEST WHELPINGTON	143	36	69	2	18							15	12	1	2	9	17
KIRKWHELPINGTON	144	227	192	32	33	1	1	1				64	22	33	25	28	37
CATCHERSIDE	145	11	9	1	0							5	3	0	0	2	2
COLDWELL	146	6	3	0	0							2	1	0	0	3	0
LITTLE HARLE	147	67	57	15	12							6	8	4	0	10	20
KIRKHARLE	148	168	94	28	20							54	24	18	5	22	16
DEANHAM	149	31	22	1	0							15	8	2	0	2	4

WALLINGTON DEMESNE	150	204	169	34	37	1	1	1				39	19	24	10	32	34
CAMBO	151	106	74	27	11							14	3	19	13	16	26
WHITRIDGE	152	7	4	4	0							2	2	0	0	0	0
HARTBURN GRANGE	153	59	61	11	8							23	9	3	2	7	15
HARTBURN	154	40	26	9	4	1	1	1				4	3	4	0	8	8
TODRIDGE	155	5	5	1	0							2	2	0	0	2	2
MIDDLETON	156	127	174	25	35							33	31	6	13	18	30
HIGHLAWS	157	7	6	0	0							5	2	0	0	1	3
CORRIDGE	158	25	7	5	0							14	3	1	0	1	0
LOW ANGERTON	159	52	51	7	10							18	8	3	4	12	9
HIGH ANGERTON	160	117	72	22	11							27	7	14	5	17	25
WEST THORNTON	162	68	58	13	12							14	8	1	5	9	15
LONGWITTON	163	149	100	19	23							38	15	11	3	18	14
LEARCHILD	241	51	41	10	8							14	8	8	2	5	7
GLANTON	244	601	539	112	109		1	1				90	41	77	67	112	123
SHAWDON	245	94	109	23	18							32	28	4	4	15	24
CRAWLEY	247	25	28	3	7							15	8	0	2	0	3
HEDGELEY	248	81	123	12	24							32	15	0	11	12	31
BEANLEY	249	166	105	35	26							71	22	6	7	12	18
RODDAM	345	156	85	38	17	1	1	1				35	24	4	0	23	14
WOOPERTON	358	86	75	17	13							42	22	1	3	12	9
BRANDON	359	168	91	53	22							58	28	7	3	12	8
BRANTON	360	102	78	18	17			1				38	30	2	1	7	11
FAWDON CLUNCH AND HARTSIDE	361	68	30	15	2							17	20	2	0	16	5
REAVELEY	362	60	61	19	20							11	16	1	1	12	6
INGRAM LINHOPE AND GREENSHAWHILL	363	70	59	19	19	1	1	1				18	15	3	0	15	8
ALNHAM	364	132	94	26	18		4	1				41	23	4	2	10	9
PRENDWICK	365	55	45	12	6							15	20	1	3	3	6
UNTHANK	366	44	9	10	0							14	6	3	0	3	1
SCRAINWOOD	367	60	47	16	15							23	13	0	0	7	4
NETHERTON NORTH SIDE	368	74	52	11	11			1				17	10	9	5	12	7
NETHERTON SOUTH SIDE	369	83	85	18	19				1			8	19	15	4	20	14
CALLALY AND YETLINGTON	370	274	265	51	53		1	1				63	57	6	20	41	46
LITTLE RYLE	371	21	22	0	3							5	7	1	2	6	4

GREAT RYLE	372	78	72	14	16							35	24	4	3	3	9
WHITTINGHAM	373	710	501	149	91	1	1	1				156	74	64	57	100	85
LORBOTTLE	374	111	51	19	5							25	17	2	2	10	4
ROTHBURY	375	2284	2441	464	401	3	4	4				486	353	231	281	384	545
COATYARDS	380	6	7	0	2							2	2	0	0	2	1
NUNNYKIRK	381	24	24	3	2							3	3	0	1	13	10
HEALEY AND COMBHILL	382	31	18	2	0							12	8	1	1	4	3
EWESLEY	383	17	21	1	5							4	5	0	1	6	5
RITTON COLT PARK	384	84	72	19	18							25	12	4	2	6	5
RITTON WHITE HOUSE	385	19	35	2	7							8	7	0	2	0	5
GREENLEIGHTON	386	25	7	4	1							9	4	2	0	4	1
HARWOOD	387	40	22	6	3							21	8	2	0	4	5
HARTINGTON	388	68	39	13	8							24	10	3	0	6	5
HARTINGTON HALL	389	51	24	12	3							13	6	3	0	5	6
ROTHLEY	390	141	105	22	18							47	20	10	4	15	20
FAIRNLEY	391	28	3	6	0							10	1	2	0	1	1
MONKRIDGE	392	93	59	17	6							30	19	7	3	16	6
ELSDON	393	313	199	63	30	1	1	1				80	36	21	15	38	42
HEPPLE	394	85	123	14	34		1	1				32	18	6	10	11	19
WOODSIDE	395	112	84	20	16							39	18	1	3	18	17
HOLYSTONE	396	163	92	30	11	1	1	1				38	18	15	9	18	25
HARBOTTLE	397	159	118	26	19	1	1	1				12	8	30	12	43	36
BARROW	398	17	8	4	2							4	2	0	0	2	1
LINSHEELES	399	97	81	19	12							34	34	2	3	12	11
ALWINTON	400	690	457	117	79							223	116	36	16	105	79
KIDLAND	401	61	79	10	12							27	34	1	0	7	7

8.3.5 EASTERN REGION

PARISH	ID	Total Population		School Age Population		Schools (non-PAS)			Schools (PAS)			PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS					
												PRIMARY		SECONDARY		TERTIARY	
		51	91	51	91	70	80	90	70	80	90	51	91	51	91	51	91
BENWELL	1	1,274	10,357	243	2319			1	1			85	877	216	1914	173	1079
ELSWICK	2	159	52064	26	10404	6	8	7	5	5	5	7	649	8	10370	34	10346
WESTGATE	3	12,315	30300	2,443	6044	3	5	5	23	20	20	292	387	2521	6020	2147	6467
FENHAM	4	100	147	17	31							11	21	2	4	16	36
ST ANDREW (NEWCASTLE)	5	15,731	19819	2457	3366	4	5	8	15	9	3	359	240	2401	2845	4837	6578
ST JOHN (NEWCASTLE)	6	9,692	3669	1730	681	3	5	5	3		1	153	36	2418	983	2005	732
ST NICHOLAS (NEWCASTLE)	7	5,579	3497	998	550	5	6	4	1	1	2	87	55	1417	756	1150	1179
ALL SAINTS (NEWCASTLE)	8	25570	28208	4901	57	7	6	5	7	3	2	244	184	5591	6159	4750	5851
BYKER	9	7979	32508	1732	41	1	4	9	2	2	3	163	391	2076	6929	849	4566
HEATON	10	487	8722	111	7512	1	2	2			5	87	74	33	1108	61	2059
JESMOND	11	2061	8568	362	1762		1	1	1	4	11	78	97	195	503	655	3502
WALLSEND	12	5714	20217	1239	1533	3	9	10	2		1	694	258	882	5388	694	1877
EARSDON	13	551	1884	103	4636	1	1	1				103	474	49	96	68	168
CHIRTON	14	3960	13071	893	379	11	12	13	10	6	10	382	572	539	1819	422	2266
MONKSEATON	15	424	574	76	3030							91	77	36	33	70	113
MURTON	16	481	664	107	116		1	1				46	7	81	104	42	229
PRESTON	17	983	2263	183	129				3	1	2	105	82	58	177	259	620
WHITLEY	18	428	2611	84	440	1	2	2	1	1	5	29	50	49	194	122	857
NORTH SHIELDS	19	8051	6177	1604	505		1	1				43	257	1344	1001	1985	1631
TYNEMOUTH	20	15418	23919	2959	1075	3	3	2	3	4	4	413	377	2053	3151	3671	5928
CULLERCOATS	21	695	1640	156	4968					1		131	204	23	147	118	340
LONGBENTON	22	8442	22275	1884	336	8	10	10	1	3	2	1636	3125	1083	3192	593	2155
SEGHILL	23	1867	2274	390	4800	3	3	3				597	669	82	117	97	117
BACKWORTH	24	491	2242	113	525	1	2	2				74	643	50	114	49	171
HOLYWELL	25	1134	2803	263	515		1	1				306	744	59	103	41	153
HARTLEY	26	1626	1116	325	630	2	2	2				172	281	237	45	199	94

SEATON DELAVAL	27	2723	4119	624	234	2	2	2				811	1076	11103	252	132	318
NEWSHAM AND BLYTH	28	2418	3625	489	945		1	1	3	1	1	211	379	322	321	430	680
HORTON	31	204	2233	36	511	1	2	1				55	642	14	121	19	180
EAST AND WEST HARTFORD	32	67	315	10	52							15	72	4	26	9	13
CRAMLINGTON	33	3362	6020	766	1288	1	4	4				922	1629	217	305	153	406
STANNINGTON	34	999	1030	199	215	3	3	2				183	260	89	127	130	153
HORTON GRANGE	35	75	61	19	6							27	17	1	0	8	4
BRENKLEY	36	43	36	6	6							17	11	0	0	8	5
MASON	37	126	967	30	231							34	305	112	31	17	44
DINNINGTON	38	259	271	53	66		2	2				37	53	42	21	22	37
WOOLSINGTON	39	59	76	7	11							10	10	0	0	25	26
PRESTWICK	40	148	184	25	43							47	40	9	9	17	17
BERWICK HILL	41	96	91	20	18							28	28	3	0	15	12
COLDCOATS	42	40	34	10	9							17	9	0	0	6	3
DARRAS HALL	43	22	11	5	0							10	8	0	0	1	1
LITTLE CALLTERTON	44	16	9	2	0							9	5	0	5	1	2
HIGH CALLERTON	45	115	112	12	21							47	21	7	3	13	20
MILBOURNE	46	92	72	14	12							29	15	4	1	17	17
MILBOURNE GRANGE	47	38	23	9	6							14	5	1		4	2
HIGHHAM DYKES	48	15	16	1	1	1	1	1				7	5	0	1	6	2
KIRKLEY	49	171	144	30	32	1	1					57	35	3	6	49	30
PONTELAND	50	495	410	90	74	1	1	1				60	51	72	46	91	93
EAST BRUNTON	51	90	135	19	31							24	29	4	1	4	9
WEST BRUNTON	52	105	78	21	12							29	17	5	4	11	4
NORTH GOSFORTH	53	123	144	18	25	1	1	1				17	18	11	12	37	34
FAWDON	54	254	524	64	142							56	140	12	8	27	15
SOUTH GOSFORTH	55	246	1082	48	209	1	2	2		2	4	61	74	18	110	18	274
COXLIDGE	56	970	5656	209	1178	2	3	3			2	224	449	62	546	91	1451
KENTON	57	549	627	111	110	1	2	1				108	157	43	22	67	65
TWIZELL	58	47		7								24	0	1	0	5	0
WHALTON	60	460	477	75	83	1	1	1				162	89	44	62	78	83
NEWBURN	67	4307	10226	899	2181	10	11	9	1	1		616	1779	585	1230	413	1077
HEDDON ON THE WALL	68	813	1163	161	241	1	1	1				82	287	137	83	94	138

8.3.6 SOUTHERN REGION

PARISH	ID	Total Population		School Age Population		Schools (non-PAS)			Schools (PAS)			PARENTAL OCCUPATION					
												PRIMARY		SECONDARY		TERTIARY	
		51	91	51	91	70	80	90	70	80	90	51	91	51	91	51	91
SHILVINGTON	59	63	48	11	11							33	17	1	0	8	9
CAPHEATON	64	226	206	37	39	2	1	1				50	34	18	11	49	36
KIRKHEATON	65	153	140	31	30							54	25	8	4	28	15
STAFORDHAM	66	1781	1352	366	239	3	4	4				335	247	161	101	236	242
OVINGHAM	69	3950	9156	835	2024	6	9	10		1	2	914	2183	383	601	309	803
SHOTLEY HIGH QUARTER	70	559	298	137	55	1	1	1				151	44	38	16	59	71
SHOTLEY LOW QUARTER	71	668	595	162	133	1	1	1				121	106	70	37	44	67
BYWELL ST ANDREW	72	480	619	100	110	1	1	1				115	90	31	26	72	194
BYWELL ST PETER	73	1532	1803	306	366	1	4	3				370	350	137	132	183	338
HIGH FOTHERLEY	74	142	65	30	14							35	17	14	5	13	6
SLALEY	75	581	428	106	85		1	1				117	108	68	29	64	69
THORNBROUGH	76	89	57	8	12							34	20	2	3	4	7
AYDON	77	104	117	28	23							42	20	3	4	5	25
CORBRIDGE	78	1427	1669	295	304	1	1	2	1	1		190	83	208	197	211	475
DILSTON	79	204	239	38	43							43	46	9	12	43	65
AYDON CASTLE	80	23	19	38	4							9	6	0	0	3	3
HALTON	81	262	60	2	9							50	8	23	3	39	18
CLAREWOOD	82	55	93	57	19							17	19	2	2	2	12
GREAT WHITTINGTON	83	202	226	14	39	1	1	1				48	39	22	19	28	39
LITTLE WHITTINGTON	84	38	14	35	3							13	6	0	0	3	0
ST JOHN LEE	85	500	503	8	72	1	1	1				91	62	66	27	127	168
HEXHAM	86	5231	6015	108	1185	4	4	4	4	6	4	285	242	1066	740	1074	1730
HEXHAMSHIRE HIGH QUARTER	87	243	138	1017	24	1	1	1				104	42	4	1	21	22
HEXHAMSHIRE LOW QUARTER	88	488	352	64	62	1	1	1				126	93	35	24	37	38
HEXHAMSHIRE MIDDLE QUARTER	89	312	201	100	33							122	78	21	9	37	29
HEXHAMSHIRE WEST QUARTER	90	279	198	56	33							72	42	17	11	32	41

ALLENDALE	91	6376	3296	65	586	5	7	7				1527	771	529	172	603	397
HAYDON	92	2085	2089	1420	406	3	3	3			1	358	388	290	149	254	365
ACOMB	93	635	915	407	203	1	1	1	1			166	140	47	78	59	177
FALLOWFIELD	94	38	33	158	7							16	10	1	0	3	3
WALL	95	474	431	6	84	1	1	1	1	1		73	73	47	56	62	85
COCKLAW	96	195	183	96	26							53	63	11	15	16	20
BINGFIELD	97	125	46	40	4	1	1	1				27	15	1	0	11	6
HALLINGTON	98	106	80	32	15							36	13	10	7	12	11
WARK	100	854	740	12	122	1	2	2				142	173	82	55	112	154
CHOLLERTON	101	1136	1134	160	219	1	2	2				266	218	81	107	102	190
SIMONBURN	102	486	425	201	72	1	1	1				120	78	23	31	74	93
HAUGHTON	103	168	115	102	18							42	16	28	9	13	27
HUMSHAUGH	104	446	496	36	77	2	2	1				92	45	75	78	55	126
BLACK CARTS AND RYEHILL	105	3	22	0	2							2	3	0	1	1	2
WARDEN	106	646	914	137	201	3	3	3	1			170	147	74	106	82	127
NEWBROUGH	107	548	787	115	145	1	1	1				143	172	45	56	69	91
WHITFIELD	108	339	316	51	48	1	1	1				109	66	24	12	41	78
KIRKHAUGH	109	285	122	37	10		1	1				85	39	21	1	69	21
KNARSDALE	110	917	406	162	67	1	1	1				191	128	100	28	252	70
LAMBLEY	111	365	701	60	160	1	1	1				70	182	34	24	76	63
HARTLEYBURN	112	460	515	102	135		1	1				135	151	34	18	29	37
COANWOOD	113	152	146	29	23							46	54	4	5	19	8
FEATHERSTONE	114	314	320	69	61		1	1				74	96	15	9	56	33
PLENMELLER	115	170	197	33	57	1	1	1				61	33	9	2	25	44
BELLISTER	116	131	140	30	27							27	37	11	12	23	17
MELKRIDGE	117	264	323	60	67							90	73	21	18	36	61
BLINKINSOPP	118	788	699	198	154	1	1	1				203	172	51	34	78	92
HENSHAW	119	607	500	115	108	1	1	1				200	102	59	42	69	73
RIDLEY	120	245	210	46	47	2	2	1				69	46	11	9	31	32
THORNGRAFTON	121	305	276	65	50							100	74	18	17	29	54
HALTWHISTLE	122	1419	2348	290	524	1	2	2	2		2	209	247	169	296	216	525
THIRLWALL	123	425	602	82	133							75	161	39	38	60	71
WALL TOWN	124	81	59	16	13							39	24	5	1	7	10
CHIRDON	125	83	71	15	16							16	14	9	3	12	10

THOCKRINGTON	138	36	39	2	7							14	7	3	0	2	5
LITTLE BAVINGTON	139	82	49	22	11							16	8	2	0	10	9

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The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette (<i>BC</i>)	1884
Aris's Birmingham Gazette (<i>BG</i>)	1855
Berwickshire News and General Advertiser (<i>BN</i>)	1876 - 1890
Durham County Advertiser (<i>DA</i>)	1872 - 1873
Newcastle Daily Chronicle (<i>DC</i>)	1859 - 1893
Newcastle Daily Journal (<i>DJ</i>)	1871 - 1882
Newcastle Evening Chronicle (<i>EC</i>)	1886 - 1899, 1985
Hexham Courant (<i>HC</i>)	1877 - 1897
Hartlepool Daily Mail (<i>HM</i>)	1897
Jarrow Express (<i>JE</i>)	1881 - 1882
Liverpool Mercury (<i>LM</i>)	1878
Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser (<i>MC</i>)	1892
Manchester Evening News (<i>ME</i>)	1870
The Morpeth Herald (<i>MH</i>)	1879 - 1907
Morning Post (<i>MP</i>)	1848
Newcastle Courant (<i>NC</i>)	1871 - 1877
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