CHANGING PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN SHROPSHIRE FROM THE RESTORATION UNTIL THE
FIRST TREASURY GRANT
1660 - 1833
by
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This study aims to investigate the nature and extent of education in so far as it concerned Shropshire children in the period between the Restoration and the first Treasury grant to education. A wide variety of hitherto largely unexploited sources, both local and more centrally-based, has been employed.

The whole falls into two main sections. In the first of these, the material is treated statistically. Parish provision is quantified in both 1660 and 1833, and the intervening period surveyed to determine the rate at which any development is likely to have proceeded. Figures are given for those of school age and the number of places provided for them. Conclusions are then drawn as to how effective the schools were in meeting the needs of the community.

The second section, which is thematic, opens by discussing the relationships between education and the social and economic theory of the time. The approach is fundamentally individualistic in the subsequent two chapters which deal with the origins and motives of the funders and purveyors of this education. The children, too, are studied as individuals, with their background, progress and eventual employment each receiving attention. A concluding chapter synthesises a number of findings for other counties during the same period and thereby highlights similarities and contrasts between Shropshire and elsewhere.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude both to the staff of certain institutions and to several individual people, without whose help it would have been impossible to complete the present work.

Amongst the former I am indebted to the staff of a number of schools, particularly to Mr C.E. Aspinall, the headmaster of Thomas Adams' School, Wem; but also to the head teachers of a multitude of primary schools in the county, who had the patience to answer my enquiries into their foundation and subsequent history. The staff of the various libraries deserve to be thanked, too. The Archivist of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr Arthur Barker, was especially kind in allowing me to use the Library outside its official hours of opening, and for drawing to my attention items of particular interest.

The staff of two other private libraries, those of the National Society and of the British and Foreign School Society, both in London, went considerably beyond their normal duties, too. I would not wish to overlook the help willingly given by the assistants at the various public depositories I have visited in connection with this study: the Shropshire Record Office, the Hereford Record Office and the National Library of Wales, not least for the trouble they have taken to provide photocopies of documents which would otherwise have taken
Of those individuals whose help I would like to acknowledge, I would especially like to thank the Chairman of the Trustees of Millington's Hospital, Shrewsbury, Mr Dennis Salt, for permitting me to consult records covering the Hospital's early history, before they became available to the general public; Mr G.C. Baugh, editor of the *Victoria History of Shropshire*, for giving me access to typescript copies of a forthcoming volume, as well as for numerous miscellaneous pieces of information at odd times; and Miss Eileen Beard, Audio-visual Aids Officer, University of Keele, for her help in developing the photographs. These acknowledgements would be incomplete if I failed to mention my colleague and friend Mr Alyn Thomas of the University of Keele for all his thoughtful suggestions, constructive comments and sustained encouragement towards earlier drafts of this work.
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(i) THE SHROPSHIRE BACKGROUND

(a) Physical geography

Shropshire was described by the topographer the Rev. Thomas Cox in 1700 as 'an Inland County, counted by some the biggest of the kind...', encompassing an almost circular area of 890,000 acres\(^1\). This vast tract of land, comprising as it did no less than 170 parishes and including fifteen or more market towns\(^2\), was cut into two near equal halves by the River Severn. This river, into which poured numerous rivulets, divided the northern plains from the southern hills and dales. What especially distinguished Shropshire from the other Midland counties was that more than 80% of this land was already enclosed by the time Cox wrote, as compared with a mere 30-40% of theirs.

The physical position of Shropshire is a land locked one, and this contributed to its remoteness: its county town during the period under investigation, occupied a quite isolated

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1 Rev. Thomas Cox A Topographical, Ecclesiastical, and Natural History of Shropshire (1700) p.601
2 A century later, Joseph Plymley listed seventeen in his General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire (1803) p.334
situation, far from the coast and the arteries of trade; Ludlow in the south, meanwhile, was buried in the Welsh Marches.

Communications in the county at this time were, thus, restricted to road and river. The roads, however, were notorious throughout the year, and were especially bad during the winter months when repair work was often quite impossible. Of the southern parish of Stoke St Milborough, Archdeacon Plymley Corbett wrote at the end of the eighteenth century that

the inhabitants must resort thither along a very bad road of fifteen miles for the purpose of justice;

whereas in the neighbouring parish of Clee St Margaret,

the roads are narrow and deep and during winter impassable to all except the natives who are well acquainted with their miry depths... most of the roads are impassable for horses even in summer through a part of this and neighbouring parishes.

His sister's remarks twenty years later tend only to bear out those of his own: 'the season of the year does not suit for dining at Longnor & going on to Ludlow... the weather & roads were very bad...'. However, though most contemporary observers were agreed on the calamitous state of English roads generally in the eighteenth century: 'ruinous, miry, deep, broken, and

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1 Cited in Trevor Rowley The Shropshire Landscape (1972) p.242
2 Ibid. pp.242-43
3 S.R.O., Archdeacon Plymley Corbett's sister's diary, Book 90, 20 Mar. 1812
Shropshire

By
H. Moll Geographer.

Map 1: Moll's map of Shropshire, 1724
in great decay', as commented one\(^1\), L.C.Lloyd believes that roads in the Franchise of Wenlock (where these two parishes were situated) might, nevertheless, have been slightly better looked after than in other parts of the county\(^2\). Water transport, on the other hand, was in large part restricted to the Severn until 1796, when the Ellesmere Canal united the river with the Dee and Mersey, and so opened up communication with Bristol and Liverpool. This superiority of river over road transport determined economic development in east Shropshire. It also led to a dramatic increase in this area's population.

(b) Population

The two most frequently used indices of population in the late seventeenth century have been the Hearth Tax returns (1662-89) and the Compton Census (1676). The value of both sources is severely restricted, however, for neither is tailor made to provide such an estimate. The most complete surviving example of the former for Shropshire, that drawn up in 1672, recorded merely the number of householders in each

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1 Burn *Justice of the Peace*, cited by the Webbs in *King's Highway* p.51
2 L.C.Lloyd *Eighteenth-Century Highway Administration in an area of South Shropshire*, *T.S.A.S.* LVI (1957-60) p.325
parish and hamlet (17,737). This means that a suitable multiple has to be chosen, based upon the relationship which these are thought to bear to the population as a whole. Though 4.5 is often selected as reasonable to embrace the householder’s immediate family (so giving an estimated 79,817 inhabitants in the county in 1672), the problem is that a single house might well be occupied by more than one family. The Hearth Tax, by recording the head of the household alone, failed to take these other families into consideration. Another major limitation of these returns for Shropshire, in common with elsewhere, is the difficulty in computing figures for individual parishes. Though many parishes certainly appear in the assessment, the Tax was based on the hundred and its divisions, which, beneath the upper and lower elements, were often ‘boroughs’ and constablewicks, now very difficult to trace.

The usefulness of the Compton Census is also subject to certain reservations. Compiled in order to estimate the feared growth of nonconformity in the years immediately

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2. The folly of doing this at least for the beginning of the nineteenth century becomes very evident from the St Asaph visitation enquiry of 1806 which asked respondents to record both the number of families and the number of inhabitants. For Llanymynech 4.5 persons per family were reported, for St Martin’s c.4.8, for Knockin and Llanyclodwell 5, for Whittington c.5.2 and for Oswestry c.6 persons per family. In 1809, as high a figure as 6.1 can be computed from the Whittington return.
succeeding the Restoration, it recorded the absolute numbers of conformists, nonconformists and Roman Catholics by parish (for Shropshire 55,913, 644 and 366 respectively), though there are forty-five omissions. These figures are themselves a little suspect, too often being in multiples of ten; yet, it is claimed that when the three elements are added back together again, some sort of population statistic is obtainable. In the case of Shropshire, a figure of 56,923 is gleaned in this way.

It is far from clear even then, however, exactly who in each parish was included in the enumeration: merely the total number of families, which, when juxtaposed against the figures from the Heath Tax, seems far too high; or the full extent of the population, which is rather too low. It appears more likely that those included in the Survey were men, women and servants aged sixteen and over. This means that we must add on to this figure those who had not attained this age. On the basis of data collected from Lichfield, Gregory King computed that c.60% of the population were sixteen years of age or over in 1695, which suggests that we should multiply our estimates, based on

the Compton Census, by a factor of 1.67, so yielding 94,872, almost 20% above that obtained from the Hearth Tax analysis above. We must, therefore, be content by saying that at the beginning of the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the population of Shropshire is likely to have been somewhere between 80,000 and 95,000, or, on average, 57.68 people per square mile.

Though the value of early estimates of population from sources strictly designed for a different purpose is disputable, by the time of the 1801 census, we know that the county had a population of 167,639 and an average population density of 119 people per square mile. The scattered spread of its inhabitants is demonstrated especially vividly when comparison is made with the situation in Kent at this time. A county of very similar extent (995,015 acres), the latter contained almost twice as many people as did Shropshire, 307,624 in 1801, or 198 people per square mile. The most populous parishes in Shropshire at this date were Wellington (7,531), Oswestry (5,839) and Ellesmere (5,553), though the coalfield parishes of Broseley (4,832), Madeley (4,758) and Dawley Magna (3,869) were more dense. Indeed, at the beginning
of the nineteenth century, 17% of the population of Shropshire lived on the Shropshire coalfield. It was the industrial prosperity of this area, and in particular mineworking, which was largely responsible for a quite extraordinary increase in population here between 1750 and 1800. Madeley parish, to take an example, grew rapidly from 2,690 in 1782 to 3,677 little more than a decade later\(^1\), an increase of almost 40%. Broseley, too, in 1790 was described by contemporaries as 'a very populous parish'\(^2\), and the same source dubs Coalbrookdale and Madeley Wood as 'very large and populous, on account of their iron-founderies'\(^3\). The increase of population was also considerable at Lilleshall in the years before 1799\(^4\). A further 25% of the county's population at this time lived in Shrewsbury and the other market towns where rapid population growth was also occurring. Between 1768 and 1838, the population of Ludlow, for instance, more than doubled. The very busy nature of some of these market towns at the turn of the eighteenth century is testified to in the contemporary directories. Shrewsbury had markets for Welsh cloths, freezes and flannels; Shifnal, markets

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1. Joseph Plymley *General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire* (1803) p.344
3. Ibid. p.867
4. S.R.O. 3916/1/1, Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's visit. bk, f.69r., 30 Oct.1799
for cattle, horses, sheep and hops; and Ludlow for butter, corn, poultry and domestic articles. Others, especially the older market towns, e.g. Bishop's Castle (1,313) and Bitterley (1,083), were no larger than many Midland villages. Indeed, as Mr Rowley has already observed, the essential feature of Shropshire during this period was the hamlet or township, more common than the village proper, and consisting of only half a dozen or so dwellings¹.

(c) Economy

Though much of Shropshire was still given over to agriculture, and the north-east and south of the county had been traditional farming districts for arable and dairy produce, increasingly during the period under study, fewer and fewer people were directly concerned with the production of foodstuffs, until, by the turn of the eighteenth century, almost one half might have been engaged in other activities. Indeed, apprenticeship indentures testify to the great variety of trade and industry in the county as early as the seventeenth century. Clothiers, glovers and victuallers could be found in

¹ Rowley, op. cit. pp.25-26
the towns, and coal and stone masters in the already expanding Coalbrookdale area.

Along the Severn and the canals was a flourishing water traffic industry during the latter part of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Shrewsbury, Coalbrookdale and especially Broseley were the great centres through which the traffic flowed. Lead, iron, bricks, tiles, pottery and pipes were exported via Liverpool; whilst imports included hay, hops, cider, timber and groceries.

Various kinds of mineral working were also prevalent in the county. By the early eighteenth century, Shropshire was a major iron-making centre. In 1708 Abraham Darby demonstrated a new method of smelting iron with coke rather than with the traditional charcoal, and the returns to the visitation articles of enquiry thereafter contain several references to iron-smelting in these eastern parishes. The churchwardens of Barrow noted in 1716 that 'We have a Furnace for melting of Iron-Stone in our Parish...'. Furnace men were recorded at Madeley in the same year; and a furnace for the 'making of Iron' was also mentioned in the 1716 return for Willey.

1 H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., Bishop Philip Bisse, 1716
2 Ibid.
At the end of the century, the Broseley section in the *Universal British Directory* (1790) recorded the presence of William Banks and John Onions, Esqrs of Benthall, and of John Wilkinson Esq. and Alexander Brodie, Esq., ironmasters; and for Dawley, Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq. of Bagsore, together with Mr Thomas Botfield who owned a large coal and iron works, Messrs Francis and John Humphrey who owned another, and William Reynolds, Esq. who owned an iron furnace and several forges. These men had helped to bring about a revolution in the iron trade, as a result of which, for most of the second half of the eighteenth century, more iron was being produced in Shropshire than in any other county. The allied chain-making industry was also advancing, no more so than at Stirchley where, in the early nineteenth century, Gilbert Gilpin made improvements in chain-making which led to the substitution of chains for hempen ropes.

Coalmining was another important form of mineral working. Nationally, the Shropshire coalfield in the seventeenth century was second in importance only to that of Northumberland and Durham. At Madeley in 1790, the lord of the manor, Richard Reynolds, Esq., was the owner of extensive coal works; whilst

1 *U.B.D.* p. 867
on the other side of the river at Broseley, the Earl of Dundonald was extracting mineral tar from coal\(^1\). Coal was being mined at Lilleshall, also, in 1824\(^2\). In the Morda valley in the south of Oswestry parish, coal had been mined since 1600.

Lime was a third mineral exploited. At Llanymynech during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, we know there to have been a great influx of people to work lime\(^3\).

These mineral-working industries - coal, iron and lime - were able to develop due to rich mineral resources, i.e. a geological determinant. This same determinant influenced the site of manufacture of building materials and household utensils. Clay was available from the Severn Valley, and in particular, from Broseley and its neighbourhood which were well known for both red and white clays. One of the more famous and extensive works to be set up was the Burton's white brick works in Benthall. There were also brick works in the Morda valley; whilst at Meole Brace in the early nineteenth century, brickmaking was undertaken by children in the summer months\(^4\).

Pottery had been made using the beds of clay in the Severn

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1 U.B.D. p.668
2 S.R.O. 3916/1/3, Archdeacon Hugh Owen's visit, bk, 28 May 1824
3 'Application for Aid...', 14 Mar. 1825, National Society Archives
4 National Society Report IX (1820) p.176
Valley even to supply the ancient city of Uriconium. By c.1750 there was a porcelain works near Broseley dependent upon the plentiful supply of good fire-clay and the presence of coal lying close to the surface. Thomas Turner, Esq. had a large porcelain factory at Barrow in 1790.

Another important group of industries was connected with the clothing trade. In this instance, a significant geographical determinant, the county's proximity to Wales, made possible associations to develop between, on the one hand, Welshpool and Montgomery, where white broad cloth was bought; and, on the other, Shrewsbury, where it was dressed. The Welsh influence was so strong in the county town that in the early eighteenth century 'on a market-day you would think you were in Wales'. So dependent was the cloth trade on Wales, that with the improvement of roads in that country and the opening up of new markets for the cloth makers which this made possible, decay set in after 1790. Glove making, however, continued to flourish, both in Shrewsbury where there had been an ancient gild, and in Ludlow throughout the Napoleonic Wars. Hat making, too, was vigorously carried on in Shrewsbury during these years.

1 U.B.D. p. 868
2 Daniel Defoe A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain (reprint, 1978) p. 398
At Bridgnorth, pillow lace making was introduced by the French refugee, Monsieur de la Motte sometime before 1781.

Hemp and flax were grown by families at Wellington, Whitchurch, Lilleshall, Wrockwardine and Kinnersley at the close of the eighteenth century from which they made linen largely for their own use. Its growers were able to claim government bounties between 1784 and 1794, and it is interesting how many flax field names originate from these years\(^1\). At Felton, spinning wheels were present in every cottage, local weavers then making it up into towels and sheets. Tanning was carried out at Oswestry, which had a Tanners' Company; and at Newport, where there was an extensive tan-yard owned by a Mr Alcock until 1791.

A final category of industries embraced the victualling trade. Malt-grinding was conducted at Chirbury in the early eighteenth century, the churchwardens of that parish presenting William Farmer 'for grinding Mault on the Hand Mill' in the town one Sunday in 1719\(^2\). Malt was also made in Ludlow during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Connected with this trade, though designed specifically to cater for the


\(^2\) H.R.O., visit. arts of eqn., Bishop Philip Bisse, 1719
leisured classes, was the manufacture of tobacco pipes in 
Broseley from the early seventeenth century.

Indeed, this leisure sector came to be a very 
important component in the economy of the county town. No 
more clearly is this evident than from a study of the 
advertisements placed in *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* from its 
commencement during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Included in each weekly issue are advertisements for such 
luxury products as coffee, tea and chocolate; brandy and 
rum; and snuff and tobacco. 'Chio' Italian paste was available 
for the ladies to enamel their necks, hands and face with, and 
give bloom to their skin; there was also honey suckle soap for 
ladies and ladies' hairdressing. Should still further aids to 
beauty be sought, silks, linens and cottons were all on offer 
in profusion. There are notices, too, concerning the Theatre, 
a music festival and horse-racing for the fashionable county 
gentry. Meanwhile, a circulating library tended to the needs 
of those with considerable surplus time on their hands.

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1 There were some, however, who thought that these had now 
'by use become necessaries' (S.R.O., uncat., Archdeacon 
Plymley's sister's diary, Book 92, 19 June 1812)
Shropshire society in the period under review had a comparatively small upper section, widening only a little to take in a relatively slight middle class, and bulging finally to embrace a huge number of the various degrees of poor.

When the incumbents were asked in the episcopal visitation enquiries as to whether there were any families 'of rank' or 'of note' in their parishes, the overwhelming response was a negative one, and that their respective communities housed only farmers and labourers. More substantial men and women were reported in significant numbers only in the towns. Those in the return for St Chad's, Shrewsbury, in 1772, for instance, comprised for the town part General Severne, Roger Kynaston Esq., William Tayleur Esq., Mrs Wingfield, Col. Ackland, Col. Longreve, Robert More Esq. and Sir Lambert Blackwell Standish Esq.; whilst for the country part the names of Col. Cecil Forester, Humphry Sandford Esq., Mrs Kynaston, Richard Morhall Esq., Robert Burton Esq. and Thomas Massenbird Esq. were all cited. Though there were reportedly 'No Families of Rank' in the neighbouring parish of St Julian's in the returns to this enquiry, there were, nevertheless, 'some genteel
ones' there also. Ludlow too, after 1689, developed as a fashionable social centre for the gentry and nobility of the surrounding countryside. A prosperous middle class thereupon began to emerge in order to cater for their various needs. A century later, the *Universal British Directory* mentioned 'the residence of many people of rank and fortune' in Ludlow, and 'the best of company' who assembled for the annual horse races.

By this time, the generous brick houses of men from a growing professional class, together with those of local merchants, would have presented a very pleasing appearance with their Venetian windows and attractively varied door cases.

Beneath the nobility and this quite small urban middle class, the remainder shared agricultural interests.

Though some large, freeholding farmers were noted, as at Donington in 1772 and at Kinnerley in 1791, the vast majority of farmers were of a much more humble status.

'Farmers & cottagers - none rich' were reported at Hinstock in 1799, 'mostly farmers' at Upton Magna in 1772, and farmers 'and by no means enlightened men' at Clunbury in 1823.

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1 *U.B.D.* (1790) p.612
2 L.J.R.O. E/V/5, visit. enq. Bp Brownlow North, 1772, art. I
3 N.L.W. SA/QA/6, visit. enq. Bp Lewis Bagot, 1791, art. I
4 S.R.O. 3916/1/1, Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's visit. bk, f.46 (12), 21 Sept. 1799
5 L.J.R.O. E/V/5, visit. enq. Bp Brownlow North, 1772, art. I
6 'Application for Aid...', 3 Dec. 1823, National Society Archives
Most inhabitants were of a still more inferior status. In
the Clee Hills at the beginning of the eighteenth century,
the inhabitants were 'chiefly Collyers & other poor untaught
people' 1. Colliers were also reported at Wrockwardine and
Sheinton in 1772 2. At Wellington in 1799, 'The greater part
of the Inhabitants are colliers & low educated people who are
not easily brought to the Sacrament 3. At Caynham a little
later, we are told how most of the dwellers were colliers
with large families and whose means were 'very contracted' 4.
Outside these industrial parishes, seasonally-employed
unskilled labourers comprised the bulk of the population.

All below the freeholding farmers were indisputably
poor in that they lived only marginally above subsistence
level and were liable to flounder should there be a poor
harvest. The 1672 distribution of one and two hearth properties –
the typical abode of such men – is illustrated in Map 2.

Unfortunately, no account can be taken of paupers exempt from
the Tax in the individual parishes (strictly, constablewicks),
for these in the Shropshire assessment were listed by hundred.

1 S.P.C.K. A.L.E. v.7 5039, 6 Dec. 1716
2 L.J.R.O. B/5, visit. enq. Bp Brownlow North, 1772, art. I
3 S.R.O. 3916/1, Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's visit.
bk, f.24r. (12), 16 Sept. 1799
4 Letter from Philip Whitcombe, curate, 15 Oct. 1833, to the
Rev. J.C.Wigram, Secretary of the National Society.
Map 2: Proportion of one and two Hearth Tax assessments, 1672: percentages by constablevick. (As it is not possible to take into consideration exempt paupers - listed, for Shropshire, by hundred only - these are minimum figures).
This means that the figures arrived at represent bare minimums.

The situation becomes rather more clear when different poverty levels are grouped (See Map 3), whereby it emerges that the least poor areas were concentrated in the south-east of the county, whilst the areas of acute poverty fell within a fairly well defined band, stretching from Norton-in-Hales and Ightfield in the north-east, to Norbury and Mainstone in the south-west. This picture is confirmed from an examination of the numbers of those exempt from the Hearth Tax on a hundredal basis (See Map 4). Especially poor was the hundred of Purslow in the south-west. Here, there were very few exemptions indeed because above the absolutely destitute all were poor; thus the characteristically high proportions of chargeable poor in this region, including Norbury (94%), Bucknell (94%), Weston (89%) and Sibdon Carwood (89%). Within this band, Shrewsbury, together with both divisions of Bradford Hundred, also contained well below the average number of exemptions from the Tax. The Franchise and Liberties of Much Wenlock in the south-east, on the other hand, emerges as the wealthiest area in the county, for, clearly, such a high proportion of householders (42%) could
Acute poverty ● N.E. - S.W.

SHROPSHIRE
(COUNTY SALOP)

WITH DATE OF COMMENCEMENT OF RECORDS

Lower (●) rates of poverty in S.E.

Map 3: Proportion of one and two Hearth Tax assessments, 1672: grouped
- 90% and above
- 80% - 89%
- 70% - 79%
Map 4: Occupiers exempt from the Hearth Tax, by hundred, 1672
(rounded percentages)
not have been made exempt from the Tax unless the remaining 58% had been able to contribute in no small amount. The figures for chargeable poor are very considerably lower than for Purslow above, with a maximum being recorded at Much Wenlock (77%), middle values at Shipton (69%), Broseley (65%) and Willey (62%), and a minimum figure at Eaton (just 50%).

For the end of the period under review, there are no statistics of 'poverty' as such available, only the number of inhabitants on poor relief. In the early years of the nineteenth century, these amounted to just under 10% of the entire population of the county, though varying from as much as 89% at Posenhall to as little as 2% at Billingsley¹.

(e) Religion

The ideas of this society were fundamentally determined by religious beliefs, so much so indeed that the wealthy, it was thought, had been given their estates expressly because it pleased God that this should be so². Beyond this, 'evil things' were held to hasten one's end³; and illness was commonly explained in terms of 'what pleased

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¹ Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expence and Maintenance of the Poor (1604); A Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Education of the Poor II (1819) p.151
² Richard Gough The History of Myddle (1981 reprint) p.278
³ Ibid. p.60; 90; 126; 149
God. How were these beliefs fostered? What was the strength of the Church after the Restoration; and how important were the various competing sects in Shropshire?

The overseeing function of the Established Church had placed the county largely within three dioceses: first, the vast and unwieldy diocese of Lichfield & Coventry, into which fell the whole northern part of the county, save its western extremity; secondly, the diocese of Hereford, which was responsible for administering the south and west of Shropshire; and finally the diocese of St Asaph in the province of York, into which came nine parishes in the extreme northwest of the county, forming the deanery of Marchia. Halesowen, however, until early in this present century was part of the diocese of Worcester (See Map 5).

Table 1 records the successive bishops in these three principal dioceses during the period under study. It is apparent how there were almost as many men in the St Asaph see as in those of Lichfield & Coventry and Hereford combined. The discrepancy can be explained largely in terms of the

1 Richard Gough The History of Myddle (1981 reprint) p.268
Map 5: Ecclesiastical jurisdictions

- Archdeaconry of Salop, diocese of Lichfield & Coventry
- Archdeaconry of Ludlow, diocese of Hereford
- Deanery of Marchia, diocese of St Asaph
- Royal peculiar
- Other peculiarars of Bridgnorth
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bishop</th>
<th>Diocese of Lichfield &amp; Coventry</th>
<th>Diocese of Hereford</th>
<th>Diocese of St Asaph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>William Lloyd (1692-99)</td>
<td>Herbert Croft (1662-91)</td>
<td>Isaac Barrow (1670-80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690</td>
<td>John Hough (1699-1717)</td>
<td>Gilbert Ironside (1691-1701)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Edward Chandler (1717-30)</td>
<td>Humphrey Humphreys (1701-12)</td>
<td>George Hooper (1703-04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Richard Smallbrooke (1731-49)</td>
<td>Philip Bisse (1712/3-21)</td>
<td>William Beveridge (1704-07/08)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Frederick Cornwallis (1750-68)</td>
<td>Benjamin Hoadly (1721-23)</td>
<td>William Fleetwood (1708-14)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>John Egerton (1768-71)</td>
<td>Henry Egerton (1724-45)</td>
<td>John Wynne (1715-27)</td>
<td>Francis Hare (1727-31)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>Brownlow North (1771-74)</td>
<td>James Beauclerk (1746-87)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Richard Hurd (1775-81)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Tanner (1732-35)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>James Cornwallis (1781-1824)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Isaac Maddox (1736-43)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>John Harley (1787-88)</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Thomas (1743-44)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>John Butler (1788-1802)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Lisle (1744-48)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Samuel Halifax (1789-90)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Drummond (1748-61)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Lewis Bagot (1790-1802)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Newcombe (1761-66)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Philip Herbert Walker Cornwall (1803-08)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jonathan Shipley (1769-80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>John Luxmoore (1808-15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>George Isaac Huntingford (1815-32)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Henry Ryder (1824-36)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edward Grey (1832-37)</td>
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</table>

Table 1: Bishops of the three principal dioceses, 1660-1833
attractiveness of the latter sees, not because of their 
substantially greater wealth\(^1\) — for it was normal to hold 
the episcopate at St Asaph with the archdeaconry there — but 
because of their rather more central location. Indeed, the 
remote, westerly diocese of St Asaph was liable to attract 
only those — of whom Isaac Barrow was one — who occupied the 
still more isolated and impoverished see of Sodor and Man 
(1663-70; 1670-80) or possibly of Exeter, where William Carey 
(bishop of St Asaph, 1830-46) had held the episcopate during 
the whole of the preceding decade. In 1692 Edward Jones, having 
been eager to escape four years earlier from Tyrconnel’s 
pro-Catholic administration in Ireland where he had been 
bishop of Cloyne, was consecrated in the same see and commenced 
an office which was ‘distinguished by corruption, negligence, 
and oppression’. In 1700 he was brought to trial on three 
charges: for promoting to a canonry a notorious person ‘accused 
of crimes and excesses’; for permitting laymen to act as 
curates; and for disposing preferments by simoniacal contract. 
To all of these charges he confessed and he was suspended in 
1701\(^2\).

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1 They were still 'second division' sees under the Rev. 
   Norman Sykes's classification, and commanded a revenue 
   of only between £1,000 and £1,400 p.a. in the 1760's. 
   (See his Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century (1934) p.61)

2 D.N.B.
Men used the St Asaph see, indeed, merely as a stop gap measure whilst looking for better things. This explains why three appointees during this period stayed for a matter of months only, and how a further six held office for five years or less before receiving a very welcome translation. George Hooper, for example, occupied the see for less than a year before being translated to Bath & Wells in 1704, where he was to remain for almost twenty-five years. The diocese's distant location, far removed from the main arteries of communication, presented especially great problems of invigilation. Jonathan Shipley's one month attendance each year on St Asaph (1769-87) was, however, lax even for the standards of the times, and scarcely better than that of the proverbial Hoadley when he was at Bangor. Still less scrupulous was Isaac Maddox (bishop of St Asaph, 1736-43), who, secure in a country house in Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire, often failed even to make the customary summer inspection of his diocese. In 1743 his unenviable situation improved when he was translated to Worcester.

The calculating 'chess board'-type, ever-eastward manoeuvres of men in the sees of Lichfield & Coventry and of
Hereford, made possible on securing the appropriate patronage, give grounds for concern - the ruthlessly efficient William Lloyd apart - about their diligence, or even interest, in their present dioceses. Gilbert Ironside had only needed to bide his time for two years in the impoverished see of Bristol (with which he had been rewarded after the Revolution) before being offered the much more lucrative prize of Hereford in 1691; the man who succeeded to the same see in 1712/3, Philip Bisse, had been waiting in the 'wings' for a similarly short period of time at another decidedly third division see, St David's. The careers of John Egerton and of Ffolliott Herbert Walker Cornwall each included their appointment to three different sees. Consecrated bishop of Bangor in 1756, Egerton was translated to Lichfield & Coventry in 1768, where he remained for less than three years before his succession could be secured at Durham. Cornwall's climb, which began with his relatively humble ordination as canon at Windsor in 1784

1 Nominated bishop of Lichfield & Coventry in July 1692, this exceptionally learned man 'continued at Lichfield the policy which had made him so notorious in St Asaph'. After his predecessor, Thomas Wood's lax rule, Lloyd's disciplining both clergy and laity was much resented. In a letter written to Bishop Watson of St David's in 1702, one of his clergy referred to Lloyd's 'despotical government' in the diocese which included this 'cruel inquisitor's' entering descriptions of the clergy in secret in a special long book, the 'Lichfield Diocese Valor', 1693-98, preserved today at the William Salt Library, Stafford. (A.Tindal Hart William Lloyd 1627-1717 Bishop, Politician, Author and Prophet (1952) pp.138-40
and then as dean of Canterbury in 1793, was accelerated when he was awarded his first bishopric at Bristol in 1797. Once elevated to the bench, his progress thereafter was speedy, little more than a decade later he being consecrated in his third see, Worcester (1808), having been given Hereford in 1803. At least on one occasion we know that straight money payments were made in order to further a career. The wealthy Edward Chandler, consecrated bishop of Lichfield & Coventry in 1717, would appear to have given £9,000 for the see of Durham to which he was appointed in 1730. For Brownlow North, on the other hand, preferment could be both assured and especially rapid, relying, as he could, on the assistance of his half-brother, Frederick, Lord North, minister of George III. Appointed bishop of Lichfield & Coventry in 1771, North was translated to Worcester in 1774, at that time worth some £3,000 p.a., and thence to the still more enviable prize of Winchester (£5,000 p.a.) in 1781.

When considering the motives of the episcopate outlined above, and taking into account also the vast tracts of land which these bishops had to cover in order to effectively

1 D.N.E.
2 Wealth of sees from Sykes, op. cit. (1934) p. 61
administer their dioceses during those few summer months when they were not in London, it seems surprising that there was not a quite infectious spread of people who, able successfully to disregard the dictates of the Established Church, became dissenters. And yet, commenting on the figures for early nonconformity given in the Compton Census of 1676, the Rev. W.G.D. Fletcher could quite legitimately write that

... considering that only sixteen years had elapsed since the Puritans were in power, and comparing the Shropshire figures with those of other counties, it is evident that Nonconformity was not popular in Shropshire.

Those few dissenters who were present were in evidence in the traditionally Puritan centres of Bridgnorth, Ludlow and Clun in the south of the county; and in the north in the county town and its surrounding district and as far out as Whitchurch and Wem where they were numerous. Oswestry, in the north-west, was also a (relatively) strong centre of dissent.

To consider two of the individual sects in more detail, we know that the towns of Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Broseley, Shifnal and Ludlow had early Baptist societies.

The Quakers, who had suffered very great persecution both

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during the years immediately preceding 1662 and during the thirty years after, were present at Shrewsbury, Broseley, St Martin's and Chirbury in the early eighteenth century.

The Evangelicalism which developed later that same century, in contrast, presented a far more serious threat to established patterns, and has been viewed as of equal importance as industrialism in shaping a new type of society, one in which great economic and social change was taking place particularly for those living in east Shropshire. The threatening relationship between industry and nonconformity was seen by more astute contemporary observers. Charles Cameron, chairman of the managing committee of Wrockwardine Wood National School, observed how 'there being extensive coal and iron works in the neighbourhood, it was rendered 'a most disorderly place and a Nursery of Sectarianism'.

By the time of Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's 1799 visitation enquiry, a considerable increase had taken place in the number of nonconformists, as at this date an estimated 7,000, or approximately one ninth of the county's population, were nonconformists.

1 Barrie Trinder The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire (1973) p.3
2 Chas. Eichd Cameron to the National Society, 'Application for Aid...', 27 Mar. 1826, National Society Archives, File 173, 1826-1939
population were dissenters. But an over-all figure of this sort is misleading for it hides the internal variations.

Indeed, whereas at Moreton Corbett and at Ellesmere the dissenters were said to be 'very few', and at Broughton a mere two dissenters were recorded; at Wellington and Dawley, in contrast, where a mere twenty communicants were reported in a population of 3,869, one sixth or even as much as one fifth of the entire population were Methodists, and their strength had recently been greater still. At Wem, the negligence of the rector was imputed to be responsible for the dramatically rising number of Methodists in that parish. Indeed, in the county as a whole, about half of all dissenters were reckoned to be Wesleyan Methodists who had not entirely broken away from the Church.

Map 6 records the geographical spread of dissent in the archdeaconry of Salop at the close of the eighteenth century. Woodhouse, whose painstaking notes included pages of averages and analysis, summarized the situation thus:

The Dissenters are found chiefly in the towns & populous places, for in 43 parishes there appear to be no Dissenters at all, and in only 15 are to be found any excepting the Westleian Methodists.

1 S.R.O. 3916/1/1; Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's visit, bk, f.112, 1799
2 Ibid. f.112
Map 6: Dissent in the archdeaconry of Salop, 1799

- Roman Catholics
- Quakers
- Methodists
- Other

SHROPSHIRE
(COUNTRY SALOP)
WITH DATE OR COMMENCEMENT OF REGISTERS

A LEE BROOK HURST 1559
B ALBINCION 1519
C WATERS UPTON 1533
D SHREWSBURY ST. MARY 1548
E SHREWSBURY ST. CHAD 1539
P SHREWSBURY ST. JULIAN 1584
C CREAT HAN WOOD 1535
H LONCDON UPON TERN 1591
J EYTON UPON THE WEALED MOORS 1579
K PRESTON UPON THE WEALD MOORS 1580
L EATON CONSTANTINE 1562
M LONCNOR 1581
N PATTON 1578
O BRIDGELAND ST. LEONARD 1561
P BRIDGCENTH OR HEW HILL 1561
O SIBOON CARWOOD 1565
R COLD WESTON 1560
S MIDDLETON SCRIVEN 1560
T DEUXHILL 1565
U OZELLEY 1560
V SILVINCTON
W HOPE BACOT 1564
The map illustrates how Methodism, which had developed largely through the initiative of the Hill family and John Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, and was especially attractive to the poorer inhabitants, had by this date penetrated quite far flung parishes; but that the other sects (in particular the Quakers) were concentrated on the coalfield or in Shrewsbury, where Unitarians and Presbyterians were also in evidence. In addition, there were occasional 'pockets' of Catholicism as at Acton Burnell, where the exiled College of Douay held a seminary and school at the Hall and, in 1799, were in the process of building a large chapel. In Langley, too, they were observed to be 'so busy'. Elsewhere, however, and in scattered parishes, no more than one or two families were of this persuasion.

1 At Grinshill, we are told how 'One fourth of the poorer Inhabitants frequent the methodist meetings at Clive...' (S.R.O. 3916/1/1, Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's visit. bk, f.99 (12), 13 Nov. 1799
(ii) THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the present work, which employs as wide as possible range of sources, including the ostensibly unpromising or oblique, will be to examine educational development within the very particular confines of this county, and to investigate how the quite individual economies and social structures of certain regions and sub-regions within it shaped first the foundations of schools and subsequently the class of children admitted, the type of curriculum implemented and the degree and nature of absenteeism encountered. This uniqueness will be further stressed in the emphasis which will be placed on personality throughout the study, with the psychology of the benefactors, teachers and children all receiving attention; for, all too often the history of education is written from an administrative rather than an individualistic viewpoint. To indicate the immense variety, too, of schools on the ground, as equal prominence will be given to those schools, indeed the majority, which were of a non-institutional kind and of a low organizational value. No sections devoted exclusively to rules and regulations, or to 'styles of architecture' will be found within these pages, therefore. The underlying structure of the work, meanwhile, reflects the author's belief that in county or regional histories of education, quantitative
analysis merits as equal attention as qualitative evaluation.

An opening date of 1660 has been chosen partly so as to put into perspective the 'phenomenal' growth in the number of schools normally reported to have taken place during the first quarter of the eighteenth century; and also so as not to get embroiled in the turbulent years of the Civil War, a period for which records are scant. The date also marks the point when the first soundings were made in the direction of government intervention in education, though these had to be quashed in the impending strife. The year 1833 has been taken as a closing date for this study because it marks the end of the voluntary phase and the first government intervention in education through a Treasury grant. An Abstract of schools for the entire country at this date can also conveniently be employed.
PART ONE

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS
In 1660 there is documented week day provision in twenty-five of the 200 or more Shropshire parishes. In 1833, by way of contrast, of 228 parishes, or their divisions, appearing in the Abstract for that year, 176 parishes etc. had week day educational provision of some type, which left fifty-two without any such form of provision. In other words, there were week day schools in slightly more than three quarters of the parishes at this date¹. Sunday schooling, normally of very recent foundation, was available in 127 places (i.e. rather more than half). In six of these: Hughley, Longdon-upon-Tern, Melverley, Middleton Scriven, Sheinton and Shrawardine, this seems to have been the only form of instruction offered.

There are, however, quite severe methodological problems in computing the number of schools on the ground at the earlier date. It is tempting, for instance, to put great reliance on schoolmasters' subscriptions to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy as a source for revealing educational activity in the Shropshire parishes. The difficulty is that this class of records begins in 1662

¹ These figures are not able to take account of private tutors.
rather than 1660 proper, though they do, plainly, contain the names of men who had been teaching in an unlicensed capacity before this date. Furthermore, they only seem to include the more affluent or at any rate more well established schoolmasters, doubtless due to the initial cost of obtaining and the further cost of exhibiting a licence, leaving aside the whole inconvenience of doing so and the difficulties experienced by the episcopate in enforcing this regulation. This helps to explain why in the archdeaconry of Ludlow only twenty of a possible 117 or more parishes appear in this documentation at any time. Moreover, of these twenty, a mere nine: Bitterley, Cardington, Chirbury, Cleobury Mortimer, Ludlow, Lydbury North, Pontesbury, Church Stretton and Much Wenlock are regularly featured, with the remaining eleven appearing on a single occasion only. There is also a suspiciously large percentage of graduates to be found in the subscription books; they reveal nothing about the humble, and far more typical, schoolteacher.

There are weaknesses in the churchwardens' presentments, too, when employed as a source to quantify educational provision. The purpose behind their drawing up was to investigate various

1 For an excellent discussion on the value of ecclesiastical sources generally, see Rosemary O'Day 'Church Records and the History of Education in Early Modern England, 1558-1642: A Problem in Methodology', History of Education Vol.2 No.2 (June 1973) pp.115-32
infringements and irregularities, which, when it came to schools, meant the presence of teachers working without a licence, or their failure to catechize the scholars; nowhere do they require that all schools be reported. This explains why, of the 117 or so Shropshire parishes comprising Ludlow archdeaconry, in no year do more than about one-fifth of the returns (twenty-two in 1662) actually have anything to say beyond 'Nothing to present'. More normally, indeed, less than a handful have any information whatsoever to give, and often the returns are entirely unrevealing. The number of positive identifications of schools in the presentments falls off markedly from the flourish of 1662 and (less so) that of 1663, to the characteristic one, or none at all thereafter reported in the archdeaconry. The impression gained is that the churchwardens soon became less scrupulous, occasioned, perhaps, by the authorities' greater calm following their initial anxiety over dissent in the years directly after the Restoration; perhaps, too, the very novelty of the articles of presentment might also have encouraged (unnecessarily) conscientious completion in the years immediately after 1662. From 1711, no presentments are available for Ludlow archdeaconry. At this point the source, which as we have seen, had never been useful as a statistical device due to the exact phrasing of the educational title, now becomes redundant.
also for providing a qualitative commentary.

There are strong drawbacks in using libri cleri, also, as a yard-stick up against which to measure the number of schools. These are especially evident for the archdeaconry of Ludlow, where we are tempted to draw the (surely untenable) conclusion that the number of schoolmasters (as 'called') in 1660 was identical to that a century later. It would seem safer, and in line with all the other evidence, to conclude that at the later date schoolteachers in charge of the more insignificant schools had long ceased to be recorded by successive bishops.

Even the rigorously particular episcopal questions tend to be singularly disappointing. Not only do they survive haphazardly, but their reliable completion depended very much upon the differing degrees of conscientiousness displayed by individual respondents. The sidesmen of the south Shropshire parish of Bromfield were by no means untypically 'Silent' in response to those articles concerning schools at a rather later date. In common with libri cleri, the articles of enquiry in any case present the investigator with a sample strongly biased in the direction of the rather more wealthy endowed classical schools. Too often, one obtains the impression that

1 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit. enq., Bp Brownlow North, 1772, arts XXII and XXV
chronological gaps and blank spaces fail to do justice to the actualities.

There are suggestions, indeed, that in 1660 there were far more schools than is normally given credit. The churchwardens of the parish of Ludford reported in their presentment of 1662 that

we have no hospital, Alms-house, or free-Schoole... Nor any that keep school (except it be some teaching Children to read)

One wonders how many more schools like this there were. The evidence of the churchwardens of Middleton Scriven lends support to our suspicions that they formed by no means a minority:

... we have never a Schoole master in our pish
But only there is a poore man with in our pish
the wch is olde & lame & one that canott doe any thinge else towards gettinge him a livelyhood
the wch I hope is not to be presented for teachinge two or three boyes or children the primer

On the contrary, might these in fact not have been the most prevalent schoolteachers of the lot? At Greet there was 'onely a poor woman that teaches to spell and read part of the yeare not worthy ye mentioning'; whilst neighbouring Burford had 'one or two petty schools to teach children to spell & read a little not

1 H.R.O. C.W.P. Tit: 6, my italics
2 H.R.O. C.W.P., 23 June 1674 Tit: 6
3 H.R.O. C.W.P., 20 Nov. 1693 Tit: 6
worth ye menconing'¹. The foregoing are examples of small schools providing some sort of rudimentary literacy, and almost certainly in existence elsewhere, too, yet escaping the 'net' which all too many educational researchers tend to cast around their source material. It is simply a pity that the presentment, because it is not a census, is only useful for positive identification².

The chance survival of a note book belonging to the Rev. Robert Goodwin, vicar of Cleobury Mortimer during the late seventeenth century, exposes further what is emerging as the most typical arrangement. In December 1660 it was agreed that he should 'keep and well to educate' Mary Burton for seven years. The following year we know that he taught fourteen children, some of whom were boarders. In 1676, Richard Walker paid him fifteen shillings 'toward teaching his children when we last reckoned at his House upon Shrove Tuesday'³.

Another important, but hitherto largely unexploited, record which can be used to complement those more normally referred to is that with the at first sight unpromising title of 'Bishop's visitation citations and processes' which are extant

¹ H.R.O. C.W.P., 18 Nov. 1693 Tit: 6
² It is extremely rare for any source to yield firm negative evidence. An exception, however, is The Shrewsbury Chronicle for 19 May 1820, which stated that Clun 'is at present without any Schoolmaster whatever' (p.3)
³ F.C.B. Childe (ed.) 'Extracts from the Notebook of a Shropshire Vicar, 1656-1691', T.S.A.S., 3rd series, V, p.199
for the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, 1605-1797. The purpose behind the documentation was stated squarely in the preamble. It was 'to correct and reform the ill customs of our subjects and to root out those vices which undisturbed may vilify true virtue and conduce to the destruction of our subjects'. The sequence includes the citations of clergy, churchwardens and 'all Schoolmasters and Instructors of Children both private and publick' to episcopal visitations, normally held at three, four or five year intervals. Supplementary to these are the citations of individuals to peripatetic meetings of the consistory court. Though by far the main business recorded at these sessions was the probate of wills, individuals might, nevertheless, be summoned before the court for such flagrant offences as the frequenting of ale houses; fornication; clandestine marriage; conceiving bastard children; and, of particular interest here, for teaching without a licence. The special value which this source has for the local historian of education is that it is able to act as quite a powerful antidote to the ostensibly very gloomy extent of educational provision as it is conveyed in the more usually consulted sources, and in particular the

1 L.J.R.O. B/V/4
2 Ibid. 15 May 1736
3 Ibid. 15 May 1736
subscription books. The 'citations' offer us a glimpse at the other side of the 'ledger', as those appearing individually were being called to account to exhibit a licence specifically when it was suspected (or was actually common knowledge) that they had failed to subscribe and purchase one.

In sum, it is evident that no single source is ideal, or even near to satisfactory, for the purpose of estimating the extent of educational provision in 1660. Indeed, taken on their own they are prone to tell dangerously conflicting tales. Instead, the picture must be assembled by using an amalgam of those scanty sources which survive. The source material for 1833, on the other hand, is virtually tailor-made to fit our ends. For, in this year, the first in which Treasury grants began to be made to education, there was an educational enquiry, the findings of which were published in a comprehensive Abstract of the same year.
The distribution of parishes with some week day educational provision in 1660 shows a fairly disparate scatter, reflecting, as it does, the lack of urban conglomerations (of the type present in the north-west and north-east of the county of Kent, for instance, during the same period) (See Map 7). Nevertheless, the pattern is not entirely random. Indeed, schools tended to be present in two distinct 'species' of parish: first, in those (at this early date far flung) relatively populous parishes; and secondly, in those parishes which had the good fortune to be blessed with a benefactor to education. Half of those twenty-five parishes with provision at this date had close to, or more than, 1,000 inhabitants: Alberbury-with-Cardeston (1,538), Bridgnorth St Leonard (?), Condover (868), Drayton-in-Hales (1,927), Halesowen (935), Ludlow (2,293), Newport (1,242), Oswestry (3,942), Shifnal (1,663), Wem (2,365), Whitchurch (3,403) and Worfield (1,183)\(^1\). Indeed, as Mr Dodd has already pointed out, [even] by the end of the sixteenth century all the larger centres of population

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1 All estimates of population based on the Compton Census, 1676, and computed by summing the number of conformists and non-conformists, and multiplying by a factor of 167% to allow for those under the age of sixteen. (Rev. W.G.D.Fletcher (ed.) 'Religious Census of Shropshire in 1676', T.S.A.S., 2nd series, I (1889) pp.75-92
Map 7: Geographical distribution of documented schools, 1660

SHROPSHIRE
(COUNTY SALOP)
WITH DATE OF COMMENCEMENT OF RECORDS

Map: Geographical distribution of documented schools, 1660.
were possessed of a school...\(^1\).

Included in the second 'species' of parish with a school in 1660 were Acton Burnell and Barrow, both of which had educational endowments from a benefactor who had made his fortune in London - in the first instance as a merchant\(^2\), in the second as a merchant tailor\(^3\). Tong, on the other hand, was blessed with an Old College foundation, established c.1550.

The one real area of relative neglect in 1660 was the western and south-western part of the county, encompassing the hundreds of Clun, Purslow and Chirbury. Remote and poor (See Maps 2-4), it comprised entirely rural parishes with widely-scattered populations completely devoid of both sufficiently motivated educable material and those with sufficient means to fund education.

In contrast, there were parishes, including Wellington (2,573) and St Chad's, Shrewsbury (2,568), with a considerable number of inhabitants in 1660, but apparently with no school at all\(^4\).

\(^2\) V.C.H. Shropshire VIII p.13
\(^3\) C.C.R. 3 (1620) p.300
\(^4\) Many of the records, however, e.g. the subscriptions (1662 - ) and the second cluster of citations and processes (1666 - ), do not commence, as has been said, until a few years after the Restoration. We certainly know that there was educational provision earlier in the century at Wellington, for, c.1625, one Rowland Griffiths, schoolmaster, was elected constable of Walcot in the same parish. He was still teaching in the same capacity at least as late as 1639 when the same source presented 'two of Mr Griffiths scholars for tearing his garden hedge' (S.R.O. 112 box 90 manor court presentment) (My thanks to Mr G.C.Baugh for this item).
Of those parishes without schools in 1833 (See Map 8), none had a population of more than 680 (Munslow), and most had 200 inhabitants or less. Yet, schools might be present, too, in quite sparsely populated parishes at this date. In minute Deuxhill, for example, with a population of a mere fifty-five, there was a day and Sunday school. Similarly, Battlefield, with just seventy inhabitants, had a day school catering for twenty boys and twenty-six girls, some of whom clearly came from outside the parish boundary, no doubt from Shrewsbury where it derived its support.

Which types of schools were represented in which areas at the opening and close of the period under consideration? We are severely hampered in researching into this issue by the fact that terms used to describe schools never had any distinct definitions, so making the uncritical use of contemporary terminology quite perilous as a source of analysis in modern day research. The uses to which the term 'free school', for example, was being put by the eighteenth century were indeed multifarious. The correspondent from the north Shropshire township of Tilstock, for instance, in his reply to Bishop Henry Ryder's 1832 articles of enquiry, used the expression 'Free School' to refer to a school which the
Map 8: Geographical distribution of documented schools, 1833
dissenters were then in the process of building alongside their meeting house. In what sense could the school be described as 'free'? Plainly, the school was 'free' from the control of the Established Church. On the other hand, it was scarcely 'free' in the sense of being 'public', or genuinely open to all. His contemporaries, however, might style the new dissenters' subscription schools simply as 'daily' or 'Sunday', and reserve the expression 'free' for those schools on some firmly-established, ancient, foundation. For instance, the incumbent of Welshampton in the extreme north of the county in his return to the same enquiry, described the school held in the small anabaptist chapel outside his parish as a 'daily school', but the more substantial Ellesmere school founded by deed in 1719 as a 'free school'.

The interpretations put upon the term 'free school' by the beginning of the present century were so diffuse that A.F. Leach set about trying to put the record straight. In his article 'The True Meaning of "Free School"'\textsuperscript{2}, he discussed in turn what were then three current definitions. By some, the school was seen as providing the \textit{ars libera} in its curriculum. This is the sense in

\begin{itemize}
\item[1] L.J.R.O. B/V/5 Salop archdeaconry, Tilstock, art.9, 31 Jan. 1832
\end{itemize}
which Christopher Wase had used the term in his *Considerations concerning free schools, as settled in England* (1678). Others, amongst whom was Leach himself, saw the qualifying 'free' as indicating the gratuitous nature of the education being offered, i.e. 'free' from fees. The third rendering was that such a school was exempt, or 'free' from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the ordinary.

Similar problems of definition surround the term 'Public School'. In the preliminary statements for obtaining grants from the Department of Education during the nineteenth century, a 'Public School' was defined as one 'held in premises secured by Deed for Education, with Managers acting under that Deed, who appoint and control the Teacher'. In other words, it was a definite institution which had an existence in perpetuity, quite independent of the coming and going of an individual teacher. This was by way of contrast to a 'Private School' which was governed by private managers acting independently of any deed. However, the correspondent on behalf of the Blue Coat School at Bridgnorth (est. c.1780), Alfred Tuon, quite legitimately took issue with the officially stated definition, for the school in his parish, though matching the Department's definition of a 'Public School' in all other ways,
was manifestly not 'held in premises secured by Deed'.

Quite often, 'public' and 'free' were used interchangeably not only in the replies of correspondents but in the official censuses themselves. Indeed, this imprecision was fostered by the very form of articles preliminary to visitation, such as that in the 1738 enquiry for St Asaph diocese which appears to employ the terms in a conjunctive sense rather than disjunctively: 'Is there any Publick or Charity School, endow'd, or otherwise maintain'd, in your Parish?' . Conversely, respondents might use both the terms, as did Richard Lloyd, vicar of St Martin's, when he described a 'Publick Charity School' in his parish in 1753 . Even the more eminent schools shared this fate. Shrewsbury School was designated as 'the ffree Grammar School' when Leonard Hotchkis subscribed to the articles of allegiance and supremacy in December 1735; as the 'Publick School' two months later; and as the 'Free School' in the same source in 1740 . Similarly, Ludlow Grammar School was variously dubbed the 'public school', the 'Grammar School' and the 'free grammar school'; whilst the school in Oswestry of fifteenth century foundation was styled at different times the

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1 P.R.O. Ed. 7/102-03, 8 Mar. 1876
2 N.L.W. SA/QA/1, 10 May 1738
3 N.L.W. SA/QA/5, 14 Apr. 1753
4 L.J.R.O. B/A/4/31-32
'Free School of Oswestry' and the 'publick free school of Oswestry'. Here, then, are examples of terms being qualified, and in some cases radically altered within the space of just a few years. As R.S. Tompson has pithily concluded in his brief analysis of the changing meanings of the expressions 'free' and 'public' school: "The use of these terms was governed by custom and caprice. There was very little control over the particular designation of a school."

The term 'charity school' was adhered to by the Church and the Courts even when it had become antiquated and of little meaning in general usage in changed times, on account of the significant change which had taken place with respect to the particular background of child admitted. Whereas those schools in the early years of the eighteenth century under the aegis of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were designed to mop up acute urban poverty, those in existence at its close were admitting a much higher rank of pupil, whose well-motivated parents were even willing to forego remuneration for the child's endeavours in knitting or spinning. To ascribe to this particular type of school, by implication, the same function as its predecessor is to be anachronistic. The expression by this date conceals more than

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1 R.S. Tompson, *Classics or Charity? The dilemma of the eighteenth century grammar school* (1971) p. 128
it is able to add to our understanding.

In the private sector, too, the expressions 'academy' and 'boarding school' were frequently used interchangeably with no apparent relationship to either fees charged or the kind of curriculum being offered. Amongst the numerous advertisements for education placed with The Shrewsbury Chronicle in the early nineteenth century was that of G. Bagley junior of Shrewsbury who styled his establishment as a 'boarding school' in 1807 and as an 'Academy' the following year, though with no obvious change in circumstances.

The contemporary nomenclature has to be supplemented by other kinds of evidence able to shed light on the schools' particular mode of funding, their type of curricula (where this is known) and the background of pupils they admitted.

When this has been done, it emerges that the true mass subscription schools, no documented examples of which existed in 1660, were almost entirely urban phenomena in 1833. In the Shropshire countryside, all those below the squire were indisputably poor and were therefore cast as the recipients rather than the providers of any voluntary educational effort. In market towns such

1 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 10 July 1807 p.3; 8 July 1808 p.3
as Halesowen, Whitchurch, and above all Shrewsbury, prosperous tradesmen were at hand to contribute towards the enterprise; and large congregations could be relied upon at the annual charity sermons of the kind which took place at Drayton and Newport.

By this later date, the classical schools, too, were strictly confined to the towns. Those which had existed in country parishes after the Restoration, at Alberbury and Bitterley, had petered out by 1833, their curricula having for long since been wholly inappropriate to the needs of boys destined simply to work in the fields.

In the very wake of the Restoration, we might not be surprised to find that schools conducted by, and for, dissenters, were nowhere recorded in 1660. At the end of the period, however, nonconformist influences had taken foot in the principal towns and in those new industrial areas untouched by the rule of the squire and the parson. A Baptist day school for thirty boys and thirty-six girls could be found at Oswestry, and a boarding school for twenty boys of the same denomination in the parish of St Chad, Shrewsbury. Three day-and-Sunday schools, two of which were conducted by Unitarians, and the other by the Congregationalists.

1 The rolls of urban classical schools were also dwindling as other subjects of commercial value (especially mathematics) came to be prized by aspiring parents.
were operating in Whitchurch at the same date. Sunday schools in
the hands of dissenters were rather more plentiful. Of the older
sects, a voluntary-supported school run by the Presbyterians for
fifty boys and fifty girls was recorded at St Chad's, Shrewsbury;
three others of little more than half this size by the Baptists
in St Alkmund's parish in the same town, at Oswestry and at Wem;
and a further three by the Independents at Ellesmere, where the
school was substantial, at Newport and at Oswestry. Sunday schools
managed by the Primitive Methodists were in evidence at Drayton
and Wem; others by the Calvinistical Methodists at Drayton and
Oswestry; and a further four, two by the Wesleyan Methodists at
Halesowen, and one at each of Drayton and St Julian's, Shrewsbury.\(^1\)

A Roman Catholic school had been established at Ditton Priors in
1829.\(^2\)

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1 Abstract of Education Returns: 1833, Salop, passim
2 P.R.O. Ed. 7/253
Though we have commented on the quite staggering increase between 1660 and 1833 in the number of parishes with documented schools, we have as yet said nothing about the rate at which this increase proceeded, be it uniform or occurring in bursts.

Mr Dodd, in his introductory remarks to his study of the county's educational development in the nineteenth century, assesses developments on the ground in the previous two centuries. His endeavours, indispensable as they were for providing a context for his own work, fall drastically short due to the author's reliance on too-standard sources, and in particular the Charity Commissioners' Reports. Such over-dependence led him to draw the conclusion that despite a number of educational bequests and endowments in the seventeenth century by 1700 the overall provision of education in Shropshire had not changed greatly... In the west there were schools in Chirbury parish, and in five parishes in the Teme Basin, at Lydbury North, Stokesay, Clungunford, Onibury, and Ludlow.

To the south and west of these... there were no schools at this time.

The assertion, on closer analysis, can be shown to be hopelessly incorrect. The libri cleri clearly demonstrate the existence of

1 J.P.Dodd, thesis, pp.11-12
schools at Leintwardine in 1665, Bucknell c.1675 and at Hopton Castle c.1689. This investigator continues

In the same area... are the two small ancient market towns of Clun and Bishops Castle. Here one would have expected to find a school of sorts, if not a small grammar school of ancient foundation... However, in neither town was there a school for a long time to come...

Again, Mr Dodd, who must not pretend to be a specialist on this earlier period, is very much in error. The libri cleri once more bear testimony to the existence of a school at Clun in 1689; whereas in less than thirty years we know that Bishop's Castle certainly had a school. Equally misleading is his remark that Much Wenlock, another old borough, had no school, for a school-master was 'called over' in this parish from as early as 1665.

Whilst acknowledging that there were more parishes with schools in North Shropshire, Mr Dodd nevertheless describes provision here, too, as 'woefully small'. Schools, he argues, came into existence in just four parishes - at Whittington, Wem, Grinshill and High Ercall - during the seventeenth century. What his statement fails to do justice to, and something which is very evident from an analysis of the various forms of visitation material,

1 Dodd, thesis, p.12  
2 S.F.C.K. A(bstrac) L(etter) B(ook) v.14 9755, 2 July 1728  
3 Dodd, thesis, p.14
is the manner in which schools were forever coming and going in even quite hum drum little parishes, as is likely to have been the case for many years past\(^1\).

What is much less excusable, however, is his reluctance to employ sources, which can scarcely be considered oblique, even for his own period. This leads to his quite preposterous accrediting the huge parish of Ellesmere with no schools whatsoever in 1800. The visitation notebook of Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse, on deposit at the County Record Office, is most revealing on just what a singular travesty of the truth this is, for it emerges that there was both a school in the house of industry and a Sunday school on the very eve of his specialist period\(^2\). His statement that on the coalfield there was only John Fletcher's Sunday school in Madeley is especially fallacious. The same source records schools operating on a Sunday and daily basis in Wellington and Wrockwardine in 1799; and Sunday schools at Dawley and Lilleshall at the same date. Furthermore, the Abstract of Returns relative to the Expence and Maintenance of the Poor (1804)\(^3\) records a number of schools styled as 'Schools of Industry', including several on the coalfield,

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1 Infra p.80 the present section
2 S.R.C. 3916/1/1 f.91v. (12), 9 Nov. 1799
3 B.L. 433, i, 12(2)
the existence of which go unnoticed by Mr Dodd. In total, these amounted to twenty-one. Though providing 802 places and so giving an average size of about forty children to each school, the difference in size between these institutions is quite startling, with the school at Wellington with 170 children heading the league and that at Ruyton-XI-Towns, with a mere four children, at its foot. Other large schools were reported at St Chad's, Shrewsbury (92), at Shawbury (62) and at Meole Brace (60). Some concentration of places is therefore very evident, with almost half the total places to be found in just one fifth of the total number of schools. Nevertheless, there was a preponderance of (for the most part small) schools fired by Welsh zeal in Oswestry Hundred, with provision at Oswestry itself for 45 and for 8; at Kinnerley for 13; at St Martin's for 12; at Llanyblodwell for 10; and at Ruyton-XI-Towns for 4.

As a corrective to the above, what picture do some of the early sources, and in particular the libri cleri give us? This deposit, extant for the archdeaconry of Ludlow from 1665 to 1778, reveals that there were vastly more schoolteachers in the eastern half of the archdeaconry than in the western during the opening years of this period. Indeed, in the western part they
seem to have been virtually non-existent, with schoolmasters in
evidence only at Westbury, Chirbury and Leintwardine in 1665.

Development in this area, which comprises the deaneries of Clun
and Pontesbury, then appears to have begun, with schoolteachers
recorded at Bucknell, Lydbury North and Church Stoke c.1675; at
Clun, Hopton Castle, Alberbury, Meole Brace and Shelve c.1689; at
Bedstone, 1707; and at Edgton in 1710\(^1\). The area's relatively late

growth stemmed, without doubt, from its extreme poverty and the
consequent unavailability of both funds and motivated parents.

Nevertheless, despite these (tardy) endeavours in the west, a
century later the distribution of parishes in which schoolteachers
were 'called' remained very similar, so suggesting that financial
support, when it eventually arrived, was not sustainable in this
part of the county.

Supplementing the *libri cleri*, there is a whole variety
of other evidence which must be employed in order to shed light
on educational provision during this intervening period. Of some
teachers, e.g. Richard Wood of Castle Street, Shrewsbury, 1711-12;
Hatton Hall, buried at Berrington, 1759; and William Purslow of
Somer Wood, Rodington, 1819, our only knowledge of their existence
comes through pin-point entries in parish registers\(^2\). A certain

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\(^1\) H.R.O. *libri cleri*, Boxes 2 and 3
\(^2\) Shropshire Parish Registers, Lichfield Diocese XII p.270;
     XIV p.126; XXI (Pt 1) p.99
George Hotchkiss, on the other hand, about whose teaching activities in Madeley Wood we would otherwise know nothing, was cited in a ninety-nine year lease made to him by the ironmaster Richard Reynolds in 1792\(^1\). We are also able to learn about several school-teachers for the first time from the catalogues of wills kept at Lichfield. The impression conveyed from these, moreover, is of a still greater infrastructure of teachers. This is because many known schoolteachers were not styled as such on the heads of wills; schoolmistresses were invariably referred to as 'spinsters', for instance.

Once all these diverse sources have been assembled and synthesised, what can be said about the likely pace of educational development in the county between 1660 and 1833? (See Table 2).

Considering each of the three main dioceses in turn, in Lichfield & Coventry there was only a slight number of schools recorded until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, with the figure for the mid century dwindling to a mere one or two. Thereafter, there was a period of significant growth. Between 1779 and 1799 there was a truly phenomenal increase of 162%, and from 1799 to 1823/25 of 171% in the number of parishes with documented

\(^1\) S.R.O. 1681, box 152. I am indebted to Mr G.C. Baugh for this reference.
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Table 2: The pace of educational development, 1660-1833*

* Particularly evident here is how the use of a single source for any given year is liable to misguide the investigator.
schools. Such was the magnitude of this activity that by 1833, only five parishes in the diocese were without schools.

For Hereford diocese, there is no impression of any growth until somewhere between 1675 and 1716. The (unusually) early surviving visitation articles of enquiry record schools in about 20% of parishes in the early eighteenth century. Nevertheless, in 1833, this part of the county was the most poorly provided for, with only two thirds of parishes with documented schools.

The only parish with a school on record in the deanery of Marchia, in St Asaph diocese, before 1738 was Oswestry. Between 1753 and 1791 there was, surprisingly, no apparent development, in both of these years five parishes with some sort of provision being recorded in the deanery. However, by 1833 a school was reported in each of the nine parishes. Very effective, thus, had been the Welsh belief in evangelism and Bible-reading in the native language - the only remedy, so they believed, to relieve ignorance and evil. Those well-established standard books of piety, including The Whole Duty of Man and Pilgrim's Progress, were translated into Welsh during the eighteenth century, and went through many editions.

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What were the mechanics of this development?

Educational provision seems to have been infectious as between one parish and another. Mr Dodd has observed the 'sympathetic spread of interest in education, as between one parish and another, e.g. Stanton (1721), Hodnet (1730) and Frees (1738), so creating, with Wem and Whitchurch, a compact block in the north-east\(^1\). There also developed simultaneously a western block of seven contiguous parishes with (endowed) provision: Cardington (1720), More (1740), Longnor, Frodesley and Leebotwood (1764), Church Stretton (1779) and Wentnor (1788). Here again, however, I do not find Mr Dodd's conclusions all that impressive. Leaving aside the evidently slow rate at which such a 'movement' operated, his argument is far too simple because it ignores entirely, through its emphasis on endowed provision, all the other means by which instruction was being financed and interest in education was being stirred.

Did the rate of educational development correlate at all with the pace of educational philanthropy; or were the new foundations predominantly of a private-venture nature? Prior to

\(^1\) Dodd, thesis, p.33
1700, benefactions were sparse, yet in evidence. The next forty years witnessed a very dense period of donations to education. It was followed, however, by a twenty year span during which almost nothing was given. During these years, there was also a pitiful number of new schools documented. The period from c.1760 until c.1790 was characterised by a more regular and even number of contributions. Subsequently, there was a smaller flourish which continued into the nineteenth century. This again coincided with a prodigious growth in the number of parishes with schools (as before, both subscription and endowed), due allowance having first been made for the time lag between when the gift was made and the date the school was established, i.e. with growth between c.1800 and c.1825. This is not, however, to deny the likely huge increase, too, in the number of private schools at this time, which arose to cater for those middle classes which had social aspirations for their children together with surplus wealth to spend. (See Figs 1 and 2).

For how long did schools, supported by subscription and endowment during these years, tend to survive? There is considerable evidence to suggest that the existence of very many
number of benefactions

Fig. 2: The rate of benefactions to Shropshire education, 1660-1833
schools was fleeting. A good part of this evidence takes the form of allusion only: 'wee have none at present who teach Schoole' wrote the churchwardens of Silvington in their 1662 presentment; 'wee have none at present who teach Schoole', confirmed the wardens of Caynham in the same year. These comments throw light upon the transitory nature of teaching. It would seem more than probable that there had been a schoolteacher in both parishes, and in the not too distant past, as well. At other times, the evidence pointing to the short lives of schools is quite explicit. In 1689, the churchwardens of Wolstaston presented Daniel Matt 'for Teachinge of Schoole within our Parish of Wolstaston for ye space of one month & a few dayes out; but he is now passinge away from amonge us...'. Teachers, practising one year were often gone the next, only to return shortly afterwards. For instance, Joshua Wigley, who was teaching school in Steel-Yard Shutt, Shrewsbury, in 1781, discontinued to offer his services after a few years at this site, having established an 'Academy' in Milk Street elsewhere in the town. The corrections made to the citations and processes between their original drawing up and the visitation itself are further indications of only ephemerally-existing schools. Richard Evans teaching at Loppington

1 R.E.O. C.W.P.
2 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 9 June 1781 p.3; 31 Mar. 1787 p.3
in 1697, and Jeremiah Mason and Thomas Hand teaching at Ercall Parva in 1718, all making their first and only appearance in the records, were no doubt teaching without a licence and almost certainly moved on to avoid the arm of the ecclesiastical authorities. Sunday schools, too, could share an equally fleeting existence. That operating at Cound in 1799, to take an example, had closed by 1823, only for another to open in the parish in 1832.

Typically, the work of three societies: the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society, is seen as very significant in quickening the pace of educational provision. But just how important were they in Shropshire?

A lamentably small total of twenty-one schools appear in the Shropshire section of the Accounts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1704-31, after which period no new schools were reported for anywhere in England or Wales. In the last serious county table, moreover, that of 1724, the

1 L.J.R.O. E/V/4, 23 Sept. 1697; 15 May/28 June 1718
2 S.R.O. 3916/1/1 visit. bk, Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse, 1799; 3916/1/2 visit. bk, Archdeacon Hugh Owen, 1823; Abstract of Education Returns: 1833, Salop, p.773
amount dwindled still further, to fourteen. Of those twenty-one

schools mentioned at any time in the Accounts, nearly all of

which are reported between 1709 and 1718, ten, almost all urban-

based, were supported by subscription and intended for the poor

alone; three had been endowed; two more were maintained by the

clergy; another was a typical 'parish school' which had provision

for educating poor children; still another 'school' was, in

actuality, a subscription paid to an existing school; a further

one was a 'hybrid'; and a final three defy classification due

to insufficient information. The grand total in 1724 especially

arouses our suspicions when juxtaposed with that from a 'list of

schoolmasters' in Salop archdeaconry alone just two years later,

where nearly twice as many parishes are listed\(^1\). Indeed, even

as early as 1719 one observes a marked tail-off in the volume of

correspondence reaching the S.P.C.K.'s London headquarters\(^2\).

\(^1\) L.J.R.O., ex-Lichfield Cathedral, B/V/3

\(^2\) The quality of this correspondence, even during its peak, was

largely perfunctory. Only in the case of three schools — those

at Bishop's Castle, Culmington and Lydbury North — does the

Society appear to have known about something as fundamental as

the suitability of the buildings in which the schools were

housed. Concerning an equally basic issue, their mode and

extent of funding, the S.P.C.K. appears to have had information

about the revenues of just half of the schools it recorded, but

was much less well informed as to whether funds could

sufficiently stretch to gratuitous services such as clothing

and apprenticeship. At only six schools, moreover, was it at

any time clear about the exact number of boys and girls

(invariably of an unspecified age) on roll, and in the case of

the schools at Lydbury North, Newport and Bishop's Castle, a

tally mark alone was run up in successive Accounts. Details of

what was studied are equally sparse in the Society's records,

with the curriculum being outlined, even briefly, for as few as

nine schools. Still less feed back was there on the effective-

ness with which such learning was transmitted, at the hands of

teachers, the capabilities of whom it was entirely ignorant of.
much trust on whereabouts this development took place as suggested by information in the Society's archives (See Map 9).

The impression gained is that until the school at Norton was reported in the Account of 1712, that educational growth was entirely restricted to the western half of the county. This is markedly at variance with our earlier findings based, as they were, on a far more robust array of sources; and prompts the question as to whether schools did not, perhaps, merely remain unreported in the east, for the simple reason that most of the early corresponding members were based in the west - in particular, the untiring John Giffard, vicar of Mainstone.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, two more voluntary societies were at work: the nonconformist British and Foreign School Society founded in 1808, and the Church of England's National Society established three years later. Just how effective were these organizations, however, in shaping educational development within the county?

An examination of the British and Foreign School Society's annual Accounts reveals that only nine schools before 1833 had any connection with the Society. These were at Whittington(2)
Fig. 3: The rate of incoming letters* to the S.P.C.K. with information on Shropshire schools, 1699-1736

* or general minutes, 1701-08, for which no letters survive

N=61
Map 9: The order in which schools under the aegis of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were reported in its Accounts, 1704-31

SHROPSHIRE
(COUNTY SALOP)
WITH DATE OF COMMENCEMENT OF REGISTERS
(est.1809), Oswestry (est.1810), West Felton, St Martin's and Selattyn (est.1811), Shrewsbury (2) (est.1812) and Coalbrookdale (est.1830). Few as these were, they were thus also concentrated in the deanery of Marchia in the north-west of the county, where dissent was strongest. A further two were located at Shrewsbury, where once more there was a sizeable proportion of nonconformists, and the last flourished under the patronage of the Darbys and other Quaker families at Coalbrookdale1. Even in these parishes, however, the task of the nonconformists was by no means always an easy one. Expressing his concern to the British and Foreign School Society's Secretary in September 1825, John Lacon of Oswestry set on record how

From the great Extensive Patronage wch our National School here continues to receive from the Higher Classes, our Establishment is thrown rather in the shade. It is merely supported by the dissenting Interest in the Town...

In sum, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the influence of the British and Foreign School Society in Shropshire went almost unfelt.

The original ambitions of the National Society had

1 In 1832 and 1833, one guinea each was subscribed by Mrs Rebecca Darby, Mr Richard Darby, Mrs Lucy Darby and Mr Abraham Darby; and Mr Alfred Darby, Mrs Mary Darby and Mrs Deborah Darby subscribed half a guinea each. (Reports XXVII; XXVIII p.107) (B.F.S.S. Archives)
been similarly impressive. The preamble to its first Report of 1812 was critical of the educational provision then existing:

whereas it has been represented unto Us, that (notwithstanding the many ancient establishments and foundations for the purposes of Education, granted by the piety and munificence of several of our Ancestors or Progenitors, Kings or Queens of England, as well as by many other pious and charitable persons) the means of Education for the poorer classes of our people are far from having increased in proportion with the great and rapid increase of the population of these our Dominions.

Dr Bell's Madras system was, however, 'a most powerful engine'; able, through its committees and schools, and with support from the public amounting to some £20,000, 'to disseminate the blessings of Education far more extensively than would have been otherwise possible'. Great advantages were canvassed also in the adoption of the particular monitorial plan the Society advocated:

I. It completely fixes and secures the attention of every scholar: the indolent are stimulated; the vicious reclaimed; and it nearly annihilates bad behaviour of every sort.

II. The children make a regular progress in their learning, which is daily noted and registered; no lesson being passed over till it be correctly studied.

III. It saves the expense of additional instructors; the eye of one intelligent master or mistress alone, being required to see that their agents, the senior good boys and girls, do their duty in teaching their juniors.

1 Report I (1812) p. 3
2 Ibid. pp. 4-5
IV. It not only possesses excellent mechanical advantages in communicating instruction generally; but it is particularly adapted to instil into, and fix practically in the mind, the principles of our holy Religion; whilst it materially secures the moral conduct of the children, both in and out of school; and,

V. By economizing time, hitherto so lamentably wasted in Charity-Schools conducted on the old plan; it affords ample and very inviting opportunity to add to the ordinary establishment, a School of Industry.

Nevertheless, for all these strengths detailed above, and the additional spur which the Bishop of London tried to give to the construction of new schools, namely that

Every populous village unprovided with a National School must be regarded as a stronghold abandoned to the occupation of the enemy,

no more than a modest four dozen Shropshire schools ever came into union with this much better endowed Society from its inception in 1811 up until 1833/34. The rate at which 'unions' took place is, to say the least, unimpressive. The feverish activity of 1816 and 1825 aside, it was quite normal for just one school each year to be attracted; and for many years no new entries at all appear in the Reports. The influence of the National Society in Shropshire was, instead, more evident in

1 'Report of the Trustees of the Charity-School of St Mary, Whitechapel, 7 Apr. 1807, cited in Extract of a Sermon on the Education of the Poor, under an appropriate System, Rev. Dr Andrew Bell, 28 June 1807, pp.19-20n.
2 Cited in H. Silver The Concept of Popular Education (1965) p.43
3 In these years ten schools and eight schools respectively came into union with the Society.
the internal transformation of existing schools which used the
school at Meole Brace, two miles due south of Shrewsbury, as a
model. This was because grants, made either through diocesan
district societies or direct from the National Society, were
sufficient only for the erection or enlargement of a school-
room, not for the entire running costs of a school. Schools
at Bourton, Lilleshall, Longnor and Stapleton are known to
have opted for the National Society's system of teaching.

Did the first Treasury grants to education, made for
the express purpose of building school-rooms in the years after
1833, make any greater impression on educational provision in
the county? What is clear is that in those made to the British
and Foreign School Society, Shropshire was well out of the
picture. Indeed, so difficult was it to raise the necessary
half share from the various local communities, that no grants
at all were made to nonconformist schools in the county until
1837, in which year a sum was awarded to the school at Oswestry.

The records of the National Society, too, witness no immediate

1 This was in spite of a graded system which awarded more
substantial amounts to the larger, more populous parishes.
In practice, sums ranged from £200 down to as little as
£10, with over half the payments being £50 or less.
2 From 1835, Treasury grants were allocated in the proportion
1:2 between the British and the National Society.
rush for grants, with two alone (one at Caynham near Ludlow, the other at Llandysilio near Oswestry) being awarded in 1833/34.

How did education fare generally throughout this period, as contrasted to those other areas of philanthropy? Between 1660 and 1788, a total of 377 benefactions were given towards a variety of charitable activities in Shropshire. Of these, by far the greatest number were given for the relief of the poor in general (though these were often very small); thirty-five were deployed for education; and a mere nine were applied for apprenticeship. Taking the sizes of the sums into consideration, and, more exactly, the amounts 'available' towards the different activities in the form of uninvested legacies and annual returns, the following picture emerges:

Fig.4: Proportions of charitable funds 'available' to various activities in Shropshire, 1660 - 1786/88
In Shropshire, therefore, the overwhelming concern of benefactors
during this period was with the pressing need to relieve the
vast numbers of poor. Only a very thin slice of the entire cake
was available for the less fundamental activity of education.  

1 Charitable Donations - Abstract of Returns, 1786-88 Pt II
Salop pp.1007-42. The absolute sums might be computed as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>£12,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprenticeship</td>
<td>£5,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor relief</td>
<td>£86,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£104,181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1s 4d
For how many children did these schools cater? To what extent did they meet the needs of the various communities at the opening and close of the period under study? In particular, how well were the requirements of the vast numbers of poor children provided for? What attempts, if any, were made to accommodate changes in the number of children within the community? And how successful were these?

Appendix B(i) records for both rural and urban parishes, the various capacities of schools to cope in 1660 and again in 1833\(^1\). What conclusions can be drawn? Though provision in many of the rural parishes, like Barrow and Clungunford, remained constant at about 70% in 1833, the towns, in contrast, reveal a very much more complex picture. Some appear to have made dramatic improvements in educational provision. Opportunities at Shifnal, for instance, may have risen quite spectacularly, from perhaps as little as 4% in the years after the Restoration, to 64% in 1833, by which date there were new National and private foundations, as distinct from the well established endowed day schools in Barrow and Clungunford.

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\(^1\) Two assumptions are made in the computation of the earlier figures. First, that the Compton Census (1676) recorded all those aged sixteen and above (forming 60% of the population according to Gregory King's estimate); and secondly, that the average length of schooling was about 5.5 years (it was 3.85 at Bridgnorth G.S. (S.R.O. 1104); ≤5 at William Hall's school in Cardington (C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.398); 6.4 at Millington's School, Shrewsbury (S.R.O. 2133/11-12); and <7 at the 'Blue School for Girls' in Shifnal (C.C.R. 4 (1820) p.258), so making it possible to multiply our calculation \((c)/(b)\) by a factor of two (See Appx B(i))
The situation at Newport was only slightly less impressive. Here, provision was being made for somewhat more than 50% of the parish children in 1660; and by 1833, all may have been receiving formal schooling. Indeed, in 1833, largely on account of the adoption of the National System, urban provision generally was very good (in the range 70-100%): Bridgnorth, 59%; Wem, 82%; Drayton, 82%; Oswestry, 83%; Madeley, 84%; Whitchurch, 100%; and Newport, 100%. When, however, the parish was an industrial one and there was, in consequence, a very heavy demand for child labour, the proportion of children educated at this later date was much more modest: Lilleshall, 39%; Wellington, 30%; and Broseley as little as 22%.

Instead, the coalfield parishes found Sunday schools a more profitable arrangement. Both Ketley and Dawley had schools of this type by the turn of the eighteenth century, and by 1833 their incidence was widespread. Richard Reynolds seems to have established the earliest Sunday school at Ketley, where he lamented 'the very great want of such means of improvement and civilisation among the numerous poor children of the Marquis of Stafford's cottages, whose parents are employed in the works.' Another

1 Newport (pop. 2,307) was, however, very small, therefore making it that much easier to cope. A weakness in the methodology is that it is difficult to take into account those boarders who came from outside the parish.

2 These figures were achieved in spite of the fact that private teachers were typically concerned to limit the number of children admitted. Partly this was to ensure individual treatment: The Rev. Mr Dean at Shifnal, for instance, decided in 1793 to restrict his pupils to twelve, 'a Number certainly not too large to be superintended by a single Individual, nor, in his Opinion, so small, as to exclude Emulation...' (The Shrewsbury Chronicle 21 Dec. 1792 p.3). Mrs Wilding at High Ercall, on the other hand, did so it would seem to safeguard her own mental health (Ibid., 5 Nov. 1790 p.3)

3 Cited in Barrie Trinder The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire (1973) p.371
Sunday school, at Dawley, was being supported by Isaac Hawkins Browne and his Old Park Company in 1799. The advantages of the Sunday school were, above all, that it did not interfere with children's industrial work, and that it was cheap.

At this point, 1799, it is possible to make an interim enquiry into the capacity of the schools to meet the needs of the various communities, in both the diocese of Lichfield & Coventry and the diocese of St Asaph. From such an analysis, it emerges that in the market towns some school places were normally available, though normally this was only very few (perhaps sufficient to provide for 0-7% of those children eligible). In the industrialised urban parishes there was typically no daily provision whatsoever in 1799. As for the corresponding rural picture, though there seem to have been some impressive opportunities (e.g. Acton Burnell, 59%; Donington, 61%; and Hadnall in Middle, 88%), almost two thirds of their number nevertheless had no provision whatsoever (in contrast to less than one third of the urban parishes), with educational opportunity being especially rare in parishes with less than 200 inhabitants.

The most significant point to emerge, however, which must not be masked by these details, is that the real period of increasing opportunities for Shropshire children took place after this date, between 1800 and 1833.

1 S.R.O. 3916/1/1, Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's visit. bk, f.61r., 29 Oct. 1799
2 At St Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, the schools on the ground in 1824 were all Sunday schools, for 'Day Scholars cd not be collected, the poor children going so early to the factories' (S.R.O. 3916/1/2, Archdeacon Hugh Owen's visit. bk)
How well were the needs of the many poor children catered for?

Our answer to this question fundamentally hinges, of course, on our criteria for 'poverty'. A kind of measure is available for c.1660. Those households entirely exempt from the 1672 Hearth Tax, normally due to the low rateable value of their property, were clearly poor\(^1\), as were the (chargeable) one hearth premises – the normal abode of labourers; but, as Professor Hoskins convincingly maintains, even the journeymen-craftsmen, in possession of two hearth properties though living on the very fringe of subsistence, ought really to be included under this head also\(^2\) (See Map 2).

Did especially poor parishes provide a correspondingly greater number of places for poor children at school during the last quarter of the seventeenth century? On analysis, there is no evidence at all that this was the case (See Appendix C). Despite the acute poverty of some parishes, where the entire, or almost the entire, population owned only one or two hearths (e.g. Church Pulverbatch, Clee St Margaret, Mainstone, Meole Brace, Ratlinghope and Tasley), it was in Mainstone alone of these where there was documented provision for poor children before the nineteenth century.

The S.P.C.K., for instance, had no schools under its aegis in these especially poor parishes, other than in Mainstone above. The reason was  

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1 Unfortunately, as noted above, the Shropshire assessment, unlike many for elsewhere, totals these by hundred rather than detailing them by parish or constable\(\text{\textit{wick}}\).

undoubtedly that there was simply no one of sufficient 'ability' to finance a school. What was unique about Mainstone was the presence of an especially zealous cleric, John Giffard, who, primarily at his own expense, managed to get about one third of the poor children to school. At the other end of the scale, in those parishes where a third or more of those listed in the assessment occupied three or more hearth abodes, one might reason that there was surely here a sufficiently prosperous corpus of potential benefactors. And yet, nothing materialised. Indeed, charitably-endowed schools seem in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to have been peculiar to the towns where an adequate number of petty subscribing tradesmen could be found. Exceptionally, where there was a singularly wealthy benefactor, e.g. at Chetton (1736), something could be done. Similarly at Stokesay, and at Bishop's Castle where another prosperous individual, Captain Edmund Waring founded a school. Where these conditions held true, provision could be total in extent.

There are no strict measures of poverty for the early nineteenth century, on the other hand, so precluding a valid assessment of the ability of the various schools at this date to cope with the number of poor children. Unusual indeed is this somewhat complacent description of the
situation at Meole Brace in 1820:

... sufficient provision has been made for the religious instruction of every poor child within the parish and the associated districts. And there is, in fact, hardly one to be found of the proper age, who has not availed himself of the benefit.

Descriptive comments of this sort at first sight somehow appear less 'exact' than percentage figures. It needs be said, however, that all of the computations above, in spite of their seeming accuracy, are always only approximate, and that there is continually room for error, though above all in 1660 where use is made of uncertain statistics of population and of wealth. Nevertheless, some attempt to quantify in a fairly rigorous sort of way is surely fundamental, for without this dimension we can never be really sure how many children were touched by the educational ideas of the times. The second, and more substantial, section of this study opens with an examination of some of these perspectives on education.

1 National Society Report IX (1820) p.177
MISSING PAGE/PAGES
HAVE NO CONTENT
PART TWO

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The above report reflects the reader's belief in the cultural

perception of well. Sensuous and being effective as a means to

improving the word's standards. For many of the occupants of the

8: Extract from: The Problem of the Environment: The Nature of Calcutta

CHAPTER ONE
LITERACY, NUMERACY AND EDUCATION:
RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEMANDS

What did the schools aim to do? How was education 'marketed'?

What was being offered and how was it justified? For the well being
and contentment of the individual; as a dynamic means by which that
individual could gain admission to the more elevated ranks of
society; or merely for the ease and comfort of those in power?

The fullest statement pinpointing the hitherto neglect of
education and the dangers arising from such a neglect, occurs in the
foundation deeds of Whitchurch Grammar School. Here, the founder,
Sir John Talbot had disapprovingly observed

\[\text{what vice hath increased - what offence to God hath}
\text{bin committed - what damage hath ensued to this}
\text{realm, by want of good education of the youths of}
\text{the same, which being of nature prone and productive}
\text{to sloth and idleness, the causes of all vices,}
\text{having loose in their first years the reins of}
\text{licentious liberty, forthwith receive and imbibe}
\text{voluptuousness, carnal pleasure, and generally the}
\text{swarm of all other vices...}\]

The above extract reflects the founder's belief in the natural
corruption of man. Education was being offered as a means of
improving his moral standards. For only if the beginnings of vice

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1 Extract from the Preamble to the Endowment Deed of Sir John
Talbot, cited in T.C.Duggan _The History of Whitchurch,
Shropshire_ (1935) pp.79-80
were 'nipped in the bud' during 'the slippery paths of youth'\(^1\),
could God be glorified by forming man in his image, and the country
be made strong. This age-old lament continued to act as a source
of justification for providing education throughout the period
under study. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dr Bell
advocated his monitorial system of teaching with a similar line of
reasoning:

\[
\text{children are yet to be found - too many, alas! not only uneducated in the paths of virtue and religion, industry and frugality; but, literally, trained up in vicious principles, immoral habits, and criminal practices; in idleness, profaneness, and irreligion.}
\]

On the eve of the first Treasury grant to education a quarter of
a century later, it was once again recognized how instruction might
help to prevent a recurrence of 'The evils and distress, wherewith
the Country has been lately afflicted'\(^3\).

The stagnation in educational provision was compared
particularly unfavourably with advances that had been made in other
areas of life:

\[
\text{Have the same zeal and skill been displayed in abridging the labour, and extending the limits, of the education of our youth, as in the encouragement and advancement of our agriculture, our manufactures, and our commerce? Have advances and improvements been made in the art of elementary and religious instruction, analogous to the}
\]

\(^1\) Christopher Wase Considerations concerning free schools, as settled in England (1678) Section 2, p.3
\(^2\) Extract of a Sermon on the Education of the Poor, under an appropriate System. Rev. Dr Andrew Bell, 28 June 1807 p.21
\(^3\) 'Report of the Oswestry Society for Bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor' (1831) p.7, Reports for the Diocese of Lichfield I, 1808 to 1838
progress of which every other art and science can boast?

What did those who now advocated progress in the sphere of education hope it to bring about? Education was canvassed on two main grounds. First, it was able to provide training of a strictly vocational nature through the transmission of a skill, or, for those who were destined to enjoy a life of leisure, give practice in the necessary social graces. Although by dispelling ignorance it might also have had the humanistic function of improving the individual, it was advocated instead to help create and consolidate social discipline, through the indoctrination of certain moral and religious values.

In respect to its vocational value, it was Sergeant Hook's contention that

... if due care be taken in the establishing these schools (= 'Free Schools for Educating the Children of the poor')... we may always be furnished with a Nursery of able seamen pilots Engineers & indeed of men of the greatest abilities in Every science.

Education is here being canvassed as an investment: it would provide a veritable power house of talent to fight in the army and navy.

It was to the public good that the function of the 'charity schools' should therefore be limited and utilitarian, that they should be

---

1 Bell sermon cit., 1807, p.16
'Nurseries of Industry' rather than of mere learning, for 'there is not one Boy or Girl educated in these Schools, but what are design'd for Servants to some Man or Woman in the Kingdom, and probably for some laborious Employment...'. Comparisons were drawn with our international competitors in support of this view. The Dutch, in particular, were envied for the 'high & mighty' position they had attained as traders. The economic prosperity, and indeed whole status, of a nation was seen to bear a direct relationship to the extent of its educational provision, and, more specifically, to the number of able seamen which that system was able to supply. An equally laborious situation was prescribed for the girls leaving such schools. Thus, the girls at the three early eighteenth century charity schools in Shrewsbury learnt sewing expressly 'to fit them for Services'. Other, private, schools qualified boys from the middle ranks of society for trade and business; whereas, at the very extreme of the social spectrum, instruction in dancing and fencing for 'young Gentlemen'; and in dancing, fine embroidery and deportment for 'young Ladies', was unashamedly geared towards those with surplus time and wealth, and,

2 'MSS Wanley Etc', 'A proposal etc' p.176
3 S.P.C.K. Ac.1709
as far as the latter were concerned, no more than a thinly disguised means of making themselves more saleable on the marriage market.

Education was most frequently advocated, however, not for its vocational training, but for its ability to instil social discipline. Society, in the period under review, was conceived of as a divinely-ordered mechanism which it was unwise to upset. The Elizabethan 'great chain of being', stretching from the foot of God's throne, through the various descriptions of angels, men, beasts and plants, to the meanest of inanimate objects, was inherited, substantially unchanged, at the Restoration.

The level of human society was stratified, being based on a rigid class system given shape by the belief that it was for the welfare of the whole scheme that whilst some of its members must rule, others must work. In this scheme, authority was something to be revered. The Rules and Directions of the S.P.C.K., for instance, and the High Church Catechisms it was largely instrumental in conveying in its 'packets', demanded a respect for the Queen, magistrates and the ministers of God. The prosperous, too, were to be esteemed, for their riches were no more than a blessing from God.

1 E.M.W. Tillyard The Elizabethan World Picture (1943) esp. Chs 4-5
At the lowest link in the human section of the chain came the poor. 'God hath made the pore, and hath made them to be poore', Cheke had written; there always had been poor, and there always would be. Bishop Beveridge affirmed the statement in the early eighteenth century when he wrote 'GOD so orders it in his Providence, that we have always some Poor among us...'. At the beginning of the following century, too, the Oswestry Society recognized that the Poor in every nation form the great mass of the people, and this must necessarily be the case... there always will be a certain degree, not merely of poverty, but of suffering poverty among men.

It was this kind of inevitability which suggested that it was futile for the poor to be discontented with their lot. The permanence of their status as seen by contemporaries, is brought out very clearly in letters from the S.P.C.K.'s Shropshire correspondents, and particularly in the very capitalisation, passim, of 'the Poor' in contrast to 'ye substantial Laity'. It was further understood that to each special 'station' or condition of poor, for instance that of being 'the child of a poor country farmer', there was suited a narrowly defined level of education.

1 J. Cheke The Hurt of Sedition (1549) Bi  
2 W. Beveridge Works I (1720) p.364  
3 Reports for the Diocese of Lichfield I, 1808 to 1838, Section 9: 'Remarks on the Present State of the Poor' (Oswestry), 1826  
4 A.L.B. v.2 2498, 8 Mar. 1710/11, Willm Bennet at Salop  
5 A.L.B. v.5 4231, 25 Nov. 1714, Barthol. Beale at Heath House
an education paternalistically provided by their social superiors, and for which, being the 'Charity Childn', they should be grateful and appreciative.¹

Yet, since the end of the seventeenth century, the Elizabethan order, repaired at the Restoration, was showing signs of cracking once more, first in respect to its religious (and so educational) element, and secondly in the readiness with which the 'lower sort' seemed to be accepting their allotted station.

The religious difficulties were largely connected with plurality and its attendant absenteeism. One of the early eighteenth century visitation articles of enquiry framed by Bishop Philip Hisse of Hereford reflects his concern over what was a growing abuse:

Hath the Minister a Parsonage House? Is it in good Repair? Doth he reside Personally upon his Cure? If not, where? and at what distance? And hath he a licens'd Curate residing in the Parish?

²

What was the Church's attitude towards pluralism? Provided that they could prove themselves to be a (licensed) capable preacher, and were in possession of at least an M.A., they were qualified for a special licence of dispensation to hold two benefices in plurality. Three further conditions, however, were that the

¹ A.L.B. v.15 10545, 16 Dec. 1729 John Giffard at Bps Castle
² H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1716-19
³ Canon 41 (1604)
candidate should reside personally in each of his benefices 'for some reasonable time in every year'; that his benefices should not be more than thirty miles apart; and that he should employ a proper, licensed preacher in the benefice in which he did not reside.

Providing these conditions were met, plurality and absenteeism was thus perfectly in keeping with the expected spiritual standards of the day.

However, the replies given to Bishop Bisse's 1719 visitation articles of enquiry, the earliest date for which returns covering each of the five deaneries comprising Ludlow archdeaconry exist, reveal a less than satisfactory state of affairs. Though in forty-eight of those sixty-two parishes making returns, there was a parsonage house reported, the incumbent resided there or elsewhere in the parish, in perhaps only thirty-six cases. Sometimes, this non-residence was of little or no significance for satisfactory oversight could still be maintained. The churchwardens of Deuxhill et Glazeley replied in 1719 that their incumbent 'has a parsonage house in good repr., lives within a mile and half and supplys it constantly himself without a curate'. Similarly, the corresponding officers of Llanvairwaterdine noted in 1716 that 'Our Minister hath

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1 H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1719
no parsonage house nor glebe, he resides in Knighton about a
furlong out of his parish'. Again, though the minister of Badger
did not dwell in the parish, he was, nevertheless, able to keep a
vigilant eye on things from Beckbury, no more than a mile away; as
was the minister of Willey who resided in the adjoining parish of
Barrow where he taught school. The parish of Preen, meanwhile,
though having no priest of its own, was able to rely on the services
of neighbouring ministers. A considerable number of men, however,
were at a much greater distance from their duties. The incumbent of
Ashford Carbonell in 1719 dwelt in Ludlow, five miles to the north­
east. Further removed still from his task was the rector of Hopesay
who lived nine miles away in Clun; the minister of Upton Cressett
who resided fifteen miles away at Dudley; and his contemporary at
Hope Bowdler who lived no less than twenty-eight miles distant at
Wrenbury in Cheshire. In none of these instances is there any record
of a curate being installed to make up for the deficiency. Indeed,
at Holgate in 1719, where the rector was an absentee, so far from
there being a licensed curate in his place, an ale-seller was
resident in the deacon's house.

1 H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1716
On the other hand, licensed curates were reported as resident in the parish at Bettus; at Norbury, whose minister held in conjunction the vicarage of Lydbury North; at Culmington, whose rector spent most of his time at Worcester; at Shelve, where the incumbent lived ten miles away at Redston; at Neenton, where, in 1716, a popular choice was replacing the minister, then resident in Bewdley; and at Wistanstow, where the incumbent lived twenty miles distant at West Felton. Most indispensable, however, were the services of the curate of Little Wenlock who took on the duties of the parson, 'now as we are told at Oxford'.

The curates themselves, though, frequently dwelt well outside the parish supposedly in their charge, in order either to supervise another cure or to administer a small benefice. The man assuming the position at Morville in 1719 lived in Bridgnorth, two miles away; the curate of Silvington in the same year lived 'two little miles' distant; and that recorded at Neenton in the same return dwelt as much as three miles away in Bitterley. Most unsatisfactory of all to the authorities, however, was the situation at Acton Scott, where the churchwardens recorded both a

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1 H.R.O., visit. arts of eng., 1716
non-resident and unlicensed curate in their return for 1716:

Our Rector Mr Wm Fosbrooke resides personally at Corfton in the Pish of Diddlebury where he is Vic: about 2 miles distant from our Pish Chh... his Curate is his own son Mr Edwd Fosbrooke who resides wth him at Corfton aforesaid and he designs (God willing) (to) enter into Priests Orders next Ordination and then to take out a License.

Another article of enquiry in the same visitation was directed to sound out possible laxities in the educational function of the Church at parish level, when it asked:

Have you Prayers in your Church twice, and Sermons once every Lord's Day? If not, how often...

Seventy-one per cent of parishes making returns in the archdeaconry of Ludlow at this date came up to this standard, with a further 16% failing only to hold prayers a second time on Sundays. The replies, however, were very varied. Several parishes recorded excellent practice, sometimes even better than what was necessary.

At Much Wenlock and Little Wenlock two sermons as well as morning and afternoon prayers were given 'for ye greatest parte of ye year'.

Such was the case also at Bishop's Castle, Leintwardine, Wistanstow, Stottesden, and (from Lady Day to Michaelmas) at Highley. Elsewhere, the standard demanded might be observed 'unless occasionally

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1 H.R.C., visit. arts of enq., 1716
2 Ibid. art.14
3 Ibid. art.14
obstructed..."¹; or, as at Silvington, unless 'old Custom' dictated otherwise.

On occasion, the reason for non-Observance was excusable enough. The churchwardens of Cleobury North reported in 1719 that 'Or minister being aged & weak we have at present only Sermon & prayers once ev'ry Sunday'². At other times the cause could be financial. 'The Salary to our Minister being but five pounds thirteen (sic) shillings & Eight pence', explained the officers of Monkhopton in the same year, 'we have prayers & Sermon Evry other Sunday Morning all this Sumer...'³. The situation which had given rise to a departure from the canons at Barrow where prayers were held just once a month, was an especially desperate one, for:

Our Minister has neither Parsonage-House, Glebe, nor Tithes; and his Whole Certain Income or Stipend is but Three pounds, three shillings & Two pence a year. ⁴

The existence of remote chapels only contributed to this neglect. The wardens of the chapelry of Benthall noted that 'we have divine Service and a Sermon in the After noone the last Sunday in Every month in the year which is as much as we can Require from the minister of much wenlock'.⁵

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¹ H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1716
² H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1719
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1716
Nevertheless, it is pluralism that comes across as the prime culprit of spiritual neglect. Though, for instance, it was possible at Edgton to have prayers, as required, twice every Sunday and a sermon once during the summer, the situation was very different during the winter months when 'we have prayers but once & sermon once, by reason our minister serves at another church...'\(^1\).

The practice of holding Willey and Barrow in plurality also led to pastoral laxity. Though prayers were generally said twice and a sermon preached once every Sunday at Willey, no evening prayer was said on the second Sunday in each month 'Because our Minister Then Reads Prayers and Preaches at Barrow in the Afternoon'\(^2\). Similarly, the churchwardens at Oldbury wrote how 'we have Prayers & a Sermon Usually, Once On ye Lords day, ye other part beinge Imployd in Servinge ye Cure of Tasly...'\(^3\).

More serious was the inability of the unlicensed curate to perform the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Though this was supposed to be administered at least every month, only six parishes in the archdeaconry measured up to this exacting standard. Indeed, more than half of those parishes making returns held the Sacrament

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1 H.R.O., visit arts of enq., 1716  
2 Ibid.  
3 Ibid.
four times a year or less.

A third area of episcopal enquiry related to the more direct religious instruction by the minister of both children and servants through the Catechism. The task of the Church in this educational role was cast by Bishop William Beveridge of St Asaph as an 'indulgent, pious, and wise' mother upon earth. She would take care of the child and help him to fight the 'potent Enemies' of 'Flesh, the World, and the Devil', all of which though he had renounced would try to regain possession of him. His salvation could be found only in the 'great Mysteries of the Gospel' and would have to be effected 'with Fear and Trembling'\(^{1}\). Exceptionally, at More, the incumbent was very conscientious in this respect:

> our minister at first Converted ye heads of his Sermons into questions, & answers, wrot (sic) them in priat (sic) hand, sent them every Munday morning to parents to Read their Children, who he examined ye succeeding sunday - ye Evening before sermon, & so proceeded ye year round; After this he appointed Saterdays be for Servants & now goes from house to house in case of necessity.\(^{2}\)

Generally, however, so far from instruction being given regularly, in the vast majority of cases it was restricted to a very particular time in the year. Indeed, in only three parishes within Ludlow archdeaconry was the Catechism given once a week. Elsewhere, it was expounded in the spring and summer months alone and, in the

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1 W. Beveridge *Works* I (1720) pp.35-36
2 H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1716, art.17
case of twenty-six of the fifty-six parishes answering the article, restricted to Lent alone, about which time children would need to have been drilled prior to their confirmation. In three parishes, youth were not catechised at all. At Kinlet, though it had normally been the practice to teach the Catechism, 'this present year 1716 [the minister] thought it convenient to Preach in the afternoon instead of Catechising, on purpose to keep his Parishioners from going to the Dissenters meetings.'\(^1\) Pluralism intrudes once again, however, to account for the remissness in the other two cases. The churchwardens of Ashford Carbonell explained how 'The minister is oblig'd to go to Ludford to read prayers; and so has no time to catechise'\(^2\); whilst their contemporaries at Edgton apologized once again how 'Our minister constantly serving two churches, which have been always united, and they at a considerable distance from one another, has but little time left for Catechising...'\(^3\). The situation was a very similar one in the deanery of Marchia\(^4\), in spite of a circular letter sent by the aged Bishop Beveridge in the early years of the century stressing the need for the minister of each parish to 'frequently and openly in the Church examine and

1 H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1716, art.17
2 H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1719, art.17
3 Ibid.
4 N.L.W. SA/QA/1, 1738
instruct [the child] in it', and even the compilation of such a Catechism himself.

Accompanying the Church's failure to provide a Christian education for poor children, it seems that there was a more general deterioration in the standards of manners and morals amongst the lower classes, and this constitutes the second area in which the Elizabethan order was beginning to show signs of strain. The various types of visitation material dwell prominently on such heinous lapses as being a 'notorious lyar', fighting in the church yard, 'being frequently drunk' and for having 'a bad tongue'. Others were presented for 'working on the Lords day', for grinding corn or malt and 'for shaveing on ye Sunday'. It is sexual offences, however, that receive the most attention: fornication, 'incontinency', conceiving bastard children, adultery, 'carnal knowledge' and whoredom all being prominently featured.

The perceived causes of poverty, with such attendant 'debauchery', were undergoing a change towards the end of the seventeenth century. The characteristic attitude for the greater part of that century had been the essentially Elizabethan one,

1 D.N.B.; W.Beveridge Works I (1720) pp.34-35
2 At Madeley, for instance, the 1716 respondent wrote '... we have too many yt are given to Swearing, & Drinking...' (H.R.O., visit. arts of enq., 1716, art.29
which gave the poor the benefit of the doubt. It recognized that they were willing to work, but that either depressions in trade meant that sometimes there was no work for them to do, or, when there was, that the low wages they were paid, 6d or 8d per day at most, kept them in a state of poverty. Dunning and Locke, however, writing in the eighties and nineties began to question the previous leniency in the light of increases in the poor rate. The former, in his Plain and Easie Method (1686) invited his readers to consider another interpretation, for harvests had been good, employment opportunities high and wages sufficient, yet still there was an abundance of poor. Locke took much the same intolerant view: 'The growth of the Poor must have some other cause', he wrote, 'than the scarcity of provision and want of employment, and it can be nothing else but a relaxation of discipline and a corruption of manners'. In lamenting the trebling in the poor rates in thirty years, a Wiltshire man concluded that 'No People are such ill Managers of what they have as the Poor, nor are any more at a loss how to Employ their Families so as to keep themselves from miserable poverty than they...'. Symptomatic of

1 J.Locke Report to the Board of Trade (1697) p.102
2 S.P.C.I. A.L.B. v.7 5248, 20 June 1717(13)
this new, harsher, attitude, a small workhouse built in the south-
east Shropshire parish of Worfield, c.1729, was unashamedly designed
'to frighten some of the Idle into Industry'. This criticism
reached the point at which by the beginning of the nineteenth
century there was strong doubt being expressed both by religious
and political commentators as to the value of providing funds for
the welfare of the poor, for it seemed to them that 'poverty and
misery always increase in proportion to the quantity of
indiscriminate charity...'.

The decision to quicken the pace at which the formal
schooling of poor people's children was expanding was, therefore,
only the more farsighted of a whole concerted campaign waged during
the closing years of the seventeenth century, designed to improve
the moral education of the adult population, too.

The initial hopes of some, however, went far beyond this,
seeing, as they did, in the increased rate of educational foundations
at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the possibility of some
upward social mobility for poor children. Of the boys being 'disposed'
of from these schools, Serjeant Hook wrote optimistically that one

1 S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.15 10514, 19 Nov. 1729
2 National Society Archives, Report for the Diocese of Lichfield I,
1808 to 1838 Section 9: 'Remarks on the Present State of the Poor' ( Oswestry), 1826
3 Important in this 'Reformation' was the circulation by the S.P.C.K.
of tracts and miscellaneous papers under such titles as Agst. Lying, Agst. taking God's Name in Vain, Agst. the Common Vices, and Against Poverty.
part 'might be employed in our own Manufactures - & [only] such
whose Innate dullness renders them incapable of any thing better
may return to the plow'.

However, complaints of the sort Christopher Wase had
reported almost fifty years before were soon being voiced again.

The main bone of contention was that 'so many poor Children are put
out yearly to Trades from these Schools that there are not
sufficient Numbers left for Husbandry', and that farmers, desperate
to obtain servants, had been forced to double their wages. Some
of the charity children indeed thought themselves so above being
bound apprentice 'to any servile Employt. or Mechanick Trades &c'
that it had been found necessary to call on the assistance of the
magistrates.

It was what the hierarchy considered to be a threat to
the whole social order that led to an early restatement of the
purpose behind those schools operating under the aegis of the
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In its directness,
there is clear evidence pointing to the S.P.C.K.'s acceptance of
the position allotted to the poor in society, and to the function

1 'MSS Wanley Etc', S.P.C.K. Archives C.S. 3/1 pp.175-76: 'A
proposal about the Educating & Employing poor Children Given
in by Serjt Hook' (n.d.)
2 S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.11 7185, 13 Nov. 1722 Richd: Goodwin at
Tankersley, Yorkshire
3 A.L.B. v.13 8520, 26 Oct. 1725 Dr Todd at Carlisle
of the 'charity school' as a vehicle for conditioning them for such a role. Now concerned that the children might become 'puff'd up' by their learning and incapable of work, the Society came to stress quite emphatically that

there is not one Boy or Girl educated in these Schools, but what are design'd for Servants to some Man or Woman in the Kingdom, and probably for some laborious Employment...

and that

... the poorer sort of Females... may be as usefull in Husbandry as the men... They may serve at least to look after Cows & Sheep which is the employmt. of a great many boys.

As a means of achieving this end, one correspondent had already suggested to the Society's board that only a few of the children should be taught writing and accounts, and the rest merely to read and acquire the principles of Christianity. A 'working' element was also now strongly recommended in the curriculum, as

... teaching them only to read is using them to a more Lazy sedentary Life proper enough for Gentlemen Scholars, and some sort of Tradesmen, but no ways fitting for those that are to get their Livelihood afterwards by Labouring hard...

The schools were, thus, not to be established due to some disinterested love of children and learning. 'The School...

1 Draft letter from the S.P.C.K. to the Rev. Mr Stephens at Shrevenham, Berkshire, 22 Feb. 1717/8, Special Letters 1708-1732, C.S. 3./2 pp.159-60
2 S.P.C.K. C.S. 3./1 'MSS Wanley Etc' p.180
3 A.L.B. v.4 3269, 2 Oct. 1712 Rowland Cotton Esqr at Etwal, Derbyshire
4 C.S. 3./2 p.162(4)
is no isolated organisation', writes Siegel of today, though his remark applies equally well to the eighteenth century:

Its operational structure is continually affected by outside environmental forces. It does not set its own goals nor can it seek to implement them completely independently of other community agencies.

It was now plain that such schooling as was offered should strictly adhere to the ordering of society. Thus, the county's 'Free Schools' might operate at their most efficient by furnishing the children of country farmers only 'with as much of Humane Learning as is necessary or desirable for People in their Stations'\(^2\). Providing the instruction was of an obviously restricted kind, moreover, it was for a long time to come sensed how 'the better subject will he become both of his God and his King, and the less disposed will he be to meddle with them that are given to change'\(^3\). In common with that offered by the Sunday schools established in 1785 at Shrewsbury, it would 'promote ... the Welfare of our Country, the Happiness of the Poor, and the Security of the Rich'\(^4\).

The curriculum recommended, for instance, by the S.P.C.K. was heavily geared towards the social theory of the time - its moral and religious constituents being the very instruments of social

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2 S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.5 4231, 25 Nov. 1714
3 'Report of the Oswestry Society for Bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor' (1831) p.8, in Reports for the Diocese of Lichfield I, 1808 to 1838
4 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 5 May 1787 p.1
discipline. Coupled with this was the recognized importance of having a constant supply of cheap, home-based labour, those 'vast Multitudes of working poor, that are required to make a large society' and without whom 'it is folly to imagine that Great and Wealthy Nations can subsist...'. Education, despite the unguarded comments of early observers, was not conceived of as a tool to bring about any real degree of social mobility.

In the text books, prayers and hymns which the S.P.C.K. advocated for use in those schools appearing in its Accounts, and also in the directions for teachers it issued, there is evident a notion of education which, to the twentieth century way of thinking, appears especially illiberal. Nowhere is this more conspicuous than in the recommended composition of the school day. Miss Jones has drawn our attention to what the Society proposed should be its three main ingredients. First, and most important, was to be 'religious instruction in the Protestant faith'; this was to occupy the greater part of the time, for the chief design of the schools was 'for the Education of Poor Children in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion as Professed and Taught in the

1 Bernard Mandeville 'An Essay on Charity, and Charity-Schools', in The Fable of the Bees (1772 edn) I p.411
2 M.G.Jones The Charity School Movement. A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism (1936) pp.76-81
Church of England. The minds of children being seen as blank paper (or as smooth, melted wax), according to the educational psychology of the day which served to buttress this curriculum, it became the lot of the schoolmaster to 'imprint' the fundamental duties of our Holy Religion. The Rev. Robert Dean of Shifnal recognized that such impressions 'cannot be too soon made, nor Precautions too soon taken.' The education designed was quite openly intended to bolster up the Church of England and its twin, the State, and to defend them both from the threat of Dissent:

These Children should be well-Instructed in the principles of their Religion, prayers should be read every Morning at their Meeting & this would be a means not only to make our Comonalty more pious but more confirmable to the establish'd Church being educated in it & not so easily led away by every Enthusiast...

Thus, on admission, children would be taught to say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer by means of rote repetition. As soon as they were able to read, prayers were to be 'enlarged, in proportion to their capacity', until it was seen fit that they should learn the whole Catechism by heart, a catechism which was to consist simply 'of all things necessary for [the child] to know, and nothing else'.

1 Rev. Dr James Talbot The Christian Schoolmaster (1707)
2 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 21 Dec. 1792 p.3
3 'MSS Wanley Etc', S.P.C.K. Archives C.S. 3./1 p.177: 'A proposal about the Educating & Employing poor Children Given in by Serjt Hook' (n.d.)
4 W.Beveridge Works I (1720) p.35
The second aspect of instruction was ethical. The school-teacher was to demonstrate the moral application of every article in the Creed and each of the Ten Commandments. The beginnings of vice were, by this means, to be speedily corrected - and in particular, cursing, swearing and idleness. Monthly tally charts were to be drawn up, on which might be recorded every possible transgression a child could reasonably be expected to make. These morals were to be taught directly, as self-evident truths, with no attempt made to relate them to the child's existing level of development; Mrs Trimmer's Teacher's Assistant was to provide the vehicle of instruction. Particular pains were to be taken to divert the children's reading interests away from the more seamy literature, such as Laugh and be Fat and The Irish Rogues and Rapparees, and supplant them by readings from such direct but sugared works as The Pleasing Instructor or Entertaining Moralist. These continued to be the aims of schools right into the nineteenth century, the Rev. Dr Andrew Bell mentioning the 'imbuing the mind with moral and religious principles' foremost among the list of objectives for the National Schools. When a Shifnal school applied to his Society for a grant in 1823, the trustees supported their application by affirming that the school

1 Extract of a Sermon on the Education of the Poor under an appropriate System, Rev. Dr Andrew Bell, 28 June 1807, p.10
'has been and we hope is likely to continue of so much advantage to
the Morals of the rising generation in this populous Neighbourhood.'

At Ellesmere, where 'The ignorance and immorality... was proverbial,
and the extent of drunkenness, boxing, attendance at the races and
'impurity' shocked middle class opinion, means for the education of
girls who would otherwise become whores, was singled out as being
an especially pressing concern. At the same time, the British
School in Shrewsbury was performing an important moral function,
its managers being able to boast how 'upwards of 300 children are
daily withdrawn from the streets and lanes, and are for six hours
every day engaged in the occupations of the school-room.'

The final sphere of instruction (i.e. that to which least
priority was to be attached) was to encompass the '3 Rs'. The first
of these, reading, was to commence with children learning the
letters of the alphabet, and to progress through the 'alphabetic-
spelling method', to 'the true spelling of words and the use of
stops'. Initially, those parts of the Anglican Catechism which had
not already been learnt by heart were to be used; then, in turn,
were to be employed the Book of Common Prayer, Psalms, the New

1 Letter from the acting committee of trustees of Shifnal National
School, 15 May 1823, National Society Archives, File 217, 1815-1976
2 British and Foreign School Society Archives, 'Committee-of-
Council Schools. Applications for Building Grants under the 1833
Act'. Letter from W.Roaf at Ellesmere, 22 Oct. 1832, to Mr Dunn,
Model School, Borough Road; letter from William Roaf, 4 Sept. 1833,
to the Committee of the Borough Road School Society.
3 Report of the British and Foreign School Society XXVIII (1833) p.81
Testament and finally, for it was most difficult, the Old Testament.

It would appear, therefore, that the primary reason for teaching reading was in order to indoctrinate children in the Christian Religion; more pointedly, Bernard Mandeville contended that it was so as to inspire them 'with a Superlative Veneration for the Clergy of the Church of England...'. The second of the '3 Rs', writing, was to be tackled when, and only when, the children could read 'competently well', after about three years; whilst arithmetic, the third 'R', and most advanced of all, was not to be accessible for study until reading and writing were 'perfected', and was to be confined, in any case, to the first five rules needed for managing accounts. Singing was to be permitted throughout, but not 'fine (solo) singing', which was felt to undermine a proper sense of social discipline. The same discipline, initially from without by society, but meted out as a means of developing self-discipline, was still being stressed a century later. Through education, the poor man '... learns his duties as a Christian, and through his knowledge of them he becomes a worthy member of society, and a useful subject of the state. He learns... to be diligent and industrious in his calling... to be obedient unto his superiors,

1 Bernard Mandeville 'An Essay on Charity, and Charity-Schools', in The Fable of the Bees (1772 edn) I p.254
and, in however humble a situation he may be placed, therewith to be content'.

The avowed purposes of those schools established under the aegis of the British and Foreign School Society might usefully be cited for they embrace many of the aims discussed above. First, they bred up 'a population civilized by discipline', so encouraging the poor to work and consequently reducing the poor rates; secondly, they aided the magistracy by removing children 'who might otherwise be exposed to all the temptations of idleness'; but above all they helped 'to cultivate a love for religion', for, 'however valuable other knowledge may be, however desirable that children should be instructed in reading, writing, ciphering, and other secular arts, religion is that to which all else must be held as subordinate, and, in comparison with it, as of very inferior and mere passing importance'.

'Never perhaps was Education more fashionable than it now is', one observer was able to remark in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Indeed, so important had the political, moral and religious advantages of education become that its value in the eyes of the theorists, at least, was now entirely self-evident.

1 National Society Archives, Report for the Diocese of Lichfield I, 1808 to 1838 Section 9: 'Remarks on the Present State of the Poor' (Oswestry), 1826
2 Report of the British and Foreign School Society XXIII (1828) p.23
The history of education runs the risk of being written from almost every point of view other than an individualistic one. Too often, the emphasis is on institutions, their regulations and the curriculum, with but little attention paid to those human beings who funded the education, who metered it out and who received it. The next three chapters seek to redress this imbalance.
CHAPTER TWO

PHILANTHROPY, PATERNALISM AND SELF-INTEREST: THE NATURE AND MOTIVES OF BENEFACTORS TO EDUCATION

How were individual schools which operated within the particular social and economic framework described above, established and funded? It is at once evident that we are dealing with a multiplicity of arrangements.

I

Some schools were supported by the endowments of munificent individuals in their wills, included amongst whom was Richard Dovey, landowner and yeoman farmer of Claverley (d.1660) and Thomas Bowdler, alderman and draper of Shrewsbury who, as well as being a great benefactor to St Julian's Church, endowed a school in the parish in 1724. Many benefactors had newly-acquired wealth. William Adams, who endowed a classical and English school at Newport at the Restoration, had, 'from the most inferior station of life, by steady perseverance and sober industry, and by a fortunate marriage, raised himself to a respectable situation in the mercantile world, and acquired a considerable property' 1. Clergymen were well represented in this category. The rector, the Rev. Edward Rogers, and the Rev. Francis Southern of

1 *Pigot's Directory* (1822-23) p.368
Cardington, endowed schools in the respective parishes of Wentnor (1740) and Much Wenlock (1778); whilst the Rev. John Earle, whose estate at Venington in Westbury included houses and water cornmills, endowed a school in that parish in 1709. This form of bequest was also popular amongst women. Jane Higginson devised 'lands, tenements and hereditaments' in Shropshire, Flintshire and Cheshire in support of a school at Whitchurch in 1707; more specifically, Lucina Riddlesden, by will in 1826, conveyed to trustees £100, to apply the interest and dividends 'in the purchase of warm stockings and shoes' to be given annually in the winter season to the poor boys and girls of the National School at Drayton.

Numerous trusts of this sort were, however, mismanaged. One of the most common causes of this mismanagement was the failure to elect new trustees on the deaths of those original few named in the benefactor's will. Commenting on the administration of the charities of Lady Harris and others at Tong, for instance, the Charity Commissioners observed that much inattention has prevailed to the appointment of new trustees, none having taken place since the deed of 1734... The last survivor of those who were then named is supposed to have been Thomas Fox, who died about 10 years ago.

1 S.R.O. 2767/4/24, indenture tripartite, 20 Apr. 1716
2 C.C.R. 24 (1831) pp. 341-42
3 Shropshire Charities for Elementary Education (1906) p. 56
4 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p. 262
Richard Dovey's educational charity at Claverley had also 'been exposed to some inconveniences from the reduced number of the trustees...'.

Similar concern was expressed by the Charity Commissioners over the want of trustees at Oswestry Grammar School. Elsewhere, though appointments continued to be kept up, trustees either lived at too great a distance from the schools, or were too otherwise engaged to enable effective surveillance. One of the trustees of Mrs Broughton's charity at Church Aston in Edgmond parish, a solicitor named Mr Jervis, though living in the neighbouring parish of Newport, was, nevertheless, at too great a distance by virtue of his ill-health. This had meant that he had been 'for some time able to bestow but little of his personal and active attention upon the affairs of the trust...'. Still less attentive could have been the Governors of William Adams's School at Newport, the London-based Company of Haberdashers, who were accustomed to visit the School just once in seven years. When supervision was as minimal as this, it is scarcely surprising that many benefactions in time came to be either misapplied or lost altogether. At Hodnet, the Charity Commissioners noted how the rents devised by the Rev. Richard Price in 1730 for the education of poor children from Drayton and

1 C.C.R. 4 (1821) p.251
2 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.427
3 C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.406
Hodnet, were 'carried to one account with the other charity-money... from which a very small portion only is disposed of in schooling'\(^1\).

Of John Newborough's bequest to Bitterley Grammar School, £50 appeared to them to have been lost 'through the insolvency of some of the descendants of the trustees named in the will', leaving only the school premises and a farm at Kerry in the charity's hands\(^2\). The Commissioners spoke of the 'extraordinary deficiency of evidence' relating to the school here, as being indicative of the inattention that had been paid to its concerns, and concluded that there had been 'a manifest deviation from the intention of the founder'\(^3\). Much worse was the situation at Diddlebury, however, where Samuel Pountney had bequeathed the (admittedly modest) sum of £22 to the school and poor in 1720. Here, the Charity Commissioners remarked how 'Nothing has been distributed to the poor in respect of this charity, or applied to the purpose of a school'\(^4\). On one or two occasions, the responsibility for the charity's mismanagement must have rested squarely with the benefactors themselves.

The failure of Joshua Williams, for example, to specify a sum for the support of a school at Minsterley inevitably made his bequest void\(^5\).

Mrs Judith Prince from the parish of Holy Cross, Shrewsbury, who 'left

---

1 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.317
2 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.267
3 Ibid. p.267
4 C.C.R. 24 (1831) pp.408-09
something to the Poor but the vicar does not know much about it', seems
to have been equally remiss in stating her intention.

An equally common, though more certain, financial arrangement
was for support to be forthcoming from one or more prosperous individuals
in their life time. Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq., owner of the Old Park
industrial estate and described by the visitation respondent as 'a
gentleman of a considerable fortune, & a good kind of man', was paying
for the schooling of fifteen boys and girls in the parish of Dawley
Magna in 1772, where he owned 'a large property'. At the end of the
century he was supporting a Sunday school in the same parish. In
nearby Wrockwardine, Miss Anna Maria Cludde, in company with her aunt,
bestowed premises for a school and were paying for the teaching of
forty girls in 1824. At Baschurch, Rowland Hunt Esq., in his zeal
towards the 'encouragement of Religion, Morality & Loyalty', was
maintaining a 'Charity School' in the parish in 1799.

Much more slender was the number of schools supported through
the small subscriptions of individuals. Indeed, they accounted for
perhaps a mere 6% (10 out of 163) of schools with places for poor
children during the period. These few, moreover, were overwhelmingly

1 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit. enq. Bp Brownlow North, 1772, Salop, Holy
Cross, art. VIII
2 Ibid. He built the church of St Leonard, Malins Lee, Dawley, in 1805
(B.Trinder The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire (1973) p.201)
3 S.R.O. 3916/1/1, archdeacon's visit. bk, 1799, f.61r., 29 Oct. 1799
4 P.R.O. Ed. 7/103/255 p.2, 9 July 1853; S.R.O. 3916/1/2, archdeacon's
visit. bk, 1824, 73
5 S.R.O. 3916/1/1, archdeacon's visit. bk, 1799, f.87r., 8 Nov. 1799
6 Data from miscellaneous sources. C.C.R.s record endowments only.
ural phenomena. Both the 'Public Subscription School' founded in
Shrewsbury in 1708 (See Plate 1) and the Blue Coat School (est. 1785) at
Ludlow, were financed by contributions of normally a guinea or half a
guinea, with the latter being funded additionally by the Corporation.

The amounts collected at both schools in the form of subscriptions were
generally very even from year to year. In both cases, after a peak of
fervour, a steady decline can be seen, at Shrewsbury dating from 1823
and at Ludlow from 1798. At Shrewsbury we are told in 1807 how 'for
some years past' subscriptions had been dwindling. Accustomed to
£100 p.a. from this source at one time, the Committee here reported
that now they might receive less than £40 and attributed the change to
the discontinuation of the charity sermon. In successive years, however,
and even once the sermon had been restored, they reported 'a considerable
diminution' in the list of contributors from the 197 of 1819 to just
115 in 1833; never due to disinterest on the part of the middling
classes, we are (not altogether convincingly) assured, but always
because death had removed 'the oldest and best friends of the Charity'.

By 1833, subscriptions had plummeted from a high of £320 8s Od in 1817
to as little as £196 19s Od, a sum which fell 'far short' of the
annual expenses, and real anxiety was now being felt for the institution's
future. The school at Ludlow also experienced a steady decline in its
Plate 1: The National Schools, Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury. (The School has a continuous history as a subscription-based school from 1708; Thomas Phillips said that c.1770 the school was being held in a large room in the Sextry or King's-Head Shut).
revenue rather than gross fluctuations from year to year. The £75 12s Od collected through this means in 1786 had fallen to just two thirds of this sum in 1809, when subscribers now amounted only to twenty-seven, in contrast to the forty-four of 1797\(^1\) (See Appendix D). Rural experiments with subscription floundered still more quickly due to the entire absence of sustainable middle class support. At Mainstone, in the extreme south-west of the county, subscriptions in 1712 amounted 'to what only will pay for teaching Six Children'\(^2\). Both there and at Silvington, further east, schools were reported in 1729 to have been 'discontinued for some time'\(^3\). Most of the petty contributors to the school conducted on the National Society's plan at Clunbury being farmers 'and by no means enlightened men', they 'soon grew weary of well doing'\(^4\).

Other schools relied on miscellaneous sources of income for their survival. At Alberbury, for instance, the five marks previously paid by All Souls College to the Chantry of St Stephen, had been redirected since 1580 to provide for the salary of a schoolmaster in the parish\(^5\); whereas the largely subscription-based Blue Coat School at Ludlow derived part of its support from £20 p.a. arising out of

---

\(^1\) Much more variable, on the other hand, might be the sums collected at the charity sermon here which, depending on the weather, might rise to £29 16s 6\(\frac{1}{2}\)d (1791), or sink to as little as £14 17s 6d (1805).
\(^2\) S.P.C.K. O.L. File 2 3089, 6 June 1712
\(^3\) S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.15 10545, 16 Dec. 1729
\(^4\) Letter from D: Nihill, 22 Sept. 1823, to the National Society, National Society Archives, unnumbered file, 1823-1974
\(^5\) All Souls mun., Alberbury deeds 167(j), 217, cited in V.C.H. Salop VIII p.222
market tolls, and the voluntary school operating at Albrighton in 1772 was supported by the Lord of the Manor out of the tolls of fairs. Elsewhere, a sermon could become not merely a supplementary source of revenue, but the only means of preventing a school from going under. Such was introduced as a last resort at the school operating on the plan of the National Society at Clunbury in 1823, for the parishioners here were 'too little alive' to the value of educating the poor. Its more fortunate contemporary at Shifnal, on the other hand, could rely both on voluntary subscriptions and on an annual charity sermon, only having to fall back on the occasional charity ball when funds were very low. A particularly spectacular means of finance was made use of at Bridgnorth in June 1789, when a two-day charity performance was held in aid of the town's Blue Coat School. On the morning of the first day, 'a Selection of Sacred Music', including overtures and anthems, was played at St Leonard's Church. At the Town Hall that evening, 'A Grand Miscellaneous Concert' was held, followed by a ball. Next morning, again at the Church, 'The Messiah' was performed, with singers coming from Manchester and a choral band from Birmingham.

It needs to be stressed, however, that the most prevalent

1 C.C.R. 3 (1820) pp. 297-98
2 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit. enq., Bp Brownlow North, 1772. The tolls from four annual fairs given by Lord Shrewsbury were also used to support a school in the same parish fifty years later (S.R.O. 3916/1/3, archdeacon's visit. bk, 72, 14 July 1824).
3 'Application for Aid...', 3 Dec. 1823, 13; MS Sheet of 'Additional Information', National Society Archives
4 Ibid., 1 May 1830, National Society Archives
5 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 13 June 1789 p.3
arrangement of all is likely to have been that in which the parents
themselves paid either entirely or in considerable part towards the cost
of the teaching; and under which a few poor children were sometimes
taught at the expense of one or more munificent individuals. It is a
great pity that for their functioning these schools needed to keep so
few records.

II

Where did those benefactors who made provision for education,
whether by will or deed, come from? Table 3 records the geographical
background of 186 men and women who made endowments in this way.

| From the same parish as that to which the benefaction was given* | £   |
| From the 'locality' | 39 |
| From elsewhere, including: | 14 |
| Brewood (Staffordshire) |   |
| Lichfield |   |
| Chesterton |   |
| Eton |   |
| Wimbledon |   |
| Teddington (Middlesex) |   |
| Westminster |   |
| London |   |
| Unknown or unstated | 122 |

N=186

Table 3: The geographical background of those making provision by will
or deed for Shropshire education, 1660 - 1833

Unfortunately, for a full two thirds of the benefactors their place of
origin is uncertain. Of the remainder, over 60% were natives of the parish

* One, a Mr Smyth of Leintwardine, became an apothecary in London;
another making an endowment for his own parish died 'of Twickenham'.
to which they made their bequest; c.20% came from neighbouring parishes;
and about the same proportion from further afield. In this latter
category, London is strongly represented and it is tempting to speculate
as to whether here again men and women with strong, though latent,
connections with the county are not included. The Hon. Katherine Kerr,
for example, endowed a school in Clorely, Prees parish, in 1738, but
died 'of Gt Marlborough St, St James's, Westminster, Middlesex, widow'¹.
Similarly, Miss Eleanor Harris, who bequeathed a sum for a school at
Baschurch in 1709, was described in her will as 'of St Margaret's parish,
Westminster, spinster'².

From what sector of society were the benefactors drawn?
Table 4 records the social status of those making endowments by deed or
by will towards education. On analysis, the incidence of nobility and
gentry donations over the period as a whole was equal - one seventh part
each. The clergy were donating in equal numbers. Few, however, were
drawn from as lowly a rank as yeoman. Exceptional indeed were the very
humble origins of a benefactress at Bishop's Castle,

a poor girl [who] left this Town & entered Service in London
she afterwards married to a Merchant there & on his death
became possessed of £20,000 & she has established a School

¹ S.R.O. 975/47 Recital, 17 Mar. 1738/9
² L.J.R.O. B/A/27 'Consecrations, Schools, Charities', copy will,
   17 May 1709
The nobility (n=22)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duke</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earls</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countesses</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viscount</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viscountess</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dame</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gentry (n=23)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gentlemen</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlewomen</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apothecaries</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonel</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>captain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headmaster</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of Corporation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial managers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Society</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeomen</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown men</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women (no specified status)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=187

Table 4: The social status of benefactors to Shropshire education, 1660 - 1833
Women, as a whole, made up almost one quarter of the benefactors.

What relationship do the social backgrounds of those who subscribed small sums to education bear to those of (the generally more substantial) benefactors above? Tables 5 and 6 make it possible to compare the social status of those subscribing to two urban schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In both communities, gentry support was strong. Together with the nobility, they formed half of the subscribers at Shrewsbury and Ludlow. Moreover, certain families, the Corbetts and Owens in the case of Shrewsbury, and the Knight family at Ludlow, appear to have had a controlling hand. The trading interest, however, was proportionally much greater at Shrewsbury than at Ludlow (33% compared with 14%)\(^2\). At Shrewsbury, it is evident that the school was 'pushing down' into the middling ranks much further. It being a larger school, there was a need for more subscribers.

At Ludlow, in contrast, the trading interest was really very slight. In part, this is explainable simply on account of the fact that there were fewer tradesmen in Ludlow. They were also less wealthy. Moreover, the

1 B.L. Add. MS 21,018 'Ecclesiastical Notes...' f.72r.
2 This remains true even though subscribers have been sampled across three years only at Shrewsbury, in contrast to the more rigorous twenty year survey for Ludlow.
Nobility 3 (9%)  
Gentry 14 (40%)  
Clergy* 3 (9%)  
Parish officers:  
  Corporation 3  

Professional:  
  Legal  
    Attorneys 4  
  Physicians  
    Druggist 1  
    Apothecary 1  
    M.D. 1  
  
Trading:  
  Maltster 1  
  Innkeeper 1  
  Ironmonger 1  
  Grocer 1  
  Painter 1  
  
Unknown 37  
N=72

Table 5: The social status of subscribers to the Blue Coat Charity School at Ludlow, 1786 - 1809  
(Percentages given are of those 'known')

* Including Bishops of Hereford and Bristol.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Subscribers</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nobility</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentry</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltster</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholsterer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draper/clothier</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass founder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glazier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironmonger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=73

Table 6: The social status of subscribers to the Public Subscription Charity School, Shrewsbury, 1807 - 09

(Percentages given are of those 'known')
Ludlow school needed fewer subscribers in order to function. This meant that the 'push' down the social ranks did not penetrate as far as the tradesmen. Here, instead, 'professional' interest was much stronger than at Shrewsbury.¹

As the period advanced, we witness a change in the status of benefactors (See Fig. 5). For example, whereas only one clergyman gave money to education during the fifty years 1660-1709, there is a whole cluster in the period 1709-40. During the era in which there was a dearth of benefactors generally (1741-65), the clergy were completely absent, only to become prominent again between 1766 and 1810, years during which the Church and its successive bishops were taking a renewed interest in education. The nobility (excluding women) began to donate in 1697 (the Duke of Kingston to Tong) and are sparsely distributed throughout the period. The gentry (again, excluding women), though present from the beginning, only feature regularly from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Indeed, during the half century, 1721-71 inclusive, they were absent altogether. Women first contributed in 1692, are featured prominently amongst the block of benefactors, 1707-29, and remain as fairly regular donors thereafter.

¹ S.L.S.L. MSS Shrewsbury, Holy Cross, Annual Statements by the Trustees of the Public Subscription Charity School, 1807 -; S.R.O. 2881/6/1; 2; 4, Ludlow Blue Coat School 'Rules & Orders', 1786-1806, minutes, 1806 -. 
number of benefactions.
III

Why did the various benefactors contribute? The whole range of motives underlying charitable bequests is revealed most poignantly in a sermon given by the Bishop of Chester in London in 1713:

If we have any true Sense and Fellow-feeling of the Wants and Miseries of our Brethren, any Compassion and Concern, either for the Soule or Bodies of those, who stand in utmost Need of our Assistance... If we wish well to our Government, our Neighbours, or ourselves... Nay, if we desire to gratify our own Bowels, to promote our own Honour and Advantage... Lo! here an happy Opportunity of demonstrating all this at once, now before us.

In the above passage, those whom subscribing to 'charity schools' might attract are very clearly delineated. It is evident, indeed, how with every successive utterance, the Bishop is making an appeal to the increasingly more base human emotions. What evidence is there from Shropshire to suggest that the motives of the donors and subscribers were not entirely unselfish? What, as far as it is possible to tell, were the relative proportions of altruism and self-interest?

The pious intention of Mrs Broughton in providing education 'in the protestant Religion' and instruction in reading and work at Church Aston was 'to help the poor honest Industrious Inhabitants of the said Village who have more Children then (sic) they are able to provide for...' ² Some measure of altruism is to be found also amongst those (few) men and women who donated anonymously, as instanced by some

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2 S.R.O. 81/28, copy will, 20 Sept. 1728
of those who subscribed to the Sunday schools at Berrington and Bridgnorth.

More pervasive than pietism, however, seems to have been a kind of paternalistic concern amongst benefactors to tend to the welfare of those either on their own estates or in the parish where they were the figure head. It was part of this benevolent attitude which Archdeacon Plymley Corbett's sister described in her diaries as within the memory span of her contemporaries. Archetypal was Colonel Wilde at Dudmaston, who was accustomed to preparing a 'plain hospitable dinner' each day, not only for his own immediate family, but for the neighbouring farmers, too, who would be summoned from the fields by a bell at one o'clock. We are told how those who arrived promptly were privileged enough to sit with the Colonel and his sister, Lady Woolridge; whereas those who were less punctual had to eat with the servants. Even so, no one on the estate was left out of the arrangement as when all had dined, the remains were given to the poor.

Typical of this interest when it came to education, was the school founded under the will of Sir Richard Corbett at Longnor, c.1783, which was designed to serve the poor children of Longnor and the children of tenants on the Corbett estate in the parishes of Cardington,

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1 S.R.O., uncat., Archdeacon Plymley Corbett's sister's diary, Book 92 9 June 1812
Frodesley and Leebotwood\(^1\) (See Plate 2). Additionally, the school might be a symbol of a landowner's authority, to the extent that after he had bought the estate at Tong, Mr Durant had the old almshouse and school house taken down and new ones built elsewhere on his land\(^2\). Another supporting his own 'kind' was Richard Greaves of Culmington who, in the 1660's, was a pupil of John Doughtie at Ludlow Grammar School, and who bequeathed in his will property at Seifton and Culmington, the profits from which were to be used in preference for the fraternalistic support of Ludlow scholars at Balliol College, Oxford, where Doughtie had spent his entire life\(^3\).

More generally, the force of paternalism is evident, as we have already observed, in the overwhelming number of benefactors making educational provision for their native parish. The Shropshire gentry's orientation throughout these years was very much towards their own God-given estates, where it was expected that they should duteously take the poorer classes under their protective wing and help alleviate their condition. Indeed, they had purposely been given more than they had real need of, in order that they could give alms to the poor. The rich, in the words of Bishop Beveridge, had been endowed by God with

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1 V.C.H. Salop VIII p.114
2 S.L.S.L. MSS N64 504, 'Notes on the Parish of Tong, collected by J.E.Auden'.
3 D.J.Lloyd *Country Grammar School...* (1977) p.67; p.68
THE SCHOOL HOUSE AT LONGNOR, SHROPSHIRE.

Plate 2: Sir Richard Corbett's School at Longnor (est. c.1783)
(by T.F.Dukes, Scrapbook vol.11 no.22, early 19C.)
(S.L.S.L. C.0.7/3066)
a 'trust', the failure to perform which was a violation of tenure, and would mean that in the next world, these lands, so far from being a comfort, would be 'a Torture and Vexation'\(^1\).

A particular testator's bequest would, therefore, very often go beyond simply providing education for poor children but extend to the parish poor as a whole. It was the intention of Jacob Littleford in his will of 1722, not only to give to the parish of Hughley 6s p.a. to maintain a poor child at school but to bequeath a further 4s yearly to be distributed by the rector among the poor of the parish\(^2\).

Similarly, only the residue of the rents and profits arising from the estate of Mrs Mary Broughton were to be applied towards the education of one boy or girl from Church Aston in the parish of Edgmond. Certain other specified sums were apportioned by the benefactress for bread to be distributed amongst the village poor\(^3\).

In spite of the apparent breadth of their charitable interests, one wonders, nevertheless, whether these landed proprietors could not have done much more for the poor. As G.E. Mingay has astutely observed, though in absolute terms the sums for providing education and relieving distress were fairly substantial, in relation to the incomes

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1 W. Beveridge *Works*, I (1720) pp. 364-66
2 *C.C.R.* 4 (1820) p. 268. In practice, the educational side of the charity was never recognized by his trustees.
3 *C.C.R.* 5 (1821) p. 404
of the donors they were actually very small\(^1\).

It would be naive, in any case, to draw the conclusion that

the motives of all benefactors to education during the period were

entirely commendable. And certainly, it is possible to find as many

illustrations of self-interest as of altruism or philanthropy, even in

the complexion of a single individual. Thomas Secker, then bishop of

Oxford, expressed surprise in 1753

that noblemen and gentlemen will squander vast sums in the

gratification of private luxury and vanity, for which more

condemn them than applaud them, and not consider that much

smaller sums bestowed upon public works, especially in

honour of religion, would gain them the admiration of a

whole country.

However, the more far-sighted benefactors and school managers of

Shropshire appear to have realized full well the potency of such a

course of action. In their appeal for new supporters, the trustees

of the Shrewsbury Public Subscription Charity School, for instance,

emphasised how contributions would 'reflect so much honour on the

benevolent and liberal spirit' of the donors\(^3\).

The less noble motive of self-aggrandizement shows itself

most obviously in the desire of a large number of benefactors to

perpetuate their own name in the title of the school, or in the

\(^1\) G.E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963) p.275
\(^2\) T. Secker, *Charge V, Works*, V, 408-09
\(^3\) S.L.S.L. MSS Shrewsbury, Holy Cross, 'The State of the Publick Subscription Charity School', 1807
naming of the scholars. Sometimes, this was achieved simply by writing
this requirement into the deed. Richard Dovey, for example, stipulated
that the school under his endowment in Claverley should be called
'The Free School of Richard Dovey at Claverley'. Those four boys
nominated under Dr Langford's bequest 'out of such poor and towardlie
for learning as are born in the town of Ludlow' were distinguished from
the other scholars at Ludlow Grammar School not only by their wearing
special black gowns to church on Sundays, but also by the appellation
'Langfordian boys'. At other times, directions were given which
ensured the physical inscription of the name on some part of the
school itself. In his will of 1817, Benjamin Wainwright, M.D. of
Stanway, Rushbury, endowed a schoolroom and almshouses in that parish,
and ordered that the following words be cut upon the stone at the front
of the building:

This school and almshouses were built and endowed by .
Benjamin, the seventh son of the late Richard and Mary
Wainwright, of Stanway.

(See Plates 3 and 4, and Fig. 6). In much the same way, a marbled
inscription over the door of the school at Bryngwyla in the parish of
St Martin's, paid tribute to its early eighteenth century benefactor,

1 C.C.R. 4 (1820) p.249
2 Thomas Wright The History and Antiquities of Ludlow (1826) pp. 182-83
3 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.410
THIS SCHOOL
AND ALM-HOUSES
WERE BUILT AND
ENDOWED BY
BENJAMIN
THE SEVENTH SON
OF THE LATE
RICHARD & MARY
WAINWRIGHT
OF STANWAY IN THE
YEAR 1821

Plate 3: Inscription to the memory of Dr Benjamin
Wainwright at Rushbury, 1821. (The plaque
appears above the porch on the almshouses,
and directly below a place inset to
receive a clock).
Plate 4: The almshouse and adjoining school, erected under the will of Benjamin Wainwright at Rushbury, 1821. (Its first master, Mr G. Wilkinson, seems to have conducted a private 'Academy' there, too. The school today has a precarious existence as a small primary school).
Fig. 6: Plan of the school built from Dr Benjamin Wainwright's bequest at Rushbury, 1821, as it stood in 1870. (Conditions by this date as regards lighting were described as only 'Moderate', and drainage and ventilation were admitted to be 'Bad').
(P.R.O. Ed. 7/103/19-20)
the London merchant tailor Edward Phillips¹ (See Plate 5). A century later, on almshouses next to the churchyard in the same parish, was erected a similar plaque which helped to immortalise the memory of Charlotte Viscountess Dungannon whose gift paid for the complementary instruction of an equal number of poor girls (See Plates 6 and 7). Alternatively, the name was placed at some other suitably public venue. Charles Morris, who died in London in 1721, and who bequeathed the residue of his estate to maintain poor children of his native Selattyn, did 'will and order that there be a small marble monument and subscription set up in the said Church notifying the foundation and uses of the said charity'² (See Plate 8); whilst at Wem it had been agreed from the very first that

For the better Knowledge of Benefactors to the said School, and for the exciting of others to follow their laudable Example in so pious a Work... the Names of all Benefactors with their several Sums, Places of Abode, & Stiles shall... be fairly written, & set or hanged up in a large Frame in the said School, there to remain for ever.

The most candid example, however, of a benefactor's concern to eternalize his own name occurred in the county town itself, where the prosperous draper James Millington actually asked in his will of 1734 that a portrait of himself be placed in the schoolroom.

¹ Ibid, p.419  
³ Staffs R.O. W.S.L. D1788 par.57 bdle 2, copy, Statute 2
DEO GLORIA

THIS SCHOOL WAS ERECTED ANNO 1694 AT SOLE CHARGE OF EDWARD PHILLIPS NATIVE OF THIS PARISH CITIZEN & MERCHANT TAYLER OF LONDON FOR THE FREE SCHOOLING OF 12 POOR PARISH BOYS TO READ & WRITE WITH A BIBLE & OTHER BOOKS TO BE GIVEN TO EACH BOY BY THE FOUNDER FOR EVER

Plate 5: Inscription to the memory of Edward Phillips in 'The Old School', erected by Lord Arthur Edwin Hill Trevor at St Martin's, 1866. (The plaque, of white marble, is situated in the large hall).
This School for the Education of Twelve poor Female Children in the Doctrines of the Established Church was instituted A.D. 1810 by CHARLOTTE VISCOUNTESS DUNGANNON Sit Deo Gloria

Plate 6: Plaque to the memory of Charlotte Viscountess Dungannon, attached to the almshouses and school at St Martin's. (From another plaque over the vestry door, it is evident how the vestry was erected and the church re-pewed in the same year, undoubtedly at the request of the same benefactress. The almshouses (cf. the schoolroom) were founded in 1698 by the Rt Hon. Sir John Trevor Kt of Brynkinalt, as appears from a further plaque on the east side of the building).
Plate 7: The school erected by Charlotte Viscountess Dungannon at St Martin's, 1810

with adjoining accommodation for six poor widows
This Monument is Erected by the Direction of Charles Morris who was the son of Thomas Morris Late of Selattyn in the County of Salop yeoman Deced. Who by his Last Will and Testament left to the poor in the said parish of Selattyn five Hundred pounds to [?invest in lands of inheritance] of the yearly value of twenty pounds or upward to be yearly distributed to such poor Charity Children and others of this said parish by the Reverend Rector and the Churchwardens as they the appointed Trustees shall think fit.

Plate 8: Inscription (first section) in the Church of St Mary's, Selattyn, to the memory of Charles Morris. (The plaque is extremely weathered and, in parts, now almost completely illegible. The second section, which is totally indecipherable, presumably recorded his intentions as to the anniversary sermon).
Another means of keeping his name alive when he had long since departed was for the benefactor to institute an anniversary sermon in his own memory. Eleanor Harris who, significantly, died a spinster, took advantage of this when she directed that her trustees should pay yearly to the minister officiating in Baschurch, a sum of 20s to preach a sermon there on the Sunday afternoon following the anniversary of her death. This provided a regular opportunity for the main clauses of her will to be repeated, 'to the intent that the same might never be concealed or suppressed'. Charles Morris of Selattyn left an identical amount 'for preaching a Sermon upon Candlemas day in memory of the Bequest'. James Millington also bequeathed a guinea per annum for a sermon to be preached in St Chad's Church, Shrewsbury, every first day of August, to be attended by Hospitallers and children.

Others, whilst taking no steps to further their own name, nevertheless tried to guard the welfare of successive generations of their own family. Oswald Smith, second master of Shrewsbury School, though bequeathing in 1713 a rent charge to finance two exhibitions for Shrewsbury boys at Oxford and Cambridge, was most careful to lay

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1 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.443
3 S.R.O. 164/1, copy will. The sermon continues to be held today, though the venue has been changed to the Hospital's Board Room and the date has been put back to September.
...that any of the testator's brothers, sons or grandsons, or any related to him in that line, who should have been brought up in the said school... should have the preference to any other scholars...

Furthermore, should the exhibition not be vacant when any of his relations were qualified for University, he instructed that the exhibitions should be seized from whoever then occupied them and given to his relations². At Much Wenlock, too, the Rev. Francis Southern gave preference to 'children or poor people among the testator's poor relations, or recommended by any relation of his residing in the parish' as the proper objects of his charity³. The London haberdasher and alderman, William Adams, on the other hand, gave priority of admission at Newport Grammar School to children of the privileged John Badulie, Luke Justice and Randell Tonna the younger⁴.

In conclusion, therefore, it has to be said how cautious one should be in attributing the actions of any contemporary educational benefactor exclusively to one source; in reality, they are almost certainly to have been as diverse as were their backgrounds.

1 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.224
2 Ibid. p.224
3 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.308
4 C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.670
CHAPTER THREE

THOSE WELL-QUALIFIED; AND THOSE 'NOT WORTHY YE MENTIONING':
A SURVEY OF THE VARYING CALIBRE OF TEACHERS

This chapter seeks to demonstrate the quite considerable range, too, in the personalities and abilities of those teaching in the county during the period under review. The sample size of 1,138 schoolteachers, of which we know that 809 were men and 323 were women, might seem at first sight comfortably large, but it is far from certain just how great a proportion of all those teaching at this time it actually includes. Indeed, it may represent as little as ten per cent of the whole corpus.

Our initial consideration will be the origins of this diverse group of men and women. Whereabouts geographically were they recruited from? And from what social rank were they drawn?

By far the most common arrangement, particularly at the opening of our period, was for teachers to originate from the parish or immediate area where they were to teach. Moses Hughes, for instance, who subscribed to teach boys in Shawbury parish in 1696, was himself 'of Withyford', a township in the same parish; and John Wynne, 'Literatus', who subscribed to teach boys English and the rudiments of grammar at Brockton,

\[1\] L.J.R.O. B/A/4/13 subs bk, 30 Sept. 1696
Sutton Maddock, was himself a native of Brockton\(^1\). Edward Powell, who subscribed on 7 May 1702 'to be admitted to teach school in the parish of Whitchurch...' was himself either a Whitchurch man, or derived from close by\(^2\). Others certainly came from close by. John Beddoe(s), who subscribed to teach children English in Much Wenlock parish in 1683, originated from nearby Madeley\(^3\); whilst the curiously-named Mossenden Carter, who subscribed to teach boys the rudiments of grammar in Harley, originated from nearby Homer in the parish of Much Wenlock\(^4\). Similarly, Richard Poyner, teaching in Wrockwardine in 1705, had previously taught at Dawley\(^5\); whilst Edward Lockley, who was born at Cardeston, may have taught school in the village of Alberbury, where he was buried in 1767\(^6\).

Indeed, this local requirement was not always tacitly assumed, but might occasionally even be laid down by deed. In so doing, the parochial perspective of men and women of the period is highlighted. At High Ercall, for instance, the kinsmen of Baron Leeke were preferred:

> if any of my kindred or name that shall lineally descend from my Father Ralph Leeke deced shall at any time or times hereafter upon the death or removal of the sd. Schoolmr. be capable of the sd. employmt. I do order & appoint that such person shall be preferred before any other...

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1. L.J.R.O. B/A/4/14 subs bk, 22 Apr. 1715
2. According to the subscription entry (L.J.R.O. B/A/4/13 subs bk) he originated from Whitchurch; however, his nomination paper recording his appointment as usher at 'ye Free-School of Whitchurch' dubs him 'of Wem', the adjoining parish (L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nom. papers, 5 June 1702)
3. H.R.O. HD/IA4/3 subs bk, 3 July 1683
4. L.J.R.O. B/A/4/13 subs bk, 29 Nov. 1693
5. L.J.R.O. B/V/1/93 libri cleri, 2 May 1705
6. V.C.H. Salop VIII p.222
Local men might be considered next:

[but if] there be no such person of my kindred then if any of the Inhabitants which shall hereafter dwell & inhabite within the said Lordshipp or Parish shall have a sonne or kinsman fully qualified for the said imployment as afsd. then choice is to be made of such an one to keep the said Free Schoole

Teaching, indeed, often came to be a 'family business'. Fathers and sons might work in partnership, both in the richly-endowed schools and in private-venture arrangements. Such was the case with the Rodericks.

Charles, the younger son of Richard Roderick, master at Wem Grammar School from its foundation in 1650 until April 1674, succeeded his father in the position in June 1677. A century and a half later, the Rev. Francis Salt and the Rev. George Salt, also father and son, were respectively first and second master of the same school. The story was repeated at Oswestry, for when the Rev. Stephen Donne was appointed headmaster of the grammar school there in 1833, he succeeded his father, the Rev. Dr James Donne who had enjoyed the office since 1796. Others assisted their fathers as second masters. The Rev. Mr Todd, for example, master of the 'free-school' at Hunnington, Hales Owen, and curate of St Kenelm's Chapel, Hunnington, was employing the services of his son in 1821; whilst George Adderley's 'unremitting attention and assistance' to his father, Richard, in the

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1 S.R.O. 81/287 Constitutions, 8
2 Bodleian Library CCC C390 ii (Wase MSS) f.162, 30 Apr. 1677;
3 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.331
4 N.L.W. SA/SB/12 subs bk
5 C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.446
'English Free School' in Newport during the early nineteenth century was gratefully acknowledged in the latter's will. It was the Deveys, on the other hand, who were prominent in the southern parish of Bitterley: Thomas taught there from 1764; and a William Devey subscribed to teach school there in 1768. The Deans monopolised the position in the endowed school at Shifnal: George is mentioned in the *libri cleri* for Newport deanery in June 1783, at which time he appeared and exhibited his licence for teaching school; and Robert Dean is recorded in August 1792 as 'S. Master' in the same parish. Ten miles to the north-east at High Ercall, James Wilding, who had been master of the parish's endowed school since 1787, had taken his son into partnership by 1811.

The arrangement typified the smaller schools and the private-venture schools, also. A George Evans was teaching in Ellesmere from 1693 until 1698; a Thomas Evans was teaching in the parish in 1711. A Richard Poyner subscribed to teach school in Wrockwardine parish in 1702 (by 1718 he was teaching in Dawley); and a William Poyner of Wrockwardine, 'literatus', did the same in 1708. A George Kynaston we know to have been teaching at Loppington in 1736; a John Kynaston was teaching in the adjoining parish of Wem in 1801. In the county town, a number of documented private schools

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1 L.J.R.O. will of Richard Adderley, 23 Feb. 1819
2 H.R.O. subs rolls, Box 2, 1758-1812, Roll III; HD/IA4/11 subs bk
3 L.J.R.O. B/V/1/107, 17 June 1783; B/V/1/108, 18 Aug. 1792
4 *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* 15 Mar. 1787 p.3; 12 July 1811 p.3
5 L.J.R.O. B/V/1/89A *libri cleri*, 20 July 1693; 28 June 1698; L.J.R.O. B/V/1/93 *libri cleri*, 29 May 1711
6 L.J.R.O. B/A/4/13 subs bk, 7 May 1702; 18 May 1708
7 *Shropshire Parish Registers, Lichfield diocese*, XXI Pt 1, Loppington, p.54; ibid. X, Wem, p.781
catering for the peculiar needs of the middle classes were taught by two
generations of the same family. Mr G. Bagley, junior, teaching on his own
on the Wyle Cop from July 1807 until July 1809, took T. Bagley into
partnership and together they set up a 'Commercial & Mathematical Academy'
in Castle Court. The French emigre, Monsieur Bourlay, who offered
instruction in dancing and fencing both on St John's Hill and at his
academy in Welshpool to the young ladies and gentlemen of Shrewsbury and
its vicinity, was being assisted by his son, too, in 1817.

Equally as common, though restricted this time to the private
schools, was the mother and daughter arrangement. Sometimes they worked
in a pair from the outset. A Mrs Yates intended to open a boarding school
for 'Young Ladies' in Beatrice Street, Oswestry, in August 1814. 'In
company with her daughter'. A Mrs and Miss MacMichael were teaching a
boarding school for ladies in the High Church Yard, Bridgnorth, in 1822.
A Mrs and Miss Lewis taught at Ludstone House in 1828; and in the same
year Mrs and Miss Smith opened a ladies' boarding school at Westfelton
Hall. At other times, however, a daughter might only be drawn in when
the mother's own health was beginning to fail and she could speedily be

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1 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 10 July 1807 p.3; 8 Jan. 1808 p.3;
  8 July 1808 p.3; 13 Jan. 1809 p.3; 14 July 1809 p.3; 19 Jan. 1810 p.3
2 Ibid. 17 Jan. 1817 p.3
3 Ibid. 22 July 1814 p.115
4 Ibid. 5 July 1822 p.3
5 Ibid. 18 Jan. 1828 p.3; 11 July 1828 p.3
drilled in all that was necessary to make the transition from one to the other as smooth as possible. Such was the reasoning when in 1806 Sarah Bromley began to assist her ageing mother in the running of Mrs Harris's charity school in Newtown, Baschurch. In common with a certain Mrs A. Phillips who conducted a boarding school in Dog Lane, Shrewsbury, in 1799, she would have been in a position to entrust the school to her daughter's safe hands when she herself resigned.

The most popular teaching partnership of all, however, consisted of pairs of (for the most part unmarried) sisters. In Shrewsbury during the first few years of the nineteenth century, there could be found Jemima and Letitia Perry on Pride Hill, Eliza and Jane Pritchard in Castle Street, the Miss Puttrells in Mardol, the Miss Wisemans in Belmont and the Misses Field in St Alkmund's Place. Outside the county town, the Miss Jordens ran a boarding school in Corve Street, Ludlow; and the Misses Corfield, Griffiths, Wyke, Smyth and Beltons had similar schools at Church Stretton, Minsterley, Broseley, Shifnal and Beckbury respectively. The Misses H. and S. Bullock, meanwhile, tended to 'the Education of Young Ladies' at the Old Hall Seminary near Newport; whilst Mrs Edwards and Mrs Farnworth ('sisters'), and the Miss Cooks, were the successive teachers.

1 Ibid. 10 Jan. 1806 p.3
2 Ibid. 4 Jan. 1799 p.3. Exceptionally, in the case of Mrs Gethin, daughter of the Shrewsbury writing master, Mr Longmire, there is an instance of a young woman teaching alongside her father. (Ibid. 20 Jan. 1804 p.3)
at a boarding school at Whitchurch\(^1\).

In addition to both parents and children, and pairs of sisters, whole 'dynasties' of teachers could be found. One such family was the Ores.

A Francis Ore subscribed in 1665 to teach at a grammar school at Wellington, where he took on the responsibilities of usher\(^2\). In 1701 he was still cited as 'Lud' (i.e. ludimagister) at Wellington\(^3\). A William Ore/Oar, contemporary to Francis, was first cited as schoolmaster at Upton Magna in 1685 and, periodically, until 1714\(^4\). He last appears in a list of schoolmasters for 1726, at which date he was still teaching in Upton Magna\(^5\). A third Ore, Robert, was cited in 1745 as 'Schoolmr' at Wellington\(^6\). In the township of Newtown, Baschurch parish, the mastership of the endowed charity school was again passed down through three generations from 1765 until at least as late as 1814, each time the tenure being occupied by a William Jones\(^7\). In Shrewsbury during the first few years of the nineteenth century there were two great dynasties of teachers: the Tomlins and the Parkes. Mr R.Tomlins was a writing master in the town from sometime before 1791 until at least 1805\(^8\), and his wife taught sewing at the school\(^9\).

A Mr B.Tomlins, writing master 'of Abilities', held school in Dogpole in 

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1 Ibid. passim
2 L.J.R.O. B/A/4/5 subs bk, 2 June 1665; N.W.Tildesley (ed.) 'Notitia Cleri' for the Diocese of Lichfield 1693-1698' p.133
3 L.J.R.O. B/V/4 citations and processes, 8 Sept./21 Oct. 1701
4 Ibid. 6 Aug./16 Sept. 1685 - 22 May/23 June 1714
5 L.J.R.O. ex-Lichfield Cathedral, B/V/3
6 L.J.R.O. B/V/4 citations and processes, 12 July/29 Aug. 1745
7 L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nomination papers; The Shrewsbury Chronicle 14 Jan. 1814 p.7, when W.Jones, senior, had just died.
8 Ibid. 20 May 1791 p.3; 19 July 1805 p.3
9 Ibid. 20 May 1791 p.3
1807. Yet another Tomlins, this time a T. Tomlins, offered to teach the piano, violin, tenor and violincello. Also offering instruction in writing at this time were the Parkes. David Parkes, who has left behind him a beautiful collection of Shropshire sketches, provided both writing and drawing at the Friars in Castle Street. In 1817 Mr F. Parkes began to offer 'Commercial Education' at his academy, and Misses H. and C. Parkes were proposing to open a school for 'young Ladies' on College Hill.

The impression conveyed, however, is that local men and their families less and less frequently occupied teaching positions as the eighteenth century progressed and the state of communications improved, widening in turn mental horizons and breaking down the old parochialism. John Mansel, for instance, master of the Blue Coat School, Ludlow, (1791–c. 1802) came not from the parish his school served, but from Shrewsbury.

A sizeable proportion of teachers in late eighteenth century Shrewsbury even came up from London. Mr Saxton Allen, dancing-master, had assisted a Mr Glover, dancing master to part of the royal family. Another dancing master, the French émigré, Monsieur Mercerot, formerly dancer at the Paris Opera and subsequently successor to Monsieur La Feuillade in

1 Ibid. 9 Jan. 1807 p. 3
2 Ibid. 4 Mar. 1800 p. 3
3 B.L. Add. MS 21, 012-21,016
4 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 11 July 1817 p. 3; 26 Dec. 1817 p. 3. By 1822 their school was at St John's Hall (Ibid. 18 Jan. 1822 p. 3)
5 S.R.O. 2881/6/1; 2 'Ludlow Charity School Rules & Orders'
6 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 19 July 1777 p. 3
St Alkmond's Square, had spent many years at the Opera House in London, a training which he believed rendered him 'perfectly qualified' to teach the most fashionable and elegant style of dancing\(^1\). Another Frenchman, W. Castieau, who opened an academy in 1800 was equally proud of his connection with the metropolis where he had taught ladies and gentlemen 'of the most distinguished Families' for over twenty-three years\(^2\). A Mr Janson, who offered dancing 'in all its departments' to the nobility and gentry, had had long practice in London schools and in families 'of the first distinction'\(^3\). Women, too, could boast London origins by this late period. Miss E. Puttrell, who opened a day school in Mardol in 1801, had been educated at an 'eminent Boarding-School' near London\(^4\). Mrs Delvigne, who was being encouraged by her friends to open a day school for 'Young Ladies' in Shrewsbury in July 1799, had actually had teaching experience in 'the First and most Capital Boarding Schools' in London\(^5\).

Occasionally, however, London-trained men (and women) infiltrated schools outside the county town. This trend is not apparent here, though, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, whereas we know that there were Londoners in Shrewsbury from at least as early as 1777. Amongst these was William Jones who was assisting his father at the endowed charity

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1 Ibid. 21 July 1809 p.3
2 Ibid. 8 Nov. 1799 p.3; 9 Jan. 1801 p.3
3 Ibid. 27 June 1828 p.3
4 Ibid. 9 Jan. 1801 p.3; 10 July 1801 p.3
5 Ibid. 12 July 1799 p.3
school at Newtown, Baschurch, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who 'had gained experience as an Assistant over eight years in a very respectable Academy' near London¹. Similarly, the assistant engaged by Miss Dorset and Mrs Holbrook at their boarding school for 'Young Ladies' at Blackgate House, Oswestry, had served in a 'genteel' London school in a similar capacity². (See Plate 9).

A number of teachers moved to Shrewsbury from boarding schools in the provincial towns. Prominently featured amongst these latter was Bath, another leisure centre attracting men and women in possession of sufficient surplus wealth to spend on education. Ann Brookes, who proposed opening a day school for 'young ladies' in June 1779 in The Square, had taught the same for over eleven years in one of the 'Head Schools' at Bath³. A Mr Astier, dancing master, successor to Mr West, had taught in several 'noble families' of Bath previous to his installation at the Ladies' Academy on Pride Hill⁴.

Bath apart, however, those teachers moving into the county from the provinces tended to come from the Wirral and the Midlands. The Rev. Dr James Donne, who became headmaster of Oswestry Grammar School in 1796, had formerly been second master at the King's School, Chester, and a Minor

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1 Ibid. 13 July 1810 p.3
2 Ibid. 5 July 1805 p.3
3 Ibid. 15 May 1779 p.3
4 Ibid. 6 Dec. 1788 p.3
Plate 9: Black Gate House, Oswestry (est. 1621), site of a boarding school for 'Young Ladies' conducted by Miss Dorest and Mrs Holbrook at the opening of the nineteenth century. (As a fitting reminder of the building's earlier function, there stands today in its 'Harlech Room' - once the kitchen, though now the tea room - a high (3' 6") desk complete with a splendid quill pen.)
The Miss Jordens, who set up a boarding school in Corve Street, Ludlow, in May 1776, had previously been teachers in a Liverpool boarding school. A certain G. Wilkinson, who opened Rushbury Academy near Church Stretton in 1822 had taught earlier at Malpas Grammar School, Cheshire. A Mr Harries (educated himself at Norwich Grammar School) had taught in 'an extensive commercial House' in Birmingham for over six years before setting up an academy in Mardol, Shrewsbury, with the aid of his wife. Unusual was the Rev. John Taylor's journey with his family from Wiltshire to take up responsibilities as master of Ludlow 'Free Grammar School' in October 1809. Perhaps the greatest of all the provincial moves was made, however, by the Rev. William Kent in 1789 when he travelled up from Southampton to assume the office of headmaster of the 'Free School in Whitchurch' in April 1789.

Over and above this, there was an abundance of French natives teaching in Shrewsbury by the end of the eighteenth century. Some acted as assistants in schools teaching this 'polite' language alone. Before coming to teach French at the Rev. G. Braithwaite's Academy in Bridgnorth, Mr Lewis, a graduate of the University of Douay, had resided in France for over twenty years. A French native was also engaged by Miss Hawkins as a

2. The Shrewsbury Chronicle, 13 Apr. 1776 p. 1
3. Ibid. 29 Jan. 1822 p. 3
4. Ibid. 4 Jan. 1828 p. 3
5. S.R.O. 356/2/7 Ludlow Corporation Minute Book 1788-1830, 28 Oct. 1809
6. L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nomination papers. Many men were, of course, sent to the more eminent schools, and to the grammar schools at Shrewsbury, Newport and Ludlow in particular, direct from the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges.
7. The Shrewsbury Chronicle, 7 Jan. 1791 p. 3
resident teacher of French when she moved from Swan Hill to Belmont at Midsummer 1798. Monsieur Benoist, who styled himself 'Professor of Languages, History, &c', and who taught 'Young Ladies' and 'Young Gentlemen' at his apartments on the Wyle Cop and at Mr and Mrs Astier's Academy on Pride Hill, was a Parisian with a Parisian servant, and who would allow only French to be spoken. Soon, Frenchmen began to make their presence felt in the parishes around Shrewsbury, too. The Misses Smith, for instance, engaged a Parisian 'of the first respectability' to teach French at their establishment in Albrighton.

Other French refugees in Shrewsbury conducted very prestigious dancing and fencing establishments. Most renown of all was Monsieur Bourlay, who offered his services as a dancing and fencing master and as a tutor in French not merely in the county town itself, but also in nearby private schools between 1789 and 1809. His business flourished; so much so that he could insist on taking entrance money from pupils of those who while calling themselves dancing masters had absolutely no grounds for doing so. The progress made by his pupils on a 'self-constructed Plan' given shape by his numerous trips to the capital, was displayed to full effect at his splendid quarterly balls. Another
Frenchman, Monsieur La Feuillade, who had had experience both at the Paris Opera and in London, opened an academy for dancing on College Hill in 1796, and offered to attend schools and private families in town or country.

Three other men teaching in Shrewsbury during the second quarter of the nineteenth century had Italian origins. Dr Fechini, a 'Native of Italy and lately Professor of Rhetoric in that Country', taught Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French there; A. Tedoli offered simply Italian and French; and Signor Borso de Carminati taught Italian, French and Spanish to 'Ladies and Gentlemen' on Tuesdays and Fridays there.

A good example providing evidence for the new willingness and ability to journey from further afield, even to take up the position of humble usher, is available for Ludlow Grammar School where the geographical origins of candidates applying for this post in 1774 are known:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Machin</td>
<td>Sutton Coldfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha: Cartwright</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Nicholas</td>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Salt</td>
<td>W. Hampton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Tottle</td>
<td>Tetbury, Gloucestershire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Williams</td>
<td>Prestergne</td>
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<td>Tudor Price</td>
<td>Abergavenny</td>
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<td>Jas. Murphy</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gittins</td>
<td>Hay (Brecknock)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lowe</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These places are, for the most part, located in the West Midlands, and thus relatively close to Shropshire. For 1821 the picture is markedly different:

1 Ibid. 4 Nov. 1796 p.3; 24 July 1801 p.3
2 Ibid. 4 Jan. 1828 p.3. Such origins were always stressed, and were emulated by women such as Mrs Barrow (nee Longmire) who left Shrewsbury to establish 'connections' in Europe (Ibid. 11 Feb. 1791 p.3)
3 Ibid. 24 Sept. 1824 p.3
4 Ibid. 5 Aug. 1825 p.3
5 S.R.O. 356/286 Box
The places of origin at this later date could scarcely be more far-flung, and are in a large number of instances considerably distant from Shropshire.

From what social rank were the teachers drawn? At the more-prestigious endowed schools in the county, as also at those private schools catering for an élite, recruitment was likely to be made from those of a 'gentle' status. Richard Adney, for instance, who was licensed to hold the office of 'second master' (i.e. usher) at Ludlow Grammar School in October 1735, was described as 'Gent.' The promoter of a day establishment for 'young Gentlemen' aged seven to twelve, in Dogpole, Shrewsbury, at the beginning of 1814 also styled himself as 'A Gentleman'. Those teaching in the publicly-supported schools, or in the more run-of-the-mill private-venture establishments, on the other hand, never originated

1 S.R.O. 356/286 Box
2 H.R.O. HD/IA4/9 subs bk
3 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 25 Feb. 1814 p.31
Plate 10: The usher's house, Ludlow
from above the ranks of tradesmen. William Slade, schoolmaster at Millington's Hospital, Shrewsbury (1794-1811), seems to have been a skinner in the immediate vicinity of Frankwell prior to his appointment. One wonders why he took to teaching - perhaps because his business had failed. It proved in fact to be an only poorly-remunerating employment for him, and one can only speculate as to what he turned to next. In Upton Parva, the wife of the village tailor was teaching school in 1823. Samuel Lee (bap. 1783) who became an assistant at the Bowdler School in St Julian's parish, Shrewsbury, was born the son of a poor Longnor labourer. After attending the Corbett School until he was twelve, he was apprenticed to a local carpenter. Having risen up into the ranks of the master tradesmen, he, like many others, took to teaching out of despair, in his particular case when fire destroyed his stock. Those employed in Sunday schools were still more likely to have humble origins. The master of the Sunday school at Coalbrookdale in 1830 was, for instance, 'the son of one of our workmen'.

How well educated were these, for the greater part, local teachers? What proportion were university men - either graduates or at

1 S.R.O. Addnl deposit 4074 (white env.): apprenticeship indenture of Mary Slade, 28 Sept. 1791
2 S.R.O. 3916/1/3, archdeacon's visit. bk, 73, 17 Oct. 1823
3 J.P.Dodd 'Three Centuries of Shropshire Experiments in Education', The Shropshire Magazine, June 1958 pp.29-32. Subsequently, however, his rise to fame was truly meteoric, Lee ending his career as Professor of Arabic at Cambridge.
4 Report of the British and Foreign School Society XXV (1830) p.37
least university-trained? How many were literate; how many illiterate?

And how did educational attainment on their part vary between different sorts of schools? What impression, in short, are we able to form of the status of the employment?

At some schools it was stipulated in the regulations that graduates alone were eligible for the mastership. This is exemplified in the case of the endowed school at Cardington where

no person shall be Elected Master of ye said school unless he has taken a Degree in ye University of Oxford or Cambridge...

At High Ercall, too, the schoolmaster was to be 'a Graduate in one of the Universityes of Oxford or Cambridge'. All that was required by Richard Edwards, the benefactor at Neen Savage, by way of contrast, was that there be 'some good schoolmaster'.

How does theory square with practice? At first sight, and using the more-accessible sources, the number of graduate teachers appears to have been truly prolific. If we consider the qualifications of school-teachers subscribing in the archdeaconry of Ludlow, diocese of Hereford, 1662-1809, the following pattern emerges:

1 S.R.O. 2519/1, xerox copy of ordinances for the government of the parish school, 2
2 S.R.O. 81/287, 'Constitutions', of school endowed by Baron Thomas Leeke, 1
3 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.281
Table 7: Qualifications of schoolteachers subscribing in the archdeaconry of Ludlow, 1662 - 1809

Almost 60% of those subscribing were thus university men. If, however, we juxtapose this source alongside the *libri cleri* for the same archdeaconry and encompassing much the same period, the situation appears radically different:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>university-trained men</th>
<th>university graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>literatus</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerk (only)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Gent'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N=59</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Qualifications of schoolteachers 'called over' in the archdeaconry of Ludlow, 1665 - 1778

In this sample of teachers, little over 30%, half the proportion recorded in the subscriptions, are university men. The discrepancy lies in the fact that the former sample is highly exclusive in that it contains only those who had security of tenure at an established school and thus were sufficiently motivated, or had sufficient funds, to be able to take out a licence. The men reported in the *libri cleri*, many of whom were unlicensed, constitute, on the other hand, a much more heterogenous sample. A similar contrast is evident for the archdeaconry of Salop:
university-trained men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>university graduates</th>
<th>D.D.</th>
<th>M.A.</th>
<th>B.A.</th>
<th>literatus etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clerk (only)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=145

Table 9: Qualifications of schoolteachers subscribing in the archdeaconry of Salop, 1662-1829

In common with the archdeaconry of Ludlow, almost one half of those subscribing were Oxbridge men. The artificially high value of this figure is suggested once again when a comparison is made with the libri cleri for Salop archdeaconry. The qualifications of schoolteachers are not scrupulously recorded until 1779, but taking into account the subsequent thirty years we find the below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>university graduates</th>
<th>M.A.</th>
<th>B.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clerk (only)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=51

Table 10: Qualifications of schoolteachers 'called over' in the archdeaconry of Salop, 1779 - 1805

Here, only about 20% are university men, i.e. much the same proportion as for the libri cleri for Ludlow archdeaconry. An examination of the evidence for the deanery of Marchia lends support to these conclusions.

Two thirds (four of the six) subscribing, all to teach at Oswestry Grammar School, are specifically stated to be university men. Unfortunately, of course, the sample in this instance is extremely minute. About one quarter of those 'called over' (c.f. c.30% for Ludlow archdeaconry and
c. 20% for Salop archdeaconry) were Oxford and Cambridge men (See Tables 11 and 12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>university-trained men</th>
<th>university graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literatus etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clerk (only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Table 11: Qualifications of schoolteachers subscribing in the deanery of Marchia, 1704 - 1833](image)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clerk (only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unspecified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Table 12: Qualifications of schoolteachers 'called over' in the deanery of Marchia, 1682 - 1830](image)

The analysis emphasises above all the dangers, once again, in drawing too-hasty conclusions, whether about the qualifications of schoolteachers, as here, or, more fundamentally, about the number of schools in existence, on the basis of too slight an array of what are in any case standard sources.

What indices, other than academic qualifications, do we have of the learning of the extremely various schoolteachers working during this period? One point of reference might be to peruse probate inventories to investigate the number of books they possessed. We would need to recognize, however, at the same time, that this class of records is inherently biased
in favour of the more prosperous and thus better-educated. In the person of Richard Cornes, master of Bridgnorth 'Free School', and curate of St Mary's in the same town, we have an example of a very learned man who collected a great number of books and pamphlets. These he passed on to his successor, Hugh Stackhouse, whose will itemizes some 1,400 books and pamphlets which he gave for the use of the district clergy. The headmaster of Oswestry Grammar School in the immediate post-Restoration years, the Rev. Edward Payne, also had books in his study valued at the then quite goodly sum of £1 at the time an inventory of his goods and possessions was made. His contemporary at Shrewsbury, Thomas Chaloner, had a study replete with books to the value of £5 3s 4d; whilst a later, second master, of the same school, Oswald Smith, had his 'Study of Books' valued by the assessor at £7 10s. Moving beyond these pre-eminent endowed classical schools, Ralph Adams, a writing master from St Mary's, Shrewsbury, owned 'A book Case and books' worth £8 on his decease in 1713. Especially remarkable is the will of David Parkes, an outstanding drawing master from Shrewsbury at the turn of the eighteenth century, which mentions a library, manuscripts, paintings and prints, and household books.

1 J.F.A. Mason 'Bishop Percy's Account of his own Education', Notes and Queries CCIV (Nov. 1959) p.406
2 N.L.W. will/inventory, 1671
3 L.J.E.C. inventory, 27 Oct. 1664
4 Ibid. 21 Apr. 1713
5 L.J.R.O. will, 29 Dec. 1815
The famous Dr Samuel Butler who helped put Shrewsbury School back on its feet again to make it the most sought after in England, actually published five educational works: *An Atlas of Ancient Geography*; *An Atlas of Modern Geography*; *A General Atlas of Ancient and Modern Geography*; *Outline Maps of Ancient Geography*; and, in 1822, *A Sketch of Modern and Ancient Geography for the Use of Schools*. His contemporary, George Bagley the elder, described by Hugh Owen as 'ingenious', and 'eminent for his self-taught acquirements in arithmetic and the various branches of mathematical science', published in Shrewsbury grammars of the principal languages, both ancient and modern (1804) and, in the following year, *The young mathematician's assistant, or schoolmaster's guide: a short and comprehensive system of Arithmetic*. His ingenuity was shown at its best, however, in little things, as when during his mastership at Allatt's School he invented an attachment to the chimney to prevent it smoking out the schoolroom.

In the early nineteenth century, deficiencies in a strictly academic education could for some, and in part, be remedied by instruction in the art of teaching. At a cost to the Public Subscription Charity School, Shrewsbury, of £30 3s 2d, Mr Jones and Mrs Davies were sent to the Central

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1 Hugh Owen *Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of Shrewsbury* (1808) p.403
School in London in 1814–15 to obtain 'a competent knowledge of the principles and regulations of the National Society'\(^1\). Others travelled less far afield to acquire their new practical knowledge. William Groves had attended Dr Bell's Lichfield training school prior to his appointment as master of the Shrewsbury Public Subscription School in 1810\(^2\); whereas Martha Lewis, the first mistress at Bourton School, Much Wenlock, had been instructed in the same system at the National Society's model Shropshire school at Meole Brace, directly outside Shrewsbury\(^3\).

Less formally, it was quite normal for the Shrewsbury dancing masters and mistresses to spend the vacation refreshing themselves in London, as did Mrs Mercerot who, on her return, intended to introduce 'the most fashionable and elegant Dances, with the improved method of teaching, as practised in the first seminaries in the metropolis'\(^4\). Monsieur Bourlay's son, William Vestris Bourlay, on the other hand, spent his vacation in France and Belgium in 1817 with the intent of familiarising himself with the latest fashions in dancing and fencing\(^5\).

The general feeling, however, is not of the academic soundness and suitability of teachers, but of their ignorance and waywardness. The Committee of the British and Foreign School Society indeed had some cause to apprehend that the business of instruction is in too many instances in the hands of very incompetent teachers; and that

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1 S.L.S.L. Holy Cross MSS 'The State of the Publick Subscription Charity School in Shrewsbury', 1815
2 Ibid. 1810
3 S.R.O. uncat. Much Wenlock, Bourton School Log Book
4 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 20 July 1810 p.3; 19 July 1811 p.3
5 Ibid. 18 July p.3 1817 p.3
the best interests of children are too often sacrificed to serve an individual retained in office simply to provide him with support.

The low intellectual calibre of some of the more humble teachers is nicely captured in the dull nailer who kept a private-venture school in Coalbrookdale during the mid eighteenth century and who refused to believe that the earth turned round because 'the Wrekin was always in the same place'. At Caynham near Ludlow in the early nineteenth century, the parish clerk's wife 'tho' incompetent to teach', nevertheless taught 'a small school in a small cottage' in the occupation of her husband. Mrs Pugh, who was teaching six children to read at Brown's House, Bishop's Castle, c.1777, was a carpenter's wife.

In common with the school for thirteen children operating at Astley in 1832, the expressed purpose of which was 'the relieving the Parents of the care of them during the busiest part of the day', such schools were clearly baby-minding establishments.

The office of schoolteacher does, moreover, seem to have become degraded 'by the introduction of those who pursue this employment only when other means of support have failed'. Witness the poor, old, lame man teaching at Middleton Scriven in 1674, who 'canott doe any thinge else towards gettinge him a livelyhood', and, in early eighteenth century Tugford, the 'poor Girdle (sic) yt keepeth a school...'; on the other hand, the only

1 Report of the British and Foreign School Society XXIII (1828) p.17
2 J.Randall A History of Madeley (1880) pp.293-94
3 Letter from Philip Whitcombe, curate of Caynham, 15 Oct. 1833, to the Rev. J.C.Wigram, Secretary of the National Society, Nat. Soc. Archives, File 1833
4 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.462
5 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit. enq. Bp Henry Ryder, 1832, Art. VI
6 Report of the British and Foreign School Society XXIII (1828) p.17
7 H.R.O. C.W.P., 23 June 1674 Tit: 6
8 visit. enq. Bp Philip Bisse, 1719
qualification of a certain M. Leech, who set up a school for children of 'whatever Parents' on Claremont Hill, Shrewsbury, at the very end of the century, seems to have been her concern for 'the Support of a numerous Family'.

How sufficient, though, were salaries to attract men and women of quality? How did they vary in accordance with the curriculum taught; the location of the schools (whether in rural or urban parishes); and between men and women? When they were manifestly insufficient, what possibilities were there of supplementing a salary with the fees of private scholars?

Poor salaries resulted first of all in the recruitment of correspondingly poorly-qualified men and women; and secondly in negligence. 'The master is not greatly qualified, as may be guessed by his salary' inferred Bernard Mandeville when writing about the early eighteenth century charity schools. And indeed, Richard Lloyd, in a letter from Yarpol near Leominster, referred to 'ye cheap rates of teaching' in Shropshire during this period. A few men, including William Slade, master at Millington's School, Shrewsbury, in the early

1 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 11 Jan. 1799 p.3
2 Bernard Mandeville The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Public Benefits (1772 edn) I p.200
3 S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.6 4774 19 Apr. 1716
nineteenth century, quitted their position specifically because of unsatisfactory remuneration\(^1\). Others, capable of no better employment (assuming there was any to be had) dedicated their whole lives to the 'trouble and fatigue' of teaching school\(^2\).

Table 13 illustrates the range of salaries earned by masters and mistresses in urban and rural schools throughout the period under study. Most well paid on average, as might be expected, was the man teaching in an urban parish, with relatively handsome sums being earned by the headmasters of the grammar schools at Wem and Ludlow\(^3\). The degree of prosperity which a master at an endowed classical grammar school might attain is evident from an examination of their wills and probate inventories. Thomas Chaloner, headmaster of Shrewsbury, had a silver tankard and silver bowl at the time an inventory of his goods, valued in total at £41 19s 2d, was made in 1664. George Arden at Newport possessed properties in Little Dawley and Alveley, at Admaston in Wrockwardine parish and in Kidderminster outside the county. In his will, proved at Lichfield in 1715, he bequeathed a silver tankard, silver spoons and a stock of cattle. But a private writing master, also administering to the needs of the various middle classes, might

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1 S.R.O. 2133/12, Millington's minutes, Jan. 1811
2 Norman Sykes *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century* (1935) p.229
3 The corresponding position at Drayton in the early nineteenth century conferred a curiously small amount, surpassed even by the salary of the third master at Wem. This anomaly explains why the Rev. John Kynaston, headmaster at Drayton (1829-31) moved to Wem in order to take up an ostensibly more humble position in 1831. (L.J.R.O. B/A/4/44 subs bk, 28 July 1829; C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.331)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RURAL MEN</th>
<th>RURAL WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>£30 + house (1686) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1813) Cardington</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£40 (1802) usher ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£3 (1833) Cardington</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£70 (1804) usher Wem G.S.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£20 (1811) Ludlow G.S.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£40 (1810) Ludlow Blue Coat</strong></td>
<td><strong>£60 (1811) usher Ludlow G.S.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£60 (1811) usher Ludlow G.S.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£30 (1811) Shby subs sch.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£80 + house (1811) master ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£40 (1814) ditto</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£30 (1811) Shby subs sch.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Ludlow Nat. Sch.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£40 (1814) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Shby subs sch.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£60 (1818) usher Ludlow G.S.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Worfield</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£70 (1818) Ludlow Nat. Sch.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£5 (1821) Selattyn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£56 2s (1818) Shby subs sch.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Westbury</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£57 14s (1819) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Westbury</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£55 12s (1820) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Worfield</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£61 1s (1821) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£5 (1821) Selattyn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£58 17s (1822) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Westbury</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£56 3s (1823) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Westbury</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£51 12s (1824) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£5 (1821) Selattyn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£50 (1825) ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Worfield</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£60 (1826) usher Ludlow G.S.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£5 (1821) Selattyn</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£100 (1826) master ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£10 (1820) Westbury</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£40 (1829) Whitchurch (Benyon)</strong></td>
<td><strong>£4 11s 2d (1831) Baschurch</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£25 + house (1829) master Drayton G.S.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£3 (1833) Cardington</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£70 (1831) third master Wem G.S.</strong></td>
<td><strong>£20 (1833) Cardington</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>£160 (1831) head master ditto</strong></td>
<td><strong>£4 11s 2d (1831) Baschurch</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Salaries paid to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, 1660-1833
attain considerable wealth, too. The goods listed in the inventory of the Shrewsbury writing master Ralph Adams, dated 21 April 1713, totalled an incredible £474 3s 6d, and included a bookcase and books valued at £8; a chest and linen, £7; a plate case and plate, £15; and a pendulum clock and case, £5 (See Appendix Ei).

Well behind the urban master, and in some cases earning only a third as much, came the urban mistress teaching a much less advanced curriculum, normally indeed comprising reading and writing alone. Those teaching in the country parishes, however, could muster still less, with the same discrepancy between the sexes apparent once again. These latter men and women were often desperately poor. A certain Mr Bromley, for instance, master of the endowed school at Stokesay (est. 1616) at the time of Christopher Wase's Enquiry, was loath to reveal his full name, for having only recently graduated from Cambridge, and having an income insufficient to justify him purchasing a licence, he feared that should his name get out he would have to move. He is, nevertheless, likely to have been in a rather better position than the man who kept a school for thirty children in the chancel of the parish church at Shelve during the early nineteenth century, but who 'did not obtain the Wages of a day Labourer'. Their only privileges were minor dispensations: Thomas Latham

1 Bodleian Library CCC C390 ii f.153v., 16 Aug. 1675
2 E.L. Add. MS 21,018 'Ecclesiastical Notes...', f.327r.
was recognized as too poor to be able to afford a licence to teach school at Cheswardine in the early years of the eighteenth century. Often, the salary was too meagre to attract any but the unsatisfactory. Such was the case at the school conducted on the National Society's plan at Clunbury, where the managers were obliged to employ an elderly woman, whose prejudices have been too invincible to allow the new system any chance of success.

This considerable variation in the wealth of schoolteachers is readily apparent even from an examination of wills and probate inventories which are naturally biased in the direction of the more prosperous. We have only to compare the inventory of the Shrewsbury writing master Ralph Adams, above, with that of his contemporary the Whitchurch schoolmaster, Arthur Dawson, whose possessions totalled a mere £33 9s 3d (See Appendix E).

Salaries paid to teachers at established schools generally being so impoverished, it is scarcely surprising that an extremely large proportion were forced either to teach additional scholars privately; or to combine teaching with some quite other activity. Sometimes, the

1 L.J.R.O. B/IV/4 citations and processes, 1 Dec., 1710
2 Letter from D: Nihill, 22 Sept., 1823, to the National Society, National Society Archives, unnumbered file, 1823-1974
founding deeds themselves might give official sanction to the teacher to admit pay-scholars. Occasionally, as at John Slaney’s School in Barrow, no limit was set on their number:

And for the better maintenance of the said school-master... it should be lawful for him to take into the said school so many other scholars of men's sons, that were able to make allowance to the said schoolmaster for their learning and education, as he might well teach and instruct.

The schoolmaster's salary here being as little as £10 p.a., such extra remuneration far from being merely augmentary was in fact quite essential.

More often, a ceiling was placed on the number of fee-payers allowed.

At Allatt's School, Shrewsbury, their number was strictly limited to twelve. The school in Millington's Hospital in the same town, which also restricted the number of private scholars, provides a particularly interesting example of the way in which managers of endowed urban schools, unwilling to lose a good teacher to the better-remunerated private sector, might be forced to make concessions. The trustees, who had completely disallowed pay-scholars in January 1790, relented the following month when they allowed the master a maximum of four. In July 1796, they were obliged to raise the number to twelve. William Slade, master of the school from 1794 until 1811, we know to have run such a private-venture school for twelve children alongside the endowed school. Seemingly, the

1 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.300
2 S.R.C. 2133/11 Millington's minutes
3 The private scholars were offered advanced instruction in reading, writing, English grammar, arithmetic, mensuration, trigonometry, navigation, use of the globes and book-keeping (The Shrewsbury Chronicle 16 Jan. 1801 p.3). The school would seem to have been conducted in a room immediately behind the east end of the school-room where a brick has been removed, perhaps to act as a secret window.
revenue deriving from this increased number of private scholars, when combined both with his official salary and his totally illegal taking in of lodgers, was still too little to maintain a large family and eventually it resulted in his resignation. Elsewhere, in the absence of regulations to the contrary, we know that teachers in practice took in pay-scholars. At 'The Free School' in Worfield, for example, where (as at Barrow) the salary under the original endowment was a hopelessly inadequate £10, the Charity Commissioners reported in 1820 that 'The master takes other day scholars for pay, and a few boarders'.

Very often, a related or even wholly different undertaking was pursued. It is wrong, however, to see teaching as the primary employment and the other merely as secondary; for the other means of remuneration could well be as important, and sometimes it was more so. What were these other activities?

It is a commonplace that many schoolmasters were recruited from the clergy. Indeed, the 78th Canon gave preference to any curate 'well able to teach youth' to be issued with the ordinary's licence. But exactly what proportion, and in which area were men in orders most in evidence: in the private sector, or in the classical grammar schools?

1. C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.251
And who amongst their number taught in practice: the humble curates alone, or those of a higher clerical status?

Priest-schoolmasters made up 17% (192 out of 1,138) of documented Shropshire schoolteachers in the period under study. On account of their superior academic ability, at some endowed schools, including those at Barrow and at Cardington, a distinct preference is shown in the statutes towards the appointment of a priest. John Slaney, the benefactor at Barrow, directed 'that the schoolmaster to be elected, should be a man of learning and fit to teach, and if it might be... a preaching minister, to teach and instruct the poor thereabout'. It was very common for a grammar schoolmaster especially to be a clergyman. To those holding the mastership at the well-endowed classical grammar schools at Shrewsbury, Whitchurch, Wem, Newport, Oswestry, Bridgnorth, Ludlow, Shifnal and Wroxeter, it offered an important additional source of income. Such it must have been for the Rev. Daniel Poole, 'chief schoolmaster' at Oswestry (1705-16) and corresponding member for the S.P.C.K. from 1714.

So vital indeed might it become that Thomas Harwood withdrew his candidacy for the mastership at Bridgnorth Grammar School when he learnt that he would not be able to hold in conjunction the curacy of St Mary's

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1 Amongst the more exclusive libri cleri, they could form more than one third of those listed, as in the archdeaconry of Ludlow, 1665-1778
2 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.300. Here, the minister's stipend of £3 3s 2d p.a. in the early eighteenth century was so obviously insufficient that a secondary activity, such as teaching, was vital.
3 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.398
4 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.300
5 S.P.C.K. general minutes 6 (1712-15) p.176
in the same town\(^1\). Prospective ushers also made enquiries about the possibility of combining such a position in the School with a neighbourhood cure\(^2\). Teaching was not merely augmentary for those (majority of) curates in desperate financial need\(^3\). Even men, some in orders, some not, holding small rectories succumbed to teaching school:

Hugh Dale at Middle (1689- \(^4\)); Mr Thomas Fletcher, rector of Patshull, who taught at Ryton (c.1677- \(^5\)); Francis Hudson at Ightfield (1690- \(^6\)); the Rev. Richard Mountfort, rector of Stockton, school-master at Albrighton\(^7\); and the Rev. John Evans, headmaster of Oswestry Grammar School (1678- \(^8\)) and rector of Newtown (c.1673)\(^8\), to name but a few from Salop archdeaconry. The layman Thomas Hatton, rector of Upton Parva, almost certainly took to teaching to compensate himself for the poverty of tithes which, in 1772, amounted to a mere fifty guineas\(^9\).

One might well hope, however, that the activities of James Clarke, appointed rector of Fitz in 1661, did not extend to teaching. Using the *Speculum* of Bishop William Lloyd, Mr Tildesley has inferred the bishop's impressions of him to be as follows:

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1 Letter to Joseph Smith, 26 Aug. 1816 (S.R.O. 4001/Ch/2, 1 box)
2 Ibid. passim, b Harley 1821
3 The Curate's Act, 1713, assured him of a salary not less than £20 but no greater than £50; a further Act of 1796 set a minimum of £20 and a maximum of £75.
4 N.W. Tildesley (ed.) *op. cit.* p. 88
5 Ibid. p. 106
6 Ibid. p. 57
7 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 29 Apr. 1780 p. 3 et seq.
8 R.R. Oakley *op. cit.* (1964) p. 292
9 L.J.R.O. B/\(\sqrt{4}\) citations and processes, 27 June/17 Aug. 1772...
1 May/7 June 1779; B/\(\sqrt{5}\) visit. eng. Bp Brownlow North
Very ordinary of parts. Always stutters except when he swears. Given much to gaming of every sort. Censured for drinking by the Archdeacon and he thinks upon presentment Always very intimate in Papist families.

Rector-schoolmasters were also prevalent in Ludlow archdeaconry².

Occasionally, however, as at the school endowed by the Rev. John Earle at Westbury, and at Thomas Leeke's school at High Ercall, the regulations cast doubt as to whether it was possible to fulfill two employments satisfactorily, and forbade the appointment of a man in holy orders as schoolmaster.

Roughly 10% (112 out of 1,138) of those schoolteachers documented during this period are known to have held the position of 'clerk'. Again, though there are exceptions³, nearly always the tenure was occupied by the master or usher of an endowed grammar school: William Adams, second master at Shrewsbury (1798—⁴); John Atcherley, headmaster at Drayton (1806—⁵); Henry Bowdler at Shifnal (1716—⁶); Onslow Barret at Ludlow (1730—35)⁷; John Bate at Bitterley (1755—⁸); Richard Elayne at Whitchurch (1743—⁹); John Chapman at Donnington (1769—ⁱ⁰).

1 N.W. Tildesley (ed.) op. cit. p. 62
2 H.R.O. libri cleri, passim
3 e.g. Robert Wetherby, schoolmaster and parish clerk at Atcham, c.1824; and the parish clerk of Preston Gubbals who was master of a day school supported by Mr Slaney at Bomer Heath in 1829. (S.R.O. 3916/1/2, archdeacon's visitation book).
4 L.J.R.O. B/A/4/39 subs bk
5 Letter to Rev. J.P. Stubbs, 9 Nov. 1813 (S.R.O. 3887 Box 41)
6 L.J.R.O. B/A/11b, nomination papers, 23 July 1716
7 H.R.O. HD/IA4/9 subs bk, 3 Dec. 1734; S.R.O. 356/286 Box
8 H.R.O. HD/IA4/11 subs bk, 15 Apr. 1755
9 L.J.R.O. B/A/4/32 subs bk, reversed, 21 Sept. 1743
10 L.J.R.O. B/A/11b, nomination papers, 14 June 1769
William Church at Newport (1759- )1; the Rev. James Donne at Oswestry (1797-1833)2; and Thomas Littleton at Bridgnorth (1744- )3 all held both of these positions.

Though, exceptionally, the Rev. Goronwy Owen, headmaster at Oswestry Grammar School (1746-54), excelled as a poet4, others took up less prestigious clerical duties either as a means of supplementing their income from teaching, or because they were simply the best qualified to do so. Mr Richards, schoolmaster at the 'Charity School of Westbury' during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, also drew up indentures, for which he was paid 8s 6d in 17365. Mr W. Richardson, who in 1773 opened school in a 'large well situated School-Room' at Mr William Jackson's in Shop-Latch near the top of Mardol, also offered paper or parchment writing, 'neatly copied or engrossed'6. In a similar vein, Mr G.C. Reynolds, who conducted an 'Academy for Young Gentlemen' at Mr Wright's, a stationer on Pride Hill, Shrewsbury, offered to neatly ornament and execute writings7. Some were solicited by the schools' managers to perform necessary clerical tasks in the running of the school

1 L.J.R.O. B/A/4/35 subs bk, reversed, 5 July 1759
2 N.L.W. SA/SE/9 subs bk, 4 Feb. 1797; R.R.Oakley A History of Oswestry School (1964) p.95
3 S.R.O. 4001/Ch/2, extracts from Corporation records
4 R.R.Oakley op. cit. (1964) p.294
5 S.R.O. 2767/4/25 'Mr Earl's Charity' (1728-1848)
6 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 20 Mar. 1773 p.3
7 Ibid. 27 July 1792 p.3
itself. It was little more than two years after his appointment as
master of 'Ludlow Charity School' in 1791, when John Mansel commenced
additional duties as secretary to the school for what would have been a
very welcome extra salary of one guinea per annum\(^1\). William Slade at
Millington's School, Shrewsbury, kept the minute and account books and
prepared estimates at the quarterly meetings of trustees, for which he
received a 'clerk's salary'\(^2\). His immediate successor, William Groves,
kept the charity account, too\(^3\).

Other schoolmasters during these years also occupied official
parish offices. Edward Griffiths, a churchwarden of St Alkmund's,
Shrewsbury, was cited before the bishop's court in 1690 'For teaching
'school without license' in the parish'\(^4\). Mossenden Carter, who taught
at Harley and Cressage in the early eighteenth century\(^5\), was, by
June 1724, the surveyor of highways for Wigwig and part of Harley\(^6\).
At Alberbury in 1787 the schoolmaster was one of the stewards presiding
over the village hunt\(^7\).

In the county town, several schoolteachers exhibited a variety
of musical interests and talents. The late eighteenth century dancing

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1 S.R.O. 2881/6/1; 2 'Ludlow Charity School Rules & Orders'
2 S.R.O. 2133/11 Millington's minutes, 1794-1811
3 S.R.O. 2133/12 Millington's minutes, 14 July 1813
4 L.J.R.O. B/V/4 citations and processes, 7 Nov. 1690
5 L.J.R.O. B/A/4/13 subs bk, 29 Nov. 1693; B/V/1/93 libri cleri
6 L.C.Lloyd 'Eighteenth-Century Highway Administration in an area of
South Shropshire', T.S.A.S. LVI (1957-60) pp.319-20
7 V.C.H. Salop II p.166 n.42
master Mr Saxton Allen also had a music business, and in a contemporary
newspaper advertisement offered to tune and repair, buy and sell
harpsichords, spinets and forte pianos\textsuperscript{1}. Mr T. Tomlins, who gave lessons
on the pianoforte, violin, tenor and violincello, also offered the
'Ladies and Gentlemen' his services as a tuner and as an accompaniment\textsuperscript{2};
whilst Mr Saxton, 'organist of Whitchurch' was available for both
instruction in 'the science of music' and to tune organs and pianos
belonging to the middling classes of Shrewsbury\textsuperscript{3}.

A handful displayed artistic leanings. Mr J.B. Pritchard, who
ran an 'Academy for Drawing' at his house in Mardol, Shrewsbury, also
undertook to paint 'oil likenesses'\textsuperscript{4}. Another Shrewsbury man, a
Mr T. Saunders, who described himself as 'Drawing-master', drew and
engraved two views of the 'Free Grammar School' at Shrewsbury for
publication in 1802\textsuperscript{5}. Miss Fidlor, who gave lessons in landscape,
flowers, figures and fancy drawing in early nineteenth century
Shrewsbury, was also willing to varnish fancy works and to hire out
drawings\textsuperscript{6}. At the same time, Mrs Hervey, who managed a 'Drawing Academy'
for Young Ladies' on the Wyle Cop, drew pieces for needlework at her shop
there\textsuperscript{7}.

\textsuperscript{1} The Shrewsbury Chronicle 19 July 1777 p.3
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. 4 Mar. 1800 p.3
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid. 31 Jan. 1817 p.3
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid. 16 May 1789 p.3
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid. 22 Jan. 1802 p.3
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid. 11 Jan. 1822 p.3
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid. 29 Jan. 1802 p.3; 12 July 1805 p.3
A more significant number engaged in trade and manufacture. A
private-venture school in mid eighteenth century Coalbrookdale, for
instance, was kept by a nailer\(^1\); whilst a contemporary of his, 'old'
Carter, a chairmaker, conducted a similar school at Madeley Wood\(^2\). Another
craftsman-schoolmaster, this time a shoemaker teaching in Onibury during
the early nineteenth century, was reported to be giving to that occupation
more time than was 'consistent with the welfare of the school'\(^3\). Still
less conducive to the effective running of a school was the other
employment of a certain Mr R. Tomlins, a writing master living on
Pride Hill, Shrewsbury, at the turn of the eighteenth century. In an
amusing advertisement in *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* for 1793, he took
some considerable pains to detail the wares for sale in the wine cellar
of his house near the Butter Cross; whilst at the same time assuring the
parents of those girls who came to write, albeit a little unconvincingly,
that this other branch of his business would not materially affect the
running of the school\(^4\) (See Appendix F). Meanwhile, Benjamin Bailey,
under master at Drayton Grammar School in 1790, is described also in a
contemporary directory as 'Liquor-merchant'\(^5\).

More suited to schoolmastering were the wares of Mr Miles
Longmire, a Shrewsbury writing master, who alongside his pedagogic

\(^1\) J. Randall *op. cit.* (1880) pp.293-94
\(^2\) Ibid. pp.293-94
\(^3\) C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.264
\(^4\) *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* 22 Nov. 1793 p.3
\(^5\) *Universal British Directory* (1790) p.868
activities, also supplied 'fine cut, pleasant, writing pens'\(^1\). Mrs Barrow, his daughter, who taught an 'Academy for Young Ladies' on Wyle Cop during the last decade of the eighteenth century, continued to make and sell fine-cut writing pens in her father's style after his death.\(^2\)

Amongst a veritable miscellany of other trades, David Pritchard, who taught dancing in Church Street, Bridgnorth, in 1828, was also a pawnbroker\(^3\); and Duncan Smith, a Shrewsbury writing master famous for his 'superior Abilities in the Art of Penmanship', not only offered his pupils private instruction in writing at their own homes, but also sold genuine Cremona violins\(^4\). It is, therefore, not without significance that schoolteachers, apart from those at Halesowen, are listed not with the 'Professional Gentlemen' in The Salop Directory (1828) - for they had no professional status - but with 'Shopkeepers, Traders, &c'. Again, with the exception of those men teaching in the prestigious grammar schools, the designation 'schoolmaster' (in contrast to the more distinctive 'clerk') was rare in appearing at the head of wills and probate inventories - a further reflection of their lowly status.

It is by no means always entirely clear whether teaching was the prime or merely a secondary employment. It is more certain to have

\(^{1}\) The Shrewsbury Chronicle 30 June 1809 p.3
\(^{2}\) Ibid. 5 Jan. 1810 p.3
\(^{3}\) Pigot's Shropshire Directory (1828) p.672
\(^{4}\) The Shrewsbury Chronicle 23 Dec. 1786 p.3
been the latter at Hissington, on the Montgomeryshire border, where

a person named Whitall a farmere (sic) is so devoted to teach, that he has a School at Night & leisure hours, when he teaches the Children reading writing and Accounts, and when he is threshing in his barn he has several Children with him who are learning to read.

Occasionally, we know teachers to have had no other duties.

Sometimes, this was part of the agreement under which they were appointed. It was laid down in the statutes framed by William Adams for the foundation of a grammar school at Newport in 1656, that both master and usher 'shall only apply himself wholly to the work of a School Master and not to any other employment to the prejudice of the said intended school'.

At others, the decision was made by the teachers themselves. Mr J. Matthews, for example, who moved from the 'Academy' in Temple-Row, Birmingham, in June 1789 to set up a boarding school for 'young Gentlemen' at Albrighton by Shifnal, stressed how the concern with his pupils was his 'sole Employment'.

When there was so much else to distract them from their teaching activities and so little episcopal and vicarial oversight, it is little surprising that the records of the trustees, biased, to be sure, towards reporting criticisms rather than compliments, are, nevertheless,

1 B.L. Add. MS 21,018, 'Ecclesiastical Notes...' f.303v.
2 S.R.C. 1910/1775, 'Copy of the Settlement of Mr Adams's Charity's. Newport Parish', 1656 p.6
3 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 27 June 1789 p.3
absolutely littered with references to incompetent teaching. The low standing of the employment in the eyes of contemporaries led to widespread parental abuse, so making effective teaching all but impossible in what were often, in any case, makeshift and totally unsuitable buildings.

One of the more outspoken sources is Bishop William Lloyd of Lichfield's *Notitia Cleri*. On occasion, credit is given to teachers of outstanding merit. The youthful William Cradoc, for instance, schoolmaster at Shawbury, was described by Lloyd as 'pretty ingenious... understands latin'. Hugh Dale, rector and, from 1709, teacher of grammar and English at Myddle was esteemed as 'A very ingenious sober man and good scholar'. Less complimentary was he of J. Greenwood, the contemporary usher at Newport Grammar School against whose name he recorded 'dined with me without invitation'. Henry Newnham, curate of Cockshut in the parish of Ellesmere, where he was schoolmaster, appears in a still more unfavourable light: 'I see drunk and fall once. very example from'. Laxities of this kind were difficult to keep in check, particularly in the case of Lichfield & Coventry, an especially extensive diocese in which communications were poor, and where the bishop alighted with his

1 N.W.Tildesley (ed.) *op. cit.* p.110
2 Ibid. p.88
3 Ibid. p.92
4 Ibid. p.44
contemporaries in spending from October to May in London.

Other records exhibit the same imbalance between commendation and reproof. Of the more flattering was that made by the unknown respondent to Christopher Wase's Enquiry, which acknowledged Laurence Johnson, incumbent and schoolmaster of Bucknell, as 'a man of honest behaviour, & competently learned'. Though possibly unlicensed, John Beddoe(s), who taught a private school at Madeley in 1664, was also accredited as 'carefull to governe and teach his scholars according to his best skill and knowledge'. George Bagley, first master of Allatt's School, Shrewsbury (est.1800), was described by Archdeacon Hugh Owen as 'ingenious' and 'eminent for his self-taught acquirements in arithmetic and the various branches of mathematical science'. Most laudatory of all contemporary observations was that concerning the Rev. Dr Thomas Rowley, headmaster of Bridgnorth Grammar School (1821-1841+), who was praised for 'his very able, zealous, and indefatigable attention to every class of scholars', on account of which 'the school has been raised from a state of utter insignificancy, to the pre-eminent character it has now attained amongst the scholastic institutions of this great country'. Much more typical, however, are comments of the genre

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1 Bodleian Library CCC C390 iii (Wase MSS) f.59, c.1677
2 H.R.O. C.V.P. 30 Sept. 1664
3 Hugh Owen Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of Shrewsbury (1808) p.403
4 S.R.O. 4001/Ch/2, Bridgnorth Grammar School - committee paper to consider Sir Eardley Wilmot's Act, 2 Mar. 1841. In fact, Rowley abused the charity by teaching private pupils in the scrivener's upper chamber (MS Report of the Committee, 2/26 Apr. 1841)
below: 'That ye Master is much complain'd of for Negligence, or else there would be room for a greater school [at Chirbury]. There were also criticisms voiced about the conduct of Mr Meyrick, master of the early eighteenth century subscription school at Ludlow. At Millington's School, Shrewsbury, both master and mistress were, for a while, guilty of taking in lodgers. At Whitchurch Grammar School, the master, Mr Thomas Hughes, was expelled for 'great misbehaviour' in 1722. Compared to the negligence of the Rev. Henry Wood, however, the above incidents were mere nit-picking. Wood, who was master of Thomas Leeke's school at High Ercall (1743–c.1769); and both rector of Preston (c.1744– ) and vicar of High Ercall (c.1764– ), the latter in violation of the founding deeds, was so remiss that the property on which the rents were paid became in 'very ruinous order'. Moreover, he had entirely delegated the teaching to an 'illiterate & improper person'. Of the exact nature of a certain John Poundley's misdemeanours, on the other hand, we can only guess, but the trustees of the Church Stretton endowed school having given him notice to quit, were swift in making fundamental changes to their visitorial powers, the curriculum to be taught and, perhaps most ominously of all, their authority to make deductions from the master's

1 S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.6 4810 24 May 1716. Only five or six boys were being taught at this time.
2 A.L.B. v.7 5039 6 Dec. 1716
3 S.R.O. 2133/11 Millington's minutes, 12 May 1796
4 T.C. Duggan The History of Whitchurch, Shropshire (1935) p.80
5 S.R.O. 81/298 'High Ercall School - a recital of Leeke's will and statutes'.

salary for repairs. It was undoubtedly with possible neglect of this sort in mind that Dr Benjamin Wainwright laid down that the appointment of master at the school he endowed in Rushbury in 1817, should never exceed seven years before review.

Given the kind of social and educational backgrounds from which teachers were drawn, the meagre extent of the majority of salaries and the low opinion they commanded in the eyes of contemporaries, for how long did they stay?

An initial analysis in detail of the entries for the first few years in the libri cleri for Ludlow archdeaconry, 1665-71, prompts the hypothesis that we are clearly dealing with two extremes. Into the first group might be placed those who taught for up to six years. A full half of our sample of thirty-two whose names never recur come within this group. A second category is composed of those who served for fifteen or more years, men like Richard Knott at Barrow (1665-80); Robert Coxhull at Ludlow (1665-89); Henry Morris at Chelmarsh (1665-1701); the Rev. Robert Goodwin at Cleobury Mortimer (1665-80); and Phillip Morris at Stockton (1665-c.1689). Ignoring such chance factors as illness and

1 S.R.O. 3105/1 minutes, 21 Jan. 1790; 29 Sept. 1790
2 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.410
death (when these are known), leading to the premature curtailment of office, how valid is this hypothesis in the face of a more extensive analysis; and, more significantly, how did sex and the nature of both the parish and the school affect this grouping?

When the short periods of office are considered, it emerges that for a primarily rural county an impressively large number of those documented were held by men in urban parishes. The Rev. Mr Thomas Lloyd who was appointed to the positions of schoolmaster and chaplain at Millington's Hospital, Shrewsbury, in February 1790, resigned from both four years later. Still shorter was Mr Jones's two-year period of office at the subscription school in the town's Holy Cross parish.

There is no documented evidence about their subsequent destination, but it is quite possible that they then held a succession of short teaching offices elsewhere. An examination of the career of George Bagley the elder lends support to such an assertion. Appointed master at Millington's School, Shrewsbury, in April 1785, he was to resign less than five years later. He then opened a school in Castle Street, Shrewsbury, in or around March 1790 and ran an evening school alongside. Seven years later we know that he was at Pontesbury Boarding School. In 1800 he

1 S.R.O. 2133/11 Millington's minutes
2 S.L.S.L. Holy Cross MSS 'The State of the Publick Subscription Charity School in Shrewsbury', 1815-17
3 S.R.O. 2133/11 Millington's minutes
4 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 13 Jan. 1809 p.3
5 Ibid. 27 Jan. 1797 p.3
moved back to Shrewsbury to become the first master of Allatt's School where he remained until at least 1808. In a period of just fifteen years, thus, he had conducted no less than four different schools, at none of which had he stayed more than momentarily. The tenures of office of William Groves were equally ephemeral. Whilst conducting school next to the Abbey Church in Shrewsbury, he was elected with his wife master and mistress of the subscription school just over the way in 1810, only for them both to resign within the space of a year, and for him to take up appointment as schoolmaster at Millington's Hospital in the spring of 1811.

One reason behind the short periods of stay was clearly the need to escape from the ecclesiastical authorities. A certain Mr Andrew Yaughey who was 'cited' to appear before the bishop's court in March 1695, and who was 'sought for' and ordered 'to take a License to teach Schools' at Lopington, was again cited for a similar offence in the same parish between April and September 1695, whereupon it was noted beside his name that he had 'gone from Lopington (sic)'. In February 1716/7 a Mr John Oatly was cited 'for teaching School without License' at Albrighton. Failing to be present at the sessions, he, too, was

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1 Hugh Owen Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of Shrewsbury (1808) p.403
2 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 13 Jan. 1809 p.3
3 S.L.S.L. Holy Cross MSS 'The State of the Publick Subscription Charity School in Shrewsbury', 1810-11
4 S.R.O. 2133/12 Millington's minutes, 24 Apr. 1811
5 L.J.R.O. B/Y/4 citations and processes
'saught'. In August he was again cited for the same offence, as he was for a further time the following March. On this latter occasion it was officially recorded that 'he is gone from thence'. However, he returned and seems indeed to have continued to teach in the parish, on and off, during the whole of which time he was 'saught'.

At other times, it is clear that those who took up school-teaching did so only until better things arose. The Rev. Robert Goodwin, vicar of Cleobury Mortimer, offered the aspiring Timothy Kettilby 'A full employ with me in my cure and schole' until he should be 'called to better preferrement in the Church'.

The greatest lengths of office, on the other hand, are to be found in rural schools and in the endowed urban schools. Mrs Bromley, mistress of Mrs Harris's school at Newtown in the north-west Shropshire parish of Baschurch, enjoyed at least a twenty-five year period of service between 1785 and 1810 or later; whilst the man holding the school's mastership during the same period, William Jones (the second of three men bearing this name), nominated in 1772, would seem still to have taught there, aided by his son, as late as 1810. His contemporary at nearby Whittington, John Venables, held the office of master at the

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1. L.J.R.O. B/V/4 citations and processes; B/V/3 'A List of the School-Masters...1726'
3. L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nomination papers; *The Shrewsbury Chronicle* 13 July 1810 p.3
endowed school in that parish, too, for at least thirty years. At Pontesbury and Cloreley in Prees during the early nineteenth century, John Stretch and Thomas Forester held the masterships of their respective endowed schools for similarly extended periods.

The trend is also evident in the case of the more eminent (and particularly the classical) endowed schools, offering security of tenure and a relatively high income. Richard Lloyd, nominated headmaster of Shrewsbury School in 1685, held the position until 1722 and only then relinquished the office in order to comply with the School's Sixth Ordinance, forbidding any headmaster to have a parochial cure. A later master of the same school, the Rev. Mr James Atcherley, had been teaching there for forty-three years when he resigned in 1798, during which time he had worked his way up from third master (1755) to second master (1763) to headmaster (1770). During his office, the Rev. James Matthews was appointed third master at the School where he was to remain for almost half a century, from 1797 in the capacity of second master.

Elsewhere, the Rev. Mr John Spedding, nominated headmaster at Wem in 1756, was still cited as schoolmaster at Wem as late as 1792; the Rev. Robert

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1 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.439  
3 Alfred Rimmer (ed. and illus.) A History of Shrewsbury School, 1551-1888 (1889) pp.120-21  
4 Ibid. passim  
5 L.J.R.O. E/A/11b nomination papers, 7 Nov. 1783; C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.223  
6 Ibid. 7 Aug. 1756; E/V/4 citations and processes, 20 Aug. 1792
Dean, nominated master at Shifnal 'Free School' in November 1776, seems to have held the office right up until 1815. Oswestry Grammar School was fortunate enough to receive the services of the learned the Rev. James Donne for thirty-seven years, 1796-1833. Most prolonged of all were the offices of the Rev. Mr Samuel Lea at Newport and that of the Rev. William Kent at Whitchurch. The former, elected master of William Adams's 'Free School' at Newport in May 1725, was cited as schoolmaster at Newport as late as August 1772, at which time he appeared before the court of Bishop Brownlow North and exhibited his licence to teach.

Kent, nominated to the headmastership at Whitchurch in 1789, remained in office for a full half century until 1839. In contrast, the tenures of the very much less lucrative and assured office of usher might be very short, as instanced at Ludlow Grammar School which witnessed nine such men during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Considerable longevity is also to be found amongst men and women conducting the more eminent of the private schools in both Shrewsbury and the principal towns. This was particularly true of those schools offering the elegant refinements of dancing and fencing. Monsieur

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1 L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nomination papers; C.C.R. 4 (1820) Appx p.506
2 R.R.Oakley op. cit. (1964) p.296
3 L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nomination papers; B/V/4 citations and processes, 27 June/17 Aug. 1772
4 L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nomination papers, 16 Apr. 1789; T.C.Duggan op. cit. (1935) p.80
5 D.J.Lloyd Country Grammar School... (1977) Appx 5, p.178
Bourlay, dancing and fencing master, and tutor in French, enjoyed an uninterrupted twenty-nine years' patronage at Shrewsbury and in nearby private schools between 1789 and 1817; whilst, in an extremely verbose advertisement in The Shrewsbury Chronicle for 1788, Mr T. Ravenhill thanked the gentry of Shrewsbury and its neighbourhood for their support over the past thirty-four years, during which time he had taught their children 'the polite Accomplishment of Dancing'. Notwithstanding this, he continued, only to retire at Christmas 1794 when 'advanced Years' and a 'Constitution much enfeebled by long and laborious Practice' forced it on him. In the same year, the Rev. Richard Walker, who had already taught for thirty years, set up a private school in the market town of Wem, which he was to conduct for at least a further ten years.

Underlying all this, we glimpse from time to time the different aspirations of the rural and urban schoolteacher. The urban schoolmaster generally thought about teaching more professionally. This fact, more than anything else, explains his typically short stay, a stay frequently made unpleasant by the rumours of his rivals that his school was about to close. He thought, perhaps, in terms of promotion to a more prestigious school, of making his salary more commensurate with his

1 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 4 Apr. 1789 p.3... 2 May 1817 p.3
2 Ibid. 6 Sept. 1788 p.3
3 Ibid. 9 May 1794 p.3
4 Ibid. 23 Mar. 1804 p.1
5 Ibid. passim
qualifications by leaving a poorly-paid public position and setting himself up privately; or, indeed, of offering his services to one of the multifarious other urban clerical pursuits. Lengthy periods of office at the prestigious and amply-endowed schools, an important exception, therefore need no apology. The rural schoolteachers, by way of contrast, normally of little or no academic ability, often either aged or half-blind or desperately poor, or all of these, had neither the opportunity to move on to better things, nor the motivation to do so.

How much mobility was there amongst these schoolteachers? Of those who suddenly disappear from the records relating to one particular place so as to set up school elsewhere, how many, nevertheless, stayed in the immediate vicinity or moved only to an adjacent parish? What proportion moved further afield? One might suppose, too, that with improved communications during the course of the eighteenth century they became more mobile. Is there any evidence to suggest that this was so?

The impression conveyed is that prior to the last few years of the eighteenth century, it was normal for only the most highly-qualified schoolmasters to make substantial journeys, e.g. that made by
Thomas Chaloner from Ruthin to Newport in 1656/7; or by Robert Roe from Diddlebury to Wem, c.1673. A century later, men and (occasionally) women were willing to undertake moves of this length as a matter of course.

In a sample of ninety-six 'continuing' teachers, or pairs of teachers, in the period under review, thirty-eight (i.e. very nearly 40%) moved to establish a new school either elsewhere in the parish or town (30%), or in an adjacent parish (9%). Mrs Jacquet moved from St Mary's Churchyard, Shrewsbury, where she had been teaching for twelve years previously, to just around the corner in Castle Street in July 1785. Miss Sadler, though retaining her rooms in St Alkmond's Square, moved her school from there to The Friars in the summer of 1804.

The accumulating prosperity of others might awaken the desire for 'a more commodious house, more eligibly situated in the same street'. Most 'eligible' of all was a residence on College Hill, Swan Hill, St John's Hill, or in Claremont - the true 'west end' of Shrewsbury; and it is possible to see how, with increasing fortune, the more superior private schools gravitated in this direction. Monsieur W.Castieau, for example, conveyed his school from the Wyle Cop to College Hill in the autumn of

1 Alfred Rimmer (ed. and illus.) op. cit. (1889) pp.110-15
2 Bodleian Library CCC C390 ii (Wase MSS) f.137, 1673
3 A caveat has to be added to the effect that our evidence is, necessarily, culled from The Shrewsbury Chronicle which does not begin until this date.
4 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 13 Mar. 1773 p.2; 25 June 1785 p.3
5 Ibid. 13 July 1804 p.3
6 Ibid. 4 Mar. 1814 p.35, Mrs Warren
1803\(^1\). The Misses Wiseman, teaching on Pride Hill during the early nineteenth century, moved to Swan Hill Court in 1814\(^2\). Mrs S. Hill and Miss E. Puttrell transferred their respective establishments to Claremont Hill and Claremont Buildings at this time\(^3\); for the latter, it was her third move in ten years, each a progression towards the more elite areas.

A small number of schoolteachers moved to adjacent parishes:

Mauritius Lloyd from Leintwardine to Bucknell in 1675; John Beddoe from Madeley to Wenlock in 1683; John Doughty from Bitterley to the grammar school at Ludlow in 1674; Thomas Pepyr from Clungunford to Onibury in 1680\(^4\); the Rev. Mr Thomas Sandland from Wem to Whitchurch in 1769\(^5\); and the Misses Phillips from Wrockwardine to The Grove near Wellington in 1828\(^6\). These moves were not always for the most noble of reasons.

A certain William Socket travelled from Kinnersley to the neighbouring parish of Wellington c.1714 after having been enjoined six times between 1699 and 1701 to take a licence to teach school, on each occasion unsuccessfully\(^7\).

Greater moves than this before the end of the century, and particularly to the less notable schools, are only to be found when

\(^1\) Ibid. 23 Sept. 1803 p.3  
\(^2\) Ibid. 30 Dec. 1814 p.207  
\(^3\) Ibid. 11 Apr. 1793 p.1; 6 Jan. 1809 p.3  
\(^4\) H.R.O. libri cleri  
\(^5\) L.J.R.O. B/A/11b nomination papers  
\(^6\) The Shrewsbury Chronicle 11 July 1828 p.3  
\(^7\) L.J.R.O. B/V/4 citations and processes, 5 Oct. 1699/18 Apr. 1700; 9 July/17 Oct. 1700; 2/22 July 1701; B/V/1/90-91 Acta, 10 Apr. 1700, 11 Apr. 1701, 22 July 1701; B/V/1/95 libri cleri, 25 June 1714
Plate 12: Swan Hill Court, Shrewsbury, site of the Misses Wisemans' boarding school in the early nineteenth century
Plate 13: Claremont Buildings, Shrewsbury, site of Miss E. Futtrell’s boarding school in the opening years of the nineteenth century.
there was some real incentive to make such. Thomas Pepyr's early trek
in 1689 from Onibury across three parishes to Burwarton was precipitated
by his appointment as rector of the latter parish. In 1789 the
Shrewsbury writing master, Mr Miles Longmire, undertook the journey
(unthinkable earlier) from Shrewsbury, where he had only a 'precarious
situation', to London, where he had been offered a 'certainty'. The
huge turnover in the number of private schools during the early
nineteenth century is a further indication of the new willingness of
teachers to seek more distant employment exactly where they pleased, so
general now was the rising demand for the schooling of children.

1 H.R.O. libri cleri
2 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 21 Feb. 1789 p.3. He was to return to teach
in Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury, within two years, however.
3 Compare, for instance, those recorded in the 1828 Directory with those
for 1828/29.
What do we know about the individuals whom the schools served? By far the majority of statutory requirements laid down that the relevant charitable donation, or newly-founded school, should be restricted in extent so as to include the children from the immediate confines of the parish alone. Richard Dovey's endowment at Claverley and Charles Morris's at Selattyn were to be deployed in order to maintain at school children from their respective parishes. The 'Old School' at Cleobury Mortimer had a catchment area defined in the same way; whilst Thomas Leeke's foundation at High Ercall was designed for children of 'the lordship and parish'. The Bowdler School in St Julian's parish, Shrewsbury, selected children from that parish 'if to be had, or if not, in the parish of Holy Cross and St Giles'. However, when the parish was even moderately large or populous, these at first sight already narrow confines needed still closer definition to prevent the situation recorded in the south-western parish of Mainstone in the early eighteenth century, where children, many of whom

1 C.C.R. 4 (1820) p.249
2 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.437
3 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.277
4 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.355
5 Ibid. p.275
were poorly fed, were obliged to walk a mile to school\textsuperscript{1}. This was why in the case of the east Shropshire parish of Edgmond, children from the township of Edgmond were to have preference in the apportioning of the Rev. Dryden Pigott's legacy\textsuperscript{2}. Admission to the grammar school at Halesowen was restricted to children, albeit 'at all ages' from the townships of Hunnington and Romsley in that parish\textsuperscript{3}; and the school endowed by Judith Bridgeman at Llanyblodwell was reserved for those from the townships of Llanyblodwell, Bryn and Llynelys only\textsuperscript{4}. Similarly, the parents of children admitted to Millington's School, Frankwell, which lay within the Shrewsbury parish of St Chad, were through preference to be inhabitants in Frankwell, (if so many should be found), otherwise the number to be made up out of the boys and girls inhabitants in that part of the said parish of St Chad that lay nearest to Frankwell.\textsuperscript{5}

In conclusion we are able to say that children seem to have been drawn in the overwhelming majority of instances from the benefactors' native parishes or individual estates.

Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, partly as a consequence of the breakdown in this old paternalistic way of thinking,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} S.P.C.K. O.L. File 2, 3089, 6 June 1712
\item \textsuperscript{2} C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.403
\item \textsuperscript{3} Ibid. p.442; p.446
\item \textsuperscript{4} C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.418
\item \textsuperscript{5} Ibid. p.250
\end{itemize}
partly due to the erosion of strict parish boundaries with the growth of population and nonconformity, a school like Allatt's at Shrewsbury simply required its scholars, admitted between five and eight years of age, to be

children of persons actually residing, or of such persons then dead as at the time of their death resided within the town of Shrewsbury, or the suburbs thereof.

Before this time, such relatively wide horizons generally typified only the endowed classical schools, such as Donnington School, Wroxeter, to which children from the parishes of Wroxeter and Uppington were eligible². At Shrewsbury School, priority was given to such as should be born in the town of Salop, for default of such, then such as should be born in the suburbs of the same, or in the Abbey Foregate, who should be the legitimate sons of burgesses of the said town, if found meet and apt for such preferment; for default of such, then such as should be born within the parish of Chirbury, and for default of such, then such as should be born in the county of Salop.

At Sir John Talbot's School in Whitchurch, the childrens' stipulated origins were even more flexible, it being decreed

That there should be taught in the said school children of all countries that would come, except such as were infected with any contagious disorder.

1 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.242; p.244
2 Ibid. p.372
3 Ibid. p.215. There were (occasional) exceptions. Sir Richard Corbett's school at Longnor admitted children from the township of Longnor and from the parishes of Leebotwood, Cardington and Frodesley; Dr Benjamin Wainwright's legacy was to provide for nine poor children of Rushbury and three of Eaton, both adjoining parishes; and the boys and girls of poor persons that Dame Mary Hill directed should come to her school in Hadnall might reside in the chapelry itself or in the neighbouring parishes.
4 Ibid. p.337
How did these theoretical prescriptions square with the actualities? Far from always rigidly adhering to the foundation deeds, there are several documented instances of children being taken in from a rather wider area in violation of the founders' original intentions. The school endowed by John Slaney at Barrow not only benefited Barrow families but occasionally those of the adjacent parishes of Willey and Linley, also. The scholars at Halesowen were, in practice, not admitted from the townships of Hunnington and Romsley alone, but were 'taken indiscriminately from every part of the parish'. Especially did this come to be so at the endowed classical schools whose curricula, of apparently little direct benefit to the parish, were increasingly being called into question. At Newport, the town and its neighbourhood of Chetwyn End, to which a preference had been given by the founder, not being able to supply the full complement of pupils by the early nineteenth century, 'the scholars are admitted indifferently from other parts...'. At Bitterley, too, by 1820 the master of the 'Free Grammar School' was admitting several day scholars and boarders from other parishes. By this date, Bridgnorth Grammar School also drew on a catchment area which went considerably beyond that of the town.

1 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.303
2 C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.442
3 Ibid. p.425
4 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.267
Bridgnorth itself 8
Shropshire (elsewhere) 44

Other:
Staffordshire 11
Worcestershire 24
Herefordshire 13
West Midlands (other) 22
London 2
Other 44

N=168

Table 14: Geographical origins of children admitted to Bridgnorth Grammar School, 1825 - 33

Very few children indeed came from Bridgnorth itself. Almost one third of the scholars, nevertheless, were Shropshire born; and three quarters originated either from Shropshire or from the adjacent region. The most distant children came from London, Bath and Exeter, and, in the case of Robert Kenney (1828-31), from as far afield as Cork.

Indeed, the scholars' distant origins are often a useful yardstick up against which we are able to measure the good repute of a seemingly very ordinary school. So 'beneficial', for instance, were the effects of the Ludlow National School that parents from three or four miles away were attracted.

From what sectors of society were these children drawn?

Certain bequests and schools provided for the various categories of 'poor' children. Sometimes, the benefactors or managers were wholly

1 S.R.O. 1104 List of scholars...
2 Report of the National Society III (1814) p.128
unspecific on this matter. The legacies of Henry and German Fox at
Cleobury Mortimer, for example, maintained 'poor boys' and 'poor girls'
of five years old or less in readiness for the parish's 'free school';1
at Claverley, Richard Dovey's endowment was to be employed to educate
'poor scholars of poor men's children';2 whereas a subscription school
being proposed in 1713 was equally vaguely intended for 'the poor
children of the Clee Hills';3. At other times, their statements have a
little more precision. The school endowed by Richard Edwards in the
south-eastern parish of Neen Savage, for instance, was designed for
'the children of such poor inhabitants of the parish of Neen Savage as
should not be of ability to pay for their schooling';4 the Langford
boys at Ludlow, chosen between nine and fourteen years of age, were
supposed to be nominated 'out of such poor and towardlie for learning
as are born in the said town';5. Where the exact background of these
'poor' children is more narrowly defined, we see that in a few instances
benefactors made provision for the indigent or desperately poor. Henry
Aston's bequest at Chetton was for 'the poorest children within the
parish';6 and at Newtown, Baschurch, Mrs Harris provided for 'the
boys and girls of such of the lowest rank of the inhabitants... as

1 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.277
2 C.C.R. 4 (1820) p.249
3 S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.4 3620, 6 Aug. 1713
4 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.281
5 Ibid. p.284
6 Ibid. p.271
should not be able to give them such schooling...". Samuel Shuker's legacy, too, was to be used to school 'poor children of indigent parents' belonging to the parish of Great Ness. By far the greater part of the more-extended prescriptions, however, make reference to the 'secondary' poor as the most fitting recipients of the education being offered. Sarah Pardoe's benefaction at Chetton was to be used for the education of 'poor children... whose parents were not rated to church or poor'. At Church Aston in the parish of Edgmond, Mrs Broughton directed in her will that 'one boy and one girl... of such poor parents as were not able to provide for them, and were not chargeable to, and did not receive alms of, either the said village of Church Aston or the parish of Edgmond...' should be entitled to receive her gift. The endowed school at Church Stretton also professed to educate only 'The children of the labouring poor'. Most exacting of all was the requirement of the British and Foreign School Society that the children educated in its schools, though of every religious persuasion, should derive from 'the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society...'.

Above these schools for the poor were a whole range of private institutions offering a 'Polite Education' to the middle and upper ranks.

1 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.442
2 Ibid. p.459
3 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.272
4 C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.404
5 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.403
6 Report of the British and Foreign School Society, 1814, Rule I
of society: to sons of tradesmen, white-laced 'young ladies', 'children of Gentlemen', 'Gentlemens' daughters', 'genteel Youths', 'Young Ladies and Gentlemen' and 'respectable Families'\(^1\). Especially exclusive were the boarding schools. By catering for the all round needs of pupils from the higher classes, and providing more individual attention by virtue of smaller numbers, they were in an altogether different league to the day schools. Miss Hawkins, who conducted a boarding school at Belmont House, Shrewsbury, at the turn of the eighteenth century was indeed quite indignant that her name should be associated with day-schooling:

\begin{quote}
A Report having been circulated, that Miss HAWKINS admits DAY SCHOLARS, she takes the Liberty of contradicting it, and assures her Friends, that she never means to deviate from her First Plan, and that her SCHOOL is OPEN ONLY for the Reception of BOARDERS
\end{quote}

Mrs Eginton, who operated a boarding school for 'Young Ladies' at Meertown House near Newport, also took the trouble to stress that no day scholars would be admitted\(^3\). Where the possibility of 'contamination' of this sort might arise, teachers would be quick to check any misgivings.

Mr J. Jones, for instance, when drawing attention to a spacious playground available for the use of the boys at his boarding school at Tong, added, apologetically, that it had 'no Connexion with other Boys'\(^4\).

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1] The Shrewsbury Chronicle passim
  \item[2] Ibid. 16 Nov. 1798 p.3
  \item[3] Ibid. 3 Jan. 1817 p.3
  \item[4] Ibid. 31 Dec. 1790 p.3
\end{itemize}
The purpose of this education was to cultivate the social graces rather than having any real academic merit. In the case of girls, the attainment of the necessary finesse at dancing and in elaborate embroidery would undoubtedly have made them more attractive as marriage partners.

A handful of schools, however, claimed to span all social groupings. Such was the position both at Onibury and Alveley. At Great Ness it was William Parry's intention that the farmers should have their children educated at an 'easy price', and that some of the poor children, whose parents were unable to afford it, could be taught free. A school operating at Bishop's Castle in 1728–29 claimed that it was 'for all the Boys of the Parish Rich or Poor'. At William Hall's school in Cardington, too, schooling was freely available to all except those descendants of men and women who failed to contribute towards the cost of erecting the original school-house.

What evidence is there that those children intended for the schools were those really to benefit? The actual (as opposed to the prescribed) social background of the children is rarely stated explicitly, but there are several clues which point to the fact that all did not run as planned. In the case of Ludlow Grammar School we are told directly

1 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.264; C.C.R. 4 (1820) p.264
2 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.458
3 S.P.C.K. A.L.E. v.15 10545, 16 Dec. 1729
4 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.398
how, by 1820, in contravention of the donor's original wishes, those
admitted as Langfordian boys were not strictly poor, but were 'generally
the children of poor tradesmen'\textsuperscript{1}. Though at Clungunford children of
especially poor parents were excused payment for firing\textsuperscript{2}, elsewhere no
such exemptions seem to have been made, thus effectively debarring
access to the genuinely poor.

Frequently, 'entrance money' was charged indiscriminately. At
Cardington one shilling, and at Wem one shilling and sixpence, was
demanded of each scholar on admission\textsuperscript{3}. Half a crown entrance was
being extracted from the parents of each scholar at Sir Lacon William
Childe's school in Cleobury Mortimer in 1820\textsuperscript{4}; seven shillings and
sixpence was demanded of boys admitted to Oswestry Grammar School during
the early nineteenth century\textsuperscript{5}; and as much as ten shillings and
sixpence was taken from the scholars at Drayton\textsuperscript{6}.

Even supposing a parent was in a position to afford these
often very considerable sums, there were further items which entailed
equally heavy expenditure. These fall under two broad heads:

maintenance and teaching. At Halesowen Grammar School, books and
stationery had to be provided by the parents, who also had to contribute

\textsuperscript{1} C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.284
\textsuperscript{2} C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.468
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid. p.399; ibid. p. 329
\textsuperscript{4} C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.275
\textsuperscript{5} C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.427
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid. p.302
a shilling a piece in each of the two winter quarters for firing\(^1\). The boys of Oswestry Grammar School were also required to pay two shillings annually for fire money\(^2\). At Cardington, too, all but the scholars of 'such whose parents should receive relief' had to pay sixpence each Michaelmas for coal\(^3\). The teaching itself was frequently costly for poor parents. In the early nineteenth century, the master at the endowed school at Stokesay taught 'all the poor children of the parish who offer themselves' for one penny each week\(^4\). At the school under Charles Morris's endowment in Selattyn, we are also told how 'All the children pay something weekly, and those of the poorest parents id a week'\(^5\). One wonders whether there would have been many so offering even at this price. At Dudleston in the parish of Ellesmere in 1818 we know that such a sum was excessive. Here, the parents were 'all cottagers and day labourers, with numerous young families, and on that account are unable to pay so much as one shilling per quarter, which are the terms of admission'\(^6\).

Elsewhere, and particularly at such endowed classical schools as Oswestry and Ludlow, certain 'foundation' subjects might be offered gratuitously, whereas others, nearly always writing, had to be paid

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{1} C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.442
  \item \textit{2} C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.427
  \item \textit{3} Ibid. p.398
  \item \textit{4} Ibid. p.412
  \item \textit{5} Ibid. p.438
  \item \textit{6} Report of the National Society VII (1818) p.198
\end{itemize}
for 1; at Drayton, already charging dearly for entrance, the master demanded an additional guinea per quarter for teaching writing and accounts 2. Schools in receipt of nothing else, naturally relied on this source of revenue to remain solvent. There were no subscriptions to support the British School for boys and girls at Whittington, for instance, so suggesting the need to extract considerable pence from all the children 3; better to live in Coalbrookdale where, though most children paid one penny per week, it was "not in all cases received" 4. The insistence on such sums might have made some parents come to more highly value the instruction offered, and to have improved attendance rates; but for the truly poor they must have been an excruciating burden. Moreover, the problem goes further than simply payments to be met. Most schools by the end of the eighteenth century had long ceased to offer the children remuneration for manual work done at school, such as knitting or spinning. In other words, those institutions on the ground at this date not only offered an education for which payment had to be made, but, what is more, deprived the parents of potential scholars from what had hitherto been a valuable source of income. They offered really very little, also, in the way of free services. Maybe no

1 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.427; C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.284
2 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.302. The school had become quite exclusive, refusing boys permission to associate with 'town boys'.
3 Report of the British and Foreign School Society, XXV (1830) p.70
4 Ibid, p.37
more than 20% of schools in the county with provision for poor children could provide even a few of them with free clothing - the brown, blue and green coats characteristic of some of the well-endowed urban schools elsewhere. Those that could do so in Shropshire had a concentrated existence during the first three decades of the eighteenth century; later, this function virtually disappeared. Apprenticeship by the schools' trustees was even more of a rarity, with perhaps no more than 16% of such schools across the period as a whole providing it.

How and why had these changes come about? What did the various schools have to offer children from very diffuse backgrounds on their admission throughout the period?

Whatever the dictates of theorists, it is evident that the curriculum taught in practice was given shape by the demands arising from the unique socioeconomic structure of individual parishes or regions in the county. As Table 15 shows, the tendency was for schools teaching reading alone to be much more rarely found in the towns than in the countryside; whereas the incidence of those schools teaching arithmetic and the casting of accounts, skills in such high demand by tradesmen and merchants, were more evenly balanced between the two. It must be stressed, however, that because of deficiencies in our knowledge of what was taught, the majority of schools in the sample necessarily date from the last quarter of the eighteenth
century, when the economy was being transformed. What scant evidence there is squares with commonsense, and indicates that for the greater part of the century rural schools teaching arithmetic were very thin indeed on the ground in the county. The availability of the less-advanced skill of writing, on the other hand, was evenly matched in rural and urban parishes, 55% of the former and 56% of the latter offering it throughout the period as a whole.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reading/Working only</th>
<th>Arithmetic/Accounts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural (n=95)</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban (n=140)</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: The prevalence of particular skills in the curriculum of rural and urban schools in Shropshire, 1660 - 1833*

Over and above any rural/urban dichotomy, special subjects designed to fulfil local needs made their appearance in several schools. In a number of the towns along the Severn, for instance, navigation was offered. It was available for the 'Young Gentlemen' at Bridgnorth Academy in 1786\(^1\). In 1809, a Mr T. Bridgman at Brockholes House, Broseley, offered the subject\(^2\). Those 'young Gentlemen' boarding with G. Bagley, junior, on the Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury, also had

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* Curriculum as prescribed on their foundation
1 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 30 Dec. 1786 p.3
2 Ibid. 20 Jan. 1809 p.3
the opportunity to master its principles. It was frequently paired with astronomy or the 'use of the globes'. The peripatetic W. Castieau of Uffington, outside Shrewsbury, offered 'Gentlemen' going to sea a very comprehensive course which included the 'use of the globes', geography 'with the best Construction of Maps, Charts, &c', navigation and astronomy, side by side with a crash course on the methods of working amplitudes, azimuths, double altitudes and lunars from their own observations.

More generally in the urban centres, specialist trading skills were taught. Book-keeping was available at Albrighton, Bridgnorth, Broseley, Ludlow, Oswestry, Shifnal, Shrewsbury and Wellington by the first quarter of the nineteenth century. At Shrewsbury, a Mr W. Richardson offered the 'Italian method' of book-keeping at his school in Shop Latch. Meanwhile, merchants' accounts could be studied at Mr J. Scott's Academy in Abbey Foregate and at J. Tyler's Academy in the same town.

At Lilleshall, the Rev. S. Hartley was less specific when he expressed his willingness to teach 'whatever is necessary to qualify Boys for Business and Trade'.

Several subjects, and especially the elegant attainments of French and dancing, catered more for particular classes of society than

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1 Ibid. 8 Jan. 1808 p.3
2 Ibid. 8 Nov. 1799 p.3
3 Ibid. 20 Mar. 1773 p.3
4 Ibid. 29 Dec. 1797 p.3
5 Ibid. 27 Dec. 1788 p.3
6 Ibid. 9 Dec. 1796 p.3
for any specific area of the county. Establishments teaching these social graces were abundant in rural as well as in the (non-industrial) urban parishes by the turn of the eighteenth century. Shrewsbury dancing masters, pre-eminent and most expensive amongst whom was Monsieur Bourlay, with apartments on Pride Hill and a dancing room on St John's Hill, would visit the county's private boarding schools on set days each week. In the spring of 1792, for instance, a typical week for this gentleman would take in the Rev. Mr Pitchford's at Downton in the parish of Upton Magna, Mr Meredith's Academy at Church Stretton, Mr Jandral's Academy at Pontesbury, Mrs Jones's boarding school at Wellington and Mrs Tamberlain's boarding school at Ellesmere; in the same autumn he began to teach additionally at Shifnal and, fortnightly, at adjoining Ryton. By 1801 he was teaching as far away as Drayton every other week. He describes the purpose of his instruction in dancing as being to 'polish the Human Frame, with Grace, Ease, and Elegance, so universally admired in the Beau Monde', and 'so requisite for genteel Life'. Offered, too, by the same gentleman, was French 'in its Native Elegance'. Instruction in fencing, on the other hand, was confined to his own Academy during the evenings.

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1 Ibid. 27 Apr. 1792 p.3; ibid. 4 May 1792 p.3
2 Ibid. 14 Sept. 1792 p.3; ibid. 21 Sept. 1792 p.3
3 Ibid. 17 July 1801 p.3
4 Ibid. 8 July 1803 p.3
5 Ibid. 21 Sept. 1804 p.3
6 Ibid. 11 Sept. 1789 p.3
7 Ibid. 6 May 1796 p.3
Were there any other ways in which regional differences made themselves felt in the curriculum?

In pre-industrial Shropshire, as opposed to Lancashire, say, or the Kent and Sussex Weald, there were no strong areas of early dissent; pockets alone existed in the presence of a nonconformist landlord. The biggest Catholic community was at Madeley, but even here only about 10% of the adult inhabitants were of this persuasion. Others were at Ellesmere, Shifnal and Albrighton. The Protestant Nonconformists were represented most strongly in the principal towns: at Newport and St Martin's (c.4%), Oswestry and Whitchurch (c.3%) and Shrewsbury, Ludlow and Ellesmere (c.2%), though numbers, as indicated, were always extremely slight. The highest incidence of dissent for the entire 'early' period, c.15%, is recorded at Kinnerley in 1738, at which date five of the thirty-four families then living in the parish were Quakers. Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, religious idiosyncracies, e.g. the nonconformists' prescription of Bible-reading, did not make themselves felt on the curriculum in Shropshire schools during the period. This is not to deny the effect of sheer neglect, of course.

John Beddoe, for example, was found to be remiss in teaching his

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2 N.L.W. SA/QA/1, visit. enq., 1738
scholars the Catechism in Smethcott at the time of Bishop John Hacket's 1668 visitation.

A change began to take place in the composition of the curriculum taught in Shropshire schools as the eighteenth century progressed and the industrial economy developed. Whereas bequests made during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century tended to lay down that reading alone be taught (e.g. for Lydbury North, 1663; Whittington, 1679; Whitchurch, 1707; Cheswardine, 1712; Shifnal, 1716; Ellesmere and Adderley, 1719; Edgmond, 1734; Chetton, 1736; and Cleobury Mortimer, c.1743); those made after 1750, with very few exceptions, provided for the teaching of writing and often arithmetic, too, in response to the call for more clerks and better educated fine craftsmen to work in the towns.

The teaching of religion in the Shropshire schools also underwent a change in emphasis during the course of the period. On analysis, it emerges that perhaps little more than 10% of all schools with identifiable curricula (13 of 122) during the eighteenth century, were using the Catechism of the Church of England. Though this is

1 L.J.R.O. B/V/1/74 Act Book. Beddoe, who died c.1694, had been keeping an unlicensed private school in Madeley in 1664 (H.R.O. C.W.P. Box 1664, 30 Sept. 1664), and was still living there almost two decades later, in the more respectable station of clerk, when he was licensed to teach in adjoining Little Wenlock (H.R.O. HD/IA4/3 subs bk, 3 July 1683).
2 Perhaps only that of Dame Mary Hill at Middle, 1787.
perhaps, an interesting antidote in itself to the textbook view of affairs, worthy of special note is the very differing extent of its employment in the two halves of the eighteenth century. Indeed, the concern to use the schools primarily to inculcate Anglican doctrine lapsed to such an extent with the waning of the High Church party, that whereas ten of those fifty-nine documented schools (i.e. 17%) founded in Shropshire between 1701 and 1750 required that the Catechism be taught, at only three of perhaps sixty-three schools (i.e. a mere 5%) founded in the county between 1751 and 1800 was it prescribed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1701 - 50</th>
<th>1751 - 1800</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adderley, Adams, c.1719</td>
<td>Grinshill, Price, pre-1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardington, Hall, c.1720</td>
<td>Ness Magna, c.1753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prees, Kerr, c.1738</td>
<td>Much Wenlock, Southern, c.1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shifnal, Jobber, c.1716</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitchurch, Higginson, 1707</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury, S.P.C.I. school, Ac.1704</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury, S.P.C.I. school, Ac.1709</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury, Millington, 1748</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Martin's, Phillips/Price, pre-1705</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oswestry, S.P.C.I. school, Ac.1711</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=10</td>
<td>n=3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Schools founded during the two halves of the eighteenth century requiring that the Catechism be taught

Another important transformation was occurring in relation to the curriculum of the grammar schools of Shropshire, where classical teaching was coming to be undermined by an ever more vociferous demand for a form of learning genuinely beneficial to the parish. Such was its effect that at Wem there were no scholars at all in 1799\(^1\); and at Shifnal

\(^1\) S.R.O. 3916/1/1, archdeacon's visit. bk, f.35r.
there were no classical scholars when the Charity Commissioners made
their visit\(^1\). At Halesowen, they noted how during the previous fifteen
years 'no application has been made for this branch of instruction'\(^2\).
Instead, more utilitarian subjects were being introduced. Writing was
being taught at Bridgnorth as early as c.1727\(^3\). At Halesowen, the
statutory English grammar and literature of 1652 had been augmented with
both writing and arithmetic by 1821\(^4\). At Ludlow, also, these latter
two subjects had appeared by this date\(^5\), as they had at Shrewsbury, Wem
and Whitchurch; whilst as early as 1784 they were being taught at
Newport\(^6\). By 1830, Oswestry Grammar School was offering a particularly
extensive curriculum which, in addition to the classics, included writing,
algebra, geometry and history\(^7\). The rural grammar schools on the whole
discarded their exclusively classical curriculum earlier than the urban
schools: Worfield had introduced reading, writing and accounts to
replace Latin in 1760\(^8\); and the school financed by redirected chantry
funds at Alberbury supplemented the classics by reading, writing and
arithmetic in the 1750's\(^9\). This trend, though welcomed by hitherto
disapproving parents, was sometimes lamented by the Charity Commissioners,

\(\text{1} \quad \text{C.C.R. 4 (1820) Appx p.506}
\text{2} \quad \text{C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.442}
\text{3} \quad \text{S.R.O. 4001/Ch/2, MS Extracts from Corporation Records}
\text{4} \quad \text{C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.442}
\text{5} \quad \text{C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.284}
\text{6} \quad \text{C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.425}
\text{7} \quad \text{C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.427}
\text{8} \quad \text{C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.251}
\text{9} \quad \text{V.C.H. Salop VIII p.222}\)
as when they visited Bitterley, only to see that the grammar school had sunk to become a reading and writing school 'of the commonest description'.

How suited were the buildings in which the schools were housed to provide the appropriate conditions for learning? Those fortunate enough to be accommodated in special schoolrooms might, occasionally, as instanced by the grammar schools at Drayton and Newport, have a specific sum allocated towards the upkeep of the building. When no such allocation was made, or where visitorial powers were weak, unchecked deterioration very quickly set in. At Norton, the school on the foundation of Margaret Higginson, Sir Rowland Cotton and Ralph Pilsbury was much criticised by the Charity Commissioners in the early nineteenth century. When commenting on the school, yard, garden and master's house they wrote, unqualifyingly, that 'All these premises are in a bad state of repair'. More detailed were Hugh Owen's disparaging comments on the state of Allatt's Girls' School, Shrewsbury, on his visit to the school as a trustee in 1801:

1 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.267
2 S.R.O. 2997/10/43, chancery decree re its governors, 22 Jan. 1816 (typescript copy); S.R.O. 1910/1775, 'Copy of the Settlement of Mr Adams's Charity's Newport Parish', p.10
3 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.320
The front door is so much cracked & warped that it is ordered to be painted & repaired immediately.
All the catches of the house door broken or out of order - The door case between the cloyster & yard in danger of falling - Many of the window cords broken.

Very occasionally we come across some specification on the part of a school's founder as to how the building was to be constructed. That founded by Frances Edwards at Dudleston in Ellesmere parish contains some particularly delightful details. Here, the schoolroom, in common with the school house for a dame were 'to be well Covered with Slates and Silled and made with good Timber and all other suitable materialls and to be kept in good repair...'  

The dearth of this kind of detail for elsewhere is not so much a commentary on the failure of benefactors to rigorously specify their building preferences, but simply to their own inability or unwillingness, in the vast majority of instances, to provide a purpose-built schoolroom of any description whatsoever. The over all impression conveyed, indeed, is one of 'making do' with a veritable miscellany of structures built for entirely different functions. At Eaton Constantine in the early nineteenth century, for example, we are told how 'There is no school room adapted for the purpose nor any room sufficiently large to be procured, a small room is rented but the children are excessively

1  S.R.O. 1048/4576, Visitor's Book, Allatt's Girls' School, 1800-12
2  S.R.O. 1230/198, indenture of lease and release, 5 & 6 May, 1719
crowded... During the same period, the timber-framed upper storey of the Priory Gate House in the south Shropshire parish of Bromfield was being employed as a school-house.

A favourite site for a school was the church or chapel. Richard Corfield, rector of Upton Parva, noted in 1832 how in his parish there was 'no regular school-room - Children taught in Winter at a Private House and in Summer in the Church'. At Lydbury North, too, a schoolroom of sorts was built over the Walcot Chapel on the south side of the parish church. The school at Whitchurch to which Thomas Benyon's legacy of 1707 was attached, was held in the chapel there in the early nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the schoolmaster at Stokesay to whom Roger Powell's legacy of 1616 had been directed, was actually teaching in the church belfry; and a Sunday school meeting at Harley in the same period shared a similar site. Outside of, though still intimately related to the Church, the school at Whittington under Robert Jones's endowment was situated during the early nineteenth century in a recently converted tithe barn belonging to the rector.

1 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit, enq. Bp Henry Ryder, 1832, Eaton Constantine, art. VIII
3 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit, enq. Bp Henry Ryder, 1832, Upton Parva, art. VIII
4 J.R.Burton The History of the Walcots of Walcot (1930)
5 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.340
6 Ibid. p.412
7 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit, enq. Bp Henry Ryder, 1832, Harley, art. VIII
8 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.440
A variety of other buildings were also employed. At Madeley Wood in 1821 proposals were being made to move the children of the Sunday school out of the chapel and into the 'Dinner room' in the House of Industry. About a decade later, the same committee was once again hard-pressed for accommodation and resolved 'That application be made to the Committee of The Savings Bank for permission to commence a Sunday School for Girls in the new building erected for the Savings Bank & Dispensary'.

Not infrequently, conditions were doubly unsuitable, for not only was there no special schoolroom, but those facilities which were available were in a bad state of repair themselves. At Drayton, at the close of the period under investigation, we are told how 'There is a school at present but it is not in a good state - There is noe school room - The children are taught in an old Factory for wh: rent is paid 15£ pr annum...'.

A large number of schools were conducted in teachers' own homes. A daily school at Edgmond was being held in the master's house in 1832. In reply to the same enquiry, the anonymous correspondent of Astley reported how the very humble schoolmistress in his parish taught

1 S.R.O. 2280/11/15, 13 Feb. 1821
2 Ibid., 29 May 1830
3 S.R.O. 3916/1/3, archdeacon's visit. bk, 30 Sept. 1833
4 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit. enq. Bp Henry Ryder, 1832, Edgmond, art. VIII
the children at her own cottage\(^1\). This phenomenon could be found even
in those subscription schools with some claim to call themselves
'established'. The girls of the Blue Coat School in Ludlow were
instructed in the mistress's own house during the first five years of
the school's existence\(^2\). The totally inappropriate conditions for
learning which might result are not difficult to imagine. Mr J. Dale,
the curate of Donington, explained how

> There are two Rooms in this Parish in which the Children
(Boys and Girls together) are educated — but the said Rooms are continually occupied and indeed are the only living Rooms of the Teachers and their families.

It is so easy to forget how schools such as that endowed by Katherine
Kerr in the chapelry of Clorely, Prees, with its neatly sited school-
rooms at one end of an almshouse; or the purpose-built establishments
at Nesscliffe (See Plate 14) and at Chirbury, with their adjoining
habitations for schoolmasters, were quite exceptional in what emerges
as a very unplanned scheme.

The economy and society of individual parishes affected not
only the substance of the curriculum and the possibility of building
provision, however, but also the exact scheduling of school holidays.

1 Ibid., 1832, Astley, art. VIII
2 S.R.O. 2881/6/1, 'Ludlow Charity School Rules & Orders'
3 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit. enq. Ep Henry Ryder, 1832, Donington, art. VIII
Plate 14: Nesscliffe School (est. 1753)
It also brought a seasonal toll on absenteeism far heavier than did a factor such as adverse weather. This made nonsense of the statutes of many ancient foundations which prescribed holidays to coincide with the religious festivals. Those of Thomas Adams's School at Wem, for instance, laid down that: 'The School shall break up a Week before the Nativity of Christ & on the Wednesday before Easter & Whitsuntide...' The more recent foundations, in contrast, took into consideration the particular needs of the area in which the school found itself. From 1795, the trustees of Millington's School, Shrewsbury, began to permit the children a month's holiday from mid August until mid September. Allatt's School in the same town also allowed four weeks 'during the Summer', a flexible arrangement which could be adapted to an early or late harvest. The British School in Oswestry, too, closed during harvest time.

Where these periods of absence — so important to the economy of the family — went unrecognized, schools found themselves in the position of being regularly under-attended during certain times of the year. Just how pervasive was this absenteeism? Sometimes, information on this is wholly unspecific. At Halesowen, to take an example, the Charity

---
1 Staffs R.O. W.S.L. D1788 par.57 bdlle 2, copy, Statute 7
2 S.R.O. 2133/11, Millington's minutes, 17 Jan. 1795
3 S.R.O. 1048/4573, Rules... III
Commissioners simply reported 'the frequent non-attendance of farmers' and labourers' sons during seed-time and harvest' which had caused the master to admit extra scholars to keep the roll up¹. More precise were they when they visited Bitterley Grammar School, only to find that whereas at Christmas 1818 there had been twenty-six free scholars, during harvest-time the following year the number had dwindled to a mere eight². Similarly, a school in Dudleston, Ellesmere parish, at the northern extreme of the county, though having 120 children 'on the Books' in 1832, could expect only eighty to attend regularly³.

What were the attitudes of school managers to this high level of absenteeism? An especially tough line was set down at Eleanor Harris's school at Baschurch. Here, the failure of the boys to attend regularly would mean that 'part of their clothing is withheld, or they are dismissed'⁴. The records of Millington's School, Shrewsbury, indeed, show how here children were frequently forewarned and then discharged for non-attendance. In 1818, for example, its trustees resolved 'That if Geo Jewell don't return to school in the course of this present month to be discharged the benefit of the school'⁵. At Ludlow, too, the trustees of the Blue Coat subscription school ordered

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1 C.C.R. 5 (1821) p.442
2 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.267
3 L.J.E.O. B/Y/5 visit. enq. Bp Henry Ryder, 1832, Dudleston, art. VI
4 C.C.R. 24 (1831) p.444
5 S.R.O. 2133/12, Millington's minutes, 18 Nov. 1788
the master to 'give Notice to John Beach that he must regularly attend
the School or that he will be Discharged'. Other places thought of
more positive measures to encourage parents to send their children to
school. At Longnor in the parish of Atcham, for instance, the inducement
of a yearly suit of clothes was used. More often, however, seasonal
absenteeism was condoned. Several girls at Allatt's School, Shrewsbury,
were reported simply to be 'on leave' in August 1802. Blind eyes were
turned in the rural parishes particularly, where there was less
competition for school places. Children at Meole Brace, to take an
example, were allowed to leave the school early in the year 'to work
at brick-making and other summer occupations', and would be permitted
to return during the winter months.

Local demand for child employment more generally influenced
the length of time children stayed at school, with curtailed periods
of school attendance being recorded passim. The children at John
Slaney's establishment in Barrow, for instance, 'seldom remain at
school beyond the age of 11, when they are taken away to be put to
work'. At Alveley, few of those attending 'petty' schools in the

1 S.R.O. 2881/6/1, 'Ludlow Charity School Rules & Orders', 18 Nov. 1788
2 L.J.R.O. Eyv/5 visit. enq. Ep Henry Ryder, 1832, Wrexeter, art. VI
3 S.R.O. 1048/4576 visitor's bk, 26 Aug. 1802
4 Report IX (1820) of the National Society, p.176
5 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.303
parish were recommended to the 'free school' as they were usually 'taken
to work as soon as they are able'\(^1\). Boys from the British School at
Coalbrookdale were also generally taken away quite young 'if their
parents can get them employ...'\(^2\).

This being so, it is scarcely surprising that the relevance
and effect of literacy on the lower ranks of society has been questioned
by several investigators. Professor Lawrence Stone, for instance,
writing about early nineteenth century Oxfordshire, maintains that there
is no evidence 'that literacy did anything whatever to improve the
prospects of the rural labourer'\(^3\). By way of contrast, Dr Michael
Sanderson found a very high degree of upward social mobility 'for
even elementary educated boys' in late eighteenth century Lancaster\(^4\).

Certainly, our initial investigation of the aims of the
various educators in promoting literacy shows how there was an essential
disparity between, on the one hand, many of the changing visions and
statutory ideals, framed very often by men far removed from their
practical implementation; and the relevance of literacy to ordinary
men and women in pre-industrial England, on the other. Bartholomew
Beale, writing from Heath house in the south of the county might draw

\(^1\) C.C.R. 4 (1820) p.264
\(^2\) Report of the British and Foreign School Society XXV (1830) p.37
\(^3\) 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900', Past and Present
    no.42 (Feb.1969) p.116
\(^4\) 'Literacy and Social Mobility in the Industrial Revolution in
attention to what he considered to be the need for a 'charity school' in the Clee Hills near Ludlow; but the inhabitants 'being chiefly Collyers', it is difficult to imagine what use any real degree of book-learning would have been to them, beyond inculcating the all-important piety and contentment through Bible reading.

Bernard Mandeville, in his 'Essay on Charity, and Charity-Schools', not only recognized this irrelevance but voiced his concern over the loss to the economy which functioned on the very assumption that there was 'a multitude of laborious poor'. This being so, he argued, 'every hour those of poor people spend at their book is so much time lost to the society'. His fears, however, would appear to have proved quite groundless, for leaving aside, as we have seen, the often very small proportion of poor children in the community for which schools were able to cater during a period of rapid population growth, the demands of the family economy and of the agricultural season caused attendance, in practice, to be quite sporadic. Besides, would the acquisition of the ability to read, least of all to write, have materially improved the prospects of their children, destined for a life in the fields? At Selattyn in the extreme north-west corner of

1 S.P.C.I. A.L.B. v.7 5039, 6 Dec. 1716
2 Bernard Mandeville The Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices, Public Benefits (1772 edn) p.329
the county, it was evidently thought not, for we are told in no
uncertain terms that 'The grown-up People are mostly illiterate, and...
are willing their Children shd. be so too'\(^1\).

The passport to upward social mobility for a poor child was
the apprenticeship indenture. Dr White Kennet, in particular, in a
sermon he preached in 1706, sang the praises of this side of the schools'
work which provided for the welfare of the child after he had left
school:

if you want a Boy or a Girl for a Servant or Apprentice,
where shall a better Choice be made than out of a
CHARITY-SCHOOL? where a neat, and tractable, and virtuous
and religious little Scholar.

Yet, bearing in mind that the expense even of drawing up
and stamping the indenture, leaving aside the cost of the premium,
was entirely beyond the means of the genuinely poor to pay themselves,
and indeed was becoming steadily more expensive throughout the
eighteenth century, it is quite staggering, as we have said, what an
inconsiderable number of Shropshire schools were able to offer
apprenticeship\(^3\). The fact is that this activity was largely
unanticipated by the managers of schools whose energies and funds
were exhausted in clothing and educating 'Objects of Charity'.

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1 N.L.W. SA/Let/847 Letter from H.Roberts at Whittington to
Ld Bp of St Asaph, 25 May 1750
2 Dr White Kennet 'The Charity of Schools for Poor Children',
16 May 1706, S.P.C.K. Anniversary Sermons 1704-28, p.64
3 Supra p. 235
In any case, in those schools where premiums could be had, it is a sad fact that only for a small proportion of children leaving were they actually available. Sometimes, this limitation was recognized from the outset. It was Mrs Broughton's will that only when the profits of the trust estate should be sufficient were her trustees to put out apprentice the boys of the village of Church Aston. At other times, expedience dictated that this had to be so. Of about seventy boys in the four schools at Shrewsbury reported by the S.P.C.K. in its Account for 1711, we might reckon (assuming an average stay of about five years) that somewhere around fourteen would have been ready to leave, and so 'eligible' to be apprenticed in any given year; and yet we are told 'That 6 Children were put out Apprentices (in 1711), and about ye same Number ye Year before'. Writing again in 1716, this correspondent noted that the schools altogether 'mist of ye Benefacon from the Town last Year, because the Mayor (whose Suffrage has a great Stroke in that matter) was not himself one of ye Society...'. At Chirbury, only 'some' of the poor boys were put apprentices from the school. It was the same story at the 'Free School' endowed by Sir L.W. Childe at Cleobury Mortimer in 1714, where the Charity Commissioners observed

1 S.R.O. 81/28, copy will, pp.222-23
2 A.L.B. v.2 2498, 8 Mar. 1710/11
3 A.L.B. v.7 5070, 20 Dec. 1716
4 A.L.B. v.12 7452, 11 June 1723
how the number of apprentices 'generally fall short of the number contemplated by the founder'.

Elsewhere, the schools' function of apprenticeship, as indicated, might be entirely non-existent. Far from atypical were the children from the subscription charity school functioning in St Chad's parish, Shrewsbury, in 1772, who were 'returned to their Parents at 13 yrs of age', being much valued assets to them in view of the fact that they had spent half their time at school in spinning.

These findings run counter to the popular notion of apprenticeship by the trustees (compared to the simple binding out of paupers by parish officers) as a natural and automatic follow-up for boys after a 'charity school' education, 'the completion of the Charity School plan' in the words of one observer; a means by which '... the S.P.C.I. linked school and life' in those of another. The findings are reinforced by looking at the very substance of the curriculum itself. If, as we might surely conclude, the ability to cast up accounts was a basic prerequisite for a poor child to be genuinely apprenticed, a necessary admission ticket, as it were, into the ranks of tradesmen and clerks, then this opportunity was inevitably

1 C.C.R. 3 (1820) p.275
2 L.J.R.O. B/V/5 visit. enq. By Brownlow North, 1772, art. VII

Quite exceptional was Millington's School, Shrewsbury, which not only managed to apprentice all its boys, but had sufficient funds to bind out each with a premium of no less than £7.10s during the eighteenth century. Apprenticeship was quite justly recognized here as 'one of the most useful provisions' of the founder's will (S.R.O. Addal deposit 4074, Formal petition to the Trustees... Feb.1880).
denied the vast majority of children prior to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, due simply to the failure of all but a handful of schools to teach the skill before this date. We must therefore conclude that it was only in those schools able to offer the more advanced skills and possessing specific endowments for apprentice fees where this facility could be provided consistently.

In those schools offering social advancement, just how significant in degree was any mobility gained? This issue, though fundamental, is extremely difficult to research. Above all, this is due, in so far as the first three quarters of the eighteenth century is concerned, to the sheer dearth of surviving early apprenticeship indentures relating to specific schools; or, of trustees' minute books recording both the fathers' occupations of pupils admitted and (for those schools where this is relevant) the occupations of masters to whom they were apprenticed. From these records, comparisons of the original and prospective social backgrounds of the children might be made and the degree of social mobility ascertained. For the most part, indeed, we have to content ourselves with comments of this order from

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1 Schools teaching accounts to poor children before 1775 are documented only at Baschurch, Bishop's Castle, Cardington, Dorrington (Condover), Neen Savage, Oswestry, Prees, Shrewsbury and Wem.
the country parish of Worfield, where the boys leaving the 'charity
school' were bound apprentice to husbandry, 'the most usefull Business
in those parts' ¹.

From an analysis of the more telling evidence, it emerges that
even for schools in urban Shropshire parishes, with greater scope for
upward social mobility, there was no great disparity between those trades
to which children leaving the school were apprenticed, and the class of
family from which they had initially been drawn. Millington's School,
Shrewsbury (See Plate 15), affords a few instances of urban apprenticeship,
allowing us to compare the fathers' occupations with the trade to which
the scholar was finally bound out:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's occupation</th>
<th>Master's occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 July 1756</td>
<td>Thomas Cullis</td>
<td>Bargeman &amp; master-waterman</td>
<td>Bargeman &amp; master-waterman*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 July 1756</td>
<td>William Cullis</td>
<td>Bargeman &amp; master-waterman</td>
<td>Bargeman &amp; master-waterman*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July 1758</td>
<td>John Clarke</td>
<td>Nailer</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 July 1759</td>
<td>Richard Halin</td>
<td>Nailer</td>
<td>Nailer*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Oct. 1760</td>
<td>Richard Jones</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Upholsterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Aug. 1762</td>
<td>John Morris</td>
<td>Matmaker</td>
<td>Perukemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Jan. 1763</td>
<td>Robert Holland</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>Cutler &amp; whitesmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 July 1774</td>
<td>Henry Lloyd</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Carpenter*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 July 1776</td>
<td>Thomas Deakes</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Shoemaker*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 July 1776</td>
<td>James Johnson</td>
<td>Dyer</td>
<td>Dyer*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* apprenticed to his own father

Table 17: The social origins and apprenticeship of boys leaving
Millington's School, Shrewsbury, 1756 - 76

¹ S.P.C.K. A.L.B. v.15 10514, 25 Nov. 1729
Plate 15: Millington's Hospital School, Shrewsbury (est. 1748)

(The fine portico and octagonal cupola over the central schoolroom, housing the clock and bell, were added in 1785).
In spite of the trustees' concern to bind the children to masters and mistresses 'of good Business and Character', none seem to have significantly benefited by their subsequent employment. John Clarke, the son of a nailer, it is true, took his family out of the heavy crafts into the more prestigious clothing crafts when he was apprenticed to Edward Jones, shoemaker; and for Robert Holland and John Morris there was a move in the direction of the finer and more highly-skilled crafts. Nevertheless, six of the ten boys about whom we have information returned to the same trade from which they had originally derived, with all but one of these actually being bound out to their own father. A full list of the trades to which boys leaving the School were put out between 1752 and 1780 appears in Table 18 below. Most strongly represented, thus, are the quite lowly, laborious heavy crafts. Very few Millington boys indeed were put to retailing shopkeepers, as Mandeville had feared; and none entered the ranks of clerks. The School in these years certainly seems to have had the effect of emphasising, if it had not actually been designed to emphasise and make more stable, those already established distinctions between the classes.

1 The founder's original intention that bright boys should proceed to the town's 'Free Grammar School' and then to Magdalen College, Cambridge, seems never to have been realized.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trades Category</th>
<th>Number of Boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literary/clerical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine crafts (n=11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet maker</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitesmith</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmaker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket maker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholsterer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shops and services (n=4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing crafts (n=15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perukemaker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy crafts (n=18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ship's carpenter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nailer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazier</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ropemaker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutler</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bargeman &amp; master-waterman</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Trades to which boys leaving Millington's School, Shrewsbury, were apprenticed, 1752 - 80

By the turn of the eighteenth century, however, Millington's had become a school offering an education not to the poor alone (as it had done earlier that same century), but to townsmen in general, and providing places for which they were now actually willing to compete. A particularly graphic representation of this was evident amongst the girls here during the early nineteenth century who had taken to curling their hair, until it was ordered by the visitor, F.X. Leighton, Esq., 'that their hair be cut like the Children in other Charity Schools...'  

The pupils who sat on the benches of the Ludlow Blue Coat subscription school at the end of the eighteenth century were also of a rather higher social rank to those in the schools three quarters of a century earlier. This is obvious from the quite slender proportion of labourers' children admitted (See Table 19). Of nineteen boys from known occupational backgrounds entering the school between 1788 and 1809, only three were unskilled. The remainder, indeed, came from the relatively elevated ranks of the skilled craftsmen and tradesmen. These men, who valued the skills which the school was in a position to offer (and particularly the casting up of accounts), had succeeded in squeezing out the genuinely poorer sort by means of the system of nomination which made it possible for them to elect one of their own

1 S.R.O. 2133/12, Millington's minutes, 19 Oct. 1825
children into the school. The new call for better educated fine craftsmen about this time, also meant that a few could achieve upward social mobility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Parent's occupation</th>
<th>Master's occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 Apr. 1791</td>
<td>Thomas Price</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Sadler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Feb. 1797</td>
<td>Edward Brampton</td>
<td>Breeches maker</td>
<td>Breeches maker*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Apr. 1798</td>
<td>Thomas Wilks</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Shoemaker*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Jan. 1805</td>
<td>Thomas Neale</td>
<td>Nailer &amp; brickmaker</td>
<td>Nailer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Jan. 1809</td>
<td>James Meyrick</td>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>Shoemaker*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slight upward social mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Feb. 1791</td>
<td>William Hicks</td>
<td>Flux draper</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mar. 1795</td>
<td>Edward White</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Glover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Apr. 1799</td>
<td>Jno Carter</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>Glover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant upward social mobility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Jan. 1790</td>
<td>Jno Back</td>
<td>Cow keeper</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Jan. 1790</td>
<td>Richard Arthurs</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Shoemaker*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* apprenticed to his own father

Table 19: Destinations of boys apprenticed at Ludlow subscription school, 1790 - 1809

Setting aside such a tangible measure of a school's excellence as its ability to promote upward social mobility through the acquisition of literacy, we can occasionally glimpse their successes in their function of moral teaching, too. Of the 'model school' at Meole Brace, the National Society's correspondent wrote how

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1 S.R.O. 2881/6/1, 'Ludlow Charity School Rules & Orders'
The habits of the School appear to have a very remarkable effect upon the tempers of the Children, in the prevention of quarrelling, and in the maintenance of kindness and good humour in their intercourse with each other. And, considering the dreadful ill examples by which they are surrounded, they do, in a very remarkable degree, abstain from the use of profane language.

In a similar vein, the Rev. Thomas Dethick wrote in favour of the Bridgnorth National School for boys and girls that the civilization among the children generally, is already very conspicuous both in the School and in the streets; and we hope we have conquered their horrid habit of swearing, which was universal.

The Rev. George Evans spoke of the 'reformation' which had taken place in the conduct of the children of the Ruyton National School, too, though he hastened to point out that the effects were not so marked on their parents.

What prospects existed for children from the higher middle and upper ranks leaving the endowed classical schools and the private schools during this period? For scholars at most of the county's endowed grammar schools there was the opportunity of election to one of Edward Careswell's exhibitions. The 'Free Grammar Schools' of Bridgnorth, Donnington, Newport, Shifnal, Shrewsbury and Wem were...

1 National Society Report IX (1820) p.176
2 Ibid. p.180
3 Ibid. pp.180-81
eligible to send boys to Oxford in the proportion 3:2:4:3:4:2. By 1864, however, though probably much earlier, only Shrewsbury was deriving any benefit from them.

Many of those leaving the private day and boarding schools operating in both rural and urban parishes in the county during the late eighteenth century, would have joined the ranks of prosperous tradesmen.

A Mr Reynold, who conducted a day and boarding 'academy' in School Lane, Shrewsbury, provided an education for those who had already taught at classical seminaries and who now wished 'to be expeditiously prepared for Trade, the Counting House, and Public Offices'. Contemporaneously, youth at Hodnet School were 'carefully and expeditiously instructed for Trade and Business'; whilst at Lilleshall the curate, the Rev. S. Hartley, offered an education to twelve children such as would 'qualify Boys for Business and Trade'. More nebulously, the Rev. Francis Salt's 'young Gentlemen' at Bridgnorth were 'designed for the learned Professions'; whilst those of G.C. Reynolds who sojourned at his academy on Pride Hill, Shrewsbury, were promised an education as would be 'requisite to complete the Man of Business'. More vaguely still, and catering for the peculiarly elegant tastes of an elite, other establishments assured

1 S.R.O. 4001/Ch/2, MS Resolutions of the Free Grammar School, Bridgnorth, 1864
2 The Shrewsbury Chronicle 14 Jan. 1803 p.3
3 Ibid. 8 July 1808 p.3
4 Ibid. 9 Dec. 1796 p.3
5 Ibid. 7 Jan. 1791 p.3
6 Ibid. 27 July 1792 p.3
entrance to the 'Beau Monde'. Such was promised by the French emigre,

Monsieur Bourlay, who aimed, through his fencing activities 'to teach

those Exterior and Fashionable Branches of polite and ornamental

Education, so requisite for genteel Life'1.

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1 Ibid. 21 Sept. 1804 p.3
Is what we have found above for Shropshire consistent with the interim pattern for the country as a whole; or is the county exceptional in any respect?

A number of other English counties have been studied from the point of view of their educational development during the eighteenth century, with the most detailed appraisals to date having been made for Lancashire, Cheshire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and, most recently for Kent. London has also received some attention.

3. J. Simon 'Was there a Charity School Movement? The Leicestershire Evidence', in E. Simon (ed.) Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940. A Regional Study (1968) pp. 55-100
8. H.J. Larcombe 'The Development of Subscription Charity Schools in England and Wales from the close of the 17th to the close of the 18th century, with special reference to London and District' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London, 1928); M.G. Jones op. cit. (1938) where London evidence is primarily used.
The nature of educational provision in Shropshire, as has been shown, was largely a product of the county’s very particular geography, society and religion:

With respect to geography, we have demonstrated on the basis of the Shropshire evidence, the existence of a number of relationships. We have found a relationship between urbanisation and the presence of early eighteenth century subscription schools; a relationship between those areas increasing in population and those in which there were fresh educational foundations made for the growing numbers of poor; and a relationship between those parishes with no population growth and those with either good educational provision, or the continued absence of such provision. Additionally, we might anticipate some sort of a relationship between a county’s distance from London and the influence there of voluntary societies, such as the S.P.C.I. This influence might also have varied according to the adequacy of the county’s internal communications. Once the particular geographies of each of these counties is taken into consideration, a number of hypotheses can be built up in so far as the likely extent and form of their educational provision is concerned.
For Shropshire, a county where only a slight proportion of the total population lived in towns, ten schools appear in the S.P.C.I.'s Accounts (1704-30) as schools financed entirely by subscription for the poor alone. Of these, all but two (i.e. 80%) were established in towns.

In Kent, a county of roughly the same size as Shropshire, the comparable figures were thirty-two schools, twenty of which (i.e. 62.5%) were urban-based. We might assume that their prevalence in the adjoining metropolis would have been still greater.

Indeed, London, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the largest city in western Europe. With a population of over half a million, the capital, write Clark and Slack, 'stood in an urban class of its own'. Poverty was particularly acute due to the influx of destitute immigrants - a few to take up apprenticeships, the majority simply looking for work or for charity. There was a tendency for them to settle especially in east London, an area of high density, lower-class housing. Here, then, was educable material in abundance. West London, in contrast, was far wealthier, with its squares and mansions housing county grandees, together with a professional class of lawyers and apothecaries whose growth in London during the previous century had been truly phenomenal. London was

1 Hume, thesis, p.56
2 P.Clark and P.Slack English Towns in Transition 1500-1700 (1976) p.62
also the greatest centre for traders, not just in England, but in Europe as a whole. Here were men who could afford to contribute relatively small sums to the educational enterprise. It would, in short, be hardly surprising if in London we found more subscription schools than in any other part of the country.

And certainly, Dr Larcombe, in an early study of the capital's schools, concluded that

The outstanding feature of the charity school movement in London is... that (the schools) were founded and maintained by the subscriptions of large members (sic) of parishioners and well-wishers, rather by (sic) the benefactions of individuals...

Moreover, as Miss Jones has remarked, the existence of such a large middle class population in London tended to make it easy to secure new subscriptions when the old ones dropped off.

All the other counties which have been investigated by educational historians were very much less urbanised than Kent and London at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and some remained so throughout. We would expect, therefore, far fewer subscription schools within their bounds, and those that did exist to be predominantly urban-based.

Oxfordshire, for instance, is described by Mr Boden as 'an essentially agricultural district'. Though the county possessed fifteen

1 Larcombe, thesis, 2, pp.1-2
2 Boden, thesis, p.1
market towns, only a handful were considerable: Banbury, Witney, Bicester, Chipping Norton and Oxford itself, where 'the presence of a large university brought trade to the County's economy which otherwise would have remained purely agrarian' ¹. All five subscription schools on the ground in this county during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, namely, the Blue Coat School at Banbury (est. 1705), a school at Bicester and three schools - the Grey Coat and two Blue Coat Schools - at Oxford (est. 1708) were, therefore, situated in towns of some substance.

Cheshire, though a slightly larger county than Oxfordshire, had fewer market towns. Most of the land was devoted to farming. Indeed, salt and cheese were almost the county's only products until the end of the eighteenth century, there being very little industry or trade. Chester was the most commercial centre with its port and numerous waggoners. We would thus expect rather fewer subscription schools than in Oxfordshire, but one almost certainly to have been located in the county town. Dr Robson has shown, after some careful analysis, how although four schools were founded or maintained by subscription before the Restoration, and a number of such schools came to be established later in the eighteenth century, only Chester possessed schools of the type recommended by the S.P.C.K. for the education of poor children: a Blue Coat School for Boys, and another for Girls.

¹ Boden, thesis, p.4
supported from the 'solicitations' of Bishop Stratford and his wife.

Leicestershire also contained subscription schools proportional in number to its degree of urbanisation. Its position at the end of the seventeenth century was one of a county whose hosiery industry was in its infancy and whose boot and shoe trade was a mere embryo. Only one family in every six lived in a town, and even Leicester itself had a mere five thousand inhabitants. In her analysis, which excludes the county town, Mrs Simon has indicated that the only rapidly expanding centre was Ashby-de-la-Zouch, which was profiting from the development of the surrounding coalmining villages; and it was here that the only subscription school run on lines recommended by the S.P.C.K. was established during the early years of the eighteenth century.

Staffordshire, on the other hand, does not at first sight conform to expectation. By 1665, there were large centres of population at Wolverhampton (5,000+), Walsall (c.3,800), Lichfield, Uttoxeter (3,400 each) and Stone (c.2,800), and a number of other settlements containing over 1,500 inhabitants. Yet, the only subscription school to be established before the mid eighteenth century was at relatively insignificant Penkridge (est.1693-95). The picture is modified, however, by the fact that although the initial endowment of the Blue Coat School at Wolverhampton derived from legacies, it came in time to be financed partly by subscriptions also.
When rural subscription schools were founded, we might suspect that, as at Mainstone, Silvington and Clunbury in Shropshire, they were unable to survive for long due to the lack of sustained middle class support. And indeed, there is some evidence from Leicestershire of rural schools 'subscribed' to by the incumbent and one or two gentlemen, collapsing on the deaths of the individuals concerned. There had been a 'charity school' supported by a gentleman, the rector and some others in the parish, reported the incumbent of Narborough in 1718, but the gentleman who paid the schoolmaster having died, there 'hath never since been any encouragement for a master': Mr Boden, too, has commented on how 'the country school [in Oxfordshire] so much depended on whether the landlord was resident or not', and how it 'could quickly fail with a change of incumbent'.

In Shropshire, though there was a marked increase in population during the period under study, it was not a uniform one, but concentrated in the east of the county, growth being particularly evident here during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. By the beginning of the next century, indeed, 17% of the county's population lived on the Shropshire

1 Simon, art. cit. p.77n.
2 Boden, thesis, pp.70-71
coalfield. A further 25% lived in Shrewsbury and the other market towns. It was in these areas that attempts were made to expand the number of schools, though the principal form which such endeavours took was the building not of day schools but of Sunday schools.

In Kent, too, the increase in population had scarcely been the same in all parts. The Weald, well-endowed with schools in 1660, entered upon a period of stagnation with the decline of the clothing trade, and saw very few fresh educational foundations in the following century and a half. In contrast, the north-west dockyard towns underwent considerable expansion; and it was here that, after 1660, a particularly large number of (non-classical) schools were established.

Other counties, also, experienced a redistribution of population (though this often took place rather later than in Kent above), and it is of interest to see whether in the areas of fastest growth there, too, we witness the most effort to provide schools.

In Cheshire, it was the population of Macclesfield Hundred which underwent an especially marked increase with the development of the factory system. Dr Robson's work largely confirms our suspicions that it was in this area that new schools for the poorer classes were founded to meet the needs of the industrial populations of Macclesfield and Stockport: '... those parish schools established before 1700 predominated in the older areas of
population and prosperity', he writes. However,

when the eighteenth century foundations are considered there is a considerable increase in the number of the parish schools founded in Macclesfield Deanery...

Nowhere else in the County was there such an extension of charity in education,

In Leicestershire during the late seventeenth century, this 'shift of emphasis' was away from the rich agricultural east, to the north-west. Here, new industries began to develop, especially framework knitting in the villages, resulting in the rapid expansion of their population. We might reckon, therefore, that there would be an unprecedented level of educational activity in this region. And this, indeed, would seem to have been the case. Mrs Simon has concluded that 'By 1740 most of the larger parishes in the industrialized northwest of the county had some endowment for education...' Interestingly, however, for it bears out the findings for both Shropshire and Kent, she goes on to note how 'what was done fell far short of meeting the needs', though she provides no statistics to back up this assertion.

Similarly, though the population of Shropshire's neighbouring county, Staffordshire, almost doubled during the eighteenth century, to reach nearly a quarter of a million at its close, some places experienced

1 Robson, op. cit. p.161
2 Simon, art. cit. p.88
increases far in excess of the county average, so that by 1800 the
greatest concentration of people was to be found in the more industrialised
areas of the North and South Staffordshire coalfields. It is significant
that whereas 'the distribution of non-classical endowed schools revealed
no specific pattern in the first half of the eighteenth century, depending,
as it did, upon individual philanthropists', there was a tendency, as
the century progressed, for particularly generous educational bequests to
be made in the growing industrial areas, e.g. at Tipton, Rowley Regis and
Newcastle. However, the rapid increase in population in these parts
'outstripped the available schooling' and 'could do little to alter the
situation'. How closely these findings echo those of Mrs Simon's for
Leicestershire.

In so far as the ability of these schools to cater for the
number of children in the community is concerned, the urban parishes of
Shropshire (with the exception of those few situated on the coalfield)
being comparatively small on a national scale, were able to make the
kind of provision which was impressive both in relative and in absolute
terms, with figures of or approaching 100% being recorded in many instances

1 Gomez, thesis, p.385
2 Ibid, p.386
in 1833. In strict contrast, the towns of Kent had generally coped much less well to provide for the vast increases in population which had occurred within their bounds. Normally, indeed, rates of the order of a mere 5% were commonplace in 1811, and the situation was scarcely any better on the eve of government intervention.

From our investigation of Shropshire, it was found that only in the more sluggish countryside were there sometimes still no schools in 1833; but that where schools had been established during the course of the period, they were able to make remarkably good and relatively sustained provision for poor children.

In the Kent countryside, too, schools were either simply not established; or, in those parishes where they already existed or came to be established, could make extremely impressive provision. Most of the other counties, however, differed from Shropshire and Kent in an important respect, namely, that it was not until about 1760 that they began to enclose their land, whereas even by 1675 less than one fifth of Shropshire was still open field, as compared to 60 or 70% in other Midland counties.

1 The population of Greenwich, for instance, had risen from c.5,000 in the late seventeenth century, to almost three times this figure by 1801; and that of Deal even more spectacularly, from perhaps 1,000 to well over 5,000 during the same period.
2 Hume, thesis, p.37
3 Ibid, p.36
Kent, save a few great fields in the east, was largely enclosed as early as 1660. It is widely accepted that enclosure affected the poor especially acutely, relying as they did on the right to graze on common land; and was responsible for their drift into the towns in order to find work. This, therefore, suggests that vis a vis both Shropshire and Kent, there would have been in these counties a sudden reduction in the numbers of poor children of school age living in their rural parishes. Assuming the number of places available did not fall in existing schools, this would have led to an increase in provision. This said, however, with fewer children to cater for, one would perhaps expect a tendency for no new school to be established when none existed already in the parish. Our investigators remain disappointingly silent on this issue, Mr Gomez alone commenting that, in rural areas, provision was 'unlikely to have shown much change'.

One might reasonably assume that, as a rule of thumb, the further one travelled away from the metropolis, so the influence of the S.P.C.K. is likely to have decreased; and that in those counties in which the various forms of internal communication were poor, the Society's influence is likely to have been still weaker.

As measured in terms of the extent to which the subscription idea took effect in Shropshire, schools financed on this basis seem to have accounted for at most a mere 6% of all schools (ten of perhaps 163) with places for the poor in the period under study. How does this compare with elsewhere?

The nearest of our sample counties to the Society’s London headquarters is Kent, where subscription schools may have constituted about one quarter of all schools with places for the poor during these years. Once we look beyond the subscription ideal, in the case of two of the three Kent schools included in the London section of the S.P.C.K.’s Accounts – the Stanhope School at Deptford and the Blue Coat School at Greenwich – there is evidence not only of correspondence with the Society, but of some sort of intervention by this body; curricular in the first instance; in the second, possibly monetary.1

In Oxfordshire, too, lying a matter of forty-seven miles distant from London, we might expect the influence of the metropolis also to have been strong, particularly as the Thames provided so good a link with it. Mr Boden provides no summary remark on this subject, but he does cite an example of a Finsbury man, John Holloway, insisting in his bequest for Witney in 1723, that the poor boys admitted to his foundation were to be

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1 Hume, thesis, p.56; p.68n.1; p.58n.2
clothed 'after the manner of the Blue coat hospital boys in London...'.

The other counties are very much more removed from London. One of the more distant, Cheshire, had no weekly newspaper until 1730, a very different story from London which had as many as twenty weeklies by 1712.

The newspaper being an obvious channel for the transmission of ideas on education and information on what had been realised, it occurs that the flow of news in this county might have been very limited during the period when the S.P.C.K. was on the educational scene. Whether due to these factors or not, Dr Robson's work has shown that the most numerous schools in Cheshire up until the Society's last county table of 1724 were, in reality, parish schools which had no connection with this organization.

A more concise evaluation of the Society's impact in Staffordshire is provided by Mr Gomez:

...the influence of the S.P.C.K. seems to have been very limited in Staffordshire. The letter files of the Society reveal only a small number of corresponding members in the county. Of the schools actually affiliated to the S.P.C.K., a considerable proportion pre-dated the establishment of that organisation.

The point is made, however, that its indirect influence is likely to have been much greater.

1 Boden, thesis, p.64
2 Kent's weekly, The Kentish Gazette, appeared first in 1726
3 Gomez, thesis, pp.385-86
Mr Wood's assessment of the role of the Society in Lancashire is, likewise, a balanced one. Though he displays great dissatisfaction in the fact that the Society's Accounts record so few schools in the county, compared to neighbouring Yorkshire, and acknowledges also how even these included schools which 'were not charity schools within the meaning that the Society attached to this description'¹, he argues, nevertheless, that '... the number of schools recorded does not do justice to the influence it had in the County'², stressing that schools outside the organisation still implemented 'educational incentives suggested by the Society'³.

The quite voluminous correspondence between the S.P.C.B. and Leicestershire is, therefore, on the face of it, a little surprising. However, the county, as Mrs Simon has pointed out, had the advantage of falling within the diocese of Lincoln, and it so happened that at this period successive bishops — Wake (1705-16) and Gibson (1716-23) — were keenly interested in the cause of education. The consequent flow of information was so great that the province became 'the star example outside London'⁴. The Account of 1713 recorded twenty-eight 'charity

¹ Wood, thesis, p.55  
² Ibid. p.222  
³ Ibid. p.133  
⁴ Simon, art. cit. p.66
schools in Leicestershire (excluding those in Leicester itself), which compared very favourably to Shropshire's nine. The presence of diligent individuals could thus upset a too-simplistic notion of progressively deteriorating information with increasing distance from the capital. Yet, when an examination is made of the Society's effect on, as opposed to its communication with, interested parties in the localities, the result, as elsewhere, is rather less impressive. Bearing in mind that the S.P.C.K. sought to develop education according to High Church principles, then, in Leicestershire, Mrs Simon's assessment is that it appears to have made only a slight and temporary impact...

The inadequacy or quiescence of the majority of the clergy, an apparent disinterest among most of the gentry, and the prevalence of dissent all seem to have been barriers.

II

The nature of Shropshire society also had an important effect in determining the type of education made available. Relationships were found to exist between the commercial and manufacturing activities engaged in by the various parishes and the nature of the curriculum in their schools; and between the occupations of the principal inhabitants and the

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1 Simon, *cit.* p.88
destination of the various ranks of children. Again, an acquaintance with the particular social and occupational structures of other counties might lead us to predict certain educational characteristics.

For Shropshire, we have noted in the period as a whole, that arithmetic was more likely to be featured in the curriculum of urban than of rural schools; whereas those more humble concerns offering reading alone were nearly always found in rural parishes.

In the more urbanised county of Kent, however, a considerably greater proportion of urban than of rural schools had arithmetic in their curriculum (57% as compared with 32%) at this time\(^1\).

The increasingly significant part played by trade and industry in the economy of several of the other counties suggests the importance likely to have been attached there, also, to instructing the boys in how to cast accounts.

Though, unfortunately, no particular figures are available for London, Mr Gomez has computed how in rapidly-industrialising Staffordshire, where arithmetic had an obvious vocational value, the proportion of those schools teaching all 3 'Rs' increased from 27% between 1701 and 1730, to 55% between 1781 and 1800\(^2\).

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1 Hume, thesis, p.152
London's pre-eminence as an international port would seem to make it especially likely that navigation would have been introduced into the curriculum of its schools. And indeed, the demand for ships' boys was responded to by a group of London 'charity school' managers from the first. The most promising boys in the schools of Farringdon Ward Within, St Dunstan's in the West, and St Andrew's, Holborn, were sent on three days of the week to Neale's Mathematical School in Hatton Garden, to receive instruction in the art of navigation.

Outside London, navigation was introduced into the curriculum of schools along the Thames Estuary, such as the Boreman School at Greenwich; it was also available as a reward for a few of the senior children at the Dover Charity School in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Vocational skills were also taught at Chester, a city which during the same century was attempting to restore its position of importance as an entrepot, in the face of growing competition from Liverpool. In 1778, the thirty boys attending its Blue Coat School were instructed in English, writing, arithmetic and navigation. Nearby, at Christleton, the boys were taught mensuration, gauging and navigation.

1 Jones, op. cit. p.82
skills, as Dr Robson affirms, which were 'useful for boys who might enter commerce or go to sea from the port of Chester or the packet stations in the Wirral...'. The Blue Cap School in Nantwich, in the same county, trained some of its poor boys in shoemaking, which was an important local industry.

The reliance of the economy of Oxfordshire on the manufacture of textiles led to work of this sort finding its way into the curricula of the county's schools. At the Bicester Blue Coat School an attempt was made, albeit short-lived, to set the children to spin jersey. In many of the other schools in this county lace-making was undertaken by the girls.

Finally, we might hypothesise that there would be some difference in kind between the destinations of those leaving 'charity schools' in London - a stronghold of clerks and professional men - and those leaving such schools in Shropshire and elsewhere. There is, however, no particular evidence to confirm this in so far as the towns are concerned. A comparison, for instance, of those trades to which boys leaving the University Charity School in Oxford (1709-12) were apprenticed, with the first forty occupations the trustees of the St Andrew's School, Holborn, chose for its

1 Robson, op. cit. p.38. Though Mr Wood gives no indication that navigation was taught at the Liverpool Blue Coat School, the boys are known to have picked oakum and also to have drawn and knotted yarns.
2 Ibid. p.39
3 Boden, thesis, p.63
4 Ibid. Appx I, p.82
boys⁴, and those to which Shrewsbury's Millington boys were bound out
during the mid to late eighteenth century, reveals, surprisingly, no
discrepancy between the number of clerical occupations taken up (negligible
in each case); the most popular trades in all three instances being joiner-
carpenters and shoemakers. Similarly, an analysis of 126 destinations of
boys leaving York's Blue Coat School, 1770-80², indicates how the largest
single employment for the boys was found in husbandry (22%) and in the
combined craft trades (39%), with only one boy penetrating the clerical
ranks, and even he being apprenticed to a humble attorney. In another,
though smaller, urban maritime community, Great Yarmouth, an almost
identical proportion of boys (40%) leaving the Children's Hospital, 1682-
1732, were placed out to sea activities as were originally drawn from
seagoing families: the sons of mariners being overwhelmingly put out to
mariners; and those of seamen either to seamen or mariners. Additionally,
mariner masters were found for sons of labourers, blacksmiths and shoe-
makers³. Surprisingly, there was no consistency at all here in the levels
of literacy attained by the children (most of whom entered unable to read
at all), and the type of employment subsequently taken up. Of four boys
put out to mariners in the opening years of the eighteenth century, for

1 Larcombe, thesis, 4, pp.28-29
2 Univ. of York, The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research B.C.S.6,
Minutes of monthly committee meetings, Blue Coat School, York, 1770-80
3 Norfolk Record Office Y/L3/13, 'The Register Children's Hospital...'
instance, one simply 'Read in his Testament'; another 'reads in his Bible: & in writing makes Letters'; a third 'Reads very well in Bible & Writes'; whilst a fourth 'reads in his Bible: & cyphers in Addition'.

An equally contrasting range of abilities is evident amongst the boys apprenticed to shoemakers. One boy 'reads well in Bible, Writes, & Cyphers very well to ye Rule of Three'; whilst another merely 'Read very well in ye Testament'. It appears that as soon as a place became available, the oldest boys would be 'sent out'; this would explain why so many of those placed with the numerous population of common seamen and mariners were in the school for little more than a year. Indeed, the priority of the trustees, all members of the Corporation, seems to have been to ease the town, without discrimination, from 'the heavy charge' of maintaining poor children in this thriving seafaring community, where shore employment was at a premium.

For schools in other urban parishes where apprenticeship indentures survive, e.g. the 'Free School' at Wilton, Wiltshire (est. 1714), the children admitted, in this case a full half of whom were sons of weavers, were bound out to weavers or (less commonly) to shoemakers. In 60% of cases, however, the trustees bound out children to their own fathers, and even in one instance to a widowed mother whose trade is cited.

1 C.C.R. 26 (1833) p.339
as a blacksmith - so doing nothing to promote upward social mobility,
and, it would seem, employing the wealth of the charity simply as a form
of poor relief.

In rural parishes generally, where there was less scope for
upward social mobility, this was still more likely to hold true. Indeed,
apprenticeship indentures for the hospital school at Drax, outside York,
which survive from 1734 onwards, demonstrate a greater number of lateral
rather than upward moves by the children at the end of their schooling,
namely from agriculture into the trades. Although for children leaving
William Saunders's Charity School in the Berkshire parish of Chaddleworth,
1737-79, there might have been some social betterment, it was of a
fairly limited extent, with the most significant recorded rise being the
apprenticeship of a labourer's son to a tailor. From an analysis of the
records of the 'charity school' at Newton-with-Scales in Lancashire,
Mr Wood has likewise found no great disparity between those trades to
which children leaving the school were apprenticed, and the class of
family from which they were initially drawn. That, as the century passed,
and the less necessitous poor came to be educated in these schools, the
children were not sometimes put out to more superior trades is, however,
less certain.

1 Wiltshire Record Office 1242/51; 52 (part). Indeed, a mere ten of the
ninety-one Wilton children leaving between 1735 and 1780 gained any
sort of advancement as a result of their education.
2 Univ. of York, The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research DCS 4/14
3 Berkshire Record Office D/P 32 25/96/1, bdle, 13 indentures, 1737-79
4 Wood, thesis, pp.149-50
Religion has been demonstrated as a third variable affecting educational development, albeit, in Shropshire, one of rather mixed importance. In terms of increasing the pace of educational provision during the opening and closing years of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the next, the influence of the Established Church seems to have been critical; but its overall strength in shaping the curriculum in Shropshire, and more particularly in introducing the High Church Catechism into the county's schools, seems to have been very much weaker. Early dissent being so slight in the county, nonconformists too appear barely to have made an impression in the endowing and building of schools before the end of the eighteenth century. An assessment of the strength of nonconformity in other counties will tend, also, to suggest certain educational features.

In Kent, a relationship indeed existed between the prevalence of nonconformity in the Weald and in the larger towns, and the occasional foundation of schools by one or more nonconformists. More generally, many schools in these heavily dissenting areas seem to have neglected to instruct the children in the Catechism of the Church of England¹.

Nonconformist pressures in the Staffordshire towns after 1660 were very strong; particularly was the presence of dissenters felt in the

¹ Hume, thesis, pp. 154-55
south of the county, though there were also well-established centres
of nonconformity elsewhere. Mr Gomez has noted the great emphasis placed
upon Bible-reading in the schools under the influence of dissenters at
Lichfield, Newcastle, Penn and Meerbrook. From 1700 onwards, the S.P.C.K.
was laying stress upon pupils learning the Catechism, and this requirement
certainly appeared in the curricula of a number of Staffordshire schools,
though, significantly, not in any of those parishes where nonconformity
was strong. After the first visit of John Wesley to the county in 1738,
the growth of Methodism made striking advances in her expanding industrial
towns. The school founded at Burslem, perhaps not surprisingly, tended 'to
modify the general assertion that religious instruction was the basis of
the curriculum'.

There were no such centres of nonconformity in adjacent Cheshire.
Though the proportion of nonconformists may have been as great as it was
in the country as a whole during these years (c.5%), their members were
scattered, and no distinct nonconformist schools were founded; the
children of dissenters either attended the parish school, where religious
instruction was sometimes not specified; or else they shunned it.

Exceptionally, where Roman Catholicism was relatively strong,

1 Gomez, thesis, p.173
2 Robson, op. cit. pp.163-64
as in Lancashire, schools might admit Roman Catholics, as did Kirkham Girls' Charity School (est. 1760); whilst at Cockerham, in the same county, the master himself was of this persuasion in the early nineteenth century. These instances borne in mind, Mrs Johnson's statement that 'All [the] Derbyshire schools were in their curriculum conforming to the orders drawn up by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge', appears to be a little suspect, based as it no doubt is on a projection from a handful of schools for which the curricula are well documented.

In contrast to all the above counties, the incidence of nonconformity was much less extensive in London. Clark and Slack have written that

... the failure of the Revolution, the demoralization and fragmentation of the sects, and the growing importance in London after 1660 of the county grandees made the metropolis less influential as a centre of militant Puritanism. The resurgence of evangelical Christianity in the eighteenth century was primarily a provincial phenomenon.

It may, thus, not merely be coincidence that Dr Larcombe cited only one London school - the Coborn School at Bow - where the scholars were permitted to belong to any religious persuasion.

1 Wood, thesis, p.48
2 M. Johnson  Derbysire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century (1970) p.21
3 P. Clark and P. Slack op. cit. (1976) p.73
4 Larcombe, thesis, 4, p.2
There are other findings – some of which show certain similarities to Shropshire, others which go wholly against the Shropshire evidence – for which no particular advance expectations could be formed, and which some attempt will now be made to explain _ex post facto_. Issues will be considered in the order in which they were treated in the main body of this work.

Several of our investigators have commented on the pace of educational development in the counties they have studied. When these commentaries are put side by side, it can be seen that the profile which Mr Boden claims was typical of the country as a whole during the eighteenth century – namely, one characterised by an initial outburst in the first three decades, a slackening off in mid century, followed by something of a revival in the last few decadesₐ¹ – though generally true, is not entirely so. There is no disagreement in so far as in all the counties for which information is available, the existence of non-classical schools with places for the poor before 1699 is reported. The first point at variance between the counties is in which of these first three decades the number of educational

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¹ Boden, thesis, p.65
charities given by will was most prolific. Whereas Derbyshire and Kent peaked between 1711 and 1720, Shropshire and Staffordshire peaked afterwards, in between 1721 and 1730. Staffordshire was 'out of phase' with both of its neighbours at the end of the century, peaking once more between 1791 and 1800, whereas Derbyshire peaked during the previous decade and Shropshire during the decennials 1761-70 and 1771-80. The Kent trend, in contrast to all three, was much more uniform in the fifty years (1751-1800) which followed the initial fall off and recovery (See Fig.7). It emerges that the latter's early revival, a product perhaps both of the county's proximity to London and of its greater wealth, followed close behind that of the metropolis, where the (subscription) schools recorded by the S.P.C.K. reveal a slow but steady increase in number from as early as 1744. Interest in education in Leicestershire, on the other hand, failed to revive until the foundation of the National Society when, once again, contributions were forthcoming. Indeed, the years after 1780 had been virtually barren of endowments for parish schools in the county.

Extending our discussion to unendowed provision, can further support from counties other than Shropshire be found for Miss Jones's thesis that the subscription school made its appearance side by side with the endowed school? In Kent, the peak periods of growth in the
Fig. 7: Number of endowments by will to education in four counties, 1661-1800
number of subscription and endowed schools, namely 1710-20 and 1780-90, were indeed coincident. However, Mr Gomez has certainly discovered no evidence that this was the case in Staffordshire. 'In fact', as he remarks in the course of his study,

if there was any relationship between the two types of school, it was of an inverse nature in that the subscription schools of Staffordshire tended to be set up when individual bequests were at their lowest level, that is between 1750 and 1780.

It is difficult to explain such an early resumption in the fortunes of the subscription schools in this county, a phenomenon equalled only by the speedy revival of schools of this nature in the metropolis itself.

A quite spectacular difference is evident between the proportion of charitable money available for education in Shropshire as compared with other counties (See Fig.8). In Shropshire, whose rural parishes abounded in desperately poor inhabitants, the prime attention of benefactors had, of necessity, to be with poor relief; such a relatively 'high level' activity as education, on the other hand, could only be visualised once these needs had been met, so explaining why no less than four fifths of the available money was channelled into this concern. In Kent, by way of contrast, a generally more wealthy county with trade and commerce

1 Gomez, thesis, p.174
Fig. 8: Proportions of charitable funds 'available' to various activities in Shropshire as compared with Kent, 1660 – 1786/88

flourishing in its numerous towns into which poured a steady stream of London wealth, benefactors were able to think beyond the mere survival of their brethren. Conversely, given that more in Kent was spent on education (39% of that 'available'), less could be directed into poor relief.

The status of those who made these gifts bears certain resemblances, but again also displays certain contrasts to their counterparts in Shropshire. Here, as we have seen, the nobility, gentry and clergy donated in approximately equal numbers throughout the period. Moreover, very few educational benefactors to the county came from below the rank of the gentry.

In Kent, on the other hand, men and women from the middle ranks of society quite frequently endowed schools. Though the nobility here were found amongst the donors, this was to a relatively minor extent, and was confined largely to the period 1660-1725. Mr Gomez has also observed how, during the eighteenth century, Staffordshire schools increasingly came to be endowed by people below the rank of gentry. Dr Robson has confirmed much the same for Cheshire, too. 'In the main', he writes, 'support for more schools and more extensive education came

1 Hume, thesis, pp. 75-76
from the middle classes and the country gentry, with the nobility only occasionally displaying any interest. In both Staffordshire and Cheshire, women as well as men were concerned with the educational enterprise. In Oxfordshire, too, women played a 'significant part', providing over 40% of the total benefactions made towards education during the eighteenth century.

The appearance, in Leicestershire, of the local gentry amongst the donors after 1700, proved, however, to be a 'strikingly novel' phenomenon. Curiously, this goes against the Shropshire evidence, for here three gentlemen were prepared to lay out money in this direction before the end of the seventeenth century. In Kent, moreover, not only several gentlemen and gentlewomen, but also the more prosperous of the yeomen appeared amongst the donors to education before 1700.

What part did the clergy play in the sphere of education in the country as a whole? Mrs Simon has stressed how the emergence of the ministry in Leicestershire was short-lived. At the very time when they became enriched both in status and in wealth through enclosure awards, they disappeared from the list of benefactors, failing to show up again until the early nineteenth century. Shropshire, in contrast, a county

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1 Robson, op. cit. p.17
2 Hume, thesis, pp.74-75; 76
3 Simon, art. cit. pp.90-91
already largely enclosed, witnessed the benefactions of no less than three clergymen - the Rev. Francis Southern (Much Wenlock, 1778), the Rev. Edward Rogers (Wentnor, 1788) and the Rev. John Mainwaring (Church Stretton, 1800) - in the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. In Kent, also enclosed, two clergymen endowed schools during this period¹.

Moving inside the schools, many of those remarks made in connection with the teachers in Shropshire receive some corroboration from elsewhere, so suggesting that they might be of fairly general application. The failure of trustees rigorously to specify the teachers' necessary academic achievements, for instance, is borne out by Mrs Johnson in the introductory remarks to her study of village schools in nineteenth century Derbyshire. One was required to be merely 'an honest and sufficient school master'; another, 'an honest and learned man'; a third, an 'honest, learned and meet schoolmaster for that place and purpose'; and still another, 'honest, virtuous and sober'². Even in London, the necessary academic requirements were meagre, the maximum usually being, in addition to being able to teach reading, 'to be able to write a good hand and to understand well the grounds of arithmetick'; more often than not there is no reference to academic attainments...

1 Hume, thesis, p.223
2 Marion Johnson *Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century* (1970)
3 Larcombe, thesis, 5, pp.1 et seq.
For their labours, the Shropshire teachers appear to have done relatively rather poorly, with salaries paid to masters of the order of £10 p.a. being by no means atypical in some rural parishes as late as the early nineteenth century. In Lancashire, too, particularly low sums seem to have been paid. Mr Wood has asserted that 'the average income [of masters] in the early years of the century was about ten pounds per annum', with it only surpassing this at 'a few rare wealthy institutions'¹. Kent teachers, on the other hand, appear to have earned more, on average, than most of their counterparts elsewhere, even once allowance has been made for the higher cost of living in that county. Here, the masters of the Chapel School at Tunbridge Wells and of the Harvey School at Folkestone might receive about £20 p.a.². The salary at the larger of the London schools was still greater, usually about £30 p.a. in 1700³. Once account has been taken of the differing sizes of the institutions, the discrepancy remains. Whereas Dr Larcombe cited a figure of £1 per child per annum as typical in London, an average of 16s 2d per child per annum was paid the urban master in Kent, and 14s 7d per child per annum was paid to his rural counterpart. In Shropshire, where the rates for teaching were acknowledged to be especially 'cheap',

¹ Wood, thesis, p.183
² Hume, thesis, p.149
³ Larcombe, thesis, 5, p.18 et seq.
children might be educated for as little as 10s a head in some of the rural parishes\(^1\). Similarly, whereas a schoolmistress in London might on occasion be paid as much as £25 p.a., in no recorded instance do we have upwards of £20 and £10 being paid to her respective Kent and Shropshire equivalents (See Table 13).

With the possibility that salaries outside the metropolis were generally rather low, it is not perhaps unexpected that the practice of combining the office of schoolteacher with another calling was quite widespread. Mrs Simon gives an example of how at Thurcaston in Leicestershire, the master 'for his better encouragement', was permitted also to hold the post of parish clerk\(^2\). She has also pointed to instances of incumbents themselves teaching - men like John Muxloe at Congerstone in the early eighteenth century - quite in keeping, therefore, with what we found for Shropshire. Interestingly, in Kent, possibly as a result of the larger average stipends paid, this phenomenon is not apparent\(^3\). The supplementary work undertaken by schoolteachers might be so wide-ranging that, as in Shropshire, it could lead to charges of neglect being voiced.

One of the masters at a school in Kirkland, Lancashire, took on not only

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1 e.g. Barrow
2 Simon, art. cit. p.72
3 Hume, thesis, p.137
the parish clerkship, but also the onerous duties of justice's clerk; at Cockerham, in the same county, the offices of parish clerk, singing master, Sunday schoolteacher and day schoolmaster were vested in a single individual, who also did a little print cutting. It would seem difficult to avoid the conclusion that each extra duty undertaken was to the detriment of the scholars.

It was noted how in the Shropshire countryside, there was a tendency for teachers to have enjoyed exceptionally long periods of office. In equally rural Cheshire, Dr Robson has also found schoolmasters holding their posts for a considerable number of years, with a period of twenty years in one position being by no means unusual; many, indeed, stayed much longer, as did Thomas Percival, schoolmaster at Rostherne for at least sixty-one years. Though providing no details, the same author also corroborates for Cheshire, the many illustrations found for Shropshire of son succeeding father as schoolmaster. Indeed, "certain families", he writes, "provided a succession of schoolmasters for different parishes or even for the same school", much like the Jones's did at Mrs Harris's school in the Shropshire parish of Baschurch. In

1 Wood, thesis, p. 151
2 Robson, op. cit. p. 105
3 Ibid, p. 107
Kent, the mastership of Mrs Alchorne's School at Yalding was passed down through three generations during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Similarly, the Roan School at Greenwich in the same county was for long in the charge of the Herringham dynasty, a very old Greenwich family whose members held the mastership in succession from 1702 until 1785.

The directed geographical and social backgrounds of the children from other counties also show some agreement with those from Shropshire. Mrs Johnson has confirmed how there was very often a residence clause in Derbyshire endowments, with the free schooling only being open to inhabitants of specified villages. In London, the scholars of the Margaret Leech's Charity School at Kensington (est. 1799) were obliged to be 'parishioners of Kensington whose fathers or mothers, or grandfathers or grandmothers, had been for seven years successively housekeepers, or employed as servants therein...'. At Clerkenwell, none were to be admitted 'without proving their settlement by one evidence at least, or else by the parents' oath'. In Kent, too, paternalistic notions were so strong that it was usual for a school to admit only those children living within the parish boundary. Alexander Dence gave by will in 1568 tenements and lands in Cranbrook for teaching children of the 'same town

1 J.W. Kirby History of the Roan School and its founder (1929) p. 56 et seq.
2 Larcombe, thesis, 4, p. 1
3 Ibid., 4, p. 1
and parish*. Likewise, the £30 p.a. given by Lady Margaret Boswell in 1675 and the residue of Lady Joanna Thornhill's estate, bequeathed in 1708, were to be employed in the teaching of children solely from the respective parishes of Sevenoaks and Wye. The county's subscription schools applied similar restrictions. At Deal, for instance, it was firmly laid down that 'no resident Subscriber shall be permitted to nominate a Child who is not an Inhabitant of this Parish'. The trustees of the Deptford subscription school were only a little less resolute in their requirement 'that Children of Parishioners have the preference before any other Person'. In this way, the interests of local children were clearly safeguarded.

Though, as in Shropshire, it seems to have been quite generally stipulated by founders that their schools were not intended for those on poor relief, unlike in Shropshire, specific income limits were also sometimes set. So far from securing the admission of only the most necessitous of the labouring poor, the high extent of these limits must have afforded access to all but children of the most wealthy parishioners.

The Enderby School in Leicestershire, endowed by Richard Smith, was open

1 'Regulations', X, enclosed in C.C.L. U2/67/25/4, Minutes of the Charity School, Deal, 1792-1813
2 'First Order Book', 27 Feb. 1715 (Addey and Stanhope School, Deptford)
to those with less than £100 in real estate; the augmentation given
at Long Clawson in the same county was for the benefit of those with
less than £60 in real estate, or £2,000 in personal estate. Meanwhile,
those eligible for a place in the 'free school' at Great Bourton in
Oxfordshire (est. 1666) were simply to be 'children whose parents had
not above £40 p.a.'

Free clothing and apprenticeship, important if the genuinely
poor were to be attracted, were by no means always provided. In Shropshire,
we have noted how perhaps no more than 20% of schools with places for the
poor supplied clothing, and how apprenticeship premiums were available in
only about 16% of their total number. The respective figures for Kent
are almost identical: 18% and 16%3. The situation in Staffordshire shows

some similarity, Mr Gomez having observed that the subscription schools
there 'hardly accorded with the function of providing "gratuitous
instruction, clothing and apprenticeship fees for their pupils", as
Miss Jones asserted'.4 Indeed, in his finding that the Penkridge School
was quite unique among the subscription schools in clothing its scholars,
and of a sole bequest relating apprenticeship specifically to education,
the picture that emerges is very much less favourable even than for

1 Simon, art. cit. p.91n.
2 Boden, thesis, p.50
3 Hume, thesis, pp.187-88
4 Gomez, thesis, p.174
Shropshire.

In strict contrast to Shropshire, Staffordshire and Kent, free clothing was a feature of 'almost all' the (generally much more wealthy) London schools. In addition, the scholars in 'many' of the capital's schools which were founded before 1710 had the great advantage of an apprenticeship fee. Moreover, there is some evidence that funds stretched further within the schools of the metropolis than they did in Shropshire. For instance, every boy who remained to the age of fourteen at St Andrew's School, Holborn, was entitled to such a fee as long as the employment he selected was acceptable to the trustees.

That those who were receiving the benefit of the education and other facilities which some of the Shropshire schools had to offer came by the end of the century not to be those in most need, is amplified by a resolution made by the trustees of the St Andrew's Charity School, Holborn, in 1785:

That for the due observance of Uniformity no Boys admitted into the school shall be permitted to wear Frills or Chitterlings on their Shirts, or to have their Hair tied behind. Neither shall the Girls wear any Lace Edging or worked Borders on their Caps or Bands; nor on any occasion have their Hair Powdered; And no Boy or Girl shall wear any other Clothing but such as is allowed by the Trustees of this Charity.

1 Larcombe, thesis, 4, p.2
2 Ibid., 4, p.27
3 Ibid., 4, pp.28-29. With this incentive, most scholars appear to have stayed their time out.
4 Ibid., 4, p.18
The children here were, clearly, of a very much higher social class than that for which such schools were originally intended. The extent to which the relatively well endowed urban charity school became more generally the preserve of the less than poor, is a theme which I feel deserves some close attention by future investigators.

To what extent then, in summary, was Shropshire typical, to what extent unique in the way its children were schooled in the period between the Restoration and the first Treasury grant?

In a number of respects, the county conformed to what appears to be the emerging national trend. It already possessed schools which catered for its poor prior to the foundation of the S.P.C.I. at the end of the seventeenth century; and throughout the century that was to follow made some attempt to establish new schools in the fastest growing centres of population. Typically, the teachers employed in these schools were likely, as elsewhere, to have been of a low academic calibre, and, in a number of cases, to have enjoyed quite long periods of office. The children they taught, when poor, also seem to have been taken in from the ranks of the 'secondary', rather than the indigent poor, and appear
not, for the most part, to have significantly bettered their social position on leaving.

In contrast, there were respects in which Shropshire departed from any clear national trend. Whilst, for instance, the general pattern of educational endowment during the eighteenth century was - London apart - similar to elsewhere, the early century peak years of endowment were not coincident with those for many other counties, whereas those characteristic of the late century were, in the case of Shropshire, spread out more widely than for elsewhere. In Shropshire, with its relatively slight middle class, the nobility were unusually prominent in providing these endowments; very few benefactors indeed originated from below the rank of gentry. The exact substance of the curriculum operative in each school, whether founded by endowment or otherwise, was a product of quite local demand for skills and, from the late eighteenth century onwards, the incidence of religious nonconformity in the immediate area in which it was situated. Their formal education over, the degree to which its schools were able to make further provision for their children also showed certain contrasts with the situation in the other counties.

On balance, the importance of the county, or regional, survey becomes very evident. This is primarily because studies of this nature are able to add the kind of depth and detail which those all too numerous
text book accounts necessarily lack in their concern to cover each
successive piece of national legislation in the educational sphere.
Perhaps more importantly, they can also provide healthy contrast with
an established general picture too simple by far to fit the very
intricate local situation. Indeed, though the picture in none of the
above counties is unique, in no two is it so similar as to make them
unworthy of individual attention. Since the archive sources of the
Societies and the Reports of the Charity Commissioners are both
inadequate by themselves, it is necessary to turn to a whole variety of
local sources in order to determine the extent to which educational
theory was translated into everyday practice. Further investigation -
which includes a quantitative as well as the traditional qualitative
facet - is required on other regions in order that a meaningful synthesis
can eventually be prepared, based not on extrapolation but on more
rigorous inductive techniques.
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Shrewsbury, St Mary</td>
<td>Day school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>St Martin's</td>
<td>Day school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Oswestry</td>
<td>Day school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Prees</td>
<td>Private day school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Quatford</td>
<td>Private day school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Ketley</td>
<td>Miss Fletcher's school for 'young Ladies'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources**

Registrars' files (diocese of Hereford)
Subscription books
Libri cleri
S.P.C.K. records
British and Foreign School Society records
National Society records
The Shrewsbury Chronicle
Directories
Abstract of the Returns of Charitable Donations for the Benefit of Poor Persons... (1786-88) Pt II
Abstract of Returns relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor (1804) (B.L. 433, i, 12(2))
Archdeacons' visitation books, Lichfield & Coventry, 1799-1825
'Ecclesiastical notes...' (B.L. Add. MS 21,018)
P.R.O. Ed. 7/-, applications for grant
Charity Commissioners' Reports
Abstract of Education Returns: 1833 (Salop)

**Notes**

1 Only if the exact year of foundation is known has a given school been recorded. This is especially applicable in the case of certain endowed schools whose precise date of establishment (often, no doubt, rather later than the original deed) is very uncertain.

2 The considerable increase in the number of foundations listed from the last quarter of the eighteenth century must, in part, reflect the more plentiful availability of sources at this period, rather than being a genuine increase.
**APPENDIX B(i) ABILITIES OF PARISHES TO SCHOOL THEIR CHILDREN: 1660; 1833**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish etc.</th>
<th>Total Population 1676 1833</th>
<th>Population aged 5-15 1676 1833</th>
<th>No. aged 5-15 at day schools 1660 1833</th>
<th>Educational opportunity 1660 1833</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrow (R)</td>
<td>202 351</td>
<td>51 88</td>
<td>20+ 30</td>
<td>78%+ 68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clungunford (R)</td>
<td>443 488</td>
<td>111 122</td>
<td>40+ 40</td>
<td>72%+ 66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport (U)</td>
<td>1242 2745</td>
<td>311 686</td>
<td>80+ 496</td>
<td>51%+ 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shifnal (U)</td>
<td>1663 4779</td>
<td>416 1195</td>
<td>8 380</td>
<td>4% 64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

(R) = Rural  
(U) = Urban  
Educational opportunity = (c)/(b)x2 (See p.92n.1)

**APPENDIX B(ii) ABILITIES OF PARISHES TO SCHOOL THEIR CHILDREN: 1799**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish etc.</th>
<th>Total Population 1799</th>
<th>Population aged 5-15 1799</th>
<th>No. aged 5-15 at day schools 1799</th>
<th>Educational opportunity 1799</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>URBAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Market towns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury, St Chad</td>
<td>6600 1650</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Julian</td>
<td>1600 400</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oswestry</td>
<td>5839 1460</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>7%+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Industrial towns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawley Magna</td>
<td>3869 967</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilleshall</td>
<td>2060 515</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>7531 1883</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>RURAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condover</td>
<td>1451 363</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgmond</td>
<td>1418 355</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Felton</td>
<td>926 232</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moreton Say</td>
<td>683 171</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shawbury</td>
<td>661 165</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berrington</td>
<td>603 151</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanton</td>
<td>599 150</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chetwynd</td>
<td>594 149</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loppington</td>
<td>547 137</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountford</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cound</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Ercall Parva</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stockton</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutton</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welshampton</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodington</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadnall in Middle</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leighton</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinstock</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eyton</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston Gubbals</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Donington</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22+</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cressage</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Acton Burnell</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Norton</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hordley</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fitz</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stapleton</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>213</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Kinnersley</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Knockin</td>
<td>210*</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ightfield</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bolas</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eaton Constantine</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ness Parva</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longford</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>Leebotwood</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Moreton Corbet</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longnor</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broughton</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7 or 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheinton</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frodesley</td>
<td>158</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ryton</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stirchley</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Brockhurst</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Uffington</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battlefield</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langley</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

* pop., 1801

Educational opportunity = (c)/(b)x2
### (i) Especially poor parishes based on % of occupants with one or two hearths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parishes</th>
<th>Earliest provision for poor</th>
<th>5-15 poor</th>
<th>No. on roll</th>
<th>Educational Opportunity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meole Brace (100%)</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Pulverbatch (100%)</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratlinghope (100%)</td>
<td>post-1833</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainstone (100%)</td>
<td>c.1711</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasley (100%)</td>
<td>c.1675</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (ii) Parishes in which less than 70% of occupants possessed one or two hearths

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parishes</th>
<th>Earliest provision for poor</th>
<th>5-15 poor</th>
<th>No. on roll</th>
<th>Educational Opportunity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chetton (58%)</td>
<td>c.1736</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>747%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oswestry (55%)</td>
<td>1710</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop's Castle (59%)</td>
<td>1728</td>
<td>c.174</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100%</td>
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</table>
### APPENDIX D(i) SUBSCRIPTION LEVELS AT LUDLOW BLUE COAT SCHOOL, 1786 - 1809

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extent of subscriptions</th>
<th>no. of subscribers</th>
<th>y/e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£. s. d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 12 00</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79 16 00 (max.)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 13 00</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 04 06</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 04 00</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1790</td>
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<tr>
<td>79 05 06</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73 10 00</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 00 06</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 02 06</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1794</td>
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<td>43</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>1796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 03 06</td>
<td>44 (max.)</td>
<td>1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 18 06</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 18 00</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 08 00</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>69 16 06</td>
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<td>1801</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>1802</td>
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<td>64 11 06</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1803</td>
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<td>64 11 06</td>
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<td>62 09 06</td>
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<td>1805</td>
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<tr>
<td>54 01 06</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 00 06</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 19 06</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 18 06 (min.)</td>
<td>27 (min.)</td>
<td>1809</td>
</tr>
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</table>
## APPENDIX D(ii) SUBSCRIPTION LEVELS AT SHREWSBURY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION SCHOOL, 1806 - 33

<table>
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<th>y/e</th>
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<td>f. s. d.</td>
<td>25 (min.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 00 00</td>
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<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 18 00</td>
<td></td>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 17 00</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 12 00</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 11 00</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1811</td>
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<tr>
<td>252 07 00</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>1812</td>
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<td>290 18 00</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>1813</td>
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<td>268 13 00</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>1814</td>
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<td>282 09 06</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>1815</td>
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<td>298 03 00</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>1816</td>
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<td>320 08 00 (max.)</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>1817</td>
</tr>
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<td>314 02 00</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>1818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309 01 00</td>
<td>197 (max.)</td>
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<td>286 07 00</td>
<td>184</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>285 03 00</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266 11 00</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>1824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260 06 00</td>
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<td>246 14 00</td>
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<td>235 03 00</td>
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<td>223 12 00</td>
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<td>119</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196 19 00</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>1833</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E(i)

INVENTORY OF RALPH ADAMS, WRITING MASTER, ST MARY'S, SHREWSBURY, 1718

A True and Perfect Inventory of all the Goods Chattles and personal Estate of Ralph Adams writing master late of the parish of Saint Marys in the town of Shrewsbury and County of Salop taken the twenty first day of April 1718 by us whose names are underwritten and is as followeth

Impris In a Roome of Madm Pigotts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A feather bed</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An old Chest</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Cases of Drawers</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A book Case and books</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Close Stool</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A small table</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the Chambers in the Schools

One long square Table & two small writing tables with other Loomber Goods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goods in his own house

In the Garrott over the Kitchin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two beds and furniture</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Square table with a drawer</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An old Chest</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Chair and two Stools</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Garrott over the Hall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Chest and linen</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bed and furniture</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the upper Chambr ovr the Kitchin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One bed and furniture</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Polster Chairs</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Buffett Stooles</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dressing table and Glass</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A fier shovel tongs and fender</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the upper Chamber over the Hall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two beds and furniture</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Chest of Drawers</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A small table with sedge Chairs</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A fire shovel tongs and fender</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Chamber over the Kitchin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A wrought bed with furniture</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six wrought Polster Chairs and four Stooles</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A small table with a drawer</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location and Description</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Closett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Plate Case and Plate</td>
<td>15 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Swinging Glass and Table</td>
<td>00 13 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Dining Room</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Large Black looking Glass</td>
<td>02 05 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Oval table and a Dutch table</td>
<td>01 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Pendulum Clock and Case</td>
<td>05 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Cane Chairs</td>
<td>02 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A fire Shovell tongs and fender</td>
<td>00 04 06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Hall and Closett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine Chairs and two tables</td>
<td>01 12 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps and Pictures</td>
<td>01 05 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Kitchin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pewter and Brass</td>
<td>06 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Iron ware with a Jack</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Table and four Chairs</td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Salt Box and three pair of Bellows</td>
<td>00 02 06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little Joint Stool</td>
<td>00 01 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Brew house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One furnace &amp; boiler with Brewing Vessels</td>
<td>05 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bottle bratch and bottles</td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the Cellar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrells and shillings</td>
<td>02 10 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loomber Goods &amp; things unseen &amp; forgotten</td>
<td>00 10 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bond Debts</td>
<td>300 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desperate Debts</td>
<td>20 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ready money</td>
<td>40 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debts per rata</td>
<td>10 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing Apparell</td>
<td>05 00 00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot</td>
<td>474 03 06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Joseph Thomas
Edward Gethin Junr

{ } Apprs
A True and perfect Inventory of all and Singular the Goods Chattells and personal Estate of Arthur Dawson late of Whitchurch in the County of Salop School Master deced - who departed this life the Twenty Eighth Day of April - Anno Dom 1728 Truely taken Valued and Appraised by us whose names are hereunto Subscribed the 5th of May 1728

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 pewter dishes, 20 pewter plates, four pewter Stands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A brass pot 2 Maslin Kettles 4 brass Candlesticks &amp; a spoon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Warming pan and pudding plate and Saucepan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Tin dripping pan 2 Covers a Grater &amp; turning dish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Jack two Spitts An Ess grate &amp; a grate and Niggard Irons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two fire shovells and tongues a fender and stayes for the tongues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two plates before the fire a postell Six Skuars and a plate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Chopping Knives a frying pan and two Candlesticks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Chafing dish a pair of bellowes pott racks and hookes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A furnance and grate, two Iron pots and a grate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A brass Spoon two flesh forkes Six Knives and forkes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five tables five benches a dish board and drawers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen Chairs An hacking block and three Stooles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty four trenchars A Salt box a paile and three Cushions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Shelves four window Shutters A stand and a Safe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six trenchars a stand two Cheestesters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Smoothing Iron and Heaters and two Shelves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five feather beds Bedsteds hangings and appurtences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Truckle beds Bed stedds &amp; appurtences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Clock a Case and a Chest of drawers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Chest a looking glass, a Coffer a Map 12 Caesars and Window Curtaines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two loose boards 3 small boxes a tub Cover a Shelf &amp; Seaven small pictures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window Curtaines &amp; Valens 3 boxes an hanging press a Chest a trunk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Close Stoole a desk 2 boxes, 2 Stooles 2 Steps some white ware and three Castors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Nkeading trough, a Search, 2 Sieves 2 firkins 1 barrel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some bottles &amp; one tubb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two folding Skreens 5 wheels one reel 4 turnells a turning dish &amp; reel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve petty panns 5 pictures, a wood Maiden, a Colerake an helve a Cole Axe &amp; an how</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese window Shutters an hen pen &amp; door, 2 boards a Cheese lather &amp; Cover</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linnens and Napery in all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wearing Apparrell and Lumber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John Downes  
Ralph Welch  
Appraisors.
APPENDIX F

ADVERTISEMENT PLACED BY R. TOMLINS, WRITING MASTER, IN THE SHREWSBURY CHRONICLE, 1793

SHREWSBURY, NOV. 19, 1793.

R. TOMLINS, Writing-Master, impressed with
Sentiments of the strongest Gratitude, returns his warm-
est and sincerest Thanks to the Inhabitants of this Town and
Neighbourhood for all Favors received, and most respectfully in-
forms them, and the Public in general, that he has opened a
WINE VAULT, at his House, on PRIDE-HILL, near the
Butter-Cross, (late in the Occupation of Mr. CHRISTOPHER HILL)
and has laid in a fresh Assortment of the very best Foreign Wines,
French Brandy, Jamaica Rum, Hollands Geneva, British Brandy,
Geneva, and all kinds of the best Cordials now used, which he
intends to sell Genuine (as delivered to him) on the most reason-
able Terms, for ready Money only. All Orders will be punctually
executed, and gratefully acknowledged.

N.B. The School will be carried on as usual (except Sewing)
by R. TOMLINS, and proper Assistants.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

(i) MSS

(a) By parish

Alberbury-with-Cardeston - Will of John Thomas, 1727 (S.R.O. 166 uncat.)

Berrington - Receipts of the subscribers to the Sunday school, 1796-1827 (S.R.O. 1164/1-138; 154)

Bridgnorth - Common Hall Order Books:
Box 1
1. 1634-85
2. 1713-32
3. 1732-74

Box 2
4. 1775-93
5. 1794-1819

Box 3
6. 1819-35
7. 1835
8. Papers, 1667-1787 (S.R.O. 4001/Admin./3/1-8)

St Leonard's - Documents re Grammar School
Papers, 1638-20C. (1 box) (S.R.O. 4001/Ch/2)

Papers, 1745; Accounts, papers and history, 1821-1940 (S.R.O. 1104, Watkins-Pitchford Collection)

Sunday schools

Photostat. list of subscribers to, and rules for the government of, three Sunday schools, est. 1786 (S.R.O. Cy/4 3662)

Cardington - Ordinance for the government of the parish school, 1723 (photostat. copy) (S.R.O. 2519/1)

Cleobury Mortimer - Conveyance deed, 29 Sept. 1779: Rev. Richard Watkins, Clerk and John Broome, trustees of the late Chas Watkins Haysey; to William Childe, Esq., including the 'school gardens' (S.R.O. 1045/464)
Bargain of sale, 23 Feb. 1816, including land 'late in the Occupation of Mr Thomas Seale Schoolmaster' (S.R.O. 2103/21)

Clorely - Two indentures: 17 Mar. 1738/9; and 24 Mar. 1738/9 in which the almshouse is granted with rents in trust to maintain it and the 'charity school'.


Indenture: 24 Mar. 1738/9, containing rules for the selection of inmates and for the conduct of the school (S.R.O. 975/47)

Drayton - Grammar School of Sir Rowland Hill: 1 pkt of papers (S.R.O. 2997/10/-), including:

Grant to Rowland Hill, 1556 (-/35, 36)

Deeds of endowment, 1555 - (-/37-39)

'Free Grammar School' papers, 1622 (-/38)

Bargain and sale for the creation of a rent charge (-/40)

Orders and statutes for governing the School, 5 Nov. 1719 (-/41-2)

Chancery decree re governors of the 'Free Grammar School', Drayton, 22 Jan. 1816 (typescript copy) (-/43)

Chancery petition papers, 1813-18;
Papers re appointment of master, 1817, 1826;
Estimates for repairs, 1815-20
(S.R.O. 3887 Box 41)

Edgmond - Church Aston - Copy (n.d.) of Mary Broughton's last will and testament, in which reference is made to her 'charity school'. (S.R.O. 81/28)

Ellesmere - Dudleston - Papers (S.R.O. 1230/-), including:

Conveyance in trust for a charity school, 5-6 May 1719 (-/197-8)

Copy deed of same, 6 May 1719 (-/199)
Deeds belonging to the school at Dudleyton Chapel, 1-2 Oct. 1744 (*/200)

Ercall, High - Papers re 'Free School' (est. 1662) (S.R.O. 81/1), including:

- Will of Baron Leeke (*/282)
- Copy of deeds of endowment (*/283)
- Indenture and rules (original) (*/284-5)
- Neat copy of above in booklet (*/286)
- Folio copy of above (*/287)
- Subscriptions towards rebuilding School, 1699 (*/290)
- Endowment with parish farms (*/291)
- Copy appointment of new trustees, 3 Feb. 1728 (*/292)
- Statement from W. Kenyon, Middle Temple, 1766 (*/293)
- Petition by the parish for the repair of the school-house, 1769 (*/294)
- Indenture containing extracts from original rules (*/295)
- Case re School, 1766-1810 (*/296)
- Recital (n.d.) of will and statutes (*/298)
- Copy deed re Thomas Leeke's allowance of £20 p.a. for the upkeep of a 'free school', 1 Feb. 1663 (*/301)


Grinshill - Printed notice advertising a private school to be opened by Henry and Sarah Morris, 1792 (S.R.O. 1078/1)

Lilleshall - 'An Abstract of the Cash Account of the National and Sunday Schools...', 1832, 1833 (Staffs R.O. D. 593X/1/3/22)

Ludlow - Corporation records (S.R.O. 356/2/-), including:

- Minute Book, 1648-80 (*/2)
- Order & Minute Book ('Lieber Booke'): orders, 1648; Minutes, 1680-1690 (rear) Abstract of bailiffs' accounts, 1661-1669 (*/3)
Minute Book, 1690-1712 (-/4)
Minute Book, 1712-1746 (-/5)
Minute Book, 1746-1787 (-/6)
Minute Book, 1788-1830 (-/7)
Minute Book, 1830-1835 (-/8)

Index to the first three Minute Books and to the Red Book, 1590-1680 (-/15)

The Red Book - Memoranda Book of Ludlow Corporation (-/16)

Boxes of miscellaneous Corporation papers (S.R.O. 356/-), including:

Bdle re Ludlow Charity School, 1743-1744;
Applications for the vacant post of under-master at the 'Free School', 1774 (1 bdle), 1821;
'Answers to Queries respecting Charity Schools', 1818;
Inventory of goods at the 'Free School', 1808;
Inventory of goods at the under master's house, n.d.;
Receipts for salary; and Petitions (-/286 box)

Receipt for £5 6s 8d from Langford's Charity, for the education of four scholars in the 'Free School' of Ludlow, 30 Apr. 1739 (-/287 box)

Bill for repairs to the headmaster's house, c. 1803 (-/452 box)

Records of the 'Blue Coat Charity School' (4° vols) (S.R.O. 2881/6/-), including:

'Ludlow Charity School Rules & Orders' (-/1);
'Ludlow Charity School Rules & Orders, 1793' (-/2);
'Ludlow Charity School Cash book' (1785-1809) (-/3);
Volume of minutes, 1806-13; 1844 - (-/4);
Lists of trustees/visitors, 1814-1845 (-/5);
Names of scholars, time in school, employment afterwards, etc., 1813-1845 (-/6) (missing, Oct. 1981); and Index of scholars with reference numbers (-/7)

Lydbury North - Churchwardens' accounts, 1663-1664 (reference) (Parish Church)

Madeley - Ninety-nine year lease by Ric. Reynolds to Geo. Hotchkiss, schoolmaster, of Madeley Wood, 15 Nov. 1792 (S.R.O. 1681, box 152)
Coalbrookdale Sunday school records:

Account book, 1785-1790 (extracts in typescript, original missing);

Account of subscribers' donations for building a meeting house and Sunday school, 9 Feb. 1785 (typescript copy, original missing)

(S.L.S.L. M55 v.f.)

Voucher for testaments for Wood and Dale schools, 1814 (S.R.O. 2280/l1/2)

Coalport school vouchers, 1820-1821 (S.R.O. 2280/l1/12-13)

Voucher for the Sunday school at the House of Industry, 1821 (S.R.O. 2280/l1/14)

Minute book of the Madeley Sunday schools, 1813-1832 (S.R.O. 2280/l1/15)

Letter from Henry Burton, Atcham vicarage, to Robert Ferriday, the Hay, 23 Nov. 1814, re school at Madeley (S.R.O. 2280/l1/16)

Vouchers, including those for the Sunday school in the churchyard, 1814-1849, and for its original building in 1814 (S.R.O. 2280/l1/17-54)

Cash account book for the Sunday schools, 1832-1848 (S.R.O. 2280/l1/56)

Copy minutes of a meeting at Madeley Wood Chapel, 1822, for establishing a Sunday school (S.R.O. 2280/l1/182)

Neen Savage — From the Hinkesman Collection (S.R.O. 1298/-):

Lease of possession for the School, 29 Sept. 1732 (-/30)

Purchase deed of lands appropriated for the support of the schoolmaster of Neen Savage School, 30 Sept. 1732 (-/31)

Mortgage declaration: Mr Chas Holland to Trustees of the Charity School of Neen, 1752 (-/32)

Ness, Great — 'An Account of Charities belonging to Great Ness Parish 1791', including 'A Copy of the Original Trust Deed of Nesscliffe school, 8 Sept. 1753 (S.R.O. 3833/Ch/1)

Pamphlet for the service held to commemorate the bicentenary of Great Ness School, 1953 (S.R.O. 3833/Sc/1)
Newport - Records of the 'English School':

Covenant by Peter Greene of Newport, gent., schoolmaster, 1 Dec. 1691 (S.R.O. 1910/1739)

'Copy of the Settlement of Mr Adams's Charity's Newport Parish' (1 vol.) (S.R.O. 1910/1775)

Records of the Grammar School:

MS Copy of deeds and writings concerning Newport School and other charities;
MS List of statutes of Newport School

(Adams Grammar School, Newport)

Pontesbury - Overseers' Account Book, Pontesbury Quarter, 1757-1786, including a payment for the schooling of workhouse children (S.R.O. 2098/20)

Overseers' Account Book, Pontesbury Quarter, 1802-1818, including payments, during the earliest years to a schoolmaster and for the education of individual children (S.R.O. 2098/21)

Overseers' Account Book, Pontesbury Quarter, 1818-1834, including payment of the schoolmaster's salary (S.R.O. 2098/22)

Overseers' Account Book, Edge Quarter, 1800-1817, including payments of the schoolmaster's salary (S.R.O. 2098/25)

Overseers' Account Book, the whole parish, 1770-1797, including payments of the schoolmaster's salary (S.R.O. 2098/27)

Prees - Vestry book, 1695-1744, including, 1 Oct. 1716, agreement setting out land on Prees Wood for the use of a charity school and towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster (S.R.O. 780/II/1/2)


Ruyton XI Towns - 'Ruyton Charity School', 1819-1873 (1 vol.) (S.R.O. 2106/19)

Selattyn - Proposals to set up a school, 1750:

Letter from H.Roberts at Whittington, 4 July 1750, to Ld Ep of St Asaph re charities in general (N.L.W. SA/Let/846)

Letter from H.Roberts at Whittington, 25 May 1750, to Ld Ep of St Asaph (N.L.W. SA/Let/847)
Account book, 1737-1765, of legacy money, receipts and disbursements, including receipts for teaching the poor children and an agreement of the vestry, 1751 (reversed) that eight children be taught psalm singing (S.R.O. 1241/77)

**Shifnal** - Richard Bennet's legacy to the endowed school: letters and vouchers respecting, 1795-1885 (S.R.O. 1952/433-516)

**Shrewsbury** -

**St Chad's - Allatt's School:**

'Distribution of Gowns &c', 1798-1812 (1 vol.), including a 'List of Mr Allatt's Trustees', 12 Sept. 1800; and children nominated, Mich. 1800 (S.R.O. 1423/29)

'Mr Allatt's Deed of Endowment for Establishing and Supporting a School in Shrewsbury for the education and benefit of children of both sexes...', printed, 1886 (S.R.O. 1048/4573)

Three sheets torn from the visitors' book for Allatt's Boys' School, 1804-1807 (S.R.O. 1048/4575), in:

Visitor's book for Allatt's Girls' School, 1800-1812, including a list of children, 1800 (S.R.O. 1048/4576)

**Millington's School:**

Printed (1808) copy of James Millington's will of 1734 (S.R.O. 164/1)

Minutes of the trustees, 1745-1806 (S.R.O. 2133/11)

Minutes of the trustees, 1806-1839 (S.R.O. 2133/12)

Indentures of apprenticeship, 1775-93;
Plans with elevation of proposed new schoolrooms;
Names of candidates offering for Mr Millington's School, with details of age, parentage etc., 1827-48;
Exhibitions, including a letter from S. Butler re two exhibitioners, 9 Dec. 1817 and a minute re election of Rd Sandford, 16 July 1817 and a rule re selection of exhibitioners.
Ed. Burton Esq.'s 'Rules, Ordinances, and Bye-Laws' for Allatt's School (1800), including a list of children nominated; but also names of candidates offering for Millington's School with details of age, parents' names and business, and their parish of residence.

Boys and girls, 1827-1848 (2 vols.) (S.R.O. Addnl deposit 4074)

Plans of Millington's Hospital (S.R.O. 3092/1)

Received bills, 1805, including, 3 Aug. 1805, a receipt for £5 (a year's interest on £100) due from St Chad's parish to the trustees of a school at Church Stretton, 1805 (S.R.O. 1048/4300)

**Holy Cross** - Public Subscription Charity School:

Receipts for subscriptions of 2 gns p.a. paid by the Parish Officers of St Chad's, 1828-29, 1829-30, 1830-31, 1831-32, 1832-33 (S.R.O. 1048/4705-4712)

Annual statements by the trustees of the School, 1807-48, 1895 (1 vol., printed), including 'Rules for the Institution' (S.L.S.L. MSS, on deposit at S.R.O.)

Abbey Day School Visitor's Book (Girls' School), 1816-19 (1 vol.) (S.L.S.L. MSS, on deposit at S.R.O.)

**St Julian** - Copy will of Thomas Bowdler (S.R.O. 2711/Cy/71)

'Schedule of Deeds and Documents Relating to the Llanerchfrochwel Estate', including deeds, 1737-1829, re the school and charity (N.L.W. ibid. 29, 37, 38, 42)

'Minute Book of Bowdler's School, Salop' (S.L.S.L. S.R. 2504, on deposit at S.R.O.)
'Boys left the School & others admitted, Girls left the School & others admitted Blue Worsted Menders' (1833-1841) (S.R.O. 160/3)

St Mary's - The 'Free Grammar School':

'An Act for the better Government and Regulation of the Free Grammar School of King Edward the Sixth at Shrewsbury, in the County of Salop. 38 Geo. III. 1798' (S.R.O. 66/1)

'Muniments and Writings relating to the Town of Shrewsbury and the Free Schools' (B.L. Add. MS 21,024)

Recital of the will of John Stanier of St James's, Esq., 13 Oct. 1803, including a reference to a trust to be held for Anne Edwards, then Stanier, at Miss Fritchard's Boarding School, Shrewsbury (S.R.O. 924/100, Haslewood Collection)

Smethcott - Overseers' Accounts, 1810-37, including a reference to a Sunday school (est. 1822) (S.R.O. 3417/4/1)

Stretton, Church - Papers re 'Charity School' (S.R.O. 3105/-), including:

xerox copies of extracts from minutes, 1790, 1791 (-/1-2)

Act of 1788 (-/3)

School land let to John Bromley at £40 for twenty years (-/10)

Wem - Adams' Grammar School records:

'Order book', 1651-1836;
MS List of School Statutes (c/o Messrs Lucas, Butter and Creak, solicitors, 17, Chapel Street, Wem)

Westbury - Earle Charity records (S.R.O. 2767/4/-), including:

£30 rent charge, 1716 (-/24)

School account, 1728-1848 (-/25)

Account of the origins of the school and the rent charge. Also, chancery decree, 1732 (-/26)

Letter detailing the original site of the parish school devised by Letitia Barnston, 1736 (-/46)
Whitchurch - Grammar School records, including:
  Feoffees' Minute Books, 1789 -
  Account Books, 1745 -
  (c/o Sir John Talbot's School, Whitchurch)

Whittington - Deed of exchange, 26 Dec. 1813, re Whittington Charity School
  (S.R.O. 38/Sc/2)
  Case and opinion re annual rent payable for schools in Whittington and Ruabon
  (S.R.O. 3818/Sc/3)

Wrockwardine - Lease of a messuage or tenement with a schoolroom and garden at the Nab in Wrockwardine Wood (S.R.O. 303/79)

Wroxeter - Donnington - Second copy of a rent charge, 24 Dec. 1627, from lands at Edgerley for the maintenance of a schoolmaster (S.R.O. 2656/1/677)

(b) Ecclesiastical

(i) Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry
  Archdeacon's Visitation: mixed bundles, Salop archdeaconry, 1811-53 (L.J.R.O. A/V/3)
  Archdeacon's Visitation: presentments, boxed bundles, 1806-51 (L.J.R.O. A/V/5)
  Archdeacon's Visitation Book, Acta, 1667-82, including archdeaconry of Frees (L.J.R.O. B/C/1/1)
  Archdeacon's Visitation Books, Salop archdeaconry (S.R.O. 3916/1/-):
    whole archdeaconry, 1799 (-/1)
    deanery of Salop, 1823 (-/2)
    deanery of Newport, 1823 (-/3)
  Archdeacon John Chappel Woodhouse's Visitation Book, 1806 - (L.J.R.O. B/V/1/112)
  Bishop John Hacket's Register, 1662-70;
  Bishop Thomas Wood's Register, 1670 - (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/17)
  Bishop William Lloyd's Register, 1692-99 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/18)
Bishop John Hough's Register, 1699-1717 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/19)

Bishop John Hough's Register, 1699-1709 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/20ii/B)

Bishop Frederick Cornwallis's Register, 1750-68 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/21)

Bishop John Egerton's Register, 1768-71 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/22)

Bishop Brownlow North's Register, 1771-74; Bishop Richard Hurd's Register (i), 1775-77 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/23)

Bishop Richard Hurd's Register (ii), 1777-81 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/24)

Bishop James Cornwallis's Register (i), 1781-85 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/24)

Bishop James Cornwallis's Register (ii), 1786-91 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/25)

Bishop James Cornwallis's Register (iii), 1791-97 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/26)

Bishop James Cornwallis's Register (iv), 1797-1801 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/27)

Bishop James Cornwallis's Register (v), 1801-20 (L.J.R.O. B/A/1/28)

Bishops' Visitation Books: libri clerij comperta and acta (L.J.R.O. B/V/1)

Bishops' excommunication books:
18 Sept. 1661-2 July 1667 (L.J.R.O. B/V/2/15)
? Apr. 1709-16 June 1772 (L.J.R.O. B/V/2/16)
19 Jan. 1773-28 Nov. 1812 (L.J.R.O. B/V/2/17)

Bishops' Visitation papers: articles of enquiry, visitation acts, citations, libri clerij, 1636-1756, including 'A List of the School-Masters in the Diocese of Coventry & Lichfield 1726' (L.J.R.O., ex-Lichfield Cathedral, B/V/3)

Bishops' Visitation citations and processes, 1605-1797 (18 boxes) (L.J.R.O. B/V/4)

Bishops' primary Visitation returns:
Bishop Brownlow North, 1772; Bishop Henry Ryder, 1832 (L.J.R.O. B/V/5)

'Lichfield Diocese Valor', 1693-98, of Bishop William Lloyd (W.S.L. H.M. 36)

N.W. Tildesley (ed.) 'Notitia Cleri for the Diocese of Lichfield, 1693-1698' (L.J.R.O. 69)

Schoolmasters' testimonials, nominations etc., 1695-1839 (2 boxes) (L.J.R.O. B/A/11b)
Subscription books, 1600-1834 (3 boxes, 44 vols) (L.J.R.O. B/A/4)

Schoolteachers’ original wills and inventories (L.J.R.O. B/C/11)

Churchwardens’ presentments, 1729 and pt 1730; 1739; 1742 (L.J.R.O. B/V/5)

Miscellaneous

Papers re Shrewsbury Grammar School, 1692-1850 (L.J.R.O., ex Dean and Chapter, B/A/23)

‘Consecrations, Schools, Charities’ (c. 1695 – ) (L.J.R.O. B/A/27i)

Bridgnorth peculiar papers (L.J.R.O. D30 (2))

Oswestry glebe terrier, copy 1635 (L.J.R.O. B/V/6)

Prees, processes with churchwardens’ presentments, 1697-1745, 1806-09, 1819-45 (L.J.R.O. PPz/V/4)

Selattyn glebe terrier, copy c. 1820 (L.J.R.O. B/V/6/2nd Addnl list)

Tonge glebe terrier, 1726 - (L.J.R.O. B/V/6/T6)

Whittington glebe terrier, late 18C. (L.J.R.O. B/V/6/2nd Addnl list)

(ii) Diocese of Hereford

Bishops’ Visitation articles of enquiry:
Bishop Philip Bisse, 1716
1719
1722

Libri cleri:
Box 2 (1636-94)
Box 3 (1701-79)

(H.R.O. uncat.)

Subscription books:
Box 1 (1682-1711) (7 vols)
Box 2 (1708-1818) (5 vols)
Box 3 (1832-67)
(H.R.O. HD/IA4/1-13)

Subscription rolls:
Box 1 (1662-88)
Box 2 (1758-1812) (3 rolls)
(H.R.O. uncat.)
Schoolteachers' wills and inventories
(H.R.O. file and indexes)

Churchwardens' presentments:
Box: 17C.
Box: 18C.
Box: 1780-89
Box: 1820-29
Box: 1830-39
Greater part of contents
of Registrars' files, also

Registrars' files (annual), 1660 -
(H.R.O. uncat.)

Licence of Evan Evans of Clungunford,
schoolmaster, 1703
(Staffs R.O. D(W) 1788 par. 36 bdxle 15)

(iii) Diocese of St Asaph

Episcopal registers (N.L.W. SA/EB/-)
1748-82 (-/2)
1782-1829 (-/3)
1830-38 (-/4)

Visitation Queries and Answers
(clergy/churchwardens) (N.L.W. SA/QA/-)
Bishop Isaac Maddox, 1738 (-/1, 2)
Bishop Samuel Lisle, 1745 (-/3)
Bishop Robert Drummond, 1749
(-/4, 5)
Bishop Lewis Bagot, 1791 (-/6, 7)
Bishop Lewis Bagot, 1795 (-/8, 9,
10)
Bishop Lewis Bagot, 1799 (-/11, 12)
Bishop Samuel Horsley, 1806
(-/13, 14)
Bishop William Cleaver, 1809
(-/15, 16)
Bishop William Cleaver, 1812 (-/17)

Libri cleri (N.L.W. SA/V/-):
1682-94 (-/1)
1687-1705 (-/2)
1710-74 (-/3)
1749 (-/4)
1778-1847 (-/5)

Subscription books (N.L.W. SA/SB/-)
-/1 1682-92
-/2 1704-22
-/3 1713-57
-/4 1722-42
-/5 1742-53
-/6 1753-61
-/7 1757-64
-/8 1761-87
-/9 1785-1805
-/10 1805-18
-/11 1819-29
-/12 1830-44
Schoolteachers' wills and inventories
(N.L.W. index)

'Charity Schools'. A schedule of deeds and papers re the charities in general within the diocese, 18C.
(N.L.W. SA/MB/9)

'The State of the Diocese of St Asaph', 1749 and 1807 (2 vols)
(N.L.W. SA/MB/19-20)

Documents re Oswestry 'Free School', 1635-66 (N.L.W. SA/Misc./-):
- /56 Copy terrier of the School, mid-19C
- /653 Terrier of lands, 1635
- /802-03 'Bp Gryffiths Answers to ye Arch Bps Enquiries' 1666

(iv) Diocese of Worcester

'Articles of Enquiry...', Bishop Ffolliott Herbert Walter Cornewall, 1815, 1818 (H.W.R.O. 801-02/B.A. 2607)

Registers of the Bishops of Worcester (H.W.R.O. 716.093/B.A. 2648/-):
- /11(i) (1722-59) John Hough (Pt 2), Isaac Maddox
- /11(ii) (1759-87) James Johnson, Brownlow North, Richard Hurd (Pt 1)
- /12(i) (1787-1829) Richard Hurd (Pt 2), Ffolliott Herbert Walter Cornewall (Pt 1)
- /12(ii) (1829-41) Ffolliott Herbert Walter Cornewall (Pt 2), Robert James Carr, Henry Pepys (Pt 1)

Papers re schoolmasters: letters and nominations with a testimonial (H.W.R.O. 744/B.A. 2729/-):
- /1 (1602-96)
- /2 (1696-1769)
- /3 (1769-1832)
Subscription book, 1661-81
(H.W.R.O. 732.1/B.A. 2736)

Subscription rolls, 1714-1801
(H.W.R.O. 732.1/B.A. 2083)

Subscription book, 1823-39
(H.W.R.O. 732.1/B.A. 2687)

Subscription book, 1827-54
(H.W.R.O. 742.051)

Churchwardens' presentments,
c.1650-1830
(H.W.R.O. 807/B.A. 2289/10(iii), Halesowen)

Churchwardens' presentments,
'Detecta exhibita', 1674-1726
(H.W.R.O. 807/B.A. 2058)

(c) Other MSS

The Aqualate Papers, including 'Orders of Newport School' and Wem School Statutes (Staffs R.O. W.S.L. D.1788)

T.F.Dukes(?) 'Ecclesiastical Notes and descriptive accounts of parishes within the Archdeaconry of Salop, with Illustrations, comprising views of CC Churches, Chapels, parsonages, Crosses, and fonts and upwards of DCCCC Armorial Bearings of the Lords of Manors, patrons of Livings, Ministers and Proprietors, with other interesting particulars' (post 1838) (B.L. Add. MS 21,018)

D.Parkes 'A Scrap-book of tinted drawings of churches, monumental antiquities, arms, and houses in Shropshire, with descriptive notes and copies of inscriptions; interspersed with a few from Merionethshire, Staffordshire, Denbighshire, Cheshire, Warwickshire, Hampshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire' * (c.1779-1834) (B.L. Add. MS 21,010)

D.Parkes 'Coloured drawings of churches, monumental inscriptions, epitaphs, and other objects of interest in Warwickshire and Shropshire' (1801-32) (5 vols) (B.L. Add MS 21,012-21,016)

* includes a beautiful drawing of Uffington Sunday school, 1829 on p.77.
'The Antiquities of the county of Salop, with the state thereof. Collected principally by Edward Lloyd of Dre Newydd near Oswestry, in the county of Salop, barrister at law, about 1700 and by William Mytton of Halston, Esq., about 1730' (5 vols) (B.L. Add. MSS 21,019-21,023)

Isaac Richardson 'The names and armes (in trick) of the Gentry of Shropshire as they are entered in the Visitation of that County, made in anno 1663' (1693) (B.L. Add. MS 21,025)

Egerton MSS, including references to the schoolhouse and garden at Tong: 1738 (f.55r.); 1747 (f.73v.)

MSS Wase ('Wase's Papers') (early 1670's) (4 vols) (Bodleian Library, Oxford, CCC Oxon C390 i-iii; C391 i)

Jonathan Prynnallt(? Arithmetic book, (mid 18C.) (S.R.O. 2808/1)

Archdeacon Plymley Corbett's sister's diaries (late 18C; early 19C.) (photostat. copies) (S.R.O. uncat.)

(ii) PRINTED MATTER

(a) Official documents

Charitable Donations - Abstract of Returns (1786-88) (Univ. of London Library, Senate House)

Abstract of the Answers and Returns relative to the Expence and Maintenance of the Poor (1803-04) (B.L. 433, i, 12 (2)

Reports of the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders iii (1817); iv (1818)

A Digest of Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Education of the Poor (1818) (2 vols) (Univ. of London Library)

Digest of Parochial Returns ix (1819)
Reports of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities:

III (1820) pp.243-312
Appx pp.187-98

IV (1820) pp.226-68
Appx pp.495-510

V (1821) pp.397-452
Appx pp.666-77

IX (1823) pp.321-25
XXIV (1831) pp.213-480
XXXII (1838) (Pt 2) pp.702-11
(Univ. of London Library)

Abstract of Education Returns:
1833 (Univ. of London Library)

(b) Books and journals


Beveridge, Bishop William *The Catechism Explained for the use of the Diocese of St Asaph* (1704)

Beveridge, Bishop William *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr William Beveridge, late Lord Bishop of St Asaph...* (2 vols) (1720) (B.L. 10c 11, 12)


Carlisle, Nicholas *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* (2 vols) (London 1818)
Cheke, Sir John  The Hurt of Sedition ; 1549  
(Scolar Press, Menston, 1971)


Corines, Rev. Richard 'A Short topographical account of Bridgnorth, by Richard Cornes, 1739'; T.S.A.S. 1st series, IX (1888) pp.193-210

Cox, Rev. Thomas Magna Britannia; or Topographical, Historical, Ecclesiastical and Natural History of Shropshire (1720) (S.L.S.L. C64) (Contains a list of 'charity schools' in the county, culled from S.P.C.K. information).

Darwin, Francis (ed.) Charles Darwin: his life told in an autobiographical chapter, and in a selected series of his published letters (London, (B.L. 2410 b.17) 1892)


Dower, J. The Salopian Esquire or the Joyous Miller (1738) (S.L.S.L. C83 1616)


Fletcher, W.G.D. 'Shropshire clergy who contributed to the free and voluntary present to His Majesty in 1662', T.S.A.S. 4th series, II (1912) pp.209-14

Gough, Richard The Antiquityes and Memoyres of the Parish of Middle (Henry Sotheran & Co., 1875 edn)*

Hill, M.C. (ed.) County of Salop. Abstract of the Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1820-1830 (County Records Committee, 1974)

Hoole, Charles A New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching Schoole, In four small Treatises (1660)


Lee, L.J. (ed.) A full list and partial abstract of the Quarter Sessions Rolls (for Shropshire) 1696-1800 (Shropshire County Records)

Lee, L.J. and Venables, R.G. (eds) A full list and partial abstract of the Quarter Sessions Rolls (for Shropshire) 1800-20 (Shropshire County Records)

Lewis, John The Church Catechism Explained, by way of Question and Answer... (30th edn, 1766) (B.L. 3506 aaaa 24)

Mandeville, Bernard de The Fable of the Bees (London, 1732)


Mathews, H. A Memorial to the S.P.C.K. for setting up Charity Schools universally in all Parishes of England and Wales (1710)

Morris, Christopher (ed.) The Journeys of Celia Fiennes (1947) (B.L. X989/27808(4))

Owen, Hugh Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of Shrewsbury (First printed, 1808; reprinted E.J. Morten, Didsbury, Manchester, 1972)

Owen, Hugh and Blakeway, J.B. A History of Shrewsbury (2 vols) (Harding, Lepard and Co., London, 1825)

Phillips, Thomas The History and Antiquities of Shrewsbury (Printed by Wood, Shrewsbury 1779)

Plymley, Joseph General View of the Agriculture of Shropshire with observations on the means of its improvement (1813) (S.L.S.L. C22)


Robinson, David (ed.) 'Visitations of the Archdeaconry of Stafford 1829-1841', Collections for a History of Staffordshire (Staffordshire Record Society, 4th series, X, 1980)

Talbot, Rev. Dr James The Christian Schoolmaster (1707)

Trimmer, Mrs S. The Economy of Charity (2 vols) (London, 1801)

Wase, Christopher Considerations concerning free schools, as settled in England (Oxford, 1678) (B.L. 1031 d.3)


Watts, I. An Essay towards the Encouragement of Charity Schools, particularly those which are supported by Protestant Dissenters (1728)

Miscellaneous

The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle (Includes: 'A Short Account of Wellington, 1759'.

(Monthly Preceptor or) Juvenile Library (6 vols) (1800-03) (B.L. P.P. 5993. a.c.)

Calendar of the Muniments & Records of the Borough of Shrewsbury (Shrewsbury, 1896)

(c) Contemporary maps and engravings

Baugh, Robert Map of Shropshire (c.1808)

Dukes, T.F. Engraving of school and master's house at Longnor, early 19C., in scrapbook of T.F.Dukes ii no.22 (S.L.S.L. C.O.7/3066)

Moll, H. Shropshire. A map by the geographer H.Moll (1724) (Reproduced by Shropshire Libraries)

Wood, John Map of Oswestry (1833) (S.R.O.)
(d) Contemporary printed reports, rules, registers and accounts of schools

Anon. Account of several Workhouses... as also of several Charity Schools
(1st edn, 1725, Woodlands Local Studies Centre, Greenwich; 2nd edn, 1732, S.P.C.K. Archives)

Auden, J.E. (ed.) Shrewsbury School Register, 1636-1908 (2 vols)
(Shrewsbury, 1917)

(e) Sermons

'The Excellency of the Charity of Charity-Schools - A Sermon Preached in the Parish-Church of St Sepulchre, May 28, 1713, by William, Lord Bishop of Chester'

'The True Christian Method of Educating Children - A Sermon Preach'd in the Parish-Church of St Sepulchre, May 28, 1724, by Thomas, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man'

(S.P.C.K. Anniversary Sermons, S.P.C.K. Archives, Holy Trinity Church, 25 Marylebone Road, London, N.W.1)

Extract of a Sermon on the Education of the Poor, under an appropriate System: preached at St Mary's, Lambeth, 28 June, 1807: for the benefit of The Boys' Charity-School at Lambeth: by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, A.M.; F.A.S.S; F.R.S.E. Rector of Swanage, Dorsetshire; and Author of the Experiment in Education at Madras. (2nd edn, London, 1807) (Univ. of Keele, Education Library, pamph. J4N P2260)

(f) Newspapers

The Shrewsbury Chronicle
1772 - 1779 (microfilm)
1780 - 1794 (bound vols)
1794 - 1833 (microfilm) (S.L.S.L.)

The Salopian Journal
1794 - (bound vols) (S.L.S.L.)

'Watton's Newspaper Cuttings'
(17 vols) (S.L.S.L.)
(g) Guides and directories

Bullock, Richard
The Universal British Directory (Northumberland, 1790) (S.L.S.L. C67)

Pigot, S.

Gregory, T.
The Shropshire Gazetteer (Wem, 1824) (Univ. of Keele Library, Local Coll. DA 670. S4S4; S.L.S.L. C67)
The Salop Directory (Tibnam and Co., Shrewsbury, 1828) (S.L.S.L. C67)

Pigot, S.
Shropshire Directory (1828; 1829) (S.L.S.L. C67)

A Description of the Town of Ludlow (1812) (S.L.S.L. Q66)

(iii) S.P.C.K. ARCHIVE MATERIAL

(a) MSS

Minutes of the General Board: 1699-1740 (18 vols)

Minutes of the Standing Committee: 1705-22 (4 vols)

Abstract Letter Books: 1699-1783 (26 vols)

Original Letter Files: 1699-1860 (6 vols)

Miscellaneous Abstracts: 1709-22 1723-33 (2 vols)

Society's (Draft Out) Letters: 1708-34 (31 vols)

Special Letter Books: 1699-1707 1708-32 (2 vols)

'MSS Wanley Etc.'

'An Account of Packets sent to the Residing and Corresponding Members according to the Society's Regulation for paying part of the Charge of them; The Contents of the Packets; and an Estimate of the Charge to the Society & their Members respectively: And by whom they were sent' (1719-26)
An index card for the county at S.P.C.K. Archives records individual references to Shropshire schools in the above MSS.

(b) **Printed material**

**Society's Reports (including the Account):** 1704; 1705; 1707; 1709-29.
(S.P.C.K. Archives)

1706; 1708
(Bodleian Library, Oxford Pamph. 270 (12); Pamph. 275 (15))

**Enquiries Into the State of Charity-Schools (1729)**
(S.P.C.K. Archives)

(iv) **NATIONAL SOCIETY ARCHIVE MATERIAL**

(a) **MSS**

Correspondence files for:

- Acton Burnell
- Bridgnorth
- Cainham
- Chetton
- Claverley
- Clunbury
- Llangedvin
- Llanymynech
- Meole Brace
- Oswestry
- Pontesbury
- Ruyton-XI-Towns
- Shifnal
- Shrewsbury, St Chad's
- Shrewsbury, St Mary's
- St Martin's
- Upton Magna
- Wem
- Whitchurch
- Wrockwardine Wood

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No.1 -May 1816
No.2 May 1816-Nov.1824
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