

Derwent Coleridge (1800-83) and the Deacon Schoolmaster

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Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "D. S. Nicholas". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

David Sydney Nicholas

10 August 2007

Abstract

A persistent oral tradition links Derwent Coleridge, first principal of St Mark's College, Chelsea, to the training of deacon schoolmasters during the period 1841 to 1864. This innovative model of elementary schoolteacher made a distinctive contribution to teacher training in England. Justified theologically rather pedagogically, the deacon-schoolmaster model gave the college a unique character in the surge towards a comprehensive system of Church education.

This thesis breaks fresh ground by using documentary evidence to test the oral tradition. The introduction of the model and subsequent training of deacon schoolmasters at St Mark's College have been delineated. Alternative models, and their place in Coleridge's experience and thought, are drawn from contemporary sources.

The immediate and long-term effects of increasing control over teacher training by central government, and the impact of opinions within the Church, are assessed in relation to Derwent Coleridge's aims for the College. These influences are described in the context of public debate on deacon schoolmasters in three mid-nineteenth century settings: the Church, Parliament, and the British colonies. The international dimension to the deacon-schoolmaster model is one that previously has not been researched.

Hitherto unused documentary sources have added important detail to imprecise elements in the oral tradition of St Mark's College, and re-examination of little-known material has refreshed and broadened the conventional interpretation and estimate of significance of deacon schoolmasters. Finally, by tracing historical continuities, the main focus on a particular episode in nineteenth-century education has cast light upon new opportunities for deacon schoolmasters (and -mistresses) in the early twenty-first century.

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Abbreviations

BFSS	British and Foreign School Society
BI	Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York
BL	British Library (St Pancras)
CCE	Committee of Council on Education
CCSS	Colonial Church and School Society
CERC	Church of England Record Centre
<i>CLSTC</i>	<i>The Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i>
<i>DC</i>	<i>The Unknown Coleridge: the life and times of Derwent Coleridge</i>
DC MSS	Derwent Coleridge manuscripts
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>English Churchman</i>
<i>EJE</i>	<i>English Journal of Education</i>
GL	Guildhall Library, London
HRC/UTA	Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
<i>LWDW</i>	<i>The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth</i>
NS	National Society
NSS	Newfoundland School Society
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PP	Parliamentary Papers
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
STC	Samuel Taylor Coleridge
TNA	The National Archives

A Note on St Mark's College

- 1841 National Society's Training Institution for Schoolmasters,
Stanley Grove, Chelsea
- 1842 St Mark's College, Chelsea
- (S. Mark's is a later preferred form)
- 1923 College of S. Mark & S. John, Chelsea
(by amalgamation with St John's College, Battersea,
founded by James Phillips Kay[-Shuttleworth] in 1840)
- 1973 College of St Mark & St John, Plymouth
- 2007 University College Plymouth St Mark & St John

Chapter 1. National Education: a new model of schoolmaster

The memory of individuals, and the collective memory residing in institutions, preserve traces of past experiences and shape them into oral tradition. In their re-telling, stories often become idealized or romanticized, and detached from the events that gave them substance. The challenge for historians is to compare oral tradition with other sources of evidence in order to determine its veracity.

This process of historical enquiry raises far-reaching questions about validity and reliability of evidence, what might be meant by ‘veracity’ in such a context, and the extent to which understandings may be affected by interpretation at every stage of the enterprise. No matter how carefully historians select and apply their methods, they inevitably bring to their work many assumptions – consciously or otherwise – which may bear on the direction an investigation takes and the conclusions it reaches.

The present research examines an institutionally-preserved oral tradition in the history of education, concerning a new model of schoolmaster that established the tone of St Mark’s College, Chelsea, an influential English teacher-training college in the mid-nineteenth century. It aims to interpret this oral tradition in the light of contemporary documentary evidence, and to assess the significance of the model from its introduction to the present time.

1.1 An oral tradition about deacon schoolmasters

St Mark’s College, Chelsea, was founded in 1841 as a Church of England institution for training elementary schoolmasters, with the Reverend Derwent Coleridge as its principal. Fifty years later, in 1891, the Reverend George Gent, the third principal, published a commemorative collection of essays, *Memorials of S. Mark’s College*, with a view ‘to bring together, before they pass out of living memory, the traditions and recollections that

belong to the first half-century of the life of S. Mark's College'.¹ One contributor, the Reverend William Benham, who had been a student at St Mark's from 1845 to 1847, wrote:

It had been the original idea of the founders of this College that the schoolmaster should be trained for the diaconate, and should carry on the work of the National schoolmaster in that capacity.²

Benham's testimony encapsulates the oral tradition, and his memory bears personal witness to events on which the tradition rests. Already, however, the tradition was losing precision: the 'founders', for example, are not identified, and it remains unclear whether promotion of the deacon-schoolmaster model at St Mark's College was a committee decision or an idea pressed on the founders by a persuasive individual, or even whether it came from Derwent Coleridge as the founding principal. In the eyes of George Gent, the tradition was detaching itself from events that brought it into existence, and by 1891 he was describing it in idealized, even romanticized, terms as representative of a 'golden age' 50 years earlier:

Undoubtedly there floated before the mind of Derwent Coleridge and his fellow-workers the vision of a semi-monastic order, which should supply the clergy with ecclesiastically prepared and perhaps ordained helpers in the educational work of their parishes.³

Twenty years before that, in 1871, the second principal of St Mark's College, the Reverend John Cromwell, had turned to the oral tradition when giving evidence to the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction. Answering a question about Greek being formerly taught at the college, Cromwell explained:

When the College was first established . . . there was a feeling . . . that it was desirable that the schoolmasters should be deacons, and with a view, therefore, to prepare them for the position of deacon schoolmasters, Greek was taught.⁴

¹ George W. Gent (ed.), *Memorials of S. Mark's College* (London: [The College], 1891), preface (unnumbered page).

² William Benham, 'S. Mark's forty-five years ago', *ibid.*, pp. 27-39, at p. 38.

³ [G. W. Gent], 'St Mark's College, Chelsea', *School Guardian*, 9 May 1891, pp. 336-8, at p. 337.

⁴ J. G. Cromwell, oral evidence, 2 May 1871, *Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and Advancement of Science: Minutes of Evidence* (London: HMSO, 1872), pp. 542-51, at p. 548.

This reply, also, contains imprecise elements about the origin of the deacon-schoolmaster tradition: 'there was a feeling' is so generalized as to prompt questions about who were possessed of that feeling, and on what grounds they thought 'it was desirable'. It is one aim of this research to trace answers to such questions through contemporary documentary sources.

The urge to provide elementary education on a national scale in mid-nineteenth-century England carried with it a search for an appropriate model for the teachers who would undertake the task. Various models existed, some of long standing, others of more recent origin. With a greatly enlarged prospect of training teachers, a choice had to be made between adaptation of an existing model and development of a new one for the future success of the operation. At this point the idea of deacon schoolmaster was put forward.

This thesis begins by presenting aspects of the historical context in which the oral tradition arose, reviewing the literature relating to deacon schoolmasters and Derwent Coleridge, identifying key research questions, and discussing various methodological and historiographical considerations. There is then a detailed account of the origin of St Mark's College as a place for training deacon schoolmasters, followed by the identification of other models contributing to Coleridge's educational experience and thought on becoming its first principal. His training of schoolmasters at St Mark's is divided into two periods: the earlier years of freedom and the later years of constraint. The focus then widens to consider the public debate on deacon schoolmasters – at home in the Church and Parliament, and overseas in the British colonies. Finally, two strands of historical continuity are drawn to frame the conclusions and assess the significance of deacon schoolmasters.

1.2 Definitions and Models

Definitions

It is necessary at this point to clarify the usage, aligned with that in the mid-nineteenth century, of four terms: teacher training, National school, the poor, and deacon schoolmaster. These terms are central to the development of this thesis, but each has potential for wide application with a corresponding variety of definition. In this thesis, however, their meaning is precise, and the usage here is discussed in order to remove possible ambiguities.

Teacher training

The notion of teacher training employed throughout the thesis concerns itself with courses designed specifically to prepare people to become schoolteachers and organized by colleges or central model schools established for that purpose. It includes all aspects of general education within these preparatory courses, as well as instruction in pedagogy and practice in the art of teaching. It does not, however, embrace experience gained under the direction of a schoolteacher in the capacity of a monitor or pupil teacher.

National school

The National Society was the convenient short name for the organization founded in 1811 to promote education in Church of England schools. Its full title was the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales. Schools in union with the National Society were commonly known as National schools, rather confusingly as they were neither State schools nor countrywide in their individual catchment; they were usually local schools, serving a community defined by parish boundary. The confusion is compounded by an absence of capital letter, as occurs frequently in modern texts.

When the National Society founded its teacher training college in 1841, it was described as a national college (in a geographical sense) in contrast to the more confined areas served by diocesan training institutions. The allied term, 'national education', is here

used sparingly and with caution, as its nineteenth-century meaning depends on the context in which it appears: it can refer to education provided by the National Society, education provided by the State, or popular countrywide education without distinction of provider, and in many nineteenth-century documents the context leaves the meaning unclear. Again, a capital letter would often point to the first meaning.

The Poor

The foundation principles of the National Society were for the benefit of 'the poor'. This was broadly understood to mean those households not owning property and whose income was often precarious and insubstantial, but the term was ill-defined. Legal judgment was given in the 1830s, pursuant to a charity in the city of Exeter, that 'the poor' might be interpreted generously to include the commercial classes.⁵ The question of definition, and possible re-definition, of 'the poor' was crucial for the National Society, and was at the root of a lasting debate about what could be regarded as legitimate application of its funds, which had been donated for 'the Education of the Poor'.

Deacon schoolmaster

The founders of the national college for training schoolmasters under the auspices of the National Society proposed a pattern of training that would enable suitable students to present themselves for ordination into the ministry of the Church of England some time after the end of their course. The ordained ministry of the Established Church (the Church of England) has always been threefold: deacon, priest, and bishop. The order of deacons (or diaconate, occasionally spelt deaconate) is the point of entry into holy orders, and may be permanent. Although in the nineteenth century, as now, it was usual for a deacon to be made priest after a period of about a year, the office of deacon schoolmaster (as envisaged by its advocates at the end of the 1830s) implied permanency; in clerical function a deacon schoolmaster would remain subservient to the incumbent of the parish where his school was situated. The college for training deacon schoolmasters was to be

⁵ National Society (NS), Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, Minute Book 1838-9; NS archive, Church of England Record Centre (CERC), Bermondsey: NS/MB/9/1.

an all-male institution: women were not admitted into the ordained ministry of the Church of England until the second half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, a year after founding its national college for men, the National Society established a separate national college for training schoolmistresses.⁶ By chance of circumstance, both colleges were situated in the King's Road, Chelsea, but a mile apart.

Models

Several distinct types of school existed in the 1830s, and in them very different sorts of teacher offered forms of education, which depended on the dominant motivations of the providers. Three models of schoolmaster, each of which flourished in the early-nineteenth century, are described so that the new model of deacon schoolmaster may be set in its historical context. There are no generally accepted terms for these models, but the labels chosen here appear to differentiate sufficiently between them. The three models are: classical scholar, monitorial teacher, and working-class private school-keeper.

Classical scholar

The most prestigious type of schoolmaster conformed to the model of classical scholar. Usually a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, he taught in an old foundation public school (such as Eton or Winchester) or one of the more successful (and sometimes equally old) endowed grammar schools. Frequently a clergyman, the classical scholar schoolmaster was a self-perpetuating species with a long history. In 1787, the headmaster of Brentwood School, in Essex, had advertised his 'house for the reception of young gentlemen who will be boarded . . . and taught the English, Latin and Greek languages at twenty-three guineas per annum . . . Writing and Arithmetic, Dancing and French, by proper masters.'⁷ The notion of what constituted a 'proper master' in the early decades of the nineteenth century had hardly changed from the previous century and reflected both the size and purpose of this type of school. Often there were fewer than 50 boys, with

⁶ Whitelands College, Chelsea, founded in 1841.

⁷ Quoted from an unidentified source in Brian Gardner, *The Public Schools: an historical survey* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973), pp. 85-6.

wide variety of career ambition. The headmaster of Tonbridge School, Kent, in the 1760s, had seen his purpose clearly:

My plan of education [is] entirely a classical one and to qualify youth for the university, where we have several exhibitions. I find it indeed necessary to have a French master in the house, and a dancing master attends the school from London once a week to teach those whose parents wish them to learn. Boys in general who are intended for trade go from me to some academy about thirteen or fourteen years of age. There is a very good writing master in the town greatly under my own direction who attends my school every day after classical hours (which are eight every day except holy days) are over.⁸

The emerging picture of the old public or endowed grammar school master is that of a classical scholar, untrained in pedagogical matters, who taught his academically able pupils so that they, in turn, might follow him to Oxford or Cambridge and pursue an unreformed university course. Reluctantly, perhaps, he might acknowledge the different needs of those boys unable to take this path, but the classical core of his school curriculum was fixed, supplemented only in certain cases by less scholarly undertakings, such as writing, arithmetic, French, or dancing, taught often by part-time teachers hired as necessary. These assistants, like the headmaster, seldom had any training for teaching, no matter how competent their knowledge or skill in the subjects they taught.

Schoolmasters conforming to the 'classical scholar' model were men of influence, as their pupils included those who would become the country's future leaders or hold positions of authority in society's affairs. Pupils who became schoolmasters tended unquestioningly to adopt the same model for themselves, thus ensuring its survival in a self-perpetuating manner. Occasionally, however, there were exceptional individuals who found their way from the scholarly tradition of education into the training of teachers according to a different model. Among such men, the Reverend Andrew Bell (1753-1832) and the Reverend William Johnson (1784-1864) were instrumental in training teachers for schools using the monitorial system. Another, of key importance in this thesis, is the Reverend Derwent Coleridge, who found himself at the centre of the thrust to train teachers to yet another model, that of deacon schoolmaster.

⁸ Quoted from an unidentified source in Brian Gardner, *Public Schools*, p. 81.

Monitorial teacher

A second model of English schoolmaster active in the 1830s carried far less prestige than the classical scholar. This was the 'monitorial teacher' for children of the poor. Formal education for children of the working classes was neither universally available nor always taken up when provided. During the previous 30 years many schools for the poor had been founded by the Church, the majority of them being supported by the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor. By 1837, there were over 10,000 day schools in union with the National Society, providing an education for more than 550,000 children.⁹ However remarkable this achievement for a voluntary body was, many children were still left without formal education of any kind.

The urge to educate more of the child population raised the issue of teacher supply. In 1812, a year after its foundation in London, the National Society had established a Central School for 1,000 children in Baldwin's Gardens, Holborn.¹⁰ Within months, central schools were set up by diocesan or district education societies in 20 other large towns, from Canterbury to Carlisle and Truro to Trowbridge.¹¹ The Baldwin's Gardens Central School, which had been under the superintendency of the Reverend William Johnson throughout its history, moved to Westminster in 1832 on expiry of its lease.

These central schools were to be places for training teachers of the poor in the 'Madras system'. This method of organizing a school was introduced by Dr Andrew Bell on his return from India in 1797, and for more than 30 years was held in the highest esteem by the National Society, whose adoption led to it being known as 'the National system of education'. Henry Burgess, quoting from a contemporary source, observes that 'the slightest "departure from the accurate practice of the National System" was frowned upon, and immediate return urged.'¹² So complete was their confidence in the system that the National Society allowed their Second Report (1813) to declare: 'In general any

⁹ NS, *Annual Report*, 1837.

¹⁰ Henry Burgess, *Enterprise in Education: the story of the work of the Established Church in the education of the people prior to 1870* (London: NS and SPCK, 1958), pp. 47-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

person of good character, who can read distinctly and write fairly, may become qualified to conduct a school upon the Madras System.’¹³

This system depended on large numbers of children, of different abilities, being taught by one teacher with the assistance of monitors drawn from older, more able pupils. The teacher taught fragmented ‘lessons’ to the monitors, who then imparted the fragment to their appointed groups of children. The system was mechanical, but cheap, and monitorial schools became widespread. Several thousand teachers passed through the National Society’s central schools’ training to take charge of church schools in parishes throughout the country. The British and Foreign School Society, with its headquarters in London, also trained teachers in the monitorial system; they were to serve in the undenominational ‘British schools’ founded where there was demand for education not controlled by the Established Church.

By the mid-1830s, however, deficiencies in the monitorial system were becoming apparent. Parish schoolteachers, with approval of their patrons, were adopting new practices, such as gallery lessons and the use of teaching aids, which had no place in Bell’s orthodoxy. One school manager, also quoted by Burgess, concluded: ‘The monitorial system I look upon after much experience, as bad. It is, however, a necessary evil.’¹⁴ It was necessary because it remained cheap. Training of teachers at the central schools was subject to similar economic considerations, and their newly-qualified teachers were deemed proficient after only rudimentary training, seldom lasting more than three months. Lack of advanced education among teachers of the labouring class was not only the norm in the 1830s, it was also frequently seen as a legitimate means of keeping the teachers themselves ‘humble’ in their work among the poor.

Historical accounts of the monitorial schools have tended to focus on the system itself and its effect upon the children; little attention has been given to the teacher in charge of the school. The viewpoint usually taken is that of deficiency, and the daily procedures of

¹³ Henry Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, p. 52.

¹⁴ Quoted from an unidentified source, *ibid.*, p. 96.

monitorial schools are commonly presented as gross shortcomings, if not outright failures. Yet, occasionally, a hint of an alternative interpretation comes through the strictures and condemnation. Mary Sturt, for example, in *Education of the People*, suggests:

Bad as many of the monitorial schools inevitably were, they represented a very considerable advance . . . They stood out in honourable relief from the private venture schools which had previously been the only means of education for the vast mass of the people.¹⁵

Although Sturt's interpretation has Whiggish overtones and her assumptions about the private venture schools invite re-examination (see pp. 19-20), in this brief passage she rescues the trained monitorial teacher from wholesale contempt.

Two historians of education, Pamela and Harold Silver, used the extensive archive of a National monitorial school in London to find out more about the daily routine of teachers, monitors and children.¹⁶ In their *Education of the Poor*, which describes this work, these authors also advised caution:

Modern verdicts on the system have been harsh . . . Some caution is necessary, however, in pronouncing judgment on the early work of the National and British schools, partly because of the lack of detailed sources which would enable us to see how the system worked in practice across a range of schools.¹⁷

Commenting further on this problem in 1983, Harold Silver, in *Education as History*, regretted that historians have made 'no sustained attempts to match theory with reality' in their accounts of the monitorial system, which (it could be argued) 'was the most influential innovation in the history of English education'.¹⁸

¹⁵ Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People: a history of primary education in England and Wales in the nineteenth century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 37.

¹⁶ The Kennington National Schools, Lambeth, were founded in 1824. They were known at the time of research as St Mark's Voluntary Aided Primary School.

¹⁷ Pamela and Harold Silver, *The Education of the Poor: the history of a National school 1824-1974* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 14.

¹⁸ Harold Silver, *Education as History: interpreting nineteenth- and twentieth-century education* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 19. More recently, George Bartle has described the practice of monitorial education under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society.

Schools were being established in such large numbers that the central schools received far more requests for teachers than they could train. From his extensive research on the manuscript minute books of the National Society, Henry Burgess showed that the scale of the operation surpassed even the intentions of the Society's founders. The Central Schools in London not only sent teachers to schools in England and Wales, but they also stimulated similar training overseas. Much of this development was in partnership with the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Baldwin's Gardens Central School trained teachers for parts of Africa, India, the eastern seaboard of Canada (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland), the West Indies, Australia, Sardinia, Russia, and Sweden.¹⁹ It is a salutary reminder, perhaps, that the model of monitorial teacher so despised in the conventional histories of English education should have attracted such worldwide interest during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century.

Working-class private school-keeper

A third model – perhaps hardly to be dignified by the ascription 'model' – arose spontaneously in the circumstances and traditional community relationships of working-class culture. Communities have always found ways of passing on to their children those skills and myths that integrate individuals into their society and enable it to function in a cohesive manner. Emerging through the centuries was a feature, common in English working-class communities, which it is convenient to label 'informal private school'. Schools of this type, which flourished in the nineteenth century, were distinctive, according to Philip Gardner in *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England*, in that they 'offered the education which the working class demanded for themselves and not that which the middle class provided for them'.²⁰

In their treatment of informal private schools, historians have generally followed the lead of nineteenth-century commentators, denigrating the work of these schools as unworthy of the term 'education' and castigating their teachers as incompetents. These are the

¹⁹ Henry Burgess, *Enterprise in Education*, ch. 5 'Education for export', pp. 55-60.

²⁰ Philip Gardner, *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England: the people's education* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 161.

implied judgments of Sturt's unfavourable comparison between 'private venture schools' and monitorial schools (quoted on p.18). Any adult, male or female, could open a school at this time, and in working-class areas many people did so as a means of supplementing income. They usually held 'school' in their own living room, charging a weekly fee of a few pence, and as only a small number of children could be accommodated, teaching was mostly to the individual child rather than to a group. These small schools, common in populous towns and situated in familiar domestic surroundings, sprang up 'like butchers' or bakers' shops', as Thomas Laqueur expressed it in his paper, 'Working-class demand and the growth of English elementary education, 1750-1850'.²¹

Many of these informal private schools were traditionally known as 'dame schools', although Gardner observed that 'despite the apparent lack of ambiguity about the label, it was not unknown for men to keep dame schools'.²² The teacher had no formal training, but took in children to learn basic elements of literacy, especially reading. Such teaching blended naturally with other occupations, the teacher turning attention from pupils to household duties (or alternative remunerative work) in the confines of domestic space. In this setting, a school would be wholly self-financing and the teacher self-employed.

The working-class private school-keeper model represents the kind of teacher who, having low expectations concerning their pupils' dress, cleanliness, and regularity of attendance, was trusted by parents in such communities to teach their children whenever they could afford the cost and found it convenient to send their children to school. That same trust was not readily placed in other, culturally dissonant, models of schoolteacher that emphasized organization, system, regularity and compliance.

²¹ Thomas Laqueur, 'Working-class demand and the growth of English elementary education, 1750-1850', in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *Schooling and Society: studies in the history of education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 192-205, at p. 202.

²² Philip Gardner, *Lost Elementary Schools*, p. 19.

1.3 The new model of deacon schoolmaster

The world of deacon schoolmasters has a familiar air, redolent, perhaps, of the literary high Anglicanism of Anthony Trollope's Barchester or the rustic parsonages of Thomas Hardy's Wessex. The apparent familiarity is deceptive, however, for the title itself is rare in both fictional writing and histories of education. Of course, there have been many instances of schoolmasters in holy orders (especially in the classical-scholar tradition), but men ordained as deacons in the Church of England and who at the same time were practising teachers in a school are only occasionally described by themselves, their contemporaries, or later historians as 'deacon schoolmasters'. Use of the term, then, is not as commonplace as its deceptively familiar feel would suggest; it is, nevertheless, devoid of ambiguity, and well suited to the purpose of this study.

The claim in this thesis that the deacon schoolmasters of St Mark's College formed a new model of Anglican schoolmaster is supported by evidence from the *Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*.²³ Although still in progress, by August 2007 this database held documentary citations for over 70,000 clergymen, which allow provisional trends to be determined for clergy career patterns, even though final confirmation must await completion of the project. The data show that an earlier tradition of ordained schoolmasters continued within the post-Reformation Church of England, reaching a numerical peak in parish schools during the first half of the seventeenth century, although in non-parochial schools the greatest incidence occurred a century later. By 1800 many schools (parochial and non-parochial) were decaying or deliberately changing their character, which corresponded to a rapid decline in the number of ordained schoolmasters appointed to parish schools for elementary education, and after the turn of the century such appointments were extremely rare. Whilst many of the new National schools were founded by the efforts of parish clergy, who sometimes regarded teaching in these schools as one aspect of their clerical duty, the schoolmasters in the early decades of the nineteenth century were almost invariably laymen. The proposal to introduce trained deacon schoolmasters within the framework of the National Society, therefore, embodied

²³ <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>>

a distinct and innovative model, the antecedents of which provided legitimacy without imposing a rigid form. Derwent Coleridge gave substance to this new model through the long and rigorous training he established at St Mark's College.

The concept of deacon schoolmaster is two-edged: it combines duality of role with singleness of purpose. Its strategic revival in the nineteenth century was a unified response to two urgent needs – one focused in education, the other in the church. Promoters of the idea believed that the deacon schoolmaster offered a fundamentally new model of elementary teacher that had immense potential to permeate society and raise its moral character. They also believed that it was the duty of the Established Church – not the State – to educate the people, and that the deacon schoolmaster would be ideally placed to cement education to the church. These ambitions, whilst visionary in their conception, were translated into practical possibilities by active politicians, clergymen and educationists during the late 1830s.

At this time it was realized that the inherited tradition of providing education by local initiative was no longer sufficient: a national perspective must be combined with local responsibility. This change in outlook made necessary the availability of reliable information on a national scale. Government-sponsored decennial national censuses of population were supplemented by the findings of newly-founded statistical societies, such as those at Manchester (1833) and London (1834), which organized important social science investigations in selected places. Effective solutions to inadequate educational provision required more than parochial response, and national support became the challenge for reformers. (In this context, 'national support' did not necessarily imply State support; national voluntary support was seen by many people at the time to be not only commendable but also preferable to education under government control.) The training of deacon schoolmasters, who would work alongside the parish clergy, was one response to this perception of national educational need. In this way effective education would be given in locally controlled schools, through the agency and under the superintendence of the National Church.

This revival of the deacon schoolmaster raises important questions about the origin, training, work, and influence of those who held the office, which general histories of education do not consider. In an exhaustive examination of the National Society's minute books, Burgess extracted detailed evidence of the stages by which the Society formulated its policies, including those for teacher training. His doctoral thesis, 'The work of the Established Church in the education of the people, 1833-1870', makes no mention of deacon schoolmasters, although contemporary complaints about allegedly frequent ordinations of men trained at St Mark's College are well documented in his account.²⁴ If the minute books are, indeed, silent on the subject, questions must be raised as to whether advocacy of deacon schoolmasters was ever official policy of the National Society for its training college at Chelsea, and if not, the extent to which members of the Society privately promoted their introduction.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century research into the history of education has emphasized the need to consider voices other than those of the providers of schooling and teacher training. Hitherto silent voices, whilst difficult to release, often require important reconstructions and revisions of older interpretations. This emergent approach to historical research prompts new questions about deacon schoolmasters and their background, work and influence. Very little has been written about deacon schoolmasters, although an important article (published in 2002) is the interesting work of John Smith, whose paper, "'The Parson's Fag': the schoolteacher as the servant of the church in the second half of the nineteenth century", is a pointer for future research.²⁵ This article does not name the deacon schoolmaster, but Smith convincingly shows the scale of assistance given by lay teachers to the clergy during the nineteenth century, and allows their voices to be heard by drawing on surviving documents. Such assistance would often be a contractual duty in church schools. Just as the incumbent of a parish was manager of the church school, so the teacher was understood to have (and expected

²⁴ H. J. Burgess, 'The Work of the Established Church in the Education of the People, 1833-1870', PhD thesis (University of London, 1954); see ch. 7: 'The rise of the training colleges', pp. 208-53, and, especially, p. xxviii, nn. 70 and 77.

²⁵ John Smith, "'The Parson's Fag': the schoolteacher as the servant of the church in the second half of the nineteenth century', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 34(1), 2002, pp. 1-22.

to exercise) a ministry in the church: the school was part of the church, whether or not a deacon schoolmaster had been appointed.

The silent voice of the deacon schoolmaster is barely exceeded in audibility by the combined voices of those who tell anything of his story. If his training really was a basic element in the thrust to expand the work of National schools in the late 1830s and 1840s, it becomes puzzling why historians of education have not elaborated on the matter. Is it simply oversight, or are there deeper reasons for the paucity of treatment? Do the surviving records yield little of substance, or is there evidence which casts doubt on the tradition that the deacon schoolmaster was fundamental to the design? Despite the high hopes of its proponents (and the instances of success), was the whole scheme so fraught with difficulties of acceptance or implementation that it failed to become established? These are issues that add to the mystique of the deacon schoolmaster.

1.4 The supply and training of clergy

The two-edged nature of the model places the deacon schoolmaster firmly in the ranks of the Church's ordained ministry. However, negligible attention has been given by historians of mid-nineteenth-century education to teaching as Christian ministry in general and to the concept of deacon schoolmaster in particular. It should be noted that there was never any suggestion that all masters trained at St Mark's College should, or would, be ordained into the diaconate. Nonetheless, ordained or lay, it was expected that all would have a Christian ministry in a church school alongside the clergy.

Clearly the plan to create deacon schoolmasters had wide implications for the clergy as well as for church schools. The massive increase in the population of England and Wales, from nine million in 1801 to 14 million in 1831, had caused severe problems for the Church of England. Supply of clergy had not kept pace with the rise in population, and the great expansion of industrial towns had thrown the traditional parish system into chaos. The extreme disparity between rural and urban parishes demanded a measure of

ecclesiastical reform, and in the 1830s many suggestions were put forward for dealing with these difficulties, among them an extension of the diaconate. The idea of deacon schoolmaster had a natural place in this solution.

Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School (1828-42), appears to have been the first to propose 'admitting into the Establishment persons of a class much too poor to support the expense of an university education, but who may be exceedingly useful as ministers'.²⁶ In May 1841, Arnold brought his ideas before the public in a concise paper entitled *Order of Deacons*. Again Arnold declared: 'The want of a sufficient number of ministers of the Church is more or less felt everywhere; but in large towns, and in the extensive and populous parishes of the manufacturing districts it is a most serious evil.'²⁷ Revival of the ancient order of permanent deacons, with its members following secular occupations, would not simply provide more clergy, Arnold argued, but would also link more completely the clergy and laity through the dual character of their calling.²⁸ Arnold believed that 'a great many pious and active members of the church would be very glad to be ordained deacons, and to take a part in the ministry'. Little would be required to implement the plan, according to Arnold, other than 'the repeal of all laws, canons, or customs, which prevent a deacon from following a secular calling'.²⁹

Changing long-established procedures or traditions is seldom straightforward. Patrick Vaughan, in his published doctoral thesis, *Non-stipendiary Ministry in the Church of England: a history of the development of an idea*, examines the place of statute law, canon law, and the ordinal in limiting, authorizing or otherwise controlling the employment of Anglican clergy in secular spheres.³⁰ In statute law the Henrician Act of 1529 was not repealed until 1817, but this later Georgian Act had recently been

²⁶ Thomas Arnold, 'Principles of Church Reform' (1833), in Thomas Arnold, *The Miscellaneous Works* (London: Longmans, Green, 1874 edn), pp. 257-338, at p. 297.

²⁷ Thomas Arnold, 'Order of Deacons' (1841), in *Miscellaneous Works*, pp. 425-9, at p. 427.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

³⁰ Patrick Vaughan, *Non-stipendiary Ministry in the Church of England: a history of the development of an idea*, Distinguished Dissertation Series, vol. I (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1990). See especially ch. 1, 'Legal Constraints and Early Challenges', pp. 9-65.

supplanted by the Pluralities Act of 1838.³¹ For the first time this new legislation incorporated into statute law the old provisions of canon law governing clergy of the Church of England. In defining the employment of clergymen, Section 30 of the Pluralities Act specifically allowed ‘keeping a school or seminary or acting as a schoolmaster or tutor or instructor, or being in any manner concerned or engaged in giving instruction or education for profit or reward’. Deacon schoolmasters, therefore, were legally authorized, but they remained subject to the approval of the bishop of the diocese.

Most clergy at that time were graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge. In *A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England from 1800 to 1874*, F. W. B. Bullock provides an analysis of newly-ordained deacons for the ten years 1834 to 1843:

Oxford	2076
Cambridge	2307
Trinity College, Dublin	219
Durham	83
Other colleges and ‘literates’	<u>565</u>
	5350 ³²

Bullock notes a discrepancy of 100 in the total, which he obtained from the records of the Convocation of Canterbury, and tentatively suggests that the number for Durham should (perhaps) read 183. The interesting category, however, is the ‘literates’, which was the ecclesiastical term for non-graduate ordinands. As they were only a small proportion of the total, literates did not have a powerful voice. Nonetheless, in the climate of acute need for more clergy, others raised voices for them. One determined supporter was Herbert Smith who, in 1847, founded a (very short-lived) periodical entitled *The Advocate for the Restoration of the Order of Deacons in the Church of England*.³³ In the first issue, Smith declared:

The editor would have remark that many of the clergy are desirous to restore the diaconate, and the Church affords every facility for the

³¹ 21 Hen. VIII, cap. 13; 57 Geo. III, cap. 99; 1 & 2 Vic., cap. 106 (Statutes 1838).

³² F. W. B. Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England . . . from 1800 to 1874* (St Leonards-on-Sea: Budd & Gillatt, 1955), p. 74.

³³ Herbert Smith (ed.), *The Advocate for the Restoration of the Order of Deacons in the Church of England* (Southampton: Tucker; London: Rivington), no. 1, May 1847. The second number appeared in August; it then ceased publication, although a third issue was promised for November.

restoration of deacons, as the 34th Canon does not require a university degree for deacon's orders, but an educational course, now within the reach of all her members.³⁴

Some literates were trained for ministry at theological colleges, such as St Bees (Cumberland), St David's (Lampeter, Wales), or King's College (London), but the proliferation of diocesan theological colleges had not yet begun. The contribution made by such colleges in the training of non-graduate clergy is examined comparatively by David Dowland in his published thesis, *Nineteenth-century Anglican Theological Training*.³⁵ The range of ecclesiastical reform during this period, of which clergy training is only one aspect, and the contribution of different strands of churchmanship, are fully described by Arthur Burns in *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c. 1800-1870*.³⁶ Importantly, Burns gives some attention to discussion at the Exeter diocesan synod of 1851 concerning a permanent diaconate which included schoolmasters.³⁷ In 1839, Chichester became the first diocese to found its own theological college, the case for establishment of such diocesan colleges for training ordinands having been proposed by the cathedral reformers.

An alternative model of a national (as distinct from diocesan) theological college had been suggested by Charles Blomfield, Bishop of London, in 1830.³⁸ The theological training provided at King's College fulfilled some of Blomfield's aspirations. He recognized an affinity between clergy and schoolteachers; in a speech of May 1839, the Bishop quoted Henry Brougham: 'He might almost say, that a clergyman was a clerical schoolmaster, and a schoolmaster a lay parson.'³⁹ Within a few years Blomfield was to find schoolmasters wanting to seal that affinity by presenting themselves to him for ordination. These were the new breed of deacon schoolmaster.

³⁴ Herbert Smith (ed.), *Advocate for . . . Deacons*, no. 1, May 1847, p. 2.

³⁵ David Dowland, *Nineteenth-century Anglican Theological Training: the redbrick challenge* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

³⁶ Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 227 and 233.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³⁹ [C. J. Blomfield], *Speech of the Lord Bishop of London on National Education, 28 May 1839* (London: Fellowes, [1839]), p. 13; Henry Brougham, speech on 'Education and the poor', House of Commons, 28 June 1820, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, new series, vol. ii, cols 49-89, at col. 74.

1.5 Literature review

The earliest post-nineteenth-century reference to deacon schoolmasters, although not using that term, was R. W. Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century*, first published in 1933.⁴⁰ Rich drew from a wide range of nineteenth-century printed sources, but at the time of writing much important manuscript material was still in private possession and relatively unknown. Treatment of deacon schoolmasters remained superficial, therefore, until private papers were deposited in record offices and became available for public scrutiny. In the 1970s, J. L. Alexander extensively examined manuscripts in numerous repositories, which led him to in-depth re-interpretations of mid-nineteenth-century collegiate teacher training. Alexander's article, 'Lord John Russell and the origins of the Committee of Council on Education', published in the *Historical Journal* in 1977, contains the earliest specific mention of deacon schoolmasters in modern historical literature, and his manuscript sources are identified with precision.⁴¹ His critical documentary analysis led to a reassessment of Anglican training colleges in a 1978 doctoral thesis, 'Collegiate Teacher Training in England and Wales . . . in the mid-nineteenth century'.⁴² This thesis provided strong evidence, set in a richly described context, to link the deacon schoolmaster with Derwent Coleridge and St Mark's College, Chelsea.⁴³

In a meticulous use of primary sources to re-examine the impact of central government policy on elementary education, D. G. Paz followed the course charted by Alexander. In 1980, Paz published *The Politics of Working-class Education in Britain, 1830-50*, which made a case for re-appraisal of the social control hypothesis of national policies.⁴⁴ Paz astutely observed that the achievements of those who proposed the establishment of St

⁴⁰ R. W. Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1933).

⁴¹ J. L. Alexander, 'Lord John Russell and the origins of the Committee of Council on Education', *Historical Journal*, 20(2), June 1977, pp. 395-415, especially p. 403.

⁴² J. L. Alexander, 'Collegiate Teacher Training in England and Wales: a study in the historical determinants of educational provision and practice in the mid-nineteenth century', PhD thesis (University of London, 1978).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-6.

⁴⁴ D. G. Paz, *The Politics of Working-class Education in Britain, 1830-50* (Manchester University Press, 1980).

Mark's College may be attributed to their conviction about the Church: for them everything depended 'on its sacred character as the Church by God established, not simply on its political character as the Church by law established'.⁴⁵

At the level of personal relationships between individual schoolmasters and their school managers (usually clergymen), J. T. Smith's recent analysis of advertisements appearing in 'situations vacant' columns of the mid-century educational press is instructive and reported in 'The Parson's Fag: the schoolteacher as the servant of the Church in the second half of the nineteenth century', an article published in the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* in 2002.⁴⁶ In a further paper on this theme, 'Merely a growing dilemma of etiquette? The deepening gulf between the Victorian clergyman and Victorian teacher', published in *History of Education* in 2004, Smith identified the connection between Derwent Coleridge and deacon schoolmasters.⁴⁷

Few studies of Derwent Coleridge have been written. The earliest, Augustus Swift's *Derwent Coleridge: scholar, pastor, educator*, is a published memorial lecture given to an American audience a few weeks after his death in 1883, and unashamedly eulogistic in tone.⁴⁸ Soon afterwards, in 1887, William Benham's 650-word article on Derwent Coleridge appeared in the original part-volumes of Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography*.⁴⁹ Benham, who had been both student and tutor under Coleridge at St Mark's College, wrote a balanced article in which the subject's contribution to education was clearly established. Scholarly interest in the Coleridge family focused on literary matters, however, and little attention was given to other aspects of their working lives. The children of the poet-philosopher, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, entered the

⁴⁵ D. G. Paz, *Politics of Working-class Education*, p. 64.

⁴⁶ J. T. Smith, 'The Parson's Fag: the schoolteacher as the servant of the Church in the second half of the nineteenth century', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 34(1), 2002, pp. 1-22.

⁴⁷ John T. Smith, 'Merely a growing dilemma of etiquette? The deepening gulf between the Victorian clergyman and Victorian teacher', *History of Education*, 33(2), March 2004, pp. 157-78, especially p. 160, fn. 20.

⁴⁸ Augustus Swift, *Derwent Coleridge: scholar, pastor, educator* (New York: Roper, 1883). The lecture was given by A. M. Swift at the public meeting of the Library Association of St Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, on 19 June 1883. Derwent Coleridge died in Torquay, on 28 March 1883.

⁴⁹ William Benham, article on 'Derwent Coleridge' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols (Oxford University Press, reprinted 1921-2), iv, p. 754, first published 1887.

literature only for their literary prowess. Eleanor Towle's biographical work of 1912, *A Poet's Children*, for example, is subtitled merely *Hartley and Sara Coleridge*, notwithstanding Derwent's patient editorial association with their work, and his professional life is dismissed simply as 'doing responsible work'.⁵⁰

It was not until 1996 that a full-length biography of Derwent Coleridge appeared. Raymonde Hainton's *The Unknown Coleridge* is exceptional, in that it considers the work of those who struggled in the committees of the National Society to bring St Mark's College into existence and acknowledges their proposals for the training of deacon schoolmasters, albeit briefly.⁵¹ Hainton drew on the family archive in order to construct a detailed account of Coleridge's public and private life, although the more demanding reviewers, such as Molly Lefebure (in the electronic journal *Romanticism on the Net*), justly consider its heroic portrait of the subject to be one-sided.⁵²

Three unpublished dissertations and theses contain research on Derwent Coleridge. The earliest, from 1966, is David Warwick's 'The Colleges of S. Mark and S. John', which gives special attention to policy and practice from the foundation of the colleges, but lacks depth of analysis for the Coleridge period.⁵³ In 1994, Cherry Durrant's 'The Lives and Works of Hartley, Derwent and Sara Coleridge' presented her literary research on the two brothers and sister.⁵⁴ The core theme is the resolution of catastrophic paternal relations between Samuel Taylor Coleridge and his three children, and the author argues that for Derwent this resolution came with his establishment of professional independence. Unfortunately, the broad scope of Durrant's work has left her with insufficient opportunity to give Derwent Coleridge's educational and theological thought more than superficial treatment, although she has made a substantial contribution to the

⁵⁰ Eleanor A. Towle, *A Poet's Children: Hartley and Sara Coleridge* (London: Methuen, 1912), p. 193.

⁵¹ Raymonde Hainton, *The Unknown Coleridge: the life and times of Derwent Coleridge, 1800-1883* (London: Janus, 1996), p. 167.

⁵² Molly Lefebure, review article, 'R. Hainton, *The Unknown Coleridge*', in *Romanticism On the Net* [online journal], 14 (May 1999) <<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/hainton.html>>

⁵³ David Warwick, 'The Colleges of S. Mark and S. John: their history as illustrating the development of teacher training in this country to 1926', MA(Ed) dissertation (University of London, 1966).

⁵⁴ Cherry Durrant, 'The Lives and Works of Hartley, Derwent and Sara Coleridge', PhD thesis (University of London, 1994).

history of a literary family and has provided a credible model of analysis in reconstructing the lives of a generation of Coleridges. The earlier research of the present author (David Nicholas), in 1977, 'Science, Culture and Curriculum in mid-nineteenth century thought; two case studies: Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart., 1804-77, and the Reverend Derwent Coleridge, 1800-83', explored the place of science in the philosophy of curriculum of these two educationists and the extent to which it affected schoolmasters trained by them.⁵⁵ This previous work had a focus entirely separate from the present research and depended on a different range of source materials.

A new 1,000-word article on Derwent Coleridge has been written by Cherry Durrant for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, published in 2004.⁵⁶ Durrant presents Coleridge as a writer first and educationist second, interpreting the direction of his career in terms of the psychohistory developed in her research thesis, with its emphasis on resolution of personal and family conflict. Durrant retained Benham's phrase from the original *DNB*, that Derwent Coleridge 'did much to shape the course of education', but unfortunately omitted Benham's important defining words, 'elementary' and 'in England', thereby reducing Coleridge's educational activities to an unhappy impressionistic and vacuous account. His 14-year appointment as master of Helston Grammar School is described inaccurately as accepting 'the living of Helston in Cornwall, which had a school attached'. Helston was not a parish in its own right until 1865, its church being a chapel-of-ease and its curate appointed by the vicar of Wendron. Helston Grammar School was in the trust of the corporation of the borough, not of the church. Durrant's claim that the school, under Coleridge, 'produced excellent examination results' carries anachronistic overtones. Similarly, of St Mark's College, Chelsea, Durrant states carelessly that it was 'the very first teacher training college', and, unlike Benham, she fails to mention its founding body, the National Society. In describing the routine at St Mark's, she does not distinguish between early, temporary, arrangements and later, permanent, features of the college.

⁵⁵ David Nicholas, 'Science, Culture and Curriculum in mid-nineteenth century thought; two case studies: Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart., 1804-77, and the Reverend Derwent Coleridge, 1800-83', MEd dissertation (University of London, 1977).

⁵⁶ Cherry Durrant, article on 'Derwent Coleridge', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), xii, pp. 561-2.

Although the elements and structure of Durrant's *ODNB* article form a balanced summary of Derwent Coleridge's life, the educational details are imprecise and often misleading. The sources listed are important, but, surprisingly, no mention is made of Deirdre Dare's, *The Unknown Founder: the story of Helston Grammar School, 1550-1972*, published in 1996, in which a whole chapter is given to Derwent Coleridge, or the reports of Coleridge's work at Chelsea found in the National Society's *Annual Reports* and in the published *Minutes* of the Committee of Council on Education.⁵⁷ Durrant's article reflects the danger of constraining all members of a family within a single mould: the Coleridges were certainly endowed with literary genius, but within this generation of their family were a bishop, a judge, and an educationist, all of whom had far-reaching influence in their own professions.

The field of nineteenth-century church history has a vast literature. Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, 1829-1859*, which first appeared in 1966, is a magisterial work that offers rich insight to the complex issues surrounding Church and State and public affairs, including education.⁵⁸ The political dimension to debates about education, in which the various Christian denominations were energetic participants, is treated in detail by Ian Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868*, published in 1977.⁵⁹ Machin analyses the reasons for the urgent awakening of the National Society in 1838, although without examining the process of that awakening which is described in Chapter 2 of this thesis; he also penetrates the 1847 debate on government grants for elementary education, but not deeply enough to expose the pivotal importance of the deacon schoolmaster in motivating the Wesleyan protest and subsequent parliamentary proceedings (see Chapter 6 of this thesis).

Differences between the several types of Anglican churchmanship had considerable impact on education in the mid-nineteenth century, but misleading assumptions about their relative significance have often been made. The important distinction between the

⁵⁷ Deirdre Dare, *The Unknown Founder: the story of Helston Grammar School, 1550-1972* (Truro: Kelynne Publications, 1996); NS, *Annual Reports* (1841-64); Committee of Council on Education (CCE), *Minutes* (1842-58) and *Reports* (1859-64).

⁵⁸ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, 1829-1859* (London: Black, 1966).

⁵⁹ G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977).

old high churchmen and Tractarians was reconstructed in 1994 by Peter Nockles in *The Oxford Movement in Context*, which shows that traditional high-church orthodoxy survived publication of the Oxford Tracts in the 1830s with a continuing vitality.⁶⁰ This seminal work gives credence to the view taken in this thesis that Derwent Coleridge remained a traditional high churchman, and was never the Tractarian that vociferous contemporaries often claimed him to be.

The social concerns of Tractarians is a new field of historical research, vigorously presented in 2004 by Simon Skinner, *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England'*, which examines mid-nineteenth-century novels as important documents in history of education.⁶¹ James Pereiro's essay, in a festschrift presented to the educationist, Alan McClelland, in 2005, is a masterly study of 'Tractarians and National Education, 1838-1843', which traces from documentary sources the vision by which the National Society founded St Mark's College and the importance placed upon the choice of principal.⁶² The contribution of Samuel Wood (who passionately promoted deacon schoolmasters at the college) is discussed at length by Pereiro in his forthcoming (2007) book, *'Ethos' and the Oxford Movement*.⁶³

1.6 Research questions and methodology

This research focuses on an oral tradition that associates the training of deacon schoolmasters with Derwent Coleridge at St Mark's College, Chelsea, with a view to testing the tradition by means of documentary evidence. The research is directed by four questions:

⁶⁰ Peter Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican high churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁶¹ S. A. Skinner, *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England': the social and political thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2004).

⁶² James Pereiro, 'Tractarians and National Education, 1838-1843', in Sheridan Gilley (ed.), *Victorian Churches and Churchmen: essays presented to Vincent Alan McClelland* (Woodbridge: Boydell, for the Catholic Record Society), 2005; ch. 13, pp. 249-78.

⁶³ James Pereiro, *'Ethos' and the Oxford Movement: at the heart of Tractarianism* (Oxford University Press, November 2007); ch. 1, 'Samuel Francis Wood: a London Tractarian'.

1. How did the model of deacon schoolmaster come to be associated with the founding of St Mark's College in 1841? [Chapter 2.]
2. What models of schoolmaster had Derwent Coleridge known before his appointment as principal of St Mark's College? [Chapter 3.]
3. To what extent was Derwent Coleridge, as principal of St Mark's College, able to promote the model of deacon schoolmaster? [Chapters 4-5.]
4. Was the development at St Mark's College a particular instance of a wider contemporary interest in deacon schoolmasters? [Chapter 6.]

These are questions about the history of an idea, how it spread, and its influence on individuals, institutions and society. They, in turn, raise further questions about the motivations, perceptions and prejudices of not only the major protagonists and their opponents, but also the more detached participants in the ensuing debate about deacon schoolmasters. In order to capture the broad picture, boundaries must be drawn widely in terms of geography and social institutions. A particularly interesting perspective is that of the deacon schoolmasters themselves, and those who worked with them in various capacities; the problem is how to release their voices. If the attempt should be successful for only a few individuals, then their typicality remains unknown and the possibility of generalization is lessened.

Answers to questions of this sort inevitably rely on documentary sources surviving from the period. A wide range of sources underpins this research: personal papers (diaries and letters), institutional records (minute books and reports), official documents (parliamentary papers and ecclesiastical records), periodicals (newspapers and journals), and other contemporary publications (books and pamphlets, speeches and sermons). Extensive use has been made of important archives in England, and their holdings supplemented by material located overseas in the United States, Canada, and Russia. Major manuscript collections, giving access to personal papers of key individuals, are in

the British Library, Lambeth Palace Library, Borthwick Institute (University of York), and the Devon Record Office; likewise essential institutional records are in the Church of England Record Centre (National Society archive), Guildhall Library (City of London), The National Archives, and the College of St Mark and St John (Plymouth).

Much use has been made of long unbroken runs of nineteenth-century periodicals in the British Library (Newspapers) at Colindale, and various libraries in the University of London (including Senate House, the Institute of Historical Research, and the Institute of Education). Rare printed items – in some cases only one known copy – have been traced in the British Library, the London School of Economics, and the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea local studies library; and overseas in the United States and the Memorial University Library, St John's, Newfoundland.

This research started with the annual reports and minute books of St Mark's College (at the College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth) and its parent body, the National Society (at the Church of England Record Centre, in Bermondsey, London), where an enormous quantity of institutional detail was uncovered, although hardly anything relating to deacon schoolmasters. It was only when personal papers were tracked down that the richness of individual motivations and commitments became apparent, and advocacy of the deacon-schoolmaster model presented itself. Especially significant are William Gladstone's papers (British Library), Samuel Wood's papers (Hickleton papers, Borthwick Institute, University of York), Thomas Acland's papers (Devon Record Office), and the Coleridge family papers (British Library; College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth; St John's College Library, Cambridge; and the Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin). Personal papers often have only one side of a sequence of correspondence; it was an exhilarating moment, therefore, when letters to and from Derwent Coleridge were matched, despite their physical separation in England (Plymouth) and the United States (Austin, Texas). Comparison of manuscripts and diaries has enabled unsigned or undated documents to be attributed by handwriting or cross-referencing of internal evidence, or on one occasion by the identification of a family crest impressed on a wax seal.

Complete series of contemporary periodicals have been searched to trace the course of public debate on deacon schoolmasters, as well as wider contextual issues, for the period 1838 to 1864. From the educational press, the most important periodicals are the *English Journal of Education* and the National Society's *Monthly Paper*, and from the religious press useful material is in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, the *English Churchman*, and the *Guardian*. These titles were sympathetic to old high-church Anglicanism, in which Derwent Coleridge and St Mark's College may be positioned, so other perspectives have also been examined through periodicals such as the staunchly evangelical *Record* and the Wesleyan *Watchman*. Parliamentary interest in deacon schoolmasters has been explored through the entire series of *Minutes* of the Committee of Council on Education, and opinion expressed on various occasions in the House of Commons and House of Lords has been read in Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*. A sense of historical continuity in government regulations relating to ordained schoolmasters has developed by extending the end-date to the second half of the twentieth century, using files in The National Archives. A similar continuity has been traced for support of ordained schoolteachers within the Church of England up to the early twenty-first century.

Although the original expectation was that this research on deacon schoolmasters would be located entirely in the history of English education, the chance finding of a transcribed baptismal register on a genealogical website led to the discovery of deacon schoolmasters in Newfoundland in the mid-nineteenth century. Subsequently an international dimension to the research opened up, in which documentary evidence for the deacon-schoolmaster model in several British colonies has been attested. This development in the research has extended the boundaries of debate in important ways.

Archivists rightly forbid reprographics of most nineteenth-century manuscripts in order to ensure their preservation, so many hundreds of pages have been carefully transcribed in pencil during this research. In this thesis, these primary sources are examined comparatively, so that the evidence they contain may be evaluated and the events and contemporary understandings surrounding the deacon schoolmaster may be reconstructed as fully as possible.

The status of sources is critical, and in order to minimise bias they must include those that come closest to 'the influenced' as distinct from 'the influencers'. Surviving documents tend to be those created by people *in* authority rather than *under* authority. Documentary sources rarely penetrate into the working lives of teachers, yet it was in the local school, church and community that the impact of mid-nineteenth-century deacon schoolmasters was felt.

The historian's categories of people and place, together with his metaphor of landscape, are inescapable. The model of deacon schoolmaster is not located restrictively in the parish: that is its geographical, social and functional place. It must also be seen against other landscapes. The deacon schoolmaster is a concept whose justification is not ultimately pragmatic; it is derived essentially from an understanding of theology, and the theological landscape will become important at various places in this thesis.

The present author writes from a protestant Christian perspective, which keeps faith with Derwent Coleridge's own commitments. The mid-nineteenth-century party spirit within the Church of England, and the uneasy relationship between the Established Church and dissenting denominations, contrast sharply with the happier ecumenical inclinations of the twenty-first century. The author hopes that the breadth of his own church commitments and theological appreciation will enable him to deal justly with the range of religious interests that necessarily impinge on the subject of this research, yet to be critically aware of the inherited prejudices and new misunderstandings that existed between contesting parties.

Some of the manuscripts referred to in the text are privately owned, but in all cases the use made of them lies within the conditions under which they have been deposited in record offices. Special mention should be made of file ED 190/12, in The National Archives, which is a large volume of manuscript memoranda compiled within the Ministry of Education concerning the interpretation and application of School Regulations, 1945-59. Among these memoranda are entered a very small number of personal case notes relating to named schoolteachers, whose particular circumstances

were of critical significance in tracing historical continuities in Chapter 7. As these entries were probably overlooked when the file was accorded open status for public inspection, and as the persons to whom they refer may still be living, the individuals have not been identified by name in this thesis.

1.7 Theoretical framework: analysis and interpretation

Although the deacon schoolmaster may seem a narrowly confined topic, it is treated in this research within the broad development of elementary education over three decades from the late 1830s. Plans to introduce deacon schoolmasters affected, and were affected by, the complex processes of social change. In his 1991 study of nineteenth-century working-class education in Britain, Neil Smelser developed a synthetic theoretical framework by which he analysed and interpreted events to take account of social structures (e.g. of class, religion, and politics), social-group behaviours (e.g. movements, contests and compromises), and functional processes (e.g. socialization and social mobility).⁶⁴ He stressed the historical, theoretical and methodological importance of contemporary values by which the social significance of observed events were originally interpreted, preceding organized action towards educational change. Smelser's application of his process-model led him to identify five 'arenas of social change': class relations, economic forces, religious affairs, political processes, and role developments (of teachers and others concerned with providing education).⁶⁵

Much of the research presented in this thesis reflects Smelser's analysis, the five 'arenas' appearing frequently, often in combination, but each with its own dynamic. A major focus is on a single institution (St Mark's College), but Smelser's analytical model is applicable to social change at both the macro- and micro-level, which allows analysis to move comfortably between national (even international) and institutional perspectives and thereby explain significant interrelationships. Many histories of teacher training

⁶⁴ Neil J. Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change: British working-class education in the nineteenth century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 7-38; chart 2, 'A model of educational change', p. 34.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 353-4.

colleges appeared in the second half of the twentieth century as either commissioned centenary (or other anniversary) mementoes or obituaries in the face of closure. These tended to extol the institution's virtues and neglect historical criticism.⁶⁶ Objective institutional history is difficult in such circumstances; a notable achievement, however, was Richard Aldrich's 2002 centenary history of the London Institute of Education, which exemplifies how this may be done analytically and in broad contexts.⁶⁷

The present research focuses even more precisely on particular individuals (especially Derwent Coleridge, but others as well). Their responses to social influences – widely interpreted – are crucial and demand the critical analysis which characterizes recent scholarly biographical studies that have replaced earlier hagiographies of nineteenth-century educationists. Modern works, such as Selleck's biography of Kay-Shuttleworth or McCrum's study of Thomas Arnold, insist on exposing any factor, however personal or discreditable, that may lead to revisionist interpretations of events in the subject's life.⁶⁸ Kay-Shuttleworth, for instance, has been adjudged by Selleck as temperamentally prone to exaggerate his involvement in important educational developments: in a speech at the patronal festival of St Mark's College in 1875, Kay-Shuttleworth made the astonishing statement (in the presence of Derwent Coleridge) that he had acted with Coleridge in the founding of the college.⁶⁹ Whilst Selleck attempted to embrace Kay-Shuttleworth's many interests throughout his life, McCrum (writing as a former public school headmaster who had taught at Rugby School) aimed solely to re-assess Arnold's reputation as headmaster of Rugby. McCrum described his biography as having 'a slant'. There are two senses in which it is 'slanted': first, it deals intentionally with only one aspect of Arnold's life, and secondly, it acknowledges bias in the author. McCrum's own career had placed him in close proximity (both in location and role) to Arnold – albeit

⁶⁶ Important exceptions are: G. P. McGregor, *Bishop Otter College and Policy for Teacher Education, 1839-1980* (London: Pembrige, 1981), and Gordon McGregor, *A Church College for the Twenty-first Century? 150 years of Ripon and York St John, 1841-1991: a study of policy and its absence* (York: Sessions, 1991).

⁶⁷ Richard Aldrich, *The Institute of Education, 1902-2002: a centenary history* (London: Institute of Education, 2002).

⁶⁸ R. J. W. Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth: journey of an outsider* (Ilford: Woburn, 1994); Michael McCrum, *Thomas Arnold, Head Master: a reassessment* (OUP, 1989).

⁶⁹ Selleck, *ibid.*, p. 406; for Kay-Shuttleworth's speech (not in Selleck), see: NS, *Monthly Paper*, June 1875, p. 130.

more than a century later – from which vantage McCrum believed he might have enhanced insight in pursuit of significant elements in Arnold’s life at Rugby.⁷⁰

This current research is similarly ‘slanted’, in both specific focus (Derwent Coleridge’s relationship to the deacon schoolmaster) and authorship bias. The present author was himself trained as a schoolmaster at the College of S. Mark and S. John, Chelsea (from 1964 to 1967), where he lived next to Coleridge’s house, sat in his original lecture room, studied in the practising school he built, attended daily service in his chapel, and dined in the refectory under Derwent Coleridge’s portrait. Although these experiences were a hundred years after Coleridge’s retirement as principal of St Mark’s College, the author considers, like McCrum, that they have sensitized him in the detection and critical interpretation of important elements in the relationship between Derwent Coleridge and the deacon schoolmaster.

There has been a renewed interest in discarded models of schoolteacher, stimulated, perhaps, by dramatic changes in recent teacher-training policies. Cunningham and Gardner, for example, published in 2004 their research into the English model of pre-college student teacher, prevalent in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁷¹ Like the deacon schoolmaster of the preceding century, this model had been largely forgotten: both, however, invite questions about their origin, practice and legacy, although only the student-teacher model is recent enough to be susceptible to research using oral methods alongside documentary analysis.⁷² The origin of the deacon-schoolmaster model appears to be identifiable from private documents alone (see Chapter 2), whereas public records become more important in revealing its practice (Chapters 4-6) and legacy (Chapter 7). Where both exist, these two types of document illuminate each other, exposing mutual influences between private and public domains. McCulloch therefore cautions against ‘rigid typology’, whilst arguing that a combined use of multiple documentary sources, as

⁷⁰ M. McCrum, *Thomas Arnold, Head Master*, p. vii.

⁷¹ Peter Cunningham and Philip Gardner, *Becoming Teachers: texts and testimonies, 1907-1950* (London: Woburn, 2004).

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

a form of triangulation and methodological pluralism, enriches interpretation.⁷³ The variety of sources referred to in this thesis has such enrichment as its aim.

Structure of the thesis

This chapter has shown that the vast expansion of elementary education in the mid-nineteenth century became possible only by the training of teachers, and that existing models of schoolmaster were deemed to be inadequate for education in church schools. An oral tradition has associated the new model of deacon schoolmaster with Derwent Coleridge, first principal of St Mark's College, Chelsea.

Four research questions have been proposed to test the oral tradition by means of documentary evidence, and various methodological and historiographical issues have been raised.

The thesis continues by locating the deacon schoolmaster in an ambitious plan of 1838 to revitalize the National Society, which included the establishment of a national college for training teachers (Chapter 2). Then Derwent Coleridge's background, educational experience, and pedagogical thought, before his appointment as college principal, are considered (Chapter 3). Two chapters follow that explore the extent to which Coleridge was able to promote deacon schoolmasters at St Mark's College, at first in a period of comparative freedom (Chapter 4), and later in a period of constraint (Chapter 5). The focus then widens to public debate in the mid-nineteenth century on issues surrounding the deacon schoolmaster, taking in the Church, Parliament, and the British colonies (Chapter 6). A final chapter returns to the research questions, draws conclusions, and indicates important historical continuities that bear on the significance of the model of deacon schoolmaster (Chapter 7).

⁷³ Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), pp. 128-9.

Chapter 2. A New Vision for the National Society, 1838-41

By the late 1830s English educational opinion was in ferment. Thomas Carlyle, in his essay on Chartism, wrote:

Dissenters call for one scheme of education, the Church objects; this party objects, and that; there is endless objection, by him and by her and by it: a subject encumbered with difficulties on every side!¹

The National Society, representing the educational interests of the Established Church, was both challenged by its opponents and responsible for adding to the difficulties of others. The Society's remarkable achievements during its first 25 years had led to a degree of institutional satisfaction and complacency, and its organizational structures were not ready to meet the powerful challenges of this period. Instead of responding creatively to changing circumstances, the National Society became entrenched in its purposes and procedures, and in the underlying assumptions and conventional justifications for its views.

The Church of England bishops were *ex officio* members of the National Society's General Committee, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several elected members had served for over 30 years, among them the indefatigable 'lay archbishop', Joshua Watson, treasurer since its foundation in 1811. William Johnson had supervised training of teachers at its Central School in London from 1812 to 1839. Alongside stability of strategic personnel, there was patronage of the Crown: the National Society, incorporated by royal charter in 1817, continued to benefit at intervals from letters appealing for donations which by royal command were read in every parish church in England and Wales. These features, which in some respects strengthened the Society's work, had made it an establishment institution in which creative change was not easily managed or even considered. Alexander concluded that in the mid-1830s 'the Society's

¹ Thomas Carlyle, 'Chartism', 1839, in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, iv, [centenary edition: *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, xxiv], (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), pp. 118-204, at p. 195.

drive had mellowed into complacency, which in turn was hardening into ossification'.² The process was not yet complete, but a new vision had become urgent.

That urgency was not simply a matter of internal well-being for the National Society; externally issues were developing apace in Church-State relations that would overturn the National Society's fundamental understanding of church education if allowed headway. Lord Melbourne's government was determined to bring about church reform, and it passed the Pluralities Act in 1838 to reduce the rate of absenteeism among parish clergy. It was known early in the same year that Lord Brougham intended to introduce another education bill before parliament in order to advance State-controlled secular education for the poor. At the same time nonconformist chapels were providing an attractive alternative to Anglican parish churches, the Roman Catholic Church was tempting some Anglicans who held Tractarian sentiments, and the Established Church itself was faced with growing tensions between its various strands of churchmanship. The National Society could not afford to be complacent.³

Early in 1838, however, an audacious attempt to inject new life into the National Society, coupled with an offer to undertake the necessary work for its implementation, came from an unexpected source. This chapter identifies the main challenges, before introducing the visionaries and showing how they put pressure on the Society to adopt their ideas. It then looks specifically at the place of teacher training, and the concept of deacon schoolmaster, in this new vision, leading to the establishment by the National Society of a college for training schoolmasters and the appointment of Derwent Coleridge as its principal.

² J. L. Alexander, 'Collegiate teacher training in England and Wales', PhD thesis (University of London, 1978), pp. 51-2.

³ The issues referred to in this paragraph are considered in G. I. T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 'Whigs and the churches, 1837-1845', pp. 62-71.

2.1 Challenges facing the National Society

There were four distinct, but over-lapping, issues: the threat of secularism, the possibility of non-denominational Christian education, the place of non-Anglicans in National schools, and the growing dissatisfaction with monitorial education. Each of these challenges to the National Society will be described briefly in order to provide a context for its new vision.

Secular education

The voices of secularism were often not anti-religious, or even anti-Christian, in themselves; they were expressions of concern that education should not be provided solely by voluntary bodies. Education free from encumbrance of the Church implied education provided by the State, and as such challenged forcibly the assumptions of existing Church-State relations. It was also in direct opposition to the National Society, which argued that the Church had a duty to educate the people.

Secularism has often been linked to the Central Society for Education, founded in 1836, which claimed an investigative purpose akin to the recently formed statistical societies that were beginning to provide social reformers with incontrovertible evidence for their various causes, not least advancement of ‘national education’ in whatever form it might be conceived or provided. Statistical descriptions of social contours raised public awareness, quickened individual consciences, and offered a platform for reformers to assert their ideological allegiances. Members of the Central Society for Education were more than information-gatherers, however; they wanted to use their evidence to achieve reform. Among them were around 50 members of parliament, including three of the four original members of the Committee of Privy Council on Education appointed in 1839.⁴ The Central Society’s chairman, Thomas Wyse, the Irish Catholic MP for Waterford, addressed influential public meetings to promote secular education during 1837. This agitation for the State to provide elementary education, and the attention given to it by

⁴ Lord John Russell, Lord Lansdowne, and Thomas Spring Rice.

Melbourne's Whig administration of 1835-41, posed a serious threat to the monopoly of voluntary bodies such as the National Society.

Non-denominational Christian education

The attitudes of nonconformists varied: some adopted a secularist stance, whilst others believed that it was possible (and desirable) for schools to give Christian education devoid of denominational doctrine, and they saw the work of the British and Foreign School Society as vindication of their belief. This view, although contrary to the position of the National Society, was held by some Anglicans too, particularly evangelicals.

British schools, according to the rules of the parent society, provided education for children of 'every religious persuasion'. The Bible was read and taught, but intentionally without sectarian interpretation. The BFSS considered that they achieved this without difficulty, although it proved hard to accommodate Unitarianism. When Edward Stanley, Bishop of Norwich, a vice-president of the BFSS, attended its central school at Borough Road, Southwark, in 1839, and 'somewhat stringently' questioned the children 'on the person, the work, the divinity, and atonement of the blessed Saviour', the practical difficulties for Anglicans of avoiding doctrinal tensions in non-denominational Christian education became evident.⁵ Nevertheless the BFSS remained open to those Anglicans who were ready to support it. In 1836, evangelical members of the Church of England had also cooperated with nonconformists to found the Home and Colonial School Society to train teachers for infant schools. The attraction of such organizations for evangelical Churchmen posed a threat to the National Society's accustomed position as the sole agent of the Established Church in educational matters.

Non-Anglicans in National schools

In many places, especially in rural areas, there was no school other than the National school, and here the unresolved matter of the admission of children of non-Anglican

⁵ Henry B. Binns, *A Century of Education, being the centenary history of the British and Foreign School Society, 1808-1908* (London: Dent, 1908), p. 153.

parents to National schools became a live issue. The terms of union of the National Society, by which a school became a National school, stated unequivocally:

It is required that all the children received into these schools be, without exception, instructed in . . . the liturgy and catechism [of the Established Church], and that . . . the children of each school do constantly attend divine service in their parish church . . . on the Lord's Day.⁶

In the parishes clergymen often (but not invariably) exercised some flexibility in the application of the terms-of-union clauses in the case of dissenters. The official view remained, however, and in 1834 the National Society's secretary, Joseph Wigram, told the parliamentary Select Committee on Education that the doctrines of the Established Church could not be substituted in National schools, neither could he justify allowing children educated in National schools to attend services at places of nonconformist worship.⁷ The terms of union, and Wigram's uncompromising insistence on them, indicate an unresolved tension between the sense of duty with which the Church felt itself charged to educate the people as a missionary task and the reduction in disabilities of dissenters and Roman Catholics as a result of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (1828) and the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829).

Monitorial education

Finally, there was growing dissatisfaction with the monitorial system favoured by the National Society and taught in its central model school (see p. 16). The system had lasted because it was cheap, but the Society was obliged to publish a number of criticisms of the system in an appendix to its *Annual Report* of 1839 and in the following year to consider the more penetrating investigation of its own inspector, Edward Feild.⁸ Of monitorial education Feild wrote:

Education it positively and clearly is not. . . . If the end and object of our schools were to make mechanical or intellectual machines, we might produce them by the monitorial system, or even, in favourable

⁶ NS, *First Report* (1812), pp. 27-8; reprinted in J. M. Goldstrom, *Education: Elementary Education 1780-1900* [Sources for Social and Economic History], (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), pp. 49-50, at p. 50.

⁷ *Report from the Select Committee on the State of Education . . . with Minutes of Evidence*, 1834, PP, IX.

⁸ NS, *Annual Report for 1839*, Appendix V; *Annual Report for 1840*, Appendix IV.

circumstances, moral machines. But let us remember this is not education.⁹

Edward Feild was consecrated Bishop of Newfoundland in 1844, and his educational interests in that colony are considered in Chapter 6. It fell to others to find a solution to the National Society's problem concerning the model of schoolteacher it should now promote.

2.2 A visionary triumvirate

Revitalisation of the National Society in the late 1830s was a particular case of a more general quest for reform of structures and administrative arrangements within the Church of England. As leader of the resurgent Tory party, Robert Peel wrote in November 1837 about his conviction that the clergy and laity should act together to make strategic plans for extending national education on Church principles:

If united (lay and clerical) . . . they have it in their power . . . to institute a system of education, based on instruction in the doctrines of the Church, which, if worked out with moderation and discretion, shall command much more of public confidence than any Government system founded on a different [i.e. secular] principle.¹⁰

Two of Peel's young Tory MPs, Thomas Dyke Acland and William Ewart Gladstone, rose to the challenge and committed themselves to the task of re-envisioning the National Society, especially in providing education on a scale sufficient to meet the need throughout England and Wales. On Acland's testimony, the initiative for this action was taken by Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, who held the ancient office of Melter and Refiner at the Royal Mint.¹¹ Together, Mathison, Acland and Gladstone formed a triumvirate that set about the design of an ambitious and comprehensive scheme which came to determine

⁹ NS, *Annual Report for 1840*, Appendix IV.

¹⁰ Robert Peel to John Wilson Croker, 12 November 1837, in: Louis J. Jennings (ed.), *The Croker Papers: the correspondence and diaries of the late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker*, 3 vols (London: Murray, 1884), ii, p. 323.

¹¹ Thomas Dyke Acland, *Some Account of the Origin and Objects of the New Oxford Examinations for the Title of Associate in Arts* . . . (London: Ridgway, 1858), p. 5.

the form and character of national education throughout the nineteenth century, and whose influence has lasted into the twenty-first century.

Gilbert Farquhar Mathison (1803-54)

Gilbert Mathison had useful family connections in the evangelical Tory MP, Walter Rockliff Farquhar, and the eminent vicar of Leeds, Walter Farquhar Hook, who published widely-circulated educational pamphlets during the 1840s. Mathison had left Oxford for a career in foreign trade before settling at the Mint. His interest in elementary education was first aroused in 1822, during an extensive visit to South America, where he found thriving Lancasterian (monitorial) schools in Chile and elsewhere being encouraged by their governments to expand on a national scale.¹² These interests were re-awakened during a tour of Ireland in the autumn of 1835, when he obtained first-hand knowledge of the religious and educational situation in that country following establishment, by the Westminster parliament in 1831, of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. It is not known what prompted this purely personal enquiry, which was carried out in desultory fashion as Gilbert Mathison travelled, seemingly on whim, for two months, calling on clergymen and visiting schools when he chanced to find them. Although this approach contrasts unfavourably with the methodical enquiries of the statistical societies in England, the impression formed in Mathison's mind was to have lasting significance for him.

On returning home, Mathison wrote an account of his journey, dedicated to a relative, 'Mrs Jones, of Oldbury Court, Bristol', and printed for private circulation.¹³ In later years, Thomas Acland acknowledged its importance: 'This book set many men thinking, and gained for the writer the confidence of persons in high station.'¹⁴ Mathison understood that the secular stance of the Board for National Education in Ireland had compromised, for the sake of expediency, the position of Roman Catholic and protestant clergy alike, but the legislation had been enacted and the practical circumstances that now

¹² Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands during the years 1821 and 1822* . . . (London: Knight, 1825), pp. 187-91.

¹³ G[ilbert] F[arquhar] G[raeme] M[athison], *Journal of a Tour in Ireland, during the months of October and November 1835* (London: printed by Samuel Bentley 'for private circulation only', 1836).

¹⁴ T. D. Acland, *New Oxford Examinations*, p. 5.

obtained had to be faced. Mathison was appalled to discover that Anglican clergy in Ireland appeared not to visit the schools, although that had been the Commissioners' expectation.¹⁵

Gilbert Mathison was determined that the English Church should not acquiesce to powerful forces of State interference, as had happened in Ireland. He acknowledged, however, that effective opposition would require practical measures susceptible to implementation, and on returning from Holland, where he visited the national schools in the summer of 1837, he prepared a plan for greatly expanding Church education through the agency of the National Society.¹⁶ Mathison was ready to consult others at the beginning of 1838, and in February he took his proposals to Thomas Acland. The paper has not survived, but Acland wrote in his journal for an unspecified day, 'Mathison called and read me his plan.'¹⁷ Samuel Wilberforce, later to become Bishop of Oxford, also met Acland and Gladstone at that time, as well as having a long talk about schools with Mathison on 21 February.¹⁸

Thomas Dyke Acland (1809-98)

Thomas Acland, whose father had built schools on the family estates in Devon and Somerset and promoted education with Andrew Bell, was a contemporary of William Gladstone at Oxford. In 1834 the young Acland travelled in Europe and wrote to Gladstone about education in Germany, reporting that teacher training had advanced beyond Bell's principles: 'They consider, and I think, with truth, that the Bell "teacher" degenerates into a machine.'¹⁹ In contrast to the few weeks spent in monitorial training in England, teachers trained at the Berlin normal school for two years. Acland pursued

¹⁵ G. M[athison], *Journal*, pp. 83-4.

E. G. Stanley (chief secretary, Irish Office, London) to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, October 1831, in *First Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland* (1834); reprinted in J. M. Goldstrom, *Elementary Education 1780-1900*, pp. 70-6, at p. 74.

¹⁶ Samuel Francis Wood to John Henry Newman, n. d. [early 1838], Hickleton papers (Borthwick Institute, University of York), A2/42/2, ff. 62^r-67^r, at 64^r.

¹⁷ Arthur H. D. Acland (ed.), *Memoir and Letters of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Dyke Acland* (London: printed by Chiswick Press 'for private circulation', 1902), p. 88.

¹⁸ A. R. Ashwell, *Life of the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce . . . with selections from his Diaries and Correspondence*, 3 vols (London: Murray, 1880-82), i, p. 116.

¹⁹ Thomas Acland to William Gladstone, 15 December 1834, quoted in Arthur Acland (ed.), *Memoir of Thomas Dyke Acland*, pp. 74-5, at p. 74.



his interest in education with another Oxford friend, Samuel Francis Wood, with whom in September 1838 he would visit schools in Liverpool and John Stow's Training School for teachers in Glasgow.²⁰

Acland had been influenced by the Tractarians at Oxford, and, writing to Gladstone on 20 March 1835, he expressed his view that education supported by the State must be that of the Established Church.²¹ With such principles, Thomas Acland entered parliament in 1837 as MP for West Somerset; he also associated with Gilbert Mathison, with whom he shared high-church views about education. When Mathison called on Acland in February 1838 with his plans for the National Society, they found a common cause and decided immediately to draw Gladstone into their scheme. Gladstone's diary records that Mathison and Acland came to his London home to discuss education on 24 February 1838, thereby making the triumvirate complete.²²

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98)

William Gladstone was an assiduous diarist: he noted in his daily journal throughout his life all his activities, meetings, conversations, correspondence, and reading, from which a detailed picture emerges of Gladstone's personal enthusiasm for public education. As a student he regularly taught (especially during vacations) in the Sunday schools of the parish churches where he worshipped.²³ After a distinguished career at Oxford, Gladstone recorded in his diary:

Yesterday an idea, a chimera entered my head – of gathering during the progress of my life, notes and materials for a work embracing three divisions – Morals – Politics – Education.²⁴

²⁰ Samuel Wood to 'Minnie' [i.e. his mother, Anne Wood, who was affectionately called 'Minnie' by her children; see J. G. Lockhart, *Charles Lindley Viscount Halifax, I, 1839-1885* (London: Bles, 1935), p. 12], n.d. [8 September 1838], BI, Hickleton papers, A2/40/1.

²¹ Acland to Gladstone, 20 March 1835, quoted in Arthur Acland, *Memoir*, pp. 77-8.

²² The MS Journal, in 41 volumes bound as 40, is deposited in Lambeth Palace Library (MSS 1416-55). It is published as: *The Gladstone Diaries*, 14 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968-94). The relevant volumes for this thesis are: M.R.D. Foot (ed.), *I (1825-32)*, 1968; *II (1833-39)*, 1968; M.R.D. Foot and H.C.G. Matthew (eds), *III (1840-47)*, 1974; H.C.G. Matthew (comp.), *XIV Index*, 1994.

²³ Gladstone, *Diary*, 17 September – 5 October 1828, in the Sunday school at Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire; 21 December 1828 – 11 January 1829, at Liverpool; 26 July – 11 October 1829, at Liverpool; 11 July – 3 October 1830, at Cuddesdon; 28 August 1831, at Mursley, Buckinghamshire; 27 November – 4 December 1831, at Cuddesdon.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 October 1831.

For several years Gladstone headed many of his more reflective writings with the letters M, P or E according to this scheme.

As a young parliamentarian – he became MP for Newark in 1832 – Gladstone was determined to understand the underlying issues, grappling with the philosophical and pedagogical foundations of education. In 1834 he visited the Sessional School in Edinburgh, where John Wood trained teachers for the Church of Scotland, in order to discuss with him the comparative merits of the monitorial systems of Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster as practised in the schools of the National Society and BFSS.²⁵ He concluded that the supposedly non-denominational teaching of the BFSS was ‘disingenuous’ and that the Church ‘catechism should not be given up’. A few months later, Gladstone visited Borough Road School, Southwark, with William Wordsworth, Henry Taylor and Joshua Watson (treasurer of the National Society), where they discussed BFSS principles with its secretary, Henry Dunn.²⁶

Gladstone’s extensive reading included publications on various systems of teacher training (Bell, Lancaster, Kildare Place Society in Ireland, and normal schools in Prussia). His own thinking, however, is particularly significant, and Gladstone habitually wrote memoranda as he developed his ideas, ranging from the philosophical and theological foundations of education to curriculum and pedagogy. The following memoranda have been found among his papers at the British Library:

1. Knowledge and education;
2. Education in the West Indies;
3. Objections to an education commission;
4. Teaching of Classics;
5. Childhood;
6. Perfection;
7. Teaching reading;
8. Reflections on education;
9. Education of body, mind and soul;
10. Personal development and the order of education;
11. Classical education;
12. History in education;

²⁵ Gladstone, *Diary*, 16 December 1834.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18 March 1835.

13. Imagination in childhood;
14. Education in Ireland.²⁷

The scope of these educational memoranda reveal the breadth of Gladstone's intellect, his sensitivity to human emotion, and his personal integrity in political affairs. His social conscience was ever active, from a conservative perspective rather than radical, but prompted by a steadfast conviction that in his actions and use of time he was ultimately accountable to God.

Gladstone felt the force of issues in a deeply personal way. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in his response to the Slavery Abolition Act (1833), which came into force on 1 August 1834. The change in status of slaves to free apprentices was not only a matter of conscience in the broad sense, but an issue of personal integrity for Gladstone, whose father had business interests in estates in British Guiana. He vigorously pursued the advancement of education in the West Indies and in Ireland: on 11 April 1837, Gladstone wrote in his journal, 'This subject [i.e. Irish education], and those it involves, haunt me day and night.'

Gladstone was engrossed in Irish education when Mathison and Acland came to see him in February 1838 with their proposals for extending education throughout England and Wales by the agency of the National Society.²⁸ Their decision to seek Gladstone's support was to prove exceptionally beneficial: he had immense energy, five years' varied experience in parliament, favour with senior Tory politicians, active relationships with senior clergy, extensive knowledge of educational systems, a versatile pen, and a commitment to the position of the Established Church in relation to the State – his treatise on *The State in its Relations with the Church* was to be published later that year.²⁹

²⁷ Gladstone papers, memoranda: British Library (BL), Add. MS 44723, ff. 406-10 (no. 1, n.d. [before 1835]); Add. MS 44724, ff. 4-37 (no. 2, 7-14 April 1835), ff. 38-9 (no. 2, supplement, 1 May 1835), f. 77 (no. 3, 2 June 1835); Add. MS 44725, f. 49 (no. 4, n.d.), f. 50 (no. 5, 9 July 1837), f. 51 (no. 6, n.d.), f. 52 (no. 7, n.d.), ff. 53-61 (no. 8, 7 November 1835), ff. 62-64 (no. 9, n.d.), ff. 65-69 (no. 10, n.d.), ff. 70-85 (no. 11, n.d.), ff. 87-89 (no. 12, n.d.), ff. 90-92 (no. 13, 23 November 1835); Add. MS 44727, ff. 12-21 (no. 14, 19 April 1837), ff. 22-3 (no. 14, postscript, 1 May 1837), ff. 24-5 (no. 14, proposed modifications, n.d. [1837]).

²⁸ Gladstone, *Diary*, 19 January – 2 February 1838 (for Gladstone's current reading on Irish education); 17 February 1838 (another meeting with the Bishop of Exeter on the same subject).

²⁹ William Gladstone, *The State in its Relations with the Church* (London: Murray, 1838).

Above all, William Gladstone had a deep personal Christian faith that found natural expression in his political and public life. Such a man could command attention and respect as the visionaries advanced their plans.

2.3 Discreet enquiries and presentation of the vision

Gilbert Mathison knew that his plan would not be welcomed by the stalwarts of the National Society unless its passage were prepared with discretion. At their first meeting, Mathison, Acland and Gladstone agreed on a judicious scheme whereby the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as *ex officio* president of the Society, would be sought first. With his approval, they would then make confidential enquiries among their influential acquaintances to assess the degree of confidence that generally might be given to their plan, and the extent to which the necessary increase in donations to the National Society might be forthcoming. Only then would they make a formal approach to the Society with their vision. They also knew that political challenges to the National Society, in the form of State interference in education, would threaten the success of their plan, and that there was no time to lose.

The action that followed is reconstructed here from scattered primary sources. Mathison's papers do not appear to have survived, although he left some recollections in his anonymous pamphlet, written six years later.³⁰ Acland kept a journal, from which his son quoted extracts in his father's biography, but the original can no longer be traced.³¹ Gladstone, however, ensured the preservation of almost every document that came into his possession. Among his papers in the British Library is a series of working documents and printed papers relating to this enterprise, helpfully numbered in chronological sequence by Gladstone himself, although now partly separated. His numerous volumes

³⁰ [Gilbert Farquhar Mathison], *How Can the Church Educate the People? The question considered with reference to the incorporation and endowment of colleges for the middle and lower classes of society. In a letter addressed to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury by a member of the National Society* (London: Rivington, 1844).

³¹ Arthur Acland (ed.), *Memoir and Letters of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Dyke Acland* (London: private circulation, 1902).

of correspondence also contain references to the plan, and undated letters can be cross-referenced with the lists of correspondents recorded each day in Gladstone's diary. Once the plan became official business of the National Society, the minute books of its various committees provide a formal record of events and decisions.

Acland noted in his journal the first meeting, probably in the third week of February 1838, when Mathison went to Acland's London lodgings at 92 Jermyn Street and read his plan.³² Then Gladstone made an entry in his diary that Mathison and Acland had come to his home in Carlton Gardens on Saturday 24 February, and invited his assistance. The triumvirate now formed, Gladstone hosted a further two-hour meeting with Mathison and Acland on the following Thursday evening; earlier that day he had attended the Commons Select Committee on the education of the poorer classes in England and Wales and a meeting with the Bishop of London on education for the lower classes, as well as reading a report on David Stow's Normal School in Glasgow.³³ The urgency of that meeting with Mathison and Acland becomes clear with Acland's terse comment in his diary the next day, Friday 2 March: 'Mathison went to the Archbishop of Canterbury.'³⁴ With characteristic modesty, however, Mathison's own anonymous recollection of that day, omitting all mention of himself, is that Joshua Watson (a founder and treasurer of the National Society) had presented the plan to the Archbishop, William Howley.³⁵

There was wisdom in obtaining Watson's sympathetic introduction to the Archbishop, as the desired outcome was reached. Howley gave assurance that if the visionaries were able to increase the number of subscribers to the National Society by its annual meeting in May, he 'would gladly come forward as President, and appeal to the public in behalf of Church education as contradistinguished from public instruction through all the Society's ramifications'.³⁶ The density of Mathison's expression hides subtlety which is important: superficially it might be thought that the National Society was simply an agency providing education for children of the poor, but its purpose was emphatically to provide

³² Acland, *Memoir*, p. 88.

³³ Gladstone, *Diary*, 1 March 1838.

³⁴ Acland, *Memoir*, p. 88.

³⁵ [Mathison], *How Can the Church Educate the People?* pp. 5-6.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Church education – and this, the National Society claimed, must be defended against the looming threat of State interference.

There were tactical issues for the triumvirate to consider. Theologically the three men at this time had leanings toward Tractarianism, rather than the ‘safer’ – and more familiar – ‘high and dry’ Anglicanism, and potentially this could become a cause of division if a perception of party spirit should arise. The greatest difficulty then would be to keep evangelicals in the National Society (see p. 45). Gladstone admitted that during the late 1830s, ‘I had no low churchmen among my near friends, except Walter Farquhar,’ Gilbert Mathison’s relative and Tory MP.³⁷ Acland recorded that the triumvirate were especially careful to keep the support of Lord Ashley, the only evangelical layman on the general committee of the National Society.³⁸ A different kind of problem was the active project of the Bishops of London and Winchester to establish schools in London to promote church education for the middle classes, and there was anxiety to avoid collision between the triumvirate and the bishops as each sought support for their cause.

A memorandum setting out the objects of the triumvirate had been prepared for the meeting with the Archbishop. Copies were now to be sent, under confidential cover, to influential acquaintances during the next phase of exploratory enquiry. By this time, Mathison had invited other trusted friends to join the three principal promoters of the plan: Lord Sandon, Lord Ashley, Samuel Francis Wood (a Tractarian friend of Acland), Winthrop Mackworth Praed, Robert Skeffington Lutwidge, and Henry Nelson Coleridge (a cousin of Derwent Coleridge, who married Derwent’s sister, Sara, in 1829, thereby making him both cousin and brother-in-law).³⁹ The printed memorandum was circulated on the initiative of any member of this group, the first batch being prepared on Sunday 4 March. Henry Nelson Coleridge wrote on that day to his brother, John Taylor Coleridge, a judge on the northern circuit who had made Derwent Coleridge his chaplain in 1835:

A great movement is in design with a view to counteract or neutralize the threatened education bills of Brougham and the government, each of them

³⁷ Quoted in J. Morley, *Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, 3 vols (London: 1903), ii, p. 162.

³⁸ Acland, *Memoir*, p. 88.

³⁹ These names are recorded in Acland’s journal; see *Memoir*, p. 89. Praed, Lutwidge, and Henry Coleridge had been contemporaries of Derwent Coleridge at Cambridge, and retained mutual friendship.

. . . attacking the principle of teaching the people as members of the Church. . . . It is not to be a party movement – many good Whigs are joining in it.⁴⁰

The circular memorandum was headed, 'For private perusal and circulation only.' Each copy was numbered, the intention being that the paper should be returned with signatures to indicate personal support of the plan and a commitment to make a financial contribution to its success. Its title stated the aim: *Proposals for improving and extending National Education through the agency of the National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church*.⁴¹

Mathison's plan was to proceed by stealth. Samuel Wood recorded: 'His view, in brief, is to forestall any Government or Abstract-Principle plan by an immediate, silent, and large extension of the funds and energy of the National Society.'⁴² By now, however, Mathison was beginning to show symptoms of stress in this venture. Acland commented in his journal on 11 March:

Mathison is getting very nervous and excited . . . he is joining wheel to wheel and certainly has got a good many very important persons, but he seems to be making too much of a Guy Fawkes plot of it, and he is jealous of anybody interfering.⁴³

The symptoms were serious, however, and Mathison became ill.⁴⁴ Acland and Gladstone consulted on 15 March. 'We were this week at a standstill,' wrote Acland on 18 March, 'waiting the issue of poor Mathison's attack.'⁴⁵ In Mathison's absence, others had to assume direction. Gladstone discussed the situation with Mathison's relative, Walter Rockliff Farquhar, on 20 March, before further conversations about arrangements the

⁴⁰ Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge, 4 March 1838: BL, Coleridge papers, Add. MS 47557, ff. 138-9, at f. 138^{r-v}.

For the chaplaincy, see J. T. C[oleridge] to Derwent Coleridge, 27 February 1835, bookseller's catalogue (London: Richard Ford, 2007).

⁴¹ *Proposals for improving and extending National Education through the agency of the National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church*, n.d. [March 1838], British Library (BL), Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, ff. 70-1.

⁴² Samuel Wood to John Henry Newman, n. d. [February 1838], BL, Hickleton papers, A2/42/2, ff. 62-7, at f. 64^r.

⁴³ Acland, *Memoir*, p. 89.

⁴⁴ Gladstone wrote in his journal, 'Grieved to hear of Mathison's illness.' See *Diary*, Tuesday 13 March 1838.

⁴⁵ Gladstone, *Diary*, 15 March 1838; Acland, *Memoir*, p. 89.

next day, and met at Acland's lodging on the afternoon of Friday 23 March.⁴⁶ Eight of Mathison's friends – the group who had been circulating the private memorandum – gathered to decide how to proceed.

No record of this meeting appears to have survived, but the general agreement may be inferred from what followed. The group continued with discreet enquiries, but becoming less secretive and so clearer about what they wanted of those to whom they sent circulars. It is also probable that the meeting invited Walter Farquhar to join the activists, as he played a prominent part in the next stage of negotiations. This was a sensible strategy: Walter Farquhar provided family continuity in advancing what was essentially Mathison's initiative, and he was a much-needed prominent evangelical whose presence would help obviate possible identification of the plan with high church tendencies. Meanwhile Samuel Wood had assured the Tractarian leader, John Henry Newman, that 'all colour of its being a H[igh] Church movement is to be carefully eschewed'.⁴⁷

The vicar of Leeds, Walter Farquhar Hook, wrote to Gladstone about the papers he had received before his cousin's illness and offered support: 'In short, tell me what to do, and I will do it. I am only fearful that unless I know what is done elsewhere and what you desire, I may be doing mischief.'⁴⁸ Gladstone replied that the urgency was to engage as many people as possible to become 'centres of influence in a greater or lesser circle' so that the movement might go forward rapidly.⁴⁹ With this in mind, the promoters of the plan met again in Acland's rooms on Saturday 7 April, where Samuel Wood agreed to prepare a paper with Acland on behalf of 'the Mathisonians'.⁵⁰

Four of the group, Acland, Wood, Gladstone, and Walter Farquhar, had an audience with the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace on 14 April, where their paper formed

⁴⁶ Gladstone, *Diary*, Tuesday 20 March, Wednesday 21 March, Friday 23 March 1838.

⁴⁷ Samuel Wood to John Newman, n. d. [probably 2 March 1838], BI, Hickleton Papers, A2/42/2, f. 71^v.

⁴⁸ W. F. Hook to W. E. Gladstone, 26 March 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, special correspondence, Add. MS 44213, ff. 5-8, at f. 5^{r-v}. Gladstone had sent the Circular to Hook on 12 March 1838: *ibid.*, ff. 1-4.

⁴⁹ Gladstone to Hook, 29 March 1838, *ibid.*, ff. 9-10, at f. 9^{r-v}.

⁵⁰ Wood to Newman, 10 April 1838, BI, Hickleton papers, A2/42/2, f. 80^r; for Acland's journal, see *Memoir*, p. 89.

the basis of a pleasing discussion.⁵¹ Although the Acland-Wood paper appears to be lost, its substance may be recovered from a letter Gladstone wrote to Walter Hook on his return from Lambeth: the plan involved 'planting training schools for masters in every diocese', 'licensing the schoolmasters by the Bishop, after examination', and making provision 'to educate the children of such farmers and village tradesmen as cannot take advantage of the higher schools'.⁵² Three days before the meeting with the Archbishop, a special meeting of the National Society's General Committee had appointed 16 of its members to form a sub-committee charged with enquiring into the operation of the Central School, Westminster, and 'the best means of giving increased effect to the operations of the National Society'.⁵³

The sub-committee invited Gladstone and his fellow-visionaries to meet them on two consecutive Saturdays, 28 April and 5 May, when further papers were prepared to guide the discussion. An immediate outcome was that Gladstone consolidated the issues in a further paper and spent '2½ hours with Acland on it' before showing it to Charles Blomfield, Bishop of London, 'who made verbal alterations'.⁵⁴ It appears that Acland took the manuscript to arrange for printing. Gladstone's printed copy has a handwritten note, 'Private. T.D.A.', and bears the wax seal of the Acland family crest (a falcon and the motto 'inébranlable' [unshakeable]), suggesting that the printed papers were distributed by Acland, and that Gladstone's copy was hand-delivered by a third party. The paper, headed 'Private: For the Members of the Sub-committee only', is a two-page document entitled *Suggestions Tendered to the Sub-committee of the National Society, May, 1838*, which enumerates the practical measures by which the proposed enlargement of the Society's objects might be achieved.⁵⁵

Eight lines of enquiry were identified:

⁵¹ Gladstone, *Diary*, 7, 11, 14 April 1838; Acland's journal, 14 April 1838, see *Memoir*, p. 89.

⁵² Gladstone to Hook, 14 April 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, special correspondence, Add. MS 44213, ff. 13-16, at 13^v-14^r.

⁵³ Special meeting, NS General Committee, 11 April 1838, Minute Book no. 4, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/4, pp. 25-6.

⁵⁴ Gladstone, *Diary*, 5-7 May 1838.

⁵⁵ [W. E. Gladstone], *Suggestions tendered to the Sub-committee of the National Society, May, 1838*, BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, ff. 61-2.

1. the rules of the National Society;
2. formation of Diocesan Boards in union with the Society;
3. establishment of Diocesan Training Seminaries;
4. methods to be adopted in training seminaries;
5. methods of teaching in schools for the poor;
6. establishment of schools for the middle classes in towns;
7. provision of middle class education in rural schools;
8. employment and prospects of teachers.

Preparation of a further paper was anticipated, embodying the results of these enquiries, with copies being sent to those who had responded to the earlier Circular inviting their support.⁵⁶ Gladstone and his associates suggested that the National Society create a 'Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence', representing the general committee (or officers) of the Society, its members at large, and the cathedral Chapters. It was envisaged that the proposed Committee of Inquiry would sub-divide, so that the eight lines of enquiry could be allocated to the various sub-divisions and be pursued simultaneously. Finally, it was hoped that sufficient enquiries might be completed for at least part of the plan to be put into effect 'by the summer vacation'.

The National Society's General Committee adopted these proposals on 12 May.⁵⁷ The minute book recorded:

The Committee of the National Society readily admit the great importance of the inquiries which are suggested in the printed paper marked 'Private' [i.e. *Suggestions tendered to the Sub-committee of the National Society, May, 1838*], and are prepared thankfully to avail themselves of the assistance so kindly offered to them by the Gentlemen whose sentiments that paper expressed, in the manner which they themselves have pointed out.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ It is not known how many Circulars were sent out. The highest serial number found is no. 249, to George Tomlinson, chaplain to the Bishop of London; this is the copy affixed to the minute book of the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/9/1.

⁵⁷ Special Meeting, NS General Committee, 12 May 1838, Minute Book no. 4, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/4, pp. 33-7 (report).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

It was resolved to set up a Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, four members representing the General Committee, four the Cathedral Chapters, and eight being the activists themselves (Lord Sandon, Acland, Gladstone, Praed, H. N. Coleridge, Lutwidge, Wood, and Walter Farquhar).

It was important that those who had declared their support to the visionaries be informed of these developments. Accordingly, Acland and Wood wrote a confidential circular letter and had copies lithographed for the supporters, among whom were 'many of the Nobility, Members of the House of Commons, and influential people in London and other great towns'.⁵⁹ This three-page document summarized the progress that had been made in advancing the vision for expanding Church education through the National Society, outlined the next phase through the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, and ended with a caution: 'It is to be observed that this statement is only to be regarded as a *private* communication from the person sending it.'⁶⁰

Despite the caution necessary in the circular, Samuel Wood wrote a personal letter to Henry Manning, promising a copy of the lithographed statement and declaring in euphoric mood: 'The National Society have gulped our whole plan, accepted our services, and we are formed . . . into a Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence to carry out our plans.'⁶¹ Wood also wrote to John Newman on 16 May: 'We are formed into a Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence for the Nat. Soc., and meet today for the first time.' He added, 'Poor M[athison] is returned, wonderfully recovered . . .'⁶² Mathison's recovery enabled him to convalesce in Italy.

The vision of the triumvirate, assisted by their friends, was beginning to permeate the structures of the National Society itself. How the visionaries steered their plan through

⁵⁹ Untitled, unsigned lithographed circular letter, 'London, May 1838' [c. 14 May], BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, ff. 63-4. Gladstone's copy bears his MS note: 'Sketch of Objects (Acland and Wood).'

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 3, BL, Add. MS 44563, f. 64^r.

⁶¹ Samuel Wood to Henry Manning, n.d. [c. 14 May 1838]: quoted in Edmund S. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster*, 2 vols., i: 'Manning as an Anglican' (London: Macmillan, 1896), pp. 149-50.

⁶² Wood to John Henry Newman, 16 May [1838], BL, Hickleton papers, A2/42/2, f. 86^r.

the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence will now be examined, with particular reference to the training of teachers.

2.4 Teacher training reassessed

Gladstone seized the initiative as the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence convened its first meeting on 16 May 1838, by drafting a scheme for distributing the subjects under investigation among its members.⁶³ Four sub-committees, designated A-D, were set up. Sub-committee B was allocated all matters connected with teacher training, whilst sub-committee D had responsibility for the employment and prospects of teachers. The detailed working of these sub-committees is not entirely clear, as no official record of their proceedings has survived, but the influence of Acland and Gladstone is certain.

Sub-committee B met on 22 May, its members being Thomas Acland, William Gladstone, Lord Ashley, George Chandler (Dean of Chichester), Thomas Dealtry, and John Spry. Gladstone had already written a paper for their consideration, entitled 'Scheme for Training Schools: training and licensing of schoolmasters.'⁶⁴ This title reveals the male orientation that was a consistent feature in the argument for expanding teacher training, as expressed within National Society circles at the end of the 1830s, although female teacher training also was to be extended by the Society in the early 1840s (especially under the influence of Gilbert Mathison). Gladstone made a slight acknowledgement of male orientation when he added a marginal note to this paper: 'Women – how to be treated?'⁶⁵ He failed, however, to pursue the question here.

⁶³ W. E. G., 'Hints of Suggested Resolutions for Committee of Inquiry', 15 May 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add MS 44728, f. 80. See also: *Heads of Inquiry referred to the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence*, printed paper, n.d. [c. 15 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, f. 65. (Gladstone's copy bears his MS allocation of subjects to sub-committees.)

⁶⁴ [W. E. Gladstone], 'Scheme for Training Schools: training and licensing of schoolmasters', n.d. [15 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, ff. 72-5. Dated from entry in Gladstone's *Diary*, 15 May 1838.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 72^v.

Gladstone's paper was a manifesto for a professional model of teacher training. In it he pressed the case for gratuitous instruction of meritorious pupils from National schools for up to four years, between the ages of 12 and 18 years, in training schools for teachers. Older adults also should be eligible to receive gratuitous instruction for two years in a training school, board and lodging being provided at moderate charge. Gladstone insisted that applicants must show proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic, and during their training further attention would be given to these basic subjects, together with instruction in 'the creeds, catechism and services of the [Established] Church, and the doctrines therein contained', as well as in Scripture. Whilst at training school, a student would be taught 'his duty with regard to his bishop, his minister, the Church, and the children as members of it'. Compulsory subjects would include music, English history, and geography, and optionally 'algebra, geometry, mixed mathematics in a popular form, botany [and] natural history'. Optional subjects would not be taught gratuitously, except 'as a further reward to pupils found meritorious in the training schools'. It was regarded as desirable that 'instruction in husbandry and in other arts and trades' be combined with this curriculum. In the case of a diocesan training school connected with a cathedral, the students would be required to attend daily service. Periodic examinations would determine when the student had attained sufficient competence to practise teaching under supervision in local schools.

Gladstone's scheme was ambitious by comparison with the increasingly discredited monitorial training, or 'learning the system', offered at the Central Schools of the National Society. It drew on his extensive reading about teacher training in other countries, as well as his personal visits to many educational institutions in England and Scotland, but it adapted good practice elsewhere to the particular circumstances and aims of the National Society. With emphasis on the teacher's character, relationships, and spiritual awareness, the model of teacher training portrayed by Gladstone captured the sense of distinctive *Church* education which the National Society cherished.

Clearly such a scheme would need considerable financial support. Hitherto, charitable gifts had often been used to maintain individual National schools. Gladstone thought that this was not a wise application of funds:

One of our special objects should be to substitute as far as possible subscriptions to the training schools and schoolmasters' funds for rewards and pensions, for the system of merely, and largely, supporting individual schools, which we wish to be as far as is practicable self-supported.⁶⁶

In Gladstone's view, pupils' pence should pay for a school's running expenses; charitable donations should support the training of teachers and funds for teachers' pensions. His priority was the quality of educational provision, made possible only by the 'professionalism' of good training, good employment, good service, and good pensions.

He then turned his attention to sub-committee D, whose members were: Gladstone, Wood, James Hope, George Chandler, Thomas Dealtry, and Robert Browne. With a remit to enquire into the employment and prospects of teachers, their purview included:

How they [i.e. schoolmasters] should be employed –

1. from the time of leaving the training schools;
2. examined;
3. licensed by Episcopal authority;
4. controuled [*sic*];
5. provided with adequate emoluments and advantages;
6. promoted according to merit; and
7. pensioned according to length and condition of service.⁶⁷

Once again, there are no official records extant for sub-committee D, but on 25-26 May 1838 Gladstone prepared a long paper entitled, 'Suggestions for Sub-committee D on Schoolmasters'.⁶⁸ This is essentially an amplification in 71 paragraphs of his earlier paper, suitably adapted for the use of sub-committee D. It is carefully constructed, with section headings:

⁶⁶ [W. E. Gladstone], 'Remarks', n.d. [19 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, f. 79. Dated by reference to other MS notes in Gladstone's handwriting on the same sheet.

⁶⁷ [W. E. Gladstone], *Suggestions Tendered to the Sub-committee of the National Society, May, 1838*, p. 2, BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, ff. 61-2, at f. 61^v.

⁶⁸ W. E. G., 'Suggestions for Sub-committee D on Schoolmasters', 26 May 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, ff. 85-92. See also: Gladstone, *Diary*, 25-26 May 1838.

Preliminary	paragraphs 1-3
Schools for Teachers	4-17
Examinations	18
Employment previous to appointment as Masters	19-25
Engagement for a [Fixed] Term	26-27
Departments [of Training School]	28-31
Rewards of Pupils [in Training Schools]	32-34
Cost [of Training Schools]	35-38
Course of Instruction	39-43
Worship	44-45
[Bishop's] Licence	46-49
Assistants	50-55
Controul [<i>sic</i>] [i.e. Management and Inspection]	56-58
Emoluments and Advantages	59-60
Promotion	61-67
Pensions	68-70

Despite its male orientation – the paper is entitled ‘On Schoolmasters’ – Gladstone’s final paragraph (71) is headed ‘Women’. It is quoted here in full in order to show Gladstone’s personal assumptions – typical of the period – concerning female education and the employment of women teachers.

Women. 71. We have not touched the case of female teachers. There appears to be a tendency to mix the sexes below a certain age which would diminish the number of women required. When there are a master and mistress it is desirable that they should be man and wife, but people do not often marry according to aptitude for the same specific vocation: and dependence for the higher qualities and acquirements must be placed chiefly on the male teachers. It is not however by any means intended that women are not to be trained for the office: but perhaps in general it will be best done first by the selection of meritorious pupils from the National Schools first as monitors, then by sending them to the female middle schools and then by employing them as assistants, without interval, unless for such time as may enable them to receive competent instruction in the methods of teaching. In a word the *middle* schools may it is hoped discharge at least a great portion of the function of normal schools for female teachers.⁶⁹

A little later, possibly corresponding to a diary entry for 28-29 May (‘writing for sub-committees’), Gladstone produced an addendum, ‘Sub-committee D: Additional’, which has paragraphs on:

⁶⁹ W. E. G., ‘Suggestions for Sub-committee D on Schoolmasters’, 26 May 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, ff. 85-92, at ff. 92^{rv}.

Model Schools for teacher training institutions	paragraph 1
Lending libraries and reading rooms for the middle classes (attached to training schools)	2
Self-supporting schools and salaries	3-4
Superior training schools	5
Additional subjects in training schools (Drawing, French, Latin)	6
Female teacher training ⁷⁰	7

Gladstone's afterthought on the training of women teachers suggests that he was beginning to question his habitual assumptions. He wrote: 'The Kildare Place Society [in Ireland] train a considerable number of female teachers regularly, and there seems no reason why the same should not be done here.'⁷¹

What has been described as 'Gladstone's scheme' for training teachers is attributed to him solely because it is set out in his paper. Much of the fine detail probably was the product of his mind, but Gladstone's diary reveals that he consulted widely on educational matters, especially with Acland (and Mathison, before his illness). Gladstone was adept at drafting papers, and no doubt his associates were ready to leave this task to such an able and willing person. Nevertheless, there was common responsibility for what the sub-committees contributed to the series of reports drawn up by the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence and presented to the General Committee of the National Society.

These manuscript reports are copied into the minute book of the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence.⁷² The minutes of 16 June 1838, under the heading 'Improvement of Schoolmasters', advocated the immediate establishment of an institution in London, under the auspices of the National Society, where teachers employed in schools could receive further training: 'the low range of their acquirements is one of the crying evils of

⁷⁰ [W. E. Gladstone], 'Sub-committee D: Additional', n.d. [possibly 28-29 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, f. 94.

⁷¹ Ibid., f. 94^v.

⁷² NS, Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, minute book, 16 June, 30 June, 12 November 1838, 14 February 1839, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/9/1.

things as they are.’ The minute continued: ‘It will be a tangible and prominent measure calculated to interest the Country at large in what is going forward.’⁷³

The General Committee responded on 18 July, resolving:

*That the Committee of Inquiry be at liberty to announce in general terms that the Society looks forward to the foundation of a central establishment for improving the education and training of masters, or, to such an extension and enlargement of its present Central School [Westminster] as shall fully answer the purposes contemplated, provided adequate funds are placed at its disposal.*⁷⁴

This resolution represents a critical point in the National Society’s outlook: it was on 18 July 1838 that the Society committed itself to reform of its teacher training tradition. The General Committee also encouraged the establishment of diocesan boards of education where they did not exist, as a means of providing a local focus for the effort to promote education on Church principles, which included diocesan arrangements for the training of teachers.

The visionaries now felt that their aim to bring some aspects of their plan to fruition by the summer vacation (see p. 59) had been achieved, and they set about the production of three printed papers for public consumption. These documents, ‘from the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence’, were dated 1 August 1838; two offered guidance on diocesan and local boards of management and diocesan seminaries or training schools, and the third was a general progress report.⁷⁵ When the papers were ready for distribution, Acland wrote in his journal: ‘Aug. 10. With Wood, settling circulars . . . ten good hours work, bad for eyes.’⁷⁶ The Committee of Inquiry continued to develop practical details until May 1839, when the National Society restructured its committees for a new era in its work, but through their persistent efforts in the first half of 1838 the

⁷³ NS, Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, minute book, 16 June 1838, p. 19.

⁷⁴ NS, General Committee, minute book no. 4, 18 July 1838, pp. 53-4, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/4.

⁷⁵ NS, Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, *Diocesan and Local Boards of Management*, 1 August 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, ff. 73-4. *Diocesan Seminaries or Training Schools*, 1 August 1838, Add. MS 44563, f. 75. *National Education: Address from the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, specially appointed by the National Society*, 1 August 1838, Add. MS 44563, ff. 76-7.

⁷⁶ Acland, *Memoir*, p. 90.

visionaries had successfully penetrated the central operations of the National Society and set its course for an ambitious future.

2.5 The deacon schoolmaster and a national training college

The visionaries hardly knew any limit to their pursuit. In May 1838 William Gladstone had written:

When the National Society has attained to the extent and efficiency of operations which befits the educational organ of the Church of England for the mass of the community, and when the diocesan and local machinery is in play, we shall have the advantage of a regularly graduated scale of public instruction from the universities down to the infant school, the whole essentially and intimately connected with the principles and the ministers of the Church.⁷⁷

This elaborate edifice for Church education would require far more than an improvement in the attainment and skills of serving teachers. Although such an effort was an important outcome of the decision of principle taken by the National Society on 18 July 1838, it was merely ameliorative of unsatisfactory circumstances. Nothing less than an introduction of the highest possible standards in initial training of teachers was needed to underpin such a comprehensive vision for education. New training institutions were essential in order to separate future practice from the mechanical routine of the monitorial model of teacher training. Nevertheless, it was recognized that the 'National system', as taught at the Central Schools, Westminster, was so deeply embedded and widely practised, that for some years to come it would be a necessary feature of the National schoolrooms of England and Wales.

Gladstone's reference to the essential and intimate relationship between education and 'the ministers of the Church' raised the question whether more than oversight by parish clergy was desirable. There is evidence that the visionaries did have plans for greater integration in mind. Gladstone wrote in the same paper, dated 26 May 1838, that the

⁷⁷ W. E. G., 'Suggestions for Sub-committee D: On Schoolmasters', 26 May 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, ff. 85-92, at f. 85^r (paragraph 2).

prospects of a well-trained schoolmaster might include 'a higher office in the Church'.⁷⁸ This office, although not defined by Gladstone, would indicate the appropriateness of the model of deacon schoolmaster in the new training arrangements. None of the 'official' documents prepared for the National Society at this time mentions the possibility of introducing deacon schoolmasters, neither do any of Gladstone's private memoranda or his notes for the sub-committees of the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence.

There is, however, direct confirmation that the deacon schoolmaster was in mind. This is found in a letter from Samuel Wood to Henry Manning, written a month before Gladstone's paper. Dated 'St Mark's Day' [i.e. 25 April 1838], Wood's letter intimates: 'I have a . . . private notion that all these superior masters might be in deacons' orders, so providing one element for a permanent diaconate.'⁷⁹ Another letter (undated, but almost certainly written in April 1838), to John Newman, shows that Wood confided in other trusted friends: 'Nat[ional] So[ciety] goes on slowly but, I hope, well: I am ventilating my idea of getting a Diaconate out of the Schoolm[asters]; and it takes, e.g. with the B[ishop] of Hereford . . .'⁸⁰ That this model of deacon schoolmaster – in principle a perfect solution for an intimate integration of education and ministers of the Church – was not publicly stated, suggests that the visionaries thought it would be divisive within the hierarchy of the National Society and would prejudice the success of their wider aims. These hesitations did not lead to abandonment, however, and the prospect of an order of deacon schoolmasters continued to excite Samuel Wood. Two years later, on 1 June 1840, he wrote to his father:

People are interesting themselves at present to establish Training Schools at which lads may learn to be Schoolmasters, and perhaps if they behave will ultimately take Deacon[']s Orders, and assist the parish Clergyman in visiting[,] catechizing and so on, and at these Schools Exhibitions or Sizarships will be founded to *assist* towards defraying the expenses.⁸¹

⁷⁸ W. E. G., 'Suggestions for Sub-committee D: on Schoolmasters', 26 May 1838, BL, Add. MS 44728, f. 85^v (paragraph 3).

⁷⁹ Wood to Manning, [25 April 1838], quoted in Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, i, p. 149.

⁸⁰ Wood to Newman, n. d. [April 1838], BL, Hickleton papers, A2/42/2, f. 85^v.

⁸¹ Samuel Wood to his father (Francis Lindley Wood), 1 June [18]40, BL, Hickleton papers, A2/40 part 1, [ff. 1^v-2^r].

The persistent references to deacon schoolmasters in his correspondence, and the sense of ownership conveyed by expressions such as ‘my idea’ and ‘private notion’, suggest that Samuel Wood was the originator of the concept of deacon schoolmaster among the visionaries who aimed to revitalize teacher training through the National Society.

In their plan for expanding Church education, the visionaries hoped that each diocese would establish a Board of Education and a training school for teachers, ideally with a model school attached for both National and infant schools.⁸² Suitable pupils would transfer to these training schools from parochial National schools, on average for a period of three years, admission being on ‘merit and aptitude . . . ascertained . . . in every case by a preliminary examination’.⁸³ The most able students in diocesan training schools would be sent to a superior college in London, under the direct control of the National Society, ‘for the purpose of giving a more advanced education to the best of the candidates for masterships’, who would then be able to apply for posts in middle-class schools.⁸⁴

The college, it was hoped, would receive Her Majesty’s permission to be called ‘The Queen’s Hall’.⁸⁵ It was envisaged that this collegiate hall might be attached to King’s College, and the principal (who was to be an Anglican clergyman), when appointed, might become Professor of Education, with the consent of the Council of King’s College (to which Gladstone had been elected on 28 April 1838, at the Bishop of London’s

⁸² [MS title: Education document] ‘No. 8: Sketch for Boards’, printed draft, n.d. [probably 29 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, f. 66. *Outline of a Plan for the Diocesan Organization of the National Society*, corrected draft, [MS title: Education document] ‘No. 9: Report of [Sub-committee] B on Local Boards, 9 June 1838’, BL, Add MS 44563, ff. 69-70.

⁸³ [W. E. Gladstone], ‘Sub-committee D: Additional’, n. d., [c. 29 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, f. 94^r (paragraph 1).

⁸⁴ [W. E. Gladstone], *Suggestions Tendered to the Sub-committee of the National Society, May, 1838*, [7 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, ff. 61-2, at f. 61^r. [W. E. Gladstone], ‘Sub-committee D: Additional’, n. d., [c. 29 May 1838], BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, f. 94^{r-v} (paragraph 5).

⁸⁵ *First Report of Sub-committee D* (printed), 9 June 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, official papers, Add. MS 44563, ff. 71-2. MS version of same, as adopted by the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, 16 June 1838, NS, Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, minute book, p. 19, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/9/1.

invitation).⁸⁶ Endowments would be sought for the establishment of exhibitions or bursaries open to 'deserving scholars in each diocese'. The progress of the students would be assessed periodically by examination, the principal of King's College, with the professors of classics and mathematics, being requested to act as examiners.⁸⁷

The visionaries had worked tirelessly to make these plans. Samuel Wood wrote to John Newman on 10 April:

Diocesan Seminaries connected with each Cathedral, and an Institution in London, connected with King's Coll[ege] to complete the education of those who are found worthy, is the mark we think of for getting good masters. And this is about all we can hammer out.⁸⁸

Two weeks later, Wood was able to explain the significance of these new institutions for training teachers in a letter to Henry Manning:

Diocesan seminaries and a central college are our key-notes: the former . . . to be the sole academy for ordinary masters. But a few of the ablest and most deserving should come to the central college to complete their education . . . in a monastic mode of life. The College [is] to be, if possible, a branch of King's College. Rose is inclined to favour this.⁸⁹

Hugh James Rose was principal of King's College from 1836, but his untimely death in December 1838 had been preceded by illness throughout the summer. The prospect of an association between a National Society college and King's College appears not to have survived Rose's death, and the authoritative *Address from the National Society*, published on 25 May 1839, has no mention of any connection between the colleges, although other intentions for the training institution are fully described.⁹⁰

This *Address* was published in readiness for the annual meeting of the National Society, held in Willis's Rooms, St James's, on Tuesday 28 May 1839. This event had been

⁸⁶ Charles James Blomfield (Bishop of London) to W. E. Gladstone, 27 April 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, general correspondence, Add. MS 44356, f. 61. Gladstone, *Diary*, 28 April 1838.

⁸⁷ NS, Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, minute book, 16 June 1838, p. 20, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/9/1.

⁸⁸ Wood to Newman, 10 April 1838, BL, Hickleton papers, A2/42/2, ff. 80^v-81^r.

⁸⁹ Wood to Manning, [25 April 1838], quoted in Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, i, p. 149.

⁹⁰ NS, *Address from the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales*, 25 May 1839, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, ff. 95-6. For the London college, see p. 3 (f. 96^r).

announced, amidst great publicity, as a national occasion when the new vision for the National Society would be launched. It was presented as a rallying cry to its supporters, and a warning statement to parliament that Church education had to be taken seriously. As evidence that the National Society was a force to be reckoned with, the *Address* declared that thirteen diocesan boards of education had been established in union with the Society under the authority of the bishop. Such a structure provided for consolidation of effort:

The establishment of a Board as a centre of union for all Church Schools, the President of which is the Bishop of the diocese, and, as such, a member of the Committee of the National Society, offers the surest prospect of combining local energy with general uniformity of principle.⁹¹

The benefits of a London college were once again espoused. The General Committee had been advised that establishing the college ‘on an adequate scale is estimated at not less than £30,000.’ An application had been made for a government grant, upon which the decision was still awaited; ‘under the circumstances the Committee earnestly appeal for aid towards carrying on and completing the work which has been so auspiciously begun.’⁹² The annual meeting resolved to pursue the establishment of the training college, and requested that the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence (whose remit had now reached its conclusion) become a body for raising necessary funds. Lord Ashley became chairman of this body, aided by numerous other supporters, including Gilbert Mathison, whose health had now recovered.⁹³

The success of the public meeting in presenting a new vision for the National Society is conveyed in a letter written by Thomas Acland to his sister:

On Tuesday our explosion about education took place in the shape of an immense public meeting: the place was so full that the Archbishop had very great difficulty in getting up to his place. He was accompanied by a goodly array of Bishops to the number of 16 or 20. . . . I believe we are nicknamed “the young gentlemen” among the Bishops. . . . Hundreds of

⁹¹ NS, *Address*, 25 May 1839, p. 3.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

⁹³ Lord Ashley, Circular letter (lithographed), June 1839, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, f. 97. *National Society Subscription Committee*, BL, Add. MS 44728, f. 98.

people came up from the country . . . and we had a conference for two whole days from eleven to five o'clock on all manner of questions relating to the working of our plans.'⁹⁴

The tenacity and abilities of 'the young gentlemen' had proved most remarkable. Only 3½ months earlier, on 12 February 1839, Lord John Russell had announced plans to form a Committee of Privy Council on Education for overseeing the application of parliamentary grants, the establishment of a State normal school, and State inspection of all schools in receipt of public money. Ian Newbould has argued that the influence of the Tory 'young gentlemen' was so effective that they actually precipitated this announcement by the Whig government.⁹⁵ The combined opposition of Tory and Church interests resulted in defeat of the proposal for a State normal school, however, and there was a long drawn out argument about inspection that was not resolved until the concordat of 1840. The Committee of Council on Education remained, as it had been created by Order in Privy Council and not through consent of a parliamentary vote. The National Society was deeply suspicious of the motives and principles of the Committee of Council – not without justification, as is shown by a letter from James Kay, secretary to the Committee, to Russell:

When your Lordship and Lord Lansdowne appointed me, I understood the design of your Government to be to prevent the successful assertion on the part of the Church of the claim then put forth for a purely ecclesiastical system of education.⁹⁶

When the decision was received that a government grant of £5,000 had been recommended towards the establishment of the central training college, the National Society cautiously enquired about the terms at a meeting of its General Committee on 15 July 1839.⁹⁷ Contending that in Church education there was no distinction between religious and secular subjects – that the whole curriculum was imbued with Christian

⁹⁴ Thomas Acland to Lydia Acland, Sunday [2 June 1839], extract in *Memoir*, pp. 108-9. Incorrectly dated as May in *Memoir*, but the first Sunday after the public meeting was in June.

⁹⁵ Ian D. C. Newbould, 'The Whigs, the Church, and education, 1839', *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (3), North American Conference on British Studies, 1987, pp. 332-46.

⁹⁶ James Kay to Lord John Russell, quoted in Ian Newbould, 'The Whigs, the Church, and education, 1839', p. 343.

⁹⁷ NS, *Resolutions adopted by the General Committee, 15 July 1839*, lithographed, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, f. 103.

teaching – inspection by government-appointed officials was an unacceptable infringement of an inalienable right of the Church to educate the people without interference, and in such circumstances the grant must be refused.

As early as December 1838, the General Committee of the National Society had begun to seek suitable premises for its central college.⁹⁸ On 12 June 1839, this responsibility was delegated to the reconstituted School Committee, whose members were: the Bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Chichester and Peterborough, Lords Kenyon and Sandon, the Dean of Chichester, the Reverends H. H. Milman and John Jennings, Joshua Watson, William Davis, William Cotton, and three ‘young gentlemen’ – Thomas Acland, Gilbert Mathison and Samuel Wood. The School Committee was also given ‘authority . . . to take immediate steps for the appointment of a Principal of the Training Institution at a salary of £500 per annum.’⁹⁹ The post was advertised and Wood wrote to Newman wishing that he ‘had a good man to send us from Oxford for our Schoolmasters['] Hall’.¹⁰⁰ Wood told Newman that Frederick Denison Maurice was interested in the post and ‘his reputation will not unlikely get it for him’, although Wood had reservations about his suitability. Frederic Rogers (later Lord Blachford) also wrote to Newman informing him that John Keble’s curate, Robert Francis Wilson, was ‘a candidate for the Mastership of Acland’s London Normal School’.¹⁰¹ There is no record in the National Society archive concerning the applicants, and the School Committee decided on 6 August 1839 that ‘it is not expedient to proceed to an immediate appointment of a Principal’.¹⁰²

This premature move towards the appointment of a principal failed to proceed because the problem of finding suitable premises had not been overcome. Enquiries continued until the end of 1839, amidst a protracted correspondence with the Committee of Council

⁹⁸ NS, General Committee, minute book no. 4, 5 December 1838, pp. 93-5, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/4.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 June 1839, pp. 161-4.

¹⁰⁰ Wood to Newman, 18 July 1839, BI, Hickleton papers, A2/42/2, f. 113^r.

¹⁰¹ Frederic Rogers to John Newman, 13 September 1839, quoted in George E. Marindin (ed.), *Letters of Frederic Lord Blachford, under-secretary of state for the colonies 1860-1871* (London: Murray, 1896), pp. 53-5, at p. 54; and Frederic Rogers to Marion Rogers, 30 October 1839, *ibid.*, pp. 56-8.

¹⁰² NS, School Committee, minute book no. 6, 6 August 1839, p. 415, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/2/6.

on Education regarding the terms of the Treasury grant for the college and the related matter of State inspection.¹⁰³ By the beginning of May 1840, there was a readiness within the National Society to consider a location for the college beyond Westminster, and Gilbert Mathison recommended an extensive site at the western end of Chelsea; this was the house and estate known as Stanley Grove, owned and occupied by William Richard Hamilton (a brother of one of Mathison's uncles), and now offered for sale. The National Society was told that this site was 'capable of accommodating fifty masters and fifty mistresses'.¹⁰⁴ Such equal provision for training male and female teachers appears not to have been proposed beforehand, and it was not considered again until, in 1841, Mathison urged the National Society to found a separate college for schoolmistresses (which became Whitelands College, Chelsea).

In May 1840, Mathison, Acland and William Cotton were requested to confer with Edward Blore, architect to the National Society, about available sites, including that at Chelsea. The School Committee also announced that it desired 'George Selwyn to be Principal of the Training Institution, in case his services can be obtained'.¹⁰⁵ The appointment did not proceed smoothly, however, as Selwyn was insistent that the principalship be 'an ecclesiastical office', by which he meant that its holder should be directly appointed by the Church (effectively by episcopal authority), not by a committee of a society acting as an agency of the Church.¹⁰⁶

The General Committee approved the purchase of Stanley Grove estate, Chelsea, in June 1840, at a cost of £9,000, and an advertisement was drawn up for the post of principal.¹⁰⁷

The advertisement specified:

¹⁰³ John Sinclair (ed.), *Correspondence of the National Society with the Lords of the Treasury and with the Committee of Council on Education* (London, 1839).

¹⁰⁴ NS, School Committee, minute book no. 6, 'special meeting to consider the subject of the Training Institution', 13 May 1840, p. 529, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/2/6.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, special meeting, 20 May 1840, pp. 533-4.

¹⁰⁶ George Selwyn to C. B. Dalton, 25 August 1840, quoted in H. W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopacy of George Augustus Selwyn, D. D., Bishop of New Zealand, 1841-1869*, 2 vols (London: William Wells Gardner, 1879), i, pp. 57-8.

¹⁰⁷ NS, General Committee, minute book no. 4, 11 June 1840, pp. 262-3, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/4; and School Committee, minute book no. 7, 15 June 1840, p. 10, NS/MB/2/7.

The primary object of the Institution is, to prepare young persons for becoming teachers in parochial and national schools, by giving them a sound education, and training them to be attached and intelligent members of the Church. For this purpose they will be admitted at the age of fifteen and upwards, and will remain two or three years. But in order to meet the urgent and immediate demand for competent instructors [*sic*], accommodation will also be provided for persons of more advanced age, who, having in some degree received elsewhere a general education, require a more systematic course of discipline and tuition. Both classes will receive instruction in the practical art of teaching, at the Central Model School, under the direction of its master, the Rev. G. Moody, M.A.¹⁰⁸

The editor of the *Educational Magazine*, F. D. Maurice, who a year earlier had been interested in becoming principal himself, commented on these arrangements:

It seems there are to be two classes, boys and adults; but as it is admitted that good masters must be trained from boyhood, will it not be desirable for the Principal to confine himself, at first, to the younger class alone, leaving the present arrangements for adults [i.e. the Central School, Westminster] undisturbed, and not at first uniting both classes under one roof?¹⁰⁹

There was considerable relief when the National Society announced on 15 July 1840 that ‘since the objection is now removed which prevented the National Society from accepting the grant of £5,000 towards its proposed Training Institution, application be renewed to their Lordships for the same.’¹¹⁰ In mid-September, the School Committee selected the Bishop of London’s chaplain, Thomas Allies, a distinguished scholar with an unfortunate temperament, for the post of principal, but he upset the Bishop and left the diocese.

The National Society was anxious for the college to be operational as soon as possible, not least because James Phillips Kay, having seen the possibility of a State normal school abandoned, was supervising as a private venture – not as secretary to the Committee of

¹⁰⁸ NS, advertisement for Principal of the Training Institution [Chelsea], June 1840, printed in *Educational Magazine, new series* (3rd Series), 2 (2), August 1840, pp. 123-4.

¹⁰⁹ F. D. Maurice (ed.), *Educational Magazine, new series* (3rd Series), 2 (2), August 1840, pp. 124-6, at p. 126.

¹¹⁰ NS, General Committee, minute book no. 4, 15 July 1840, resolution 5, p. 274, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/4.

Council on Education – his own teacher training institution at Battersea. Kay's first students, admitted in February 1840, were 13-year-old orphan boys intended for schools of industry for pauper children; later in that year he admitted older men, aged between 20 and 30 years, to be trained for 'the schools of gentlemen with whom we are acquainted'.¹¹¹ The National Society wanted the focus of public and parliamentary attention to be on its own college, but Kay's institution was now established and receiving prominence from its founder's association with the Committee of Council.

It was at this anxious time that the Reverend Derwent Coleridge showed interest in the post of principal of the National Society's college, and his cousin and brother-in-law, Henry Nelson Coleridge (one of the 'young gentlemen') canvassed on his behalf. The Bishop of London wrote to H. N. Coleridge on 16 November 1840: 'I have made known his name to the Committee of the National Society, but I am not sure whether they have not gone too far with another candidate to be able easily to reject him.'¹¹² When the School Committee met on 17 December to choose between two candidates, the decision was made in favour of Derwent Coleridge. Five members of the committee were present, significantly weighted by the 'young gentlemen': S. F. Wood (chairman), G. F. Mathison, T. D. Acland, and the Reverends H. H. Milman and John Jennings.¹¹³ These men were to form a nucleus of support for the National Society's Institution for Training Schoolmasters, at Stanley Grove, Chelsea, and the Reverend Derwent Coleridge was to remain its principal for the next 24 years.

¹¹¹ James Phillips Kay, 'First Report on the Training School at Battersea', 1 January 1841; reprinted in James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education* (London, 1862), p. 311.

¹¹² C. J. Blomfield to H. N. Coleridge, 16 November 1840, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, Derwent Coleridge MSS; quoted in Raymonde Hainton, *The Unknown Coleridge: the life and works of Derwent Coleridge 1800-1883* (London: Janus, 1996), p. 170.

¹¹³ NS, School Committee, minute book no. 7, 17 December 1840, pp. 82-4, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/2/7.

Conclusion

The reforming spirit of the 1830s had challenged the assumptions and practices of the National Society in ways that could no longer be ignored. Rescue came from a group of energetic ‘young gentlemen’ – intellectually able, politically well-connected, and determined – who infiltrated the power structures of the National Society and endowed it with a vision for the future. Part of this vision concerned the training of teachers, in which a new professionalism was important. Standards would be raised, and also the public estimation of a teacher’s worth:

We shall see the position of a schoolmaster made an object of honourable desire, and sought through early training with deliberate purpose by the best and most promising among the youthful minds of the humbler class, who will find it invested with a religious character from the competent authority, reasonable [*sic*] guaranteed against difficulty and want, offering the prospect of gradual advancement, and possibly of preparation for a higher office in the Church.¹¹⁴

With Samuel Wood’s model of deacon schoolmaster in mind (if not in manifesto), the new vision of the National Society had led to the establishment of a national college for schoolmasters at Stanley Grove, Chelsea, and the appointment of the Reverend Derwent Coleridge as its first principal. What made him an outstanding choice will be explored in the next chapter.

¹¹⁴ W. E. Gladstone, ‘Suggestions for Sub-committee D: On Schoolmasters’, 26 May 1838, BL, Gladstone papers, memoranda, Add. MS 44728, ff. 85-92, at f. 85^{r-v} (paragraph 3).

Chapter 3. Derwent Coleridge: his background and thought

When *The Times* announced Derwent Coleridge's appointment as Principal of the National Society's Training Institution for Schoolmasters at Stanley Grove, Chelsea, it commented enigmatically: 'The qualifications of Mr Coleridge for this important office are such as must make the choice of the committee generally acceptable to the friends of church education.'¹ The report did not specify his qualifications, however; neither did it attempt to explain the grounds on which he was selected from the other applicants. This chapter will consider the experience Derwent Coleridge brought to such a strategic position, and the extent to which he was fitted for the task.

At 40 years of age, it is reasonable to suppose that Coleridge would bring maturity to his work, whilst retaining physical and mental energy in good measure. In the event, he held the principalship for 24 years, retiring in December 1864. These were arduous times, and he worked assiduously; his tenacity and capacity for sustained effort were to prove remarkable aspects of his character. Alongside outstanding personal qualities lay formative experiences which fitted him for the training of schoolmasters in a church college, and which were associated with particular people and places held in his memory.

In his sixtieth year, Derwent Coleridge was invited to respond to a 'circular of questions' prepared by the Newcastle Commission on the State of Popular Education in England, as a means of gaining evidence for its report. He used this as an opportunity to reflect on the breadth of his past life and to identify those experiences which had been of special significance in shaping his educational thought. Perhaps unsurprisingly, he traced them back to his own boyhood.² Soon afterwards, Coleridge delivered a lecture, 'Poetry as a teacher', at the Chelsea Literary and Scientific Institution. He began by saying: 'The child is father of the man. To explain what I am I must tell you what I was.' He then

¹ *The Times*, 8 February 1841, p. 5.

² Derwent Coleridge: Answers to the 'Circular of Questions', December 1859, printed in *Report of the Royal Commission on the State of Popular Education in England*, PP, 1861, XXI, part v, pp. 133 – 141.

described three ‘interpreters’ who ‘spoke to my childhood’: his father, Samuel Taylor Coleridge; his uncle, Robert Southey; and his father’s friend, William Wordsworth, who often acted *in loco parentis* for Derwent. ‘The men of whom I speak were Poets. Knowing them as I did, I grew up in the belief that this was a title of high and special privilege – almost divine.’³

In Derwent Coleridge’s own estimation his childhood had an extensive and lasting influence, not least on his educational thought. This chapter surveys important experiences over 40 years, as learner and teacher, from Derwent’s early boyhood to his arrival at Stanley Grove, noting especially the various models of teacher with which he became acquainted. This will provide insight into what he rejected (and why), as well as what he absorbed, in his design for the training of deacon schoolmasters at St Mark’s College, which is the purpose of Research Question 2.

3.1 Education among Romantic Poets

Derwent Coleridge was born on 14 September 1800, at Greta Hall, on the outskirts of Keswick.⁴ Five years earlier, his father, the poet-philosopher, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), had married Sarah Fricker (1770-1845) in Bristol. Derwent was the third of four children: Hartley (1796-1849), Berkeley (1798-99), Derwent (1800-83), and Sara (1802-52). S. T. Coleridge always called his wife Sara, too, but in this thesis the original spelling of her name (Sarah) will be retained in order to avoid any confusion with their daughter (Sara). Similarly, Samuel Taylor Coleridge liked to play on his own name, preferring to use his initials STC or the homophone Esteesee, sometimes rendering into

³ Derwent Coleridge, ‘Poetry as a teacher’, a lecture at Chelsea Literary and Scientific Institution, 16 May 1862, published in the *Parish Dial*, 24 May 1862, p. 5, and 31 May 1862, p. 2. (Derwent Coleridge cut out this newspaper report and pasted it in a notebook as a present to ‘The Right Honorable Sir John Taylor Coleridge from the Author, St Mark’s Col: Chelsea, 27 Aug: 1862’. This notebook is now in the British Library, shelfmark c.126.b.8.) Although the *Parish Dial* printed the substantial lecture *verbatim*, it omitted the autobiographical introduction; this, however, has been recovered (from the Derwent Coleridge MSS in the Humanities Research Center, University of Texas) by Raymonde Hainton; see *The Unknown Coleridge*, pp. 21-2.

⁴ H. W. Howe, *Greta Hall: home of Coleridge and Southey* (s. l., rev. edn 1977).

Greek. In keeping with his usage, and to clearly distinguish him from his son Derwent, STC will be used here for the father.

The Coleridge side of the family came from Ottery St Mary, in Devon, where Derwent's grandfather had been vicar and, in the classical-scholar tradition, master of the King's School. After a troubled time at Cambridge, STC met Robert Southey (1774-1843), with whom he shared Romantic poetry, and soon Southey married another of the Fricker sisters. In 1797, whilst living in Somerset, STC met William Wordsworth (1770-1850); they published their *Lyrical Ballads* a year later, before Wordsworth returned to his native English Lakes and settled at Grasmere.⁵

In 1800, STC moved his family to Keswick, only 12 miles from Wordsworth's home. Three years later, Southey also moved into Greta Hall. Hopes of an outpouring of Romantic creativity resulting from the close association of the three poets were dashed, and family life was disturbed, by STC's unpredictable behaviour, long absences, and lack of regular income. The fact that his health – physical and mental – was in decline as a result of a growing dependency on laudanum, taken for relief of pain, explains much of his behaviour and temperament. Molly Lefebure, whose professional knowledge of drug dependency enabled her to interpret the traumas of Greta Hall in a fresh light, has made an important advance in Coleridgean studies through her ground-breaking biographies of STC and his wife, Sarah Coleridge.⁶

Crisis was reached in 1806, when Derwent was six years old. 'We have *determined* to part absolutely and finally,' his father wrote of domicile with Sarah.⁷ The psychological scars of parental estrangement on the Coleridge children, and the paths by which each of them eventually resolved the effects of family dysfunction, have been analysed by Cherry

⁵ The *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) was 'a landmark of English Romanticism and the beginning of a new age;' Margaret Drabble (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, rev. ed. (Oxford University Press, 1998). See article, 'Lyrical Ballads', pp. 593-4.

⁶ Molly Lefebure, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: a bondage of opium* (London: Gollancz, 1974); *The Bondage of Love: a life of Mrs Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London: Gollancz, 1986).

⁷ Quoted by Dorothy Wordsworth in a letter to Catherine Clarkson, 24 November [1806], Letter 55, *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ii, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967-1988). [Hereafter LWDW.]

Durrant.⁸ The myth of idealized childhood is more an invention of later critical generalization than an essential tenet of all early nineteenth-century Romanticism, and it stands in stark contrast with much actual experience of Derwent and his siblings. The views of STC and Wordsworth on childhood are cogently set forth in William Walsh's essays, 'Coleridge and the age of childhood' and 'Wordsworth and the growth of mind'.⁹

STC had a strong urge, initially at least, to impress on his sons the foundations of learning from which his own poetry and philosophy sprang. As an absentee father, he wrote to Derwent in February 1807 to congratulate him on pursuing Greek with his brother, Hartley, and ended the letter with a short lesson.¹⁰ A month later, his father wrote again, this time with a lesson on poetry and metre.¹¹ The role of parent as educator became a significant feature of Derwent's boyhood.

In his sixth year, Derwent was sent to a private-venture day school in Keswick, under a Unitarian preacher named Grattan (or Gritton).¹² Derwent described the master as a little man, who was treated insolently by the older boys, so that he reacted inconsiderately towards the younger ones. Two years later, in September 1808, Derwent and Hartley became pupils at a private grammar school in Ambleside, where the Reverend John Dawes was master.¹³ He was more agreeable in his treatment of Derwent, who wrote a perceptive assessment of Dawes' character and demeanour:

⁸ Cherry Durrant, 'The Lives and Works of Hartley, Derwent and Sara Coleridge', PhD thesis (University of London, 1994).

⁹ William Walsh, *The Use of Imagination: educational thought and the literary mind* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1959), ch. 1 and 2.

¹⁰ STC to Derwent Coleridge, 7 February 1807, Letter 639, *The Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 6 vols, ed. E. L. Griggs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-72). [Hereafter *CLSTC*.]

¹¹ STC to Derwent Coleridge, postmarked 3 March 1807, Letter 641, *CLSTC*.

¹² Raymonde Hainton (in *The Unknown Coleridge*, p. 13) spells the name 'Grattan'. He was probably the Rev. Thomas Gritton, and related to Sarah and Rebecca Gritton, who kept a girls' school in Keswick (Pigot's *National Commercial Directory for 1828-9*, ii, p. 81). See also, advertisement in the *Cumberland Pacquet*, 22 March 1814, p. 1, and Dorothy Wordsworth to Sara Hutchinson, 8 April [1815], which refers to 'Mr Gretton's school', Letter 359, *LWDW*, III.

¹³ Hainton confuses Dawes' school with the endowed Kelsick Grammar School, whose master was customarily curate of Ambleside. Dawes had himself attended the Kelsick School before studying at Trinity College, Dublin. He returned and established a private school in 1805, but in 1811 he became curate and master of the Kelsick School, taking his private pupils with him. A year later he gave up the school, retained the curacy, and resumed his own private academy. See: Charles Cuthbert Southey, *The Life of the Rev Andrew Bell*, ii (London: Murray, 1844), p. 426; and Grevel Lindop, *A Literary Guide to the Lake District* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1993), p. 53.

He was a man of lofty stature, and immense bodily strength, and though sufficiently exact in the discharge of his scholastic duties, yet he evidently attached quite as much importance to the healthful recreations and out-of-door life of his scholars, as to their progress in Greek and Latin . . . In his clerical capacity, though of the highest respectability, he cannot be said to have been edifying; but he had the very soul of honour, and carried with him in every word and gesture the evidence of a manly and cordial nature. No wonder that his scholars regarded him with more pleasant feelings than boys usually entertain towards their master.¹⁴

Derwent showed an advanced intellect, but John Dawes' curriculum was restricted. The future Bishop of London, Charles Blomfield, appears at this time to have expressed regret that Hartley and Derwent were not 'at a better school where something might be made of their great Talents'.¹⁵ In later life, Derwent observed that John Dawes 'had been educated after the fashion of the north-country, where little attention is paid to the niceties or graces of classical learning, and though possessed of a vigorous understanding, [he was] by no means disposed to repair his deficiencies by severe study in after years.'¹⁶

Derwent's mature reflections on his schooldays directed his later educational thought, not least in what he learned by observing his brother. Hartley had exceptional powers of improvisation in telling stories of epic proportion, holding his schoolfellows in rapt attention, yet he was a clumsy writer. In the use of a pen 'he had to pass through the ordinary process of learning, and his peculiar powers seemed to have been suspended during the operation'. Derwent concluded: 'Perhaps a sense of difficulty, a struggle, is a more hopeful sign in a young writer, than premature facility.'¹⁷ Neither was Hartley adept, physically or socially: as a schoolboy he never played, and failed miserably in ordinary sports. Consequently, as Derwent added, he suffered at the hands of his fellows:

As a little boy, he paid the usual penalty of helpless oddity. Though not persecuted with the savagery of which so many sad instances might be collected from the annals of the school-room and the play-yard, he was

¹⁴ Derwent Coleridge, 'Memoir of Hartley Coleridge', in *Poems of Hartley Coleridge*, i (London: Moxon, 1851), pp. xlvi-xlvii.

¹⁵ Sara Hutchinson to Mary Hutchinson, 19 [November 1812], Letter 14, in Kathleen Coburn (ed.), *The Letters of Sara Hutchinson from 1800 to 1835* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954).

¹⁶ Derwent Coleridge, 'Memoir of Hartley Coleridge', p. xlvi.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. liv-lv.

plagued in a manner and to an extent of which . . . he never lost the impression.

With the perspective of a professional teacher-trainer, Derwent wrote: 'Far more attention should be given by schoolmasters to this matter, than has hitherto been deemed necessary.'¹⁸

John Dawes' school was 16 miles from Greta Hall, but only four miles from the Wordsworths' home in Grasmere. The Coleridge boys were day-scholars, and their father had arranged lodging nearby. Out of school-hours they enjoyed unlimited freedom in the surrounding area, from the age of eight to seventeen in Derwent's case. He later acknowledged the potential danger, but happily recorded: 'No harm came of it either to body or mind, but, as I believe, much good to both.'¹⁹ In a more generalized form, Derwent Coleridge concluded: 'But the hours which are spent in school, under a master's eye, are not the whole of a schoolboy's life, nor perhaps do they form the most important part of his education.'²⁰

STC intended his sons to spend term-time weekends with him at the Wordsworths' home, but have long holidays with their mother at Keswick. Dorothy Wordsworth wrote during the first term: 'We are regularly thirteen in family, and on Saturdays and Sundays 15 (for when Saturday morning is not very stormy Hartley and Derwent come).'²¹ In 1810, STC ceased to lodge with the Wordsworths, but the boys still received weekend hospitality, enjoying William Wordsworth's conversation and library, and attending church with the five Wordsworth children.²²

Both the Wordsworths (at Grasmere) and the Southneys (at Keswick) had many visitors, especially during the summer season. Among them was the Rev Dr Andrew Bell, whom STC had come to admire in 1808: 'O, dear Dr Bell, you are a great man! . . . I shall find a

¹⁸ Derwent Coleridge, 'Memoir of Hartley Coleridge', p. li (fn.).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. li.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xlviii.

²¹ Dorothy Wordsworth to Catherine Clarkson, 8 December [1808], Letter 135, *LWDW*, II.

²² Dorothy Wordsworth to Catherine Clarkson, 12 May [1811], Letter 223, *LWDW*, II.

deep consolation in being your zealous apostle.’²³ Bell’s latest book, arguing that his Madras system of monitorial education would readily operate under the superintendence of the Church, was also read by William Wordsworth, who declared: ‘It is a most interesting work and entitles him to the fervent gratitude of all good men.’²⁴ Wordsworth was instrumental in persuading the master of Grasmere village school, attended by three of his children, to introduce the Madras system, writing in 1811 that the master ‘gives into it with great spirit’.²⁵ In May of that year, Bell wrote to Robert Southey asking to meet him, and soon he was declaring Dr Bell to be one of the ‘greatest benefactors of the human race who have appeared since Martin Luther’.²⁶

Dr Bell stayed in Keswick during September 1811 and, with Southey, visited Wordsworth in Grasmere. They called at the village school, where Dr Bell observed the proficiency of the pupils and the skill of the master, the curate, William Johnson. Although there is no record of Derwent Coleridge meeting Dr Bell during his time at Keswick, it is likely that, as an intelligent 11-year-old, he was aware of the enthusiasm his father, uncle and *in loco parentis* guardian – his three ‘interpreters’ – had for Bell’s monitorial system of education, and that the Wordsworth children would have spoken of their experiences at school under Johnson. It is even more likely that subsequent events would have come to Derwent’s attention, for in January 1812 Dr Bell wrote to Wordsworth, inviting William Johnson to apply for the new position of assistant-superintendent (under Bell) at the newly-founded National Society’s Central School, in Holborn, for training teachers on the monitorial model.

Dr Bell visited Keswick and Grasmere at intervals until the 1820s, engaging Dorothy Wordsworth in his editorial work and making Robert Southey one of his executors. In

²³ STC to Andrew Bell, 15 April 1808, in: Charles Cuthbert Southey, *The Life of the Rev Andrew Bell*, ii, (London: Murray, 1844), pp. 575-6.

²⁴ William Wordsworth to Francis Wrangham, 2 October 1808, Letter 126, *LWDW*, II.

²⁵ William Wordsworth to Sir George Beaumont, postmarked November 1811, Letter 230, *LWDW*, II.

²⁶ Andrew Bell to Robert Southey, 2 May 1811, in: Charles Cuthbert Southey, *The Life of the Rev Andrew Bell*, ii, pp. 625-6; and Robert Southey to Andrew Bell, 5 September 1811, *ibid*, pp. 631-2. For Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth’s advocacy of Bell’s system, see: Ian Reid, ‘Romantic Ideologies, Educational Practices, and Institutional Formations of English’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 28(1), January 1996, pp. 22-41.

1812, Southey published a treatise on Bell's system, entitled *The Origin, Nature, and Object of the New System of Education*, and Wordsworth immortalized it in his poetry.

Writing to Thomas Poole in 1815, Wordsworth declared:

If you have read my poem, the 'Excursion', you will there see what importance I attach to the Madras System. Next to the art of Printing it is the noblest invention for the improvement of the human species. Our population in this neighbourhood is not sufficient to apply it on a large scale, but great benefit has been derived from it even upon a small one.²⁷

Whether or not Poole had read 'The Excursion', there is no doubt that Derwent Coleridge had. It is fitting that when he later wrote an introduction to a poetry reader for use in teacher training colleges, it was for an edition of Wordsworth's 'Excursion'.²⁸ Derwent regarded Wordsworth's poetry as the greatest since Milton, and the poet himself as the one who did more than any other to form his mind.

Derwent's passions were not solely literary, however; mathematics strongly attracted him. In March 1815, his mother wrote to Thomas Poole: 'He wants to be forwarded in Algebra and all the branches of Mathematics, which are not attended to under Mr Dawes.'²⁹ During the summer, he had some instruction in Ambleside from Daniel Nihill, a student of St John's College, Cambridge, who thought highly of Derwent's ability and encouraged him to study mathematics at his father's university; 'Since this,' Sarah Coleridge wrote to Poole, 'the poor fellow dreams of nothing else.'³⁰ When he left John Dawes' school in September 1817, Derwent returned to Greta Hall, where his sister, Sara (now aged 14), had been receiving her education at home.

²⁷ William Wordsworth to Thomas Poole, 13 March 1815, Letter 352, *LWDW*, III. See Wordsworth, 'The Excursion', Book Ninth, lines 293-310 and 384-400, written in 1812, published 1814.

²⁸ D[erwent] C[oleridge], St Mark's College, Chelsea, January, 1863, 'Introduction', *The Wanderer, being the first book of The Excursion, by William Wordsworth. Reprinted as a Class-book for Training Colleges* (London: Moxon, 1863); BL shelfmark: 11642.aa.13.

²⁹ Sarah Coleridge to Thomas Poole, 28 March 1815, BL, Add. MS 35344, ff. 26-7; printed as Letter 10 in: Stephen Potter (ed.), *Minnow among Tritons: Mrs S. T. Coleridge's letters to Thomas Poole, 1799-1834* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1934).

³⁰ Sarah Coleridge to Thomas Poole, [April 1816], BL Add. MS 35344, ff. 32-3; printed as Letter 12 in: Stephen Potter (ed.), *Minnow among Tritons*.

Sara and the Southey children were taught by their parents from an early age. The adults at Greta Hall clearly intended their daughters to have accomplishment in their favour, as Sarah Coleridge portrayed in her description of education in their domestic setting:

We keep regular School from ½ past nine until 4 with the exception of an hour for walking and an half hour for dressing – Mrs Lovel [*sic* – Sarah’s widowed sister] keeps school in a small room for English and Latin – and the writing and figures – French – Italian &c are done with me in the *dining room* with the assistance of Aunt Eliza [another of Sarah’s sisters] – and Southey teaches his wife and daughters to read Spanish . . .and his son Greek – should we not all be very learned!³¹

In addition, music and art were taught by a near neighbour, Miss Barker, and according to Sarah Coleridge, Hartley and Derwent taught their sister during the holidays from John Dawes’ school. The intellectual atmosphere of Greta Hall was enhanced by Robert Southey’s extensive library and by his occupation as a translator and writer of books, reviews and poetry. A man of literary renown, in 1813 he had been made Poet Laureate. What Southey could not do, however, was to assume financial responsibility for sending his nephew to university. Yet this was the unquenchable ambition burning within Derwent’s heart, and his youthful spirit determined that it should not be extinguished.

3.2 Ambition, education and vocation

In the absence of a scholarship or sufficient private funds, Derwent Coleridge determined to obtain income of his own, and, through John Dawes, became private tutor to the Hopwood family, of Summer Hill, near Ulverston in north Lancashire, about 15 miles south of Keswick. The Hopwoods engaged Derwent to prepare their sons for Eton, and for two years he lived with the family, from just after his seventeenth birthday, in 1817.³² According to his mother, his ‘greatest difficulty’ was ‘making the children tractable, which he says he could much easier do, if he was *older*, and Mama [i.e. Mrs Hopwood] were not so *very* indulgent.’ Certainly the duration of tuition was short: only 3½ hours a

³¹ Sarah Coleridge to Thomas Poole, [February 1814], BL, Add. MS 35344, ff. 22-3; Letter 8 in Potter, *Minnow among Tritons*.

³² For the Hopwood family, see: C. Stuart Macdonald, *A History of Hopwood Hall* (London: Waldegrave, 1963), ch. 6.

day, in three sessions, for which Derwent was paid 50 guineas per annum. Sarah Coleridge quoted Derwent as saying that 'if they were not uncommonly quick, he could do but little for them in so short an allotment of time'. By the summer of 1818, Derwent was telling his mother that 'nothing on earth would induce him to pass a great many years of his life as a private tutor'.³³

The Hopwoods appear to have been satisfied with Derwent's tutorial skills, however, and he returned to Summer Hill in the autumn. In his spare hours, he wrote poetry (in English, Greek and Latin), and completed exercises in mathematics, often in a 'commonplace book' which he started in August 1818.³⁴ He also acted in 'private theatricals' with the family. Mrs Hopwood attempted to use her connections to obtain a scholarship for Derwent – her sister was the late Lady John Russell and her brother-in-law the Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.³⁵ She was unsuccessful, but in the meantime Robert Southey had devised a plan for Derwent:

I have put him in a way of helping himself still more effectively: I have set him upon translating my old friend Dobrizhoffer de Abiponcibus, which Murray will print, and give him half the eventual profits. He has plenty of time for his task. I will oversee it for him, and review the book as soon as it appears, so as to give it the best chance for a sale.³⁶

This book, written in Latin by the Jesuit, Martin Dobrizhoffer, was in three volumes. Derwent took two of them to Summer Hill, whilst his sister, Sara, kept the third at Greta Hall so that she might share in the task of translation. In an extensively cross-written letter to his mother, dated 25 January 1819, Derwent reported on his progress.³⁷ News that his father's friend, John Frere, was ready to sponsor his studies at Cambridge caused

³³ All quotations in this paragraph are from Sarah Coleridge to Thomas Poole, June [1818], BL, Add. MS 35344, ff. 36-9; printed as Letter 14 (but incorrectly dated June [1817]) in Stephen Potter (ed.), *Minnow among Tritons*.

³⁴ Derwent Coleridge MSS, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin [hereafter DC MSS, HRC/UTA]; cited in Raymonde Hainton and Godfrey Hainton, *The Unknown Coleridge: the life and times of Derwent Coleridge, 1800-1883* (London: Janus, 1996), p. 24. [Hereafter Hainton, DC.]

³⁵ See: Robert Southey to John May, 7 April 1818, Letter 94, in: Charles Ramas (ed.), *The Letters of Robert Southey to John May 1797 to 1838* (Austin, Texas: Jenkins, 1976); also, Derwent Coleridge to Sarah Coleridge, 25 January 1819, BL, microfilm M/738 (original in DC MSS, HRC/UTA).

³⁶ Robert Southey to John May, 28 December 1818, Letter 97, in: Charles Ramas (ed.), *The Letters of Robert Southey to John May*.

³⁷ Derwent Coleridge to Sarah Coleridge, 25 January 1819, BL, microfilm M/738 (original in DC MSS, HRC/UTA).

Derwent to discontinue the translation, although Sara undertook to complete the work, which was published, anonymously, in 1822.³⁸

Derwent Coleridge ended his tutorship of the Hopwood boys in December 1819. Edward John Gregge Hopwood went to Eton in 1820, and Frank George Hopwood joined him in 1823, with his younger brother, Hervey.³⁹ Derwent returned to Greta Hall, and then visited Hartley in Oxford and his father, whom he had not seen for eight years, in London. Since 1816 STC had lived in Highgate, with Dr Gillman, under whose strict medical supervision his opium-dependency was being controlled. Derwent remained at Gillman's house for the next six months, studying with his father. Then, at the age of 20 years, his ambition was fulfilled, and Derwent was admitted to St John's College, Cambridge, where he was awarded a scholarship.

At first Derwent distinguished himself in his studies, and he especially enjoyed the company of students with sparkling intellect and literary tastes, among them a cousin, Henry Nelson Coleridge, who had been educated at Eton and was now at King's College. Derwent's literary and philosophical disposition, combined with a remarkable fluency of speech, drew him into the social milieu of celebrated undergraduates, such as Thomas Babington Macaulay, Winthrop Mackworth Praed, William Sidney Walker, Henry Malden, Charles Austin and John Moultrie. The last of these, John Moultrie, was to immortalise Derwent Coleridge in his poem, 'The Dream of Life'. The danger for Coleridge lay in distraction from the mathematical studies required at that time for the Cambridge degree. Moultrie captured both his talent and his temptation in 'The Dream of Life':

What more blest
Could either of us wish, than to pursue
Together the green paths of poesy,
And cultivate the fair domains of thought
Which nature had assign'd us?

...

³⁸ Anon. [Sara Coleridge] (trans.), *An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay* (translated from the Latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer), (London: Murray, 1822).

³⁹ H. E. C. Stapylton, *The Eton School Lists from 1791 to 1850*, 2 edn, (London: E. P. Williams and Eton College, 1864), pp. 106, 118-9.

And if from the routine
Of academic study we diverged
Too oft, and were forgetful of the claims
Of curves and squares, and parallelograms,
Cones, angles, sines and cosines, ordinates,
Abcissae, and the like – methinks, our time,
Though sore misspent, was yet not wholly lost
In converse such as this.⁴⁰

At the end of 1821, Henry Nelson Coleridge revealed that Derwent was ‘absorbed in a society of his own foundation for the collection of books of early English literature’ and that he was reported to be ‘doing little else but poring over old plays and old romances’.⁴¹ Another enthusiasm was the Union Debating Society, where close friends practised their oratory in preparation for careers in parliament or legal advocacy. Formal debate provided opportunity, as he expressed it, for ‘sportive conflict . . . without the sense of public responsibility, or any direct object beyond the exercise of their oratorical powers’.⁴² Derwent’s common-place book for 1821 has drafts of his own speeches on motions such as, ‘It is expedient that women be highly educated.’⁴³

In the autumn of 1822, a newly-established London publisher, Charles Knight, agreed to promote a quarterly magazine for articles and poems contributed by students at Cambridge, in particular the circle in which Derwent Coleridge moved. The writers disguised their authorship - Derwent wrote under the name Davenant Cecil – and the publication appeared in six numbers.⁴⁴ Derwent was also elected to the Royal Literary

⁴⁰ John Moultrie, ‘The Dream of Life’ (London, 1843); book 3 dedicated to Derwent Coleridge. See also: *Poems by John Moultrie, with Memoir by the Rev. Prebendary [Derwent] Coleridge*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1876); extracts quoted: i, pp. 417-8, 418-9.

⁴¹ Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge, [11 December 1821], BL, Add. MS 47557, ff. 69-72, at f. 71^v.

⁴² Derwent Coleridge, ‘Memoir of Winthrop Mackworth Praed’, in *Poems of . . . Praed* (London: Moxon, 1864), i, p. xxxv.

⁴³ Derwent Coleridge, Common-place book, 1821, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; quoted in: Durrant, PhD thesis (1994), p. 145.

⁴⁴ Derwent Coleridge’s contributions to *Knight’s Quarterly Magazine* (1823-4) are listed in: B. C. Bloomfield, ‘Derwent Coleridge: the first principal. A trial checklist’, *Education Libraries Bulletin*, 4, Spring 1959, pp. 2-12, at p. 11.

Society, with an obligation to write an annual essay, for which he received £100 each year.⁴⁵

For Derwent Coleridge, the most critical – and painful – change at Cambridge was his loss of orthodox Christian faith. His moral integrity demanded intellectual honesty, even if it led to personal distress and lost him friends. He struggled to explain himself to John Moultrie, but emerging through his brutal honesty is a mixture of deep sadness and spiritual defiance:

A man *might* be argued out of Christianity – I was myself argued out of it. Yet more, I do not look upon my own Faith (by which I mean Austinism) [a reference to the utilitarian principles adopted by his Cambridge friend, Charles Austin] as a thing to be ashamed of . . . I am not a Godwinite or Wordsworthian or a Shelleian or any other kind of unChristian-religionist – for all these have a religion and a worse one than that of Christ – whom I *almost* worship . . . If anyone *believes* one thing and does another, he is a silly fool, and such in this respect am not I.⁴⁶

In later years, reflection on his Cambridge contemporaries led Derwent to consider the question of development of personal convictions. He knew then, from both his own experience and observation of others, that convictions are subject to change. Coleridge concluded:

Too much importance is commonly attached to the expressed opinions, and more particularly to the political opinions of very young men. Thus they have to bear the reproach of inconsistency if, as may well happen, they afterwards see occasion to change their views.⁴⁷

After graduating in January 1824, Derwent Coleridge was offered a teaching situation as third master at the Plymouth Subscription Classical and Mathematical School, where John Heyrick Macaulay (a cousin of Derwent's Cambridge friend, Thomas Macaulay) was headmaster. He had known both John Macaulay and John Punnett, the second

⁴⁵ Sara Coleridge to Elizabeth Crumpe, 17 April 1823, MS Wordsworth Library, Grasmere, ref. A/Coleridge, Sara/Letter 6; cited by Cherry Durrant, PhD thesis (1994), p. 167.

⁴⁶ Derwent Coleridge to John Moultrie, undated [?1823], DC MSS, HRC/UTA; quoted in Hainton, *DC*, pp. 39–40.

⁴⁷ Derwent Coleridge, 'Memoir', *Poems of Praed*, i, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

master, at Cambridge.⁴⁸ A newspaper advertisement of December 1825 described the school as having about 100 boys, and being ‘formed principally upon the model of Eton, and . . . adapted to those boys who are designed for any of the public schools, or to those whose parents wish to secure for their sons the advantages of such an education without the evils often found in those establishments.’⁴⁹

Term began on 29 January 1824. It is evident, however, that Derwent Coleridge, at 23 years of age, was weakly motivated in his teaching, notwithstanding the attraction of its conforming to the classical-scholar model. He told his mother that he was ‘heartless’ and ‘aimless’. His spirits revived, however, when he met Mary Pridham – eldest daughter of John Pridham, a partner in the Naval Bank, Plymouth – whom he was to marry three years later. Mary’s cultural interests were attuned to Derwent’s; she enjoyed poetry, and was being tutored in art and Italian.

Cultural life in Plymouth centred on the Athenaeum, founded in 1812 by Henry Woolcombe, who invited Derwent Coleridge to lecture there on 24 February 1825, taking the poetry of Wordsworth as his subject. The lecture was well received, and subsequently Derwent delivered another lecture on ‘The Nature of Poetry’, in which he discussed the relationship between poetry, painting and other fine arts. Coleridge was also invited by his Cambridge friend, Henry Malden, to write some articles for a proposed magazine, the *Metropolitan Quarterly*, and some new papers as well as his Wordsworth lecture were printed, but the journal ceased publication after four issues. Derwent hoped that Charles Knight would publish a volume of his poetry, but in vain.

At the end of the summer term, 1825, Derwent Coleridge resigned his situation at Macaulay’s school, having taught there for a year and a half. During the summer vacation he stayed ‘at a very pleasant house, the Lady of which was a mother to him, and

⁴⁸ This school was founded in 1822, and almost immediately became known as the New Grammar School, to distinguish it from the endowed grammar school, Plymouth, founded in 1561 by the Corporation; the two schools amalgamated in 1866, becoming Plymouth Corporation Grammar School. See C. W. Bracken, ‘The Plymouth Grammar School’, *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, LXXVI, 1944; pp. 141-66.

⁴⁹ Advertisement for the ‘New Grammar School, Plymouth (headmaster: J. H. Macaulay, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge)’, *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 17 December 1825, p. 3.

to whose son, an invalid, he was a tutor for the time.⁵⁰ He then became first classical assistant at a school 20 miles from Plymouth, established by the Reverend Matthew Lowndes in Buckfastleigh vicarage.⁵¹ Contemporary directories, both local and national, describe the school as an 'extensive and highly respectable classical school' and 'a good grammar school', but Derwent was unsettled there.⁵²

Derwent Coleridge and Mary Pridham pursued 'intellectual cultivation and the best methods of intellectual culture', and on 25 August 1825 Derwent sent Mary (at her request) a 13-page letter, headed 'On Intellectual Development and Mental Training – a letter of advice and counsel'.⁵³ Building on the views he had expressed four years earlier at the Cambridge Union debate, he stated plainly his belief that women should have a rigorous education:

I utterly dissent from the doctrine of certain old-fashioned virgins, and vulgar-minded men, who would confine a woman's education to sitting in a backboard and working her sampler, as if she were only fit to dance before marriage and to sew after it . . . Moreover it is to be observed that all domestic arts, of any real use, may be acquired without the least sacrifice of intellectual culture . . . I am thus averse to the substitution of satin stitch for thought – at open war with that string of nameless and unaccountable *nothings* in which so large a portion of a domestic day is usually spent.⁵⁴

Derwent explained to Mary his belief in a self-disciplined approach to study through systematic reading; he advocated reading aloud in various languages for the pleasure it brings to the reader and hearer alike; and, like his father, he insisted on the intimate and inseparable connection between the moral and intellectual elements in education. In this long letter to Mary, Derwent (now approaching his twenty-fifth year) produced his first educational manifesto. It is entirely fitting that it should have been written for his future

⁵⁰ Sarah Coleridge to Thomas Poole, 12 October [1825], BL, Add. MS 35344, ff. 70-1, printed as Letter 29, Stephen Potter (ed.), *Minnow among Tritons*.

⁵¹ Three successive generations of the Lowndes family produced a vicar of Buckfastleigh, each of them named Matthew. The incumbencies were held: 1782-1825, 1825-56, 1861-91. It is evident, therefore, that Derwent Coleridge was associated with the second Reverend Matthew Lowndes. John Stéphan, 'Vicars of Buckfastleigh, 1263-1943', *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, XXIV (1962-4), pp. 78-80.

⁵² See Robert Brindley, *The Plymouth, Stonehouse, and Devonport Directory* (Devonport: Byers, 1830), p. 195; Pigot's *National Commercial Directory*, iii (1830), p. 176.

⁵³ Derwent Coleridge to Mary Pridham, 25 August 1825, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; quoted Hainton, *DC*, p. 58.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*; quoted Hainton, *DC*, p. 59.

wife, with whom Derwent Coleridge's career as an educationist was to be intimately shared in residential schools and colleges for the first 37 years of their marriage.

The few months Derwent spent at Buckfastleigh – where ‘my boys have given me so much trouble . . . a lot of dirty, disagreeable boys, from morning to night’ – were pivotal to his future happiness.⁵⁵ Ambition was now to be recast, education more completely understood, and vocation more clearly perceived. Derwent Coleridge had despaired amid ‘the dark and perilous struggles of my intellectual being in the pursuit of Truth’, but had found ‘Mary, guide of my way.’⁵⁶ The autumn of 1825 brought peace of heart and mind, as Derwent recognized that his spiritual wrestling could, with integrity, be subdued by an act of faith. When he had written to Moultrie two years earlier ‘of Christ, whom I *almost* worship’, Derwent was expressing a deep longing from which, he had felt, integrity required him to draw back. Now he had come to understand the proper and honest role of faith in a man for whom integrity cannot be compromised. He declared, ‘I am a Changed Being.’⁵⁷

Derwent's recovery of his Christian faith brought a new perspective and sense of purpose to his life. He discovered various longings within him that gave direction, conviction and a sense of vocation. In November, he wrote to his Cambridge friend, Henry Malden: ‘I purpose making a strenuous effort to enter some profession – *if it be possible the sacred one*; with this vantage gained I might pursue, with leisurely but careful steps, that literary career which I believe is given me to run.’⁵⁸

Thus Derwent Coleridge returned to Cambridge to attend divinity lectures in preparation for ordination. Leaving Plymouth in mid-January 1826, he read his father's *Aids to Reflection* on the journey. STC had written this work amidst his distress over Derwent's professed atheism on leaving Cambridge two years earlier. Its purpose was to help ‘the studious young at the close of their education’, ‘students intended for the ministry’, and

⁵⁵ Derwent Coleridge to Mary Pridham, 9 November 1825, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 60.

⁵⁶ Derwent Coleridge to Mary Pridham, undated, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 62.

⁵⁷ Derwent Coleridge to Henry Malden, 16 November 1825, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 65.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*; Hainton, *DC*, p. 65.

those 'who have dedicated their future lives . . . as pastors, preachers, missionaries, or instructors of youth'.⁵⁹ Derwent broke his journey to visit his father in Highgate. STC wrote with delight to George Skinner, a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge:

My son Derwent Coleridge having (as indeed I never doubted that he would) sloughed the last skin of his Caterpillarage has made the first use of his eyes and wings into which he has unfolded by returning to Cambridge in order to prepare himself in good earnest for taking Orders.⁶⁰

When Derwent arrived in Cambridge on 25 January, he wrote a prayer in his Notebook, thanking God for Mary, 'who has been to me in thy hands an instrument of mercy to bring me from death to life'.⁶¹

At Cambridge, Derwent read theology, studied German, tutored private pupils, and wrote articles about Wordsworth and Shelley for the *Metropolitan Quarterly*. His piece about Wordsworth has a footnote in which he discussed the need for a reader's mind to be prepared for the appreciation of literary quality, but did so in a way that skilfully treated issues of educational improvement without patronizing the uneducated.

The course of divinity lectures completed, Derwent Coleridge arrived in Plymouth on 2 June 1826. His cousin, James Duke Coleridge (an older brother of Henry Nelson Coleridge), was vicar of Kenwyn and Kea, in Cornwall, and he invited Derwent to become his curate. Derwent Coleridge was ordained deacon in Exeter Cathedral by Bishop William Carey, on 29 October 1826.⁶² He wrote to Mary:

It is the most important day of my life – it has invested me with a new character, accompanied with many difficult and important duties. My character I feel requires a good deal of change, more than I have ever before been aware of. Let us unite our prayers that this change, through the blessed influence of the Holy Spirit, may progressively be effected.⁶³

⁵⁹ STC, *Aids to Reflection*, 9th edn (ed. Derwent Coleridge), (London: Moxon, 1861), p. xiv.

⁶⁰ STC to George Skinner, [26 January 1826], Letter 1516, *CLSTC*, VI.

⁶¹ Derwent Coleridge, Notebook 1826, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Durrant (PhD thesis, 1994), p. 226.

⁶² Derwent Coleridge, Ordination Papers, 29 October 1826, Devon Record Office, Exeter: Diocese of Exeter/Ordination papers/1826/Derwent Coleridge.

⁶³ Derwent Coleridge to Mary Pridham, 29 October 1826, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, p. 81.

Within a month, the Reverend Derwent Coleridge had been encouraged by his cousin, James, to apply for the mastership of the endowed grammar school (with an associated lectureship in the parish church) at Helston, Cornwall. On 24 December, Derwent wrote from Helston to Mary: 'I have accepted the cure of Helston. I have accepted the school. . . . A late Master, Mr Stabback, made a *large fortune* in the place, but Mr Daniel has reduced the school to nothing and I shall probably commence with two boys only.'⁶⁴ The salary was £130 per annum.

3.3 Ordained schoolmaster: a twofold profession

The Reverend Derwent Coleridge began his 'twofold profession with its twofold anxiety' (as his sister, Sara, later expressed it) with enthusiasm.⁶⁵

Helston, a market town with a population of about 3,000, was becoming increasingly prosperous from the tin and copper mines on the surrounding moors. The local gentry supported the parish church, but the district remained a Methodist stronghold among the labouring classes. The mayor and corporation of the borough were trustees of Helston Grammar School, which had been endowed with twenty marks, 'a denomination of money which had [long] . . . fallen into disuse' and led Derwent Coleridge to conclude that 'its foundation may, with probability, be referred at least to the early part of the sixteenth century'.⁶⁶

In January 1827 an advertisement for the school appeared in the two Truro newspapers, the Tory *Royal Cornwall Gazette* and the Whig *West Briton*.⁶⁷ At 45 guineas per annum

⁶⁴ Derwent Coleridge to Mary Pridham, 24 December 1826, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 84. Rev. Thomas Stabback was master, 1796-1820; Rev. Edwin Daniel, master, 1820-26.

⁶⁵ Sara Coleridge to Hartley Coleridge, 5 August 1834; quoted in Edmund Blunden and Earl Leslie Griggs (eds), *Coleridge: studies by several hands on the hundredth anniversary of his death* (London: Constable, 1934), pp. 223-32, at p. 231.

⁶⁶ C. [i.e. Derwent Coleridge], 'Grammar Schools in England', *Saturday Magazine*, 7(222), 19 December 1835, pp. 236-7, at p. 237. Derwent Coleridge frequently used the spelling 'Helleston'.

⁶⁷ *West Briton*, 5 January 1827, p. 3; *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 6 January 1827, p. 3. [The *Royal Cornwall Gazette* incorrectly printed 'Wednesday 5th of February' instead of 'Monday' as the start of term.]

for standard board and tuition, Derwent Coleridge appears to have had an inflated sense of his earning capacity; his predecessor had charged only 32 guineas, and in 1828 he reverted to the customary fees.⁶⁸ The schoolroom was in need of renovation, so at first the two free scholars – for whom the Corporation of Helston paid ‘20 marks’ (£13 6s 8d) – received their education in the master’s lodgings. These boys, James Henwood (son of a surgeon apothecary) and John Vivian (nephew of Sir Richard Vivian, MP for Cornwall), were aged 13 and 8 years respectively. The condition of the schoolroom and play-yard was improved, and the Duke of Leeds (patron to the ‘pocket borough’ of Helston) presented the school with a large rambling house for the master. Coleridge moved into the house, which he called The Parsonage, on 26 May 1827, and set about obtaining private boarders.

Derwent Coleridge was ordained to the priesthood after only 8½ months as a deacon, the Bishop of Exeter licensing him ‘on the nomination of the Mayor and Aldermen . . . to teach and instruct boys and also youths of a more advanced age in the Art of Grammar in the endowed Grammar School in Helston’. (This licence, dated 15 July 1827, is now in Helston Museum.)⁶⁹ The Corporation, at the time of his appointment to the school, had also elected Coleridge as ‘Lecturer’ of Helston – an office which required him to preach in the parish church in the absence of the vicar or curate. Helston was part of the ecclesiastical parish of Wendron, where the vicar resided, and its curate was elderly and inactive; when the latter resigned in March 1827, Coleridge accepted the curacy.

Even before term started for his scholars, Derwent Coleridge had begun systematic visitation of his parishioners, meeting poverty and distress among the lower classes in the town and in the workhouse. His Sunday school outgrew its accommodation and moved into the Town Hall. He also came to know Emily Trevenen, a wealthy and well-connected lady in Helston society, and discussed with her his plans to establish a National School for children of the poor. In February 1827, she told Coleridge that he

⁶⁸ Compare *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 17 December 1825, p. 3, and 12 January 1828, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Derwent Coleridge, *Ordination Papers*, 15 July 1827, Devon Record Office, Exeter: Diocese of Exeter/Ordination papers/1827/Derwent Coleridge. A photograph of Derwent Coleridge’s bishop’s licence is in Deirdre Dare, *The Unknown Founder: the story of Helston Grammar School, 1550-1972*, (Truro: Kelynen Publications, 1996), between pp. 32-33.

‘may command her purse’, and by mid-March Emily Trevenen had bought four small houses beside the churchyard with the intention of demolishing them to provide a site for a National schoolroom. A Committee of Management was constituted, and on 9 June its members sent an ‘Application for Union’ to the National Society signed by local clergy and civic dignitaries. This form bears a note: ‘United 27 June 1827.’⁷⁰ An ‘Application for Aid towards the erection of a daily School’ was also sent for the Bishop’s countersignature, as required by the National Society. Derwent Coleridge wrote on this form that the new school ‘is intended to receive at least 100 boys and 100 girls in two rooms . . . and to be supported by annual subscriptions and small weekly or annual payments by the scholars in no case exceeding one guinea annually.’⁷¹ The schoolrooms were opened in the following year, a letter to the National Society’s headquarters in London, dated 10 March 1828, confirming that the religious basis of union with the Society was practised.⁷² Remembering his effort to bring elementary education to the working classes in Helston, Coleridge recalled in later life how he discovered the parlous state of a young monitorial teacher, recommended after training at the Exeter Central School, for whom he had to buy a spelling-book, ‘but soon found the case hopeless’.⁷³

During his first summer in Helston, Coleridge received a youth, James Kendall, as a private boarder at The Parsonage, at £100 a year, on the recommendation of the mayor. Kendall was seeking preparation for the university, and he proved a valuable acquisition for Helston Grammar School. A public event, known as the Helston School Meeting, had been held annually since 1761 on the first Wednesday after St Matthew’s Day (21 September), when the scholars attended church and then gave recitations before visitors, after which the trustees and former students dined at the Angel Inn. At Coleridge’s first School Meeting, in 1827, Kendall impressed everyone with his rendition, and Derwent Coleridge’s after-dinner speech was also taken as evidence of a successful revival of the school. At the 1830 Meeting, the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* reported that on ‘James

⁷⁰ ‘Application for Union’, 9 June 1827, Helston (Cornwall) file no. 62, CERC, NS archive.

⁷¹ ‘Application for Aid’, June 1827, Helston (Cornwall) file no. 62, CERC, NS archive.

⁷² MS letter signed by Derwent Coleridge et al., 10 March 1828, Helston (Cornwall) file no. 62, CERC, NS archive.

⁷³ Derwent Coleridge, *The Education of the People: a letter to the Right Hon. Sir John Coleridge* (London: Rivingtons, 1861), pp. 14-15.

Kendall who is about to leave the school for the University of Cambridge, the highest encomiums were bestowed'.⁷⁴

Derwent's old Cambridge friend, the Reverend John Moultrie, had visited him in August 1827. In a letter to his mother, Moultrie expressed his delight in Derwent:

He is an active and excellent parish priest and preaches eloquently. . . . In the very stronghold of Methodism he succeeds in making himself universally popular. He is at least ten times happier than he ever was in his life before.⁷⁵

On 15 December 1827 Moultrie married Derwent Coleridge and Mary Pridham, and in the following year a son, Derwent Moultrie Coleridge, was born.

In September 1829 Derwent's sister, Sara, married her cousin, Henry Nelson Coleridge, leaving Keswick to live in London. Their mother, Sarah Coleridge, finally departed from Southey's household at Greta Hall to live in Helston with Derwent and Mary. Dorothy Wordsworth, however, confided to her friend, Catherine Clarkson, in April 1830, that Sarah Coleridge was not entirely at ease there:

She . . . is well pleased with her daughter-in-law, and has great comfort in Derwent; but, at her age, it is a great change – to a boarding school with ten boys in the house . . . but in September . . . Sara is to be confined – and, of course, her Mother goes to nurse her.⁷⁶

Sarah Coleridge became a permanent resident with Sara and Henry Nelson Coleridge in Hampstead, and they were all able frequently to meet STC in nearby Highgate, on amicable terms, until his death on 25 July 1834.

Moultrie's observation about Derwent Coleridge being 'universally popular' is supported by the response people made to his evident generosity towards those whose opinions he did not share. Over a thousand people met in the Wesleyan Chapel, Helston, on 7 January 1829 for a public meeting on the 'Roman Catholic Question', i.e. the Catholic Emancipation Bill soon to come before parliament. Helston was not a centre of agitation

⁷⁴ *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 25 September 1830, p. 2.

⁷⁵ John Moultrie to his mother, 22 August 1827; Hainton, DC, p. 103.

⁷⁶ Dorothy Wordsworth to Catherine Clarkson, 27 April [1830], Letter 523, *LWDW*, V.

for political reform, but there was a fear that the Bill would threaten essential elements in the constitution of the State. Derwent Coleridge, in seconding the motion to oppose the Bill, stated that he wished to express his deference to supporters of the Bill and in particular 'to preserve a charitable rule of interpretation towards the Catholics themselves'.⁷⁷

This generosity in Coleridge's character attracted him to a wide section of Cornish society, not least the Fox family of prominent Quakers, who owned the Perran Iron Foundry, near Falmouth. The remarkable inventiveness of their workforce led the Foxes to establish, in 1833, the Cornwall Polytechnic Society for the encouragement of Arts and Industry. Derwent Coleridge was among the 30 members of the original committee, whose stated objects were 'to stimulate the ingenuity of the young, to promote industrious habits among the working classes, and to elicit the inventive powers of the community at large'.⁷⁸ The Society held an annual open exhibition in Falmouth, where competitors, including school-children, presented their entries in a comprehensive range of classes, for which prizes were awarded and reported in the Cornish newspapers. Sarah Fox (wife of Charles Fox of Perran), who had once lived at Ulverston and knew Hartley Coleridge, wrote to him in 1833:

Thy Brother seems to be prospering in all his undertakings – he is admired and beloved and his school is in great repute. His beautiful taste, and his bright and varied mind make even drudgery charming.⁷⁹

Derwent Coleridge was painstaking in his clerical duties. Soon after arriving at Helston, he wrote to Mary:

I am very fastidious: I want my sermons to be plain, striking, impassioned and scholarlike . . . but I can't put down and deliver a commonplace, disjointed piece of rigmarole – it turns my stomach: I want to get at people's consciences, and to do this in a dignified and masterly kind of way, equally remote from genteel slip slop, and vulgar storming.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Derwent Coleridge, speech on 7 January 1829, reported in 'Anti-Catholic Meetings in Cornwall: Kerrier Meeting at Helston', *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 17 January 1829, p. 2.

⁷⁸ *Report of the Cornwall Polytechnic Society for 1833*, p. 9.

⁷⁹ Sarah Fox to Hartley Coleridge, 1 September 1833, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 137.

⁸⁰ Derwent Coleridge to Mary Pridham, 10 March 1827, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 95.

Coleridge had a penetrating mind, and he confided in John Moultrie about his agonies over preaching:

I am continually haunted with what I believe to be a deeper truth . . . than I can venture to announce, and thus I am forced to speak an accommodated language, clogged with restrictions, which few, if any, apprehend, and which in fact are mere sacrifices to my own truthfulness.⁸¹

Whatever his worries about effective communication, Derwent Coleridge's sermons were appreciated, and his congregation requested that several be published.⁸² One given at the Helston School Meeting on 26 September 1832 is particularly significant as it sets out much of the theology underpinning Coleridge's educational thought and practice. Entitled 'Religious Education', the sermon was based on Ephesians 6: 4, 'And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.'⁸³ In the first part, Derwent Coleridge considered the contribution of the parent and home to a child's religious awareness; in the second, he turned to the part played by the teacher and the school.

Coleridge described parental duties as 'sacred obligations', and urged that even in 'the very first years of infancy and childhood . . . the foundations of religious knowledge . . . [and] still more of . . . habitual reverence' are laid.⁸⁴ Four 'sacred obligations' were enumerated: (1) example of the parent; (2) precept of the parent; (3) interpretation of nature; and (4) interpretation of right and wrong. He warned that 'a thousand voices are ready to mislead with pernicious counsel', and that 'it is the fear of ridicule – it is an irresistible proneness to do as others do, that exercises such a despotic mastery over the unhardened feelings of youth'.⁸⁵ Words alone, however, cannot develop the spiritual life of a child: there is danger in 'overstepping the limits of the infant understanding', and in

⁸¹ Derwent Coleridge to John Moultrie, 6 February 1831, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 118.

⁸² The first so published was: Derwent Coleridge, Advent Sermon, 27 November 1831, *The Circumstances of the Present Times Considered, with a view to religious improvement* (Helleston: printed by J. Roberts, 1831). BL shelfmark: c.126.f.10(2). This copy is from Derwent Coleridge's library and contains his MS list of contents.

⁸³ Derwent Coleridge, Helston School Meeting sermon, 26 September 1832, *Religious Education: a sermon preached . . . on the Seventieth Anniversary of the School Meeting* (Helleston: printed by J. Roberts, 1832). BL shelfmark: c.126.f.10(3). This copy is from Derwent Coleridge's library.

⁸⁴ For 'sacred obligations', *ibid.*, p. 7. The longer quotation is on p. 10.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

‘inverting the order in which religious truths should be communicated to the opening mind’, so that only spiritual language is taught, ‘without feeling the reality of things spiritual’ – ‘a practice . . . most injurious to the healthy growth of the moral being’.⁸⁶ Parents also have a ‘sacred duty’ to observe nature with their children, whose eager eyes are filled with wonder, and together ‘celebrate our discoveries in songs of praise’.⁸⁷ Lastly, the distinction between right and wrong conduct must be taught early to a child: ‘We must speak of offences – of guilt, its motive, its nature, and effects – its inexcusableness in the eye of a most pure and all-seeing God.’⁸⁸ The teaching of right and wrong should be held by love, remembering the words of Christ: ‘If you love me, keep my commandments.’

Coleridge then reflected on the passage from ‘the simplicity of childhood’, through ‘the enthusiasm of youth’, to ‘the severer virtues of manhood’.⁸⁹ A well-conducted school offers its pupils a degree of ‘self-dependence’ and ‘knowledge of the actual state of things, as they exist in the world’, yet at the same time exercises ‘a wholesome restraint’, ‘a large portion of domestic care’ and ‘moral safety’. The ‘sound learning’ of formal lessons in such a school is subservient to the formation of ‘a manly tone of character, a vigour of judgment, with all that we understand by the term, *common sense*’.⁹⁰ In essence, Derwent Coleridge was describing his intentions for Helston Grammar School.

Next Coleridge turned his attention to religious education in a school. He insisted: ‘Religion cannot be learned as a task. Its first entrance into the mind is through the affections, rather than through the understanding; and its abode through life, is rather in the heart, than in the head.’⁹¹ The whole of his thinking was profoundly theological, and this perspective conformed perfectly to his practical experiences of life. It was natural, therefore, that he refused to separate religion and knowledge:

⁸⁶ Derwent Coleridge, *Religious Education*, p.13.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

In all cases he [the schoolmaster] will keep Religion before him, as the great end of all learning, whether sacred or profane. He will assiduously point out the bearing which all knowledge, of whatever kind, assumes to the great truths of revelation. The events of history, – the facts of science, – every mode of thought, – every exhibition of character, – the structure of language itself, and the nature of the human mind, – all will be shewn in the clear day-light of Gospel truth, – in the bright sunshine of celestial love.⁹²

Coleridge then applied his principles to the studies to be formally undertaken in school. He recognized the superficial attraction of ‘physical science’: ‘Whatever pursuits are supposed to contribute to the immediate and palpable benefit of mankind, – whatever promises to assist in the production of wealth, – whatever tends to multiply the comforts, elegancies, and conveniences of life, – is sure to receive its meed of praise.’⁹³ These benefits, however, were not a sufficient basis for curriculum; it was necessary, in Coleridge’s view, to provide the means of developing thought and power of reasoning, as in ‘an earlier, and as I firmly believe, a wiser age’.⁹⁴ He then listed the studies which he considered would achieve those ends:

We continue to pay our main attention [at Helston Grammar School] – first, to grammatical studies, and in particular to the acquisition of those ancient languages, to which we owe the civilization of modern Europe, – then, to the theories of abstract and mathematical science, – lastly and above all . . . we direct our efforts to the furtherance and spread of a sound, a rational, and truly spiritual Theology.⁹⁵

In this sermon Derwent Coleridge spoke confidently of his belief that, in an age which he perceived as becoming increasingly directed by utilitarian values, and in which the old disciplines of ‘mental philosophy . . . logic and philosophical grammar’ were commonly regarded as effete, the education he provided at Helston Grammar School was in the best and permanent interests of his pupils.⁹⁶

⁹² Derwent Coleridge, *Religious Education*, pp. 22-3.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Between 1830 and 1833 the number of boys boarding at Helston Grammar School more than doubled to over 20, and there were a considerable number of day boys. In March 1831 Coleridge appointed a second master, Charles Alexander Johns. Only 19 years of age, Charles was the son of Henry Incledon Johns, whose business had collapsed in the bank crisis of 1825, whereupon he became a drawing master at the New Grammar School in Plymouth, where Derwent Coleridge had taught until the summer of that year. Unable to meet the expense of a university degree, C. A. Johns went to Helston and worked with a diligence that received Coleridge's approval and encouragement to further his studies.

Coleridge was dissatisfied with the lack of refinement in the schoolroom, and at the School Meeting in 1833 he spoke of a plan to build 'a more commodious schoolroom, which should be adjoining . . . [my] own house.'⁹⁷ Money had been promised for a new schoolroom, and George Wightwick, a Plymouth architect, had been engaged. By the end of 1834, the new buildings were completed. The demands of the school, exacerbated by the rebuilding, led to Derwent Coleridge resigning the curacy of Helston. He wrote to John Moultrie: 'I am completely detached from the Pastorate, having resigned all the emoluments, and with them the name and responsibility of this part of the clerical office. A lectureship, which I retain, is fully as much as I can render compatible with my other avocations.'⁹⁸

Derwent Coleridge was now able to concentrate on the opening of the new school. He chose to celebrate the event on 8 May 1835, an annual festival day in Helston, known as 'Furry' (or 'Flora') Day. The mayor and aldermen processed with the master and his scholars from the old schoolroom to the new building in the higher part of the town. Here were 'a spacious schoolroom and library, dining room, porch and vestibule, and above these three large dormitories and the same number of smaller rooms'.⁹⁹ A prospectus (now in Helston Museum) states: 'All boys under 14 years are required to

⁹⁷ *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 28 September 1833; quoted in Deirdre Dare, *The Unknown Founder*, p. 33.

⁹⁸ Derwent Coleridge to John Moultrie, 2 November 1834, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, DC, p. 137.

⁹⁹ Quoted, without attribution, in Deirdre Dare, *The Unknown Founder*, p. 35. Reports of the Opening of the school appeared in the *West Briton*, 13 May 1835, p. 2, and the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 16 May 1835. There is a print of the front elevation of the new building in: C. [Derwent Coleridge], 'Grammar Schools in England', *Saturday Magazine*, 7(222), 19 December 1835, p. 237.

attend the Writing and Arithmetical Master' at a fee of two guineas.¹⁰⁰ W. F. Collier, a pupil of Helston Grammar School from 1836 to 1839, recalled:

There were no class-rooms in those days. We had a large schoolroom, with good desks of oak well-arranged, which held us all; but he [Derwent Coleridge] had a small library attached to the schoolroom – not his own well-furnished library – where he took his classes; the head boys, of course, but all the classes in turn. I well remember really enjoying lessons in Homer and Virgil with him. I was no scholar, and only got a prize for mathematics, but I liked my classical lessons with him . . . Charles Alexander Johns was second master . . . He sat all school-time with us, in his own desk, whilst Derwent Coleridge was in his den – the small library aforesaid – whence he issued at times to lecture the boys or to administer punishment.¹⁰¹

Collier also referred to two visiting masters: a pleasant man of inferior rank who taught writing and mathematics, and a Frenchman who gave weekly lessons in French and dancing.¹⁰² The teaching of botany was a speciality of C. A. Johns, who in later life published books on natural history. He was encouraged by Derwent Coleridge to read for a non-residential degree at Trinity College, Dublin, with a view to ordination. Charles Kingsley, who attended Helston Grammar School from 1832 to 1836, wrote to his mother about 'the noise and bustle of the school, which is pass all endurance', adding in explanation, 'as Mr C[oleridge] has the whole work, Mr Johns having gone to Dublin to be entered at Trinity College'.¹⁰³ Derwent Coleridge appears to have recruited Charles Kingsley and his friend, Cowley Powles, who were senior pupils, to assist him in the absence of his second master, as Kingsley remarked: 'We have had to hear a great many classes for Mr C.'

Domestic life in the school involved Mary Coleridge. In February 1836, Kingsley enlightened his mother: 'I have been rather unwell with weak eyes and headaches, induced by the gas light, but vinegar and eye water, wh[ich] Mrs Coleridge gave me,

¹⁰⁰ Photograph of prospectus in Deirdre Dare, *The Unknown Founder*, p. 41.

¹⁰¹ W. F. Collier, 'Helleston Grammar School under Derwent Coleridge', in *The Cornish Magazine*, ii, (Truro: Pollard, 1899), pp. 116-25, at pp. 117-18.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 117 and 124.

¹⁰³ Charles Kingsley to his mother, undated [but probably February 1836], BL, Add. MS 41298, ff. 8-9.

have set me all to rights again.’¹⁰⁴ He then informed her: ‘I am getting on in algebra, and am studying equations. Mr Coleridge says he is pleased at my liking it so much and that he shall commence studying it himself again if I continue to like it as much as I do at present.’ Kingsley’s letter provides through the eyes of a 16-year-old pupil a glimpse of the harassed life of a residential schoolmaster; it is unsurprising to read the next sentence: ‘Mr C. is rather unwell this afternoon, and has given Vivian, Powles and myself a half-holiday.’

The boarders had considerable freedom under Derwent Coleridge, who fondly remembered his own liberty to explore without bounds when he was a scholar at John Dawes’ school in Ambleside. Collier remembered:

We had a great deal of liberty, which was very good for us, and on half-holidays (Wednesdays and Saturdays), or whole-holidays, the saints’ days, we went wherever we pleased. The only restrictions to our freedom were, that we should never go singly, and that we should put our names down on a slate to show where we had gone. We had to come back to our meals, and there was a vague understanding that we were not to go too far – the bounds were limited rather by time than space.¹⁰⁵

Another boy, Richard Cowley Powles, wrote of the freedom Coleridge allowed pupils within the school itself outside the hours of study, although probably without knowledge of their activities:

I remember the long, low room, dimly lighted by a candle on a table at the further end, where the [Kingsley] brothers were sitting, engaged at the moment of my entrance in a course of (not uncharacteristic) experiments with gunpowder.¹⁰⁶

Evidently, Coleridge exercised his supervision at a distance, preferring to let responsibility develop through freedom, rather than obedience through restraint. When he judged it necessary, however, the master would resort to punishment. His cane resided on the chimney-piece in the schoolroom, but he was restrained in its use. Issues of discipline occasionally challenged Coleridge with force. In 1830, one of his private

¹⁰⁴ Charles Kingsley to his mother, 24 February 1836, MS in Highgate Literary and Scientific Institution.

¹⁰⁵ Collier, ‘Hellston Grammar School under Derwent Coleridge’, p. 119.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Cowley Powles to Mrs Kingsley, 30 October 1875, quoted in: Frances E. Kingsley, *Charles Kingsley: his letters and memories of his life*, i (London: King, 1877), p. 25.

pupils, Frederick Montagu – son of STC’s old friend, Basil Montagu, a London lawyer – broke a fellow-student’s collarbone whilst wrestling (a familiar public sport in Cornwall), but he also had fights with a local tradesman, causing him injury. Coleridge wrote: ‘I gave it him within an inch of his life . . . He is completely silenced now.’¹⁰⁷

In 1829, Derwent Coleridge instituted a public examination of his scholars in the week of the School Meeting, with an external examiner visiting the school and making a public report. By 1837, his tenth year at Helston, the examination was held over two days: John Punnett, second master at Plymouth New Grammar School when Derwent Coleridge taught there, examined the senior boys in ‘the *Poetics* of Aristotle, three books of Thucydides, the *Persae* of Aeschylus, the *Equites* of Aristophanes, the *Agricola* of Tacitus, and the *Georgics* of Virgil’.¹⁰⁸

Coleridge took the opportunity of ‘auditing the accounts of my stewardship’ at his tenth School Meeting. In an eloquent speech, delivered on 27 September 1837, he spoke of his ‘past hopes and expectations’ and the future prospects of Helston Grammar School.¹⁰⁹ Although that week’s examinations had shown high proficiency, and scholars numbered between 30 and 40, he warned that neither academic achievement nor pupil numbers at a school can be ‘conclusive proof of its efficiency’, for they are subject to ‘many circumstances purely fortuitous’. The comparatively high number of scholars obscured the paucity of day boys. Coleridge knew that very many Helston residents would not want a classical education for their sons, especially after the establishment in 1827 of Helston Commercial School, which provided a fitting education for the needs of local tradesmen. He strongly defended the commercial school for that section of the community, for ‘I see every day more clearly the necessity of suitable education.’ He declared himself to be ‘the warm friend of universal education’. The evidence, however, led him to conclude that ‘neither the town itself, nor its immediate neighbourhood, can support such a Grammar School as I have described’.

¹⁰⁷ Derwent Coleridge to Mary Coleridge, 6 June 1830, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, pp. 116-17.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Helleston School Meeting’, *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 6 October 1837, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Derwent Coleridge, speech to the annual School Meeting, 27 September 1837, ‘Helleston School Meeting’, *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 6 October 1837, p. 2.

Coleridge then admitted to having had a vision of Helston Grammar School developing into a 'County School – a place of classical education of the highest class, for the extreme West of England'. In designing the new school buildings erected three years previously, he had given them a character that would enable them to form part of 'a gradually increasing group of collegiate edifices'. He was now more realistic in his expectations: 'time robs the wing of hope . . . of its strongest feather, but writes a lesson with it, which is worth the loss.'

Nevertheless, he resisted 'the multifarious demands made upon the schoolmaster by the modern school of educationists'. Coleridge insisted emphatically: 'It has been my object rather to discourage than promote that flashy cleverness, now so much in vogue, – that *general knowingness*, which is measured by the surface it covers, not by the depth it penetrates.' His classical grammar school was designed to feed the minds of the scholars 'with profitable thought, and fit them not alone for the practicable business, but for the essential wisdom of life'. Such wisdom, he believed, tended 'to calm the heat of party spirit' by understanding 'that neither our friends nor our opponents are wholly right or wholly wrong'. He was also committed to making his school 'a seed plot and a nursery to the Established Church.'

A year later, Coleridge turned his attention to the *life* of the school.¹¹⁰ He argued: 'The living body is not preserved, like a mummy, by bandages and spices. Something must be continually added and assimilated: so may we hope not barely to exist, but to live, and grow.' Such creativity may be found in the study of dead languages: 'metrical composition' must accompany composition in prose, because it draws more upon the 'juvenile faculties' of 'memory and fancy' and less upon the 'judgment and stores of personal experience' of maturity. Coleridge was reviewing his approach to teaching history 'by tracing more fully the analogy between ancient and modern times'. He was also considering a wider curriculum: 'In regard to science, something more may perhaps be done, than has hitherto been attempted.' It is not altogether clear whether Coleridge was referring to mathematics or to the empirical sciences. He went on to declare his

¹¹⁰ 'Helleston School Meeting', *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 5 October 1838, pp. 1-2.

intention 'to lay a sure foundation for the course of pure mathematics, pursued at Cambridge; and we shall make it in future a part of the annual examination'. He had appointed a third master to enable an expanded curriculum to be taught.

Derwent Coleridge resigned his office as Lecturer of Helston in the autumn of 1837. Now, after ten years, with formal responsibility only for the school, he was head master of a thriving, but nevertheless precarious, establishment. It had been difficult to attract, and keep, pupils, not least because of the geographical location. In a letter to Henry Nelson Coleridge, written in 1834, Derwent had referred to his battle 'against a constant Tradewind setting N. E. – and which not only prevents my ships from coming to harbour, but is forever carrying them from their moorings when they are there, and in the event of a mishap might sweep off the whole fleet'.¹¹¹

In spite of the difficulties, Derwent Coleridge had built up the school, and the new buildings had revived its fortunes. When Henry Nelson Coleridge visited Helston in December 1835, he reported to his wife that the school was prosperous; there were new entrants, but no leavers. This was not to last. In September 1840, Derwent wrote desperately to Henry: 'Fully *four* times as many new boys used to come, year after year, than come now, so that unless the tide turn at Xmas I must quit at midsummer, or in the course of the next year, and get rid of this expensive establishment. But where to go, or what to do?'¹¹²

Derwent Coleridge, now 40 years of age, had been at Helston for 14 years. He had worried endlessly about his financial security, and had made countless enquiries about masterships elsewhere. The developing railway system was favouring schools in strategic locations, but the prospect for Helston was not encouraging, even if the railway were built into the county. A public meeting in support of a London, Exeter and

¹¹¹ Derwent Coleridge to Henry Nelson Coleridge, 29 March 1834, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 124.

¹¹² Derwent Coleridge to Henry Nelson Coleridge, 30 September 1840, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 157.

Falmouth Railway had been held in Truro in 1836; it was not until 1859 that a railway linked Cornwall to the rest of the country.¹¹³

3.4 The National Society in London and Cornwall

Derwent Coleridge was 11 years old when, through the influence of Dr Andrew Bell, the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was founded in London. The early advocacy of father, uncle and guardian – S. T. Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth – for Bell's National System of education, together with the departure of the Reverend William Johnson from Grasmere, in 1812, to superintend training of teachers in monitorial methods at the National Society's Central School in London for the next 27 years, had placed Derwent Coleridge from his youth in proximity, by association, to the cause of Church Education. During his first weeks at Helston, he had set about establishing National Schools for boys and girls, and had corresponded with the London headquarters of the Society. Management of these schools had become an important aspect of parish responsibility in Helston, which included the appointment of teachers trained in the monitorial system at the Exeter Central School.

The Diocese of Exeter, which included Cornwall until 1876, established a diocesan Board of Education in 1838, when news of the National Society's Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence was reaching Helston. Henry Nelson Coleridge, Derwent's cousin and brother-in-law, was known to be active in its ranks. On 18 July 1838 Henry's wife, Sara, wrote to Emily Trevenen (the family friend and patron of the Helston National Schools):

My husband is much interested about schools and concerned with young Acland [Thomas Dyke Acland] and sundry others in forwarding a scheme for spreading education on a better plan than has been hitherto adopted through the country: with normal schools, etc. etc. By *plan*, I do not allude to the teaching *system*, but to the scheme for extending improved schools under the care of the clergy through the land, so as to counteract

¹¹³ 'London, Exeter and Falmouth Railway', *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 27 May 1836, p. 2.

the Whiggish design of spreading education not based on any form of religion.¹¹⁴

This letter was written on the very day that the General Committee of the National Society resolved to reform its arrangements for the training of teachers, and to encourage the formation of diocesan boards of education where they did not yet exist. The Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence had printed three explanatory papers, which were publicly available from early August.¹¹⁵

Derwent Coleridge was not convinced that the objects of the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence were entirely satisfactory, suspecting that there was an intention to interfere with the ancient grammar schools. He wrote to Henry Nelson Coleridge about his concerns; only an undated extract of this letter survives, copied by Mary Coleridge into a notebook:

I am in sore perplexity as to your Education scheme . . . The terms of union are such as to make *me* hesitate – annual inspection? – the use of specified books in religious teaching? . . . It is too monstrous to dictate to a clerk in full orders what books he shall put into the hands of fifth form boys to assist them in getting up their St Luke. . . . Now it seems to me, that when you have ascertained that a clergyman has an efficient control over a school, you have got at your want – everything beyond is a Prussian, Broughamy, reprehensible interference.

National Education can only be conducted by the State itself *unchurched* – or by the State through the Church as its proper antithesis: but it must be the Church, *as* the Church, and not merely Clergymen, directed by an unecclesiastical body. Save me from my friends, however well disposed. We have had enough of this.

As I cannot but think that Ackland [*sic*] would emphatically approve of these two maxims, so I conclude that when I understand your plan, I shall find that I have been fighting a shadow.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Sara Coleridge to Emily Trevenen, 18 July 1838, Sara Coleridge letters, No. 1376, HRC/UTA; Hainton, DC, p. 159.

¹¹⁵ NS, Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, *Diocesan and Local Boards of Management*, 1 August 1838; *Diocesan Seminaries or Training Schools*, 1 August 1838; *National Education: Address from the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, specially appointed by the National Society*, 1 August 1838; BL, Gladstone papers, Add. MS 44563, ff. 73-7.

¹¹⁶ Derwent Coleridge to Henry Nelson Coleridge, undated [autumn 1838], copy (in Mary Coleridge's handwriting) in a notebook, DC MSS, HRS/UTA; Hainton, DC, pp. 159-60.

Henry Nelson Coleridge passed Derwent's letter to R. W. Skeffington Lutwidge, secretary to the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence, for reply. Lutwidge, an old college friend of Derwent Coleridge, wrote to him from Lincoln's Inn on 3 December 1838:

I understand from your cousin that you are under some misapprehension and alarm in regard to the views of the National Society, as recently proposed through the medium of the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence. I presume that you have read through the several papers issued by the Committee . . . [The National Society] is nothing more than a great instrument by which the Church is endeavouring to work out the religious education of the People. Masters must be trained, a system of inspection is admitted on all hands to be essential, the prospect and condition of schoolmasters must be improved, information must be collected, improvements introduced, and the results of experience brought to bear upon the general system. It is proposed to accomplish these objects by and through the agency of an Association identified, in principle and in constitution, with the Church, and consistent, in all its arrangements, with Ecclesiastical polity . . . I hope I have said all that is necessary to calm your fears, and remove any misapprehension, which may have been caused by anything you may have heard. I trust further that we may have the benefit of your cooperation in your neighbourhood.¹¹⁷

Presumably Derwent Coleridge was placated, as a printed leaflet reporting on the 'great public meeting' of the National Society held in London on 28 May 1839, which had requested the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence to act as a fund-raising committee, listed him among its first subscribers, with a donation of 10 guineas and one guinea annually.¹¹⁸

By September 1840, when Derwent Coleridge wrote his desperate letter to Henry Nelson Coleridge, the National Society had bought the Stanley Grove estate, Chelsea, for their central college for training (deacon-)schoolmasters. The post of principal was advertised, and Derwent Coleridge considered applying, but he was hesitant. Sir John Taylor Coleridge – one of Henry's older brothers, now a justice of the court of the Queens'

¹¹⁷ R. W. S. Lutwidge to Derwent Coleridge, 3 December 1838, MS in College of St Mark and St John archive, Plymouth: People file/Derwent Coleridge/letter 7 (donated by A. D. Coleridge, 18 February 1955).

¹¹⁸ NS, printed leaflet, 'Meeting of the Friends of National Education . . . May 28, 1839', n.d. [but no later than 5 June 1839], 'Contributions Already Received', pp. 2-4, at p. 3, BL, Gladstone papers, Add. MS 44728, ff. 99-100.

bench, who five years earlier had made Derwent his chaplain – advised him about Stanley Grove on 13 November 1840:

I doubt whether you would like your duties – you would find that you had but a third-rate material to deal with, and would seldom meet with the stimulant rewards which masters sometimes reap in the talents and distinction of your pupils . . . you would not have the means of adding very much to your income . . . On the other hand it has much to recommend it in its safety – its local situation – its putting you under the eye of the Bishops – and giving you clerical opportunities. If you think of it I fancy you have no time to lose.¹¹⁹

Sara, too, had written, with her ‘inside’ knowledge gained from her husband, Henry. Derwent thanked her on 14 November for a long letter he had received, ‘which has given us all the light on the Training School that it seems possible to obtain through letters’. He continued:

If I undertook it, I should undertake it in right, good earnest – but then it must be made worth my while – e.g. by allowing an addition to the salary by Sunday duty, the care of a youth to live at my own table, etc. If I am a fit man for the situation they will do wisely to cede these points; for they can never secure good service by strict rules: if I am not prepared to do far more, and other, than any outline of my duties c[oul]d beforehand tie me down to, I am not the man in whose hands it will succeed . . . I must be on the spot to ascertain the *temper* and *expectations* of my employers, before I undertake the task.¹²⁰

Derwent Coleridge liked to be his own master. Remembering his short-lived employment at Plymouth and Buckfastleigh over 15 years earlier, he had confessed to Henry:

I am ill-suited to a subordinate position. I tried it twice when a much younger man, and failed quickly and signally in both instances. I am too *individual*, especially as a theological thinker, to feel myself comfortable as anyone’s lieutenant.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Sir John Taylor Coleridge to Derwent Coleridge, 13 November 1840, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, pp. 160–61.

¹²⁰ Derwent Coleridge to Sara Coleridge, 14 November 1840, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 161.

¹²¹ Derwent Coleridge to Henry Nelson Coleridge, 30 September 1840, DC MSS HRC/UTA; Hainton, *DC*, p. 157.

In his desperation to move from Helston, Derwent Coleridge asked Henry to enquire on his behalf. The Bishop of London, Charles James Blomfield – who as a young man had wished Derwent was able to attend a better school than that of John Dawes in Ambleside – wrote to Henry Nelson Coleridge on 16 November 1840:

Mr Derwent Coleridge is well known to me by reputation, and [h]is volume on the Church is sufficient evidence of his talent and his orthodoxy.¹²² Of his scholarship there can be no question, but we do not require any considerable amount of scholarship, as the term is commonly understood, in the Principal of our Training Institution. What we want is, a stock of general information, with a taste for, and a knowledge of, the process of instructing those who are to be themselves instructors. It is important that the person who is appointed, should be acquainted with the elementary parts of mathematics – with astronomy, the use of the globes: and the principles of Natural Philosophy. How stands Mr D. C. in these respects?

I have made known his name to the Committee of the National Society, but I am not sure whether they have not gone too far with another candidate to be able easily to reject him.¹²³

Sir Charles Lemon, County MP for Cornwall, provided a testimonial for Derwent Coleridge, which was read to the School Committee of the National Society on 17 December 1840.

In his time at Helston, Derwent Coleridge had acquired vast experience in his 'twofold profession', as well as a great deal of self-knowledge. In 1834, he had told John Moultrie:

I believe myself contrary to what is usually thought of me to be a man of more judgement than fancy, of more logic than invention, of more taste than genius.¹²⁴

With practical abilities evident and a record of distinguished service to the people of Helston, Derwent Coleridge resigned as Master of the Grammar School before Christmas, 1840. His farewell sermon, preached on 10 January 1841 – published at the

¹²² Derwent Coleridge had recently published *The Scriptural Character of the English Church considered in a series of sermons, with notes and illustrations* (London: Parker, 1839).

¹²³ Charles James Blomfield (Bishop of London) to Henry Nelson Coleridge, 16 November 1840, DC MSS, HRC/UTA; Hainton, DC, p. 170.

¹²⁴ Derwent Coleridge to John Moultrie, 2 November 1834, DC MSS. HRC/UTA; Hainton, DC, p. 137.

request of the inhabitants – was entitled *The Christian Minister's Account with Time*: 'So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom' (Psalm 90: 12).¹²⁵

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Derwent Coleridge learned from experience. He reflected deeply on what he saw and felt, and assimilated his understandings in a coherent philosophy. His thought was profoundly theological, and his Christian faith a personal rule of life. With refined aesthetic taste, eloquent power of expression, generous sympathies, and pastoral sensitivity, he had strong influence among people from all social backgrounds.

Coleridge's awareness of educational provision was extensive, embracing home and school. He declared himself to be 'a friend of universal education'. His teaching experience included domestic education, private tutorships, proprietary and private schools of various types, and endowed schools; he had also managed National schools for the poor, and he was acquainted with commercial schools. He had given much thought to the nature and justification of curriculum, and its development. He recognized the importance of physical, emotional, moral, spiritual, and intellectual development in children, and how they are subject to influence.

Derwent Coleridge's experience included personal dealings with teachers conforming to each of the models described in Chapter 1: the classical-scholar, the monitorial teacher, private school-keepers of different social status, and for a short time he was himself a deacon schoolmaster within the classical-scholar tradition. He had entered upon a 'twofold profession' as an ordained schoolmaster. His years as curate and lecturer of

¹²⁵ Derwent Coleridge, *The Christian Minister's Account with Time: a farewell sermon, preached at Helleston, in Cornwall, on Sunday, 10th January, 1841* (London: Parker, 1841). BL shelfmark: 4478.n.7(14).

Helston had given him intimate knowledge of the lives of ordinary people from backgrounds unlike his own. His time at Helston Grammar School, with his wife, Mary, looking after many of the domestic arrangements, had provided much practical experience of a residential establishment for boys and youths up to the age of university entrance, which corresponded to the age at which it was expected that youths would be trained at Stanley Grove.

These were among the qualifications that Derwent Coleridge brought to Chelsea. How the College developed under his principalship, enlivened by Coleridge's experiences of contrasting models of schoolmaster especially in relation to the training of deacon schoolmasters, is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4. St Mark's College: early freedom, 1841-49

A pivotal point has now been reached in this thesis. Having described and contrasted various early nineteenth-century models of schoolmaster with that of deacon schoolmaster (Chapter 1), and then having located the deacon-schoolmaster model in the historical roots of the National Society's college at Stanley Grove (Chapter 2), attention was turned to the central figure of this research, Derwent Coleridge, in the years up to his appointment in 1841 as principal of this institution for training schoolmasters (Chapter 3). Here lies the heart of the matter, for the college represents the stage on which the training of deacon schoolmasters was intended to be acted out. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on Derwent Coleridge's work at St Mark's College in preparing schoolmasters for their professional life, and the extent to which he was able to promote the model of deacon schoolmaster (Research Question 3).

In a recent article, published in *History of Education*, John Smith confirmed that 'Derwent Coleridge did see a role as deacon-schoolmaster for certain teachers', and then added, 'but not for the "poor" elementary teacher'.¹ It is true that the 'young gentlemen' and Derwent Coleridge himself were interested in middle-class education as well as that of the lower-classes; the oral tradition, however, insists that deacon schoolmasters were intended for the National schools where 'the poor' were taught (see p. 10). Attention will also be given to ways in which the purity of Coleridge's views was modified by circumstances and the exigencies of other authorities whose powerful control came to the fore between 1841 and 1864. The account will be broadly chronological, divided between two chapters. In the early period (1841-49), the college was under direct management of the central committees of the National Society; throughout the later period (1850-64), the college had its own Council. Each of these chapters, corresponding to the two periods, will end with a review of the development of deacon schoolmasters.

¹ John T. Smith, 'Merely a growing dilemma of etiquette? The deepening gulf between the Victorian clergyman and Victorian teacher', *History of Education*, 33(2), March 2004, pp. 157-78, at p. 160, fn 20.

Before embarking on this account, some preliminary observations may usefully be made about three essential elements of Derwent Coleridge's personal beliefs as they impinge crucially on his training of church schoolmasters.

4.1 Pedagogy, philosophy and theology

Pedagogy

Reflecting on his tendentious question, 'Why no pedagogy in England?', Brian Simon famously suggested, in 1981, that a plausible explanation lies in a greater interest in 'character' than 'intellectual attainment' among promoters of education for all classes of society in nineteenth-century England.² Indeed, Derwent Coleridge insisted that the 'one great object' of St Mark's College was 'the formation of character on the common ground of Christian principle'.³ This emphasis on character, however, can hardly be regarded as sufficient explanation for Simon's perceived lack of vigorous pedagogy. The assumption itself – that there be 'no pedagogy in England' – was re-examined in 2000 by Marianne Larsen, and found wanting. Larsen has collected firm evidence of a serious interest in pedagogy in England after 1830, not least in the field of teacher training.⁴

Even the discredited monitorialism, in Harold Silver's estimation, made an outstanding contribution in that it 'elaborated a body of thought about educational practice' and promoted an 'educational theory'.⁵ The writings of various European educationists, and their reports of continental schools and colleges, became widely available in English translation during the 1830s, and their pedagogic influence began to be felt. In 1836, for example, the Home and Colonial School Society opened its college for training infant

² Brian Simon, 'Why no pedagogy in England?', in B. Simon and W. Taylor, *Education in the Eighties: the central issues* (London: Batsford, 1981), ch. 7, pp. 124-45. See also Simon's later reflections on this question, 'Some problems of pedagogy, revisited', in B. Simon, *The State and Educational Change: essays in the history of education and pedagogy* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1994), ch. 9, pp. 147-61.

³ Derwent Coleridge, *The Teachers of the People: a tract for the time* (London: Rivingtons, 1862), p. 38.

⁴ Marianne Larsen, 'Pedagogic knowledge and the Victorian era Anglo-American teacher', *History of Education*, 31(5), 2002, pp. 457-74.

⁵ Harold Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education: a study of ideas and social movements in the early nineteenth century* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1965), p. 43.

teachers in Grays Inn Road, London, where Charles and Elizabeth Mayo interpreted Pestalozzi's principles. By the end of the decade, James Phillips Kay (who became secretary to the Committee of Privy Council on Education in 1839, and who assumed the name Kay-Shuttleworth upon his marriage in 1842) had visited Emmanuel de Fellenberg at Hofwyl and other exemplars of continental pedagogy. Kay's private institution for training schoolmasters at Battersea, which he co-founded with Edward Carleton Tufnell in 1840, developed practices which he claimed were based on principles he had seen operating in Europe.⁶

While the 'young gentlemen' were energetically making plans for the National Society's new central training college, Gladstone's prolific reading included Victor Cousin's reports of education in Prussia (translated by Sarah Austin, 1834) and in Holland (translated by Leonard Horner, 1838).⁷ Cousin, in France, had heard of political and ecclesiastical agitation in England on the question of teacher training; at the beginning of 1839 he made discreet enquiries through Sarah Austin, and Gladstone told him about the latest developments.⁸ It is doubtful, however, whether Gladstone's reading on foreign education directly influenced the development of the college at Stanley Grove. Nevertheless the National Society's specification for a principal, published in June 1840, required him 'to be acquainted with the system pursued in schools connected with the Society, and with the improvements (real or supposed) which have been recently introduced into the theory and practice of teaching, in this and other countries'.⁹ The breadth of this statement notwithstanding, Derwent Coleridge made no commitment to the fashions of continental pedagogy, nor for that matter to any system known in National schools. Although he and Mary had visited the continent in 1839, and again in 1840 with

⁶ James Phillips Kay and Edward Carleton Tufnell, 'First Report on the Training School at Battersea to the Poor Law Commissioners', 1 January 1841; in J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), pp. 294-386. See also Kay-Shuttleworth's testimony to the Newcastle Commission, 26 January 1860, that his normal school was intended to familiarise the English religious bodies with European methods: *Report . . . to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1861), vi, 'Minutes of Evidence', Q. 2323, p. 304.

⁷ W. E. Gladstone, *Diary*, 20 and 24 May 1838, 9-16 February 1839. Reading notes on 'Horner's Cousin's Holland', n.d. [February 1839], BL, Gladstone Papers, [Memoranda], Add. MS 44725, ff. 93^v-95^v.

⁸ Abraham Hayward to WEG, 1 January [1839], BL, Gladstone Papers, Special Correspondence, Add. MS 44207, ff 1-2; 4 February [1839], *ibid.*, ff 3-4. Gladstone, *Diary*, 9, 16 and 19 February 1839.

⁹ NS, Statement regarding the objects of the Training Institution and the duties of the Principal, June 1840; in *Educational Magazine*, 3rd series, ii, August 1840, p. 124.

their Helston friend and patron Emily Trevenen, these tours were cultural and recreational, rather than quests to pursue pedagogy.¹⁰

In June 1842, Coleridge expressed his worries about over-reliance on systems instead of application of human judgment:

The monitorial, the simultaneous, the circulating, the interrogative, the suggestive systems, have each been advocated separately or in combination. . . . It has been taken for granted that the machinery of education would work itself, as if there had been a living spirit in the wheels. . . . Each successive system, so long as it has been carried on . . . by any really competent teachers, has been more or less successful; . . . but method itself supposes intelligence, adaptation, choice; when travelled blindly, it is mere routine . . . Even an educated teacher who trusts to mechanical arrangements, must expect a mechanical result.¹¹

For Coleridge, the mark of successful teaching lay in the freedom of the teacher to make professional judgments and not to be a slave to system or method predetermined by pedagogical orthodoxy. His achievement in training teachers so impressed Kay-Shuttleworth's younger brother, Joseph Kay, that, on returning from an extensive tour of continental normal schools, he wrote a series of articles in 1847 for the *Morning Chronicle* (under the pseudonym 'Kappa'), concluding: 'From what I have now seen of the most celebrated of the training colleges in France, Germany, and Switzerland, I believe Mr Coleridge's Teachers' College at Stanley Grove to be the best in Europe.'¹² When Joseph Kay incorporated this conclusion in *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe*, he judiciously amended the accolade to 'one of the best'.¹³

¹⁰ Hainton, *DC*, p. 156.

¹¹ Derwent Coleridge, 'An Account of the Training-College for Schoolmasters, at Stanley Grove, Chelsea', 14 June 1842, NS, *Annual Report for 1842*, Appendix V, pp. 65-100, at pp. 68-70. Separately published as *A Letter on the National Society's Training-College for Schoolmasters, Stanley Grove, Chelsea. Addressed to the Rev. John Sinclair, M.A., Secretary of the Society* (London: Parker, 1842), at pp. 6-8.

¹² 'Kappa' [Joseph Kay], 'Letter xv. The education of the teachers', *Morning Chronicle*, 25 March 1847, p. 6.

¹³ Joseph Kay, *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, 1850), ii, p. 176.

Philosophy

Contemporary writers and later historians have claimed that in his approach to teacher training at St Mark's College, Derwent Coleridge was applying his father's philosophical ideas. As early as 1842, in an open letter to Coleridge, F. D. Maurice wrote that in training 'wise and thoughtful teachers out of our trading classes . . . you are carrying into effect principles which were years ago urged upon our countrymen by your father'.¹⁴ In 1996, Raymonde Hainton made the further claim that these ideas conflicted with those of the founders of the college.¹⁵ She interpreted the Acland-Mathison alliance as promoting education for social control, and perceived the National Society general committee's view of education to be primarily a means of teaching children the principles of the Established Church. In contrast to the supposed entrenched positions of these parties, Hainton saw Derwent Coleridge as a 'High Church Tory . . . [who] deplored fanaticism of any kind'.¹⁶ It is difficult, however, to accept that Acland, Mathison, or the bishops of the Church of England (who were permanent members of the committee) were fanatics in any extreme sense, and cases of alleged conflict between them and Derwent Coleridge should not be understood as indicating hostility or bigotry. Indeed, contemporary documents provide abundant evidence of good working relationships between these central figures and of their holding each other in high regard.

Nevertheless the question of Derwent's philosophical inheritance remains, notwithstanding the father-son estrangement that damaged his formative years. STC often wrote discursively on education, without consolidating his ideas. Recurring themes in his published works (such as the 1818 edition of *The Friend*, which came out while Derwent was tutoring the Hopwood boys before going up to Cambridge), include the priority of personal development over the amassing of information as the aim of education, and the cultivating effect of education on its recipients. STC insisted that the intention of the educator should be:

. . . to open anew the well of springing water, not to cleanse the stagnant tank, or fill, bucket by bucket, the leaden cistern; . . . [to awaken] the

¹⁴ F. D. Maurice, [Dedicatory letter] 'To the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, Stanley Grove, Chelsea', *The Kingdom of Christ*, 1842 edn (reprinted in 'Everyman's Library', London: Dent, n. d.), pp. 1-15, at p. 15.

¹⁵ Hainton, *DC*, pp. 172-3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

principle and *method* of self-development, . . . not any specific information that can be *conveyed into it* from without: not to assist in storing the passive mind with the various sorts of knowledge most in request, as if the human soul were a mere repository or banqueting-room, but . . . knowledge . . . it can take up into itself . . . and reproduce in fruits of its own.¹⁷

In a later passage STC sighed:

Alas! how many examples are now present to our memory, of young men the most anxiously and expensively be-schoolmastered, be-tutored, be-lectured, any thing but *educated*; . . . perilously over-civilized, and most pitiaibly uncultivated!¹⁸

In 1863 Derwent Coleridge published his own edition of *The Friend* in which he declared, after 23 years spent in training elementary schoolmasters: 'The lessons contained in this work will be found . . . not less applicable to the present than at any preceding time.'¹⁹

Commentators generally agree that the last of STC's works, *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, contains his most original and influential ideas on education, in that they countered the utilitarian tradition that so worried the National Society. It was in this book (which came before the public when Derwent Coleridge was headmaster of Helston Grammar School), that STC introduced his concept of 'clerisy' (derived from the German 'clerisei', a body of scholars). The context was his understanding of the State as a spiritual entity. For the State to flourish, there must be a 'National Church' to guide and guard the people, but this national church is not to be confused with the Christian church. (Much difficulty in Coleridgean criticism stems from STC's habit of using words in new ways.) In his scheme, members of the national church comprise the clerisy: at the centre is found a core of highly-educated thinkers whose knowledge and wisdom are disseminated by a diffused (but nonetheless educated) portion of the clerisy residing in, and cultivating the inhabitants of, every community within the State. These educated persons are to include clergy, teachers, and scholars in all branches of knowledge.

¹⁷ STC, 'Essays on the Principles of Method', *The Friend*, 1818 edition, *Collected Coleridge 4* (ed. Barbara E. Rooke), 2 vols, (Princeton University Press, NJ: 1969), i, pp. 472-3.

¹⁸ STC, *ibid.*, p. 500.

¹⁹ Derwent Coleridge, 'Notice' (St Mark's College, Chelsea, October 1863), in STC, *The Friend* (ed. Derwent Coleridge), 2 vols (London: Moxon, 1863), i, p. [ix].

Deacon schoolmasters, it may be supposed, would be particularly well placed to fulfil the responsibilities of the clerisy, and some historians have seen in this model a clear example of Derwent Coleridge's application of STC's ideas. Thus Richard Gravil has concluded: 'Coleridge's most concrete legacy to church and clerisy [was] his son Derwent.'²⁰ As principal of St Mark's College, Derwent Coleridge determined to reconcile filial loyalty, professional wisdom, and personal integrity.

Theology

Theology gave coherence to the pedagogical and philosophical considerations guiding Derwent Coleridge's approach to the training of (deacon-) schoolmasters. At the time of his ordination in 1826, the Church of England had been a relatively predictable institution, united in its scriptures (the Bible as translated in 1611 by authority of King James I) and liturgy (as authorized by the 1662 Book of Common Prayer). A strong evangelical party had arisen within the Established Church during the eighteenth century and was becoming increasingly influential in the nineteenth. Clergymen who had not been drawn by the evangelicals came to be known as the old high-church party. From the 1830s, further groups began to form in the Church of England: the Oxford movement found inspiration in the traditions of the early Christian church, ritualists discovered deeper spirituality through elaborate patterns of aesthetic worship, and the broad church movement almost defied definition as it embraced various developments in liberal theology. Party spirit was abhorrent to Derwent Coleridge, although he was most naturally of the old high church and unattracted to recent movements within the Church of England.

Derwent Coleridge set his orthodox Christianity before the public in his only full-length book, *The Scriptural Character of the English Church*, published in 1839. His aim was to show that the traditional practices of the Established Church had firm biblical foundations. Coleridge's charitable disposition towards other denominations remains evident throughout the book: Roman Catholics and protestant dissenters alike belong to

²⁰ Richard Gravil, introductory essay in: R. Gravil and M. Lefebure (eds), *The Coleridge Connection: essays for Thomas McFarland* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1990), pp. 1-21, at p. 19.

the universal Christian church. He wrote: 'As often happens with those whose practical conclusions differ most widely, we have many principles in common . . .'²¹ Nevertheless he did not shrink from pointing out what he believed to be their errors.

Christianity is not a matter of *form*, Coleridge insisted. His own experience, confirmed by scripture, had taught him that 'faith, personal faith, coming of [God's] grace . . . is the root of the matter'.²² But if the spiritual life of an individual is to be properly nurtured, that person must actively participate in the spiritual life of the church.

What then is faith? Not the articulation of dark riddles, with a fettered understanding, and a silenced judgment. Not a vague sentiment of acquiescence in propositions of which we *will* not, *dare* not, ask the meaning, and cannot recognise the truth. . . . Not surely a mere abeyance of the mental faculties, – a vacation in the court of reason? . . . But faith itself is an active power in the soul, the organ of heavenly knowledge; – a spiritual discernment, the blessed fruit of obedience, in other words, a will, in unison with the will of God.²³

Derwent Coleridge warned of two 'extreme errors by which men are wont to make shipwreck of their faith': the distillation of ethical principles from the Gospels 'with complete indifference' to Jesus, and high regard for the Jesus of history who remains 'exclusively in the past'.²⁴ What makes the faith of a Christian alive, Coleridge urged, is none other than the gift of God in the sacrament of holy communion:

In truth, our blessed Lord both *was* on earth in the humble form of a servant and *is* in heaven crowned with majesty and honour. Not the less, He is with His faithful worshippers *here* . . . 'This is my body.' Oh! The inexpressible comfort, the deep, deep assurance contained in these solemn words, when received into the heart by faith.²⁵

Derwent Coleridge, who remembered his own struggle to faith 15 years earlier, was able to end his book with joyful confidence:

So shall we find the word of God, – both life and light – in our hearts;
and the Church of God, – life-giving and light-diffusing – in our land.²⁶

²¹ Derwent Coleridge, *The Scriptural Character of the English Church* (London: Parker, 1839), p. 126.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 426-7, and 430-1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

These convictions were the bedrock of Coleridge's work at St Mark's College, and they express the faith by which he lived. They also encompass the hope he passed on to his students, both for themselves and for the children in their schools. It was natural, therefore, that Derwent Coleridge should relate education to biblical principles, and his exposition of the relationship is seen most clearly in the sermon he preached on the opening of the chapel at St Mark's College, on 7 May 1843. Here he stated three propositions:

First, that it is a duty, and by consequence, a right and privilege of the Church to teach.

Secondly, that this duty extends not merely to the publication of the Gospel message, but the entire preparation of heart and mind, by which, with the help of God's good Spirit, the due reception and effectual working of that holy word may be secured.

Thirdly, that this constitutes education in the largest sense of the word, being indispensably required as the groundwork of all particular instruction.²⁷

Like many churchmen of his time, Coleridge interpreted Jesus' command, 'Teach all nations,' as placing a duty upon the church to do its utmost to make disciples of Christ.²⁸ Whilst this duty was in no sense restricted to the teaching of children, there was clearly an obligation not to exclude them. As one who always took the broad view, Derwent Coleridge understood that a holistic approach to teaching has far greater effect than a narrow formulaic one, and that knowledge is as much of the heart as of the mind: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.'²⁹ Education is a painstaking matter; it cannot be hastened, but the particular circumstances which the teacher finds must be carefully considered so that his teaching is adapted to the age and ability of the learner: 'If it be our duty to teach the truths of Christianity, it is our duty so

²⁷ Derwent Coleridge, *The Teachers of the People: a sermon preached at the opening of the chapel of Saint Mark's College, Chelsea, the National Society's Training Institution for Schoolmasters*, 7 May 1843, published at the request of members of the Committee of the National Society (London: Parker, 1843), p. 8.

²⁸ Matthew 28: 19-20.

²⁹ Luke 10: 27.

to teach them that they may be received.’³⁰ Or again, ‘The Church Catechism will not be taught as a form of words; it will be explained and rendered intelligible.’³¹

As was noted earlier when he was at Helston Grammar School, Derwent Coleridge agreed with many other churchmen that it is impossible to separate education into distinct religious and secular compartments. Now at Stanley Grove, he insisted that any attempt to educate without ‘the Truth as it is in Jesus’ becomes merely ‘an instruction in particulars, with nothing in which they may inhere – the accidents of matter without the substance’.³² For Coleridge this was a fundamental principle of education, ‘whether we refer to the simplest rudiments taught in a parish school, or to the abstruse researches of the cloistered student’.³³

At this point it would be particularly interesting to have a clearly-articulated justification for deacon schoolmasters from Derwent Coleridge himself, but unfortunately none has yet been discovered among his papers. There is contemporary evidence, however, that the concept was not simply in Coleridge’s mind but was also among his purposes for the college from its foundation. In May 1842 old friends from Helston, Barclay and Caroline Fox, visited Coleridge at Stanley Grove. Barclay wrote in his journal:

Here we saw . . . the elegant, accomplished scholar, deeply imbued with the ecclesiastical spirit, but very cordial and obliging. He lives in a beautiful place with a large and highly prosperous establishment annexed, for the education of schoolmasters. They are taught many higher branches of education and his plan is to have those that are fit ordained as deacons, a most politic plan I think.³⁴

The extent to which the historian of today might concur with Barclay Fox, that the deacon schoolmaster was a ‘politic plan’, may be judged in the light of subsequent events described in this chapter.

³⁰ Derwent Coleridge, *Sermon*, 7 May 1843, pp. 10-11.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 18. The biblical phrase is from Ephesians 4: 21.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

³⁴ Barclay Fox, diary entry for 28 May 1842, in R. L. Brett (ed.), *Barclay Fox’s Journal* (London: Bell & Hyman, 1979), p. 269.

4.2 A college in embryo

Derwent Coleridge's plans for Stanley Grove were always under financial restraint. National Society funds derived from the voluntary contributions of its supporters, and to them Coleridge was ultimately accountable. In his letter of acceptance as principal of the new college he proposed that costs be limited by requiring the students to undertake much of the daily maintenance of the buildings and grounds, thereby keeping the number of domestic servants to a minimum.³⁵

The School Committee of the National Society was charged with day to day management of its training institutions, whilst the General Committee decided on issues of high policy. The committee-men grasped the opportunity to draw Coleridge into their wider responsibilities, and required him to act immediately in an advisory capacity at the Westminster central schools and, on its foundation later in 1841, as the clerical superintendent at Whitelands, the National Society's college in Chelsea for training schoolmistresses.³⁶ His salary was £500 per annum, but his duties were not precisely defined; nevertheless his prime responsibility was to establish the college at Stanley Grove.

Derwent Coleridge did not hesitate to turn to those who had served him well in Cornwall. Within a week of his appointment, Coleridge had engaged William Crank (headmaster of Helston Commercial School) as his assistant at Stanley Grove, and by the end of February he had appointed the Reverend Charles Johns (his second master at Helston Grammar School) to superintend the men's boarding house in Cannon Row, where the National Society lodged masters training at the central schools.³⁷ The national Census for

³⁵ Derwent Coleridge to John Sinclair, 3 February 1841, NS, General Committee, Minute Book 4, pp. 292-7, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/4.

³⁶ NS, School Committee, Minute Book 7, 4 February 1841, pp. 103-4, NS/MB/2/7. General Committee, Minute Book 4, special meeting, 24 June 1841, p. 319.

³⁷ School Committee, Minute Book 7, 11 February 1841, p. 108; 18 February 1841, p. 116.

1841 shows that Coleridge had also employed one male and five female domestic servants as resident members of his household at Stanley Grove.³⁸

Stanley Grove, a mansion built in 1691, stood in an 11-acre estate of gardens and meadow-land, with outhouses and farm buildings beside the Kensington Canal, between the King's and Fulham roads at the western boundary of the parish of Chelsea. Edward Blore, the National Society's architect, internally modified the house for its new purpose; his arrangements are shown in plans printed in the *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education for 1842-43*.³⁹

The National Society removed uncertainty about the age of students to be admitted into Stanley Grove by adopting a policy that 'for the present the establishments for training youths and adult masters shall continue [to be] separate'.⁴⁰ Only youths would be trained at Chelsea, where they would remain for three years. Initially ten students would be admitted, owing to limited accommodation in the house, but each would hold a free exhibition from the National Society on satisfactory completion of an examination after three months' probation, when they would be bound by indenture as apprentices to the Society until the age of 21 years.

Qualifications for admission were specified in general terms only. Derwent Coleridge placed a notice in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* at the beginning of March 1841:

They should be lads of good capacity, should read well and write a good hand, and show considerable readiness in arithmetical calculations. The actual amount of proficiency which they may have attained will however be less considered, than the quickness and teachableness, as well as disposition for teachers, which they may display.⁴¹

Candidates had to supply a clergyman's testimonial 'as to moral character, docility, and general aptitude for the way of life on which they are to enter'. Coleridge elaborated:

³⁸ National Census, 7 June 1841, Chelsea (Middlesex), Enumerator's Book 6, pp. 5-6. (The National Archives, Kew: HO 107/688/6.)

³⁹ Committee of Council on Education, *Minutes for 1842-43* (London: HMSO, 1844), plans are between p. 288 and p. 289 (quarto edn).

⁴⁰ General Committee, Minute Book 4, special meeting, 28 April 1841, p. 306.

⁴¹ Derwent Coleridge, 'Training College', *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 9 March 1841, p. 195.

The pupils will lead a life not only of the strictest regularity and order, but of great simplicity. They will be required to work in the garden, and to perform a number of domestic operations, as an essential part of the education which they are to receive.⁴²

Coleridge hoped that his students would be aged from 15 to 17 years, although he was prepared to consider slightly younger or older applicants. By the end of March he had sufficient candidates to call them for interview on 13 April, when he assessed their 'powers of mind' and 'apparent fitness, moral, intellectual, and physical'.⁴³ Clearly the role of (deacon-) schoolmaster was perceived in terms of the whole man.

The first ten students became resident at Stanley Grove in April 1841. A sense of being at the beginning of a far-reaching enterprise must have been impressed on them as soon as they arrived, partly by the variety of their geographical and educational background, partly by Coleridge's deeply-inspiring personality, and specifically by their participation in the stone-laying ceremony to mark the site of the proposed chapel. This event took place on 27 May 1841, and was attended by numerous eminent guests, including several bishops from the General Committee, and a children's choir from the Westminster central schools and parochial schools.⁴⁴

Additional buildings were needed to train larger numbers of students. Edward Blore had been instructed in March to prepare estimates for construction, not only of the chapel, but of dormitories and practising school as well.⁴⁵ A range of 44 single bedrooms in a quadrangle, designed as a court attached to the principal's house, was ready for occupation in the autumn of 1841. Derwent Coleridge's interest in architectural design, already evident at Helston, came to the fore and he supplied Blore with imaginative, but practical, ideas and drawings for the new buildings.⁴⁶

⁴² Derwent Coleridge, 'Training College', *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 9 March 1841, p. 195.

⁴³ [Derwent Coleridge], 'National Society's Training College, Stanley Grove, Chelsea, 9 April 1841', *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 13 April 1841, pp. 215-16.

⁴⁴ 'The National Society's Training College Chapel', *The Times*, 28 May 1841, p. 6.

⁴⁵ NS, General Committee, Minute Book 4, 3 March 1841, pp. 299-300.

⁴⁶ Derwent Coleridge, plan of proposed chapel and practising school bearing his handwritten note, 'Suggested Aug. 26, 1841, D.C.', College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth, archive: PM/1.

The practising school, in the form of a single storey octagon, reminiscent of the baptistery at Florence, was to face the entrance of the chapel, thereby symbolizing the purpose of the school as pointing the way for its pupils into the church and leading them to a godly life. Opened in April 1842, the school received 120 boys from the neighbourhood, mainly the sons of 'labourers, artisans, and the humbler class of tradesmen'.⁴⁷ The chapel, designed on a cruciform plan with a distinctive semicircular apse and ambulatory to the chancel, was far larger than the college alone would require. Boys from the practising school occupied the transept galleries, and 250 seats in the nave were reserved for local residents. The opening ceremony took place on 7 May 1843, in the presence of eminent guests, including the 'visionary triumvirate', Gilbert Mathison, Thomas Acland and William Gladstone, whose determination in 1838 had brought the college into existence. However, three of their closest friends in the project, who were numbered among the 'young gentlemen', had died in the intervening years: Winthrop Mackworth Praed (15 July 1839), Henry Nelson Coleridge (26 January 1843), and Samuel Francis Wood (22 April 1843).

The new genre of popular illustrated weekly periodical proved to be a powerful and effective way of bringing the work of the college before the public. The editors culled text from Derwent Coleridge's reports published by the National Society, but original wood engravings invited close attention. In 1843, its first year of publication, the *Illustrated London News* devoted a full page with two views of the college, a general one across the Kensington canal and another of the chapel and practising school from the Fulham Road, bustling with a flock of sheep and a horse-drawn omnibus.⁴⁸ Three years later, the *Pictorial Times* published a longer article with five prints, two of them showing the interior of the chapel and practising school, the latter capturing vividly how this unique school operated.⁴⁹ Derwent Coleridge had described this octagonal building as 'a novel construction . . . [whose] peculiar arrangements could not be understood without a

⁴⁷ 'National Society', *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 8 March 1842, p. 192.

⁴⁸ 'Training College for Schoolmasters', *Illustrated London News*, 4 March 1843, p. 158.

⁴⁹ 'The Church and Education', *Pictorial Times*, 8 August 1846, pp. 81-5.

diagram'.⁵⁰ He supplied a plan of the school for the National Society's Annual Report for 1844, and comparison of this plan with the print of the school's interior reveals how gallery and class areas could be separated by curtains for a degree of privacy, and how each class faced an octagonal central chimney-shaft with a blackboard or slate on each face, and an inset open grate on alternate sides.⁵¹ The print also shows the frock-coats and other items of uniform clothing worn by the students on teaching practice.

An early visitor to Stanley Grove was Derwent Coleridge's boyhood guardian, William Wordsworth, who in June 1841 was a guest of the Bishop of London, at Fulham Palace, two miles west of the college. Wordsworth's wife, Mary, wrote: 'We visited the embryo [*sic*] Col[lege]: yesterday and D[erwent] gave us hope that John should be admitted tho' under age.'⁵² The boy was John Hutchinson, the Wordsworths' nephew, who lived in Herefordshire. The following year he travelled by coach to London, arriving at the White Horse Cellars, Piccadilly, where he was met by the college steward, Henry Strickland, and taken to Stanley Grove. Having been given a meal by the housekeeper – 'bread and cheese and a glass of very mild beer' – John Hutchinson took his place as a student though not yet 13 years of age. In later life he recalled:

After the meal I was informed the students were assembling for Prayers in the Lecture Room . . . I was shown to a seat near the door to take my part in the religious ceremony, which, I well remember, was conducted by the Principal himself, his wife, Mrs Coleridge, being present, with the female domestics of her household. Till then I had never seen either the Principal or the Principaless, but at the end of the prayers I was sent for to be introduced to them. They received me kindly and asked after my parents at home, which made me feel more 'at home' than ever.⁵³

No doubt Coleridge remembered how, when he was John Hutchinson's age and a pupil at Dawes' school in Ambleside, he had met John's father, George Hutchinson, in the

⁵⁰ Derwent Coleridge, 'An Account of the Training-College for Schoolmasters, at Stanley Grove, Chelsea', NS, *Annual Report for 1842*, Appendix V, p. 93.

⁵¹ Frontispiece, 'St Mark's College, Chelsea. The Practising School: elevation and ground plan', NS, *Annual Report for 1844*.

⁵² Mary Wordsworth to Isabella Fenwick, 29 June [18]41, Letter 1523, in *LWDW*, vii, p. 211.

⁵³ John Hutchinson, 'Some reminiscences of St Mark's, 1842-5', S. Mark's College Club, *Year Book for 1914*, pp. xi-xxiii. Separately printed as *Old Days at St Mark's* (London: S. Mark's College Club, 1914). Also reprinted (very slightly abridged) in Michael Roberts, *Notes on College History, 1840-1865* (London: College of S. Mark and S. John, 1946), pp. 12-21, at pp. 12-13.

Wordsworths' home. John Hutchinson became master of the English Form at Harrow School and eventually Librarian of the Middle Temple.

There were several unusual students in the first year or two of the college's existence. The Archbishop of Canterbury had negotiated admission of two Syrian boys (and later a third), not as future schoolmasters, but to receive an English education so that they would be able to attend a course in medicine and become medical missionaries at home. There was pressing concern for missionary work in the church at this time, and Derwent's cousin, Edward – a tutor at Eton – was making great efforts to found a college for training missionaries. Derwent's sister, Sara, who was especially supportive of Edward Coleridge, wondered whether the proposed missionary college might be united with St Mark's. Writing to Sara in October 1843, Derwent thought that 'a large minority of the actual inmates of the college are now, or might easily be made, every way fit candidates for missionary appointments', which led him to fear that a united college would result in a loss of trained schoolmasters. 'To the missionary cause I anticipate nothing but good from the connection,' he wrote; 'my only objection to the union of the two objects, is and was, the fear that the best and ablest of the young men sh[oul]d be taken out of a field of labour, where they are pressingly required, and w[oul]d have, I think, the *first* claim upon our zeal and liberality.'⁵⁴ The missionary college was eventually founded, in 1848, as St Augustine's College, Canterbury, under the wardenship of Derwent's cousin, Bishop William Hart Coleridge, who had occupied the diocese of Barbados and the Leeward Islands from 1824 until 1841. Derwent Coleridge attended the opening of St Augustine's chapel in July 1848.

Places at Stanley Grove had proved hard to fill. At the beginning of 1842 there were only 25 students in residence, with accommodation for twice as many. In an attempt to overcome the problem the National Society gave ten exhibitions of £10 each per annum for three years to encourage new applications.⁵⁵ By June there were 36 students, but

⁵⁴ Derwent Coleridge to Sara Coleridge, 12 October 1843, College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth, archive: People file/Coleridge/letters donated by Anthony D. Coleridge, 18 February 1955, no. 2, pp. 4-5 (unnumbered).

⁵⁵ NS, General Committee, Minute Book 4, 2 March 1842, p. 348.

vigorous efforts to secure the supply of suitable students continued and Derwent Coleridge placed an advertisement in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette* to advise that ‘an examination of candidates for admission into the Institution will take place on the first Wednesday of every month, at ten o’clock in the morning, till further notice.’⁵⁶

The college was also proving very costly, especially with unfilled places. In March 1842 the National Society resolved to apply to the Committee of Council on Education for an annual grant of £2,000 towards the expenses of its training establishments.⁵⁷ In August Derwent Coleridge was asked to prepare a joint advertisement for the two Chelsea colleges, at Stanley Grove and Whitelands, for insertion in the provincial newspapers.⁵⁸ The measures proved successful, and by the summer of 1843 he had 46 students in residence.

4.3 Establishing a reputation

St Mark’s College gained an early reputation for its distinctive character. Three aspects are considered here: its religious character, its general and professional studies, and its ambitious plans for enlargement.

Religious character

Two momentous decisions were made on 14 July 1842: the institution at Stanley Grove was to be known as St Mark’s College, and the Reverend Thomas Helmore was appointed vice-principal.⁵⁹ Helmore, a minor canon of Lichfield Cathedral, was an accomplished teacher of church music, and his reputation as precentor of the college chapel (an office he occupied until 1877) became legendary.

⁵⁶ Derwent Coleridge, Stanley Grove, 1 July 1842, ‘National Society’s Training College for Schoolmasters’, *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 12 July 1842, p. 13.

⁵⁷ General Committee, Minute Book 4, special meeting, 9 March 1842, p. 351; and 6 April 1842, pp. 352-3.

⁵⁸ School Committee, Minute Book 7, 11 August 1842, p. 370; and 13 October 1842, p. 395. For the advertisement, see *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 31 October 1842, p. 1.

⁵⁹ School Committee, Minute Book 7, 14 July 1842, p. 360; General Committee, Minute Book 4, 14 July 1842, pp. 358-60.

On that day in July 1842 three of the ‘young gentlemen’ – Acland, Mathison, and Wood – attended the School Committee. At Wood’s suggestion it was agreed ‘that the chapel [then in building] at Stanley Grove should be named St Mark’s Chapel in allusion to the passage of Scripture where it is stated that Paul and Barnabas in their first apostolical journey had John whose surname was Mark for their minister’.⁶⁰ He told Newman that this was ‘the ideal of what we wish our Schoolmasters to be to the Clergy’.⁶¹ By November 1842 the dedication of the chapel was being used of the college itself: applications for admission were to be addressed to the ‘Rev. D. Coleridge, Principal, St Mark’s College, Stanley Grove, Chelsea’, and School Committee minutes referred to ‘pupils now in St Mark’s College’.⁶² Derwent Coleridge anticipated the opening of the chapel with deep longing, famously declaring:

With respect to the College, the service of the chapel is, as it were, the key-stone of the arch – the highest point, yet that to which every other part is referred, and from which are derived the consistence and stability of the whole.⁶³

St Mark’s chapel soon attracted eminent visitors, especially when its choral service, sung without musical accompaniment, became known. Morning Prayer was sung daily, using Gregorian plainchant, and an ambitious range of anthems was mastered by the students. In September 1843, two American educators visited St Mark’s College: the Reverend Dr William Augustus Muhlenberg (headmaster of St Paul’s College, Long Island) and his protégé, the Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot (headmaster, St James’ Hall, Maryland). Muhlenberg was a man after Derwent Coleridge’s heart, who had been instrumental in promoting the training of schoolmasters for the Protestant Episcopal Church (the Anglican church in the United States of America); his appreciation of aesthetic liturgy and wide theological sympathies – he called himself an ‘evangelical-catholic’ – were to

⁶⁰ School Committee, Minute Book 7, 14 July 1842, p. 360; the reference is to Acts 13: 5.

⁶¹ Samuel Wood to John Newman, 10 September 1842, BI, Hickleton Papers, A2/42/2, f. 157^{r-v}.

⁶² Advertisement, *Hertford and Bedford Reformer*, 19 November 1842; School Committee, Minute Book 7, 24 November 1842, p. 410.

⁶³ Derwent Coleridge, ‘An Account of the Training College . . .’, Appendix V, NS, *Annual Report for 1842*, p. 93.

make distinctive and influential contributions to both the church and the American boarding school tradition.⁶⁴ Kerfoot wrote to his wife about the chapel service:

[T]he various offices were discharged by the boys who are training simply to be teachers of common schools. They have no organ, but the full cathedral service is sung by Mr Coleridge, and chiefly by his vice-principal, Mr Helmore, and the choir of youths. Altogether, the excellent taste, order, skill and *reverence* of the service, and every engagement of the morning, especially the devout and becoming beauty of the Communion Service, made it an occasion which I shall long remember.⁶⁵

On returning to America, Muhlenberg wrote a leading article about his visit to Chelsea in the *Journal of St Paul's College*:

He [Derwent Coleridge] asked me whether such an institution would not be desirable in America. "Nothing more so," I replied, and sighed within myself . . . I now never hear or read the Litany, but I desire the solemn voice, that still echoes in my mind, of the choristers of Stanley Grove.⁶⁶

From the outset the School Committee had agreed not to interfere with the chapel services, but to leave any decisions regarding them to the Bishop of London.⁶⁷ But these were difficult times for the Church, and soon concerns were being voiced by those who doubted the wisdom of training schoolmasters in the choral service, asserting that when they were appointed to schools their influence would be damaging to the plainer worship of the parish churches to which their schools were attached. In the face of such criticism, the Bishop publicly defended Coleridge, but admonished him privately.

Only six months after the chapel was opened, William Wordsworth heard rumours of episcopal interference. 'What could induce the Bishop of London to forbid the choral service at St Mark's?' he asked Derwent's cousin, the lawyer, Sir John Taylor Coleridge.

⁶⁴ Alvin W. Skardon, *Church Leader in the Cities: William Augustus Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), ch. 3, pp. 59-99. John Frederick Woolverton, 'William Augustus Muhlenberg and the founding of St Paul's College', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 29(3), September 1960, pp. 192-218. James McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools: a historical study* (New York: Scribner's, 1970), ch. 4-5, pp. 105-73. David Hein, 'The High Church origins of the American Boarding School', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42(4), October 1991, pp. 577-95.

⁶⁵ John Kerfoot to his wife, 9-11 September 1843, in Hall Harrison, *Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot* . . . , 2 vols (New York: Pott, 1856), i, p. 87.

⁶⁶ W. A. Muhlenberg, *Journal of St Paul's College*, 1(1), February 1844; quoted in *Charleston Gospel Messenger*, June 1844, p. 83.

⁶⁷ School Committee, Minute Book 7, 25 May 1843, p. 476.

'It was an execution, I understand, above all praise.'⁶⁸ Sir John wrote to Bishop Blomfield, who replied:

All that you say of the beauty of the musical service in St Mark's Chapel is perfectly true, [but] . . . the mode of performing the Church service there, gives strength to the suspicion, unjust as it may be, which is entertained by a great number of persons, of the religious teaching of the college: so that I cannot think Mr Coleridge to have been judicious in adopting it. How far it may be advisable to change it now that it has been adopted, is a question of some difficulty about which I have not quite made up my mind.⁶⁹

It would appear that on this occasion Blomfield allowed the services at St Mark's Chapel to continue unchanged, but he constantly advised Derwent Coleridge to exercise discretion even in matters which, in other times, might have seemed trivial. When he heard that a friend of the college wanted to present a brass eagle-lectern to the chapel, Blomfield urged Coleridge not to accept it: 'However groundless the jealousy may be, which is entertained with respect to the ecclesiastical arrangements in St Mark's, the introduction of the piece of furniture in question would undoubtedly afford fresh matter for suspicion.'⁷⁰

Derwent Coleridge was unrepentant, knowing that his chapel services conformed in every respect to the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer and that his religious teaching was wholly scriptural. He devoted a substantial part of his 1844 report on St Mark's College to the chapel service, which he acknowledged had 'from the first excited considerable attention'. In his judgment the choral service was entirely suited to the devotional life of the college, but Coleridge stressed that he taught his students:

[W]hat is fit and becoming in one place, may be not merely impracticable, but unsuitable in another; . . . the humblest village-church has a beauty of its own . . . Above all, they are impressed with the duty of accommodating themselves submissively and cheerfully to the circumstances under which they may be placed, as in all other things, so especially in whatever regards the celebration of public worship.⁷¹

⁶⁸ William Wordsworth to John Taylor Coleridge, 2 December 1843, letter 1754, *LWDW*, vii, pp. 502-3.

⁶⁹ C. J. Blomfield to John Taylor Coleridge, 27 December 1843, Lambeth Palace Library (hereafter LPL), Fulham Papers, Blomfield Letterbook, vol. 74, ff. 118-20.

⁷⁰ C. J. Blomfield to Derwent Coleridge, 17 October 1844, LPL, Blomfield Letterbook, vol. 41, f. 231.

⁷¹ Derwent Coleridge, 'A Second Letter on . . . St Mark's College', Appendix III, NS, *Annual Report for 1844*, pp. 33-111, at pp. 78-9. For the section on chapel services, see pp. 78-91.

Coleridge took seriously these objections to the choral services at St Mark's, countering them in his report with clear arguments, which always were graciously expressed:

Is it too much to hope that a simple and unreserved statement, exhibiting the views by which the ecclesiastical arrangements in the chapel of St Mark's College have really been governed, may remove some of the misapprehensions (I should be loath to call them misstatements) which have been circulated . . . ?⁷²

The eminent church musician, John Jebb, after an Ascension Day service wrote fulsomely: 'I cannot express the gratification which I have felt at the whole of the Service in your Chapel. The benefit to be expected to the Church of England is incalculable.'⁷³ A century later, Bernarr Rainbow (Helmores's successor as Director of Music at the College of St Mark and St John, Chelsea) researched the far-reaching contribution of St Mark's College to the mid-nineteenth-century revival of church music, publishing his findings in 1970 as *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church (1839-1872)*.⁷⁴

In 1845 the Tractarian leader, John Henry Newman, seceded to the Roman Catholic Church, and it seemed to many that the Church of England was in schism. Staunch protestants in the Established Church often became what Rainbow called 'self-appointed sentinels against Popery', resorting in extreme cases 'to an organized system of espionage . . . whereby strangers were encouraged to attend the services at a particular Tractarian church in order to collect evidence.'⁷⁵ The choral service was perceived as a sign of Tractarianism, and therefore a Romanising tendency, the perception being intensified at St Mark's when it became known that among its founders Acland, Mathison, and Wood had been intimates of Newman, and that among the Tractarians it had been said that Wood, especially, was 'much inclined to be a Roman'.⁷⁶

⁷² Derwent Coleridge, 'A Second Letter on . . . St Mark's College', p. 81.

⁷³ John Jebb to [?], c.1844, bookseller's catalogue (London: Richard Ford, 2007).

⁷⁴ Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839-1872* (Oxford University Press, 1970).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁷⁶ Elizabeth Keble to John Keble, 30 October [1838], quoted in Donald A. Withey, *John Henry Newman: the liturgy and the breviary, their influence on his life as an Anglican* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1992), p. 35. See also various references in Gerard Tracey (ed.), *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vols VI-IX (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984-2006).

The Tory evangelical newspaper, the *Record*, instigated a sustained course of investigative journalism, sending shorthand reporters to services in St Mark's chapel in February and June 1845.⁷⁷ An editorial in August described in detail the chapel and its service, portraying the college as subversive and veering Romewards.⁷⁸ Subsequently accounts of three Sunday afternoon services were reported, children from the practising school being present and according to custom catechized by the officiating clergy. The reporters noted the catechizing verbatim, on the first occasion (16 February) by an unnamed clergyman, on the second (23 February) by Thomas Helmore, and on the third (1 June) by Derwent Coleridge.⁷⁹ In all cases these reports were presented as evidence of a departure from reformed protestant theology and a leaning towards 'Puseyism [i.e. Tractarianism] as to rites and ceremonies, and Popery as to doctrines'.⁸⁰ In subsequent issues of the *Record* letters to the editor were published supporting its position, notably from a pseudonymous correspondent, 'Veritas', who imaginatively linked his abhorrence of all Romanising tendencies with the training of deacon schoolmasters at St Mark's College:

It seems, then, that this [i.e. the training of deacon schoolmasters] is *one* object of its friends. Are the public aware of this intention? – to inundate the Church with a flood of these well-trained religious and secular monks.⁸¹

The Bishop of London continued to defend Derwent Coleridge in public. Writing to the Hon. and Rev. H. Montagu Villers, rector of St George's Church, Bloomsbury, the Bishop said emphatically:

⁷⁷ The visits were made on 16 February, 23 February, and 1 June 1845, the reports being published in the biweekly *Record* on 29 September, 2 October, and 25 September 1845 respectively. These reports were collected, with other material from the *Record*, and reprinted as a pamphlet: *Popish Character of the Religious Instruction provided at Westminster, and at St Mark's College, Stanley Grove, Chelsea* (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1845).

⁷⁸ *Record*, second leading article (untitled), 25 August 1845, p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Record*, 29 September 1845, p. 3 (see also 'Report of the service at St Mark's Chapel, Brompton [sic], on Sunday afternoon, February 16, 1845', *Popish Character*, Appendix D, pp. 57-61); *Record*, 2 October 1845, p. 3 (see also 'Report of the service at St Mark's College, Chelsea, on Sunday afternoon, February 23, 1845', *Popish Character*, Appendix E, pp. 61-7); *Record*, 25 September 1845, p. 3 (see also 'Report of the service at St Mark's College, Stanley-Grove, Chelsea, on Sunday afternoon, June 1, 1845', *Popish Character*, Appendix C, pp. 52-7).

⁸⁰ *Record*, 2 October 1845, second leading article (untitled), p. 4.

⁸¹ *Record*, 9 October 1845 (see also *Popish Character*, p. 69). Italics original.

You are quite at liberty to say that I have stated to you, as a fact to which I could speak positively, that not only is there no leaning on the part of Mr Coleridge, in his opinions or his teaching, to the doctrine and notions which are commonly called Tractarian, as differing from the Articles of our Church taken in their plain and literal sense, but a careful inculcation of the erroneous nature of these notions: and I am persuaded that any person who will attend the examination of the pupils [i.e. the students in training at St Mark's College] to hear their answers to the theological part of it will be satisfied that such is the case. I have had frequent conversations with Mr Coleridge on the subject, and can speak with confidence as to his sentiments.⁸²

In a letter marked 'Private', the Bishop wrote to Derwent Coleridge in the plainest terms: 'In the present state of the public mind with respect to our educational establishments, I think it advisable to suggest to you the necessity of great caution in the mode of catechizing practised at St Mark's.' Nonetheless he admitted that on the one occasion when he had been present, 'I heard nothing to which I could object as being wrong . . .'⁸³

In the religious character of St Mark's College, Derwent Coleridge sought the beauty of holiness, but religious tensions at the time were such that the college became a centre of controversy.

General and professional studies

In this chapter the spiritual life of St Mark's College, as it found expression in corporate worship, has been given the priority Derwent Coleridge placed upon it – 'the keystone of the arch'. The two sides of the arch – general education and professional training – although subservient in Coleridge's view, were nevertheless essential components in the formation of the 'superior teachers' it was the purpose of St Mark's College to provide.

The original advertisement for the college principal had indicated the National Society's expectations:

The duty of the Principal will be . . . to direct their general studies. These studies, as regards religion, will relate to the sacred Scriptures, to the

⁸² C. J. Blomfield to H. Montagu Villiers, 5 January 1846, LPL, Blomfield Letterbook, vol. 43, f. 261.

⁸³ C. J. Blomfield to Derwent Coleridge, 13 February 1846, LPL, *ibid.*, f. 322.

Creeds and Catechism, the Ordinances and Liturgy of the English Church, and to the history of the early Church and of the Reformation. With regard to secular subjects . . . particular attention will be given to grammar, and . . . Latin will in some cases be taught.⁸⁴

There was a hope that the Principal may be 'able to give instruction in mathematics and the elements of natural philosophy [i.e. science]'. It was added that 'in some special branches he will have the aid of an assistant'. Professional training of the students, although essential, would be provided by persons other than the Principal.

Once appointed, Derwent Coleridge placed his individual stamp on that curriculum, honouring it with his father's concern for self-development – the development of character – and the cultivating effect of education on its recipients. He did not limit the curriculum at St Mark's to purely intellectual exercise, however; instead he tried to devise a pattern for the day which would provide adequate variety to stimulate both mind and body:

Study and out-doors employment are indeed so interchanged as to afford, in a general way, sufficient refreshment; but the experience of the last twelvemonths has led me to inquire whether some active sport might not be introduced, under certain restrictions, with advantage both to the mental and bodily health of the pupils.⁸⁵

Consequently Coleridge engaged a drill-sergeant, named Cousins, from the Duke of York's School, Chelsea, as a part-time instructor. He employed other part-time teachers in practical pursuits: John Hullah and his assistant, Edward May, as singing masters, and Thomas Rawlins (a former civil engineer) to teach drawing. In 1848 Rawlins published *Elementary Drawing, as Taught at St Mark's College, Chelsea*, in which he described his recommended method of classroom teaching and provided annotated diagrams and a range of drawing exercises.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ NS, statement regarding the appointment of a principal, June 1840, in *Educational Magazine* (3rd series), August 1840, pp. 123-4.

⁸⁵ Derwent Coleridge, 'An Account of the Training-College', in NS, *Annual Report for 1842*, Appendix V, p. 92.

⁸⁶ T. J. Rawlins, *Elementary Drawing, as Taught at St Mark's College, Chelsea* . . . (London: Nattali, 1848).

In requiring his students to undertake various 'industrial occupations', Derwent Coleridge achieved far more than financial economy; he justified these manual tasks as not only humbling for the students, but also elevating.⁸⁷ The college steward, Henry Strickland, as industrial master, was responsible for the manual occupations and supervised those engaged in them. Tasks for the end of May included: general overseer, office assistant, lawn director, greenhouse keeper, courtyard proposter, school proposter, waiters, operators of the forcing-pump, farm hands, school assistants, cleaners of shoes and knives, dairy attendant, mower operator, and ventilation attendant.⁸⁸

Students rose at 5.30 am and retired to bed at 10.00 pm. During the day, 4½ hours were spent in industrial occupations, 7½ hours in study and devotional services, 1½ hours in meals, 2½ hours in voluntary study and recreation. Coleridge set out a general daily timetable, as developed in the first year of the college, in his 1842 report to the National Society.⁸⁹ Lectures and lessons, taught initially by Coleridge and his assistant, William Crank, took place in Stanley Grove house.

From the outset, Coleridge took responsibility for all aspects of religious instruction. He also taught Latin as a means to more readily enabling the students to grasp the working of language, and thereby to acquire greater facility in the English language. The importance of reading aloud and well, with understanding, was another of Coleridge's convictions, which he sought to improve daily in his students:

The Bible is read at least twice a day, at morning and evening prayer, and the portion selected for reading illustrated in various ways: sometimes the language is explained; sometimes the doctrine is investigated, and practical inferences drawn; sometimes the history, geography, and antiquities connected with the sacred text are elucidated.⁹⁰

William Crank specialized in mathematics, although he also taught Latin and such other subjects as Coleridge might delegate to him. It was intended that students should become

⁸⁷ Derwent Coleridge, 'An Account of the Training-College', in NS, *Annual Report for 1842*, Appendix V, p. 76.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 89-92; table of industrial occupations for 22 May to 6 June 1842, p. 92.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 87.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 84.

not only accurate in calculation, but acquire 'a clear understanding of the theory; – the principles of numbers, as distinguished from the practice of cyphering'.⁹¹ Some teaching of the elements of Euclid, algebra and trigonometry had taken place within the first year of the college, but the emphasis was on arithmetic. In 1843, Crank published *A Theoretical and Practical System of Arithmetic*, which, according to the Preface (dated 25 February 1843), contained nearly 4,000 original questions that had been composed for the students at Stanley Grove. Crank dedicated his book to Derwent Coleridge 'as a mark of respect and gratitude'.⁹²

Professional training of the students did not develop in the first year of the college. Coleridge was of opinion that a firm foundation of general education was preliminary to professional studies, but the opening of the practising school in April 1842, under the direction of Bennet Johns (brother of the Reverend C. A. Johns, latterly of Helston and now Superintendent at Cannon Row, Westminster), provided the beginning of practical teaching experience. The school, intended for 120 scholars and already over-subscribed, always had at least six students in attendance.⁹³

At the end of 1844 the number of students at St Mark's had risen to 67, with about 20 of them accommodated nearby in a rented house on the Fulham Road. Most of them had been in their fifteenth year at the time of their admission, and, although the college was now full, Derwent Coleridge was dissatisfied with the educational standards of many he had been forced to admit. The greater number of students required a more tightly-structured timetable, which allowed for the range of ability. Students were organized in six classes, two in each year, according to attainment, and individual tuition was given as necessary. William Crank resigned his post in 1844, and was replaced by Thomas Staley as mathematics lecturer. At this time a former student at St Mark's, Henry Stubbs, was appointed as an assistant tutor.

⁹¹ Derwent Coleridge, 'An Account of the Training-College', NS, *Annual Report for 1842* Appendix V, p. 85.

⁹² W. H. Crank, *A Theoretical and Practical System of Arithmetic* . . . (London: Parker, 1843), pp. [iii]-vi.

⁹³ Derwent Coleridge, 'An Account of the Training-College', 1842, p. 92.

In his 1844 report to the National Society, Derwent Coleridge continued to justify his teaching of Latin as a means to develop ‘power of thought and language . . . to strengthen the memory, to teach the difference between words and their meanings, and to supply them [i.e. the students] with a vocabulary adequate to the requirements of their new position’.⁹⁴ He contrasted the efficacy of Latin with the paucity of science, which, ‘however valuable in itself as a discipline of the mind, and however useful in its application to mechanical arts, is of no avail for the purposes above mentioned’, and continued:

It is not my intention to depreciate the study of science – it would be difficult, I think, to rate it too highly, whether as an exercise of the pure intellect, or as an investigation of nature; – but when it is proposed to substitute calculation for grammar, that is, for reading or literature, in the education of youth, I cannot but remember that the former thus left to itself supplies no examples of conduct, kindles no generous ardour, awakens no kindly sympathy; above all, that it leaves undeveloped the sense of beauty . . .⁹⁵

Thinking that he might still be misunderstood, Coleridge added a footnote, emphasizing that the moral benefits associated with scientific pursuits depend on ‘a groundwork of a different kind [which] must have been laid first’.⁹⁶ Coleridge was proud to declare that ‘the teaching of Latin has been made in some sort a characteristic feature of the institution’, quoting with effect the tag: ‘*Abeunt studia in mores*’.⁹⁷

The curriculum in 1844 consisted of religious subjects, Latin, English grammar (with etymology and composition), history, geography, mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry and mechanics), physical geography, use of globes, land-surveying, book-keeping, penmanship, music, drawing and gymnastics. Lectures on

⁹⁴ Derwent Coleridge, ‘A Second Letter on the National Society’s Training Institution for Schoolmasters, St Mark’s College, Chelsea. Addressed to the Ven. Archdeacon Sinclair, Treasurer of the Society’, in NS, *Annual Report for 1844*, Appendix III, pp. 33-97, at p. 53.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54 fn.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54. The Latin adage (from Ovid, *Heroides*, XV, 83), which translates as ‘Character is enhanced through study’, became the motto of the College of St Mark and St John, Chelsea, in 1924.

scientific topics were given to third-year students. Coleridge included the full timetable and analysis of lessons in his 1844 report.⁹⁸

Final year students taught in the practising school on alternate weeks for twelve months. Coleridge's arrangement was pragmatic: 'One youth is master in charge, to whom, in the absence of the normal master, the entire control of the school is entrusted, as a last step in his course of preparation for an appointment out of the college.'⁹⁹ Extra accommodation was provided for the practising school by converting two rooms in a cottage beside the porter's lodge on the Fulham Road, thereby enabling eight classes to be formed with a combined roll of 152 boys, most of whom paid 4d. weekly as school pence. The school timetable appears in Coleridge's 1844 report.¹⁰⁰ The most able and well-behaved boys made up the first class, receiving tuition as chapel choristers. Derwent Coleridge saw these boys as potential recruits for the college:

It would be in many ways *most desirable* that the best of these children should be taken, from time to time, into the college as free exhibitioners. One or two might be elected after each annual examination, their admission being delayed till the completion of their fifteenth year. These would be found properly prepared for the college; while the hope of a similar promotion would have a favourable influence on the school at large.¹⁰¹

Not all schools are alike; therefore Coleridge arranged with the rector of Chelsea, Charles Kingsley (whose son, the novelist, he had taught at Helston Grammar School) for Chelsea Parochial School, with its very poor children, to be used for teaching practice under supervision of a former St Mark's student, Henry Ingram: 'It is, indeed, very desirable that the students should have the opportunity of gaining experience in more than one school, and under some variety of circumstance.'¹⁰² Students teaching in the schools were assessed every week, and their records inspected by Derwent Coleridge.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Derwent Coleridge, 'Second Letter on . . . St Mark's College', 1844; curriculum, p. 55; lesson timetable, pp. 58-9; analysis of lessons, pp. 60-1.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64 fn.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 71, where a completed assessment form is shown.

Each year, as at Helston Grammar School, the students were presented for public examination, primarily for the benefit of subscribers to the National Society. One visitor, an Oxford graduate, sent his impressions of the examination in May 1844 to the *English Churchman*: he admired their recitations from Milton, and the depth of their literary and classical understanding.¹⁰⁴ The masters in training were also publicly examined in their teaching of boys from the practising school, and an engraving of the examination held on 7 June 1849 was published in the *Illustrated Historical Times*. On this occasion classes of boys were taken into the college lecture-room, the book-lined terrace room decorated with plaster casts of the Elgin marbles. The print captures the atmosphere: the boys standing before their student-master, with blackboards and easels set ready for use, surrounded by a company of elegantly-dressed ladies and gentlemen, supporters of the National Society.¹⁰⁵ A reporter from the *Guardian*, a church newspaper founded in 1846, witnessed this examination, declaring: 'It was most satisfying in every respect . . . Each class exhibited great proficiency, and afforded full opportunity of developing the capabilities of instruction in the latent schoolmaster, himself examined whilst examining.'¹⁰⁶

There were also quite separate annual examinations by the inspectors of the Committee of Council on Education, who reported to their Lordships of the Privy Council on the state of St Mark's College as a recipient of government grant. The first inspection was conducted by the Reverend John Allen in June 1843. He set written papers on the subjects taught in the college over a period of six days. These papers, together with Derwent Coleridge's paper in English Language and Thomas Helmore's in Music, were included in Allen's report. John Allen concluded:

Different estimates of the value of the several parts of Mr Coleridge's plan will undoubtedly be formed by different minds; but what I am concerned to testify is, that according to my judgment, he has nobly carried into execution his original theory.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ 'M. A. of the University of Oxford' to editor, *English Churchman*, 6 June 1844, p. 362.

¹⁰⁵ 'St Mark's College, Chelsea', *Illustrated Historical Times*, 15 June 1849, p. 341.

¹⁰⁶ 'St Mark's College, Chelsea', *Guardian*, 13 June 1849, pp. 389-90.

¹⁰⁷ John Allen, 'Report on St Mark's College, Chelsea' (dated 5 December 1843), in *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-43*, 2 vols (London: HMSO, 1844), ii, pp. 283-400, at p. 335. Page numbers refer to the quarto edition.

John Allen's inspection report, and those of his successors, were printed with the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education and presented to both Houses of Parliament. As well as the parliamentary folio edition, the Minutes were printed in a popular quarto edition and in this format achieved wide circulation. In this way progress of St Mark's College was publicized by independent authority.

Allen's successor, the Reverend Henry Moseley, conducted five inspections (each lasting two weeks) between December 1844 and January 1849. Initially he agreed with Derwent Coleridge's views on the comparative merits of literature and science:

I believe that he has assigned to each its due importance, and that each actually holds in the system of the institution its legitimate place, and receives its due share of attention.¹⁰⁸

In 1844 Moseley noted that, under Thomas Staley's tuition, 'the scientific instruction of the students has greatly improved'.¹⁰⁹ He concluded that the students' general education – 'whether in religion, literature, or science' – was fully satisfactory.¹¹⁰ Within only a few years, however, he became less confident: 'It is obvious to me that scientific knowledge is *yielding its ground* in the Institution'.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, in 1849 he found himself 'far from thinking that it [i.e. experimental science] ought to be added to the long list of things already taught'.¹¹²

The question of curricular balance at St Mark's disturbed Moseley. In 1844 he expressed his ambivalence towards Coleridge's emphasis on Latin as a means of developing facility in English: 'There will be a great difference of opinion on this subject'.¹¹³ At his next inspection Moseley judged that the college was 'more mature and settled', and that by their third year students 'are possessed of all those resources [in their general education] which the friends of education would desire to see associated with the office of an

¹⁰⁸ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1844*, ii, p. 601.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 601.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 608.

¹¹¹ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1846*, i, pp. 529-71, at p. 538. *Italics original.*

¹¹² Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1848-50*, ii, pp. 659-67, at p. 662.

¹¹³ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', 1844, ii, p. 601.

elementary schoolmaster'.¹¹⁴ His associate inspector, the Reverend F. C. Cook, having examined the students in classics in 1847, wrote:

With the general result of this examination I must acknowledge that I have not merely been gratified – it is not too strong an expression to say that I have been astonished. I should hardly have conceived the possibility of infusing into the minds of young men, whose previous education must, for the most part, have been of the most elementary and superficial character, so much knowledge and such correct and scholarlike ideas.¹¹⁵

Moseley was becoming increasingly anxious, however, and in 1849 he stated outright: 'So long as their knowledge of any of the subjects directly connected with the business of elementary instruction remains imperfect, I confess that [the time devoted to classics] does not seem to me to be justified by the result.'¹¹⁶

Moseley was also becoming insistent on proficiency in professional education. He acknowledged in 1844 that third-year students had been given three lectures a week on teaching by the normal master, Bennet Johns and that they had extensive, supervised practice in the model-school, but he was of opinion that adequate training in certain professional skills remained 'in some degree wanting at St Mark's'.¹¹⁷ The following year Moseley identified the deficiency as a lack of awareness by the students of the need for 'simplicity of teaching'.¹¹⁸ In his 1846 report Moseley elaborated on his concerns, but added: 'I should be misunderstood if, in pointing out what more remains to be done, I were supposed to imply that what they have already accomplished did not reflect credit upon them.'¹¹⁹

When Bennet Johns resigned at the end of 1847, Thomas Staley transferred to the practising school as normal master. A year later, following inspection, Henry Moseley wrote:

¹¹⁴ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1845*, i, pp. 324-65, at p. 325.

¹¹⁵ F. C. Cook, in Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1847-48*, ii, pp. 432-75, at p. 443.

¹¹⁶ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1848-50*, ii, p. 661.

¹¹⁷ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1844*, ii, p. 606.

¹¹⁸ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1845*, i, p. 329.

¹¹⁹ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1846*, i, p. 534.

As the result of his labours, I can bear testimony to a great and decided improvement in the practising school, and in the lessons delivered in my presence by the candidates for certificates. In these lessons the fruits of a more careful study of the minds of children, of the subjects which interest them, and of the words in which they may be made intelligible to them, were apparent.¹²⁰

With regard to the written examination, Moseley testified: 'Their answers to the questions on "Method" were superior to those of the students in any other training institution.' He also praised the students for their reading: 'They read with a just expression, and with great truthfulness and feeling. I can bear testimony to this with great confidence, having heard each of them read a passage from Milton, and taken notes of the lesson.'¹²¹

For all his directness, Moseley was a fair man who offered advice in a courteous manner and who recognized the integrity of others. In his first inspection report at St Mark's, in 1844, he expressed unhesitatingly his respect for Derwent Coleridge:

Those persons whose privilege it is to be acquainted with Mr Coleridge will appreciate his many and eminent qualifications as an instructor, [and] . . . with an abiding sense of the importance of the objects he has proposed to himself, absolute dedication to them, and entire faith in the means he has adopted for accomplishing them, he has succeeded in creating around him an institution which has probably outrun the hopes and expectations of its earlier friends . . .¹²²

In 1846 Moseley acknowledged, too, the earnestness of these friends of St Mark's College:

Its system appears to me to be based in a profound sense of the sacredness of the office of the teacher, a just appreciation of its responsibilities, and a firm faith in its destinies. . . . Its influence in the formation of the character of the elementary schoolmaster is, in my judgment, *priceless*. (Italics original.)¹²³

¹²⁰ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1848-50*, ii, pp. 662-3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 662.

¹²² Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1844*, ii, p. 598.

¹²³ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1846*, i, p. 539.

In his fifth inspection report (January 1849), Henry Moseley wrote: 'It is but just to St Mark's College, to say, that it is probably less open to the imputation of . . . superficial teaching (the besetting sin of training schools), than any other similar institution . . .'¹²⁴

In preparing schoolmasters at St Mark's College, Derwent Coleridge emphasized education of the man rather than training in a system; he aimed for moral understanding and judgment through his curriculum. The balance between general and professional studies has inherent tension, and allegations about over-education of teachers of the poor and insufficiency in the art of teaching gave rise to further controversy at St Mark's College.

Enlargement of St Mark's College

The scale of the college was too modest for it to fulfil its purpose as a *national* institution. At the first sign, in 1846, of government money being nominated for the training of teachers, Derwent Coleridge seized the opportunity to plan ambitious additions to the buildings at St Mark's College. He acquainted Henry Moseley with his ideas for dormitory rooms for 150 students, a refectory for 200 persons, a lecture theatre, a laboratory, classrooms, domestic offices and an infirmary. Moseley responded by compiling a statement regarding the inadequacy of the existing buildings for an institution like St Mark's, which was 'destined . . . to exercise a powerful influence on the education of the country'.¹²⁵ This statement appeared in his inspection report to their Lordships at the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

In 1845 the National Society's School Committee had established a sub-committee for expediting the business of St Mark's College, its first meeting being on 30 April.¹²⁶ With the prospect of government support, the central committees were prepared to consider Coleridge's plans for the enlargement of the college, but they proceeded cautiously. It was not until 1847 that a 'Committee for the collection and disposal of a Special Fund . . . for the enlargement of St Mark's College, Chelsea' was formed, and in August it

¹²⁴ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1848-50*, ii, p. 663.

¹²⁵ Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1846*, i, p. 530.

¹²⁶ NS, Committee for St Mark's College, Minute Book, 1845-54, College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth, archive: M7.

authorized Coleridge to prepare an Address to explain the reasons for the project.¹²⁷ He outlined the history of the college, describing what he believed to be its distinctive features, and summarized the current employment of its alumni as church schoolmasters. Coleridge drew attention to the growing reputation of the college and its inability to meet the demand for its students throughout the country: 'More applications for masters have been received during the last six months than could be supplied . . . in several years.'¹²⁸ The estimated cost of new buildings was 'not less than £25,000', but 'the additional annual expense will not, it is believed, exceed £1,000. Thus the cost of training each master will be very considerably diminished.'¹²⁹

The National Society thought it expedient to undertake some research to obtain 'satisfactory and producible' evidence of the value of the former students of St Mark's College to the managers of their present schools. In November 1847, Derwent Coleridge wrote to each of the 75 former students, asking them to complete (and return within one week) a printed form about their employment: name of school, age when appointed, date of appointment, salary and other emoluments, number of pupils, and any changes in the size of the school roll. The respondents were invited to add any remarks of their own concerning their professional exertions.¹³⁰

Coleridge also wrote to the parochial clergymen who managed the schools, requesting their 'candid impression respecting the schoolmaster'.¹³¹ He received 65 letters from the clergy, representing testimonials to about 60 former students, all of them satisfactory and many full of praise. The evidence thus obtained was printed, with an introduction by Derwent Coleridge addressed 'to the Lords and Gentlemen of the Sub-committee of the National Society for the Enlargement of St Mark's College'. In this *Statistical Inquiry*

¹²⁷ MS Minutes, 'St Mark's College[,] Chelsea, Subscription Committee', 24 August 1847, Devon Record Office, Acland Papers, 1148M/Box 21(iv)/23.

¹²⁸ Derwent Coleridge, 'Address' (dated August 1847), (London: NS, 1847), p. 5. London School of Economics, library archive: OW 1847/40M.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³⁰ Derwent Coleridge, 'Circular addressed to the schoolmasters who have been trained at St Mark's College' (dated 18 November 1847), in *A Statistical Inquiry into the results of the Education afforded in St Mark's College, Chelsea* (London: [NS, 1847]), p. 6. BL shelfmark. 1578/3496.

¹³¹ Derwent Coleridge, 'Circular addressed to parochial clergymen under whom the students who have left the College are placed' (dated 18 November 1847), in *Statistical Inquiry*, p. 15.

Coleridge noted that of 160 names on the college admission register, 27 had left without completing their training; of these, 3 had died, 6 had suffered ill-health, 3 were Syrian students, 3 had been permanently removed for misconduct after being apprenticed, and the remaining 12 left during their probation through unfitness or inability to pay the £25 annual premium. 58 students were currently resident in the college, leaving 75 who were the subject of the inquiry, all of whom were engaged in teaching. The average number of pupils for each schoolmaster was about 100. In the previous six months the college had received 106 requests for schoolmasters. Derwent Coleridge impressed upon the National Society: 'It will, I think, be inferred, not merely that the contemplated enlargement of the College buildings is urgently required, but that it is justified by the general and increasing estimation in *which the College is held*.'¹³²

Plans and views of the proposed new buildings were lithographed and bound for sale to the public as a folio volume, in April 1848.¹³³ The only building work immediately undertaken, however, was the addition of a second storey to the octagonal practising school, the loan being the first charge on the proposed fund for enlargement of the college.¹³⁴ By mid-year, however, the financial position of the National Society, in all its operations, was causing alarm in General Committee: the dramatic decision was taken to establish a separate Council for each of its colleges, with delegated responsibility for local financial management.¹³⁵ The General Committee assigned to St Mark's College a fixed sum of £3,000 per annum; any funds required in excess of that sum were to be raised by the proposed College Council. On the current estimate, local fund-raising would have to produce over £1,000 annually, unless savings were made. The School Committee, in November 1848, provided suggestions for the new body.¹³⁶ Of all the restraints subsequently adopted to reduce expenditure, the most serious was the suspension of plans to enlarge St Mark's College.¹³⁷

¹³² Derwent Coleridge, *Statistical Inquiry*, 1847, p. 4. Italics original.

¹³³ *St Mark's College, Chelsea, established by the National Society for the Training of Schoolmasters: Proposed New Buildings* (London, [1848]). Guildhall Library, London; shelfmark: 421.2.

¹³⁴ NS, School Committee, Minute Book 8, 6 January 1848, p. 606; NS, *Monthly Paper*, 31 July 1848, p. 5.

¹³⁵ NS, General Committee, Minute Book 5, 2 August 1848.

¹³⁶ NS, School Committee, Minute Book 9, 30 November 1848, pp. 53-9.

¹³⁷ St Mark's College Sub-committee, Preliminary statement with reference to a subscription and guarantee for annual expenses, quoted in *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 12 June 1849, p. 284.

A public meeting, chaired by the Bishop of London, was called for 7 June 1849, in Westminster, so that friends of St Mark's College could signify their support. Speeches praising Derwent Coleridge's work were made by the Bishops of London and Salisbury, John Allen, William Gladstone, and Thomas Acland.¹³⁸ The old arrangements, by which the college had been managed directly by the central committees of the National Society, had proved to be cumbersome; nevertheless, what they had achieved set the task for the new Council of St Mark's College, and there was continuity in personnel both of the college staff and its management.

4.4 Deacon schoolmasters

Although the National Society had never formally adopted a policy to train deacon schoolmasters, the 'young gentlemen' had grasped the idea with tenacity, and Derwent Coleridge embraced it in his plans for the college at Stanley Grove. The young age of the students on admission meant that at the end of three years' training they would have to wait another four years or more before reaching the minimum age for ordination: canon law required a deacon to have attained the age of 23 years. It was evident that the college could, at most, train *prospective* deacon schoolmasters, rather than prepare them as ordinands. This, however, did not diminish Derwent Coleridge's enthusiasm, and he was always ready to talk about his intention.

A conversation between Derwent Coleridge and Barclay Fox on the subject of training deacon schoolmasters took place at Stanley Grove on 28 May 1842 (see p. 125). The following year he discussed deacon schoolmasters with William Wordsworth, who subsequently recalled that Coleridge had said 'that the model school of Stanley Grove would fit many of the choice pupils for taking Deacon[']s Orders and that he had no doubt they would be ordained, to be maintained by the competent salaries which such persons would obtain as schoolmasters, and that this would furnish a line of connection between the masters and the church from which great good might reasonably be

¹³⁸ St Mark's College, Chelsea: Public Meeting', in NS, *Monthly Paper*, July 1849, pp. 133-8.

expected'.¹³⁹ It would appear, too, that the inspectors who visited St Mark's College discussed deacon schoolmasters with Derwent Coleridge. John Allen wrote near the end of his 1843 report:

When an inquiry is made as to the means by which the position of the schoolmaster may be raised, the idea which has been entertained by several persons of consideration in the present day, how far there might exist in the Church a permanent diaconate, a body of men not licensed to preach, yet of the clergy, capable of ministering in sacred things, as far as reading prayers, and assisting in the Holy Communion is concerned, yet not dependent upon the exercise of those ministrations for a livelihood . . . and if the effecting such a modification of the system of our Church should seem desirable to its rulers, I suppose that Mr Coleridge would not object.¹⁴⁰

When Henry Moseley visited St Mark's College in December 1844, he noted that Derwent Coleridge had devised a preliminary enquiry for applicants, which was to be completed by the candidate 'in his own words, and in his own hand-writing, in the presence of the clergyman by whom he is recommended, or some other trustworthy person'. This enquiry included a sequence of questions that read like a litany of vows for initiation into a religious order:

Are you sincerely desirous of becoming a schoolmaster, and do you seek admission into the National Society's Training College expressly to be fitted for that difficult and responsible office?

Are you prepared to lead in the College a simple and laborious life; working with your hands as well as acquiring book-knowledge, and rendering an exact obedience to the discipline of the place?

Are you aware that your path of duty on leaving the College will be principally, if not entirely, among the poor?

And are you willing to apprentice yourself to the Society on that understanding?¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ William Wordsworth to Isabella Fenwick, [11 July 1843], letter 1717, *LWDW*, pp. 455-6.

¹⁴⁰ John Allen, 'Report of St Mark's College, Chelsea', CCE, *Minutes for 1843*, pp. 337-8.

¹⁴¹ Derwent Coleridge, Preliminary inquiry for applicants to St Mark's College, quoted in Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1844*, ii, p. 583.

Moseley testified to the absolute dedication of Derwent Coleridge to his aims for St Mark's College, but in assessing its efficiency he could concern himself only with its training of schoolmasters; he had no power to challenge any other aspirations that might present themselves. He explained his position thus:

I am bound to eliminate from my view of it all those objects of its friends which would make of the schoolmaster's a 'clerkly office', and unite with it holy orders and the functions of a deacon.¹⁴²

The Diocese of London considered itself to have a special relationship with St Mark's College, although it was not a diocesan foundation. The London Diocesan Board of Education, in its Annual Report for 1846, gave a reason for Derwent Coleridge's difficulty in recruiting students at his preferred age: most children had left school by the age of 12 years (although the small payment sometimes given to a monitor might keep a few in attendance until 14 years), and once they were earning a living their parents would be unlikely to consider returning them to education. Two years earlier the Board attempted to relieve this problem by offering exhibitions of £10 or £15 per annum to successful 13- or 14-year-old pupils, who were placed in schools as pupil-teachers, assisting in the classes and receiving tuition themselves out of school hours. Two of these pupil-teachers had been successful in competition for the National Society's free exhibitions at St Mark's College. Thus, at the 1846 annual meeting of the London Diocesan Board of Education, Derwent Coleridge proposed a resolution:

That the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of young persons at the proper age, for entering Training Institutions, with a view to their becoming teachers in National and other Church of England schools, arises, in a great measure, from the want of some provision for preparatory instruction; and that the plan adopted by this Board, of giving encouragement to the more advanced scholars in schools in union with the Board, appear to this meeting, if effectually carried out, to be calculated to meet the emergency.¹⁴³

In speaking to this resolution, Derwent Coleridge suggested that at every school with 50 pupils there should be at least one pupil-teacher, and that in the population as a whole

¹⁴² Henry Moseley, 'Report on St Mark's College', CCE, *Minutes for 1844*, ii, p. 599.

¹⁴³ Derwent Coleridge, resolution at the annual meeting, 23 June 1846, London Diocesan Board of Education, *Report for 1846*, p. [3].

there should be at least 15 adult teachers for every 1,000 children, or 15,000 adult teachers for every million children. (The 1841 census gave the child population of England as 3½ million.) The measures to which the resolution referred provided an opening to the humbler classes for a 'career of honour . . . to those who possessed talent, education, and energy'.¹⁴⁴

The London Diocesan Board of Education had written to the President of the Privy Council with an account of its pupil-teacher scheme and its hope that the Committee of Council on Education might provide funds for the support of students at training colleges.¹⁴⁵ A general minute was issued on 25 August 1846 by the Committee of Council on Education:

Their Lordships had further under their consideration the Report of the Inspectors of Schools, memorials from certain Boards of Education, and letters from the clergy and others, representing the very early age at which the children acting as assistants to schoolmasters are withdrawn from school to manual labour, and the advantages which would arise if such scholars as might be distinguished by proficiency and good conduct were apprenticed to skilful masters, to be instructed and trained, so as to be prepared to complete their education as schoolmasters in a normal school.¹⁴⁶

Regulations drawn for this minute were published on 21 December.¹⁴⁷ They provided for a national government-funded pupil-teacher scheme, subject to inspection, and the inauguration of Queen's Scholarships for students at training colleges.

Wendy Robinson, in her recent historical study *Power to Teach*, subjected various models of training in the art – or craft, or science – of teaching to critical analysis, showing how the 1846 minutes shaped the pattern of teacher supply for the rest of the nineteenth century and influenced the twentieth.¹⁴⁸ Crucially, the extra responsibility

¹⁴⁴ 'London Diocesan Board of Education', *Record*, 25 June 1846, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ See also: Richard Burgess (secretary to the London Diocesan Board of Education), *Metropolitan Schools for the Poor. A Letter to . . . the Lord Bishop of London* (London: Rivington, 1846).

¹⁴⁶ General Minute, 25 August 1846, CCE, *Minutes for 1846* (London: HMSO, 1847), [folio edn] p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ 'Regulations respecting the Education of Pupil Teachers and Stipendiary Monitors', 21 December 1846, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Wendy Robinson, *Power to Teach: learning through practice* (London: Routledge Falmer, 2004).

placed upon schoolteachers in supervising their pupil-teachers attracted an augmentation of salary from government sources, subject to a satisfactory inspection report.

An explanatory minute followed, however, which caused consternation for the advocates of deacon schoolmasters. The minute of 28 June 1847 contained a clause:

That, inasmuch as the promotion of education is the exclusive object of the Parliamentary grants placed at the disposal of the Committee, and as, in the framing of the Minutes, from those of 1839 to those of December, 1846, the office of schoolmaster has been regarded as one apart from that of ministers of religion, no gratuity, stipend, or augmentation of salary will be awarded to schoolmasters or assistant teachers who are in holy orders or ministers of religion.¹⁴⁹

J. L. Alexander has claimed that ‘this regulation was designed to kill the schoolmaster diaconate’, but his statement requires careful investigation.¹⁵⁰ (The background to the Explanatory Minute will be fully described in chapter 6, and its longevity examined in chapter 7.) It is evident, however, that Henry Moseley believed that all hope for deacon schoolmasters had ended at St Mark’s College. In his 1847 inspection report he wrote:

The idea present, as it is well known, to the minds of the first promoters of the Institution, was the uniting of holy orders and the functions of a Deacon with those of a Schoolmaster. It is probable that this idea ruled the selection of the course of instruction . . . Notwithstanding that the one has been abandoned, I do not find that a corresponding change has been made in the other.¹⁵¹

Derwent Coleridge, however, was not so easily dissuaded. On 1 January 1847 Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, had written to him:

I am ready to admit to *Deacon’s* orders, such young men, from time to time, as you shall recommend to me – being appointed simultaneously Schoolmasters in some important town or district in this Diocese. Of course in every case the Incumbent must apply for the license [*sic*] to be granted to such person as his assistant. I shall be strict in my requisition of qualification in theology (to a sufficient extent) and in a knowledge of Latin language. Greek I shall not require as essential unless you wish me to do so – and only to the extent which you may wish, as a stimulus to

¹⁴⁹ Explanatory minute, 28 June 1847, CCE, *Minutes for 1846* (London: HMSO, 1847), i, pp. 20-4, at p. 24.

¹⁵⁰ J. L. Alexander, ‘Collegiate Teacher Training in England and Wales’, PhD thesis (London, 1978), p. 239.

¹⁵¹ Henry Moseley, ‘Report on St Mark’s College’, CCE, *Minutes for 1847-48*, ii, p. 439.

them in their studies with you. They will not be promoted to the Priesthood, as a matter of course; nor till they have given proof of their being fit in all respects. In truth I think it is better that they should not look beyond the Diaconate at first. It may be, and I hope will be, that sometimes they may prove themselves likely to perform well the office of Priest in some of our mining parishes.¹⁵²

In February 1847 the Bishop publicly announced his plans at the annual meeting of the Exeter Diocesan Board of Education.¹⁵³ Then, in May, whilst preparing for a speech in the House of Lords, Phillpotts asked Coleridge for his opinions. Coleridge sent a long, hastily-written reply on the same day, in which he concentrated on practical benefits:

[Regarding] the low estimate in which the office [of schoolmaster] is generally held, . . . nothing will tend so quickly, so certainly, or so cheaply to correct this evil, as the *ordination of a certain number of National Schoolmasters*. Though but a few obtain this distinction, *it will give respectability to the whole class*.¹⁵⁴

Coleridge admitted that at St Mark's College his students had 'received an education more or less *clerical* in its character', and he expressed his opinion that 'the *duties* of a Church Schoolmaster are essentially clerical, and cannot, as I maintain, be performed in the best manner, unless he be so educated'.¹⁵⁵ Even if some deacon schoolmasters were eventually to be ordained priests and leave their schools to become incumbents of parish churches, their training and experience as teachers would not be wasted, for such clergy 'will still be educationists, and more efficient ones' in their management of church schools. The 'far higher sanction' that ordination would confer on schoolmasters would make them, in Coleridge's view, more effective as educators, and their influence 'will extend to the parents of the children'.¹⁵⁶ He referred Phillpotts to the reports of Government inspectors, which stated that 'the best schools are those in which the

¹⁵² Henry Phillpotts to Derwent Coleridge, 1 January 1847, quoted by A. C. King, 'The Early Friends of S. Mark's College', in George W. Gent (ed.), *Memorials of S. Mark's College*, pp. 40-66, at pp. 52-3.

¹⁵³ 'The Bishop of Exeter's announcement of his intention to extend the Order of Deacons', Exeter Diocesan Board of Education, annual meeting, 23 February 1847, *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 27 February 1847, p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ Derwent Coleridge to Henry Phillpotts, 15 May 1847, p. 1. MS in College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth, library archive: People file/Coleridge/letter 18 (donated by A. D. Coleridge, 18 February 1955). Emphases original.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

clergyman takes not merely the greatest interest, but the greatest part of the teaching', adding:

The very best are those in which, as in the case of Mr Dawes' School [i.e. Reverend Richard Dawes, at King's Somborne] in Hampshire, he is virtually the Head Master. But this he can rarely be without neglecting other duties. The inference is obvious and irresistible. The nearer you can bring the Schoolmaster, by education and position, to those clergymen who on the shewing of Government Inspectors, make the best schools, the better for the public.¹⁵⁷

Such training was being given at St Mark's College, and recent government measures would secure income to meet the expense: 'It is a clear *boon* from the Church to the people.' Moreover, ordination of national schoolmasters would admit men who, although educated for their vocation, had come from a 'lower class in society than the greater part of the clergy', thereby enabling them more readily 'to connect the lower, and especially the lower-middle class of society, with the Church'.¹⁵⁸ For Coleridge, appropriate vocational education was essential: 'I must premise that my observations refer exclusively to young men who have received a *collegiate*, though not an *university* education, and who, however *humbly*, are yet *adequately trained for the ministry*.'¹⁵⁹ With regard to Greek, Coleridge proudly told Phillpotts about the achievements of some of his present and former students: those who studied the Greek Testament with diligence and success, and those who studied theological works in depth whilst practising schoolmasters. At St Mark's he reckoned that 'at least one in every four or five . . . [is] superior, *on the whole*, both in mental endowments, and in actual attainment, to the average standard of university men.'¹⁶⁰ He reminded Phillpotts that in recent years non-graduates ('literate') had been trained as clergymen of the Church of England at colleges founded specifically for them: 'The step from St Bees and Lampeter to St Mark's would be a very easy descent.'¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Derwent Coleridge to Henry Phillpotts, 15 May 1847, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5; emphases original.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7. For colleges for literates, see p. 26.

Derwent Coleridge then turned to the recent 'refusal of Government to assist clerical schoolmasters', which Bishop Phillpotts was preparing to challenge in the House of Lords. Coleridge claimed:

It is evidently an interference with the religious independence of the Church, which will not be attempted and indeed could not be made effectual, in the case of dissenting bodies. The Schoolmasters trained in the British and Foreign School, are in very many cases Wesleyan local preachers, and indeed the Wesleyan Schoolmaster can hardly help assuming this character. Will they put a veto upon this? Impossible. But the local Preacher is as much a part of the Wesleyan ministry, as the Deacon of ours. Among the Baptists the Schoolmaster will be commonly in name, as well as office, a Deacon.¹⁶²

Phillpotts introduced parts of Coleridge's argument into his speech in the House of Lords on 11 June 1847, where he reiterated his readiness to admit to the diaconate masters trained at St Mark's College. The *English Churchman*, reporting the Lords' debate, concluded:

It would seem that it is only in those cases *where the schoolmaster is to receive a portion, or the whole, of his salary from the Government grant*, that a person in Holy Orders will be considered as ineligible. A school which has been built, wholly or in part, by the aid of the Government grant, or which is still assisted by that grant, may have a Deacon-schoolmaster (even one who has been trained at the cost of the State), provided that person receives no portion of his salary out of the Government grant.¹⁶³

Whether school managers would be willing to appoint deacon schoolmasters under these restrictions was another matter, but in principle ordination remained open to men trained at St Mark's College, and they had a friend in the Bishop of Exeter. Occasional advertisements for deacon-schoolmaster appointments began to appear, government grant regulations notwithstanding.¹⁶⁴ As Henry Moseley observed, Derwent Coleridge made no adjustment to the college following their introduction. Moreover, the Explanatory Minute of 1847 contained an exception clause: clergymen could teach in the schools of

¹⁶² Derwent Coleridge to Henry Phillpotts, 15 May 1847, pp. 7-8. The author of this thesis must identify himself as having been a Baptist deacon schoolmaster for 30 years.

¹⁶³ Leading article (untitled), *English Churchman*, 17 June 1847, pp. 468-9, at p. 469.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. *Guardian*, 7 June, 27 September 1848, pp. 375, 619; 27 January 1849, p. 49; *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 11 December 1849, p. 153; 9 July 1850, p. 20; *NS Monthly Paper*, June 1850, p. 222.

training colleges without forfeit of benefit. By a fortunate turn of events, Derwent Coleridge had appointed a former student to the college staff. On 18 June 1848 Henry Cuttill Stubbs, 'a literate person, St Mark's College, Chelsea' was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London.¹⁶⁵ The very first of Derwent Coleridge's deacon schoolmasters was assistant master at his own college.

Conclusion

With whatever reluctance Derwent Coleridge accepted the principalship at Stanley Grove, he carried out his responsibilities with intellectual insight, moral courage, steadfast determination, and pastoral commitment. A man of immense resources, ultimately he drew his strength from a deep faith in God. Hence the chapel service formed the 'keystone of the arch', by which general and professional education were given meaning, and personal life was imbued with spiritual significance. The tone of St Mark's College affected visitors and inmates alike.

The story of the college coming into existence and gaining its reputation – for both good and ill – charts the course of an experiment in English education, in which the model of deacon schoolmaster was prospective rather than immediate, owing to the young age of the students. The intention of St Mark's College to train deacon schoolmasters had the character of an open secret, for it was never officially or formally stated, but simply became known. Nevertheless the vision was noble and did not yield to attack, but persisted as a cherished hope throughout the 1840s despite the severity of political constraint through the administrative regulations for parliamentary grants. The ability of deacon schoolmasters to survive in changing circumstances will be investigated in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁵ H. C. Stubbs' ordination papers are deposited in the Department of Manuscripts, Guildhall Library, London, MS 10326. See also Bishop Blomfield's Act Book (1842-53) and Register (1848-56), MS 9532 A/4; MS 9531/31-32.

Chapter 5. St Mark's College: later constraints, 1850-64

By the time management of St Mark's College had passed from the central committees of the National Society to the newly-constituted college council in 1849, the struggle to establish the institution was over. The vision of the Mathison-Acland-Gladstone triumvirate for a national college to train church schoolmasters had come to energetic fruition, although Samuel Wood's distinctive deacon-schoolmaster model had been difficult to implement. Yet the conviction that deacon schoolmasters could make an invaluable contribution was not lost, despite changing circumstances surrounding educational provision and especially those arising from national government.

Two large concerns faced St Mark's Council: how to expand the college and thereby increase efficiency, and how to react to constraints of public prejudice and diminishing resources. Both concerns will be addressed in this chapter, highlighting those aspects affecting the training of deacon schoolmasters, and thus raising the question whether St Mark's College could really be independent in providing schoolmasters for Church education. The solution to each concern depended on St Mark's College retaining a generally favourable reputation, so here a broad assessment of its public recognition precedes the specific issues arising from diverse views held by promoters of Church education and the effects of central government policies. The chapter concludes with a review of the extent to which the college was able to implement the model of deacon schoolmaster during the principalship of Derwent Coleridge (Research Question 3).

5.1 Breadth of recognition

No single, or simple, measure exists of the regard in which St Mark's College was held at this time. Englishmen were divided in their convictions and loyalties, whilst interest in education crossed national boundaries. Pamphleteers, foreign visitors, and government inspectors (among others) spread the reputation of the college in various ways and for

their own purposes, thereby contributing to the formation of views – accurate or distorted – in the public mind about the work of St Mark’s College, whilst the ability of the college to attract both visitors and the attention of publicists is itself evidence of its widening reputation.

Pamphleteers

The middle decades of the nineteenth century saw a profusion of pamphlets on education. With exasperation, the editor of the *English Churchman* wrote in 1847: “The cry is still they come.” No sooner have we read one pamphlet on Education, than another starts up in its place: “they rise like hydra’s heads.”¹ References in these pamphlets to St Mark’s College show how the college was regarded by the writers, and the impressions their readers may have received.

In his tract, *Practical Remarks on Popular Education in England and Wales*, published in 1847, Henry Parr Hamilton (a Yorkshire clergyman who became Dean of Salisbury) praised the National Society generally and St Mark’s College in particular, for training well-qualified teachers, quoting directly from Derwent Coleridge’s 1842 account of the college at Stanley Grove.² Hamilton advocated training for three years, as in ‘this noble institution’, as a means to ‘raising the office of the educator from its present degradation, to the rank of a profession’.³ A year later, Hamilton published *The Church and the Education Question*, in which he quoted HMI Moseley’s ‘high tribute to the general excellence of the system pursued at St Mark’s College’, drawing special attention to the ‘profound sense of the sacredness of the office of the teacher’ that Moseley had found there.⁴ Nevertheless, Hamilton perceived a general danger that teachers might leave their schools for holy orders and, whilst not specifically mentioning St Mark’s, he cited examples of teachers trained in diocesan colleges reportedly having done so.

¹ *English Churchman*, 1 April 1847, ‘Reviews and Notices’. p. 250.

² Henry Parr Hamilton, *Practical Remarks on Popular Education in England and Wales* (London: Parker, 1847), p. 23; quoting Derwent Coleridge, *Letter on the National Society’s Training-College for Schoolmasters, Stanley Grove, Chelsea* (London: Parker, 1842), p. 5.

³ Hamilton, *ibid.*, pp. 36-7, and p. 42.

⁴ H. P. Hamilton, *The Church and the Education Question: a letter to the Lord Bishop of Ripon* (London: Parker, 1848), p. 31 fn.; quoting Henry Moseley, ‘Report on St Mark’s College’, CCE, *Minutes for 1846*, i, p. 539.

Pamphlets with very different purpose, such as those defending the aspirations of the Chartists, also drew on Derwent Coleridge's accounts of St Mark's. In *Education, the Natural Want and Birthright of every Human Being* (1845 and 1850), Benjamin Parsons, a dissenting minister from Gloucestershire, asked 'those who dread the consequences of giving extensive knowledge and learning to peasants and operatives' to consider Coleridge's personal testimony found in the 1842 account of the college. 'This is a most important passage,' Parsons wrote, 'because it shows us that we may give a liberal education to the peasant's son, and instead of injuring [*sic*] him or society, confer a great blessing upon both.'⁵

Pamphlet literature frequently dealt in polemic, often hastily published to agitate prejudice. Steadier writers, whether establishment figures like Hamilton or radicals like Parsons, found Derwent Coleridge's thoughtful non-partisan writing a rich source of perceptive observation and wise judgment from which they happily drew to construct their own arguments. St Mark's College also featured in the reforming novel, *Alton Locke*, by Charles Kingsley (Coleridge's former pupil at Helston Grammar School). In this novel, published in 1850, Alton, a poor widow's son, is converted from Chartism to Christian Socialism (of which Kingsley was an ardent advocate), but any trace of violent revolutionary ideas ('sansculottism') remaining within him might be removed by Dean Winnstay's simple expedient:

If this young man really has a proper desire to rise into a higher station . . . he ought to go to some training college; St Mark's . . . might, by its strong Church principles, give the best antidote to any little remaining taint of *sansculottism*.⁶

St Mark's 'strong Church principles' were not universally approved, even within the Church of England, and pamphlets continued to denounce their tenor. Particularly damaging was an attack from 'a Westminster-trained National schoolmaster' who, anonymously, published *Facts and Opinions for Churchmen and Dissenters* in 1850:

⁵ Benjamin Parsons, *Education, the Natural Want and Birthright of every Human Being: or, education as it is, and as it ought to be* (London: Snow, 1850), p. 156 [1st edn, 1845]; quoting Derwent Coleridge, *Letter* (1842), p. 21 fn.

⁶ Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet*, [1st edn, 1850] (London, Macmillan, 1911), p. 118.

The writer knows many schoolmasters who, in our national schools, are teaching the youths of England . . . fallacious and mind-debasing falsehood. And from whence do these invaluable (?) [sic] teachers of our youth spring? I answer, the Sanctuary [i.e. the National Society's Central Training School, Westminster], Battersea, and St Mark's College, Chelsea.⁷

Whilst the temptation to join in this pamphlet warfare must have been strong, the officers and Council of St Mark's College restrained themselves and continued to train schoolmasters according to their convictions, believing (as Derwent Coleridge wrote with regard to a later controversy) that 'in quietness and in confidence is our strength'.⁸

Foreign visitors

St Mark's 'strong Church principles' became known in the United States largely through the writings of Henry Barnard, who rose from superintendent of common schools in Connecticut to hold office as the first federal commissioner of education in 1867. Barnard published a monumental two-part work, *Normal Schools*, in 1851, which contained long extracts from Derwent Coleridge's accounts and Henry Moseley's reports of the college.⁹ These extracts re-appeared ten years later in Barnard's encyclopedic *American Journal of Education*.¹⁰ In the meantime Henry Barnard visited St Mark's College (and several other important training colleges) while in England for the 1854 Educational Exhibition in London.¹¹ Barnard's dissemination of Derwent Coleridge's ideas on Church education generally, and teacher training in particular, reinforced the pioneering work of earlier American visitors to St Mark's College, such as Muhlenberg and Kerfoot in 1843 (see pp. 133-4), who gave a distinct Coleridgean character to the leading American boarding school, St Paul's School, in Concord, New Hampshire,

⁷ Anon. ['A Westminster-trained National schoolmaster'], *Facts and Opinions for Churchmen and Dissenters* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1850), pp. 66-7.

⁸ Derwent Coleridge to A. C. Tait (Bishop of London), 21 February 1866, LPL, Tait Papers, Personal Letters, vol. 82, ff. 100-1, at f. 100^v; quotation alludes to Isaiah 30:15.

⁹ Henry Barnard, *Normal Schools, and other Institutions, Agencies, and Means designed for the Professional Education of Teachers* (Hartford, Conn: Case, Tiffany, 1851), *Part II: Europe*, 'Training establishment for masters for the National Society: St Mark's College', pp. 345-61.

¹⁰ Henry Barnard, 'Training establishment for masters for the National Society: St Mark's Training College', *American Journal of Education*, x, June 1861, pp. 531-47.

¹¹ Edith Nye MacMullen, *In the Cause of True Education: Henry Barnard and nineteenth-century school reform* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 199. For trans-Atlantic educational study tours generally, see: Marianne A. Larsen, 'A Comparative Study of the Socio-Historical Construction of the Teacher in mid-Victorian England and Upper Canada', PhD (University of London, 2004)), p. 72.

founded in 1856. Henry Coit, the first headmaster of St Paul's School, had studied under Muhlenberg at St Paul's College (Long Island), and taught under Kerfoot at St James' College (Maryland), where he absorbed their tradition and made it his own. These influences came full circle in 1868, when Coit visited England and met Derwent Coleridge.

By this time Coleridge had retired from St Mark's College and settled as rector of Hanwell, Middlesex. The meeting with Coit led to a succession of senior boys from St Paul's School, Concord, coming to live at Hanwell rectory to complete their education under Coleridge's direction. The first, Augustus Muhlenberg Swift, was there from 1868 to 1871; others followed until 1879. Swift recalled:

We were received, almost as sons, into one of the most intellectual and delightful homes in England. We formed the acquaintance of many social and literary celebrities, and were made welcome by his [i.e. Derwent Coleridge's] friends in any part of England or Europe.¹²

From perceptive conversations with American and European educationists, Coleridge understood that a successful education policy in one country could not be guaranteed success when imported by another:

Foreign examples must be *translated* before they can be read in England. Any superiority which the original may exhibit may well be lost in the process. It may be due to conditions which cannot be transferred – as in America to the comparative absence of extreme poverty, in Prussia to beaurocratic [*sic*] surveillance and control, &c, &c.¹³

His meetings with educationists from America, Germany and Sweden convinced Coleridge 'that they looked upon the better class of our national-schools as they certainly did upon our training-schools, with admiration'.¹⁴ He admitted, however, that his impression was formed 'in better times, to which it may be difficult to return', an allusion

¹² Augustus M. Swift, *Derwent Coleridge, Scholar, Pastor, Educator: an address delivered June 19th 1883 at the public meeting of the Library Association of St Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire* (New York: Roper, 1883), p. 49.

¹³ Derwent Coleridge, *Compulsory Education and Rate-Payment: a speech delivered to a meeting of the London Diocesan Board of Education, at London House, on Thursday, January 28th, 1867. Corrected and enlarged, with a postscript* (London: Moxon, 1867), p. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

to the dismay with which he viewed the effects of the government's Revised Code for elementary education (see pp. 187-9).¹⁵

François Guizot, the former French minister of public instruction, visited the college in May 1849, during his exile in London following the previous year's revolution in France.¹⁶ A month later Ellis Yarnall came from the United States, carrying a letter of introduction (from his friend, Henry Reed, professor of English Literature at the University of Pennsylvania) to Derwent's sister, Sara, who had succeeded her late husband, Henry Nelson Coleridge, as STC's editor. Sara, in turn, introduced Yarnall to her brother, who invited him to attend service in St Mark's chapel. He became a long-standing friend of Derwent Coleridge, learning from him that St Mark's students were training 'to become teachers, or . . . expected to prepare themselves for Holy Orders'.¹⁷ Admission of this second possibility was, perhaps, easier to make to a foreign visitor than to English critics.

Yarnall, who was American correspondent to the London *Guardian*, often returned to St Mark's during subsequent visits to England, the next being soon after Sara's death in 1852, when Derwent became his father's editor. In the previous year Derwent Coleridge had published the poems and essays of his brother, Hartley, who died in 1849, and between 1852 and 1854 he brought out new editions of STC's poetry and prose works. Henry Reed also visited St Mark's College in 1854:

Our last English Sunday was at St Mark's College, Chelsea, where we heard the chapel service more finely performed than any where else and an excellent sermon by Derwent Coleridge. He is the best reader of the service I ever listened to. I have been delighted by him in every way . . . There was another kind of service I was privileged to listen to in England – the family prayers . . . at St Mark's.¹⁸

¹⁵ Derwent Coleridge, *Compulsory Education and Rate-Payment*, p. 20.

¹⁶ W. L. Hind, letter dated 25 May 1849, quoted in Michael Roberts (ed.), *Notes on College History, 1840-1865* (London: College of S. Mark and S. John, 1946), p. 35.

¹⁷ Ellis Yarnall, *Wordsworth and the Coleridges, with other memories literary and political* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), p. 123.

¹⁸ Henry Reed to George W. Hunter, 26 July 1854, quoted in Leslie Nathan Broughton (ed.), *Wordsworth and Reed: the poet's correspondence with his American editor . . .* [Cornell Studies in English, XXI], (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1933), p. 258.

Yarnall and Reed entered the Coleridge circle through literary, rather than educational, pursuits, but their recollections preserve the cultural brilliance of Stanley Grove while Derwent was principal: the eloquence of conversation, topics of interest, and depth of insight among the residents and their guests can be captured only by literary sensitivity. Ellis Yarnall's 'Reminiscence of Macaulay' depicts most vividly an animated after-dinner discussion at Stanley Grove, in June 1857, between Derwent Coleridge, Thomas Babington Macaulay (Derwent's contemporary at Cambridge, whose public service had included drafting the British education policy in India and membership of the Committee of Council on Education), Edward Blore (architect of St Mark's College), Thomas Helmore (college precentor, and Derwent's brother-in-law since marrying Mary's sister, Kate, in 1844), Hugh Seymour Tremenheere (a former government inspector of schools, who had visited the United States and Canada and written about education in these countries), and Herbert Coleridge (Sara's son, soon to become the eminent lexicographer who would lay the foundation for the Oxford English Dictionary). They talked about sculpture, painting, music and poetry as they debated Macaulay's assertions that artistic power is not an intellectual faculty, and that the Homeric poems are the product of a single mind. Ellis Yarnall, sitting opposite Macaulay, recorded his delight:

I may note only the brilliant conversational power of Mr Coleridge, and the fact that as I listen to him I perfectly understand the marvellous gifts in this way of his father, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Again and again I have been held as if under a spell by the flowing stream of his delightful monologue.¹⁹

Leo Tolstoy, who had become passionate about providing education for peasant children in Russia, included St Mark's College Practising School on his European tour of educational establishments, staying in London for 16 days in March 1861. Tolstoy received an introduction from Matthew Arnold HMI to seven schools he had recently inspected.²⁰ Anglican schools and colleges were not within Arnold's purview, although

¹⁹ E[llis] Y[arnall], 'A Reminiscence of Macaulay', *Lippincott's Magazine of Popular Literature and Science*, xvii (101), May 1876, p. 636.

²⁰ Matthew Arnold to Count Léon Tolstoy, 11 March 1861, MS in Lev Tolstoy State Museum, Moscow; printed in Cecil Y. Lang (ed.), *The Letters of Matthew Arnold* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996-2001), ii, p. 60. William Bell Guthrie, 'Matthew Arnold's Diaries', PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1957, ii, entries for 12 April, 18 and 21 June, 26 and 30 July 1860, 4 and 25 February 1861.

he had personally known Derwent Coleridge since boyhood; nevertheless Tolstoy visited St Mark's College, spending the afternoon of 12 March in the schoolrooms and observing lessons. On leaving, he took with him a class set of short written compositions on small pieces of notepaper in which the boys had described the events of the day, both out of the classroom and in it.

Tolstoy's visit went unrecorded, and became known only in 1976, when the British Library staged a Tolstoy exhibition.²¹ Various exhibits were sent from the Lev Tolstoi State Museum, Moscow, among them the pupil exercises from St Mark's practising school. Each of the 26 exercises is photographically reproduced in Victor Lucas' *Tolstoy in London*, and the collection offers a unique insight into the writing standards and daily life of Chelsea schoolboys aged 10 to 14 years in the week that the National Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with the Lord Mayor of London, and in the month that the Newcastle Commission published its report on the State of Popular Education in England.²² Collation of the scraps of information scattered throughout these short compositions makes possible a complete reconstruction of the class timetable for that day. Furthermore, one of the pupils mentioned that the class was taught by Mr Ives.²³ Recently appointed an assistant master at the school, Robert Ives had trained at St Mark's College from January 1859 to December 1860. When he left this appointment in 1863, Robert Ives was ordained as deacon schoolmaster at Wigginton National School, near Banbury, Oxfordshire.²⁴

²¹ *Tolstoi: a loan exhibition from Soviet Museums . . . 3 June – 30 August 1976* (London: British Museum Publications, 1976).

²² Victor Lucas, *Tolstoy in London* (London: Evans, 1979), pp. 54-79.

The National Society celebrated its 50th Anniversary at a public meeting with the Lord Mayor of London on 14 March 1861.

The Newcastle Commission presented its report to both Houses of Parliament on 21 March 1861.

²³ F. Drani, 'Composition' [12 March 1861], MS Lev Tolstoi State Museum, Moscow, ref. 26.1 verso; photographic copy in V. Lucas, *Tolstoy in London*, p. 59.

²⁴ Derwent Coleridge, *National Society's Training Institution for Schoolmasters, St Mark's College, Stanley Grove, Chelsea. Occasional Report, December, 1864* (London: St Mark's College, 1864), p. 31.

5.2 Divided views within Church education

The inaugural meeting of the Council of St Mark's College took place on 26 June 1849.

One year later the National Society announced in (self-)congratulatory tone:

These arrangements have been . . . carried into effect with great success. A more active and regular control of the internal arrangements . . . has thus been secured, and efficiency has been increased, while the expenditure has been considerably reduced.²⁵

In its first report Council informed the National Society that 28 new students had been admitted to St Mark's College, an equal number to those who had left as trained schoolmasters. However, demand for masters greatly exceeded supply: 162 applications had been received from managers of schools during that year.²⁶ From the outset Council was determined to expand St Mark's by reviving the building programme that had suddenly been shelved in 1848 when college administration was still under the central committees of the National Society. Existing accommodation enabled only 43 students to live in college and another 20 were boarded nearby; the Council wanted 100 places. The *Edinburgh Review* stated, quite erroneously, in April 1852 that 'St Mark's cannot fill more than half of its pupils' cells', but continued with greater justification:

St Mark's . . . fits its students to become rather High Church deacons or missionaries than schoolmasters. In addition to Latin, and we believe Greek, chanting and intoning are taught there, – feasts, fasts, and rituals religiously attended to.²⁷

Among the alumni of St Mark's College, in 1852, were two principals of diocesan training colleges, five tutors, and two normal masters; two others were organizing masters employed by the National Society. Henry Stubbs, a tutor at St Mark's since 1844 (who had been ordained deacon in 1848), was now principal at Warrington; William David (ordained deacon in 1852) had become principal at Exeter, where Abraham Howarth was now vice-principal and tutor. Storer Lakin (ordained deacon in 1851) had replaced Stubbs at St Mark's; J. Plant was tutor at Warrington, Henry Welch at Oxford,

²⁵ NS, *Annual Report for 1850* (Supplement to *Monthly Paper*, July 1850), pp. 264-5.

²⁶ St Mark's College Council, first report, 1850; extracted in NS, *Annual Report for 1850*, pp. 265-6.

²⁷ 'National Education', *Edinburgh Review*, xcv, April 1852, pp. 321-57, at pp. 345-6. The anonymous contributor was George Robert Gleig, inspector-general of military schools (see *Wellesley Index*).

and B. Wilkes Jones (ordained deacon in 1855) at Bristol. Charles Daymond (ordained deacon in 1851) and J. T. Fowler were normal masters at St Mark's and Lichfield respectively. Of the organizing masters, William Lucas and J. J. Lomax were appointed by the National Society in 1850 to succeed another St Mark's man, Henry Ingram, who had served since 1847; Ingram had obtained a sizarship at St John's College, Cambridge, in the autumn of 1850, but suddenly died in January 1851.

St Mark's College Council began its work when the National Society was gravely troubled by demands of the Committee of Council on Education for Church schools to adopt trust deeds with specific management clauses, proposed by Kay-Shuttleworth in 1847, in order to receive State aid. Debate raged at the National Society's annual meetings as an extreme faction, under an ultra-high churchman, Archdeacon Denison, refused conciliation until eventually his group imposed its will on the Society in 1849. Subscribers were divided also on the conscience clause, introduced in 1852 by Ralph Lingen, who had succeeded Kay-Shuttleworth as permanent secretary to the Committee of Council on Education. This clause was intended to protect the right of dissenters to send their children to a Church of England school without being compelled to receive instruction in the Church catechism. Inevitably it, too, was vigorously opposed by the Denison coalition, although their clamour was defeated by the mid-1850s.

These disputes did not focus directly on St Mark's College, but its perceived high-church stance led to an uninformed presumption of association with Denison. That conclusion was unjustified, as Derwent Coleridge made clear, in 1869, when writing to his cousin, John Duke Coleridge:

As an Educationist I have actively supported . . . the cause of progress, and have not scrupled to associate myself with the *party* of progress whenever I thought, which I often did think, that they were on the right track. Thus . . . I entered heartily into the movements set on foot by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. . . . I believe that I was instrumental in reconciling the Church to the provisions of the Privy Council, the organ of a Liberal Government, and in so doing exposed myself to some misconstruction. I have always been favourable to a conscience clause.²⁸

²⁸ Derwent Coleridge to John Duke Coleridge, 13 November 1869, HRC/UAT, DC MSS; quoted in Hainton, *DC*, p. 287.

Disputes within the National Society about management and conscience clauses encouraged a wider onslaught against 'Romanising tendencies', and this did focus on St Mark's College. Even in places far from London, plans to raise subscriptions for diocesan training colleges were thwarted by those who saw the influence of St Mark's (whether directly through its former students becoming tutors, or in more pervasive ways) as being harmful to the Church. At Exeter, where both the principal and vice-principal were St Mark's men, such sentiments appeared in the newspapers: 'I have . . . declined to contribute from . . . fears of an infusion of the principles which prevail at St Mark's, where the Tractarian novelties have been so objectionable.'²⁹ Critics began to question how far the National Society represented the Church of England as a whole: increasingly it was being identified with the high-church party – a danger that the 'young gentlemen' had tried to avoid in 1838 (see pp. 55-7) – and some of its discontented members were now considering the practicality of establishing an alternative education society within the Church of England.

The Reformation Society was active across the country organizing meetings to protect protestant principles from Catholicism. In Brighton Town Hall, on 15 January 1850, a former student of St Mark's College, Charles Daymond, became embroiled with a Reformation Society speaker who had been disparaging of doctrinal views held by the Archdeacon of Lewes (Julius Charles Hare). As master of the large Central National School in Brighton since 1844, the school committee had expressed 'their sense of the talent, patience, and unremitting energy of Mr Daymond'.³⁰ His protest, however, provoked correspondence in both local and national newspapers, including the *Record*, which presumed his training at St Mark's College to be the cause of his holding views (allegedly) inconsistent with the principles of the Reformation. A formal hearing of the Brighton school committee subsequently considered his fitness to remain master of the Central National School. Daymond defended his theological views with arguments strikingly similar to those Derwent Coleridge had used in his *Scriptural Character of the*

²⁹ 'A Country Incumbent' to editor (n.d.), Trowman's *Exeter Flying Post*, 21 April 1853; quoted in F. W. T. Fuller, *The History of Saint Luke's College, Exeter, 1839-1970*, 4 vols (Exeter: St Luke's College, 1970), i, p. 110.

³⁰ *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Brighthelmston [sic] National School* (Brighton: 1847), p. 6.

English Church. After seven hours' deliberation, Daymond was found guilty of indiscretion, but by a majority of 20 to 10 'they did not think it justice to remove him from his position'.³¹ Daymond weathered the storm at Brighton, but the office of normal master became vacant at St Mark's College and he was appointed. Now 25 years old, he returned to Chelsea immediately after the summer vacation, 1850, and at the end of the following year Charles Daymond was ordained to the diaconate by the Bishop of London.³² St Mark's Practising School was now under its own deacon schoolmaster.

Prominent among those who had been urging the National Society to adopt a moderate stance in the face of Denison's rigid extremes, Edward Girdlestone attempted to enlist nationwide support by issuing a circular in April 1851. In conjunction with this broad objective, he enclosed a petition calling for the bishops to ascertain 'whether the religious training and services provided for the students are in strict accordance with the professed objects of the National Society' at St Mark's College.³³ By the autumn, Girdlestone had prepared a further circular, co-signed by several distinguished members of the National Society, in which he argued that 'it is the duty of moderate men not to abandon the Society in despair to the management of any one party, but rather to unite in an endeavour to make it really what it professes to be – National'. Having urged all like-minded people to join the National Society and impress their views on its General Committee, Girdlestone added a proposal intended to control its training colleges:

... by urging the Committee to impress on the several Councils that the Chapel Services in all the Society's Training Institutions shall be reduced to the model usually adopted in well-ordered Parish churches, where the students, as schoolmasters, will for the most part have to worship; and that all catechetical instruction provided for students or scholars should be strictly in accordance with the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England.³⁴

³¹ Brighton National Schools, *Report of the Investigation of the Committee of the National Schools into the Religious Sentiments expressed by Mr C. Daymond, the Head Master* (reprinted from *Brighton Gazette*), Brighton, 1850, p. 47.

³² Charles Daymond, ordination papers, 21 December 1851, Guildhall Library, London, MS 10326. Bishop of London's Register, 1848-56, vol. 32, p. 53; GL, MS 9531/32.

³³ 'Ecclesiastical Intelligence', *Guardian*, 7 May 1851, pp. 332-3.

³⁴ 'National Society ...', *English Churchman*, 20 November 1851, p. 739.

Girdlestone's memorial gathered almost 2,500 signatures, of which two-fifths were of members of the National Society. John Lonsdale, secretary to the Society, replied to the memorialists' general concerns with defensive formality, but sternly rebuked their presumption to attack the colleges: 'The charge implied in the above-mentioned expressions [concerning the colleges] is of so grave a character that it should not be made unless it can be supported by *specific allegations* . . .'³⁵ The National Society's General Committee, however, did express its willingness to investigate 'any *facts* in proof of the charge'.

Meanwhile, Edward Girdlestone had revived the *Record*'s articles (and pamphlet) on the *Popish Character of . . . St Mark's College* (1845), together with the assertions against the college in *Facts and Opinions* . . . and the unfortunate experience of Charles Daymond at Brighton (both 1850), in an intemperate article in the *Church of England Quarterly Review*.³⁶ Girdlestone attended Holy Communion at St Mark's Chapel in May 1852, where he heard the clergy intone the service and saw the precentor conduct the students as they chanted their part. With ingrained prejudice and slender reasoning, he asked:

What can you expect from schoolmasters who have been trained [in] . . . a service so intoned, and so Papistical in its outward character? What can you expect when these schoolmasters are sent down to our country parishes, but that they will direct the attention of the labouring classes towards Rome . . . ?³⁷

St Mark's made no direct reply to these alarmist arguments, but let the truth be known in measured language. Thomas Helmore, the precentor, wrote to the editor of the *Guardian*:

I would furnish the information that no one of our pupils, any more than ourselves the tutors, have become members of the Roman Communion from the commencement of the college to the present time . . .³⁸

³⁵ John Lonsdale to Edward Girdlestone, 26 May 1852; quoted in the leading article, *English Churchman*, 3 June 1852, pp. 364-5.

³⁶ Edward Girdlestone, *The Education Question* [extracted from the *Church of England Quarterly Review*, January 1852], (London: Painter, 1852), pp. 37-8.

³⁷ Edward Girdlestone, speech at the inauguration of the Church of England Education Society, 25 May 1853, reported by the *Record* and quoted in the *Guardian*, 1 June 1853, p. 355.

³⁸ Thomas Helmore to editor (27 August 1855), *Guardian*, 29 August 1855, p. 660.

Ferment abounded in the wake of Girdlestone's circulars. 'Alas! Where is the moderation now?' asked a correspondent in the *Guardian*. 'Emboldened by success, these moderators are now changing place with their opponents, and attempting to force the whole Society to their view of the Church's voice. They want to stop the choral ritual at S. Mark's.'³⁹ Nevertheless, the annual meeting of the National Society, held on 10 June 1852, rejected the memorial. On the following day a delegation of memorialists, including Girdlestone, met the Archbishop of Canterbury (as President of the National Society) and the Bishop of London (as President of St Mark's College Council), when they presented their concerns about services at college chapel and the appointment of Charles Daymond as normal master. The delegates reported afterwards that each of the prelates, Sumner of Canterbury and Blomfield of London, had expressed a personal dislike of the choral service, although they were unwilling to interfere with the college authorities.

Girdlestone had some powerful allies, who decided that their future lay outside the National Society. Accordingly, on 25 May 1853, the Church of England Education Society was instituted. This rival body had no plans to build schools in opposition to National schools, but rather saw its role as providing teachers of moderate views for parochial schools, whether National or any other. The constitution allowed any training college to apply for recognition, provided the committee could be satisfied that it was 'conducted on Protestant and Church of England principles'.⁴⁰ The first colleges to affiliate were Cheltenham Training College, the Home and Colonial School Society (Gray's Inn Road, London), and the Metropolitan Training Institution (Highbury). After Girdlestone had delivered a tirade against St Mark's College at the inaugural meeting (quoted on p. 172), Francis Close, of Cheltenham, boasted:

I would no more take a schoolmaster for my parish from St Mark's College, than I would from the College of the Propaganda at Rome – for though it is not full-blown Popery which is taught at St Mark's, yet the whole spirit and atmosphere of the place is Popish, and the doctrines inculcated, are such as unfit the young men for their duties hereafter, and

³⁹ 'Via Media' to editor, *Guardian*, 12 November 1851, p. 785.

⁴⁰ Church of England Education Society, *First Annual Report*, 25 April 1854, p. 9.

to destroy that modest piety which is essential to the scholastic life in our country parishes.⁴¹

At its second annual meeting, its chairman, Lord Charles Russell, described St Mark's College as an institution 'of a deep scarlet, offensive hue'.⁴² Russell's castigation of St Mark's as a bastion of Rome was tempered somewhat by J. S. Reynolds, who, as secretary to the Home and Colonial School Society, drew attention to other objections:

I think the Training Institutions have fallen into some little discredit on account of St Mark's College. In that Institution they keep the students three years, and many of them have become clergymen.⁴³

The Earl of Shaftesbury became chairman of the Church of England Education Society in 1857. As Lord Ashley, he had been a member of the National Society's General Committee for many years, and it was he whom Gladstone had tried so hard to keep as an evangelical supporter of the 'young gentlemen's' proposals in 1838, and who often chaired meetings of the Committee of Inquiry and Correspondence. He now took the view, expressed in his speech at the annual meeting, that there was a legitimate place for both societies within the broad compass of the Established Church:

In so large a body as the Church of England it is indispensable, it is inevitable, that there should be great latitude of opinion, and that there ought to be considerable latitude of action; and I think it is a happy result and a very blessed issue, that we are able to work harmoniously together within the boundary and precincts of the Established Church, all moving towards the same end, although we differ somewhat in the principles we profess, and in our mode of action.⁴⁴

Others, like H. Montagu Villiers, now Bishop of Carlisle, quickly reminded Shaftesbury of the deputation to Lambeth Palace in 1852, where Girdlestone had objected to the choral Holy Communion he had witnessed at St Mark's Chapel on the previous Sunday.⁴⁵ Evidently Villiers had not been entirely convinced by the personal assurances the Bishop

⁴¹ Francis Close, speech at the inaugural meeting of the Church of England Education Society, 25 May 1853, reported in the *Record* and quoted in the *Guardian*, 1 June 1853, p. 355.

⁴² Lord Charles Russell, speech at the second annual meeting of the Church of England Education Society, 24 April 1855, *Second Annual Report*, 1855, p. 43.

⁴³ J. S. Reynolds, *ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴⁴ Earl of Shaftesbury, speech at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Church of England Education Society, 20 May 1857, *Fourth Annual Report*, 1857, pp. 85-6.

⁴⁵ Bishop of Carlisle, speech, 20 May 1857, *ibid.*, p. 92.

of London had given him 11 years earlier concerning Derwent Coleridge and his theological teaching at St Mark's College (see pp. 137-8).

Villiers' intention was as calculated as it was unnecessary, for nearly two years previously the *Guardian* had made the startling announcement that the choral service at St Mark's College was to be discontinued.⁴⁶ A storm of protest ensued, the editor's postbag being constantly full with correspondence on the subject for many months, a selection being published each week. Eventually Sir Henry Thompson (vicar of Frant, near Tunbridge Wells, Kent), a member of the National Society's General Committee, admitted to the *Guardian* that he had precipitated the crisis, explaining in his letter the sequence of events.⁴⁷ Thompson claimed to have defended St Mark's College against charges made by a speaker for the Church of England Education Society at Tunbridge Wells in the summer of 1854, but subsequently to have become concerned about the high expenditure of the college and disquiet felt about its chapel services. In April 1855 he persuaded the National Society to form a sub-committee to investigate its training colleges. Thompson then brought a proposal before the General Committee to confer with the Bishop of London 'on the propriety of discontinuing the practice of intoning the prayers [at St Mark's Chapel], and of confining the singing within the limits generally observed in those parish churches, where portions of the service are chanted'. Various amendments were tabled, that of the Bishop of Oxford (a member of St Mark's College Council) being carried:

The Committee having always considered that the arrangement of the services in St Mark's Chapel should be left to the direction of the Bishop of the Diocese, request the Council of St Mark's College to confer with the Bishop as to the present mode in which those services are conducted.⁴⁸

The College Council saw Bishop Blomfield without delay, upsetting Derwent Coleridge by acting without inviting him to 'a personal conference or giving opportunity for explanation'.⁴⁹ The Council's resolution, dated 24 May 1855, read:

⁴⁶ Leading article, *Guardian*, 1 August 1855, p. 593.

⁴⁷ Henry Thompson to editor, 6 September 1855, *Guardian*, 12 September 1855, pp. 691-2.

⁴⁸ NS, General Committee, Minute Book no. 5, 2 May 1855, pp. 432-3, CERC, NS archive, NS/MB/1/5.

⁴⁹ Derwent Coleridge to James Hessey, 29 May 1855, HRC/UTA, DC MSS; quoted in Hainton, *DC*, p. 247.

That the Council having adjourned to London House, and having conferred with the Bishop on the subject of the letter from the Committee of the [National] Society in reference to the services at St Mark's Chapel, think it desirable that the intoning of the prayers should henceforth be discontinued.⁵⁰

John Lonsdale (secretary to the National Society and a member of St Mark's College Council), writing to the *Guardian*, emphasized that this was 'the only resolution adopted by the Council on the subject of the chapel service', adding that 'no alteration is proposed in the chanting, etc., hitherto used in the chapel'.⁵¹ Others questioned whether all members of Council had been aware of the proposal to alter the chapel service. One correspondent to the *Guardian* claimed: 'The meeting at which was passed the resolution to mutilate the choral services at St Mark's was composed of seven only of the thirty-one members constituting the present council of the college.'⁵² Derwent Coleridge's representations led the Council, acting on the Bishop's advice, to defer the discontinuation of intoned prayers until after the summer vacation, and to restrict the prohibition 'to the morning prayer on ordinary days, and at the Sunday services'.⁵³ Council was itself divided, however. In reply to its long-standing member, Thomas Acland – who since Gilbert Mathison's death on 1 August 1854 was the sole survivor on Council of the 'young gentlemen' to which St Mark's College owed its existence – William Gladstone observed:

Doubtless the state of things about St Mark's is odd [in imposing restrictions on certain services only] . . . I would venture to say most earnestly, beware how you worsen this state of things by trying to better it . . . for in the [permitted] . . . choral service you already have the essence of what you want.⁵⁴

The underlying question remained, whether these liturgical changes would conciliate those whose scruples had prevented their support of St Mark's College. As a means of

⁵⁰ St Mark's College Council, resolution, 24 May 1855; quoted by John Lonsdale, letter (dated 7 August 1855) to editor, *Guardian*, 8 August 1855, p. 612.

⁵¹ John Lonsdale, *ibid.*, p. 612.

⁵² 'A Constant Reader' to editor (n.d.), *Guardian*, 29 August 1855, pp. 660-1, at p. 660.

⁵³ Thomas Helmore (precentor of St Mark's Chapel), 21 August 1855, to editor, *Guardian*, 22 August 1855, p. 644.

⁵⁴ W. E. Gladstone to T. D. Acland, 14 November 1855; quoted in *Memoir of T. D. Acland*, p. 174.

uniting opponents, the alterations seemed trifling; to supporters, however, they were damaging. Intoning prayers was held to be congruous with congregational chanting of the responses; to abandon one and preserve the other was artless, slovenly and discordant. These were the sentiments expressed by Thomas Thorp (Archdeacon of Bristol) as he published a memorial for signature in August 1855.⁵⁵ The Bishop of London was now in Germany, but his health was failing; the College Council postponed further consultation until the following year. On 7 March 1856, Council replied to the memorialists:

The illness of the Bishop of London . . . precludes them still from having any renewed conference . . . on the subject. The Council sympathise with the feeling which they understand to be expressed by the memorialists, that the pupils of this great institution of the Church of England should be trained to take part in those services which have the aid of the highest kind of ecclesiastical music, but at the same time being accustomed also to services more suited to the powers, wants, and wishes of ordinary parish congregations.⁵⁶

No further discussion was possible before publication of the annual report, which simply said: 'The Council purposely abstain from making any remark respecting the chapel service . . . as the continued illness of the Bishop of London prevents them . . .'⁵⁷

The issue of intoning prayers in chapel was not pursued after Blomfield resigned his bishopric through ill-health, in 1856. Nevertheless, it took great toll on Derwent Coleridge, who in 1854 had told the Bishop that he felt the attraction of 'a *country* living which might leave me some time for literary pursuits', although he was reluctant to leave St Mark's.⁵⁸ Just after this crisis erupted, Blomfield offered him the living of Northolt, Middlesex, and initially Coleridge accepted, but later withdrew on finding that his income would be far less than he had first thought. His letter reached the Bishop, in Germany, on 8 September 1856, who informed him, 'I do not see any prospect of my being able to offer you other preferment'.⁵⁹ Unsurprisingly, Derwent Coleridge wrote a

⁵⁵ Thomas Thorp, 27 August 1855, to editor, *Guardian*, 29 August 1855, p. 660.

⁵⁶ St Mark's College Council, 7 March 1856; *Guardian*, 19 March 1856, p. 223.

⁵⁷ St Mark's College Council, annual report; extracted in NS, *Annual Report for 1856* (Supplement to the *Monthly Paper*, 4 June 1856), p. xii.

⁵⁸ Derwent Coleridge to C. J. Blomfield, 15 March 1854; DC MSS, HRC/UTA; quoted in Hainton, *DC*, p. 247.

⁵⁹ C. J. Blomfield to Derwent Coleridge, 8 September 1855, LPL, Fulham Papers, Blomfield Letter Book no. 56, ff. 39-40, at f. 39.

letter to Augustus Jessopp, the newly-appointed headmaster of Helston Grammar School, declining an invitation to attend the forthcoming annual School Meeting, explaining that 'my mind has been so unusually *harassed* of late'.⁶⁰ He was to remain principal of St Mark's College for another nine years, although mercifully the painful divisions in Church education would become unexpectedly united during this time as new education policy from central government presented itself as a common enemy.

5.3 Central government education policy

Since 1839 the machinery for administering government education policy had been invested in a permanent committee of the Privy Council – the Committee of Council on Education. Until 1856 all its members (usually eight) were ministers of the Crown under the leadership of the Lord President of the Privy Council, with a permanent secretary – James Kay-Shuttleworth until 1849, and Ralph Lingens thereafter. In 1856 an additional office, the Vice-presidency of the Committee, was created as a means of establishing a responsible minister in the House of Commons.

The role of the Committee of Council on Education was twofold: to allocate the parliamentary grant for education in accordance with the Committee's regulations published in its volumes of Minutes, and to supervise the inspection of those schools and training colleges that were in receipt of government grant aid in order to determine their continuing eligibility. St Mark's College and its practising school had always received money from the public purse, and therefore had been annually visited by the inspector appointed to Church of England training colleges.

Kay-Shuttleworth's ground-breaking Minutes of 1846 allowed school managers to engage able pupils (from the age of 13 years and having certain specified abilities) to a five-year apprenticeship, during which the schoolmaster would be required to give the

⁶⁰ Derwent Coleridge to Augustus Jessopp, 11 September 1855, f. 1^v, St John's College Library, Cambridge, Miscellaneous Papers/Box 6/CO3/1.

pupil teachers 1½ hours' tuition each day on a scheme drawn up by the Committee of Council on Education, all costs being met by government grant provided annual inspection was satisfactory. At the end of their apprenticeship, pupil teachers could be examined for a Queen's scholarship, which would pay their fees at a training college, the scholarship being renewable for a second year. The government also introduced a final examination for a certificate of merit, which was designed not as a professional diploma but the means by which a teacher might receive an augmentation to salary at the government's expense.

It was hoped that the apprenticeship of pupil teachers under the government scheme would improve the standard of students at admission, and St Mark's College inserted an announcement in the National Society's *Monthly Paper* for December 1850:

The annual examination of the students of this college by the Queen's Inspector commences on the 16th December, at which time pupil-teachers eligible to compete for Queen's Scholarships, and who are desirous of obtaining Exhibitions for St Mark's College, will also be examined. It has been arranged that these, together with such of the old students as may present themselves for examination, may be received into the College on the 14th December.⁶¹

Ten pupil teachers, from various parts of the country, responded to this invitation. They were successful, and all were admitted in January 1851 as the first Queen's scholars at St Mark's College.⁶² In this year, the Queen's scholars formed 16.5 per cent of the student community of 65; within seven years, with the provision of additional buildings, the student population had risen to 105, of whom 93 were Queen's scholars (88.6 per cent), thereby enabling St Mark's College to receive a much larger proportion of its income from central government. (In 1851 the college had received £770 by government grant on account of the original ten Queen's scholars and the 23 students who obtained a certificate after the qualifying period of residence, which represented 16 per cent of its annual expenditure;⁶³ by 1859 it had risen to 70 per cent.) Although the scholarship

⁶¹ 'St Mark's College', NS *Monthly Paper*, December 1850, p. 428.

⁶² 'St Mark's College', NS *Monthly Paper*, February 1851, p. 32.

⁶³ Henry Moseley, 'Special report, for the year 1851 . . .', CCE, *Minutes for 1851-52*, i, pp. 271-324, at p. 282.

lasted only two years, Derwent Coleridge allowed Queen's scholars to remain a third year free of charge.⁶⁴

The intention of the Committee of Council on Education was precise: the parliamentary grant was 'voted expressly for the promotion of *elementary* education'. Henry Moseley explained:

If, therefore, the course of study pursued in any training school be not confined to the subjects of *elementary* instruction, or to subjects ancillary to the same end, the grants made to that school involve a *misappropriation* of the public money.⁶⁵

As the training colleges (like church schools) were charitable institutions, the course of study in each had been independently determined by the body itself. Those colleges in receipt of government grant, and thereby under inspection, were examined on their own syllabus. In 1853, however, the Committee of Council had instructed Moseley to prepare a common syllabus for examination. He assured the colleges that in his syllabus 'no addition is proposed to be made to the subjects in which the students of those institutions have been accustomed to be examined', and he invited comments on a draft syllabus from college principals and their council members.⁶⁶ In accordance with the purpose of government grants, Moseley's syllabus (published in 1854 and first examined in December of that year) was designed 'to give the greatest weight to those subjects which are subjects of elementary instruction'.⁶⁷ These he assumed to be: religious knowledge, reading, penmanship, arithmetic (with mensuration and book-keeping in many schools, and sometimes elementary geometry and algebra), English grammar, geography, English history, physical science (mostly confined to matter printed in commonly-used reading lesson-books), and vocal music⁶⁸.

⁶⁴ Henry Moseley, 'Special report, for the year 1852 . . .', CCE, *Minutes for 1852-53*, i, pp. 255-307, at p. 272.

⁶⁵ Henry Moseley to the Lord President of the Privy Council, 2 May 1854, CCE, *Minutes for 1854-55*, pp. 14-17, at p. 15.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶⁸ Henry Moseley to the Lord President, 2 May 1854, CCE, *Minutes for 1854-55*, p. 16.

St Mark's College had placed great value on Latin, but under Moseley's scheme, with its over-riding principle of application to *elementary* schools, students were given an option in examination between classics and higher mathematics. In addition to written questions on the subjects listed, there was an examination in drawing; questions were also set on the art of teaching and principles of school management, and all students were required to teach a lesson in the presence of the inspector. Increasing emphasis of the syllabus on teaching methods and other professional skills invites consideration of how students were actually taught at St Mark's, rather than simply what was printed on timetables and examination papers. Two sources have survived which indicate approaches in the college, one preceding the introduction of the government syllabus and one following it; the former derives from students and the latter from Derwent Coleridge himself.

In 1851 the college Council printed 12 uncorrected abstracts of lessons 'as given by the student-teachers in the Practising Schools of St Mark's College'. This paper explained:

They are specimens of their ordinary work, as actually done under the following rules:

1. All lessons to be given in the Practising Schools are fixed, and allotted weekly to the respective teachers, by the Normal Master.
2. Each lesson so allotted is prepared at least the evening before it is to be given.
3. In certain cases, before the lesson is given, a written abstract is submitted to the Normal Master.⁶⁹

These specimen lessons were for classes of widely differing ability, covering religious knowledge (7), geography (4), and history (1).⁷⁰ They consist almost entirely of lesson content, showing sequence and development, but failing to indicate proposed teaching methods. They do not identify the students who produced them, the stage they had reached in their training, or anything about the class for which the lesson notes were prepared. Nevertheless, these abstracts do record a dominant disposition for facts,

⁶⁹ St Mark's College Council, 'Paper on Abstracts of Lessons as given by student-teachers in the Practising Schools of St Mark's College', NS *Monthly Paper*, July 1851, p. 256.

⁷⁰ Extracted serially in: *Monthly Paper*, July 1851, pp. 256-7; August 1851, pp. 285-6; September 1851, pp. 316-17; October 1851, pp. 348-9; December 1851, pp. 407-8; January 1852, pp. 8-10.

classification, and didacticism, without apparently considering lesson aims or pupil activity. The emphasis is on teaching rather than learning.

The second source shows how St Mark's College provided a critical counterbalance to lifeless teaching in a publication bearing the ascription 'St Mark's College, Chelsea, December, 1858'. The authorship is not given, but it can be assigned to Derwent Coleridge on the testimony of the new Inspector of Church of England training colleges, Benjamin Morgan Cowie.⁷¹ Entitled *Critical Note-Book . . . for the use of students in training colleges and pupil teachers*, it consists of an introduction to the observation of lessons, with a set of 40 blank forms for recording observation notes.⁷² Cowie gave this notebook his enthusiastic commendation.

The forms were those used at St Mark's College in the regular 'criticism lessons' given by students to pupils of the practising school whilst being observed by their peers. Beginning with the teacher himself (especially his delivery and diction), the observer was directed in sequence to the lesson (its subject-matter), its treatment ('how it passes from the teacher to the class'), its application, and finally to the class itself (the pupils' demeanour, and the benefit they may have received from the lesson). This sequence, Coleridge claimed, rests on the principle of 'the class being held to reflect, as in a mirror, the skill and management of the teacher'.⁷³ Much attention was to be given to the teacher's voice, vocabulary, and language. Lesson content was considered appropriate only when it correctly related to the age and ability of the pupils, to what had preceded and what was to follow, and to well-defined boundaries; its parts required good interconnection and balance, with relevant introduction and suitable conclusion. Coleridge was concerned about teacher-pupil interaction: 'A lesson without questioning

⁷¹ B. M. Cowie, 'Report on the Church of England Training Colleges for Schoolmasters . . . for the year 1858', CCE, *Report for 1858-59*, pp. 279-302, at p. 281.

⁷² [Derwent Coleridge], *Critical Note-Book. Note-Book, for the use of Students in Training Colleges and Pupil Teachers: being a set of forms for recording the observations made during the delivery of a 'Critical Lesson'* (London: National Society, 1858). BL shelfmark: 8305.c.8.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

is a lecture; questioning without exposition is for the most part little else than an examination.’⁷⁴

Derwent Coleridge looked for appropriate lesson illustrations, whether verbal (accurate, lively, graphic, creating a mental image) or mechanical (diagram, sketch, map, model, picture, or scientific apparatus, and if ready-made or prepared by the teacher), and if relevant and within the learner’s experience. Coleridge insisted that there is a strong moral element in questioning pupils: in receiving their answers ‘it is important . . . [that] the *decision* of the teacher be right, and generally, whether his appreciation of what is said or done by the learner be just.’⁷⁵ Lessons also have a moral *influence* on the pupils – if no more than by promoting ‘steadiness of purpose and truthfulness of character’; Coleridge quoted once again, ‘*Abeunt studia in mores*’ (see p. 142).⁷⁶ He encouraged students to consider how a class enters or leaves a room, how desks are arranged, how attention is maintained, how books or slates are distributed and collected, whether every member of the class knows himself to be under the master’s eye, and whether the lesson has been learnt as well as taught. To assist his students, Coleridge supplied a completed form with a range of possible comments in each section to stimulate an intelligent approach to lesson observation. He acknowledged that ‘a much higher standard is set before the student than can ordinarily be attained, or perhaps approached, in practice’, but urged attention to the benefits of criticism lessons for both teacher and observer rather than for them to become a source of discouragement.⁷⁷

Having accommodated in the college each December a number of pupil teachers awaiting examination as aspiring Queen’s scholars, and having trained many of them as schoolmasters, Derwent Coleridge wrote a kindly open address, entitled ‘Pupil-Teachers’ Obligations and Prospects’, which was published in the January 1858 issue of the National Society’s *Monthly Paper* (a periodical that circulated widely in National

⁷⁴ [Derwent Coleridge], *Critical Note-Book*, p. 6.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

schools).⁷⁸ This address is of great importance in that it expounds simply and distinctly, yet profoundly, six principles that were fundamental to Derwent Coleridge's approach to the training of schoolmasters: (1) Christian faith; (2) moral responsibility; (3) community relationships: duty and justice; (4) integrated professional training: theory and practice; (5) continuing support by the college; (6) Christian vocation.

These six principles reflected Derwent Coleridge's own experience as an educator. The foundation was *Christian faith*. His conviction that life finds its full meaning in personal response to God's love was more than a clergyman's creed: it was demonstrated in Coleridge's educational practice thirty years before in Helston, and explicated most notably in his sermon on 'Religious Education' at the Helston School Meeting in 1832 (see pp. 100-2); and it was a foundation principle of St Mark's College, as elucidated in his sermon at the opening of the college chapel in 1843 (see pp. 124-5). The *moral responsibility* upon trained students to teach in schools for the poor, and not to misappropriate public money, had been impressed on Derwent Coleridge by the Committee of Council on Education in 1847 and again in 1854, giving rise to tension in the model of deacon schoolmaster (see pp. 155 and 180). Coleridge's careful explanation of the commitment in his Address to pupil teachers, however, showed his capacity for accommodation on that issue.

In *community relationships* the principles of humility and duty (tempered with justice), elevating a schoolmaster above subservience to dignity and honour, had formed a characteristic and emphatic element in Derwent Coleridge's 1842 account of the college at Stanley Grove (see p. 140). The question of balance between theory and practice in *integrated professional training* had beset the college from its earliest days and had frequently brought the admonition of inspectors; nevertheless Coleridge's personal ideals and the Committee of Council's insistence had resulted in a creative and practical arrangement at St Mark's that earned respect and, at times, admiration (see pp. 146-8). The principle of *continuing support by the college* was built into the original conception

⁷⁸ Derwent Coleridge, 'Pupil-Teachers' Obligations and Prospects', *NS Monthly Paper*, January 1858, pp. 11-15.

of apprenticeship to the National Society that had bound the first students at Stanley Grove until the age of 21 years, and showed itself again in the help given by the college in 1847 to enable former students to obtain augmentation of salary by means of the government certificate (see pp. 127 and 179). Specific examples that affected deacon schoolmasters and others will be found in the next section of this chapter (see pp. 189-90 and 197). Finally, a call to *Christian vocation* was implied by the 'litany of vows' Coleridge required of applicants to St Mark's College, and its practice modelled by the principal and tutors in the community life they shared with the students (see p. 152).

By the late 1850s, the centralizing policies of the Committee of Council on Education flowing from the 1846 Minutes had led to government control of the supply of students entering St Mark's (and other training colleges), the content of their preparatory education as pupil teachers, the course of their training to become schoolmasters, and the assessment of their professional competence. Another strand of centralization was about to come in the form of a Revised Code, which would have a huge impact on training colleges and cause the divisions in church education, described earlier in this chapter, to unite in opposition to the severity of new government policy (see pp. 178 and 187).

The anomalous constitution of the Committee of Council on Education had enabled it to function largely without direct accountability in the House of Commons. A decision, taken in 1856, to remove this anomaly led the institution of the office of Vice-president of the Committee, to be held by a member of the Commons. Parliament was anxious to achieve economic restraint in the aftermath of the Crimean War (1854-56), and rapid increases in the annual education supply vote were called into question. The total parliamentary grant for public education (including Ireland) had been £140,000 in 1850; it would rise to £890,000 by 1860. During this ten-year period the education budget accounted for more than one-third of the increase in civil estimates, and a *prima facie* case was made for its control, payments to training colleges being a significant target.

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1858, with the Duke of Newcastle as chairman, to inquire into 'the state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what

measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people'.⁷⁹ Derwent Coleridge was among the experts invited to answer a circular of questions: his reply confirmed his support for 'the existing system of Government aid and inspection'.⁸⁰ He took the opportunity to advocate 'educating the master even of an elementary school above the level of the subjects which he will commonly be required to teach'.⁸¹ He then admitted that 'many endowed schools have been supplied with masters on my recommendation'.⁸² It is not surprising, therefore, that, when a later Royal Commission (the Taunton Commission of 1864) was appointed to inquire into endowed and proprietary middle-class (secondary) schools, Derwent Coleridge was once again invited to submit his views.⁸³ On this occasion he wrote: 'The education given in one class of schools should lead fully up to, if not overlap, that offered in the class immediately above it; the National school thus leading up to the lower middle-class school . . .'.⁸⁴ It followed, therefore, that those destined to become teachers in middle-class schools should be trained in the existing colleges for elementary schools, provided they remained for three years, and the practicality of this arrangement had already been proved at St Mark's College, where 'many of the best middle school masters have actually been so trained, and many have served in both capacities'.⁸⁵ He warned, however, that schools of every class suffered from too high pupil-teacher ratios: 'It is, in my judgment, the great business of legislation to meet this difficulty in national schools, where it is most pressing.'⁸⁶

At a time of financial stringency it was unlikely that parliament would countenance any measure to deal with pupil-teacher ratios. In 1860 it had codified twenty years of Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education into a brief document, which was

⁷⁹ Report of the Royal Commission to inquire into the state of Popular Education in England, 6 vols, (London: HMSO, 1861). [Newcastle Commission.]

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, V. *Answers to the Circular of Questions*. Reply of Derwent Coleridge (December 1859), pp. 133-141, at p. 136 (question 8). The Circular of Questions is at pp. 5-8.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, v, p. 133 (question 1).

⁸² *Ibid.*, v, p. 137 (question 11).

⁸³ Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission [Taunton Commission], II. *Miscellaneous Papers* (London: HMSO, 1868). 'Answers to Circular Letter', pp. 3-79. Reply of Derwent Coleridge (n.d.), pp. 15-22.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 18-19, quotation at p. 19.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 17.

revised in 1861 to introduce measures that were intended to effect economies in government expenditure, not least on the training colleges. Derwent's cousin, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, who had been one of the six Newcastle commissioners, pronounced at a public meeting on 2 October 1861:

There is no doubt that the new minute [Revised Code] will have a very considerable, I fear I may say, a very alarming effect on the spread of education throughout the country . . .⁸⁷

He had received that day a letter from Derwent, who informed him that St Mark's College expected a reduction in government grant of at least £800 a year (representing 15 per cent of its annual expenditure).

The outcry was tumultuous, with over a thousand letters and petitions against the Revised Code and its provisions being sent to the Committee of Council.⁸⁸ Robert Lowe, as vice-president, was forced to defer and subject the proposed code to further revision before it was eventually adopted in 1862. It was this protest against the Revised Code that healed the deep divisions in Church education that had arisen during the previous decade. Principals and promoters of training colleges wrote to the press and published influential pamphlets. Derwent Coleridge joined them, producing *The Education of the People* (November 1861) and *The Teachers of the People* (January 1862), both of which were addressed to Sir John Coleridge.

The first of Derwent Coleridge's pamphlets is an expanded version of the letter he had sent to his cousin in September. In it he warned: 'Education is not, any more than religion, a mere commodity, nor can it be regulated exclusively by economic laws.'⁸⁹ He had no doubt that St Mark's College had prospered under the existing arrangements of the Committee of Council, 'constructed with great wisdom, and administered from the first with much skill, and, upon the whole, in a liberal spirit.'⁹⁰ He now feared the effects

⁸⁷ John Taylor Coleridge, speech at the Church Societies' Association, Honiton, Devon, 2 October 1861; extracted in: *Guardian*, 9 October 1861, p. 926.

⁸⁸ *Copies of all Memorials and Letters . . . on the subject of the Revised Code*, PP 1862, XLI.

⁸⁹ Derwent Coleridge, *The Education of the People: a letter to the Right Hon. Sir John Coleridge* (London: Rivingtons, 1861), p. 9.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

of the Revised Code upon schools for the poor, colleges, and the teachers they had trained.

Derwent Coleridge's second pamphlet dealt more fully with the question often posed: 'Is the elementary teacher too highly trained?'⁹¹ Here he postulated: 'The best elementary teaching supposes a kind and degree of mental cultivation on the part of the teacher rarely, if ever, found in connexion with rudimentary attainments.'⁹² The moral aspect of teaching is imperative: 'The head and the heart must be educated together.'⁹³ Referring to St Mark's College, he insisted:

The college was instituted with no party view, and conducted with no party spirit. Its one great object was, and is, the formation of character on the common ground of Christian principle.⁹⁴

In response to the Revised Code, Coleridge explained:

I do not ask that the original edition of the Privy Council scheme be so stereotyped as to exclude all change; I do ask that it may not be grossly contradicted or suddenly withdrawn. . . . I am not unwilling to entertain any reasonable plan which may combine retrenchment of expense with enlargement of design.⁹⁵

He concluded: 'We may very easily mis-educate, but I have no fear that we shall ever over-educate the people.'⁹⁶

The immediate effect of the Revised Code was to make colleges struggle for students, although St Mark's managed to admit to capacity; nevertheless, third-year students had vanished by Derwent Coleridge's retirement in December 1864. The reduced government grant was related directly to the number of former students teaching in inspected schools for the poor, and it was paid retrospectively. The superior education given at St Mark's College had enabled 15 per cent of its alumni to teach in middle-class schools, which did not qualify under the Revised Code for payment to training colleges.

⁹¹ Derwent Coleridge, *The Teachers of the People: a tract for the time, with an introduction addressed to the Right Hon. Sir John Taylor Coleridge, D.C.L.* (London: Rivingtons, 1862), p. 6.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

This financial penalty had the prospect of enforcing change in the Coleridgean character of St Mark's, and confining the future careers of its students. With teacher salaries depending on inspectors' examination of pupils, 'payment by results' and the removal of augmentation grants led to loss of income for many teachers in the 1860s. The grinding tedium of the inspected schoolroom caused many teachers to look beyond the door for fulfilment; for a few, the prospect of becoming a deacon schoolmaster was inviting.

5.4 Deacon schoolmasters

The principle of continuing support for former students was an important element in Derwent Coleridge's approach at St Mark's College (see pp. 184-5). His support was both general and individual. The former showed itself in his vice-presidency of the Church Schoolmasters' Association, where he gave talks to practising teachers on his deep interests, such as English literature.⁹⁷ He also promoted the general welfare of teachers as a founder and director of the Church of England Schoolmasters' and Schoolmistresses' Mutual Assurance Society, formed in May 1849.⁹⁸

Derwent Coleridge guided students individually in their first appointments and recommended them for subsequent positions. Referring to his early years at St Mark's, Coleridge wrote:

At that time the students were apprenticed to the [National] Society till the age of twenty-one. Even then however my control was only *moral*. The young men could not be compelled to continue as Schoolmasters at all, - much less be confined to this kingdom, or to any part of it. Still I had it in my power to give or to withhold [*sic*] my recommendation, and my influence, had I chosen to exert it, would not have been without effect.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ See, for example, his lectures on 28 April 1849 and 29 March 1851. *NS Monthly Paper*, May 1849, pp. 100-1; March 1851, p. 93.

⁹⁸ *NS Monthly Paper*, June 1849, pp. 124-5.

⁹⁹ Derwent Coleridge to A. C. Tait (Bishop of London), 15 April 1857, LPL, Tait Papers: Official Letters (London), vol. 426, ff. 172-4, at f. 173^{r-v}.

Promoters of schools applied to St Mark's College for masters in numbers greatly beyond its ability to supply (see pp. 148-50 and 168). Derwent Coleridge was careful to consider the terms of appointment, not least the proposed salary, before recommending a master. In his reply to the Reverend Aston Warburton, who in 1855 enquired for a schoolmaster capable of playing the organ – a common request at the time – Coleridge wrote: 'I have ascertained that we shall have no organist to dispose of at Christmas, – and indeed I fear that no competent Schoolmaster, so additionally qualified, would be content with so low a salary.' Coleridge then advised Warburton that, if he were 'disposed and enabled to offer £80 [per annum] for a Master and Mistress' and if his school were 'under [Government] inspection, and there is a residence', he would enquire whether an experienced former student might be interested.¹⁰⁰ Coleridge also took into account the experience of his students before they entered St Mark's, during their time as pupil teachers, as in a letter of 1860 to Cecil Wray:

I have much pleasure in recommending Mr George Hawkins, as a really suitable Master for your National Schools – likely to give satisfaction in all respects and to take pleasure in the duties of his appointment. . . . He sings bass very fairly, is attached to his church services, and has been accustomed to daily service during his apprenticeship as a Pupil Teacher.¹⁰¹

The age at which students left St Mark's College – typically 18 years in the 1840s, rising to 20 years in the following decade – meant that any consideration of becoming a deacon schoolmaster was necessarily prospective rather than immediate, as the minimum age for ordination was 23 years. Particular instances of St Mark's men being ordained as deacon schoolmasters have already been noted – especially Henry Stubbs (in 1848), Charles Daymond (1851), and Robert Ives (1863) – but the extent to which alumni of the college pursued this model of elementary teacher will now be considered.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Derwent Coleridge to Aston Warburton, 5 November 1855, St John's College Library, Cambridge, Miscellaneous Papers/Box 6/CO3/letter 2.

¹⁰¹ Derwent Coleridge to Cecil Wray, 11 October 1860, *ibid.*, letter 3.

¹⁰² For Henry Stubbs, see p. 154; Charles Daymond, p. 166; Robert Ives, p. 162.

An overview of St Mark's men in holy orders can be readily obtained from a list of all the students trained at the college that was printed with Derwent Coleridge's final report to the College Council on the occasion of his retirement at the end of 1864.¹⁰³ This list identifies 46 men in holy orders, of whom it was reported that 13 were no longer engaged in elementary education.¹⁰⁴ The dates of ordination are also given, but they must be treated with caution as comparison with bishops' registers reveals that dates in the college records are sometimes simply when notification of an ordination was received. The list names two men as undergoing training as ordinands: Walter Robinson at Cuddesdon Theological College (diocese of Oxford) and Frederick Hobbins at King's College, London. It is necessary, therefore, to include ordinations after 1864 in order to assess the full influence of St Mark's College during the principalship of Derwent Coleridge. There are published lists of all St Mark's students, from 1841 to the early twentieth century, which identify ordained men by the title Reverend. These name 117 clergymen who were student schoolmasters during Derwent Coleridge's principalship (1841-64). A further 71 men, therefore, must be added to the 46 whom Coleridge knew to have been ordained when he retired from St Mark's College. Although their dates of ordination are in a later period, the fact remains that the total number of ordained men represents 16.5 per cent of all students who completed their training under Coleridge.¹⁰⁵

Watchful eyes at the Privy Council office read Coleridge's final report with some concern, as it appeared to confirm their suspicions of misapplication of the parliamentary grant. Morgan Cowie, the inspector of Church colleges, concluded:

[T]here is no doubt that the aim Mr Coleridge has had in view is not exactly that which the Parliamentary votes contemplate, and this wide range, over which Mr Coleridge has extended his influence is one which friends of Church education may be glad to cover, but which the public money is not intended to reach.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ St Mark's College Council, *National Society's Training Institution for Schoolmasters, St Mark's College, Stanley Grove, Chelsea. Occasional Report, December, 1864. With a List of the Students Trained in St Mark's College, showing their Present Employments*, pp. 21-36. Copy in DfES Library, London, bound in 'Reports of Schools and Institutions, vol. 4, 1864-67'.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵ *S. Mark's College Club Year Book and S. Mark's List*, 1908.

¹⁰⁶ B. M. Cowie, 'Report, for the year 1864 . . . on the Church of England Normal Schools for Schoolmasters', CCE, *Report for 1864-65* (London: HMSO, 1865), pp. 316-55, at p. 333.

Cowie compared the alumni records printed by St Mark's Council with the register of teachers compiled by the Committee of Council on Education, and found significant discrepancies. Cowie's registers revealed:

Uncertificated teachers (mostly those trained before 1847)	60
Certificated teachers who had never taught in inspected schools	72
Certificated teachers who had taught in inspected schools, but whose whereabouts were unknown to the Committee of Council	128
Certificated teachers employed in places different from those given in the St Mark's list	87
Certificated teachers for whom the register agrees with the St Mark's list	280
	<hr/> 627
Deceased	32
	<hr/> 659 ¹⁰⁷

Cowie concluded that the number of masters trained at St Mark's College, who were teaching in inspected schools in December 1864 was 350: '*This is little more than half the number trained,*' he wrote emphatically (and had italicized in print). Cowie's frankness on the occasion of Derwent Coleridge's retirement is, perhaps, rather surprising for one who had been secretary of the Council of St Mark's College at its inception in 1849.

The Committee of Council's explanatory minute of 1847 had prohibited persons in holy orders from receiving any 'gratuity, stipend, or augmentation of salary' from the parliamentary grant (see p. 155). The Code of 1860 expressed this prohibition: 'No teacher in an elementary school can receive a grant who is not a lay person . . .'¹⁰⁸ A

¹⁰⁷ B. M. Cowie, 'Report, for the year 1864', CCE, *Report for 1864-65*, p. 334.

¹⁰⁸ Code 1860, Section III. Grants for Teachers, article 53.

deacon schoolmaster could be employed in any school not in receipt of a government grant, but his place in an inspected elementary school was insecure. The uncertainty of his position after 1847 might have dissuaded potential deacon schoolmasters from following this path, but the possibility had not been completely removed. The consultation in May 1847 between the Bishop of Exeter (Henry Phillpotts) and Derwent Coleridge on the question (see pp. 156-8) kept open a means of entering into the double-profession for those who sensed its calling.

Three years later, on 30 May 1850, when the Reverend Christopher Wordsworth, Canon of Westminster, inspected St Mark's College on behalf of the National Society, he examined the students orally in the presence of a large audience, the subjects being: passages from the New Testament in Greek, passages from Cicero in Latin, religious knowledge (scripture, church history and doctrine), Milton's poetry, and English essay-writing. In his report, Wordsworth commended the students for their achievements and the college for its objects, remarking:

[I]f, as seems probable in the present exigencies of the Church and Country, this college is to furnish candidates for the Diaconate and the Priesthood, it is obviously very desirable that greater prominence and encouragement than they now receive, should be given to these studies in this place.¹⁰⁹

The ease with which Christopher Wordsworth introduced into his report the possibility of St Mark's men being ordained suggests that the college had not been hesitant in promoting its founders' idea of deacon schoolmaster.

In July 1851, St Mark's College Council reported that four former students had been admitted to holy orders, 'of whom three are engaged in the work of National education in this country', and one was overseas.¹¹⁰ Henry Stubbs (ordained deacon by the Bishop of London, in June 1848, aged 25 years) had remained at St Mark's College as a tutor until 1851, when he was appointed principal of Warrington Training College. Charles Lilley

¹⁰⁹ Christopher Wordsworth, MS draft report on St Mark's College inspection, 6 June 1850, LPL, Wordsworth Papers, General Correspondence 1849-53, MS 2144, ff. 144-7, at ff. 144^v-145^r.

¹¹⁰ St Mark's College Council, annual report, extracted in: NS, *Report for 1851*, dated 28 June 1851, pp. x-xiii, at p. xi.

(ordained deacon by the Bishop of Rochester, in 1848, aged 23 years), having taught in National schools, became master of the grammar school at Ware, Hertfordshire, after his ordination. John Pascoe Mayne (ordained deacon by the Bishop of Exeter, in December 1849, aged 23 years), having gained five years' experience and exceptional inspectors' reports in various types of school in London, Southampton, and elsewhere, was now to go as a deacon schoolmaster to the Isles of Scilly (Tresco and St Agnes). The fourth St Mark's man in holy orders was Algernon Gifford, who, having spent two years as a schoolmaster at Oxenhall, Gloucestershire, had returned to St Mark's College as writing-master in 1847. Gifford's health took him to Labrador, where in June 1849, aged 24 years, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Newfoundland (Edward Feild, a former inspector of schools for the National Society).¹¹¹

Two years later, in 1853, the Council of St Mark's College reported that nine former students were now in holy orders. Storer Lakin (ordained deacon by the Bishop of London in June 1851, aged 25 years), having taught at National schools in Lancashire and Devon, had returned to St Mark's College as a tutor in 1850, where he remained until 1854. Charles Daymond, after five years as master of the large central National school in Brighton, had also returned to St Mark's in 1850, as normal master. His application for ordination the following year caused the Bishop of London to inform Derwent Coleridge that it must not be assumed that any person appointed a tutor at St Mark's would automatically be accepted as an ordinand:

I am not prepared at present to admit Mr Daymond to Deacon's Orders, nor, generally, to ordain *all* the assistants in St Mark's College on their tutorship as a title. When I do receive any one so circumstanced, not being a graduate, I expect that he shall be *pecially* qualified. Mr Lakin was singularly well prepared. I do not mean to say that I will *never* admit Mr Daymond as a Candidate for Deacon's orders, but I do not think it expedient to do so at *present*.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Biographical details are from sources that include: St Mark's College Register of Students (College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth, library archive ref. M1); Derwent Coleridge, *Statistical Inquiry* . . . [1847]; appointments listed in NS *Monthly Paper* (from 1847); inspectors' reports in *Minutes* of the Committee of Council on Education (from 1843); various editions of *Clergy List* and Crockford's *Clerical Directory*.

¹¹² Charles Blomfield (Bishop of London) to Derwent Coleridge, 18 October 1851, LPL, Fulham Papers: Blomfield Letter-Book, vol. 52 (Sept 1851-Dec 1851), f. 61.

Whether Blomfield simply wanted to check an unwarranted assumption, or whether he had reservations about Daymond arising from his unfortunate conflict with certain churchmen in Brighton (see pp. 170-1), is not certain; however, the Bishop very soon changed his mind, and Charles Daymond was ordained deacon on 21 December 1851. Blomfield wrote once again to Derwent Coleridge:

Mr Daymond passed a very satisfactory examination in respect of theological knowledge and opinion. But he is deficient in his Greek Testament: and this is the point to which he should more particularly direct his studies during the next year. I have great hope that he will be a valuable clergyman.¹¹³

It is interesting to note that six years earlier, when Charles Daymond was in his first year at Brighton National School, he had received an offer of a clerical appointment in Canada from the Bishop of Fredericton. After consultation, Daymond declined the offer, to the approval of the Committee of St Mark's College, under whom he was still apprenticed.¹¹⁴

The first announcement of the ordination of a St Mark's man specifically as a deacon schoolmaster appeared in the National Society's *Monthly Paper* for November 1851:

Mr Manning, formerly a student in the College, was, on Sept. 21 [1851], admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons at the Bishop of Exeter's Ordination, having been appointed Deacon Schoolmaster in the parish of Mevagissey, Cornwall.¹¹⁵

William Manning had previously taught in National schools in East Anglia for five years. It would seem that he was ready to move again from Mevagissey after two years, as an advertisement appeared in the *Guardian* newspaper in May 1853:

A Deacon, of the diocese of Exeter, will want an Appointment in September next as Deacon-Schoolmaster. Address: Rev. W. M., 'Guardian' Office.¹¹⁶

William David was also ordained deacon by the Bishop of Exeter, in March 1852, at the age of 23 years, having become principal of Exeter Diocesan Training College six

¹¹³ Charles Blomfield to Derwent Coleridge, 27 December 1851, Blomfield Letter-Book, vol. 52, f. 91.

¹¹⁴ St Mark's College Committee, Minute Book (April 1845-July 1854), 30 August 1845, pp. 17-18; College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth, library archive ref. M7.

¹¹⁵ 'St Mark's College: Appointments', NS *Monthly Paper*, November 1851, p. 371.

¹¹⁶ Advertisement, *Guardian*, 4 May 1853, p. 297.

months earlier. He had a first-class certificate from St Mark's College, with teaching experience at Kidderminster National School. The last of the nine St Mark's men admitted to holy orders before June 1853 was Thomas Izod, ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford in May 1853, aged 23 years. Izod, who left St Mark's at the end of 1851, also had a first-class certificate, and at the time of ordination was vice-principal of the Oxford Diocesan Training College.

The steady rate of admission of St Mark's men to the diaconate continued unabated: three more in 1853, two in 1854, three in 1855, three in 1856, and another four in 1857. Among these men, several went to colonial dioceses. Derwent Coleridge acknowledged in a letter, written in April 1857 to A. C. Tait (Blomfield's successor as Bishop of London):

These [i.e. the Colonial Churches] do offer an inviting career to an enterprising Schoolmaster who has no ties to keep him at home – more especially if his scholarship be a little above the ordinary standard. My relative, the first Bishop of Barbadoes (*sic*) [i.e. William Hart Coleridge, (see p. 131)], used to say that the Colonial Church would 'be the safety valve of the College'. My own view has been – looking upon the question of right that the *wants* of our sister-churches, in the matter of education, though not strictly *claims* in respect of this College, are still entitled to consideration.¹¹⁷

Coleridge enclosed a letter he had received from a correspondent on behalf of the Bishop of Colombo:

The Bishop of Colombo has written to me stating his want of schoolmasters. He says 'the St Mark's stamp of men is the best; good churchmen, not too refined scholars: but fair mathematicians, and practically well educated men, with disciplined minds and good training. I want them all to look to the Diaconate, and at once to become Div[inity] Students for the purpose, about 20 is the right age' . . . I should feel much obliged by your letting me know whether you can help him in supplying this want . . .¹¹⁸

Derwent Coleridge also enclosed with this correspondence to the bishop two lists, one of 19 St Mark's men who had gone overseas, the other of 18 in holy orders, with details of

¹¹⁷ Derwent Coleridge to A. C. Tait, 15 April 1857, LPL, Tait Papers: Official Letters (London), vol. 426, ff. 172-4, at ff. 173^v-174^r.

¹¹⁸ R. R. Hutton to Derwent Coleridge, 11 April 1857, *ibid.*, ff. 175-6.

their ordination (date and diocese) and situations held before and after ordination.¹¹⁹ Unintentionally, St Mark's College had achieved a little of the overseas missionary-college purpose envisaged by Derwent's sister, Sara, in 1843 (see p. 131).

St Mark's College Council reported in mid-1860 that 29 men were in holy orders; another two were ordained by the end of the year. The introduction of the Revised Code coincided with a marked increase in the rate of ordinations – eight in 1862, three in 1863, and four in 1864. When Derwent Coleridge accepted the living of Hanwell in December 1863, he continued as principal of St Mark's College for another year, appointing one of his ordained former students, Richard Phillips, as temporary curate at Hanwell, on the recommendation of Piers Claughton, Bishop of Colombo.¹²⁰ Five years earlier Coleridge had written to his Cambridge friend, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Colonial Secretary, to seek (unsuccessfully) Phillips' permanent appointment as chaplain of Nuwara Hill, Ceylon.¹²¹

The remaining question is whether the 46 men who had been ordained remained deacon schoolmasters. Advocates of this model of elementary teacher had promoted the concept of a permanent diaconate. In the event, however, the majority of St Mark's men, like most graduate clergy, were ordained to the priesthood after only one year in deacon's orders. There were a few exceptions, such as William Scott, who remained a deacon schoolmaster in Westminster for five years, after ordination in the Diocese of London in May 1856, and Alfred Morris, who went to the Cape Colony, where he was ordained deacon schoolmaster in 1855, teaching at George Grammar School for several years, before admission to the priesthood in 1861.

Although some St Mark's men were ordained at the earliest age of 23 years, others taught for much longer before ordination. Derwent Coleridge attempted to defend the college against critics who charged him with misappropriation of public money by pointing out that the majority (34) of the ordained men had entered St Mark's College before 1851,

¹¹⁹ 'Students of S. Mark's Coll[ege]: settled abroad', LPL, Tait Papers, Official Letters (London), vol. 426, f. 177; 'S. Mark's College, Chelsea: List of Students who have received Holy Orders', *ibid.*, ff. 178-9.

¹²⁰ Derwent Coleridge to A. C. Tait, 25 February 1864, *ibid.*, vol. 136 (January-March 1864), ff. 333-4.

¹²¹ Coleridge to Lytton, 1 January 1859, Lytton (Knebworth) MSS, Letters/Colonial Office/1858-59, Hertfordshire Record Office, D/EK/024/226.

when the first Queen's scholars arrived, and only 12 afterwards. His final report explained:

Forty-six men, about six and a half per cent out of the entire number trained in St Mark's College, have been so distinguished [i.e. by admission to Holy Orders], for the most part, as will be seen by the dates of their ordination, many years after they had left the College: but of this number no fewer than thirty-four belong to the first period, before the closer connection of the College with the Government . . . had taken place. Dating from this epoch, the number of students who have become clergymen but slightly exceeds two per cent.¹²²

One imagines, however, the satisfaction with which Derwent Coleridge recorded in his final list of students trained at St Mark's College the following appointments:

William Burdon, deacon schoolmaster, National school, Ormsby, Lincolnshire

Robert Ives, deacon schoolmaster, National school, Wigginton, Oxfordshire

James Spawforth, deacon schoolmaster, National school, Burgh, Lincolnshire.

The model of deacon schoolmaster was still capable of capturing the minds and hearts of students at St Mark's College.

Conclusion

The period from 1850 to 1864, when St Mark's College lost much of its earlier freedom, was a time of religious upheaval and political adjustment. Both have been considered in this chapter with regard to constraints they imposed on the training of teachers at St Mark's College, and especially on those aspects of the college which were of particular value in preparing deacon schoolmasters.

It has been shown that the model of deacon schoolmaster did survive in these changing religious and political circumstances, although not perhaps in a pure form. Derwent

¹²² Derwent Coleridge, 'St Mark's College, Chelsea. Principal's Report, 1864', 30 November 1864, in: St Mark's College Council, *Occasional Report, December, 1864*, pp. 7-14, at p. 9.

Coleridge's ability to promote deacon schoolmasters diminished further with each successive government initiative to control the training colleges, thereby demonstrating that St Mark's could never be a wholly independent provider of schoolmasters whilst it remained in receipt of State grants. Although a significant proportion of students trained at St Mark's did eventually become ordained, they seldom pursued the ideal of the permanent diaconate; even if they continued to be schoolmasters, they usually did so in priest's orders.

Interest in deacon schoolmasters was not confined to St Mark's College, however. The concept entered public debate at the time the college was founded and became an issue overseas as well as in Britain. In the next chapter St Mark's College will be located within that debate.

Chapter 6. Public Debate on Deacon Schoolmasters

The middle decades of nineteenth-century England bore witness to the confused impact of the many vociferous groups for whom education was a consuming cause. Some aligned themselves – or were perceived by others to have aligned themselves – with so-called parties of Church and State, which added to the passion and tension of debate. Hostilities were fuelled by suspicion and distrust, often intensified by injudicious, or misinformed, allegation and intemperate expression. Yet the magnitude of individual and group commitment to provide and extend education for the poor through either Church or State, or both, brought about unprecedented social reform during this period.

Amidst the struggles, St Mark's College went about its task in an atmosphere of calm attention to its holy calling. Coleridge was not a party man, although opponents levelled their charges against him with persistence and vigour. His model of deacon schoolmaster was seized as a product of Tractarian sympathies, and subjected to the trials of public debate. This chapter uncovers various locations of the debate, and examines the outcome for deacon schoolmasters generally and their training at St Mark's College in particular. By unravelling the strands of debate, it will be possible to see whether the development at St Mark's was a particular instance of a wider interest in deacon schoolmasters, or whether the model was confined solely to that institution (Research Question 4).

6.1 Debate in the Church, 1833-46

Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby school, aroused the Church of England to a ferment of debate with the publication of his pamphlet, *Principles of Church Reform*, in 1833.¹ Four editions of this controversial work were published in the first six months,

¹ Thomas Arnold, 'Principles of Church Reform', 1833; reprinted in A. P. Stanley (ed.), *The Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold* (London: Longmans, Green, 1874; 1st edn, 1845), pp. 257-338.

and it was extensively reviewed in *The Times*.² Arnold's quest for reform of the Established Church was set in the context of industrialization and the rise of dissenting denominations. His radical suggestions included 'admitting into the Establishment, persons of a class much too poor to support the expense of a university education; but who may be exceedingly useful as ministers . . .'.³ Arnold developed his thinking about such extension of ministry in the Church of England during the 1830s. He wrote to his former Rugby pupil and future biographer, A. P. Stanley, in February 1839: 'It seems to me that a great point might be gained by urging the restoration of the Order of Deacons, which has been long, *quoad* the reality, dead.'⁴ He continued in this letter to explain that a restored diaconate would re-introduce to the Church of England the idea that a deacon should not be thought of as a probationary priest, but that for many the calling might be to remain in deacon's orders; this, furthermore, was 'not necessarily . . . at all incompatible with lay callings'.

Just three weeks later, in a letter to Sir James Stephen (Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies), Thomas Arnold wrote again about deacons in secular employment: 'I think that many persons best fitted to carry on the work of education, would be actually unwilling to engage in it, unless they were allowed to unite the clerical character with that of the teacher.'⁵ He added, 'The feeling is, I confess, entirely my own.' Others, however, had been entertaining similar thoughts, not least Samuel Francis Wood, who, as one of the 'young gentlemen' provoking the National Society into revitalization, had written a year earlier to close friends about his 'private notion' of a permanent diaconate of schoolmasters. The suggestion was put forward earlier (see p. 68) that Wood hesitated to state his hope publicly for fear of distracting the National Society from the wider aims of his associates by introducing controversy about deacon schoolmasters at the risk of jeopardizing their grand scheme.

² *The Times*, 25 and 26 January 1833.

³ Thomas Arnold, 'Principles of Church Reform', p. 297.

⁴ Thomas Arnold to Arthur Penryn Stanley, 27 February 1839, letter cxcii, in A. P. Stanley, *Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D., headmaster of Rugby* (London: Murray, 1904 edn), p. 502.

⁵ Thomas Arnold to James Stephen, 19 March 1839, letter cxciv, *ibid.*, p. 504.

Arnold, however, had no reason to feel so inhibited. He was becoming increasingly convinced of the soundness of his case: in May 1840 he told Chevalier Bunsen that 'reviving the order of deacons, and enabling us to see that union of the Christian ministry with the common business of life . . . would be such a benefit both to the clergy and the laity'.⁶ Consequently he had drafted a petition and sought the opinion of Dr Whately, Archbishop of Dublin (who at that time was petitioning the House of Lords on other ecclesiastical matters); 'Whately approved,' Arnold told Bunsen, '. . . but thought it too abrupt a way of proceeding, as the subject would be new to so many.' Arnold, therefore, determined to write about it, and in May 1841 he produced a short paper entitled, 'Order of Deacons', which he circulated with a view to determining the extent to which his proposals would be accepted within the church, and especially by the bishops; if sufficient support became evident, Arnold envisaged diocesan petitions to Parliament to enable appropriate measures to be effected.⁷ Although Thomas Arnold died in 1842, before these investigations could be completed, his collected writings, including 'Principles of Church Reform' and 'Order of Deacons', were re-published in 1845 in a volume of *Miscellaneous Works* and widely circulated.

The reticence of Samuel Wood, in 1838, to state publicly his hopes for deacon schoolmasters soon passed once the National Society's college became established at Stanley Grove, although he was disappointed that in its first two years there were so few applicants for training. Wood believed that parish clergy should be encouraged to look for boys with potential and take an active part in preparing them for the training college. Accordingly, he wrote an article for the *English Journal of Education*, which appeared in the form of a letter in April 1843, drawing attention to this need and foreseeing a time 'when the heads of our Church shall think it expedient to promote [suitable schoolmasters] . . . to be deacons in the Church'.⁸ Before the end of that month, Samuel Wood died at the age of 34 years and St Mark's College lost its most ardent promoter of the deacon schoolmaster. Wood had cherished the model and assumed its advocacy as a

⁶ Thomas Arnold to Chevalier Bunsen, 26 May 1840, letter ccxxxix, in *Life of Arnold*, p. 560.

⁷ Thomas Arnold, 'Order of Deacons', May 1841, reprinted in *Miscellaneous Works* (1845), 1874 edn, pp. 425-9.

⁸ S[amuel] F[rancis] W[ood], 'On attaching the middle and lower orders to the Church', *English Journal of Education*, (1(4), April 1843, pp. 125-30, at p. 128.

personal mission: active in the National Society's School Committee, he was strategically placed for its promotion. With the first students completing their second year at Stanley Grove, St Mark's College was now at a critical stage for training deacon schoolmasters, and Wood's death deprived Derwent Coleridge of his greatest support.

It is worth adding here that as the debate on deacon schoolmasters proceeded, suspicions about the motives of Wood and Coleridge led to accusations that their real purpose was to increase the number of clergy for pastoral reasons under the guise (and at public expense) of training teachers. No evidence has been found to support this view. Wood stated emphatically: 'The clergyman's care for the education of his parishioners, is no optional or newly imposed task; rather it is one of very primitive and universal obligation.'⁹ Ordination of schoolmasters, in Wood's mind, followed naturally from this duty. Coleridge, likewise, wrote that 'the duties of a Church Schoolmaster are essentially clerical' and so require an appropriate training; he believed that 'every one of the duties specially appertaining to a Deacon, may be performed by a Schoolmaster, without injury, some of them with much advantage to his school'.¹⁰ It appears, however, that as Coleridge reflected on the arguments in the years following Wood's death in 1843 and with the first St Mark's students approaching the minimum age for ordination, he came to realize that elementary schoolmasters might not be held permanently in deacon's orders, and he did not object to their preferment.

Another early contributor to the debate was Frederick Denison Maurice, chaplain of Guy's Hospital since 1837, who became clerical editor of the *Educational Magazine* in 1840. Maurice was deeply affected by the ideas of S. T. Coleridge, and dedicated the second (1842) edition of his *Kingdom of Christ* to Derwent Coleridge as a mark of indebtedness to his father and in recognition of the national importance of his undertaking at Chelsea. Maurice wrote: 'If you are permitted to raise up a body of wise

⁹ S. F. W[ood], 'On attaching the middle and lower orders to the Church', *EJE*, 1(4), April 1843, p. 129.

¹⁰ Derwent Coleridge to Henry Phillpotts, 15 May 1847, pp. 2 and 6, College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth, library archive: People file/Coleridge/letter 18 (donated by A. D. Coleridge).

and thoughtful teachers out of our trading classes, you will do more for the Church than all the persons together who are writing treatises about it.’¹¹

Maurice’s public lecture, ‘On the question whether teachers of schools shall receive ordination’, was published in 1839. He wrote:

How far it is possible to revive a perpetual order of deacons, I do not know. I have heard very grave arguments against such a course urged by practical men, but they may not be of sufficient weight to counterbalance the advantages of enabling the teacher . . . to perform some of the principal services of the Church.¹²

Maurice admitted in this lecture that his thinking had been strongly influenced by STC’s concept of ‘clerisy’ (see p. 121), and concluded that in some places ‘it will become almost a matter of necessity’ that the schoolmaster be admitted to the diaconate.¹³

During the autumn of 1843, a vigorous correspondence on the ordination of schoolmasters appeared in consecutive issues of the *English Journal of Education*, to which Maurice added his contribution in January 1844. ‘There has been . . . for a long time, a strong feeling on the subject in many quarters,’ he wrote, before making a plea for careful consideration of the arguments by clergy and schoolmasters alike, adding: ‘You [i.e. George Moody, clerical editor of the *Journal*] have opportunities which scarcely any one else possesses in the same degree, of ascertaining the opinions of both classes.’¹⁴ Maurice proceeded to review the sequence of published letters, starting with the first, written in August 1843 by ‘Presbyter Oxoniensis’, who had proposed ordination of ‘some hundreds of schoolmasters . . . [to form] a lower rank of clergy’.¹⁵ These, the anonymous correspondent argued, would provide not only a remedy for the serious shortage of clergy in Britain and overseas, but also offer more effective pastoral ministry among the middle

¹¹ F. D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, 1842 edn; reprinted in Everyman’s Library (London: Dent, n.d.), 2 vols, ‘Dedication to the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, Stanley Grove, Chelsea’, i, pp. 1-15, at p. 15.

¹² F. D. Maurice, *Has the Church, or the State, the Power to Educate the Nation? A course of lectures* (London: Rivington, 1839), p. 363.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

¹⁴ F. D. Maurice, ‘On the proposed ordination of schoolmasters’, *English Journal of Education*, 2(1), January 1844, pp. 1-6, at p. 1.

¹⁵ Presbyter Oxoniensis to editor, August 1843, ‘A plea for the admission of certain schoolmasters into Holy Orders’, *EJE*, 1(9), September 1843, pp. 297-304, at p. 304.

and lower classes than the supposedly aristocratic clergymen benefited in many parishes. It was asserted, too, that a considerable number of schoolmasters had left the Church of England to become Wesleyan lay preachers as they were unable to fulfil their calling in the Established Church, and the writer considered that it would be wise to repair this loss.

Two replies were published in the next number. One supported '*duly qualified* schoolmasters as deacons', especially in urban districts, who would generally remain deacons, only exceptionally becoming priests, 'if thought fit, after a five or ten years' faithful diaconate'.¹⁶ The other reply, from a schoolmaster signing himself 'Droitwich', opposed ordination of schoolmasters primarily on the ground that their teaching duties were too demanding for additional responsibilities to be undertaken as clergymen.¹⁷ Droitwich wrote again the following month to press his case, arguing that the schoolmasters' burden would need relief by 'good assistants in the school' if they were to be ordained.¹⁸

Two more schoolmasters contributed to the debate in the next issue: one advocated 'conferring deacon's orders on . . . those who have the qualifications that may be deemed requisite', which the other claimed 'would do much, very much, to raise the character and position of the national schoolmaster'.¹⁹ The first of these correspondents declared, 'I am supposing, that he has (as he ought) the whole of Saturday as a day of rest' before assisting the parish priest on Sunday. He ended his letter with a warning that had direct implications for St Mark's College:

[T]he endeavours to create a better class of schoolmasters by the higher education now given at the training establishment, will, I believe, be thrown away as to their direct object, unless the parties thus qualified experience greater encouragement than is at present given, to persevere in the profession; for they will soon find, that they are fitted for employments not only more lucrative, but in which they may maintain a higher station in society.²⁰

¹⁶ H[enry] McK[enzie] to editor, 18 September 1843, *EJE*, 1(10), October 1843, pp. 329-30, at p. 330. Emphasis original.

¹⁷ Droitwich to editor, 5 September 1843, *EJE*, 1(10), October 1843, pp. 331-2.

¹⁸ Droitwich to editor, 5 October 1843, *EJE*, 1(11), November 1843, pp. 365-8.

¹⁹ Paedagogus Rusticus to editor, 20 October 1843, *EJE*, 1(12), December 1843, pp. 394-7; A Surrey National Schoolmaster to editor, 17 November 1843, *ibid.*, pp. 397-8.

²⁰ Paedagogus Rusticus, *EJE*, 1(12), December 1843, p. 397.

This fear was shared by Derwent Coleridge, who had felt obliged to respond to the question, 'Will these young men . . . after all that has been done for them, continue National schoolmasters? Will they not immediately carry their talents and acquirements to a better market?' The answer he gave, in June 1842, perhaps convinced himself more than his readers, but Coleridge's analysis of former students' employment in 1847 (which showed that all who had completed their training were engaged 'in the business of instruction') confirmed his optimism.²¹

In reviewing this series of letters, F. D. Maurice expressed his view that, once ordained, schoolmasters 'would have a much clearer appreciation of the nature and dignity, not of their new, but of their old function', adding, 'I do not know anything which is so precious to us as the sense of a vocation.'²² He then declared, 'I confess I should like to see the experiment made among them . . .'²³ However, Maurice did not think it appropriate that deacon schoolmasters should be required to prepare sermons, visit the sick (other than their own scholars), or assist in weddings or funerals; rather they should be entrusted with the care of children in the parish, including catechizing and preparation for confirmation, and sometimes reading prayers and printed homilies in church, as well as assisting the priest in administration of holy communion.²⁴

Maurice's masterly review of this debate prompted further letters to the editor. Droitwich wrote again at the beginning of 1844, and Paedagogus Rusticus sent a rejoinder. Droitwich remained averse to ordination of elementary schoolmasters, believing that their duties of pastoral care and preparation for teaching not only filled available out-of-school hours but were also the proper means for raising their standing as teachers (rather than by deacon's orders).²⁵ In his rejoinder, Paedagogus Rusticus quoted the Bishop of London, who had said at the National Society's annual meeting in 1842 that Church schoolmasters

²¹ Derwent Coleridge, *A Letter on the National Society's Training-College for Schoolmasters*, Stanley grove, Chelsea (London: Parker, 1842), pp. 36-7.

Derwent Coleridge, *A Statistical Inquiry into the results of the Education afforded in the National Society's Training Institution for Schoolmasters*, St Mark's College, Chelsea (London, n.d. [1847]), p. 3.

²² F. D. Maurice, *EJE*, 2(1), January 1844, p. 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2 and 5.

²⁵ Droitwich to editor, *EJE*, 2(2), February 1844, pp. 33-6.

should be considered as 'subordinate members of the body of the clergy'.²⁶ He had been encouraged in his views by Maurice's letter, and also by news of the colonies printed in the *English Journal of Education*: 'Many of our readers will be glad to hear that one national schoolmaster at least is going out to an important charge in a distant colony, with the prospect of admission into deacon's orders on his arrival.'²⁷ (The practice of the colonial church is considered later in this chapter, at Section 6.3.) Paedagogus Rusticus, convinced that the deacon schoolmaster was an obvious means of cementing education to the church, asked: 'If it be found practicable for ministers of the church to become masters of grammar schools, why should it be thought impracticable for ministers of an "inferior order" [i.e. deacons] to hold the same office in our national church schools?'²⁸

Two new correspondents now entered the debate. A National Schoolmaster expressed surprise that 'a measure calculated to do so much good' should meet with any opposition.²⁹ T. L. Wolley, however, thought the importance of the question would inevitably lead to diverse views. Wolley, a clergyman in the diocese of Bath and Wells, concluded from his experience at home and abroad that a deacon schoolmaster and the incumbent of his parish might be placed 'in an awkward relative position' should differences occur between them, especially if tenure of the schoolmaster's office were to reside in a management committee at variance with the incumbent, thereby creating 'conflicting ecclesiastical authorities' within the parish.³⁰ Nevertheless, Wolley was prepared to allow schoolmasters to the diaconate with three rigorous safeguards: no schoolmaster should be *considered* a candidate for holy orders (1) until he had taught in schools for at least ten years, with a satisfactory report from the parish clergy, and (2) unless at the time he became a schoolmaster he received a certificate of qualification from an 'episcopally appointed board of examiners' regarding 'his religious and moral character' as a prospective teacher. Furthermore, no schoolmaster should be *admitted* into holy orders without (3) an examination equal to that required of all other candidates

²⁶ Paedagogus Rusticus to editor, 15 February 1844, *EJE*, 2(3), March 1844, pp. 65-8, at p. 65.

²⁷ *EJE*, 2(2), February 1844, p. 36.

²⁸ Paedagogus Rusticus, *EJE*, 2(3), March 1844, p. 67.

²⁹ A National Schoolmaster to editor, *EJE*, 2(4), April 1844, pp. 97-101, at p. 97.

³⁰ T[homas] L[amplugh] Wolley to editor, *EJE*, 2(5), May 1844, pp. 129-34, at p. 130.

for ordination.³¹ These proposals, which, according to Wolley, 'in other [unnamed] countries have already stood the test of experiment', would raise the situation of elementary schoolmasters and benefit the Church.³²

The ten-month debate conducted in the pages of the *English Journal of Education* between September 1843 and June 1844 ended with the longest letter of all, from the correspondent who started it, signing himself 'Presbyter Oxoniensis', who now revealed himself to be a diocesan district inspector of schools.³³ From a broad perspective he introduced his concluding remarks by referring to historical precedent, arguing that the provisions of canon law demonstrated that ordained schoolmasters were held to be the norm, or at least the intention, of the Church of England at the Reformation.³⁴ He then contrasted the high degree of affection for the Church held by the upper classes of nineteenth-century society, who often had been taught by clergymen, with that of the lower classes, who generally had not, supposing the remedy to lie with the ordination of large numbers of deacon schoolmasters for National and other parochial schools.³⁵ As a school inspector in his diocese, personal knowledge of parochial schoolmasters convinced him that 'there are some . . . who would be most efficient fellow-workers with us in the ministry of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'.³⁶

This extensive correspondence in the *English Journal of Education* attracted wide attention; the *English Churchman* extracted several of the letters, which led to further debate among its readers.³⁷ This Tractarian weekly observed, in September 1843, that 'if ordination be allowed to schoolmasters, their spiritual functions might be much more limited' than Presbyter Oxoniensis was advocating.³⁸ The first respondent disagreed with the notion that deacon schoolmasters would be more able to influence the mass of the

³¹ Wolley to editor, *EJE*, 2(5), May 1844, p. 132.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³³ Presbyter Oxoniensis to editor, *EJE*, 2(6), June 1844, pp. 161-9, at p. 167.

³⁴ Canons 77 and 78; *ibid.*, pp. 161-2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³⁷ *English Churchman*, 21 September 1843, pp. 603-5 (extracted Presbyter Oxoniensis, *EJE*, 1(9), September 1843); *EC*, 4 January 1844, pp. 6-7 (extracted F. D. Maurice, *EJE*, 2(1), January 1844).

³⁸ Editorial note, *EC*, 21 September 1843, p. 603.

people, citing in refutation of this hypothesis the situation in Wales, where clergy were more commonly of low birth than in England, yet the people had attached themselves to dissenting chapels.³⁹ This view was challenged by Catholicus: 'That we must seek clergy from the lower orders is very certain.' Deacon schoolmasters would be most valuable, and Catholicus was prepared to lower the standard of examination for the diaconate; however, he advocated that they remain permanently in deacon's orders.⁴⁰ Another correspondent was of opinion that 'the vastly altered circumstances of our time . . . demand proportionate alterations and adaptations in the machinery of our Church', warning that the failure of the Established Church to embrace Wesley and the Methodist revival through an 'unhappy misunderstanding of the signs of the times' should serve as a reminder of the danger of inflexibility.⁴¹

After printing Maurice's letter in January 1844, the *English Churchman* stated its view that the proposal to ordain deacon schoolmasters would not be generally acted on as it was undesirable and impracticable. The periodical might be willing to support a reintroduction of the minor (lay) orders of the pre-Reformation Church, to which schoolmasters could be eligible, but it did not countenance their admission to holy orders (including the diaconate).⁴² In September, a former correspondent wrote again, agreeing that schoolmasters might be suited to minor orders, if they were to be revived, but insisting that he still thought that sometimes a schoolmaster might take deacon's orders without expectation of advancement to the priesthood.⁴³

The forum of debate now moved to the annual meeting of the National Society, held on 22 May 1844, a report of which appeared in the July number of the *English Journal of Education*. The editor wrote:

It is an encouraging sign, that on the same day three bishops should have alluded, in a pointed manner, to the necessity of elevating the official position of the schoolmaster. The Bishop of Exeter . . . stated plainly his own conviction, that bishops in their own dioceses must entertain the

³⁹ E. H. S. to editor, 26 September 1843, *EC*, 28 September 1843, pp. 615-16.

⁴⁰ Catholicus to editor, *EC*, 5 October 1843, p. 629.

⁴¹ J. J. to editor, 2 October 1843, *EC*, 23 November 1843, p. 749.

⁴² Editorial, *EC*, 18 January 1844, pp. 41-2.

⁴³ J. J. to editor, *EC*, 19 September 1844, p. 599.

question of the ordination of schoolmasters. The Bishop of London . . . spoke perhaps more guardedly, but by his very caution, showed plainly his own sense of the importance of the subject. Bishop Feild's testimony to ... conferring on the schoolmaster some commission whereby he may be recognized as one of the appointed ministers of the church, is truly valuable . . .⁴⁴

The question of how to increase the number of clergy continued to exercise churchmen, both clergy and laity. Samuel Wilberforce, then Archdeacon of Surrey, considered the benefit of drawing long-term deacons from the lower orders of society, without a university education, in his visitation charge of November 1844.⁴⁵ He wrote to his sister on 19 November about a meeting in London, hosted by Henry Kingscote, for the purpose of extending the diaconate and restoring the minor order of sub-deacon: 'I was very anxious to be at this meeting, as it is so very important a matter for the Church.'⁴⁶ He found the meeting supported by influential evangelicals, which indicated the breadth of interest in the proposals. The outcome was a memorial, in January 1845, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who replied to the effect that each bishop must judge for himself what action he should take concerning the ordination of deacons.⁴⁷ Kingscote sent a further letter to the Archbishop in August 1846, advocating deacons earning their living in secular occupations, suggesting that not only would they then be largely non-stipendiary, but they would be likely to give longer service to an incumbent than full-time curates seeking early preferment.⁴⁸

Some correspondents to the *English Journal of Education* continued to promote the cause of deacon schoolmasters, among them Henry Mackenzie, perpetual curate of Great Yarmouth. Mackenzie, who said in a sermon preached on the occasion of a visitation of the Bishop of Norwich in April 1845: 'It would give a wholesome stimulant throughout

⁴⁴ 'Annual Meeting of the National Society', *EJE*, 2(7), July 1844, p. 193.

⁴⁵ Samuel Wilberforce, *A Charge delivered at the Ordinary Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Surrey, November 1844* (London: Burns, 1844), p. 28.

⁴⁶ Samuel Wilberforce to L. Noel, 19 November 1844, printed in A. R. Ashwell, *Life of the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce . . . with selections from his diaries and correspondence* (London: Murray, 3 vols, 1880-2), i, p. 241.

⁴⁷ Henry Kingscote, *A Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Present Wants of the Church* (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 2nd edn, 1846), pp. 30-2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

the land to Education, when the licensed schoolmaster might expect to serve God as a Deacon in His Church, as well as the committee who appointed him as a stipendiary servant.⁴⁹ The sermon was published with notes, in which Mackenzie drew attention to a recent address to the bishop, Edward Stanley, from those of his diocesan clergy who advocated admitting to the diaconate 'those National or other Schoolmasters of piety and sufficient qualifications, whose energies are now crushed under a hopelessness of attaining any elevation above their present sphere of labour'.⁵⁰ Mackenzie referred his readers to the 'interesting correspondence' (among which was his own letter) on the ordination of National schoolmasters, which had appeared in the *English Journal of Education* during 1843-44.⁵¹

Paedagogus Rusticus wrote to the *Journal* in April 1846, announcing that since entering the debate at the end of 1843 he had anxiously awaited news of practical progress towards ordination of schoolmasters as deacons, and in its absence wished to raise the matter again. He had read Thomas Arnold's letters on the order of deacons, but was disappointed that the Church seemed reluctant to implement Arnold's ideas.⁵² Meanwhile, the *English Churchman* had printed a letter in October 1845, signed 'Candidatus', in which the writer declared:

My suggestion should indeed principally be addressed to the Rev. Principal of St Mark's College, Chelsea. It is that he should use his influence with their Lordships the Bishops to ordain Deacons, and *Deacons only*, from the young men sent forth from his College as Schoolmasters.⁵³

Several contingent difficulties faced Derwent Coleridge, even if he were disposed to pursue such a course. Fewer than 30 students had completed their training at St Mark's College by this date, and none had yet attained the minimum age (23 years) for ordination as a deacon. Moreover, being a national (rather than a diocesan) college, St Mark's was

⁴⁹ Henry Mackenzie, *The Fuller Restoration of the Diaconate, a means of strengthening the Church: a visitation sermon (12 April 1845)* (London: Smith, Elder, 1845), p. 12.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, note 10, pp. 23-7, at p. 26.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26 (fn.).

⁵² Paedagogus Rusticus to editor, 20 April 1846, *EJE*, 4(5), May 1846, pp. 135-8.

⁵³ Candidatus to editor, 'Vigil of S. Matthew, Saturday in Emberweek, 1845' [i.e. 20 September 1845], *EC*, 2 October 1845, p. 633. Emphasis original.

able to place its students in any English or Welsh diocese that might require them; the bishop of each diocese, however, had the right to implement his own policy on deacon schoolmasters. Any influence that Derwent Coleridge might have exerted would be prospective, therefore, rather than immediate in view of the age requirement, and it was unlikely that he would be successful in persuading every bishop of the wisdom of ordaining deacon schoolmasters.

Whether Coleridge did, in fact, attempt to influence the bishops is uncertain, but in February 1847 Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, stated publicly his 'firm purpose' to ordain deacon schoolmasters, and remarked that 'he had already stated . . . his intention to the authorities of St Mark's College, Chelsea.'⁵⁴ He envisaged such men in 'populous and important places, where there were large schools . . . to which situation alone he should think it right to appoint one of these deacons'. Phillpotts insisted that candidates be recommended for ordination by the College, well-qualified theologically, and in possession of Latin (but not necessarily Greek). After ordination, schoolmasters would remain deacons 'for an indefinite period – certainly for a long period', although Phillpotts added that he did not rule out eventual admission to the priesthood in appropriate cases.

The Bishop of Exeter's unilateral action, early in 1847, in favour of deacon schoolmasters was a defining moment in the debate. Until then the engagement had been confined to the Church, but now the debate was to be taken up in Parliament.

6.2 Debate in Parliament, 1847-60

The impact of the 1846 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with their comprehensive measures to secure elementary education, was discussed in Chapter 4 (see pp. 154-5). Although the various religious bodies always viewed government initiative circumspectly, the National Society declared at its annual meeting in 1847 its belief that

⁵⁴ Henry Phillpotts, speech at the annual meeting of the Exeter Diocesan Board of Education, 23 February 1847, *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 27 February 1847, p. 3.

the provisions contained within these Minutes recognized the foundation principles of the National Society itself, so that it would be able to accept financial assistance from the Government.⁵⁵ Agitation against these Minutes was strong among nonconformists, however, especially when they were first published, and Henry Dunn, secretary to the British and Foreign School Society, tried to quieten their fears in a pamphlet, which was circulating by mid-April 1847, entitled *Calm Thoughts on the Recent Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, and on their supposed bearing upon the interests of civil freedom and Protestant Nonconformity*.⁵⁶

Unlike many agitators, Dunn did not think the Minutes inconsistent with nonconformist principles, and he refuted the contention that if deacon schoolmasters were to receive government grants it would be tantamount to the State paying for the ministry of the clergy.⁵⁷ Referring to the alarm spread among nonconformists by the Bishop of Exeter's announcement two months earlier of his readiness to confer deacon's orders on certain schoolmasters, Dunn wrote:

If it be so, I do not see that the State can interfere or withhold payment, so long as the duties of the school are satisfactorily fulfilled. . . . The assertion, that the *mere fact* of the schoolmasters' exercising ministerial functions involves the principle of payment for such services, will scarcely be maintained, when it is recollected that, for many years past, persons in the employment of Government have regularly acted as dissenting ministers, preaching every Sunday, and administering sacraments. On this showing, Government have long since paid ministers of all denominations; but who is so extravagant or absurd as to maintain, that in so doing, any principle has been involved on the one side or conceded on the other?⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Dunn believed that teaching duties would often be found incompatible in practice with ministerial obligations, and that were any Christian denomination to allow its schoolmasters 'to exercise, *as a class*, clerical functions' it would be inappropriate for the State to contribute to their salaries.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 13 July 1847, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Henry Dunn, *Calm Thoughts on the Recent Minutes of the Committee on Council on Education, and on their supposed bearing upon the interests of civil freedom and Protestant Nonconformity* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, n. d. [1847]).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21. Emphasis original.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2. Emphasis original.

The Wesleyan Methodists organized their protest against the Minutes promptly and effectively. They, too, had interpreted the Bishop of Exeter's intentions as leading to the allocation of public money, some of which came from nonconformists, to the training and salaries of large numbers of deacon schoolmasters who, they suspected, would have Tractarian (and, therefore, Romanising) tendencies. These suspicions had been fuelled by the relentless attack of the *Record* newspaper during the previous year on alleged 'popery' at St Mark's College (see p. 137). Further discomfort arose when the Marquis of Lansdowne (Lord President of the Committee of Council on Education) presented the Government's education plans under the 1846 Minutes to the House of Lords on 5 February 1847; the Bishop of London, Charles Blomfield, took this opportunity to praise students of St Mark's College, who, he claimed, attained literary standards equal to those educated at the University of London and Christian knowledge – 'not . . . with any admixture of bigotry' – comparable to that of the clergy.⁶⁰

The Wesleyan weekly newspaper, the *Watchman*, printed the 1846 Education Minutes in full in its issue of 17 February 1847. Within the next few weeks, the Wesleyans' Committee of Privileges and Education Committee held joint meetings and formulated their objections to the Government's plans. Whilst discussing these matters with the President of the Wesleyan Conference at the Centenary Hall in Bishopsgate, London, on 31 March and 1 April, they were unexpectedly visited by Lord Ashley, who took a personal initiative to acquaint them with his expectation that the Government would be able to meet the Wesleyans' objections to the satisfaction of both parties. Ashley was chairman of the Central Committee for Promoting the Government Scheme of Education, and his intervention led the Wesleyans to frame 14 resolutions, including one expressing their anxiety that the Government's proposals would 'afford facilities for carrying into effect a plan for forming out of the body of schoolmasters, whose salaries the nation at large will provide, an inferior order of clergy'. This alluded to the Bishop of Exeter's scheme for deacon schoolmasters. The resolution then expressed a fear that 'such a body

⁶⁰ Bishop of London's speech, House of Lords, 5 February 1847, *Hansard*, cols 879-80.

of ecclesiastics under cover of a plan for education . . . [would advance an] anti-Protestant and intolerant spirit'.⁶¹

The Wesleyans' resolutions were sent with a letter of explanation to the Marquis of Lansdowne, in which they enquired whether the Government intended to draw a regulation that 'no one receiving a salary or other emolument under the Minutes shall, while in such receipt, exercise an ecclesiastical function'.⁶² The phrase 'ecclesiastical function', although commonly used at the time, lacked precise definition, which proved to be unfortunate when subsequently it was adopted by the Committee of Council on Education. Lansdowne immediately took the Wesleyans' papers to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, whilst James Kay-Shuttleworth (as secretary to the Committee of Council) prepared a conciliatory reply, which was sent on 7 April. He attempted to allay the Wesleyans' fears, by asserting that the parliamentary grants were solely for promoting education: 'It is . . . not within their Lordships' discretion to devote any part of these grants to ecclesiastical or other purely spiritual uses.' Kay-Shuttleworth argued that this distinction had been consistently applied in every Minute since 1839, when the Committee of Council on Education was formed. It was imperative, therefore, that the new Minutes separate the functions of schoolmasters and clergy or ministers of religion. He took the view that 'if they were to use it [i.e. the parliamentary grant] in aid of the stipends of teachers in the responsible exercise of ecclesiastical or other spiritual functions, this fund would, insensibly, become a means as much for the support of ministers of religion, as of masters of schools.' Emphasizing this position, Kay-Shuttleworth wrote: 'To these views of the character of the office of a teacher in an elementary school . . . they [i.e. their Lordships of the Committee of Council] will consider it their duty to adhere.'⁶³

These assurances enabled the Wesleyans to modify their resolutions, which a deputation took in person to Lord John Russell and the Marquis of Lansdowne on 14 April. Whilst

⁶¹ Resolution V, United Wesleyan Sub-Committees to Marquis of Lansdowne, 6 April 1847, *Watchman*, 21 April 1847, p. 187.

⁶² Secretary of the United Wesleyan Sub-Committees to Marquis of Lansdowne, 6 April 1847, *ibid.*, p. 188.

⁶³ James Kay-Shuttleworth to Charles Prest (secretary to the United Wesleyan Sub-Committees) *et al.*, 7 April 1847, *ibid.*, p. 188.

remaining apprehensive of Tractarian influence, they expressed relief that the Government would not allow parliamentary grants for education to be ‘perverted into the means of forming and sustaining a Supplemental Ecclesiastical Establishment’ [i.e. a body of deacon schoolmasters].⁶⁴ The deputation reported back to the United Committees two days later, whereupon the final judgment of the Wesleyan body was reached, that ‘the grounds of some of the most serious apprehensions . . . are, for the present, greatly mitigated, if not removed’.⁶⁵ The Wesleyans published a pamphlet entitled, *Narrative of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the United Wesleyan Committees of Privileges and Education, in reference to the recent Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, with the correspondence of the United Committees and the Committee of Council on Education, in March and April, MDCCCXLVII*.⁶⁶

The rapid turn of events brought about by Lord Ashley’s initiative with the Wesleyan Methodists eased the passage of the Government’s education measures through Parliament, and the prime minister was quick to acknowledge Ashley’s help. Ashley replied: ‘It has given me very great pleasure to render you the small service you are so kind as to acknowledge,’ – adding in a postscript:

The remaining opponents are so many nine-pins, whom you may, and will, bowl down in your skittle-ground of the H[ouse] of Commons. Shuttleworth has done his part admirably.⁶⁷

Members raised awkward questions, however, when the House debated the issue on 19 April. Rumour had spread of ‘an arrangement’ to quieten Wesleyan opposition through ‘official but private overtures’ which had led to certain ‘concessions’ by the Government, and members demanded to know exactly what had taken place. Lord John Russell gave a detailed reply, in which he referred to the Wesleyan anxiety about schoolmasters holding ‘ecclesiastical functions’, and the Government’s view that such persons were not eligible

⁶⁴ Resolution V, Memorandum, United Wesleyan Sub-Committees to the First Lord of the Treasury and the Lord President of the Committee of Council on Education, 14 April 1847, *Watchman*, 21 April 1847, p. 188.

⁶⁵ Concluding Resolutions, United Wesleyan Sub-Committees, 16 April 1847, *ibid.*, p. 188.

⁶⁶ *Narrative of the Proceedings . . .* (London: Mason, 1847).

⁶⁷ Lord Ashley to Lord John Russell, 8 April 1847, TNA, Russell Papers, PRO 30/22/6C, ff. 35-6.

for benefits under the Education Minutes of 1846.⁶⁸ Later in the debate, the House was informed by T. S. Duncombe, member for Finsbury, that this restriction was 'intended to defeat a proposal of the Bishop of Exeter, to invest masters . . . with deacon's orders'.⁶⁹

The opinion of Thomas Acland, member for West Somerset, is especially significant in view of his responsibilities for St Mark's College, and shows that he had grasped the balance between guiding principle and flexible practice:

[T]he money granted for schools ought not to be applied to support deacons for the Church. He would be no party to such a plan; but he knew the good done by the Rev. George Moody, who, seeing the state of the Westminster model schools [of the National Society], had taken the office of a National schoolmaster . . . Again, because the Bishop of London had thought proper to make the present master, Mr Wilson, a deacon, was he on that account to be disqualified from taking pupil-teachers, or receiving any advantage from the present grant? He asked the Government, therefore, to be careful in framing these Minutes, not to debar men who might do their duty more efficiently than any others, from rendering their services.⁷⁰

The education question also encountered difficulties when it was debated in the House of Lords on 7 June. The Bishop of Exeter (Henry Phillpotts) and Lord Stanley persistently interrogated the Marquis of Lansdowne on the apparent disqualification of schoolmasters from deacon's orders or the discharge of other ecclesiastical functions, and attempted to extract from him an admission that the Government's plans should be more open on the matter. Lansdowne's replies became rather confused, but he did not yield to his assailants.⁷¹ Four days later, the Bishop moved that 'it is the opinion of this House that persons in holy orders not exercising ecclesiastical functions ought not as such to be ineligible to the office of schoolmasters in schools receiving aid from Parliamentary grants'.⁷² He urged the views of Derwent Coleridge on his audience in the Lords:

⁶⁸ Speeches of Sir B. Hall and Lord John Russell, House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, vol. 91, cols 949-52.

⁶⁹ Speech of T. S. Duncombe, 19 April 1847, *ibid.*, col. 983.

⁷⁰ Speech of Thomas Acland, adjourned debate, 23 April 1847, *ibid.*, cols 1289-90.

⁷¹ Speeches of Bishop of Exeter, Lord Stanley, and Marquis of Lansdowne, House of Lords, 7 June 1847, *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 93, cols 174-9.

⁷² Speech of Bishop of Exeter, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *ibid.*, col. 366.

The Principal of St Mark's College, Chelsea, and others well acquainted with the feelings of the most competent masters in the National schools, assured him that there was no boon so great, no reward of which they were so ambitious, as to be admitted into the Church; being schoolmasters, they looked forward to the time when they might be ordained as clergymen.⁷³

Henry Phillpotts had sought Coleridge's opinions a month earlier, and his Lords' speech drew on the reply he received (see pp. 156-8). Phillpotts reminded the Lords that his recently announced willingness to ordain deacon schoolmasters was made 'because they were schoolmasters, and were determined to go on as schoolmasters, even though they were in holy orders'.⁷⁴

The Marquis of Lansdowne accused the pertinacious Bishop of devising his scheme for deacon schoolmasters only after the Government had revealed its plan to augment teachers' salaries by parliamentary grant, thereby showing his opportunism to obtain additional clergymen without cost to the Church. This would 'defraud the public of the expenditure which was exclusively given and allowed by Parliament for the purpose of making and providing schoolmasters'.⁷⁵

Lord Stanley challenged Lansdowne whether it 'was right and just, at the request of the Dissenters, to lay down such rules as would exclude from schools in connexion with the National Society receiving aid from the Government [for] persons otherwise qualified, because they were in holy orders'.⁷⁶ Stanley insisted:

It was not sought to grant the stipends to the clergymen *quia* clergymen; but it was sought not to lay down a rule, that because an individual happened to belong to the clerical order he should be debarred from receiving any portion of the sum voted for tuition and education by the country; and that, as respected Church of England schools, ministers of the Church of England should be disqualified from conducting education.⁷⁷

⁷³ Speech of Bishop of Exeter, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 93, col. 366. Derwent Coleridge to Henry Phillpotts (Bishop of Exeter), 15 May 1847, College of St Mark and St John Library, Plymouth, ref. People file, Coleridge, letter 18 (of 20 letters to/from Derwent Coleridge, donated by A. D. Coleridge, 18 February 1955).

⁷⁴ Speech of Bishop of Exeter, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 93, col. 367.

⁷⁵ Speech of Marquis of Lansdowne, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *ibid.*, col. 375.

⁷⁶ Speech of Lord Stanley, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *ibid.*, col. 377.

⁷⁷ Speech of Lord Stanley, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *ibid.*, col. 378.

Stanley believed that deacon schoolmasters, by virtue of pupils' respect for their ordination, would be better placed to raise the standards of schools. He countered the suggestion that trained schoolmasters were in danger of being lost to the inducements of other professions, by reminding the Lords that admission to holy orders would have an opposite tendency as canon law prohibited clergy from secular occupations apart from education.⁷⁸

As President of the Committee of Council on Education, Lansdowne had been unable categorically to deny the possibility of appointing masters in holy orders to schools in receipt of government grants, although that was the Government's clear intention. Lansdowne was supported, nevertheless, by the Bishop of Norwich, who said that he wished to act straightforwardly: he would ordain deacons, but not permit them to remain schoolmasters, and 'he was strongly opposed' to the Bishop of Exeter's scheme, 'which would pay out of the public funds for the education of those who were in point of fact educated for the Church'.⁷⁹ At the request of Lord Stanley and the Bishop of Norwich, Phillpotts withdrew his motion in the House of Lords.

The Times was scathing of the Bishop of Exeter, yet questioned the nonconformists' wisdom in precluding their own ministers from teaching in grant-aided schools established by their denomination. Its leader-writer described deacon schoolmasters as 'a very perilous experiment' that should not be made at the expense of the State, and asserted: 'The deacon schoolmaster will very soon aspire to be a priest schoolmaster, and, in due time, to other promotions.'⁸⁰ The *English Churchman*, however, interpreted the Government's prohibition as being narrowly confined:

A school which has been built, wholly or in part, by the aid of the Government grant, or which is still assisted by that grant, may have a Deacon-schoolmaster (even one who has been trained at the cost of the State) provided that person receives no portion of his salary out of the Government grant.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Speech of Lord Stanley, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *Hansard*, Third Series, vol. 93, col. 379.

⁷⁹ Speech of Bishop of Norwich, House of Lords, 11 June 1847, *ibid.*, cols 379-80.

⁸⁰ Leader, *The Times*, 12 June 1847, p. 5.

⁸¹ Leader, *EC*, 17 June 1847, p. 469.

Before the end of the month, the Committee of Council on Education entered on its Minutes Kay-Shuttleworth's letter (dated 7 April 1847) to the Wesleyan Methodists, and confirmed the explanations therein. It also issued an Explanatory Minute on 28 June 1847, to interpret and implement the 1846 Education Minutes. This supplementary minute became pivotal in directing the future regulations of State education in England and Wales (see p. 223, and, for historical continuity, pp. 246-7). In its Explanatory Minute the Committee resolved:

That, inasmuch as the promotion of education is the exclusive object of the Parliamentary grants placed at the disposal of the Committee, and as, in the framing of the Minutes, from those of 1839 to those of December, 1846, the office of schoolmaster has been regarded as one apart from that of ministers of religion, no gratuity, stipend, or augmentation of salary will be awarded to schoolmasters or assistant teachers who are in holy orders or ministers of religion.

That their Lordships reserve to themselves the power of making an exception to the last resolution, in the case of model schools connected with training schools.⁸²

Application for a grant towards a schoolmaster's salary required him to complete a Preliminary Statement for the examiners at the Council Office. The Statement asked about his activities at any place of worship, and the answers were rigorously investigated. One examiner required an explanation of the words 'preach to a poor congregation', written on a Statement by the master of Templeton British School in September 1847, and further enquiries were made in April 1848, when Ralph Lingen instructed Joseph Fletcher, H. M. Inspector of Schools, to confirm that the master had not used 'the word "preacher" in a strictly professional sense'. Lingen explained: 'If the Master be not a *licensed Minister of Religion* no objection would arise.'⁸³

Lingen soon became more exacting in his interpretation of the education minutes. In reply to Thomas Read, master of Downton British School, Wiltshire, who protested that he had not taken a licence as a Wesleyan preacher, Lingen wrote:

⁸² Explanatory Minute, 28 June 1847, CCE, *Minutes for 1846* (London, Parker, 1847), i, pp. 20-4, at p. 24.

⁸³ R. R. W. Lingen to Joseph Fletcher, 24 April 1848, typescript copy, TNA, Grants under Minutes of 1846 (1847-58), ED 9/12, f. 76¹; emphasis original.

I am to enquire whether you have been since Michaelmas 1848, appointed or authorized to preach, or discharge, the public functions of a spiritual character, in the celebration of Divine Worship, by any authority recognized within the Wesleyan Body.⁸⁴

His insistence that 'my Lords would hold every person so appointed or recognized to be a Minister of Religion within the terms of their Minutes', brought an allegation of attempting improper control over Read's religious commitments. To this, Harry Chester (Lingen's associate in the Council Office) gave the Committee's assurance:

My Lords have no wish even if they had the power of pushing an inquisitorial investigation with regard to a Schoolmaster into those functions which every member of a religious congregation by virtue of his belonging to it, is at liberty, purely at his own discretion, to discharge or omit . . . The stress of the question turns upon the appointment . . . as an officer of a congregation in spiritualities.⁸⁵

A similar letter from Lingen, written in December 1849 to the master of the Wesleyan School, Bodmin, became the model reply that the Committee later published in its Minutes of 1850-51:

It would be impossible . . . as it would be in all ways most undesirable, to institute minute investigations into the degrees by which, in particular instances, the general duty of every Christian to take part in the active promotion of Christianity merges into the more special obligations of the Minister.⁸⁶

Lingen informed this applicant that no augmentation of his salary could be paid 'so long as your name remains upon the list of Local Preachers'. He continued:

Their Lordships desire that you shall clearly understand that they have no wish to interfere with the course which you may in conscience consider yourself bound to pursue. . . . The same rule is enforced in all cases alike, as for instance, in the case of Schoolmasters who have taken Deacon's Orders in the Church of England.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ R. R. W. Lingen to Thomas Read, 29 August 1849, typescript copy, TNA, Grants under Minutes of 1846 (1847-58), ED 9/12, f. 189^v.

⁸⁵ Harry Chester to E. A. K. Wetch, Downton British School, Salisbury, 8 September 1849, typescript copy, *ibid.*, f. 190^r.

⁸⁶ R. R. W. Lingen to R. L. Burrows, Wesleyan School, Bodmin, 18 December 1849, typescript copy, *ibid.*, ff. 214^{r-v}.

⁸⁷ R. R. W. Lingen to R. L. Burrows, 18 December 1849, *ibid.*; also extracted in CCE, *Minutes for 1850-51* (London: HMSO, 1851), pp. xciii-xciv.

In this letter of December 1849, Lingen admitted the existence of deacon schoolmasters (see, for ordination of St Mark's students, pp. 193-4); the Education Minutes had failed to eradicate them. The Bishop of Exeter, whose controversial support of deacon schoolmasters two years earlier had led to the prohibitive measures contained in the Explanatory Minute of 1847, held a diocesan synod in Exeter in June 1851, at which delegates considered, among other matters, the desirability of ordaining permanent deacons, 'especially of teachers duly recommended from the training college at Exeter'.⁸⁸ Phillpotts explained that by 'permanent' he meant 'long-enduring' rather than 'perpetual', as those deacons who, 'by great merit prove themselves, after long probation, worthy', might eventually be admitted by him to the priesthood.⁸⁹ The synod approved, by a large majority, the practice of ordaining suitable schoolmasters as permanent deacons, and three months later the Bishop ordained William Manning, who had trained at St Mark's College, 1842-45, deacon schoolmaster of Mevagissey, Cornwall (see p. 195).

In his inspector's report for 1851, William Kennedy HMI informed the Committee of Council on Education that four Lancashire schoolmasters had received ordination, and others were seeking deacon's orders. He concluded that many college-trained schoolmasters were 'unsettled as to their profession, and desire to obtain holy orders'.⁹⁰ Kennedy's report was seized in the House of Commons by Sir John Pakington, when he introduced his Education Bill on 16 March 1855.⁹¹ On the evidence of Kennedy's flimsy statistics, Pakington made the exaggerated claim that 'those who have been educated in training institutions betake themselves in a great number of instances to holy orders'. Other inferences based upon sources of numerical information in this speech have led Richard Aldrich to conclude that 'Pakington was careless in his use of statistics'.⁹²

⁸⁸ Henry Phillpotts, *Acts of the Diocesan Synod, held in the Cathedral Church of Exeter . . .* (London: Murray, 1851), 2nd edn, p. 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁹⁰ W. J. Kennedy, 'General Report, for the Year 1851 . . . on the Schools . . . in the County of Lancaster', CCE, *Minutes for 1851-52* (London: HMSO, 1852), ii, pp. 343-74, at p. 345.

⁹¹ Speech of Sir John Pakington, House of Commons, 16 March 1855, *Hansard*, vol. 137, col. 654.

⁹² Richard Aldrich, 'Sir John Pakington and National Education', PhD thesis (University of London, 1977), p. 83.

Certainly Derwent Coleridge thought so, and he lost no time in providing Pakington with precise and reliable evidence from St Mark's College:

Of 230 schoolmasters who have been educated in St Mark's College, to which institution the remark may be supposed principally to apply, twelve only have received holy orders . . . all of them after considerable service as schoolmasters . . . [and] not more than 16 . . . are known to have voluntarily and permanently quitted their particular calling, and of these by far the greater part are still engaged in the work of tuition.⁹³

Pakington courteously replied that Coleridge's record was 'very creditable to your system'.⁹⁴ Although the correspondence relating to this spat over Pakington's misrepresentation in the House of Commons was printed in the National Society's *Monthly Paper*, the myth was widely believed and became difficult to dispel.

The restrictive Education Minute of June 1847 remained in force, however, and when the cumulative Minutes were codified in 1860 its prohibition was embodied in article 53:

No teacher in an elementary school can receive a grant who is not a lay person . . .⁹⁵

The longevity of this regulation will be examined in terms of historical continuity in Chapter 7.

6.3 Debate in the Colonies, 1835-56

Settlers in the sparsely populated areas of British colonies in the southern continents and North America often had very little contact with the Church. Between 1835 and 1856 nearly 30 colonial sees were founded, including Australia (1836), Newfoundland (1839), and Cape Town (1847). On appointment to these colonies, bishops usually had difficulty attracting clergy in the numbers required, and in such vexed circumstances they were prepared to take initiatives which canon law would have prevented in England.

⁹³ Derwent Coleridge to Sir John Pakington, 22 March 1855, printed in NS, *Monthly Paper*, April 1855, p. 74.

⁹⁴ J. S. Pakington to Derwent Coleridge, 24 March 1855, *ibid.*, pp. 74-5.

⁹⁵ PP 1860 LIII, CCE, *Minutes and Regulations reduced into Form of Code*, p. 11.

William Hale (chaplain to Charles Blomfield, Bishop of London, who had responsibility for the Colonial Church) suggested to William Broughton, first Bishop of Australia, that he might increase the number of his clergy by ordaining local magistrates and major land-owners to the diaconate. Broughton welcomed the suggestion, according to Hale, and settler congregations formed under the ministration of such individuals.⁹⁶

Aubrey Spencer took a similar initiative in 1839, on his arrival as first Bishop of Newfoundland. The island was exceptionally difficult to traverse, its terrain offering shelter only to numerous scattered coastal communities, who depended on the Atlantic fishing industry for survival. In 1823, one of the fishing magnates, Samuel Codner, had founded the Newfoundland School Society, in London. This society, supported by evangelical churchmen, trained Christian schoolteachers (often at the National Society's model schools at Baldwin's Gardens and, later, Westminster) for work in the coastal settlements. When Bishop Spencer reached the island, he found only eight Anglican clergy, but a larger number of NSS schoolmasters, some of whom were in isolated places seldom visited by any clergyman.

A correspondent to the *Public Ledger*, a Newfoundland newspaper, described the semi-missionary vocation of these schoolmasters, who 'visit the sick, circulate the Scriptures, prayer-books and tracts in their respective neighbourhoods, . . . bury the dead, and perform divine service by reading the liturgy of the Church of England, and sermons to the people . . . in the absence of an English Episcopal clergyman.'⁹⁷ Bishop Spencer gave 'the sanction of ecclesiastical authority' to these men and had no qualms in making some of them deacon schoolmasters.⁹⁸ The first, William Jeynes, who had served with the NSS since 1824, as master of the Central School at St John's, was ordained on 20 September 1840, and seven others also became deacon schoolmasters within the next two years.

⁹⁶ William H. Hale, 'The spiritual functions of lay readers, and the want of suffragan bishops: a charge' (1864); in W. H. Hale, *Proposals for the Extension of the Ministry in the Church of England . . . made on several occasions* (London: Rivingtons, 1864), pp. 107-27, at p. 110.

⁹⁷ A. S. to editor, 27 April 1840, *Public Ledger and Newfoundland General Advertiser*, 5 May 1840, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Aubrey Spencer (Bishop of Newfoundland) to Joseph Haslegrave (secretary, Newfoundland and British North America Society for Educating the Poor [otherwise the Newfoundland School Society]), 25 July 1840, in *Proceedings [of the Society] for 1840-41* (London: 1841), p. 2.

Jeynes remained in deacon's orders for 19 years, until, having returned to England, he was made priest by the bishop of London in 1859.

Bishop Spencer justified his action by its practical benefits:

Their ordination will materially increase their usefulness, and strengthen our hands in their respective districts: it will not withdraw them an hour from their schools, but it will give to hundreds who are willing members of our church the means of grace from which they have been too long denied [through an inadequate supply of clergy].⁹⁹

He then referred to 'the peculiar circumstances of this Colony', in respect to which 'I know of no more hopeful means of effectually propagating the Gospel of Christ, in this benighted land . . .'

The force of language in which the Bishop described his territory was entirely fitting. William Meek, a deacon schoolmaster ordained by Spencer in 1841, wrote that, in consequence of complete lack of clergymen, 'baptisms and marriages have been performed . . . by getting any person (sometimes a boy) who could read to perform the service'.¹⁰⁰ Within two years of his appointment, local merchants reported that 'the tone of society has been wonderfully changed . . . from having been sunk in heathen darkness'. William Meek held day and Sunday schools, conducted two services each Sunday, and had begun to build a church at St George's Bay.¹⁰¹

Bishop Spencer was translated to the diocese of Jamaica in 1843. His successor, Edward Feild, formerly a school inspector for the National Society, remained Bishop of Newfoundland for 32 years. Initially Feild adopted Spencer's policy of ordaining deacon schoolmasters, and conferred orders on five men in 1846. His views diverged from the practice of the Newfoundland School Society, however, and attempts to find a conciliatory path were short-lived.¹⁰² Although by 1850 Feild had ordained five more

⁹⁹ Aubrey Spencer to Joseph Haslegrave, 25 July 1840, in *Proceedings . . . for 1840-41*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ William Meek to secretary of Society, 2 September 1841, in *Proceedings . . . for 1841-42* (London: 1842), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰¹ *Proceedings . . . for 1843-44* (London: 1844), p. 17.

¹⁰² Edward Feild, *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Newfoundland . . . 1847* (s. l.: s. n., 1849), pp. 37-8.

deacon schoolmasters who served the Society, he permanently withdrew his support from the NSS and the practice ended.¹⁰³ Only six deacon schoolmasters remained in the Society's service in Newfoundland by 1851.¹⁰⁴ A few (e.g. William Jeynes and Thomas Polden) had returned to England through ill-health; others (e.g. Benjamin Fleet and Oliver Rouse) were encouraged by the bishop to transfer to missionary work with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and were subsequently ordained priests.¹⁰⁵

Of the remaining deacon schoolmasters, Joseph Baggs died, Thomas Dunn transferred to Nova Scotia, and William Meek to Prince Edward Island, all in 1852. Robert Dyer, deacon schoolmaster at Greenspond, also desired 'to be removed to some other Colony in which the Bishop is friendly and where he [Dyer] may have more full exercise of his ministry'.¹⁰⁶ The Society's committee in London was sympathetic, but no immediate opening presented itself. Dyer's difficulties with Bishop Feild grew worse, and he asked the Society's secretary to reply on his behalf to any further enquiries the bishop might make 'on the nature of his position'.¹⁰⁷ Eventually he transferred to Prince Edward Island in 1859. As William Shannon appears to have become an SPG missionary, only one deacon schoolmaster, John Marshall, was left in Newfoundland.

John Marshall, who, with his wife, had entered the service of the NSS early in 1842, at Grole and later at Belloram, was ordained deacon schoolmaster by Bishop Feild on 7 June 1846. He reflected on his work in a letter written to the Society on 25 May 1857:

In my ministrations, it has always been my endeavour, as well as my delight, to set before those committed to my charge, Jesus Christ as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life" . . . to set before them the fundamental

¹⁰³ Edward Feild, *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of Newfoundland, June 25, 1866* (London: Rivingtons, 1867), p. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Colonial Church and School Society [CCSS, otherwise Newfoundland School Society], General Committee, Minute Book 1850-55, Guildhall Library, London, MS 15674/1, 4 February 1851, p. 38.

¹⁰⁵ John C. Street (ed.), *The Journal of Oliver Rouse, Anglican Missionary in Newfoundland: September 1846 to May 1850* (Madison, Wis: privately published, 1983).

¹⁰⁶ Robert Dyer to CCSS, 2 November 1852, General Committee, Minute Book 1850-55, GL, MS 15674/1, 7 December 1852, p. 428.

¹⁰⁷ CCSS, General Committee, Minute Book 1855-61, GL, MS 15674/2, 25 September 1856, p. 197.

truths of the Gospel, plainly and simply, so that the most unlearned individual may not remain ignorant.¹⁰⁸

The Society's inspector and organizer of schools in Newfoundland, J. W. Marriott, reported on John Marshall's school at Belloram:

The distinguishing characteristic of this school is its close relationship with the homes of the children. Mr Marshall is a father among them; and, when his ministerial duties call him away, the school has an able substitute for him in Mrs Marshall, who constantly attends it. The pastoral influence of the minister in this small and compact community is so complete for school purposes, that the co-operation of the parents, in forwarding the work of their children's education, is easily secured.¹⁰⁹

John Marshall continued his work as deacon schoolmaster at Belloram until his death, aged 61 years, in 1869. He had taught in Newfoundland for 27 years, during 23 of which he was an active deacon schoolmaster.

The annual reports of the Newfoundland School Society (and the alternative names by which it later became known, as its interests widened geographically) contain numerous extracts from its teachers' journals, which give insight into the conditions where they worked. Evidence from this source may be fairly criticized, however, on the ground that anecdotes were selected, and descriptions written, with a view to eliciting readers' sympathies – and therefore their subscriptions as well. It is useful, therefore, to compare source material from the Society's publications with what may be considered the more objective reports of inspectors appointed by the Newfoundland legislature in connection with its Education Act of 1843. Inspectors, appointed annually for a religiously divided population, were alternately Roman Catholic and Protestant, the first being John Nugent (a Catholic sub-deacon), who reported in 1844, and the second Bertram Jones (a Protestant clergyman), who reported the following year.

Nugent visited 'Mr Netting' (*sic*) [i.e. William Netten], deacon schoolmaster at Bonavista, on 25 November 1844, judging him to be 'very competent'. A hundred children, out of 230 on the register, attended that day, 40 of them writing on paper and

¹⁰⁸ John Marshall to secretary, 25 May 1857, in CCSS, *Annual Report for 1856-57* (London: 1857), p. 110.

¹⁰⁹ J. W. Marriott, report on Belloram School, in CCSS, *Annual Report for 1860* (London: 1860), p. 80.

ten on slates. 60 were learning arithmetic, and many very young children knew their tables thoroughly. Almost all could read.¹¹⁰ On 4 December, Nugent visited David Martin, deacon schoolmaster at Trinity, who had gone to Newfoundland with the School Society in 1825, after training at Baldwin's Gardens. He found the school to be 'exceedingly well conducted'. Both Netten and Martin had an 'excellent dwelling-house' adjoining their schools. With a similar attendance to that at Bonavista, Nugent found at Trinity that mental arithmetic ('elementary tables and simple accounts') showed pupils to have been 'well prepared' by Martin, and both writing and reading testified 'to the great attention bestowed upon them'. Biblical texts, 'impressing the necessity of an early adherence to virtue', hung on the wall, and were copied as writing exercises. Several boys were 'taught to understand well' the higher rules of arithmetic. Nugent concluded: 'I consider this one of the best conducted schools I have met.'¹¹¹ The Newfoundland Blue Books, containing the Governor's annual returns for the Colonial Office, tabulated the schools, and recorded those of the NSS under deacon schoolmasters as adopting the Madras system, which is consistent with the method in which they had been trained at the National Society's model schools at Baldwin's Gardens and Westminster.¹¹²

Bertram Jones prefaced his report with a physical description of NSS schools: an oblong room, in length twice the width, divided equally for boys at one end and girls at the other.¹¹³ He observed that all NSS schools were well furnished, and that it was their practice to open and close each day with a hymn or psalm and prayers. Jones confirmed his predecessor's high opinion of the deacon schoolmaster, William Netten, at Bonavista, and praised his wife, who taught the girls needlework with 'much attention': the school was 'among the most respectable and most efficient'.¹¹⁴ Similar judgment was given at Trinity in respect to its deacon schoolmaster, David Martin, and his wife, as well as to the deacon schoolmasters at Harbor Grace (John Kingwell, who was assisted by his daughter) and Spaniard's Bay (Joseph Griffin, and his wife). The inspector reported on

¹¹⁰ J. V. Nugent, NSS school at Bonavista, 'First Report upon the Inspection of Schools in Newfoundland', 17 February 1845, in *Journal of the General Assembly of Newfoundland, 1845*, pp. 154-94, at p. 179.

¹¹¹ J. V. Nugent, NSS School at Trinity, *ibid.*, p. 182.

¹¹² Newfoundland Blue Book, 1845, MS copy, TNA, CO 199/4, pp. 142-4.

¹¹³ Bertram Jones, 'Report upon the inspection of Schools in Newfoundland', 27 December 1845, in *Journal of the General Assembly of Newfoundland, 1846*, pp. 117-61, at p. 119.

¹¹⁴ Bertram Jones, *ibid.*, p. 136.

Griffin's 'good collection of books proportioned to the different classes', and his wife's achievement with the girls' needlework and embroidery, which 'surpassed all that I had hitherto seen on my tour of inspection'.¹¹⁵

In 1857, John Haddon was appointed to the office of Protestant Inspector of Schools, and immediately began his visits, although by this time only Robert Dyer and John Marshall remained deacon schoolmasters. At Belloram, Marshall's school, with 50 pupils, showed 'scrupulous neatness', 'perfect order', and 'pleasing behaviour'. The inspector added: 'A school can be brought up to this state when the teacher is actuated by the highest Christian principles, added to intelligence, amongst a people who appreciate his motives.'¹¹⁶

Bishop Spencer's innovative decision to ordain deacon schoolmasters had a lasting effect on Newfoundland education and religious life. The immediate benefit of reducing the dearth of clergy in the early 1840s also led to easier implementation of the Legislature's new Education Act of 1843, which provided for a denominational system in the island, whereby the sum voted for education was divided between Catholic and Protestant schools, under the supervision of district boards, whose officers included several of the deacon schoolmasters. Although Bishop Feild had personal difficulties with the Society that provided (and largely paid for) deacon schoolmasters, which led to their eventual disappearance from his diocese, the reports of school inspectors appointed under the Education Act 1843 showed the principal schools of the NSS – and the deacon schoolmasters in charge of them – to be models of excellence and worthy of emulation.

Initially the London committee of the Newfoundland School Society was troubled by Spencer's intention to make deacons of their schoolmasters, because its supporters might think that the Society's purpose was no longer to promote education among the poor, or other voluntary bodies (such as the SPG) might infer that the NSS was encroaching on

¹¹⁵ Bertram Jones, 'Report upon the inspection of Schools in Newfoundland', 27 December 1845, p. 157.

¹¹⁶ John Haddon, NSS School at Belloram, 'Report upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland', 16 February 1858, in *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland, 1859*, p. 285.

their territory.¹¹⁷ The question of balance between educational and missionary aims recurred at intervals, and has been central to the late twentieth-century critique of 'cultural imperialism', which has been placed in a Newfoundland context by Phillip McCann.¹¹⁸ The critique should be applied with caution, however, as the population of nineteenth-century Newfoundland was not indigenous, but one whose ancestry was in southwestern England and Ireland. The NSS understood its mission as providing the population with its own root-culture, rather than converting the heathen – just as the Church was doing in Britain itself. In 1853, the members of the Committee re-stated their policy when they received an enquiry about the possibility of supporting missionaries in Prince Rupert's Land:

[I]t must be remembered, that the labors of this Society are intended primarily, for British Colonists, and they [i.e. Committee members] would not, therefore, feel justified in any large expenditure of its funds for missionary operations among the heathen.¹¹⁹

The denominational education system has survived to the present time in Newfoundland, although in contrast the NSS and its deacon schoolmasters welcomed pupils of any denomination (Protestant and Catholic alike) into their schools. This stemmed from the early-nineteenth-century evangelical origin of the Society, but it became a stumbling block for mid-century Tractarian bishops and Catholic priests, whose ecclesiology and theology of authority kept from them such an ecumenical spirit. Newfoundland deacon schoolmasters, in Bishop Feild's eyes, wore their Anglicanism too lightly.

The bishop was quite willing, however, to ordain two men trained by Derwent Coleridge, at St Mark's College, to serve as priests in his diocese. In 1849, Edward Feild ordained Algernon Gifford, who was a student at Stanley Grove, 1842-45, and accompanied him to

¹¹⁷ Newfoundland and British North America Society [otherwise the NSS], annual report for 1840-41, in *Proceedings for 1840-41* (London: 1841), p. 3.

¹¹⁸ Phillip McCann, 'The Newfoundland School Society 1823-55: missionary enterprise or cultural imperialism?', in J. A. Mangam (ed.), *Benefits Bestowed? education and British imperialism* (Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 94-112.

Phillip McCann, 'Elementary Education and Religion in a Colonial Economy: Newfoundland 1836-1901', in G. Genovesi, et al. (eds), *History of Elementary School Teaching and Curriculum* [International Series for the History of Education, I, International Standing Conference for the History of Education] (Hildesheim: Lax, 1990), pp. 101-13.

¹¹⁹ CCSS, General Committee, Minute Book 1850-55, GL, MS 15674/1, 15 February 1853, p. 486.

the Labrador coast, where he served as a missionary.¹²⁰ When the bishop visited Gifford in 1853, he wrote in his journal of his delight as the music of St Mark's chapel was sung in the Labrador mission-house from Helmore's *Psalter Noted* and *Hymnal Noted*.¹²¹ In 1862, when Gifford left for New Zealand, Feild ordained Frederick Jagg, who had trained at St Mark's College with Gifford; after five years in Newfoundland, Jagg spent a similar period in Australia.

Contemporary records show other colonial bishops contemplating deacon schoolmasters, of whom Robert Gray, consecrated first Bishop of Cape Town in 1847, may be cited. In the autumn of 1845, Gray had met Bishop Spencer at an SPG meeting in York, where he probably heard about deacon schoolmasters in Newfoundland.¹²² When he visited the town of Graaf Reinet in his new diocese, in 1850, Bishop Gray recorded in his journal his response to the residents' desire for a church school: 'I have expressed a readiness to provide a deacon schoolmaster . . . [who] will be curate to the minister of the parish . . . In the course of time I trust, with the aid of schoolmasters, to be able to supply the outlying districts with at least occasional services.'¹²³ A similar response was made at Richmond: 'This is just the place for a steady, earnest deacon schoolmaster.'¹²⁴ In the new village of Whittlesea the bishop also recommended the appointment of a deacon schoolmaster 'to educate their children, and minister to them in things spiritual'.¹²⁵ Near the end of his visitation, at George, he wrote: 'It is my intention to have a non-preaching body of deacons in this diocese . . . There is nothing to prevent a deacon being advanced to the priesthood . . . but in many cases [they will not] . . .'¹²⁶

¹²⁰ SPG, [Church in the Colonies, no. 25] *Newfoundland: [Bishop Feild's] Journal of a Voyage of Visitation in the 'Hawk' Church Ship, on the Coast of Labrador . . . in the year 1849* (London: SPG, 1850). SPG, [Church in the Colonies, no. 26] *The Labrador Mission: letters of the Rev. H. P. Disney and the Rev. A. Gifford* (London: SPG, 1851).

¹²¹ SPG, [Church in the Colonies, no. 30] *Journal of the Bishop of Newfoundland's Voyage of Visitation on the Coast of Labrador . . . in the year 1853* (London: SPG, 1854), p. 8.

Thomas Helmore, *Psalter Noted*, 1849; *Hymnal Noted*, 1851.

¹²² Robert Gray to Anne Gray (his sister), 3 November 1845, in Charles Gray, *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of Africa* (London: Rivingtons, 1876), 2 vols, i, pp. 86-8.

¹²³ SPG, [Church in the Colonies, no. 27] *Diocese of Capetown. Part II. A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony, in 1850* (London: SPG, 1851), p. 11.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 191

The Bishop of Cape Town at that time had the Atlantic island of St Helena in his diocese, which he visited in 1849. Having inspected the schools, Robert Gray considered several of the eight teachers to be incompetent. His journal entry reads: 'I should be very thankful if I could invite one or two teachers from our Training Colleges, but at present I fear very little can be done.'¹²⁷ Three years earlier Gray had been unable to obtain a St Mark's man for the Blue Coat School, Stockton-on-Tees, so there was little prospect for St Helena.¹²⁸ The bishop responded to the recommendation of the three Anglican clergymen in St Helena by ordaining one of the successful teachers, Ludwig Frey, a deacon schoolmaster.¹²⁹ Frey had taught at the government Plantation School (later known as St Paul's School) since 1840, and he remained there, in deacon's orders, until 1866.¹³⁰

Soon after returning to the Cape Colony, Bishop Gray welcomed Alfred Morris, who had trained at St Mark's College, 1844-47, and was appointed master of the grammar school at George in 1850. Morris was ordained a deacon schoolmaster in 1855, remaining in that order for six years before ordination to the priesthood in 1861.

The interest of colonial bishops in ordaining deacon schoolmasters as a solution to some of the problems they faced in their young dioceses in the mid-nineteenth century, and the reactions it provoked, have yet to receive attention from historians. It is a fruitful subject for comparative research.

¹²⁷ SPG, [Church in the Colonies, no. 22], *Diocese of Capetown. Part I. A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony, in 1848, with an account of his visit to the Island of St Helena, in 1849* (London: SPG, 1849), 1853 edn, p. 81.

¹²⁸ Robert Gray to Anne Gray, 22 June 1846, in Charles Gray, *Life of Robert Gray*, i, p. 92.

¹²⁹ SPG, [Church in the Colonies, no. 22], *Diocese of Capetown. Part I*, p. 80.

¹³⁰ Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands, 1502-1991* (Oswestry: Nelson, 1992), pp. 46, 52, 54, 294-5.

Dorothy Evans, *Schooling in the South Atlantic Islands, 1661-1992* (Oswestry: Nelson, 1994), pp. 60, 64, 394.

6.4 Deacon schoolmasters – the model reconsidered

Participation in the public debate on deacon schoolmasters risked misunderstanding when identical terminology was used for significantly different concepts. The contrast between Thomas Arnold's liberal theology and Samuel Wood's Tractarianism, for example, invites the question whether their personal advocacy of deacon schoolmasters really did promote a common idea. Similarly, the earnest fear of Roman Catholic ascendancy that caused many evangelical Anglicans and nonconformists to transfer their anxieties so thoroughly to their image of deacon schoolmasters, made them unable to see through eyes that were not impassioned with conviction that under these men their children would be taught by agents of the archenemy of Protestantism. Likewise, policy-makers who saw the application of money derived from the parliamentary vote to support deacon schoolmasters as a misappropriation of public funds, perceived the nature of the model with fundamental suspicion. Such distortions of the concept of deacon schoolmaster, however understandable, sometimes became the focus of debate, not the model as conceived by Wood or interpreted by Coleridge.

Earlier chapters have characterized Derwent Coleridge as one who devised a rigorous training for those who sensed a holy calling to be a Church schoolmaster, that would also equip them for ministry beyond the confines of the school whilst in permanent deacon's orders. Firmly set in the National Society's arrangements for training elementary teachers, the deacon schoolmaster was depicted as an innovative model to further Church education for the poor, but without recourse to party divisions. Its subsequent promotion by Bishop Henry Phillpotts, widely distrusted for his immoderate and argumentative disposition, led to further difficulties in establishing in the public mind a clear understanding of the type of deacon schoolmaster Derwent Coleridge had accepted as his guiding principle.

In Chapter 1 the distinctive Wood-Coleridge model of deacon schoolmaster was separated from earlier examples of ordained schoolmasters on the ground of its innovative training within the framework of the National Society (see pp. 21-2). It is

equally important, therefore, in this chapter to compare contemporaneous accounts and settings – including colonial appointments of deacon schoolmasters – with the model at St Mark’s College, in order to distinguish any points of departure. Although the colonial settings discussed here have merely opened up the way for more extensive research, the circumstances in Newfoundland have been sufficiently uncovered to make four significant comparisons. The deacon schoolmasters of Newfoundland, like their English counterparts, were engaged in *elementary education* among the poor. They, too, sensed a *holy calling*, which was confirmed by the evangelical Newfoundland School Society before they went overseas. In remote locations, without benefit of local clergy, these schoolmasters exercised pastoral *ministry beyond their schools* and conducted regular Christian worship for the wider community, which eventually became recognized when *permanent deacon’s orders* were conferred. These four similarities are of central significance: a fifth feature is that of *training*, which also displays important similarities, notwithstanding differences of circumstance. The Newfoundland deacon schoolmasters received their training from the National Society, at its central schools in London, in accordance with the model of monitorial teacher, which was the only pattern available before the Society founded St Mark’s College. Admittedly they were not trained with a view to becoming deacon schoolmasters, and their training was far shorter and less rigorous than Derwent Coleridge devised, but the similarities are sufficiently strong for them to be considered as an important parallel example appearing in the British colonies in the same decade as St Mark’s College was becoming established in Chelsea.

Conclusion

Three locations of debate on deacon schoolmasters – the Church, Parliament, and the Colonies – were important centres of development and influence. In each setting a few powerful voices proclaimed a vision and proposed a course of action, which only resolute individuals were able or willing to implement. In England and Wales circumstances affecting elementary education changed rapidly after 1846 and imposed new constraints on the model of deacon schoolmaster, but failed to stop such ordinations. In the British

colonies, however, local and regional difficulties were overcome, at least in part, by the creation of deacon schoolmasters. Geographical distance did not prevent colonial initiatives influencing the debate in England, as the colonial church and its educational interests were supported, financially and with personnel, by vast numbers of generous subscribers in the British Isles, through voluntary societies whose publications reached a wide readership among influential people.

The work of Derwent Coleridge at St Mark's College influenced, and was itself influenced by, the debate and opportunities arising in each location. His model of deacon schoolmaster has been subjected in this chapter to further scrutiny and reflection in the light of issues raised, and its definition refined. Significant historical continuities have developed from the debate, and these will be identified in the next chapter, before some final conclusions are drawn from the thesis as a whole.

Chapter 7. Significance of the Deacon Schoolmaster:

research outcomes, historical continuities, and conclusions

Evidence to test the oral tradition that deacon schoolmasters were trained by Derwent Coleridge at St Mark's College, Chelsea, has been drawn in earlier chapters from various types of contemporary nineteenth-century document. In this final chapter that evidence will be assessed, the research questions raised in Chapter 1 illuminated in its light, and answers given. The significance of the deacon-schoolmaster model in English education will be considered briefly by tracing two intertwined strands of historical continuity: the opposition of the State and support within the Church. Some final conclusions will then be presented.

It has been shown that the 'double profession' of deacon schoolmaster promised enrichment and integration on the one hand and contradiction and conflict on the other. In 1847 the State declared that government money was not to be used to support deacon schoolmasters. Long before the nineteenth century the Church had lost its pre-Reformation tradition of clergy being employed in secular occupations – with the single, and important, exception of teaching in school and university. As the concept of professional identity emerged forcibly during the second half of the nineteenth century, the tension of duality challenged the professional legitimacy of clerical schoolmasters generally. Furthermore, at the height of class division in Britain – roughly 1880-1914, according to Harold Perkin – the idea of a deacon schoolmaster in an elementary school posed a threat to widely-held social assumptions about the relative status of clergy and elementary schoolmasters. These issues will appear as the course of historical continuities is delineated.

7.1 Oral tradition and documentary evidence: four research questions

Oral tradition recalls an association between Derwent Coleridge and the training of deacon schoolmasters in the early 1840s. Reconnection of the tradition to historical events which gave rise to it, by means of documentary evidence, is a central outcome of this thesis. The process of establishing linkages has made it possible to chart the impact of the decade's intensifying religious and political agitation on Coleridge's initiative. St Mark's College soon became a focal point for certain agitators, resulting in government opposition to deacon schoolmasters being permanently set in the framing of controlling regulation, whilst ambivalence in the Church of England meant that Anglican voices supporting the training of deacon schoolmasters were challenged by other members of the Established Church and therefore became muted in their effect.

Documentary evidence strongly points to the model of deacon schoolmaster appearing on a wave of opportunity in the decade before the government measures of 1847. Other sources reveal later changes of fortune for deacon schoolmasters in England and Wales, as well as parallel developments overseas. Four research questions were proposed in Chapter 1, to which answers may now be given, drawn from source documents described in Chapters 2 to 6.

1. How did the model of deacon schoolmaster come to be associated with the founding of St Mark's College, Chelsea, in 1841?

Oral tradition says no more about the origin of the vision for training deacon schoolmasters at St Mark's College than that it is attributed to the founders. The silence of institutional records of the National Society and the College, as represented by annual reports and minute books, is initially surprising and indicates that the deacon-schoolmaster model was never a formally approved element in official policy of either the Society or the College. It is only when personal papers of individuals connected with the founding of St Mark's College are examined that any light is thrown on the question.

The efforts of the 'young gentlemen' to reinvigorate the National Society in 1838 included a proposal to found an institution for training schoolmasters that eventually became St Mark's College. The correspondence of Samuel Francis Wood, one of these 'young gentlemen', identifies him as the person who introduced the deacon-schoolmaster model. In letters to friends, such as Henry Manning and John Newman, Wood wrote of deacon schoolmasters as 'my private notion' and 'my idea'. Another 'young gentleman', William Gladstone, appears to have had Wood's idea in mind when he suggested in a discussion paper for the activists that the prospects of a well-trained schoolmaster might include 'a higher office in the Church'. As negotiation for the purchase of the Chelsea site was nearing completion, Wood wrote to his father about the training of schoolmasters leading to deacon's orders.

When the National Society reconstituted its School Committee in 1839, Wood was appointed one of its members. The committee's responsibilities included the selection of a site for the proposed college and the appointment of a principal. Wood was one of the five members of the School Committee present to appoint Derwent Coleridge in December 1840. At a School Committee meeting in July 1842, Samuel Wood proposed that the chapel then being built at the college should be dedicated to St Mark in allusion to the biblical reference to St Mark's role as minister to Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey (Acts 13: 5); this proposal, according to Wood, reflected his determination that the college should prepare schoolmasters for a subservient ministry to the parish clergy.

Until then, knowledge of Samuel Wood's ambition had been confined to his trusted personal acquaintances, but in April 1843 he made his views public in an article published in the *English Journal of Education*. In this paper he foresaw a time when suitable schoolmasters would be ordained deacons. Wood's untimely death, only days after his vision for deacon schoolmasters was published in this national journal, brought to an end six years of single-minded determination that St Mark's College should adopt the model of deacon schoolmaster as a means of cementing education to the Church. By

this time, however, Derwent Coleridge had embraced the vision and was shaping his college to make the model a distinctive reality.

2. What models of schoolmaster had Derwent Coleridge known before his appointment as principal of St Mark's College?

At 40 years of age, Derwent Coleridge became principal of St Mark's College. He brought to his new post experience of education gained over four decades, and this included different models of schoolteacher. The settings ranged from relatively informal, domestic environments to the formality of traditional institutions, and included those in which he was the pupil to be educated as well as those in which he was the educator. His reflections on the interrelationships between teacher and pupil he had witnessed had a marked impact on Coleridge's mature views on pedagogy and the training of teachers.

Experience of domestic education began in early childhood when Derwent received occasional home lessons from his father, even by correspondence during his father's absences from home. As a teenage boy, he taught a little in the daily school organized for the children of the household by the adults in his middle-class Keswick home. Between the ages of 17 and 19 years, Derwent became residential private tutor to prepare the sons of the Hopwood family for Eton. He later acted as private tutor to an invalid boy with whose family he lodged for a few weeks in 1825, and also tutored private pupils in Cambridge for a short time during his pre-ordination theological studies the following year.

Formal education began before the age of six years at a private venture day school belonging to a Unitarian minister in Keswick. Derwent Coleridge's memory of this school, according to his short pieces of autobiographical writing, enabled him in later years to understand how bad classroom behaviour may rebound on innocent pupils as the master vents his frustration. He had more pleasant memories of his next school, a private establishment in Ambleside run by a Church of England clergyman who conformed more to the classical-scholar model of schoolmaster, and whose strength of personal character

and broad understanding of worthwhile activities compensated for any limitations of fresh scholarship or lack of inspired teaching, holding him in high regard by his pupils.

As a Cambridge graduate, aged 23 years, Derwent Coleridge taught for 18 months in a proprietary grammar school in Plymouth, with two others from the same university who exemplified the classical-scholar model. He then moved for a term to a grammar school run by the vicar of Buckfastleigh in his vicarage. On being ordained deacon at the age of 26 years, Coleridge became headmaster of the endowed grammar school at Helston. After a few months as a deacon schoolmaster in the classical-scholar tradition, he was admitted to priest's orders and stayed for 14 years at Helston Grammar School in the 'twofold profession with its twofold anxiety'. His years as a practising schoolmaster in Helston led Derwent Coleridge to state a general principle that 'in all cases' a schoolmaster should aim to see all learning as directed towards Christian truth.

Derwent Coleridge's Sunday school, with its voluntary teachers, rapidly outgrew its accommodation and moved into the town hall. In 1827 he built a National school in Helston for 100 boys and 100 girls, and appointed its teachers. He recalled in a pamphlet of 1861 how he received on high recommendation a schoolmaster, aged 19 years, who had trained at the Exeter Central School (where Bell's monitorial system was practised), but had 'soon found the case hopeless' owing to a lamentable inability to spell. The urgent need for an improved model of trained elementary-school teacher was duly impressed on Coleridge's mind by 1830.

Within a year of his arrival in Helston, a commercial school was founded in the town and Coleridge formed the view that it provided an appropriate education for sons of local tradesmen. He came to know well one of its later headmasters, William Crank, whose general educational attainments and special proficiency in mathematics was such that Coleridge appointed Crank as his first assistant at St Mark's College.

Derwent Coleridge brought with him to Chelsea a wide experience, as learner and teacher, of education in different settings, together with deep reflection on the strengths and shortcomings of the various models of schoolmaster known at the time.

3. To what extent was Derwent Coleridge, as Principal of St Mark's College, able to promote the model of deacon schoolmaster?

This question focuses on both encouragements and disincentives to promote deacon schoolmasters, whether originating within St Mark's College, the National Society, the bench of bishops (who alone could admit a candidate for ordination), the Government, or any other source of influence. As Principal of St Mark's College, Derwent Coleridge intended that his students should not merely be 'trained' but that they should also be 'educated'. Accordingly, he resisted any model of schoolmaster that relied solely on methods, such as the monitorial model, as in his view it led to uncritical, mechanical teaching. The deacon-schoolmaster model, enthusiastically promoted by Samuel Wood, was attractive to Derwent Coleridge as it did not prescribe a single pedagogic orthodoxy; instead, by cementing education to the Church through a twofold profession, the model was consonant with his belief that all education finds meaning through being directed towards Christian truth and must not degenerate to mere 'instruction in particulars'.

Oral tradition claims that Derwent Coleridge strove to produce deacon schoolmasters at St Mark's College. The earliest documentary evidence that he was personally committed to this is a record of his conversation in the diary of a Cornish friend who visited the college a year after it opened. At that time Samuel Wood, still active in the management of the college through the National Society's School Committee and a frequent visitor to Stanley Grove, was passionate about training deacon schoolmasters. After Wood's untimely death in 1843, Derwent Coleridge remained steadfast to the cause, as revealed in a letter by William Wordsworth and that year's report by John Allen HMI on his inspection of the college. When Henry Moseley HMI inspected St Mark's College in 1844, he stated his admiration for Coleridge's 'absolute dedication' to his objects but was obliged by his remit to refrain from commenting on the question of deacon

schoolmasters. A practical problem facing Coleridge was the prospective element in the plan, as most students left St Mark's at 18 or 19 years of age, but the earliest age for ordination as deacon in the Church of England was fixed by canon law at 23 years. This gave plenty of time for a student to redirect his future over the matter of becoming a deacon schoolmaster.

The support of bishops was central to the success of the plan, but each bishop was responsible for his own policy regarding deacon schoolmasters. As St Mark's was a national college, a leaving student could be appointed to a school in any diocese in the country, and there was no guarantee that the views of his diocesan would give him opportunity to become a deacon schoolmaster even if he felt drawn to the vocation. Early in 1847 the Bishop of Exeter, having first written privately to Derwent Coleridge, publicly announced his readiness to ordain deacon schoolmasters from St Mark's College, and he asked Coleridge to put his own justification in writing to help the bishop deal with opponents. In reply, Coleridge assured the bishop that at St Mark's the students had received a suitably clerical education, as befitted their calling as schoolmasters (whether seeking ordination or not), and that some of them were more able than average university men.

Nonconformists heard of the Bishop of Exeter's plan with alarm, and the Wesleyans made strong representations to the Whig Government that the various new education grants promised by the 1846 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education should not be allocated to deacon schoolmasters on the ground that it would be tantamount to misappropriation of public money for the direct payment of clergy of the Established Church. The government response was to accommodate the objections by introducing a regulation to prohibit money granted through the parliamentary vote being used in this way. This imposed a severe reduction in opportunity for deacon schoolmasters to be employed in elementary education in National or other parochial schools. The founders of St Mark's College, and Derwent Coleridge himself, had always in view the provision of trained schoolmasters for middle-class schools as well as schools for the poor: opportunities for deacon schoolmasters, therefore, were not entirely lost after 1847.

It was widely assumed that St Mark's College would drop its model of deacon schoolmaster following the Government's grant prohibition, and Henry Moseley stated (too definitely) in his inspection report for 1847 that it 'has been abandoned', but as he also noted Derwent Coleridge had made no immediate changes to the course of study, which was still regarded by the college as befitting any well-trained schoolmaster. In 1848 the first of Coleridge's former students was ordained deacon. Soon, however, there were other attempts by central government to control the training institutions, not least through the introduction in the 1850s of a syllabus designed to ensure that qualified students would teach in elementary schools only. Students arriving at St Mark's College as Queen's Scholars held their scholarship for only two years; initially, Coleridge offered students an option to remain in college for a third year without fees, but few were ready to do so. One effect of these impositions was that they limited Coleridge's ability to complete the range of study he had introduced in the 1840s for training deacon schoolmasters.

One possible sign of hope lay in the colonies, which Derwent's cousin, Bishop William Coleridge, had described as 'the safety-valve' of the college. In 1857, at a time when opportunity to produce deacon schoolmasters at St Mark's College had significantly declined, Derwent Coleridge received a letter from the Bishop of Colombo asking for his help in providing suitable students to become schoolmasters in his diocese with a view to ordination to the diaconate. In the 1860s, however, more financial penalties were brought in by the Government, including retrospective payment of grants to training colleges that were then related directly to the number of former students teaching in inspected schools. It was no longer in Coleridge's interest to promote either the non-inspected middle-class schools or the colonies as havens for deacon schoolmasters.

Through most of his principalship, Derwent Coleridge had faced accusations from outspoken evangelicals in the Church of England who, mistakenly, conceived many elements in the community life of St Mark's College to be signs of rampant Tractarianism, which they held to be equivalent to a tendency towards Rome. It is true that Samuel Wood was an ardent Tractarian and that some other founders of the college

shared with him at that time certain aspects of Tractarian spirituality, but Derwent Coleridge was not personally drawn to Tractarianism; nevertheless he was widely considered to be one of their number, despite assurances to the contrary by the Bishop of London. Promotion of the deacon-schoolmaster model was levelled against him, by its association with Samuel Wood, as evidence of a plot to spread Tractarian views throughout the country through schoolmasters imbued with such ideas, notwithstanding definite statements that no member of St Mark's College (staff or student) had ever left the Church of England.

When Derwent Coleridge retired from St Mark's College in 1864, 6.5 per cent of his students had been ordained, mostly several years after leaving the college. Three-quarters of them were trained during the 1840s, before the introduction of Queen's Scholars. The majority of these men did not remain deacon schoolmasters, however, but fulfilled their calling in the priesthood. This was the pattern, too, for the even larger number of later ordinations, which eventually reached 16.5 per cent of the men trained under Derwent Coleridge.

4. Was the development at St Mark's College a particular instance of a wider contemporary interest in deacon schoolmasters?

This question raises the possibility of a national, or even international, dimension to the model of deacon schoolmaster. Did people in other places share Samuel Wood's enthusiasm for deacon schoolmasters? If so, did these other cases arise independently, or were they related in some way? In particular, were they related to St Mark's College?

The vast increase in population and its drift towards industrial towns stimulated much social reform in the 1830s, including reform within the Church. Visionaries like Thomas Arnold argued for non-graduate clergy from the poorer classes and re-introduction of a permanent diaconate in secular employment, among which schoolmasters would be prominent. Samuel Wood's aspirations for a college to train deacon schoolmasters had a natural place in such patterns of reform. In 1843, a clergyman who was district inspector

of schools in the diocese of Oxford pressed for ‘hundreds of deacon schoolmasters’ – clearly beyond the capacity of St Mark’s College to produce. These and other contributors to the educational and church periodical press, and the writers of pamphlets, advocated deacons in secular employment generally, and deacon schoolmasters in particular, throughout the 1840s.

The breakthrough came when Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, publicly stated in 1847 that he would ordain students from the Exeter Diocesan Training College, as well as those from St Mark’s College, Chelsea. This now meant that two colleges could be considered as potential providers of deacon schoolmasters in England. The Exeter Diocesan Synod of 1851 renewed the invitation to the diocesan training college at Exeter, where William David, a former St Mark’s student, was about to be appointed Principal. A pamphlet published in the 1860s advocated diocesan colleges for training deacons, which the author especially considered would be attractive to trained schoolmasters seeking ordination, some of whom he expected to remain practising schoolmasters. The idea was not taken up, but it indicates one advocate’s hope that there should be a number of diocesan institutions able to produce deacon schoolmasters.

The bishops of the colonial church were quick to ease their problems of shortage of clergy by extending the diaconate to candidates in secular employment, as in Australia in the 1830s. Newfoundland followed in the 1840s, where a number of serving teachers in schools for the poor were ordained deacon schoolmasters. These men had trained in the monitorial (Madras) system at the National Society’s Central Schools at Baldwin’s Gardens or Westminster before going to teach for the Newfoundland School Society. A range of available documentary evidence has enabled Newfoundland to be presented in some detail in Chapter 6. Other British colonies where deacon schoolmasters served in the 1850s include St Helena, the Cape Colony, and Ceylon. Although it is likely that the Newfoundland experience of deacon schoolmasters became known and encouraged developments in other colonies, there is little evidence that any of them were directly influenced by St Mark’s College, Chelsea, although several colonial bishops were

pleased to receive and ordain Derwent Coleridge's students and at least one colonial bishop applied to him for schoolmasters whom he could ordain deacons.

This question invites further comparative research into colonial contexts in which deacon schoolmasters feature.

7.2 Historical continuities

Two contrasting strands of historical continuity have emerged, one constraining and the other encouraging the model of deacon schoolmaster. The tensions thereby created had early influence and remarkable longevity.

Opposition within the State

The prohibition principle of 1847 was preserved in the Revised Code of 1862: 'Lay persons alone can be recognized as teachers in elementary schools.'¹ The Wesleyans renewed their opposition to clergy as schoolmasters as the 1870 Elementary Education Act came before Parliament, and the prohibition article was retained.² In 1876, however, schoolmasters were permitted to act as lay preachers or readers without loss of government grant, provided they did not undertake church duties during school hours.³ This led John Allen, the first clerical HMI appointed in 1839, to protest that the removal of this disability for lay preachers should, in justice, be applied equally to deacon schoolmasters.⁴

No change was forthcoming until the regulations were relaxed during the First World War to allow clergymen to teach in elementary schools as a means of easing the acute

¹ Article 65, 'Revised Code', 9 May 1862, CCE, *Report for 1861-62* (London: HMSO, 1862), pp. xvi-xliv, at p. xxvi.

² John T. Smith, *Methodism and Education, 1847-1902: J. H. Rigg, Romanism, and Wesleyan Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 63.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴ John Allen to editor, 26 January [1878], *The Times*, 29 January 1878, p. 11.

shortage of schoolmasters.⁵ Suspension of the prohibition was only temporary, and contrasted with a complete lack of restriction against ordained schoolmasters in secondary schools, which was defended on the ground that attendance at such schools was voluntary.⁶ The difficulty of reconciling the elementary and secondary school regulations after the passage of the Education Act 1944 led to questions from parliamentary libertarians and a political compromise: grammar schools could employ ordained teachers in continuation of the old secondary school tradition, but in primary and secondary modern schools such teachers would be prohibited as in the former elementary schools. An appeal to the Minister of Education for an exception to the rule was permitted.⁷

The legal department at the Ministry of Education was greatly exercised over the issue, but in the 1950s there was a readiness to interpret the regulation leniently, not least in view of a national shortage of teachers, and the new Schools' Regulations 1959 finally dropped the prohibition altogether after 112 years of applying constraint.⁸ The State, in an ecumenical age, no longer opposed the deacon schoolmaster.

Support within the Church

The dominant model of ordained ministry inherited by the nineteenth-century Church of England was essentially pastorally-focused in a parish setting. Although many innovative measures were proposed for ordaining men who would remain in secular employment, the dominant model of ministry discouraged these developments and inhibited the growth of deacon schoolmasters too. There was widespread fear among both clergy and laity that social status would be compromised, especially if less educated men were ordained. By the 1860s non-graduate literates formed one-third of the

⁵ 'Ministers of Religion, 1915-30', File ED 24/1731, The National Archives (TNA), Kew.

⁶ L. A. Selby-Bigge, 'Admission of men in holy orders to training as teachers for continuation schools', 9 March 1920, TNA, file ED 24/1435 ('Employment of Ministers of Religion as County Teachers in Continuation Schools').

⁷ 'Employment of clerks in holy orders or ministers of congregations as full-time teachers', January 1945, TNA, file ED 190/12 ('Primary and Secondary Schools (Grant Conditions) Regulation 23'). Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, Fifth Series, vol. 410, cols 375-6; vol. 411, cols 1342 and 1372.

⁸ TNA, file ED 262/3, 'Ministers of Religion, 1916-52 (Law Section)'. TNA, file ED 190/12, 'Primary and Secondary Schools (Grant Regulations)'.

diaconate.⁹ For those literates who wished to improve their qualification the University of London offered easier access to its degrees than the older universities.¹⁰ There was even a plea that diocesan training colleges for deacons be founded, which might attract schoolmasters who had previously qualified at a training college, of whom some would continue as deacon schoolmasters.¹¹ The Church did institute the lay office of Reader, which attracted many trained schoolmasters, and advertisements appeared in 'situations wanted' columns of the educational press: 'A St Mark's Master (experienced, energetic) seeks re-engagement in Boys' or Mixed School, in populous district. . . . Will act as Lay Reader.'¹² There were also specific pleas for deacon schoolmasters amid wider hopes for permanent deacons in other secular employments, but generally in the Church 'the concept of simultaneously belonging to two professions or occupations appeared self-contradictory', as Patrick Vaughan judged it a century later.¹³

When the number of deacons ordained in England slumped from a peak of 757 in 1886 to 101 in 1918, there was a mind to re-examine the theological principles relating to clergy in secular employment.¹⁴ The groundbreaking publications of Roland Allen and F. R. Barry, who rooted their theology in a sacramental understanding of work, paved the way for post-Second World War developments.¹⁵ By 1981 over 150 primary and secondary schoolmasters had been ordained deacon in the Church of England, among more than 1,000 men in secular employment.¹⁶ In 1987 the Church of England began to ordain women. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the majority of Anglican deacons

⁹ T. E. Espin, *The Supply and Training of Ministers: a paper read . . . at the Church Congress*, reprinted from the *Guardian*, 28 October 1863 (London: Odhams, 1863), pp. 6-7.

¹⁰ 'An Associate of King's College, London', *Theological Colleges: and the admission of 'Literates' into the ministry of the Church of England* (London: Freeman, n.d. [1866]), pp. 18-19.

¹¹ H. Almack, *A Plea for Deacons* (London: Rivingtons, 1868), p. 10.

¹² Rhoda Hiscox, *Celebrating Reader Ministry: 125 years of lay ministry in the Church of England* (London: Mowbray, 1991).

School Guardian, 8 January 1881, advertisement section, p. iv.

¹³ C. H. Sale, 'Church Extension: on the revival of the diaconate', *Mission Life: an illustrated magazine of home and foreign church work*, new series, 3 (part 2), 1872, pp. 729-33, especially p. 732.

Patrick H. Vaughan, 'Historical Background', in Mark Hodge, *Non-Stipendiary Ministry in the Church of England* (London: Church Information Office, for the General Synod, 1983), pp. 9-24, at p. 10.

¹⁴ Roland Allen, *The Case for Voluntary Clergy* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1930), graph: number of deacons ordained annually in England, p. 305.

¹⁵ R. Allen, *ibid.*

F. R. Barry, *The Relevance of the Church* (London: Nisbet, 1935), ch. 6.

¹⁶ M. Hodge, *Non-Stipendiary Ministry*, p. 30.

still minister for a year, in a parish setting, before priesthood, but a small number remain permanent deacons. The case for a distinctive, permanent diaconal ministry appears prominently in official reports.¹⁷ Within this model of permanent deacon there is the sub-model of deacon in secular employment, and the fresh interest of the Church in this type of diaconate has added impetus to the concept of deacon schoolmaster and, inevitably, deacon schoolmistress too.

A further development, arising in 2006, concerns the lay office of reader. As part of a review of this office by the Archbishops' Council, a questionnaire was circulated to gather the views of the 10,000 readers in active service, 'particularly in the light of a range of new expressions of lay and ordained ministry'.¹⁸ One question asked: 'Would you favour significant numbers of Readers being ordained as permanent deacons?'¹⁹ The review working party was expected to report to General Synod in July 2007, but its findings are still awaited at the time of writing this chapter. Many readers are practising schoolteachers. If they indicate themselves to be in favour of the ordination of certain readers to the permanent diaconate – and if enabling measures are subsequently adopted by the Church – it is likely that there will be a greater number of deacon schoolmasters in the twenty-first century than at any time since the founders of St Mark's College became enthusiastic about the deacon-schoolmaster model in 1838.

7.3 Derwent Coleridge and the deacon schoolmaster

The oral tradition that links the model of deacon schoolmaster to St Mark's College under the principalship of Derwent Coleridge has been tested by means of documentary evidence. Five major conclusions are now drawn:

¹⁷ *For Such a Time as This: a renewed diaconate in the Church of England. A report to the General Synod of the Church of England of a Working Party of the House of Bishops* (London: Church House Publishing, 2001), p. 9.

Diocese of Salisbury, *The Distinctive Diaconate: a report to the Board of Ministry* (Salisbury: Sarum College Press, 2003), p. 107.

¹⁸ Working party, chaired by the Bishop of Carlisle, 'Diocesan Reader Review: questionnaire for individual reader responses', 2006.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, question 14 (a).

1. The deacon-schoolmaster model originated in 1838 with Samuel Francis Wood, who became influential in the National Society and, with others, founded St Mark's College, Chelsea, in 1841, as a training college for schoolmasters and appointed Derwent Coleridge as its principal, who in turn readily embraced Wood's model within his aims for the college.
2. On his appointment as Principal of St Mark's College, Derwent Coleridge had extensive knowledge of various types of school – gained as pupil, master, manager, or neighbour – where he observed exponents of the classical-scholar, monitorial, and private-venture schoolkeeper models of schoolmaster and reflected on their pedagogical principles and practices.
3. Derwent Coleridge, as Principal of St Mark's College, was able to design the course of study for his students with the aim of preparing deacon schoolmasters for National schools, initially with Samuel Wood's support as a member of the National Society's School Committee, and later with support of Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, but he was frustrated in his object by the impact of control by central government.
4. The model of deacon schoolmaster appeared contemporaneously in several British colonies, but there is no clear evidence of a direct link with St Mark's College, except that at least one colonial bishop enquired during Derwent Coleridge's principalship whether St Mark's College would be able to supply him with trained schoolmasters whom he might ordain deacons.
5. Although Derwent Coleridge's design for the training of deacon schoolmasters at St Mark's College ran foul of a succession of government education measures, it would be a mistake to think of the deacon schoolmaster simply as a model that failed. In rapidly changing circumstances the deacon-schoolmaster model became an ideal of the holy calling of Christian teacher that inspired, motivated and determined the rigorous character of teacher-training at St Mark's College during Coleridge's principalship and beyond it. This transformation from a practical model to an ideal

provides an explanation why the oral tradition at the college, described at the beginning of Chapter 1, became detached from its underlying historical events so soon after Derwent Coleridge's retirement. Furthermore, this ideal spread from St Mark's, Chelsea, to other National Society and diocesan colleges in England and Wales – not least through the annual inspection visits and reports of Henry Moseley – where its influence was deep and long-lasting. In 1860, Hugh Robinson (the clerical principal of York Training College) wrote a substantial paper on the history and contemporary practices of training colleges for the Newcastle Commissioners' report on elementary education, in which he described St Mark's College as 'the representative of a thoughtful and intelligent High Church type of training . . . [where] the schoolmaster was regarded as semi-clerical in character'.²⁰ Far-reaching and influential, the dynamic character of the deacon-schoolmaster model deserves to be released from the confines of early institutional history of St Mark's College to reclaim its significant place in national history of education.

By tracing the historical continuities of opposition and support earlier in this chapter, the circumstances of the present time have been illuminated. The nineteenth-century Church of England struggled with issues relating to professionalism, clergy in secular employment, the permanent diaconate, and reappraisal of the parochial model of ministry as a norm. New theological groundwork undertaken in the first half of the twentieth century enabled the Church to resolve these matters, which led to extensive changes in patterns of ordained ministry during the second half of the century. Removal of State-imposed disabilities from schoolteachers sensing a call to ordination, together with a renewed understanding within the Church of the validity of a permanent diaconate, have created another set of circumstances favourable to deacon schoolmasters (and -mistresses) at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Publication of the report on the current review of Anglican reader ministry, delayed beyond its target date in 2007, is likely to reveal the extent to which the large number of schoolteacher readers may wish to explore a vocation as permanent deacons. The possibility of a greater number of

²⁰ Hugh G. Robinson, 'Statement on Training Colleges', 7 February 1860, in Royal Commission on the State of Popular Education in England, *Report*, iv (London: HMSO, 1861), pp. 391-414, at p. 393.

deacon schoolmasters (and -mistresses) than at any previous time in the history of English education presents an interesting prospect.

An important difference between the present time and St Mark's College in the 1840s is that there is now no suggestion of initial training specifically for deacon schoolteachers. Training for each aspect of the twofold profession is entirely separate, and usually undertaken at quite different times. Justification for the model, however, continues to be theological, not pedagogical, and motivation to seek the office is still a response to God's call.

For every deacon schoolmaster (-mistress), in whatever time or place, Derwent Coleridge has left a simple illustration of his (her) calling, which he used imaginatively at St Mark's College. The image is an archway, the two sides of which represent general education and professional training, securely held together by a keystone, representing the strengthening gift of God's grace. The inspiration of oral tradition is grounded in the written record.

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