

EDUCATION IN THE PETERBOROUGH DIOCESE IN THE
CENTURY FOLLOWING THE 'GLORIOUS REVOLUTION', 1688.

by

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ABSTRACT.

There is a consensus of academic opinion that for approximately 100 years stretching from 1688, the date of the 'Glorious Revolution', to the onset of industrialisation England enjoyed relative stability, the condition being attributed to political pragmatism. The purpose of this thesis is twofold; to document the educational developments that characterized the period and to examine their effect, nature and scope, about which historians sharply disagree.

The principle that in any age education is a social tool whose practical possibilities rest on people's assumptions determined the strategy of pursuing four main lines of enquiry. These form thematic chapters, the contents of which are briefly summarized as follows:

1. Provision; the Church of England's supervisory role; incidental management of schools.
2. The curriculum and teaching methodology employed in the various scholastic institutions.
3. A survey of scholars in attendance at elementary schools, grammar schools and academies.
4. A consideration of the teaching force with sections on religious attitudes, financial standing and professionalism.

Although the study has a national dimension its distinct regional focus is intentional because the bulk of surviving records relate to a locality, enabling its educational system to be largely reconstructed. The Peterborough diocese proved to be an eminently suitable choice being both the setting for educational diversity and extremely rich in source material. The evidence which accrued was not used merely to illustrate what is already known; rather, it made possible more realistic interpretations of the macro situation than hitherto.

It is argued in the conclusion that education neither stagnated nor regressed. The principal finding is that the classical tradition of the grammar schools and the universities gradually lost ground to Dissent with its insistence on science and 'the relief of man's estate'. Consequently, new ideas were enterprisingly translated into commendable practice.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- CCB Consistory Court Book.
- CPB Court Proceedings Book.
- DNB Dictionary of National Biography.
- HIL H.I.Longden (ed.), Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy, 1500-1900
(16 vols., Northampton, 1939-1952).
- LAO Lincolnshire Archives Office.
- LRSM Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury.
- NH Northampton Herald.
- NM Northampton Mercury.
- NNQ Northamptonshire Notes and Queries.
- NNP Northamptonshire Past and Present.
- NRO Northamptonshire Record Office.
- NRS Northamptonshire Record Society.
- PDA Peterborough Diocesan Archives.
- SB Subscription Book.
- VCH Victoria County History.
- VB Visitation Book.

INTRODUCTION.

There is a consensus of academic opinion that for approximately one hundred years following the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 England enjoyed relative stability. This calm period contrasts markedly with both the disturbed part of the seventeenth century which preceded it and, at the other extreme, with the tense aftermath of the French and Industrial Revolutions. Foreigners, in observing that the English were seemingly contented, free and prosperous, envied a Government which though acknowledging royal patronage relied ultimately on the support of independently-minded members of the House of Commons, and a Constitution which preserved democratic rights, in theory at least. Within an ordered framework then, bearing the stamp of the dominant group, the landed gentry, the people conducted their multifarious activities. Mingay states that the legend of a golden placid time of plenty and social harmony 'gained vastly from the distant perspective; the reality, of course, was much less elysian; but for all the distortion and omission, there yet remained in it some basis of truth'.¹

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the nature and scope of contemporary education, about which historians sharply disagree. Montmorency's long-delivered verdict of 'a century of educational sleep' has been echoed more recently. According to Cressy, the liberal aspects of Puritan educational policy had given way by 1700 to retrenchment and 'a closing of doors (which had never been very wide open.)'² Stone postulates that education, at the Restoration, was regarded with considerable suspicion, being charged with raising the expectations of many men who proved surplus to economic requirements; their thwarted ambitions had plunged the country into civil war. Educational reform and educational expansion thus became the victims of reaction, only re-surfacing as powerful forces some two hundred years later.³ Other historians write of educational recession⁴ and educational decay.⁵

Hans was the first to reject interpretations depicting an oligarchical society offering few opportunities for individual advancement. He argues that what he describes as 'one-sided and sometimes entirely wrong' assessments spring from an imperfect knowledge of the facts. The truth, he believes, is that many of the ideas of the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries, which at the time were declared to be radical innovations, were enunciated and practised in the eighteenth.⁶ Holmes has similarly attempted to redress the balance of opinion. He claims that with the dawning of the Augustan age, a combination of propitious factors transformed employment prospects for the better, citing the astonishing improvement in the country's fiscal resources, the increasing complexity of the national economy, fruitful urbanisation, sponsorship of the arts and expansion of the armed forces.⁷

It is necessary to briefly survey educational thought, provision and practice, in seeking to explain the varying conclusions reached by historians. The social climate which sanctioned the installation of William and Mary as joint sovereigns, gave rise also to concern felt by Anglicans and Dissenters alike, at the shortcomings of elementary schooling. The statutory Indulgence of May 1689 led to laymen and the ministers of the various churches combining to found, before the close of the seventeenth century, both the Society for the Reformation of Manners and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (SPCK) Renewed anxiety that religious 'tolerance' would trigger a Roman Catholic revival, together with the re-emergence of evangelicalism, forged a determination to equip the lower classes with useful skills and the rudiments of the Protestant faith in a world seen as vain and reprobate. The SPCK in particular was to become an effective ameliorative agency. Its supporters both built so-called charity schools and breathed new life into schools of long standing which, in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, sought

to furnish socially disadvantaged boys and girls with the means to pursue an honest living.⁸

The Dissenting academies, a by-product of the Restoration and a mere handful at the time of the Indulgence, grew in number under its ambivalent protection. The Schism Act (1714) was a pernicious High Tory attempt to stamp them out as the training ground of Congregationalist, Independent and Presbyterian divines, along with all schools not exclusively Anglican. Whigs opposed to the measure stressed that schools partly funded by Nonconformists were widely distributed in the country, if not numerous, and performed a valuable role in fostering Christian unity.⁹ Though the Act was repealed shortly after the accession of the House of Hanover, those outside the Church of England continued to encounter hostility.

The Established Church had acted from its inception in 1559 as guardian of the nation's grammar schools which in the late seventeenth century, when one existed in almost every town and many a village, faced an uncertain future. Influential supporters, who regarded them as the most appropriate vehicles for the extension of learning and piety called, even, for additional foundations.¹⁰ Others however, had begun to question the vocational relevance of the classical curriculum. Their misgivings were synthesised by such as the pamphleteer, Lewis Maidwell, who in 1705, addressing Robert Harley, Speaker of the House of Commons, deplored the 'too many little parish nurserys of the Latin tongue' which educated 'contrary to the frame and profit of a trading people'.¹¹

Maidwell, besides urging the setting up of schools more 'beneficial to the commonalty', advocated the immediate creation of a model Royal College which would equip students with the means to fully exploit commercial possibilities, both at home and abroad. His extensive list of subjects to be taught included algebra, geometry and trigonometry; drawing

and perspective; mechanics; statics and hydrostatics; fortification; geography, navigation and the use of globes; maps, sea charts and draughts of harbours; astronomy and chronography; and 'promiscuous naval learning' embracing 'the art of gunnery, customs relating to war, fair writing, shorthand and whatever else' might help achieve the objective.¹²

A conspicuous change in attitude to the education of girls of well-to-do families became apparent during the course of the eighteenth century. It was a development whose progress can be traced in the remarks of leading commentators. Richard Steele, in The Spectator of 16 May 1711, regretted the emphasis placed on graceful accomplishments with an eye to marriage:

When a girl is safely brought from her nurse ... she is delivered to the hands of her dancing master; and with a collar round her neck, the pretty thing is taught a fantastical gravity of behaviour, and forced to a particular way of holding her head ... and moving with her whole body; and all this under pain of never having an husband if she steps, looks or moves awry. This gives the young lady wonderful workings of imagination, what is to pass between her and this husband that she is every moment told of, and for whom she seems to be educated... But sure there is a middle way to be followed; the management of a young lady's person is not to be overlooked,¹³ but the erudition of her mind is much more to be regarded.

Jonathan Swift had said disparagingly in 1706 that, 'A little wit is valued in a woman, as we are pleased with a few words spoken plain by a parrot'. Just 30 years later, however, he considered women to be 'extremely mended both in writing and reading', and recalled a former correspondent of his, possessed of 'excellent good sense' and 'quality', who 'scrawled and spelt like a Wapping wench', having been brought up before academic accoutrements were 'thought of any use for a female'. Improvement continued in the estimation of Samuel Johnson who noted in 1778 that, 'All our ladies read now which is a great extension',¹⁴ and by then the learned woman was being treated with less contempt if not universal respect.

A more compassionate rationale emerged too, as the eighteenth century unfolded, in respect of the schooling of the poor, a topic of enduring anxiety to their superiors. It was articulated in 1757 by Johnson, and hinged on the propensity of education to uplift rather than repress the human condition:

To entail irreversible poverty upon generation after generation only because the ancestor happened to be poor, is in itself cruel, if not unjust, and is wholly contrary to the maxims of a commercial nation, which always suppose and promote a rotation of property, and offer every individual a chance of mending his condition by his diligence. Those who communicate literature to the son of a poor man, consider him as one not born to poverty, but to the necessity of deriving a better fortune from himself. In this attempt, as in others, many fail, and many succeed. Those that fail will feel their misery more acutely: but since poverty is now confessed to be such a calamity... I hope the happiness of those whom education enables to escape from it, may turn¹⁵ the balance against that exacerbation which the others suffer.

Johnson's logic was endorsed by Adam Smith in his text on the relationship between education and economic activity, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776). Smith regarded the growing division of labour as fundamental to the creation of wealth but was fearful that the thinking of those assigned to the meanest repetitive tasks would be stunted. He maintained that an instructed workforce was 'more decent and orderly than a stupid one', and 'less liable ... to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders'. The increasing tendency to link the content of education to reason rather than organised religion found favour with Smith who is credited with establishing the concept of human capital.¹⁶

It was during the eighteenth century that educational theory, whose hallmark was authoritative scholarship, rendered the ill-substantiated pleading of earlier times redundant. John Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690) conferred respectability on the analysis of intellectual

operations, so that thereafter, the study of man's potential became as legitimate as the study of his habitat. Although he did not believe that all were endowed with equal capabilities, he compared the infant mind to a wax tablet awaiting impress for good or ill. Locke's Some Thoughts Concerning Education (1693) which reached a fifteenth edition in 1777, further stimulated debate. He concluded in this work that all knowledge comes from experience, via the senses. The aim of the educator ought not to be to 'perfect a learner in .. any one of the sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition, and those habits that may enable him to attain any post .. he shall apply himself to'.¹⁷

The likening of the mind at birth to a *tabula rasa* was the analogy at the heart of the educational doctrine of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for whom the natural growth of children was of paramount importance. His Emile (1763) outlined the ways in which the young might learn useful lessons spontaneously, if shielded from the constraints of adults. Though critics were scornful of the totality of protection from corrupting influences extended to the Rousseauite child, the Romantics succeeded in promoting childhood as a major literary theme. William Blake, with his Songs of Innocence (1789) was lauded in this context, whilst for William Wordsworth in a famous phrase the child was 'father of the man'. Of a six-year-old he asked rhetorically 'What hast thou to do with sorrow, or the injuries of tomorrow?' in ambitiously exploring 'this infant sensibility, great birthright of our being'. Yet the progressives who were alive to the damaging effects of an impoverished environment on nurture, and the reactionaries who clung to the Puritan notion of original sin, were not to be reconciled. Indeed, the debates that ensued, bitterly fought by factions holding profoundly different ideological views, were to become a permanent feature of the educational scene.¹⁸

The main lines of enquiry pursued in this thesis arose from the concerns which have been routinely expressed by historians who eschew the polemical approach. Plumb, for example, says that comparatively simple problems remain to be solved and asks bluntly, 'Were there fewer schools and schoolmasters, or more?' He rejoins, 'There is little solid evidence as yet, to answer such a question with confidence'.¹⁹ Holmes asserts that far too little is known about the members of the teaching profession, 'either as individuals, as occupational groups or as social entities'.²⁰ Uncertainty similarly surrounds the cohorts of scholars who attended the various institutions, and the curricula which they in reality experienced.

Although the study has a national dimension its distinct regional focus is intentional. Data banks for the country as a whole are rare until late in the nineteenth century when the English tradition of local independence was giving way to strict forms of central government intervention. According to Simon, the county or diocese is ideal for the purpose of research on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, because the records that have survived cover such a unit exclusively, thus enabling its education system to be reconstructed in detail.²¹ Seaborne suggests that when a sufficient number of regional studies have been completed, the portrayal of educational phenomena countrywide, 'which we have at present, may need some radical alterations'.²² Finally, Plumb points out that 'almost no county or district has yet been studied with the thoroughness which the subject deserves'.²³

* * * * *

The Peterborough diocese was a creation of the Reformation. Until 1541 the counties of Northamptonshire and Rutland, with the exception of a few peculiar parishes, comprised the Archdeaconry of Northampton which was a part of the vast Lincoln diocese. In that year Henry VIII established the Peterborough see, and the Archdeaconry became coterminous with it.

Briefly, the abbey church at Peterborough was elevated to cathedral status, and the abbot's residence was renamed the Bishop's Palace. Some peculiars remained.

One of the characteristics common to both Northamptonshire which stretches irregularly for 70 miles on an axis from south-west to north-east, and its tiny adjacent neighbour to the north, Rutland, is the fertility of the soil. From the sixteenth century, the two counties were a magnet for improvers with power and capital; the mansions which they built still grace the landscape, testimony to the great advantages reaped by enclosure. However, the eighteenth century nobility and squirearchy were not merely thrusting landlords; they exhibited a lively if paternal interest in their estates, and were prominent in community affairs. The Ishams of Lamport were typical. Sir Justinian, the 4th Baronet (1658-1730) appeared in arms at Nottingham for William of Orange in 1688, and was renowned for his attachment to the Royal House. He was a lover of learning, a zealous Anglican and a fervent Tory who sat in 14 Parliaments. Cast in the same mould was his son, Sir Edmund, the 6th Baronet (1690-1772) a Fellow and Vice-President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who sat in six Parliaments. The pull of civic responsibility lead him to devote substantial sums of money to charitable undertakings.

Proximity to the ever expanding London market and an excellent communications network which facilitated the transportation of agricultural products, were factors which helped secure continuing prosperity for the midlands region. Daniel Defoe was impressed by the well-groomed appearance of the Peterborough diocese though describing it as 'one of the poorest bishopricks in England, if not the meanest'. However, he considered the cathedral to be truly fine and beautiful, and thought that Northampton was a particularly handsome country town, its public utilities such as the church of All Saints' parish, town hall and jail being the most

magnificent he had seen.²⁴

All social classes locally benefited to some extent from the wealth creating process. Early in the eighteenth century the topographer John Morton, rector of Oxendon Magna, revealed that wages in Northamptonshire including those paid to labourers and servants were high though food and fuel were cheap.²⁵ Indeed, post-Restoration affluence caused a sizeable proportion of the populace, from noblemen to yeomen and artizans, to ponder what to do with their savings other than keep them in a strong-box.²⁶ The graziers of Rockingham decided to rebuild their village in its entirety between 1660 and 1720, not an isolated solution. Numerous English settlements were now likewise acquiring a picturesque but cared-for image which owed much to their flourishing condition.²⁷

As the gap narrowed between surviving and thriving, many people found themselves with the means to engage in leisure pursuits. Hanoverian hostelry served a useful social and cultural purpose as meeting places for groups who felt the need to congregate and organize. Typically, in Northampton's inns, there were held balls, card parties and dinners for those bent on pleasurable intercourse. Cockfighting and the regular trials of pugilistic skill drew partisan crowds. Often, events were designed to both educate and entertain. The plays of Dryden and Shakespeare, musical concerts, exhibitions of sculpture, scientific lectures and discourses on literature were all well patronised. Committees discussed various town projects. Florists and gardeners displayed their choice produce seasonally.²⁸

The most striking feature of Northamptonshire, however, was its association with Nonconformity. Everitt writes that 'there were probably few counties where the Old Dissent .. was .. more deeply entrenched', its roots lying in the 'Propheying' which perplexed the Elizabethan administration. Locally during the eighteenth century Philip Doddridge,

Joseph Priestley, John Collet Ryland and William Carey proved outstanding teachers and leaders. They espoused radicalism but the intensity of their desire to understand God's works, the conviction with which they prognosticated a new world and their integrity compelled admiration, yet ironically they were barred from holding any civil office. Though their contribution to intellectual life is undoubted, the Dissenters had to contend with the overwhelming power of the landed gentry and aristocracy, most of whom were loyal Anglicans. The orthodox religious grip of the magnates was mirrored in their command of an extraordinary number of Church of England livings. Many remaining clerical livings were at the disposal of Oxford or Cambridge Colleges. The ecclesiastical action taken against Doddridge between 1732 and 1734 was an embarrassment compared to the systematic economic pressure brought to bear on Dissenters as a body.²⁹

The principle that education is a social tool determined the structuralist techniques adopted in this investigation of its role in the affairs of the Peterborough diocese in the century after the 'Glorious Revolution'. Simon states that the strategies of teachers and the schools through which their endeavours are channelled, in whatever society, are not isolated manifestations. They rest on politically-oriented assumptions as to the practical possibilities of education and the significance invested in it by various sections of the community in the pursuit of particular goals. It is vital therefore, when chronicling the past, to note the functions of schooling in tracing educational development as an entity, and to avoid relegating personalities and institutions to categories.³⁰

Educational developments in the diocese during the period have been little studied. The author of a recently-published monograph on Northamptonshire's charity schools, in disputing both the wisdom of the appellation and their number, claims to have sifted the local evidence but did not consult the Church of England's visitation records. She concludes,

'Clearly there was a good deal going on' in the county in the wake of the events of 1688, while conceding that the overall schooling position remains to be clarified.³¹ There is no reference in the article to the only serious survey of education in eighteenth century Northamptonshire attempted to date.³² Harding, whose thesis was written shortly after the publication of Hans's New Trends, too closely follows that pioneer in placing schools into exhaustive sets. The work is heavily reliant on the texts of nineteenth century historians, and inconsistencies of documentation mar a bold narrative line. Education in eighteenth century Rutland has received scant attention.

* * * * *

The most important original educational records arguably, are those arising from ecclesiastical visitations or formal inspections of territory conducted during the sustained drive for religious conformity. Until a few years ago they had hardly been touched by educational historians,³³ in explanation of which there are several reasons, not least being the difficulties posed by the palaeography and the idiosyncratic mixing of Latin and English by scribes. Fortunately, the abundant archives of the Peterborough diocese, now sorted and catalogued, are available to researchers.³⁴ They yield a harvest of school locations and masters' names, and additionally reveal how and to what extent Anglican control mechanisms were applied. A surprising number of extant wills of masters tell, for instance, of their religious beliefs, financial standing and status in the community. Also useful, in an educational sense, are papers deposited separately at the Northamptonshire Record Office, many in family collections. The Lincolnshire Archives Office has some incidental matter relating to Rutland schools.

Among the printed sources used by the writer, the histories of individual endowed schools which vary from the slim compilation of disconnected jottings to the scholarly tome, provided a basis for further exploration. Longden's monumental guide to the Peterborough diocesan clergy³⁵ was an invaluable aid, especially in supplying biographical details firstly on local grammar schoolboys who went up to Cambridge or Oxford, and secondly on men in holy orders who taught in local grammar schools. Newspapers furnished ample information on a range of private schools and academies in Northamptonshire and Rutland which catered for both sexes.³⁶ Long-neglected treatises penned by local pedagogues shed light on curriculum content, classroom practices and the expectations of teachers. Compendiums of bequests to education, county and parish miscellanea, Poll Books, Militia Lists, the volumes of the Northamptonshire Record Society and university admission registers were helpful, especially in cross-checking.

In conclusion, the writer has endeavoured to heed the criticism levelled at historians that the 'editorial methods and selection of material in many cases leaves something to be desired'.³⁷

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CHAPTER 1.
EDUCATIONAL PROVISION AND ADMINISTRATION.

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PART 1 : PROVISION.

A. The position in 1688 (i) Grammar schools.

Several schools, some of obscure origin, existed in the diocese of Peterborough before the Reformation. Whether titled chantry, collegiate, grammar, guild or song schools, their common curricular objective was mastery of the Latin language. All these schools were inspired solely by piety, were dependent for their maintenance on some ecclesiastical institution and were situated in religious buildings. The intention of founders was to prepare a male elite for predominantly clerical roles.

The rift with Rome resulted in changes to the pattern of provision both locally and nationally. In 1541 Henry VIII established two schools in Peterborough's reconstituted cathedral, a Choir School of eight boys and the King's School of 20 boys. The latter was of a new academic breed which perfectly mirrored contemporary ideals. It possessed statutes which prescribed in detail a humanistic curriculum and the duties of masters, and which empowered the dean and chapter of six canons to act as a managing body. The same year, also in temporal spirit, Northampton Grammar School was re-founded by an erstwhile mayor of the town, grocer Thomas Chipsey. The essential step in founding or re-founding was to provide an endowment in the form either of property or, as in this case, land. Chipsey named as governors a number of prominent citizens who were to be replaced on dying by their heirs or assigns, and who would, like their cathedral counterparts, administer the school in perpetuity. In 1556 two more schools, Higham Ferrers and Oundle, were re-founded, shedding in the process their monastic image.

Amongst the schools fashionably adapted during Elizabeth's reign were Burton Latimer, Daventry, Finedon, Kettering, Rothwell and Wellingborough while Oakham and Uppingham were founded. The Abthorpe, Aynho and Preston Capes foundations can be dated to the interregnum. After the

Restoration benefactors sharing Wase's sympathies erected further grammar schools at Harrowden Parva (1661), Pytchley (1661), Blakesley (1669), Courteenhall (1672) and Nether Heyford (1673). The most ambitious undertakings at this time were Clipston (1667) and Guilsborough (1668), both built by Sir George Buswell who was High Sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1662/3. Thus, in the diocese in 1688, there were more than a score of reformed grammar schools, evenly distributed but not equally esteemed.

The post-Reformation grammar schools enjoyed clear advantages compared to their venerable predecessors. Besides being more numerous, they served particular parent communities rather than groups having narrow interests, and the lay trustees generally were keen to ensure continuity of schooling in satisfactory premises. Masters became more accountable. There was wide agreement that their duties were twofold, to instil in pupils the articles of the Protestant faith and to teach them how to read, write and speak the Latin language, which remained the staple of a grammar school education. However, as the doggerel of the monks was now discredited, the emphasis was on the pure language used by the classical authors.

(ii) Elementary schools.

The emergence of the Protestant work ethic together with exhortations to eradicate the ignorance officially associated with Roman Catholicism, led to a significant increase after the Reformation in the number of schools specialising in what can be termed elementary education. In excess of 80 such schools are referred to in the extant Peterborough diocesan visitation records for the late sixteenth century.

Across the country as a whole, a philanthropic upsurge followed the revised Poor Law of 1601. Locally, Nicholas Latham, the rector of Barnwell St. Andrew for 51 years from 1569, was unmatched in realising charitable works. By dint of personal frugality he was able to expend much

of his modest stipend on communal projects. So that children could be equipped to avoid idleness, he founded five schools, the first being built at Barnwell in c.1604 on a site demised for a span of two millenniums by his patrons, the Montagues of Boughton, at an annual rent of one red rose. Latham stipulated that all boys and girls living in the village were to be taught without charge, and were to be provided with distinctive blue coats each Whit Sunday. In addition to a permanent master, a woman was to be engaged part-time to teach the girls the skills of knitting, sewing and spinning. Similar arrangements were made at Latham's later schools at Brigstock, Hemington, Oundle and Weekley. Lesser initiatives, taken in concert, mark the early Stuart period as one of consolidation.

Either the visitation records or Wase correspondents confirm the continuing existence of all the Latham schools in the 1670s. Post-Restoration foundations included Duddington (1667), Walgrave (1670) and Houghton Parva (c.1673), though a remarkable feature at this time was a profusion of minor educational bequests. Typically, Richard Thorpe, who described himself as 'a right old England Puritan' in his will (1663), settled land that Aldwinckle children might be taught 'the knowledge and fear of God ... good literature and letters'. John Mapletoft, Physic Professor at Gresham College in London and friend of Locke, in 1684 left £50 to be expended on teaching Braybrooke children. Testators frequently allowed for the purchase of Prayer Books as an aid to learning.

Although the wishes of donors were not met speedily in every instance it can be reliably estimated that in 1688 the diocese possessed a total of 180 elementary schools, a ratio of two schools to three parishes. The scale of provision is impressive considering that several schools were intended to serve more than one parish, and some parishes were so sparsely inhabited that the absence of a school is not surprising. It should not be assumed that a school mentioned at intervals existed continuously in between.

Furthermore, the masters of the many unendowed schools were obliged to operate within their homes if they could not win a quiet corner of the church. The main task of the schools was to imbue the poor with orderly habits, the occasional sending of a bright boy on to grammar school being merely a rewarding diversion.¹

B. Subsequent developments (i) Elementary schools.

Joan Simon states that, 'The prototype charity school appeared in Westminster in 1688 as an Anglican riposte to the Jesuit proselytising promoted by James II'.² This is misleading however, because educational philanthropy was certainly not a new phenomenon and as Seaborne has pointed out, many schools founded before that date were in several respects charity schools.³ At the national level much voluntary effort after the 'Glorious Revolution' stemmed from a co-ordinated attempt to plug gaps in the elementary school network, and strengthen its capacity to sustain England on a Protestant path; local benefactors were similarly motivated also. Late in the seventeenth century Byfield, Ecton, Empingham (Rut.), Exton (Rut.), Greatworth, Greetham (Rut.), Langham (Rut.) and Thistleton (Rut.) benefited from educational bequests; Brington Magna, Kingsthorpe and North Luffenham (Rut.) gained schoolrooms.⁴ At Flore, William Adkins, denied an orthodox building, set up school in a disused barn conveyed by his father under indenture of January 1696/7.⁵

The so-called 'charity school movement' of the early eighteenth century has attracted the attention of historians disproportionately. It was a further manifestation of a crusading mentality of long lineage bent on the propagation of the gospel and the combating of vice and profanity. The SPCK did not establish schools directly but gave encouragement to local branches, each of which had a secretary and perhaps other corresponding members. White Kennett, the Society's most eloquent

spokesman, made several pertinent points in a sermon on charity schooling in 1706:

Youth is the seed-time of good principles and good conversation; if this season be altogether lost, the good soil must become barren or be cursed with thorns and thistles. The first rudiments of letters are hardly attainable but in childhood; when people grow up in ignorance of 'em, not one of a thousand can recover the lost opportunity. However acute in other matters, they are dull at this, as if Providence would chastise mankind for offering to change the appointed seasons of learning, with the same kind of justice by which men are left reprobates, who dare to trust to a late repentance. Therefore the parts and capacity of every man or woman, do in great measure depend upon an early education bestowed upon them.... It is a wise and happy frame of political constitution, that our kingdom is divided into parochial bounds and districts, as a large body into members, where every part must adorn and defend the whole. These parishes have their peace and welfare very much depending on the behaviour of younger persons. The greatest disorders in any neighbourhood do most commonly proceed from the folly of children, or the rashness of apprentices and servants, and the like greener heads Wherefore if all this young brood were trained up in a strict fear of God, and a humble deference to their superiors, it would very much tend to keeping the peace and promoting the prosperity of every common place of habitation.⁶

Kennett, who was preaching in his capacity as the curate of St. Botolph, Aldgate, later became Dean of Peterborough, then Bishop. In a utilitarian passage of his sermon, there were echoes of Lewis Maidwell:

Generosity and bounty ... inspired so many English patriots to found grammar schools, till their charity this way began to run into a sort of excess, and almost bordered on the former superstition of founding cells and monasteries. The intention of multiplying these grammar schools was no doubt good and honourable; that such a number of poorer children might have learning gratis, and an opportunity be opened unto all the neighbouring youth. But here lay the wrong turn; the masters of those schools set up for Greek and Latin only, and so their dispensation excluded one sex altogether, and was indeed too high for the meaner boys born to the spade and the plough; if these were admitted, it gave them such an imperfect taste of learning, as when they were called out to labours and lower trades, did but fill their heads with noise, and help to make them more vain and conceited. I must say that for schools of this nature, we have enough, and many of 'em excellently governed. If any worthy persons be now inclined to erect and endow any school, it should be in my opinion, an English School, a provision for teaching the children of the poor their mother tongue, to know their letters, to spell, to read, to speak, to

understand their bibles and prayer books, and to proceed to write and to cast account, and to know the common forms of daily business in a family, a shop and a parish. These are the plain accomplishments that (without a syllable of learned languages) would best become the generality of people, and make them most useful in their generation.

Many local elementary schools by 1706 were displaying the characteristics admired by Kennett; whatever his influence other schools founded after that date also adopted them. However, the markedly different charity schools sited at Finedon and Irthlingborough were among four in the provinces hailed by the SPCK in the early 1700s as models to be emulated. They owed their existence to disillusionment with literary instruction as the major reformatory tool for society's poorest classes and should with greater accuracy, have been called workhouse schools. Of the Northamptonshire establishments, which taught girls to knit and spin, Irthlingborough achieved the greater renown through the zeal of its first mistress, one Mrs Harris. The parents enthusiastically agreed to her levying small weekly sums on the girls who were allowed to keep additional earnings. This financial arrangement was valued as it induced the girls, some as young as four years, to become self-supporting. Work began at five or six a.m. and continued until seven or eight p.m. depending on the season, with only a short break for a meal. During the long day Mrs Harris was on constant duty, and so positioned that she could observe two floors simultaneously. She found time to supervise the gathering of fuel to warm the premises in winter, to personally buy yarn and jersey at favourable prices and to bargain with dealers over the finished products. The spiritual development of the girls was not neglected as they were taught the catechism and prayers, and on Sundays attended the parish church, being seated in a gallery paid for by an adoring public.

Mrs Harris was overwhelmed by requests for advice from many parts of the country. A school which not only eliminated absenteeism but had children begrudging each lost hour, and which made no demands on anyone's purse, caught the imagination. Subscribers threatened to cease supporting schools which failed to add a labour element to their programmes. Yet the clamour rapidly subsided. In few neighbourhoods could both cheap raw materials be procured, and a high volume of shoddy goods sold, regularly and profitably. Further, the Irthlingborough school aroused the hostility of all those teachers who boasted neither technical knowledge nor business acumen, and wielded a pen more naturally than Mrs Harris. Though scarcely able to write her name she was extraordinarily gifted and apparently inimitable. The bid to supplant the literary curriculum with disciplined manual work therefore proved short-lived.⁸

By 1730 the SPCK was concentrating on missionary activity overseas, confining itself in England to distributing pious printed matter. The recognition of its limitations in the national co-ordinating role came with growing awareness that schools prospered only with local goodwill. For example, John Evans of Uffington (Lincs.), in July 1711 reported to the Society that 'ye Earl of Nottingham has not only exhausted ye inhabitants of Uppingham and Oakham ... to set up charity schools but subscribed 60 pounds to each', and was disappointed at the negative response. Henry Wright, the Oakham Grammar School head, kept in contact with the Society over a period of several years. In a letter dated 12 January ?1712 he confirmed the existence of the Oakham school to the upkeep of which, people of all ranks were by then contributing. However, on 27 March ?1715, he wrote:

Many of the subscribers ... of the inferior sort ... have withdrawn their subscriptions because it does not, as they expected, ease them of the poor levies. But the noble lord who first founded it, and some other public-spirited persons continue their support so 'tis hoped it may in time by ye work of the

children be further improved.

The position at Oakham continued to deteriorate, and the Uppingham school seems not to have materialised. Wright often pleaded for assistance from the SPCK but although their spokesman V.M.Shute regretted the apathy and urged persistence, he ultimately admitted that he was powerless to intervene.⁹

The charity school movement's rapid initial headway saw typical schools founded in Northamptonshire at Ashton by Oundle in 1706 and Lowick in 1717. However, the unproductive exchanges between Wright and the SPCK show that when difficulties arose, the earnest individual deep in the shires and the central body could do little more than lend each other a sympathetic ear, and disenchantment crept up on both parties. References to schools commenced one year, to end abruptly the next, litter the Society's records. In 1724, 47 schools in Northamptonshire and seven in Rutland, attended variously by between four and 50 pupils of both sexes, were declared SPCK establishments.¹⁰ Yet many had existed previously, including those in the smaller county at Empingham, Exton, Greetham, Langham and Thistleton. Wright had requested the Society to make more widely known the seventeenth century legacies for teaching poor children in the five locations. The practices of teaching girls and providing children with clothing and apprenticeships, though popularised by the SPCK, also originated earlier.¹¹

The Society can be credited with creating the interest which resulted in some old elementary schools being put on a firmer administrative footing, and with publicizing subscribing as a viable alternative method of financing to endowing. In a letter to Wright in June 1714, Shute mentioned being notified from around the country of 'upwards of 11 kinds of school', which illustrates the lack of precise terminology at the time. The SPCK brought about greater use of the generic phrase 'charity school' for schools

otherwise labelled 'catechetical', 'common day', 'English', 'free', 'non-classical' and 'unendowed'. This was an advance because all were elementary and inspired by a singular philosophy.

The assertion that failure to transform the subscription school into a factory alienated public opinion to such an extent that the charitable impulse with regard to elementary schooling was never regained¹² is not borne out locally. Rather, the triumph of the traditional conception of schooling for the poor in the eighteenth century found philanthropic expression to match that of the seventeenth. Among the many Northamptonshire educational bequests were those at Flore where in 1730 Abigail Rushton invested £100; at Arthingworth whose foundation with endowment of 24 acres is ascribed to William Marriott who died in 1733; at Braunston where William Makepeace by will of 2 May 1733 devised a 'quartern of a yard land' to establish a school that year; at Syresham where George Hammond in 1755 bequeathed £300 to fund a master; at Staverton where in 1767 Rev. Francis Baker donated land, specified in 1774 at 27 acres 3 rods, and at Whilton where free schooling was possible following Jonathan Emery's gift in 1768 of £500 which was invested in 11.1/2 acres and conveyed by deed in April 1789. Generosity enabled several long-established schools either to move to better premises or acquire a house for the master. The towns benefited too; Daventry, which between 1736 and 1749 accreted in legacies a sum in excess of £600, being an example.¹³

The elementary sector in Rutland was likewise bolstered by a number of handsome benefactions. Mary Parnham by will in 1721 gave £300 upon trust to purchase an estate, part of the rent of which was to support a Liddington school. William Roberts, by a codicil to his 1725 will, left £100 to purchase land to help maintain a master or mistress in Glaston. There were similar bequests in respect of the parishes of Hambleton (1760) and

Belton (1768). Significantly, it was commonly laid down, almost in the words used by Kennett, that children were to be instructed in the tenets of the Church of England, Scripture, reading, writing, casting accounts and 'other useful learning'.¹⁴

The bequests authenticated by various commissions of enquiry and the SPCK lists, referred to by Jones as 'the two main sources of information', tell of the whereabouts of elementary schools although as the author states, the incomplete character of both reduces their value.¹⁵ The visitation records reveal the existence of schools not documented elsewhere, such as those at Ryhall (Rut.) in 1726 and Barnack in 1730. They demonstrate further that at times there was sufficient call in an elementary school for two masters simultaneously as, for example, at Long Buckby and Rushden. It is plain too that at Watford where £400 bequeathed in 1702 was thought not to have been invested until 1725, Andrew Wedding was teaching at what he described as the 'free school' in 1719. The terms 'free school' and 'charity schoolhouse' were commonly used by both the masters themselves and diocesan officials to describe a place of learning. They make plain, significantly, that parents were not faced with the impediment of having to pay for their children's education, and they invest village schooling with an unsuspected measure of permanence. The urge to build was maintained in the second half of the eighteenth century. The solid and well-designed endowed elementary school complete with inscription, erected at Hanging Houghton by Sir Edmund Isham in 1775, has survived in its original form, as have the schools at King's Cliffe (boys, 1749), King's Cliffe (girls, 1752/4), Ecton (1752), Yelvertoft (?1792) and Culworth (1795).¹⁶

Short summary.

Thus, in the century after the 'Glorious Revolution', there was substantial activity in the Peterborough diocese in the field of elementary schooling. However, in answer to Plumb's query,¹⁷ the local evidence suggests that while some earlier parish schools fell away, to be replaced by new ones, the total number remained virtually unchanged. It will be recalled that Northamptonshire and Rutland in 1688 were already well served. As in Tudor and Stuart times, the same proviso that not all of them existed without interruption is made; equally, several continued to meet the needs of two places, for example Denford/Ringstead and Brixworth/Scaldwell. Yet some eighteenth century schools are unknown because of the gaps in the visitation records, and it is very probable that particular deaneries logged fewer humble masters than in the days when the Church of England was seriously threatened. An unbroken succession of masters whose names do not occur elsewhere is revealed in the case of Weston Favell Charity School; the village may have been fortuitous or the trustees unusually meticulous. Conjecture surrounds such phenomena. Certainly, though, many schools were established on a securer basis, proportionately more scholars were comfortably accommodated and the well-motivated career teacher had largely displaced the pressed curate of the seventeenth century.

(ii) Grammar schools.

Feoffee Richard Fisher, who in 1711 left £15 to be divided between the master and usher at Wellingborough Grammar School and at the same time partially endowed a charity school in the town, obviously recognised - and chose to strengthen - the separate function of each. Yet few new grammar schools were founded in the eighteenth century in England and not one in the Peterborough diocese. However, all the local established schools remained in continuous existence, and those which suffered a loss of status,

such as Burton Latimer and Pytchley, for periods employed two men, one of whom like his Wellingborough colleague, would be indistinguishable from an elementary master.

Many grammar schools were cared for to a degree that challenges the accepted picture of stagnation. The Fotheringhay schoolroom was rebuilt in 1723, and that at Oakham was renovated and enlarged during John Adcock's mastership. The floor and seating of the King's School were improved, probably in the 1720s, and £50 given in 1733 was used to construct two additional rooms, later incorporated into a house for the headmaster. By will in 1740, £150 was left to start a fund with the aim of housing the Daventry master, and eventually an inn was bought for this purpose. In 1765 Samuel Murthwaite became the first Oundle master to occupy a house, erected by the governing London Grocers' Company at a cost of £365. Repairs to the school were effected on several occasions during the headships of John Jones and Richard Jones, and again in 1782. Substantial sums were regularly expended in maintaining Brackley School and the master's house in good condition. There were eighteenth century bequests also to augment the salaries of masters and ushers at a few grammar schools.¹⁸

Paradoxically, though Latin had long ceased to be the language of everyday use, the classics still commanded sufficient affection for parents to pay an esteemed teacher, often a clergyman, to instruct a few scholars in the privacy of his study. Typical was Thomas Bowles, the vicar of Brackley, who competed successfully with the town's endowed grammar school, having advertised his services in a local newspaper:

These are to give notice that at Brackley in Northamptonshire, young gentlemen may be carefully instructed in Latin, Greek and the Oriental Languages in the same method which is particularly used at Winchester, and with all the advantages of a public education without its temptations ...¹⁹

Bowles, who composed Arabic verses to celebrate the accession of George II in 1727, and published a Latin textbook at Northampton in 1728,²⁰ capitalized on the fears alluded to by Euseby Isham in a 1754 letter to his brother Sir Edmund. This discussed the alternatives of having his son 'Jussy' (or Justinian, afterwards the 7th Baronet) privately taught, or sending him to one of the leading public schools which were noted for turning out 'complete rakes'.²¹ Other clerics in rural locations who advertised tuition in the classics for a fee included Joseph Digby at Thistleton (Rut.), Henry Uthwatt Andrewes at Blakesley and James Slade at Bugbrooke.²²

However, there was widespread indifference to the classical curriculum which fitted boys exclusively for university entrance. All but the most prestigious of the old endowed grammar schools struggled to adjust to the decline of Latin which was invariably enjoined by statute. At Oakham in 1716 when Wright was in charge, the governors forbade the teaching of English. It is likely that the usher had introduced the subject in his section of the school, in an effort to attract more local custom.²³ Oakham and Uppingham were exceptional in being able to prosper in totally unmodified form as they were supported as boarding establishments by the aristocracy and wealthy clergy.

Other grammar schools were constrained by demographic realities to move in what M. L. Clarke terms the 'direction of common sense'. William Williams, the master of Northampton Grammar School, epitomized the reformist stance in an advertisement shortly after his appointment in 1762:

At the Grammar School, youth are expeditiously prepared for the Liberal Professions or qualified for Mercantile Business. Such as shall be intended for the former will be instructed in classical learning, history, geography etc. Those designed for the latter will be taught writing, arithmetic, merchants' accompts and to write English with propriety and elegance ... Young ladies will be taught writing, arithmetic and French in a department remote from the young gents. Particular care will be taken to perfect the scholars in those branches of learning

which are most immediately connected with the business they are designed for ... Such recreation will only be tolerated as is innocent and conducive to health, and always under the inspection of one of the masters.²⁴

The surest formula for survival was to respond to the needs of the host community by becoming multi-faceted. The Guilsborough and Kettering Grammar Schools were among those to compromise, and several private masters including Titus Wadsworth at Daventry and Samuel Ward at Cotterstock, advertised schools whose curricula combined the classics and modern subjects.²⁵

(iii) Dissenting academies; private academies; girls' schools; opportunities for adults.

The dissenting academies in England came into being because Nonconformists, refused admittance to the universities, were protective of individual liberties and especially the right of educational access. For several years from 1729, Northampton was the base of Philip Doddridge's primarily Congregationalist academy. It returned there after a lengthy intermission spent at Daventry, following his death in 1751. The adoption of a broad curriculum stemmed from the founder's conviction of the worth of ministers who were clearly learned as well as pious. The dissenting academy commenced in 1759 in Northampton by the Baptist John Collet Ryland employed a remarkably advanced teaching methodology which he expounded in several textbooks. As science increasingly intruded into intellectual debate from the late seventeenth century, theologians had to reconcile reason with religious belief. The dissenting academies collectively earned the plaudits of educational historians as the first schools in which the problems were addressed.

Private academies with a wholly commercial outlook offering vocational training to youths via a spectrum of subjects, became common in Northamptonshire as elsewhere from the middle of the eighteenth century. These establishments, some of which possibly did not merit the

designation 'academy', occurred in both town and village locally. They were united in having secular, entrepreneurial and technically-minded proprietors who, unlike Doddridge, Ryland and their ilk, were uninterested in the classics. The talented John Noble, representative of the best of them, advertised his academy in Northampton in 1746 thus:

Arithmetic, vulgar and decimal; extraction of roots; book-keeping according to the Italian method of balance between debtor and creditor; geometry; trigonometry, plain and spherical; mensuration of all kinds by cross multiplication; decimals; scale and dividers and sliding-rule; practice and theory of gauging; surveying by all kinds of instruments; and a new method to survey by calculation so that the meanest capacity shall be able to discover the least error either in the field notes or content; astronomy; dialling, geometrically or by calculation upon all kinds of planes, concave, convex or reflex; use of the globes and orrery; navigation in all its parts; gunnery and fortification; taught by John Noble in Bearward Street, either by the week, month or branch.²⁶

Another routine feature of the educational scene in the later decades of the eighteenth century was the private seminary for young ladies which greatly supplemented if not altogether displaced the separate department created for them in an old endowed grammar school. The owners of such establishments, whether boarding or day, overwhelmingly tended to promise in newspaper advertisements to cultivate the social graces. A school at Kingsthorpe staffed by John and Ann Ellis 'and proper assistants', claimed in April 1757 in the Northampton Mercury to genteelly educate and carefully instruct clients 'in all sorts of plain and fine needlework, dancing and every other necessary accomplishment'. Tuition within the home was also available to the wealthy from peripatetic teachers such as dancing master Mr. Ferry and musician Mr. Hobbs who in the 1770s passed on their skills to the Dryden girls, presumably Elizabeth, Maria and Philippa, at Canons Ashby.²⁷

Not all the tuition in this sphere could be described as frivolous in nature. Although Mrs Cloutt's Northampton 'School for 12 young ladies' belonged to the early nineteenth century, the proprietress's choice of words

is interesting for the delicacy with which she professed to develop those attributes which she considered to 'ornament the female character'. In support of her stated wish to improve the mind's powers, the curriculum included the subjects of arithmetic, astronomy, botany, drawing, English Language, French, geography and natural history, some of which were albeit classed as optional extras. However, she advised potential patrons that she did not neglect 'the lesser (though from their influence in society, perhaps more important) faculties of neatness, order, economy etc', which were essential for the satisfactory performance of 'domestic duties'.²⁸

Finally, the opportunities for adult self-development locally are noteworthy. The aim of both the Peterborough Gentlemen's Society and the Northampton Philosophic Society, instituted respectively in 1730 and 1743, was the dissemination of scientific knowledge. It was unfortunate that the two bodies tended to be socially select, though not deliberately so. Lectures, often enlivened by demonstrations, were given in town inns open to, and drawing, the general public. Those given by a visiting anatomist, chemist, mathematician or scientist, each of whom was most probably an autodidact and non-graduate were very popular, feeding a deepening curiosity about the natural world. Typical of the local individuals in whom a fondness for empirical enquiry was generated was the member of the Grant-Ives family of Bradden (whose identity remains unknown) who habitually recorded choice fragments of information. An interest in, for example, the specific gravity of metals and the behaviour of chemicals when mixed, sprang from his attending 'a course of Mr. King's lectures' in 1745,²⁹ presumably in Northampton. Several proprietors of the town's academies including mathematician Thomas Crass and writing master John Smith advertised evening classes for adults.

Joseph Priestley, the distinguished Dissenter who studied at the Daventry Academy, boosted the principle of learning throughout life in an acclaimed treatise on education. He crystallized the sentiments of progressive thinkers by arguing that the key to the future happiness and prosperity of the country was a well-informed people. Scientific research in England had grown apace in recent times, he pointed out, but the findings could not be confined within the national boundary. Consequently, if the country's position relative to its European neighbours was not to deteriorate, 'more lights and superior industry' were requisite while 'a different and better furniture of mind' had to 'be brought into the business of life'. Priestley's goal, obviously, was to bring about the fundamental socio-cultural change which the Mr. Thompson whom he quoted had anticipated in colourful language. Taking the places of 'barren Heads, Barbarian Pedants, wrangling Sons of Pride and Truth-perplexing metaphysic Wits' would be new-formed 'MEN, PATRIOTS, CHIEFS and CITIZENS'.³⁰

Short summary.

The breaking of the Church of England's monopoly of education in the eighteenth century was of long-term significance. The bulk of the elementary schools and grammar schools were still an Anglican domain. However, the dissenting academies, private academies and seminaries for girls, most of which were the creation of far-seeing individuals, lent the educational system much-needed width and depth, if not universality. From late in the seventeenth century, career opportunities and the prospect of personal advancement were transformed. This applied generally to anyone living in a market town but was especially true for all those resident in, or within reach of, a county town such as Northampton, where attainments and skills at whatever level were afforded by an astonishing variety of institutions. (See Appendix 1).

PART 2 : THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND SUPERVISION.

A. Visitation; introductory comments.

Visitation of his diocese by a Bishop for the purpose of detecting and punishing offences committed by the clergy and laity, dates from the thirteenth century.³¹ Procedures were gradually refined, to be applied with rare vigour in upholding the Elizabethan religious settlement. Customarily, a Bishop undertook a primary visitation within a year of his translation. Thereafter, he was expected to conduct visitations triennially. In addition, an Archdeacon might choose to visit his jurisdiction once, even twice, annually. A complete visitation of the Peterborough diocese which comprised four eastern, and seven western deaneries, lasted several days and necessitated a schedule. Between 1559 and the interregnum, a major concern both locally and nationally was to ensure that all clergymen and schoolmasters, who were best placed to influence the young, were episcopally licensed.

At the Restoration, following two decades of upheaval, Anglican control of schooling was reimposed and visitations were resumed. The Church of England's position was strengthened by the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Conventicle Act (1664), the Five Mile Act (1665) and the Test Act (1672), a legislative package which turned the uncompromising Puritan into the Nonconformist. Yet religious tolerance late in the seventeenth century was such that several masters secured judgements in court cases which seemingly undermined the licensing system. Cressy is not the only historian to claim that by 1700, 'a large number of teachers were ignoring the ecclesiastical apparatus, and many diocesan authorities had lost the will to enforce it'.³² However, this is not true of the Peterborough diocese where, despite the depletion of the archives, the Established Church was clearly prominent in its educational role for the duration of the eighteenth century.

B. Control mechanisms and procedures.

White Kennett was one of several traditionalist Peterborough Bishops. An affectionate regard for past custom manifested itself both in his reminding officials of the form and manner that routine inspections of the cathedral should take and his addressing to the dean and chapter, articles requiring written answers. In 1726 typically, two queries of many, related to the King's and Choir Schools:

15. Do ... the master and under-master of the grammar school, and the master of the choristers, take care that the scholars under their command do resort to the public prayers ... and there behave themselves quietly and reverently as they ought to do?
21. Is the schoolmaster of the free school licensed ... and does he cause his scholars on festivals and holy days to come to the cathedral church to hear divine service; what pension hath he yearly and by whom paid, and is your grammar school kept in good repair?

These satisfactory replies were forthcoming:

15. This article is regularly observed unless leave of absence be granted by the dean according to the statute ... of the church.
21. The schoolmaster and usher of the free school are licensed ... They do cause their scholars to come to the cathedral church according to the custom. The master has sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence per annum paid by our receiver, and eight pounds per annum paid by ... Magdalen College in Cambridge, and the usher has eight pounds paid by the receiver, and two pounds paid by the master and fellows of the said College, and our grammar school is in very good repair.³³

Whilst an element of ritual no doubt surrounded each episcopal examination of the diocesan seat, Bishops resorted to a questionnaire whenever they felt circumstances warranted the gathering of data from every parish. Robert Lambe, in May 1767 shortly after his appointment, wrote to all the Peterborough clergy thus:

Good Brother,

It being my purpose, with God's assistance, to hold my primary visitation this summer, I have drawn up a Paper of Enquiries, leaving a void space under each of them, in which I desire you to set down your several answers plainly and distinctly; and to deliver them to me at the visitation, signed with your name, signifying at the same time how a letter directed to you by the General Post may best find you. I heartily commend you to the blessing of Almighty God and remain

Reverend Sir,

Your loving brother,

Ro. Peterborough.

Of 13 questions asked, three touched on education, to be dealt with by the rector of Casterton Magna (Rut.), as follows:

VI. At what times do you catechise the youth of your parish?

Answer: I catechise the youth every Sunday during the season of Lent, and before every confirmation.

XI. Have you any reputed papist in your parish and how many? Have you any Meeting Houses for Dissenting Congregations? How many? And of what denomination? Who are their teachers?

Answer: I have no reputed papist ... nor any Meeting House for Dissenting Congregations.

XII. Have you any publick or other school in your parish? Any Almshouses, Hospital or other charitable endowment? Are they duly managed according to the direction of the founders? Have you any parochial library?

Answer:³⁴ We have no school, almshouse, hospital nor parochial library.

In this particular instance, little of substance is revealed; unfortunately too, the document appears to be the only one to have survived of a batch running to hundreds.

However, it is the prevalence of licensing and its concomitant preliminary, subscribing, which is most surprising in the surveillance context. Masters continued in the time-honoured way to pledge their loyalty either in Latin as did Finedon's John Walton and Oundle's Edward Caldwell in 1705, or in English in 1730 as did James Booth and Nathaniel Smith, both of whom taught within the environs of Peterborough. Typically, all four mentioned dramatic events which had taken place a century and a half previously. The former pair made reference to the 1562

synod held in London, and the latter to the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563 and the canons of 1603. (See Figs. 1 and 2). Under these Church decrees, backed by statute, all candidates for a teaching licence were required, amongst other things, to acknowledge royal supremacy in matters spiritual. Various versions of the oath, as here, occur in the records.

It was during visitation that masters without a licence were likely to be discovered. Several such men, including Richard Davis at Helmdon in 1704, avoided prolonged confrontation by quickly remedying the deficiency.³⁵ Detail thought to be useful was occasionally entered by a scribe as in the case in 1720 of Wellingborough *ludimagister* John Troutbeck whose licence, it was written, had been issued three years earlier.³⁶ In 1720 also, Blakesley's John Pettifer who was both schoolmaster and vicar, was cautioned for being unlicensed in his teaching capacity but he secured the necessary document that same year.³⁷ The vigilance of diocesan officials is further demonstrated by two incidents in 1744, the first where at Hellidon it was observed that, 'There is now a new schoolmaster, query who, to take licence',³⁸ and the second respecting Barrowden (Rut.), it being decided that, 'No licence be granted to Chas. Eyre, a pretended schoolmaster, the same person being a Roman Catholic'.³⁹

Disputes which could not be resolved amicably might be referred to the Consistory Court. Charles Lee, who had subscribed in 1699 as the Finedon *pedagogue*, failed to carry out his duties conscientiously. In the Court, in 1704, he was accused by at least ten parents separately of being absent from the school on stated days during the months of April, May, August and September the previous year; of leaving boys to amuse themselves until, 'nine and very often ten o'clock in the morning', and of boasting that were the ecclesiastical authorities to hear about his misdeeds, he would suffer at worst temporary suspension from his post. After lengthy deliberations Lee was found guilty of the charges and apparently

I Henry Goumm doe declare by I will
conform to the Church of England
as it is now by Law established

Henry Goumm

June 5 1705

Ego Johes Walton t B am concedenda
et l'amba id magidum officium
magistri in l'bra schola de Thungden de
Whetor in diocesi Petri burgerfi articuli
Dor quibus convenit inter l'bra op'is capot &
ep' & capot & minorum ebrum in Synodo
Sandin'burgh inchoata t d 17 62. hoc an
quibus articulis in 36 canonis d'isrupti
omnibus q' in iudic' contentis habent &
et amnes subfor'be

I John Walton doe declare that I will
conform to the Church of the Church of
England as it is now by Law established
John Walton

April 6th 1705 Joim Dux Court:

Ego Edward Caldwell A. M. cui concedenda
est l'centia ad presbiterium officium dei magistri
in libera schola de Oxide in diocesi petri burgerfi
in articulis de quibus convenit inter
episcopos et presbiteros et universum Clerum in
Synodo Petri burgerfi inchoata t d 15 62. nec non
tribus articulis in 36 Canonis d'isruptis
in eodem contentis habent et ex animo libere
et sponte

Ed. Caldwell

Edward Caldwell do declare that I will conform
to the liturgy of the Church of England as it is
now by Law established. Ed. Caldwell

Fig.1. The subscriptions in Latin of

John Walton and Edward Caldwell,

1705.

PDA, SB 5 (unfol.)

28 Sept. 1730

I James Booth to whom a licence is to be granted to execute the Office of a Schoolmaster wth in the parish of Peterborough within the County of Northampton and Diocess of Peterborough do willingly subscribe to the Three Articles in th^e 36 Canon Lawes and 1603 and to so much of th^e 39 Articles of the Church of England as a School Master is obliged to subscribe to

in L^{ia}
J. Booth

Edm^d and Die
Jacobus Booth
Subscripsit

Tho: Marshall Sur^o

28 Sept. 1730

I Nathaniel Smith to whom a licence is to be granted to execute the Office of a School Master within the parish of Peterborough in the County of Northampton and Diocess of Peterborough do willingly subscribe to the Three Articles in the 36 Canon Lawes and 1603 and to so much of the 39 Articles of the Church of England as a School Master is obliged to subscribe to

in L^{ia}
Nathaniel Smith

Archer Smith
Nathaniel Smith
Subscripsit

Tho: Marshall Sur^o

Fig. 2. The subscriptions in English of James Booth and Nathaniel Smith, 1730. PDA, SB 6 (unfol.)

fined the comparatively large sum of 12s..2^d. He was told that the Court should not be treated lightly, and that his behaviour was inexcusable because he had received a *monition* at an earlier visitation. Lee must have conceded defeat because Walton had replaced him by June 1705.⁴⁰

In a second case to reach the Consistory Court in 1704 master/vicar Joseph Cattell and his assistant John Connington were jointly accused of keeping Rothwell School 'without licence or faculty obtained from the Bishop of this diocese'. The implication was that a licence obtained elsewhere was invalid. Both men, who did not attend the Court in person, appear to have been fined the sum of 7s..0^d which had to be paid 'in the mode familiar'. By 1711 Cattell, then licensed to teach, was still master of the school⁴¹ but of Connington's fate nothing is known. He was described in the indictment as a teacher of English and could conceivably have set up a modest private school somewhere and escaped further attention.

In 1732 George Reynolds, then Chancellor of the Peterborough diocese, commenced litigation designed to force Philip Doddridge (who was prominent in the public eye of course) to seek a teaching licence but withdrew two years later on the intervention of George II who wanted no religious persecution in his reign.⁴² However, as late as 1763 formalities were strictly adhered to when John Rushall was indicted in the Consistory Court for teaching unlicensed at Pattishall. It was again Reynolds who took action, alleging that the offender's defiance was 'true, public and notorious' in a citation which continued:

We do article and object to you the said John Rushall that you do know, believe or have heard that by laws, canons and constitutions of the Church of England, no man shall presume to teach either in public school or private house without a licence first had and obtained from the bishop of the diocese or ordinary of the place under his hand and seal being found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching as for honest and sober conversation as also for right understanding of God's true religion ...⁴³



The challenge to Rushall was urged by the self-interested Thomas Coleman Welch, the vicar of one part of Pattishall, who having ousted his rival became the licensed schoolmaster in the village which had the benefit of endowment.

Diocesan officials used their powers selectively. For example, John Osbourn who taught at Preston Capes in 1765 was not removed from the school though one avenue of advancement was denied him, it being recorded:

If he should offer himself a candidate for Orders to remember the caution sent ... about him by Mr. Knightley Adams, rector of that place, as an immoral person, a drunkard and a vicious man never at either of the universities, was part of his time a tapster at Towcester.⁴⁴

Significantly Lee, Cattell, Connington, Rushall and Osbourn all taught in endowed schools, a factor which was probably uppermost in the minds of Church officials.

Yet the compliance of many masters with procedures cannot be attributed solely to fear of the punitive measures which might be taken against them for evasion. It is very likely that they co-operated because of the esteem inherent in possession of a licence which conferred approval besides legality. The proud holder could flaunt his professionalism, his learning and sobriety, as the phraseology employed to indict Rushall indicates. Perceptions of ruffled status explain the responses of several masters to innocuous questions put by the visitor. For example, it was noted at North Luffenham (Rut.) in 1744 that Henry Withers, 'Exhibited but refused to pay fees, having a licence, on a piece of paper wrote with stamp by Bp. Kennett himself',⁴⁵ and at Islip in 1758 that, 'Mr. Gordon, schoolmaster ... says he took out a licence at Oundle in July 1750 so imposes upon other schoolmr.'⁴⁶

Masters who had been in their posts for lengthy periods then acquired licences when there was little need to do so, further evidence of the value placed on accreditation. William Bannister at Brackley in 1773, John Chester at Sulgrave in 1777, John Foscutt at Chelveston in 1767, Daniel France at Syresham in 1782, John Warner in 1755 on becoming head of Kettering Grammar School after several years as usher, and Thomas Wodhull at Hellidon in 1737⁴⁷ fall into this category. Masters who in a surfeit of zeal subscribed twice included William Collier at Daventry in 1713 and Cold Ashby in 1725, William Hubbard as the Oakham *hypodidasculus* in 1726 and as head of Uppingham ten years later, and Richard Jones at Kettering in 1709/10 and Oundle in 1722.⁴⁸

Cost did not deter masters from applying for a licence, which had to be purchased, though educational historians have speculated about the price.⁴⁹ Against the name of Yelvertoft master/rector William Somerville in 1727 it was specifically written by a scribe ignorant of the fact that he had recently died, 'owes for his schoolmaster's licence (taken out in 1726) £1..8..4'.⁵⁰ This was precisely the sum paid by Hubbard for the second licence on his promotion in 1736.⁵¹ Also that year, Collier, who was vicar as well as *ludimagister* at Cold Ashby, paid £2..2..0 for his two licences.⁵² It is not suggested that these large fees were always demanded; perhaps men paid what they could afford but the money which systematically accrued was an important source of diocesan revenue. Officials exercised discretion in extenuating circumstances. For example, William Adkins, the durable Blisworth master, was listed to pay a procuration fee of one shilling at the 1761 visitation. However, the words 'received only 1^d Poor man'⁵³ recorded by his name are a testament to compassion.

Payments, whether for licence renewal or to help meet the expenses of the Bishop and his retinue were expected at visitation, along with the presentation of self and licence. Again, sympathy might be displayed as

when Philip Wright at Belton (Rut.) in 1710 was allowed a proctor, being deemed 'unable to appear .. through age and infirmity'. Collier, typically, between 1726 and 1761 paid a total of 18 fees amounting to £1..7..4 in respect of both his offices. Other pluralists who regularly boosted the diocesan coffers were Harrowden's William Morel and Yelvertoft's John Watkin. The average fee paid by schoolmasters was 1s..3^d which was approximately the amount paid by curates, midwives, parish clerks, physicians and surgeons. Unsurprisingly, the contribution of rectors and vicars was usually double that of other licensed personnel though Laurence Sherman at Yelvertoft in 1733, and George Stainsby at King's Cliffe in 1739 and 1744, were among masters who parted with more than their clerical colleagues in those villages. The multi-post holder had to weigh several factors including relative value of stipend as did John Adcock who in 1752 decided to pay 3s..6^d as rector of one part of Isham, 1s..0^d as the Oakham head and the same sum as the curate of Braunston (Rut.).⁵⁴

The subjects which a man could teach, and to whom, and the names of those pillars of society who had supplied a character reference, were details frequently recorded by diocesan officials. For example, Pattishall's Welch and Hawley Bishop at Crick in 1753 were licensed to instruct 'youth and children'. Blisworth's Adkins, John Bullivant at Pytchley in 1736 and Thomas Crosfield at Preston Capes in 1739 were licensed to teach 'boys and young men the art of grammar'. John Cumberlidge at Welford in 1748, Joseph Butlin at Watford in 1780 and Sulgrave's Chester were licensed to teach 'reading, writing and accounts'. Syresham's France was licensed to impart to children the catechism and biblical knowledge. The registrar's intention was not to define parameters rigidly but to document for the curious the nature of a master's activity.

The centenary of Clipston Grammar School's stewardship was marked by a diligent official's enquiries into the 1768 patron's genealogy. He recorded that John Bullivant jun., had been chosen to be its new head 'by Frances Horton of Cannock in the County of Derby, Esq., daughter and heir of Sir Eusebius Buswell, Bart., deceased .. (descendant) of Sir George Buswell, Kt., deceased'. Ralph the Earl of Montagu who nominated William Mansel to Walgrave in 1693, Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Dolben who together nominated Robert Dexter to Rothwell in 1745, and Sir William Wake who nominated Samuel Basford to Blisworth in 1796, were among other patrons noted by scribes. Clearly, the involvement of the gentry in the affairs of their local schools was not superficial. The freeholders of Crick and the Towcester feoffees were typical community groups whose historic right of election was observed but in many instances it was stated without elaboration that a master had been recommended by the 'minister, churchwardens and overseers' or the 'principal inhabitants' of a place.

The Peterborough diocesan archives, despite deficiencies, show that the Church of England supervised about half the known members of the teaching force, in essence all the masters of endowed elementary and grammar schools. Administrative procedures were tightened periodically, as between 1720 and 1750, seemingly because the registry was staffed by keen officials such as Reynolds. Three of his contemporaries, Gurnall, Hack-Witt and Pennington kept their own private lists of all licensed individuals. Thus, 19 masters, Booth among them, underwent a triple check in 1730.⁵⁵ Either the influence exerted by female teachers in the diocese's elementary sector was considered insignificant, or their numbers were few, because reference was made to only one, Sara Swan of Belton (Rut.) of whom Pennington, incidentally, in 1730 wrote 'teaches school without licence, cite her'.⁵⁶

Towards the close of the eighteenth century many teaching licensees, not all in financial straits, were recorded by scribes as being in arrears with procuracy fees; simultaneously, the documentation on masters was sharply reduced. The weakening of the Church of England's grip on education could with more accuracy be said to date from this time. (See Fig.3).

Fig.3.

THE PETERBOROUGH DIOCESAN ARCHIVES : THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND DOCUMENTATION OF SCHOOLMASTERS.

Incidental references to masters in the visitation records, by decades.	1683 - 1700	42	
	1701 - 1710	32	
	1711 - 1720	86	
	1721 - 1730	284	
	1731 - 1740	139	
	1741 - 1750	107	
	1751 - 1760	87	
	1761 - 1770	87	
	1771 - 1780	161	
	1781 - 1790	29	
	1791 - 1800	8	
	1801 - 1804	3	
Total number of references, 1683-1804 (including a few testamentary).	... ..	1097	
Number of individual masters referred to	... ..	373 plus 1 woman	
Individuals most frequently referred to	...	John Castledine (17 times)	
		Richard Jones (17 times)	
		William Adkins (16 times)	
		Richard Barker (15 times)	
Subscriptions, by decades	1690 - 1700	12	
	1701 - 1710	23	
	1711 - 1720	28	
	1721 - 1730	37	
	1731 - 1740	18	
	1741 - 1750	12	
	1751 - 1760	9	
	1761 - 1770	12	
	1771 - 1780	19	
	1781 - 1790	5	
	1791 - 1800	7	
	1801 - 1804	3	<u>TOTAL 185</u>
Number of references to masters being licensed or unlicensed	... ..	391	
Number of masters noted as being licensed	... ..	217	

Number of masters noted as being unlicensed	... ..	34 plus 1 woman
Number of references to masters appearing and/or exhibiting their licences	... ..	138
Number of masters noted as appearing and/or exhibiting their licences	... ..	72
Number of references to masters not appearing and/or exhibiting; to sickness; to being excused	... ..	44
Number of masters noted as not appearing and/or exhibiting	... ..	35
Number of masters nominated by a patron or body of trustees (majority after 1739)	... ..	48
Average procuration fees of licensed personnel (in places where masters were active)	schoolmaster	... 1s..3 ^d (529 fees)
	rector/vicar	... 2s..6 ^d (535 fees)
	curate	... 1s..5 ^d (194 fees)
	obstetrician	... 1s..3 ^d (156 fees)
	surgeon	... 1s..1.1/2 ^d (23 fees)
	parish clerk	... 1s..5 ^d (10 fees)
	physician	... 1s..6 ^d (6 fees)

PART 3 : INCIDENTAL MANAGEMENT.

A. Elementary schools.

Despite the attentions of the Church and the extensiveness of patronage, a range of duties devolved upon governing bodies. Fortunately, founders of elementary schools (as well as of grammar schools) not infrequently set down in writing an administrative code of practice for reference should future disputes arise. Typically, the trustees of Kingsthorpe Charity School could consult the detailed instructions which had been provided by Thomas Cooke on such matters as maintaining the premises and grounds, and on collecting and deploying revenues. There were guidelines, too, on selecting a master, who in return for rent-free accommodation and an annual salary of £12, had to 'carefully and diligently teach ... fifteen boys and fifteen girls ... to read English well, and to say by heart exactly and distinctly, the Church catechism ...' Which children were eligible to attend and what was additionally expected of them, was similarly made plain:

All ... shall be orphans, or such ... whose parents are so poor that they can not conveniently, or so careless that they will not, pay for their schooling ... None of the said scholars shall continue at school longer than three years, except such as shall learn to write and cipher, and they may continue half a year longer. No child shall be admitted ... under the age of seven or eight years. The school hours shall be from seven in the morning to eleven, and from one in the afternoon to five, in the long days; and in the short days, from seven or eight in the morning to eleven, and from one in the afternoon to twilight. The trustees ... may ... discharge any children that shall not attend the said school constantly, or shall behave themselves wickedly ... if they do not amend their faults after two or three admonitions given to their parents. And the trustees shall elect ... other children in their rooms ... so that there may not be fewer than thirty scholars, nor never more than thirty ... Except only that the master shall have liberty to teach ten scholars (for gain) besides those which are to be admitted as aforesaid, but no more.⁵⁷

Cooke was not dogmatic. He authorised the trustees, or a majority of them to make changes to his rules and to draft others thought proper for the better regulating of the school.

As the salaries and perquisites of masters were a prime potential source of friction, perspicacious founders outlined them in language free of ambiguity. For example, at King's Cliffe Charity School for boys it was decreed by William Law who, as was always the case, overlooked the need for protection against inflation:

The salary settled upon the master for teaching 18 boys is £20 per annum, free from all taxes, parish rates and all expenses for keeping his house in repair. The salary is punctually to be paid by 4 quarterly payments ... And every Lady Day quarter he is to be paid 30 shillings over and above⁵⁸ his quarterly payment, to buy firewood for the school ...

Decisions bearing crucially on the continuing existence of a school had occasionally to be taken as at Glaston (Rut.) in 1734. Thomas and Edward Roberts had failed, by then, to purchase either land or property by way of endowment with the £100 left by their brother William in 1725, though they had funded a school in the village. A pragmatic solution was reached following discussions between the various interested parties. In discharge of their obligations, Thomas with Edward's consent by indenture in April 1734, granted an annuity of £5 in respect of 13 acres of pasture owned by the latter, to the Earl of Harborough. Subsequently, he paid a like sum every St. Thomas's Day in part stipend to a master appointed by him, while the minister and parish officers undertook general responsibility for the school.⁵⁹

Trustees anxious to communicate with the public at large found the newspaper insert useful. Thus were the people of Northampton exhorted in May 1755 on behalf of the town charity school which was supported both by corporation subvention and voluntary contributions:

The trustees and managers ... beg leave to inform the public that the expenses for necessary repairs and other incidental charges during the last year have greatly exceeded their certain annual income. The trustees therefore are reduced to the necessity of applying again (and, as they hope, for the last time) to the benevolence of generous and well disposed persons. For this purpose a sermon will be preached for the benefit of the said charity school on Thursday the 29th

inst. at the parish church of All Saints ... when the appearance of all such gentlemen and others who are inclined to promote so useful and public-spirited a design will be gratefully acknowledged as an additional obligation to the many others which the school hath lately received from the generosity and affection of the public.⁶⁰

Following the sermon, preached by Peter Whalley, the head of Courteenhall Grammar School, there was the attraction of hospitality at the Woolpack Inn. Whalley, through the press, had earlier informed parents living within four miles of Courteenhall that their children could attend the elementary department of his school free of charge under Sir Samuel Jones's will.⁶¹ In August 1778, the Beckett and Sargeant Charity School advertised vacancies for pupils who could demonstrate a Church of England background.⁶²

The most common concern to governing bodies, naturally, was a master's suitability. Grievances could be aired at the Consistory Court— as with Lee at Finedon— but in 1702 the Burton Latimer trustees who were apparently the inhabitants *en bloc* were obliged, because of peculiar circumstances, to appeal elsewhere. Incensed when Thomas Aungier was installed in the free school shortly after the death of long-serving William ?Phelipps, they addressed a complaint several pages in length to William Cowper, Britain's first Lord Chancellor. One Henry Baron was alleged to have taken the schoolhouse key into his possession and had then 'arbitrarily and of his own will put in' Aungier, 'a cast servant of some of his relations'. Malpractice was hinted at regarding the profits stemming from a meadow belonging to the school. The most serious charge, however, was that the new master was an 'illiterate man utterly unfit for the employment but fit for (Baron's) purpose being one that would be content with what he would please to give him'. Furthermore, the parishioners and the minister it was claimed held the right of appointment under the terms of the foundation. It seems that their wish to have Richard Wood, a Cambridge graduate and respected local clergyman, made master was not

realised but they were successful in replacing Aungier.⁶³

The Harrowden Parva Free School body of trustees was reconstituted in 1720, 1754 and 1797 in exact accordance with founder William Aylworth's instructions of 1662 (For the names of members see Fig.4). The 1797 group was determined to end an unsatisfactory arrangement. For some four decades by then William Morel, the vicar, had been also nominal master of the school, which was in the charge of his appointee, Mr Goodman. This fell foul of the stipulation that the master had to be a graduate but must not simultaneously hold a benefice, and there was criticism besides of Morel's enclosure of a parcel of school land. Letters were exchanged between Allen Edward Young on behalf of the new trustees, and Morel, then residing at Paddington Green (Midd'x), who countered that he had accepted the scholastic post only 'at the particular request of my late worthy friend L^d. Rockingham who said it would qualify me to vote at Leicester for a Member of Parliament whenever a vacancy occurred'. Morel's practice of paying Goodman £18 annually and retaining £2 for himself was justified, he said, since he had long borne the cost of schoolhouse repairs for which the founder had made no provision. He rebutted the allegation that his fencing of the land was for personal gain. The trustees disagreed and presented Morel with a balance-sheet purporting to show that through his machinations over the years he had profited to the extent of £219..13..4. Morel did not contest the figure but rejected Young's claim that the school was dilapidated. After seeking legal advice however, in September 1803 he forwarded £60 to the trustees towards its renovation.

By October Morel was in possession of the £20 salary for that year, released by the founder's heir J. Cradock, who had been entreated by trustee Samuel Sharman identified as 'of Hardwick' to withhold. Eventually

TRUSTEES OF HARROWDEN PARVA FREE SCHOOL, 1685-1797.

SURVIVING TRUSTEES FROM 1685.

William Hawgood	Harrowden Parva	Yeoman
Henry Whiteing	Harrowden Parva	Yeoman
John Manning	Orlingbury	Yeoman

LEASED TO NEW TRUSTEES, OCTOBER 1720.

Samuel Alderman	Harrowden Parva	Yeoman
Humphrey Wallis	Harrowden Parva	Yeoman
William Harris	Harrowden Magna	Grazier
Jonas Pashley	Harrowden Magna	Yeoman
Elisha Phillips	Harrowden Magna	Grazier
John White	Harrowden Magna	Grazier
John Manning	Orlingbury	Yeoman
Joseph Manning	Orlingbury	Gentleman
Samuel Mitchell	Orlingbury	Husbandman

SURVIVING TRUSTEES FROM 1720.

Joseph Manning
Elisha Phillips
Humphrey Wallis

LEASED TO NEW TRUSTEES, DECEMBER 1754.

Thomas Alderman (sen.)	Harrowden Parva	Gentleman
Thomas Alderman (jun.)	Harrowden Parva	Gentleman
William Stevens	Harrowden Parva	Yeoman
John Charlton	Harrowden Magna	Grazier
John Harris	Harrowden Magna	Grazier
James Phillips	Harrowden Magna	Grazier
Brooke Bridges	Orlingbury	Clerk
John Manning	Orlingbury	Yeoman
William Manning	Orlingbury	Yeoman
Allen Young	Orlingbury	Esquire

SURVIVING TRUSTEES FROM 1754.

Thomas Alderman (jun.)
Brooke Bridges
John Manning

LEASED TO NEW TRUSTEES, MAY 1797.

William Bayes	Harrowden Parva	Grazier
Stephen Canwarden	Harrowden Parva	Grazier
William Higgins (jun.)	Harrowden Parva	Grazier

/Continued...

Joseph Nichols	Harrowden Parva	Grazier
Samuel Sharman (sen.)	Harrowden Parva	Gentleman
Samuel Sharman (jun.)	Harrowden Parva	Gentleman
James Somes	Harrowden Parva	Grazier
Joseph Wallis	Harrowden Parva	Grazier
John Freestone	Harrowden Magna	Yeoman
Henry Widdowson	Harrowden Magna	Yeoman
Nathaniel Bridges	Orlingbury	Clergyman
John Manning (jun.)	Orlingbury	NOT STATED
Joseph Manning	Orlingbury	Gentleman
Allen Edward Young	Orlingbury	Esquire

NOTE

The legal costs in appointing the 1797 trustees amounted to £10..10..2 and included these items; 'perusing the old deeds .. and settling £4..0..0; ingrossing 4 skins £2..0..0; stamps and parchment £2..10..0.'

Source: NRO, Little Harrowden (i) 1972/109.
Documents 36/1. (2, 6, 7, 8.)

Cradock was persuaded to the opinion that Morel's title to the school was ill-grounded. In March 1804 Sharman wrote in strong terms to an intermediary, Brook Bridges (not the former trustee), to the effect that Goodman was in dire need of the full salary, having no other income because the jersey combing business he relied on was 'so excessive dull'. Morel's October plea to Cradock for the 1804 salary was met with a demand from Wellingborough attorney John Hodson for his resignation; if it was not immediately forthcoming he would file a Bill in Chancery to secure a decree for the charity. On 2 November 1804 Morel complied, whereupon the trustees resorted to the old device of opening a subscription list 'for defraying the expense of the schoolhouse ... which sum amounts to 23 pounds above the 60 pounds obtained'.⁶⁴

The long struggle of the 1797 group of Harrowden trustees to remedy their inherited difficulties, undaunted by the effort and cost involved, was therefore ultimately worthwhile. It is striking that for a century and a half the school's mechanisms of governance functioned satisfactorily, that many trustees held office for 30 or 40 years, that they always came from the three villages named in Aylworth's will and remained socially representative, and that the due salary was paid annually without interruption. It is noteworthy, too, that although the substitute teacher Goodman was improperly elected and lacking the required qualifications his competence in the classroom was never at issue.

Perhaps the persistence displayed at Harrowden was unusual but particularly well-documented histories confirm that oversight of several other unpretentious schools was continuous from their foundation. Typical was the Weston Favell Charity School for both boys and girls which was founded in 1704 by Hervey and Elizabeth Ekins in memory of their daughter who died at an early age. The trustees, nine initially with Church of England clergy prominent, were to make up the number again when reduced

to three. Their first major task was to acquire a house for the master in 1707, and thereafter varied duties were attended to assiduously. They regularly arranged for the thatch on the school itself to be repaired, eventually deciding on a tiled roof; quicklime was routinely applied to the interior walls, and the yard was paved. In the 1730s Chancery proceedings were commenced which secured an outstanding rent-charge, while the endowed acreage was extended to improve the financial position. An appeal against window-tax in 1747 resulted in the school's exemption. Coal was an expensive item seasonally, over four tons being purchased during a hard winter. In 1775, 3s..0^d was spent on powder and shot to oust sparrows from the buildings. The performance of masters was monitored and weak ones replaced, and ex-pupils who may have become a burden on the parish were apprenticed. A new body of trustees including the Rt. Hon. John Charles Spencer and Sir William Wake took office in 1803, despite the dying out by then of the Ekins male line. Finally, in 1814, the family estate was sold yet the tradition of helping the Weston Favell poor was maintained throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, down to the present day.⁶⁵

The evidence elsewhere, which albeit is not exhaustive, suggests that elementary schools were valued by the communities they served and that governing bodies were adaptable and conscientious.

B. Grammar schools.

The principal concern of those entrusted with the affairs of endowed grammar schools was to secure and retain masters who were orthodox in religion and capable in the classroom. When the headship of Fotheringhay Grammar School became vacant in 1701, a petition signed significantly by all the inhabitants was addressed to the Lords of the Treasury:

We do nominate Mr. Samuel Whitworth, BA, to your Lordships' consideration as a person well deserving your Lordships' favour, who by his care and industry in the said school under ... Thomas Bennet for four years last past, by his abilities to teach, by his sober life and conversation, and by his exact conformity to the Church of England, hath recommended himself to us, and all the neighbouring gentlemen about us ... We do beseech your Lordships to confirm him in the ... office of schoolmaster amongst us for our common good, nothing doubting but he will answer the expectation we have of him.

On Whitworth's death 13 years later, a similar petition naming John Loveling was sent. A speedy response was anticipated by the villagers who feared that a period without a master would be greatly damaging. As an inducement to stay, the new man was given a house 'with a stable and barn adjoining, a yard and garden, with four cow commons on the cottagers' pasture'. Thereafter, local children were required to pay only a small entrance fee, while outsiders could attend on agreeing private financial arrangements with the master.⁶⁶

Broad interest was aroused at Wellingborough in 1703 when 'the feoffees, churchwardens, overseers and many others .. met after a public notice in the church' and chose John Eales as master of the grammar school. To augment the endowed salary he was promised certain rents and a grant from public funds annually. Seventeen leading townsmen appended their signatures to the document, a leaf in the Feoffee Account Book, which conveyed the details. The solemnity which in 1710 again accompanied the appointment of Benjamin Chesterton to the post of usher or writing master, following wide consultation, tells of the school's important civic role. (See Fig.5). As late as 1791 usher William Brown prudently secured the recommendation of many inhabitants before subscribing.⁶⁷ It is clear from their detailed records that the feoffees acted as responsible trustees throughout the eighteenth century. For instance, with respect to the school's physical condition, minor repairs such as reglazing in 1701, mending the door key in 1702 and the lock in 1708

Benjamin Chesterton as usher,

1710.

NRO, ML 793 (unfol.)

Wellingborough

Whereas the Ushers place in y^e School of this parish
of Wellingborough has been lately vacant by y^e Resigna-
tion of John Hitchmer the late Usher here, Whereas
Notice has been publicly given in y^e parish Church on
Sunday last being y^e 12th of y^e moth of October 1710 that the Inhabitants
of y^e parish having a Right to Elect One or more
Candidates for y^e Ushers place on Monday y^e 13th instant 1710 appeared as
of appointed day for that purpose & the Trustees
of y^e School & other Inhabitants then appearing did Elect
Benjamin Chesterton to serve in y^e free school of
Wellingborough as Usher or Writing Master without any
opposition

Witness our hands y^e day
& year above written

J. Muzzell
T. M. Taylor
H. W. Spence
J. G. D. D. D.

Scott's
W. C. Cartwell
John Worlidge
Chas. Simonds
Richard Fisher
Tim. Macey
Tho. Hoysman

J. G. D. Schoolmaster

were always promptly carried out.⁶⁸

Following the death of Higham Ferrers pluralist Richard Willis, himself a corporate choice, a petition dated 19 February 1726 combined with a timely political reminder, was conveyed to Thomas Dacres who had the right of presentation to the vicarage. It was signed by 59 men of whom six were Aldermen, eight were burgesses, and 23 were able merely to make a mark:

Whereas it did formerly please you .. to promise to some of us (especially those of us who served you with our vote and interest in the late election) that after the decease of the late Rev. Mr. Willis the choice of a vicar should be left to us ... The bearer hereof the Rev. Mr. John Glassbrook being a neighbour and a gentleman of whose abilities as a clergyman and as a school-master too we are fully satisfied. We therefore recommend him to your favour.⁶⁹

The request was quickly acceded to because Glasbrooke was recorded at visitation as the Higham Ferrers vicar and *ludimagister* in August 1726.⁷⁰

Help in overcoming problems encountered by the school was routinely rendered by the nobility. In 1799 when Christopher Ellershaw, master for 23 years died, the Borough Council passed this resolution:

That the inhabitants have for many years derived very great and valuable benefits from the free school; that Earl Fitzwilliam and his predecessors having graciously contributed £10 per annum towards the support of the same, Mr John Allen (his Lordship's agent) be requested to communicate to his Lordship ⁷¹the grateful sense the Corporation entertain of those favours ..

Aristocratic influence was most keenly felt at the Oakham and Uppingham Schools. Present in 1750 at a meeting of the joint governing body were the 8th Earl of Exeter; his heir Lord Burghley; Daniel Finch, 3rd Earl of Nottingham, 8th of Winchilsea, and 4th of Gainsborough; Sir John Heathcote, 2nd Baronet; the Hon. James Noel, third son of the 3rd Earl of Gainsborough together with six commoners, all Rutland clergy. The Earl of Harborough, a governor from 1749 to 1799, was one of eight who each attended routine meetings for 50 years during the eighteenth century,⁷² to

match the assiduity of their Harrowden counterparts.

Letters from Winchilsea to Heathcote dealt with many weighty matters and, occasionally, the ordinary business of the two schools which was tackled with an intensity that could cause ill feeling. In November 1752 a replacement for Oakham head John Adcock was the subject of correspondence:

I am so lately come to England and been so few days in town that I have got but little intelligence who is the person that stands fairest to succeed Mr. Adcock .. I hope to be down at Burley either Sunday night or Monday by dinner. I shall certainly see you the first moment yt I can, for this I will venture to say, that if you and I shall concur in the same person, a very little more help in the country will make the election pretty sure, let others think what they please. Tho' I hear some gentlemen are inclined to be against any person I should be for, but as I shall now see you soon, all these matters may be better talked over than wrote upon.

In a separate note Winchilsea revealed his preference for John Powell who, indeed, was ultimately elected:

The gentleman I shall support, and in which I hope you will join, is Mr. John Powell but I beg the favour of you to keep the man's name to yourself for I hear there are some gentlemen⁷³ coming down in order to oppose what now I shall propose.

It is clear that a place on the governing body was sought after. When a vacancy occurred in October 1754, an agitated Winchilsea solicited Heathcote's backing for his nominee:

As Mr. Child's death has made a vacancy amongst our governors, I must beg the favour of your vote and assistance in favour of our neighbour Mr. Trimnell who was put by last time for no other reason but because he was looked upon as a friend of mine. If we can't carry a friend this time their strength will be so increased and ours so much lessened that it will be impossible for you or I ever to hope to get another friend chose a governor, or to have any weight or influence amongst them⁷⁴ but they must carry everything just as they please ...

The existence of such an executive would have intimidated many parents wishing to communicate their views. However, Jane Johnson, though she was the great-great-granddaughter of Robert Johnson who founded the two Rutland schools, was impelled to write in 1758 to Henry Knapp, the newly

appointed Uppingham head. Her letter, which touches on numerous aspects of schooling, is of special interest because examples of parental thought are rare:

I am very sorry you don't think proper to abate your terms, for not withstanding all your eloquence, I am still of the opinion that they are too high and that it would be pretty near as reasonable to demand above twenty pounds a year for the board of each of a parcel of hogs as a parcel of schoolboys, since the one would cost pretty near as much feeding, and require almost as much waiting upon as the other generally meet with. But however, it is my fancy and the children's choice to come under your care, and I design sending them about the middle of next week, and with them two pair of good new sheets, two silver spoons and one dozen of good new towels. I choose to send sheets instead of the entrance money into the House. I shall send two guineas for the entrance into the School, and one guinea for the usher. You are mistaken in imagining that provisions are cheaper at Rugby than at Uppingham, and as for Eton school that is quite out of the question. To my knowledge Mr. Johnson (my late husband) paid no more than fourteen pounds a year for the board and washing of his nephew to Mr. Adcock of Oakham school. I own provisions are very dear at this time all over England but I suppose you don't mean to sink price when they are cheaper, and had you abated something (at least the Entrance) in consideration of my children being the grandsons of your Noble Founder, that need not have been a precedent, but would only have been esteemed by all thinking people a genteel piece of gratitude. I am not ignorant of what it is to teach children, having taught all my own and several others to read without any assistance, and always took pleasure in it, and am so far from thinking it a trouble to have the care of children that I have often wished that Mr. Johnson had been a schoolmaster, and was I to get my living any way it would be my choice to be a schoolmistress, and I almost envy Mrs. Knapp the happy station of life she is entering upon. For sure nothing is so agreeable as to have a parcel of young brisk agreeable children about one, especially when one is so well paid for it. And as for the noise they make and the little mischiefs and unlucky tricks they do, their sweet innocent looks and sprightly actions more than compensate for that trouble, and the satisfaction of seeing their daily improvement is beyond all other pleasures. Now sir I have answered every part of your letter and can not forbear congratulating you and Mrs. Knapp upon the happiness of your situation appointed you by Providence, and may you both behave so well in it as to deserve and obtain the favour of God and man, and I pray God give you success with my sons, and that they may gain favour in your sight, and through your assistance, guidance and direction become good and useful members of the Common Weal ...⁷⁵

Mrs. Johnson's letter reveals, not least, that she had taught her own children to read and in so doing had developed a benign understanding of their behavioural characteristics; the words she used in hoping that education would equip her sons to become useful members of society could have been spoken by her illustrious Puritan forbear. Knapp, the first of a succession of vigorous masters who revived Uppingham's fortunes, was obviously not a man to be swayed, for example on costs, but as Mrs. Johnson concluded by describing herself as his 'sincere friend' there was no lasting enmity between them.

The King's School, that diocesan standard-bearer, as stated was supervised by the cathedral dean and chapter, yet another in the assortment of managing bodies. They, in turn, were likely to be pressurised by the Bishop. White Kennett's personal concern, especially that the conduct of the master and boys be appropriate, is evident in a directive addressed to them in June 1724:

I must desire you to have an eye upon ye school and ye good education of youth in it, especially at this time when ye head master is by necessity called away for a season and I presume you will commit ye whole care of ye school (during ye season) to ye usher if you believe him to be (what I hear of him) a capable and diligent man. But if you do him yt favour, I hope ye will enjoin him to take a double care to exert a more than ordinary industry among ye boys committed to him; and more especially to improve ye King's scholars (in Letters, good manners and religion) by exacting their constant appearance at ye hours of school and church, with an attentive and decent behaviour in ym and grounding them in ye true principles of faith and practice according to ye catechism of the Church of England. You should have an especial regard to ye nominating of such boys to be King's scholars, who are designed for ye university, or for some liberal profession, and if there be any now in ye place of King's scholars, who are kept at home by their parents, or idly forbear to come daily to school, and upon appointed days to Church, I must insist upon it, yt you remove and eject all such boys, and put others in their room who shall better observe ye standing rules and orders of ye school, which I hope continue to be seen in a table hanging within ye schoolhouse, and are enquired into at ye .. opening of every audit.

The orders mentioned by Kennett would be those, numbering eight in all, which were originally put on display in 1683 during William Lloyd's episcopacy. The first three derived from much earlier date:

1. That the scholars .. shall be at morning prayer.
2. That the schoolmaster and usher shall goe from church to school, the scholars all following in decent order.
3. That the schoolmaster, or usher in his absence, shall begin their employment at school with a short prayer.

Two of the orders were novel:

6. That the choristers shall goe to the grammar school and be taught there at such times when not obliged to be at church or singing school.
7. That such King's scholars as shall be found to have good voices shall be changed into choristers, and such choristers as have not good voices be put in their room.

Any consequent changes in the ranks did not apparently lead to lowered academic achievement at the King's School because in 1692 headmaster William Waring sent up four boys to St. John's College, Cambridge, alone.⁷⁷

A list of King's scholars drawn up in 1726, the first to be reproduced in the visitation records for six decades, shows that there was then the official complement of 20. The dean's eight chosen boys are differentiated from the 12 others who are bracketed in pairs with their sponsors, named in descending order as Kennett, Dr. Carter, Mr. ?Annoind, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Russell and Mr. Cumberland 'of Kettering'.⁷⁸ It is probable that visible proof of compliance with a patronage formula devised in 1567 was at the Bishop's insistence.

Short summary.

Kennett's fondness for protocol and openness, it seems, was typical of the eighteenth century grammar school trustee. Undoubtedly the gentry, the Anglican clergy and civic dignatories were allied in wishing to preserve traditional grammar schooling, and sentiments were held as strongly at the

end of the century as at the beginning. However, the opinions of ordinary townsmen were sought before decisions were taken, the democratic process being particularly evident at, for example, Fotheringhay, Higham Ferrers and Wellingborough. All those who cared for the grammar schools had a strong feel for just practice, and the key administrative technique was the resolving of difficulties amicably.

CHAPTER 1 : REFERENCES.

1. The foregoing details have been extracted from D. K. Shearing, 'A study of educational developments in the diocese of Peterborough, 1561-1700', (M.Phil.Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1982). The author researched a wide range of published and unpublished sources in establishing the extent of provision.
2. J. Simon, op cit., p.328.
3. M. Seaborne, The English School : Its Architecture and Organization, 1370-1870 (1971), p.103.
4. Further details can be found in such standard works as Charity Commissioners, Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring Concerning Charities : County of Northampton (1825) and County of Rutland (1825). Henceforth, as with the examples given here, places in Rutland except Oakham and Uppingham will be so identified in order to distinguish them from places in Northamptonshire.
5. NRO, Document YZ 7552.
6. W. Kennett, 'The charity of schools for poor children recommended in a sermon ..' (1706), pp.13-4, 19-20.
7. ibid., pp.24-5. For Maidwell's views see Introduction pp.12-3.
8. The account is supplied by Jones, op.cit., pp.88-96.
9. These details are taken from SPCK Letters 1713/4; Abstract Letter Books 1711/2, 1713/5, 1716/7; Standing Committee Minutes 1713/8.
10. Jones, op.cit., p.369 lists them though some confusing spellings are retained e.g. Disworth (Blisworth).
11. See the comments respecting Latham's schools, pp.27-8. Sir Justinian Isham, the 2nd Baronet, in 1670 gave £120 to equip youths of Hanging Houghton and Lamport with tools and apprenticeships; like provision was made at Easton Neston (1670), Nether Heyford, Upper Heyford, Northampton and elsewhere (c.1689) and Harringworth (1698). Board of Education, Administrative County of Northampton Endowed Charities (1906), pp.55, 72, 75, 150.
12. Jones, op.cit., p.95.
13. VCH Northants, ii, pp.283-88.
14. Report of the Commissioners (Rutland), pp.634, 643, 646, 653.
15. Jones, op.cit., p.25.

16. M. Seaborne, The English School, p.104 lists nine elementary schools built in the eighteenth century which still stand. It should be noted that he did not include any that were subsequently rebuilt as was the Beckett and Sargeant School for 30 Northampton girls founded in 1735.
17. See Introduction p.16.
18. The typical details have been abstracted from the standard sources.
19. NM 11 September 1732.
20. E.G. Forrester, A History of Magdalen College School, Brackley, 1548-1949 (1950), p.40.
21. NRO, Document IC 2185.
22. LRSM 2 October 1740; NM 24 January 1785, 31 December 1785 respectively.
23. VCH Rutland, i, pp.272-73.
24. NM 9 August 1762.
25. NM 19 July 1773, 21 December 1778 respectively.
26. NM 2 March 1746.
27. NRO, D(CA)322 'Lady Dryden's Account Book from 1770 to 1790' (unfol.) Typically on 27 November 1770 Hobbs was paid £11..00..6; on 16 September 1771 Ferry received £31..10..0; in 1773 the sum of £7..2..11 was expended on music, books and a violin; on 15 November 1776 Hobbs charged 10s..6^d for 'tuning ye harpsichord'.
28. NM 6 July 1805.
29. NRO, Documents GI 465-70.
30. J. Priestley, 'An essay on a course of liberal education for civil and active life' (1768), pp. iii, 4-5.
31. For amplification of procedures see D.M. Owen, The Records of the Established Church in England (1970), pp.30-5.
32. D. Cressy, Education in Tudor and Stuart England (1975), pp.11-2, 41-2; similar comments are made by Armytage, op.cit., p.61 and by Lawson and Silver, op.cit., p.191.
33. PDA, VB 23 (unfol.)
34. PDA, Miscellaneous Document 37.
35. PDA, CCB 1, 2nd series (unfol.); SB 13 (unfol.)

36. PDA, VB 21 (unfol.)
37. PDA, VB 21 (unfol.); SB 13 (unfol.)
38. PDA, VB 26 (unfol.)
39. PDA, VB 26, frontispiece.
40. PDA, CCB 1, 2nd series (unfol.); CPB 4, f.142ff; SB 5 (unfol.)
41. PDA, CCB 1, 2nd series (unfol.); VB 20a (unfol.)
42. Sylvester, op cit., p.238 is one of several historians who have documented this action.
43. PDA, Miscellaneous Bundle 12 (Consistory Court papers).
44. PDA, SB 10 (unfol.)
45. PDA, VB 26 (unfol.)
46. PDA, VB 27 (unfol.)
47. PDA, SB 13 (unfol.) gives the dates of their subscriptions.
48. PDA, SB 6 (unfol.); SB 13 (unfol.)
49. For example see G. Jenkins, 'A note on the episcopal licensing of schoolmasters in England', Church Quarterly Review, CLIX, 330 (Jan.-Mar. 1958), p.79.
50. PDA, Miscellaneous Book 20 (unfol.); SB 13 (unfol.)
51. PDA, VB 25 (unfol.)
52. PDA, ibid.
53. PDA, VB 27 (unfol.)
54. PDA, the sources relating to this paragraph and the next two are too numerous to sensibly specify.
55. PDA, Miscellaneous Documents 6, 7 and 8.
56. PDA, Miscellaneous Document 6.
57. No named author, Free School at Kingsthorpe, Northamptonshire : Rules (?1693). Document in the possession of Mr. B. Dunnery.
58. W. Law and E. Hutcheson, A Short Account of the two Charitable Foundations at King's Cliffe in the County of Northampton (Stamford, 1755), p.11.

59. Report of the Commissioners (Rut.), p.643.
60. NM 26 May 1755.
61. NM 3 August 1752.
62. NM 29 August 1778.
63. NRO, Document IL 2265. It is not clear what action Cowper took. Although Wood in 1702 was the vicar of Pytchley, he was living at Burton Latimer in October 1703 when he married Jane Smith; HIL, 15, 167. By July 1711 he had become the Pytchley *ludimagister*; PDA, VB 20a (unfol.). Aungier had taken a step towards lawful appointment on 15 July 1702 when he subscribed in Latin, in a fair hand. This is the sole reference to him in the visitation records; PDA, SB 13 (unfol.). On 26 January 1707/8 John Goodrich subscribed in Latin as the Burton Latimer *ludimagister*; PDA, SB 13 (unfol.). The writer of the letter was John Clendon, probably he of that name licensed to the cure of Scaldwell in 1699; HIL, 3, 153.
64. NRO, Little Harrowden (i) 1972/109; Documents 36/1 (1-14).
65. M. Harrison, The History of the Ekins Trust (Northampton, 1987), pp.3-7.
66. Society of Antiquaries, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, No. XL; Fotheringhay (1787), pp.101-03.
67. PDA, SB 13 (unfol.)
68. NRO, ML 793 Feoffee Account Book, Wellingborough, 1673-1716 (unfol.)
69. N. Groome, The Grammar School (Higham Ferrers, 1971), pp.15-6; Anon., 'Living of Higham Ferrers, 1725/6', NNQ, 1, Article 28 (1884).
70. PDA, VB 23 (unfol.)
71. Groome, op cit., pp.16-7.
72. B. Matthews, By God's Grace : A History of Uppingham School (1984), p.34.
73. LAO, Documents Anc. X111/B/3p.
74. LAO, Document Anc. X111/B/3q. George Child and Charles Trimnell were local clergymen. For details of their careers see HIL, 3, 109; 14, 25.
75. LAO, Document Johnson 1/2, pp.70-1.

76. PDA, SB 7. The letter is written on unnumbered pages at the back of the book. The headmaster referred to was probably Edward Poole, whose absence may have been due to illness as he died shortly afterwards, and the usher would be George Jeffreys.
77. VCH Northants, ii, pp.212-13.
78. PDA, VB 23 (unfol.). The six men were cathedral prebendaries. Besides Kennett and ?Annoind, the others would be George Carter (1st stall), Richard Cumberland (6th stall), Thomas Gibson (4th stall) and John Russell (5th stall). HIL, 3, 39; 3, 317; 5, 223; 12, 19 respectively.

CHAPTER 2.

CURRICULUM CONTENT AND TEACHING METHODOLOGY.

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PART 1 : ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING.

A. Rudimentary learning.

A simple teaching methodology, employed with seemingly irrefutable logic, prevailed locally at the initial stage. The first step was to induce a child to memorize the alphabet, a task which the hornbook facilitated. Commonly made of oak, it was about three inches by five in size, and the information conveyed was protected from constant handling by a layer of translucent horn secured by narrow strips of brass. One such aid, of unknown origin, was discovered some years ago in a house in Broad Street, Northampton. It bears less than some examples, having the letters in capitals only printed on paper pasted to one side, the other being plain. The slightly ornamented handle is pierced for the purpose of hanging when not in use.¹

The hornbook declined in popularity during the eighteenth century, to be replaced by the battledore, shaped like its namesake in the game of shuttlecock. This aid could be manufactured very cheaply from card, and then distributed to individuals. Joseph Toller, a Kettering printer, produced large quantities in four varieties. His New Royal version, priced at one penny, readily folded and carried a coarse woodcut of a zebra on the front. Inside were three more pictures comprising a basket weaver at work, a newsboy trying to attract custom, and an apparent beggar being pursued by a serpent and a large bird. These illustrations would be deemed to appeal visually to children. The instructional material consisted, on sides 1, 2 and 3, of the alphabet in both small and capital letters, first lessons in word building, and the ten digits. On the sectionalised side 4 were several so-called 'irregular alphabets' containing all the letters but in jumbled order, a presumed safeguard against rote learning.²

The unknown local author of a child's primer adopted the ploy in an effort to force close observation of symbols, listing the contents of his slim volume of 12 pages thus:

1. The Roman small letters twelve times repeated and placed promiscuously.
2. A large collection of those pairs of letters that are nearly alike in form.
3. The Roman capitals repeated twelve times and placed promiscuously.
4. To which is added, the joined letters, repeated as often as the capitals, and placed promiscuously.

His remarks, in a short preface, demonstrate an awareness that mere repetition was insufficient:

The time spent, and the books torn, in teaching children the alphabet ... draw, from their inconsiderate parents and teachers, severe chastisement. This destroys the spirit of emulation which every instructor of children should endeavour to cherish and direct. For the child, finding the same letter always in the same place, takes more notice of the place where it stands, than of its shape. This not only loses time, but renders the learner inattentive, which of all bad habits, is the worst a child can contract.

The problem he had decided to address was widely recognized:

Many methods have been tried to abate these evils, which have been attended with some success; but they are too expensive to be of general use. The following alphabet, being small, is easily purchased and, as each letter possesses twelve different places, the learner must attend to their form.

He outlined the classroom practice which would ensure a satisfactory outcome:

First show the child the letter 'a', and teach him to pronounce it distinctly: Repeat this with each 'a'; then require him to show you one of them, pronouncing it as he points to it. When he has found and pronounced all the 'a's, send him to his seat to mark every one of them. That done, proceed to 'b', and from that to 'c', repeating the same operation, with each letter of both alphabets. The joined letters may be taught in the same manner.

The author finally drew attention to an interpretative aspect which familiarly bemused young children:

The letters 'b' and 'd', 'p' and 'q', 'f' and 's', 'n' and 'u' being nearly alike, are often mistaken one for another, by learners. In order to remove this difficulty, between the alphabets are placed these letters, so mixed that if the learner can readily point out all the letters of each kind, he will easily distinguish them in any word.³

The picture alphabet, whereby each letter is associated with a word and an object, has for long been found a fruitful aid to memorizing both the names of letters and their sounds, besides helping combat the child's tendency to reverse and invert. A locally-produced, undated primer included (at the beginning on unnumbered pages) not the customary single such device but two through belief, supposedly, in the value of repetition. A, B, C and D stood respectively for angel and apple, beehive and bear, coach and cock, doe and dog; P and Q were served by pig and peach, quail and queen; the awkward X and Z were represented by Xerxes and axe, zany and zeal.⁴

As soon as they had mastered all the letters - usually 26 though occasionally 24 - children's horizons could be extended. The manuscript teaching manual of Joseph Wills, who taught in Northampton in the late eighteenth century, circulated amongst colleagues who were asked to 'return it when convenient'. There was an explanatory note on the frontispiece:

The good boy and girl's first book or an easy introduction to spelling and reading, consisting of short .. sentences and disposed in such a regular order that the learner is led on with pleasure from his alphabet to .. words of two letters only and from thence to words of three, four letters etc. which is allowed to be the most regular, speedy and rational method of teaching.

Wills, who hoped that his efforts had 'in part removed the burthen from the child and at the same time afforded ease to the teacher', stated in his preface:

That the books which are first put into a childe's hands are in general not adapted to their capacities being too hard for them, the lessons commencing with words of five or six letters which the child can not put together .. and the lessons improperly divided, is I think allowed by all who have the care of teaching children the rudiments of learning.

Wills suggested that the following stories were suited to the beginner:

In it we do go. We do go by it. Is he to do so if we do so?
He is. It is to be so. We do so go at it.

We go by an ox. My ox is by me. As it is by us so we do go
by it. If we go up to it, is he to do it?

These stories, though painfully contrived, are a marginal advance on other products of strained thinking such as the New Royal battledore's first monosyllables:

ha he hi ho hu hy
la le li lo lu ly etc.

and the commonplace

ab eb ib ob ub
ac ec ic oc uc etc.

Some of Wills's 'Easy lessons of words not exceeding three letters' took odd form as he strove to stay within his remit:

Tom saw the dog in the bag. And he saw the hen in the pen. The fly in the box. The pig in the sty. If a boy is bad a rod is to be had. So be not a bad boy my son and joy. We can see the man run at the dog.

Yet one of his principles seems to have been to introduce new words deliberately to strike a rhyming chord in the child's mind. For example, having used 'boy' and 'joy' in that lesson, he incorporated the word 'toy' in the next.⁵

B. Moral and religious precepts.

An improving tone figured prominently in the fare offered to a child once he could read. The often unstated values which underpin curriculum content found expression in a series of 'Choice Emblems' printed in The

Child's Complete Guide. Although intended to be digested by children, the maturity of the language in which they were couched suggests an appeal to older members of the family circle. That headed 'Of Education', whose tenor is typical, was obviously drafted by an earnest educator:

See in what evil plight yon vine appears,
Nor spreading leaves, nor purple clusters bears.
But if around the elm her arms she throws
Or by some friendly prop supported grows,
Soon shall the stem be clad with foliage green
And cluster'd grapes beneath the leaves be seen.

Moral.

Thus prudent care must rear the youthful mind
By love supported, and with toil refined:
'Tis thus alone the human plant can rise;
Unpropp'd it droops, and unsupported, dies.

Application.

This is a fit emblem of youth which, if left to itself, will never grow up in wisdom or in virtue. To Education alone must children be indebted for their morals, and the care of the parents is always visible in the conduct of their offspring. When a youth has received a virtuous and liberal education, no gratitude can be sufficient to discharge the debt he owes to his parents; since he is not only obliged to them for his being, but also for all his hopes of peace here, and of eternal happiness hereafter.⁶

Points were made in light vein in that part of the book entitled 'The trifler or pretty plaything (for the entertainment and amusement of children)', which consisted of neat woodcuts married to easily remembered couplets such as:

The naughty boy that steals the pears,
Is whipt as well as he that swears.⁷

The unknown compiler of The Child's First Book (undated) evinced a thematic and intrinsically interesting approach in his pieces 'descriptive of the nature and properties of animals'. The perils of wrongdoing were referred to casually, as in this example:

THE DOG. The dog is wise and true. He loves his friend; guards the house from thieves; watches the flock, and barks when he sees a strange man. The dog can run so fast that he can catch a hare or fox. If you are good to the dog he will let you stroke him, but if you beat him he will bite you.⁸

The code of conduct for children couched by Wills in longer monosyllables was worthy but characteristically dull:

Then brush your clothes clean, comb out your hair and make haste to school. Play not by the way, if you play by the way you must be whipped. When you are in school take your books, sit down in your place and make no noise, but strive to learn all that has been set you as fast as you can.

My good child now you are young let not sloth take hold of you for that will spoil all. Strive to read well, spell well and write well, and do all just things you are bid to do but shun all bad boys who lie, swear, curse and steal, for they who do such bad things will come to some ill end and no one will love them.

When school is done if you have leave you may then go to play but take care you do no hurt to those you play with, and let your play be free from blame. Play not with bad boys but go home in good time and then you will be a good child.

Wills resorted only rarely to the plausible moral tale. His cameo of the absent scholar was probably more effective than stern didacticism:

Sam went to play at ball and fell down on a big stone which hurt his leg and made him cry out, 'Oh my sore leg. Oh the stone has broke my leg'. Now if Sam had been at school like a good boy he would not have hurt his leg.

A cautionary poem on the possibly fatal consequences of truancy appeared in more than one primer. It was grounded in fact, being based on the unfortunate 'John Wilmot aged 12 years who, having wandered about the fields looking for birds' nests when he ought to have been at school, was gored to death by a bull on Tuesday, 14 May 1774'. The concluding lines were:

Learn hence, ye youths, how dreadful is the end
Of those who wander from fair virtue's rule;
And try in time your follies to amend
Nor idly play when you should be at school.¹⁰

Religious doctrine was equally conspicuous in children's early reading matter. Wills's 'Easy Lessons', which aimed to instil spiritual awareness and occupied a substantial portion of his manual, conformed to a monotonous pattern:

The eye of God is on all men. To him do I cry all the day.
Let not my sin put me off. Let me not go to the pit. Let me
try thy way and go in it.

God is a true God most wise, just and good. His word is
true. The use it is of to us, is to make us wise and good. It is
time for thee to work for they have made void thy law. I hate
lies but thy law do I love.

The tongue is the gate of life and death, then take great
care that you speak the truth at all times, for I would not have
you go in the steps of those who go down to the gates of
death.¹¹

Readers of The Child's First Book were led progressively and more imaginatively to a selection of New Testament parables, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, various Graces and several hymns, in that order. Justification for the whole was tendered poetically, the first few lines being as follows:

Religion is the chief concern
Of mortals here below;
May I its great importance learn,
Its sovereign virtue know.
Religion should our thoughts engage
Amidst our youthful bloom.
'Twill fit us for declining age
And for the awful tomb.¹²

The same sentiments persuaded an unknown local master to produce for elementary school use a Scriptural textbook, bearing on the cover a maxim from Isaiah XXV111, 10, 'For precept must be upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little'. Inside were quotations such as 'How much better it is to get wisdom than gold' and 'The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life' attributable, as the title of the slim unfoliated volume implies, to Solomon. They were placed in sections, the first of which was headed 'The great value and importance of Religious Instruction'. Lesson V therein was a vindication of the practice of

corporal punishment, for perpetrator and victim alike. Proverbs drawn on here included, 'Children should be corrected if need be, for says the wise king', and 'He that spareth his rod, hateth his child, but he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes'. A prayer containing a reminder of mortality, to be recited 'at bedtime', ended the book:

Tonight O Lord, before I rest,
May I with thoughts of thee be blest!
And if I wake before the day
Lead me to think of thee and pray;
And if tomorrow come to me
May my first thoughts be fixed on thee!
Or if tonight the world I leave
My soul for Jesus' sake receive.¹³

The stress at school on moral and religious precepts ran parallel to that in the home. In June 1754, Jane Johnson wrote to her son Charles, then aged seven, who was staying with relations. He was told 'speak the truth upon all occasions and then God will love you', and given the following lines composed by her 'to learn by heart':

The better soul abhors the liar's part,
Wise is thy voice and noble is thy heart.
Truth revere for wisdom never lies,
And never never wicked man was wise.
Taught in my youth, my heart has learned to glow
For others' good, and melt at others' woe.
By Jove the stranger and the poor are sent,
And what to those we give, to Jove is lent.
Oh pity human woe,
'Tis what the happy to the unhappy owe.¹⁴

C. Theoretical perspective.

The schooling of the very young was evidently clouded by the limited curricular designs of the adults set in authority over them. Yet an unattractive view of upbringing, which rejoiced in the submission of children and sanctified social conditioning, was embodied in the cult of Methodism to which many of the poor adhered. Susannah Wesley, the mother of Charles, John and Samuel, argued in 1732 that the one great impediment to temporal and eternal happiness was self-will. Whatever cherished it in children ensured their after-wretchedness and irreligion;

whatever checked and mortified it promoted their future felicity and piety. No indulgence of it was trivial, and no denial of it was unprofitable. The destination of either Heaven or hell depended 'on this alone'.¹⁵

Locke's Thoughts are hailed today for their emphasis on reason but his contention that good behaviour is best taught by example contrasts sharply with his condonation of a parent's domestic violence:

A prudent and kind mother of my acquaintance was ... forced to whip her little daughter .. eight times successively the same morning, before she could master her stubbornness .. If she had stopped at the seventh whipping, she had spoiled the child for ever .. but wisely persisting till she had bent her mind .. she established her authority thoroughly ... and she had ever after a very ready compliance and obedience in all things from her daughter ...¹⁶

Almost a lone voice, Rousseau eloquently disavowed both the inhumane treatment of children and their cultural indoctrination:

What is to be thought of that cruel education which sacrifices the present to an uncertain future? .. The age of harmless mirth is spent in tears, punishment, threats and slavery. Men .. love childhood, indulge its sports, its pleasures, its delightful instincts .. When you try to persuade your scholars of the duty of obedience .. you only demand disagreeable things of them .. Duty is beyond their age, and there is not a man in the world who could make them really aware of it, but the fear of punishment, the hope of forgiveness, importunity, the difficulty of answering, wrings from them as many confessions as you want; and you think you have convinced them when you have only wearied them or frightened them.¹⁷

Rousseau's denunciation of common methodology was endorsed by the Northamptonshire poet, John Clare, born in 1793 and schooled initially at Helpston, who provides a rare personal view of life in the classroom locally:

None but imprison'd children now
Are seen, where dames with angry brow
Threaten each younker to his seat
Who, through the window, eyes the street;
Or from his hornbook turns away
To mourn for liberty and play.¹⁸

The theorists Jan Amos Comenius and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi were practising teachers, unlike Rousseau, and did not as readily acquiesce that children should be left to their own devices whilst recognizing that play constitutes an important phase of development. Pestalozzi's success in the schoolroom was based on embryonic principles of educational psychology;

It is the great art in teaching never to be at a loss for the choice of an object for the illustration of a truth ... To a child everything is new. The charm of novelty, it is true, soon wears off .. but then there is for the teacher the great advantage of a combination of simple elements which may diversify the subject without dividing the attention .. I do not wish to encourage the notion that instruction should always take the character of an amusement .. Such a notion, where it is entertained .. by a teacher, will for ever preclude solidity of knowledge and, from a want of sufficient exertions on the part of the pupils, will lead to that very result which I wish to avoid by my principle of a constant employment of the thinking powers.

It is noticeable that local learning material for the young, such as Toller's New Royal battledore, The Careless Child's Alphabet and parts of The Child's First Book, The Child's Complete Guide and Wills's manual, did lean in the 'play-way' direction and that teaching methods would have been described by contemporary critics as earnest and well-intentioned rather than repugnant.

However, the varied experiences available to a boy attending Paulerspury school and furthered in a caring home, together with the freedom to explore a rich environment, seemingly constituted a curriculum which would have fully satisfied both Rousseau and Pestalozzi. William Carey, the noted Baptist missionary born in 1761, was taught reading, penmanship and arithmetic by his father Edmund, the master of the village school. Authors introduced by him included John Bunyan and Daniel Defoe. Carey's later propensity for languages was revealed when, at 12

years of age, he memorized the 60 pages of Thomas Dyche's Vocabularium Latiale (?1708), though he knew sufficient Latin to translate the inscription on the church's alabaster tomb of Sir Arthur and Lady Ann Throckmorton. His gratitude for the musical training he received as a choirboy was lifelong.

For recreation there was tree climbing, fishing in the stretch of water beside the rectory, sporting on the green, and coaches to be marvelled at thundering along the nearby highway. In Whittlebury Forest, Carey collected plant and animal specimens which he labelled, drew and painted, earning recognition as a young naturalist. He enjoyed the rough-tongued company at the smithy and, despite his daily Bible drill, joined in the impious talk though with stirrings of conscience. His uncle Peter, who settled in Paulerspury on returning from Canada, cast the New World's spell about him with accounts of ships and the sea, of the Indians and the French, of Wolfe and Quebec, and of the colony's geographical and botanical features.²⁰

Carey's boyhood was thus a blend of disciplined study and stimulating relaxation. Albeit an exceptional achiever ultimately, he must be ranked as one of the 'many thousands of poor children' whom Kennett envisaged as making 'a very good and glorious show', being 'armed with their own innocence, adorned with ... charity and above all, illustrated with the first rudiments of learning, virtue and religion'. The products of elementary schools, 'the first fruits unto God and the Lamb', would by their doings he foretold, 'open the eyes of Prejudice' and 'strike Envy dumb'.²¹

PART 2 : INTERMEDIARY SCHOOLING; THE VOCATIONAL DIMENSION.

The term 'intermediary schooling' aptly describes a phase which clearly extended beyond the 'primary' stage while stopping short of what is well understood to be a truly 'secondary' stage. It had relevance, presumably, for the quickwitted from the lower social classes in the elementary school and certainly for those scholars whose parents wished them to have a modicum of vocational education. It embraced a number of subjects whose usefulness could be applied, typically the three that are surveyed here, namely English Grammar, mathematics and commercial geography.

A. English Grammar.

The first objective, the enrichment of vocabulary, was pursued locally in methodical fashion. Words of two, three, four and five syllables in that order were invariably listed in tables alphabetically in the primers, and always divided by hyphens as an aid to analysis. For example:

ab-bot	ab-ject	ac-cent	af-ter
cab-bage	ca-bin	cam-bric	can-dle
a-go-ny	a-ban-don	ab-ne-gate	a-bol-ish
ca-pi-tal	car-di-nal	car-ri-age	ca-te-chise ²²

Wills added a measure of refinement by differentiating between, for instance, words of three syllables pronounced routinely and those where 'the accent is on the second syllable':

ad-mi-ral	ad-vo-cate	al-der-man	an-nu-al
yes-ter-day	Za-bu-lon	zeal-ous-ly	zo-di-ac
ad- <u>mon</u> -ish	ad- <u>van</u> -tage	ad- <u>vi</u> -ser	
un- <u>cov</u> -er	un- <u>ho</u> -ly	un- <u>ru</u> -ly ²³	

The next step was to teach grammatical rules with the help of a textbook such as that written by William Chown, who kept school at Mears Ashby and Moulton in the late eighteenth century. Its purpose was explained in the preface:

The book was originally drawn up for the use of my own pupils, and for those in particular who were not designed to study the Latin tongue and who, in short, would have no necessity for it in their future lives. I .. have only published the most essential institutes of grammar that may enable a boy to become acquainted with those parts that are really useful .. I know by observation that many youth who have been at school for four or five years, who perhaps have gone through their arithmetical education with ease, have not been able to dictate, or write with propriety, a short epistle of even a dozen lines, merely for being²⁴ deficient in some of the principal and most essential rules ...

Chown's slim treatise began with consideration of the four elements of orthography, prosody, etymology and syntax. Then came directions for reading aloud, an asset when executed with skill, and which he fostered by making available in the classroom copies of the better contemporary periodicals:

Be careful to attain a perfect knowledge of the nature and sound of the vowels, consonants and diphthongs etc. and give every syllable and every word its proper and full sound. If you meet with a word you do not understand, do not guess at it, lest you get a habit of miscalling it; but divide it in your mind, into its proper number of syllables. Avoid Hem's, O's and Ha's between your words. Attend to your subject, and deliver it just in the same manner as you would do if you were talking of it...²⁵

The further useful tips that Chown passed on to teaching colleagues show that he clearly believed reading should be allied to understanding:

Another hint I beg leave to propose, respecting the teaching of youth to read any English classical author, or even a common newspaper; (though I am not so vain as to think every other teacher neglects it;) is, that in hearing the pupil read, he points out to him the principal parts of speech, the proper use of stops, where the emphatical words are in the sentence; and also to give a proper definition of every word of which he does not understand the meaning. To be as it were, a kind of Living Dictionary to him .. This method persisted in, I am fully convinced from experience, will soon bring youth to understand what they read .. It has been a custom with me for several years in my own school, not to permit a youth to pass over a word without a Definition of the same, if unknown before.²⁶

The example of construing a sentence which Chown provided was a punctilious model, though he could not abjure the Scriptural connection:

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them.

Remember : a verb of the imperative mood.

Now : an adverb of time.

Thy : a pronoun.

Creator : a proper noun substantive.

In : a preposition.

The : an article.

Days : a substantive plural number.

Of : a preposition.

Thy : as before.

Youth : a common substantive etc.²⁷

Chown, in a competitive market,²⁸ ended with a plea for patronage from fellow masters, musing that all were 'engaged in the same laudable and arduous (though often despised) profession of teaching youth the principles of literature'.

All the advanced analytic exercises devised by Chown, Wills and other authors reveal a preoccupation with religion and morality, though the attaining of a neat hand was also esteemed. The writing book recording the efforts of John Capell of Flore in 1764 was commercially produced. Approximately eight inches by six, it bore a sketch of a lakeside castle on the soft cover, and contained some 30 leaves. The boy's task was to copy out maxims at least a dozen times. (See Fig.6). Constituting a variation were rhyming couplets composed so that the first letter of each was in alphabetical order to facilitate memorization, as follows:

- A. All human things are subject to decay
And death's dread summons monarchs must obey.

- C. Censure not rashly, nature's apt to halt.
Look inward : he's unborn that has no fault.

- I. Immodest words admit of no defence,²⁹
For want of decency is want of sense.

As the intention was to supply scholars with a store of wisdom which could be drawn on in daily life they were normally given little rein to write creatively.

However, an undated unfinished poem titled, 'The old man's complaint', written on a scrap of paper, reflects such an interest in one of the Capell children:

My prime is past, my nerves decay
My youth is spent, my head grows grey
My eyes are dim and waxed old
My blood's dried up, my body's cold
My feet are lame, I can not go
Allsout of frame from top to toe
My sins are many which makes me weep.

I sigh and sob when I should sleep
My glass is run, I can not stay
From hence to grave I must away.
But where my soul must placed be
Alas that is unknown to me
A faithful friend I hope to find³⁰
To comfort my distressed mind,

The gloomy sentiments again are arresting.

B. Mathematics.

Extant workbooks reveal the scope of studies undertaken in another basic subject, mathematics. Edmund Herbert's 'Summe Booke' dated 1700, has 28 stitched pages. Herbert, possibly of Whittlebury, found the time to embellish one side of the first page with a drawing of a swan and to write out his favourite prayers in both English and Latin on the second. At some point, no doubt influenced by contemporary events, he scribbled on the cover that the principal characters in the effecting of the 'Glorious Revolution', William III and Mary, 'were blessed'.

To speed his calculations, Herbert could refer to a 'Numeration Table', a 'Multiplication Table', and to details of Troy and apothecaries' weights; all of which were reproduced in his book. He was evidently skilled at

adding, subtracting, dividing and multiplying the units of money and capacity, and in reducing pounds, shillings and pence to farthings, and years, months and weeks to minutes. He was also able, using what were generally known as 'The Golden Rule Direct' and 'The Golden Double Rule', to solve the following typical problems of proportion:

1. If 7 yards of cloth be worth £3..3..7 what will 35 yards be worth at that rate?
2. A factor bought 84 pieces of stuff which cost him in all £53..12..0. At 5s..4d per yard I demand how many yards there were in all?
3. If £100..00..0 gains £6 interest in 12 months, what sum will gain the same interest in 7 months?
4. A ship having provision for 84 men during the voyage being accounted for 52 days, but the master taking on board 16 persons, how many days provision more ought to be had?
5. If a trench be 35 perches in length, and made by 13 men in 27 days, how long will that trench be that is made by 32 men in 56 days?³¹

Two of John Capell's mathematics workbooks dated 1764 and 1768 exist. The earlier one is the more substantial and shows the accurate computing of answers to a host of questions about the cost of quantities of commodities including beans, raisins, sugar, tobacco, wheat, sheep, coal, iron and cloth, at varying market prices. A separate section carries a glossary of the terms used by merchants. The later book relates almost wholly to bonds, rebates and discounting.³² The mathematics workbook of John Bach, dated 1774, has a similar bias towards business. It began with a comprehensive set of 'Tables of Measure', and originally ran to 200 pages although a few are now missing. The trading matters dealt with gradually grew in complexity to touch finally on maintaining estates, share dealing, bankruptcy, insurance and foreign currencies.³³

John Clare transferred at the age of 7 to Glinton school which he attended intermittently for five years. The master, Mr. Seaton, was ambitious for his pupils, teaching them for instance to determine the volume of regularly-shaped solid objects. A page in Clare's workbook has,

alongside a creditable illustration, this short unimpeachable explanation:

Let ABD be a square pyramid, each side of the base being 18.5 inches, and the perpendicular height CD is 15 feet. Multiply 18.5 by 18.5 and the product is 342.25, the area of the base in inches; which multiplied by 5, a third part of the height, and the product is 1711.25. This divided by 144, the quotient is 11.88 feet.³⁴

The functions of logarithms were explained in a textbook 'for the use of schools and private education' by Thomas Sargeant who taught in Northampton in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Included in his book were 'Sherwin's Tables' and instructions firstly for finding the logarithms of whole numbers, vulgar fractions and decimal fractions, secondly for adding and subtracting logarithms in the realm of disjunct, inverse and compound proportion and thirdly for resorting to logarithms in relation to compound interest, annuities, arrears, plane and spherical trigonometry. Sarjeant's strategy was to outline principles and then provide illustrative examples as with 'Article 43' on 'Geometrical Progression':

Seffa, an Indian, having found out the game of chess, and shown it to his prince Shebram; the king, who was highly pleased with it, bid him ask what he would as a reward for his invention; whereupon he asked, that for the first little square of the chess board he might have one grain of wheat given him, for the second, two, and so on doubling continually, according to the number of squares on the chessboard, which was 64. And when the king, who intended to give a noble reward, was much displeased that he asked so trifling a one, Seffa declared that he would be contented with this small one. So the reward he had fixed upon was ordered to be given him: but the king was astonished when he found that this would rise to so vast a quantity that the earth could not furnish so much wheat.

Required, the number of grains.

Solution : If the logarithm of 2, which is .3010300 be multiplied by 64 .. the product is 19.2659200. The absolute number agreeing to which is greater than 1844600000000000000, and less than 18447000000000000000, and accuracy sufficient for such questions, where there is more of curiosity than real usefulness.³⁵

Having conceded the humour of the historical incident, Sarjeant reverted to the practicality inherent in 'Article 54', example 2, on 'Compound Interest'.

2. What is the amount of £750..10..0 for 8 years and nine months at 4% per annum?

Answer: £1,057..15..5.1/4.

<u>Solution:</u>	<u>Rate</u> 1.04	log.	.0170333
	<u>Time</u>		8.75
			851665
			11923310
			136266400
			<u>.149041375</u>
<u>Principal:</u>	£ 750.5 = log.		2.8753507
<u>Amount:</u>	£1057.772 = log.		3.0243920 ³⁶

Sarjeant informed readers that the book's contents formed only a part of his mathematics scheme and, if encouraged by sufficient custom, he would prepare for publication a second volume in which 'the application and utility' of logarithms would be 'further exemplified'. His offer for sale of 'Select Arithmetical Tables' at six shillings per 100 suggests that such aids to reckoning were bought in bulk and then distributed to scholars individually.

C. Commercial geography.

The practicality of this subject, too, was clear to scholars and teachers within the intermediary sector. Thomas Trinder, who taught in Northampton for 30 years from 1762, was the author of a thoughtfully-arranged guide to what he called 'geophysical studies'. His preface contained some sound advice:

No teacher of any experience need be informed that verbal lectures alone, in any of the branches of learning .. that are addressed to the young of either sex .. (singular geniuses excepted), will make but faint impressions on their tender minds .. Definitions are not fit subjects for poetry, yet when properly formed into what may be called an easy prosaic verse, they abide on the memory to a degree almost incredible .. while the same definitions in mere prose may be many times learnt and as often forgot, unless the passion of fear is engaged to assist the feeble efforts of memory.³⁷

Drawing on the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, Trinder moved next to the 'Properties and Appendants of Globes':

A little portion of this earth
Which has supplied me from my birth
My wants may still suffice;
But yet my craving mind would know
Its figure, size and surface too,
And journey in the skies.

This globe will briefly represent
Its form, divisions and extent
And what its motions are;
This - the terrestrial globe by name
Will chiefly our attention claim.
Because our dwelling's here.

First the celestial sphere, we'll scan
According to great Newton's plan
And view the heavenly tribe;
The signs and all the constellations,
The sun's and planets' variations
And circles they describe.³⁸

Having set the wider scene, Trinder turned logically to the earth's natural features, each of which was given the same poetic treatment:

Geography describes our sphere;
The situation, climate, air,
Produce, extent and distances
Of kingdoms, states and provinces,
Cities and towns of all known lands,
Seas, oceans, bays, lakes, rocks and sands.

Examples: 1. LAND.

A tract of land of vast extent
Devoid of sea's a continent.
When by a narrow tract we find
A larger to the continent joined,
Peninsula the larger we call;
An isthmus, or a neck, the small.

2. WATER.

Large waters when from land thus free
We call an ocean or a sea.
But when the element is opposed
And water thus almost inclosed -
A gulf we such denominate;
The narrow part we call a strait.³⁹

Always switching from the general to the particular, Trinder conveyed purely utilitarian information in the book's final section which documented the multifarious occupations practised in various areas of the country:

Examples: Stocking manufactory.

The plainer hose, for common wear
In Leicester town and Leicestershire
Are woven in abundance;
While Nottingham her silken hose,
To suit the taste of belles and beaux,
Exhibits to redundance.

Iron manufactories.

On Rotherham first we fix our eyes;
Improvements on improvements rise
To smelt the stubborn ore;
How like convulsive winds pent up,
As issuing forth from Etna's top,
The steam blow-bellows roar.

Royal dockyards and magazines.

Let Woolwich speak Britannia's wrath -
The bellowing cannons sound it forth
With thunder bolts of steel,
By sea and land, on every foe,
That dares attempt to overthrow
Or hurt her public weal.⁴⁰

* * * * *

Teachers such as Chown, Sarjeant and Trinder, by showing commitment to vocational education, were plainly convinced that their schools should equip young persons for the world of work. John Lee, a Northampton writing master who employed several assistants, claimed in 1735 to have successfully prepared 300 students 'for trades' during the previous five years. Lee's proficiency was admired by Doddridge who counselled Dissenters to send their children to him.⁴¹ Locke had argued that an economic and industrial dimension to the curriculum was indispensable. Scholars had 'to be directed to something that may be useful to them'; knowledge of all manual arts which afforded the prospect of a career was, simply, 'worth the having'.⁴² Even Rousseau concurred. Besides enabling a man to earn a livelihood, any mechanical skill gave him 'a rank' which would 'always do him honour', and if not necessarily leading to fortune, made him 'independent of her'.⁴³

Suitably-trained local adolescents who did not quickly find a position no doubt scrutinized the newspapers which regularly carried advertisements such as these:

Any single person, well recommended for honesty and sobriety, that can write Secretary and Ingrosing hands ... may hear of a place by applying in person or by letter⁴⁴ to Mr. Williamson, Attorney at Law, in Alford, Lincolnshire.

Any sober youth, well recommended, of a proper age for an apprentice, that is of a brisk genius, also can write and understand somewhat of Accompts may be accepted of .. as parties can agree, by applying⁴⁵ to Mr. Robert Spragging of Newark in Nottinghamshire.

An apprentice is immediately wanted by Mr. Webb, bookseller and printer in Lincoln. Any young lad that comes well recommended and has had⁴⁶ a tolerable education will be accepted on very moderate terms.

Short summary.

The manuals and textbooks written for children at the intermediary stage involuntarily tell of the educational theory and practice espoused by their authors, who seem to have specified the ends and means of learning with stark coherence and no self-doubt. Yet, as Trinder explained, the pedagogy was determined more by avoidance of abstractness than an unthinking *Gradgrind* mentality. Clearly, fluency in reading was seen as the prerequisite to further study. The submitting to a scholar of lists of words chosen at random, with no indication of meaning, was obviously misguided though presumably dictionaries were to hand. However, the method of directional attack with its stress on phonemes, is now considered effective. The teaching approach in mathematics was highly systematic and the majority of problems to be solved were associated with everyday life. As it is not known how answers were arrived at, possibly mechanical means were deployed at times rather than penetrating thought. However, the insistence on correct terms, be they multiplicand, multiplier and product in multiplication, or dividend, divisor and quotient in division, was conducive to the forming of good habits. Significantly, the emphasis on literacy,

numeracy and factual knowledge stemmed from the awareness of masters of their utility in the context of the role played in international affairs by this kingdom.

PART 3 : GRAMMAR SCHOOLING.

A. The classical curriculum; an overview.

The classical curriculum was the product of humanism, essentially belief in human perfectibility, which was fashioned in the courts of Renaissance Italy. The humanistic creed was articulated by, for instance, the Mantuan Castiglione in his Il Cortegiano (1528) while in England Sir Thomas Elyot's important educational treatise The Governour (1531) was avidly read. Desiderius Erasmus was one of several scholars who argued that the works of the ancient authors contained all that deserved to be known. He rebutted those hostile theologians who regretted the passing of a more religious age by contending that because God presided over earthly developments a Christian should exhibit a solicitous regard for knowledge whether biblical or not. Thus, unwittingly, the long duel between reason and superstition was precipitated.⁴⁷

Latin was the staple of every sixteenth and seventeenth century grammar school, the standard primer being that of William Lily written c.1510 following consultations with Erasmus. It became known as the Royal Grammar on being prescribed by Henry VIII in 1540. From this, a boy graduated to his first reading books proper, noted for their uncontroversial content. The 'distichs of Cato', a collection of moral maxims in verse, re-edited by Erasmus, and fables such as those of Publilius Syrus were popular. They were supplemented by texts designed to help boys acquire a command of conversational Latin, the most widely used being Erasmus's Colloquies, originally published in 1519. Similar volumes to find acceptance were written by Vives, and Cordier who taught the young John Calvin. Elegaic poems, among them Lily's Carmen de Moribus were also deemed suitable. Of the renowned classical authors, Terence and Plautus were thought the best for teaching the nuances of dialogue. Horace, Ovid and Virgil were admired for purity of style. Cicero was esteemed as a prosaist

and the constructor of model letters. Caesar and Sallust were respected for their documentation of historical events. Livy was considered a gifted rhetorician. Useful information was conveyed by, for example, Pliny on natural history, and by Cato and Palladius on agriculture. Justin, Juvenal, Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Persius and Seneca are a few of the host of writers resorted to on occasion.

The importance of Greek as the language of the New Testament, and the distinction accorded Greek literature and philosophy by the Romans, ensured its place in the curriculum of the better grammar schools. A primer in general circulation was that by Clenardus, published in 1530, although simpler versions became available later. Aesop, Lucian and the Tabula of Cebes provided early reading matter. Demosthenes and Isocrates were the Greek equivalents of Cicero; Homer and Hesiod corresponded to Virgil. Apollodorus on mythology, Geminus on astronomy, Euripides for his plays, and Sophocles for his handling of tragedy, all found favour. Plutarch's De Educatione was viewed as uplifting. Historical writing was scarcely represented; where Xenophon was specified, it can be assumed that his Cyropaedia was intended. The authors Apollonius, Dionysius, Heliodorus, Oppian and Theognis are others frequently mentioned in school statutes. Whereas Latin might be spoken in and out of school, Greek enabled the individual in later life both to read pleasurably and to demonstrate superior taste. Surprisingly, classical studies were little criticized for lauding heathenism and republicanism.

A third language, Hebrew, was introduced at the most prestigious grammar schools as a result of the interest it aroused after the Reformation as the vehicle of the Old Testament.⁴⁸

Teaching methodology was set out for grammar school masters in manuals such as Elizabeth's tutor Roger Ascham's The Scholemaster (1570) and the Puritan John Brinsley's Ludus Literarius (1612). These were

supplemented in Restoration year with the publication of Charles Hoole's comprehensive handbook⁴⁹ which clearly explained the principles underpinning successful classroom practice. Hoole, who died in 1667, wrote many school-books, some of which were still being reprinted in the nineteenth century. No advocate of radical change, he shared the view of contemporaries such as the propagandist Marchamont Nedham, a sometime usher, whose impassioned defence of Latin and Greek, and his scorn of alternatives to Lily's primer, stemmed from a regard for 'antiquity and the custom of former times'.⁵⁰

Hoole commended division of the averagely-sized grammar school into six forms with the usher teaching the 'rudimentaries', 'practitioners' and 'proficients', and the head teaching the 'tertiani', 'secundani' and 'primani'. Such was the system at Oundle. The assistant would have to spend part of the day coaching those boys whose grasp of the mother tongue was weak, insisted Hoole, who found effective Richard Mulcaster's logical approach of dealing firstly with vowels, consonants and syllables, then diphthongs, spellings and punctuation. His main responsibility, however, was to teach them to read and write in Latin to an 'elegant' standard. Hoole outlined numerous syntactic exercises to help the assistant achieve the goal, listing construing texts and other appropriate aids and interspersing the whole with expert advice, as typically:

Because children .. are generally like leaking vessels and no sooner .. receive any instructions .. but forget them as quickly, till by frequent repetitions and examinations they be reveted into them and by assiduity of long practice brought to an habit .. they may be as well habituated .. by Lilies Grammar as any other.⁵¹

The master, maintained Hoole, had to build on this foundation by showing the fourth year boys, for example, 'the right way of double translating' and ensuring that they could write prose of a high order in English and Latin 'upon all occasions'. Now was the time to introduce rhetoric and oratory,

and the Greek and Hebrew languages. The master's further task was to lead pupils in the fifth and sixth forms as far as ability would allow. For each aspect of learning, Hoole provided a wealth of methodological detail.

Hoole's ideas on handling church attendance, obliged under the 1571 canons, were structured:

Now that the good schoolmaster may more fully discharge his duty .. he might meet (his scholars) at the school every Lord's day .. about an hour afore Church-time, where he may .. instruct them in catechetical doctrines .. expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments .. and after a psalm sung .. he may see them all go before him orderly by two and two to the Church ... After Church-time ended .. the master may .. see all his scholars go before him in like order to the school where he should examine them, what they have heard or writ at the sermon.⁵²

The youngest scholars, declared Hoole, would be able to repeat a few tenets; the middle range would be able to comment thoughtfully on 'Text, Doctrines, Reasons, Uses, Motives and Directions' and to give the sources of quotations; the oldest would be able to write at length and discuss abstruse points.

Hoole considered a well-stocked school library essential. Besides the most obvious Roman and Greek works:

(It ought to be) furnished with all sorts of grammars, phrase-books, lexicons, dictionaries, orators, poets, histories, herbals, commentators, scholiasts, antiquaries, criticks and some of the succinctest and choicest authors for matters of humanity, divinity, medicine and law, besides those which treat of every art and science whether liberal or mechanical.⁵³

He listed in all some 300 books which met his criteria, and which a school ought to possess, among them several written by the renowned William Dugard, the Oundle usher from 1626 to 1629.

Christopher Wase⁵⁴ also extolled a good library which he described as the 'greatest benefit to learners after the master'. Since originality was 'a hard tax to be layd on the barren ... minds of children', the 'busy bees' had to be encouraged to 'fall upon those flowry meads that have been fenc'd in by the industry of others'. He was aware that the ideal collection would

not materialize 'in one day' but the way to acquire 'the more necessary helps' was to induce every gentleman on sending a son to grammar school to bestow a book proposed by the master.⁵⁵ If all other ploys for procuring books failed, Hoole advised him:

To stir up his friends that come to visit the school, or especially such as prevail with him for a play-day, to contribute somewhat towards the furtherance of children's learning as well as to be earnestly importunate for that which may hinder it.⁵⁶

The severe flogging of boys, common in grammar schools, was deplored by Hoole whose advice was characteristically constructive. Older scholars might be enlisted, as they were at Aynho, to help keep discipline by admonishing the younger should they transgress. While excesses had to be guarded against, particularly at end of term or Shrovetide when spirits ran high, the master's authority would be respected if he participated to some extent and remained cheerful and impartial.⁵⁷ Nedham perceptively counselled, too, that caning was nauseous because of its lewd implications and counter-productive, 'making those that are dull, more dull'. The 'indiscretion and intemperance' of masters in this regard had sadly brought upon the profession 'contempt and hatred'. Corporal punishment should be reserved for moral offences like swearing and be applied by a beadle as it was 'not at all becoming either gentleman or divine to execute'.⁵⁸

It is difficult to understand why Wase, who on occasion dined with the Ishams at Lamport Hall, decided not to include in his book the data painstakingly gathered in the early 1670s which conceivably would have resulted in an extension of the grammar school network. Certainly, some Bishops, landowners and town corporations had reason to fear exposure of their part in the loss of several old foundations; possibly he thought it prudent to remain silent. However, he and such as Hoole and Nedham did succeed in attracting the support which ensured that a number of the country's grammar schools, from the late seventeenth century to the

nineteenth century and beyond, shunned reform and clung to the classical curriculum established during the Tudor age.

B. Local practice.

The King's School, naturally, was among several local grammar schools to continue along traditional lines at least for some decades after the Restoration. Its twin objectives, expressed in a prefix to the 1541 statutes, had succinctly summarized the humanist position:

To cultivate in religion and adorn with learning alike the twenty boys ... that piety and good literature may ever give out shoots, increase and flower in our church and in due season bear fruit to the glory of God and the use and ornament of the commonwealth.⁵⁹

The religious imperative meant daily attendance at divine worship in the cathedral and, on festive days, attendance at matins, litanies and vespers. Points made by preachers were to be noted in the Hoole mode. Old procedure was reaffirmed firstly in 1683 with the public display of rules and again in 1724, the year of Kennett's letter to the dean and chapter.⁶⁰ The Clipston, Harrowden Parva and Pytchley masters, typically, were required to catechize their scholars and make regular use of the Prayer Book.

There was no query about religious instruction in Wase's questionnaire; presumably he deemed that specific enquiry superfluous. Blisworth's Charles Griffin, one of a dozen local masters to submit replies, had nothing of substance to report though like the rest he was well disposed to the undertaking:

... Accounting it an happiness if my endeavours may in any wise availe to the accommodation of a person soe compleated, or promote to the perfection of soe meritorious a work. A prosperous⁶¹ progresse and successful period I wish to this and all yr labors.

Wase did, however, seek information on school-books. Northampton's Ferdinando Archer, another correspondent, seemingly acted on Hoole's advice by prising some books, 'Stephen's Thesaurus in 4 vols., and

Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae* with the notes of Casaubon in 2 vols.', from the library of the Bishop of Durham. Showing further initiative, in 1683 he published a new edition of his predecessor Simon Wastell's True Christian's Daily Delight (?1623). Written in stanza form, it was described by the original author as 'The summe of every chapter of the Old and New Testaments set down alphabetically in English verse that the Scriptures we read may more happily be remembered, and the things forgotten more easily recalled', and began:

At first Jehovah with his word did make heaven, earth and light,
The firmament, the moone and starres, the glittering sun so
bright.
By him the earth was fruitfull made and every creature good:
He maketh man like to himself and doth appoint his food.
Creation ended, God then rests, and Sabbath day ordains:
Plants Eden, and the fruit forbids for fear of endless pains.
Dust of the ground was man made of, of rib out of his side
The woman. Adam nameth all; wedlocke is sanctifide.⁶²

The Oundle master, William Speed, thanked Wase for producing school-books which were superior to 'all ye deluding Quackerys of newfangled imposters'. He added, 'They are ample testimonys of your great abilitys and labours in ye true .. method of Didacticks .. all ye Kingdome over ... found eminently successful'. Speed approved the design 'to transmitt a record to posterity of our publick Nurserys of Learning .. with ye revenues .. belonging to them' because it represented the surest way forward. A clue to the Oundle curriculum under Speed, who resigned in 1689, is provided by the antiquary Morton whose interest in the remarkable led him to jot down an anecdote concerning a scholar, 'one Master Clerk', who 'could upon once reading a side in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, or the like Latin author, in any part of it .. immediately repeat it without book, word for word'.⁶³

In May 1675 John Love, the Oakham master at the time, reported to Wase that the school once boasted a 'pleasantly sited' library but most of the classical books had been 'rifled and stolen in the time of rebellion'. However, stocks were replenished during the first year of Wright's

mastership through the generosity of the town's vicar, John Warburton, a governor of the Johnson foundations.⁶⁴ In 1675 Fotheringhay also lacked a library according to the then master Jonathan Welby but with a bequest in 1716 bought 26 volumes including a Greek Testament, the 'Athenian Oracle' and editions of Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Terence and Virgil. They were in constant use until at least 1781 when the long-serving John Morgan died.⁶⁵

Solely from perusal of the replies Wase received, it appears that grammar schools in the Peterborough diocese owned few of the books recommended by Hoole. However, Abthorpe's Humphrey Nicoll revealed that he drew in his teaching on an abundant personal store of manuscripts, perhaps a common practice. Probably widespread, too, was the course adopted by Harold Milner at Daventry to whose library the boys had ready access. When he died in 1711, a catalogue of his books estimated to be worth in excess of £8..0..0, was compiled. The classical authors predominate this private collection though the many Latin, Greek and Hebrew grammars together with the commentaries, lexicons and dictionaries, and the multiple copies of Persius and Terence betray school utility. Additionally there were catechisms in three languages, Latin and Greek Testaments, a Hebrew edition of the Psalms, sermons and diverse works of piety, some of which Milner may have used in his capacity as a cleric. A small miscellany, including treatises on Francis Bacon and John Dryden, and the intriguingly-titled 'English Horace by several hands' completed the total of some 160 volumes. (See Fig.7).

Guilsborough, like Daventry, was among the local grammar schools about which Wase received either no information or none of value. Yet by 1813, when a check was carried out, it had amassed more than 500 books in English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew (to which it was formally committed by Langham) which bore a close correlation to Hoole's ideal library. Most were of much earlier date; all represented were Calvin, Erasmus, Lily,

Fig.7.

A CATALOGUE OF THE BOOKS OWNED BY THE MASTER OF DAVENTRY
GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HAROLD MILNER, WHO DIED IN 1711.

	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>
Scapulas Lexicon	6	0
Cowley's works	5	0
Schmidius in Pindar	3	0
Legrandi philosophia	2	0
Homeri Ilias	6	0
Stephanus in Pindar	1	6
Robinson in Schrevelius Lexicon	7	6
Feltham Resolves		6
Blackwell's Ser.	2	6
Goodman penitent pardon'd	1	6
Tulley's Orat.	1	0
Edwards Diocesan Episcopacy	1	0
Salvians Treat.		
Poetica Stromata		6
Stanhopes Ser.	2	6
Bp. of York Ser.	3	0
Stanhopes Xtian Pattern	2	0
Herodian	1	0
Bootii philosophia	1	6
?Jeem English		6
Zenophon	1	0
Plutarch	1	0
Sophoclis Tragediae	1	0
Parrhasius		4
Busby's Greek gram.	1	0
Sanderson's casus conscientia	1	6
Lycosthenes Apothem		1
Chilmead of Globes		6
Buxtorf Lexicon	1	0
Quintus Curtius Eng.		6
Duport in psalmos		6
Quintilian Testamat		6
Voysii Rhetor		6
Burgesdicii Logica		6
Buxtorf Heb. gram.		6
Legrand Apologia		4
Phedrus Fables		4
Palmer of paroch. Comun.		4
Duport in Job		6
Faerici fabulae		2
Epicteti Enchiridion	1	0
Lucretius	1	6
Viderus de Treatismus		6
?Suireri Phisica		3
Greek grammar imperfect		
Orthotonia		2

Burridge historia	1	0
Salvian Treat. of God's governm't	1	8
Duport in proverbial		8
Suetonius		10
Tullii Epistola		3
2 Lucian Dialog.	1	0
Tyrii Dissertat.	1	0
Cornelius Repos.		6
Caesar Coment.	1	0
Antoninus de ?Seipso	1	0
Erasmi Enchiridion		8
Mori Enchiridion		8
Grotius de Veritate Religionis	1	0
Salustii et Orationes		6
Robertson's Heb. psalms	1	0
Curselii Ethecae		6
Lucan		6
Seneca Trag.		6
Greek Test.		
Fabrii Epitome Biblii		3
Hepolitus Eng.		2
Homeri Iliados Greek		6
?Jeem ?Oeyss		6
Textor's Epithet		
Marcellus palling		2
Bacon de Verulamo		4
Seneca Tradediae		4
Sallustii Histor		6
Terence Comed.		4
Casmir Lyricor		4
Beveridge of the Compr.)		
parcell of pamphletts)	2	6
Demosthenis orat. Greek and Lat.		4
Critica sacra	1	0
Juvenall and Persius trans. by Holiday	2	0
The Satyrs of Juvenall and Dryden	2	6
Praxis ?cr Greeke	2	0
Virgill in usid Delphini	3	0
Juvenall		3
Oldham's works	2	6
Stanhops on epistles and gospels v. 1st.	2	6
Greek Test. 2v.	4	0
Scott's Ser. 1v.	2	6
Erasmi Coll. Eng.		8
?Boyers Comp. French master.	1	6
Hickman's Ser.	3	0
Kettlewell's Xtian Obedience	2	6
Horace in usid Delphini	3	6
Lake's 16 Ser.	2	0
Chudleigh's essays	1	0
Lives of 12 Caesars Eng.	2	0
Ovid metam. Eng. Vol. 1st.		10
Walker's particles	1	0

Essay upon Christianity		8
Bucanan's poems	1	0
Ramus upon Virgil's Georg. Lat.		6
Hamond's catech.	2	6
Plautus Lambini Notis ?cr	2	0
Present for the Ladies		2
Jacobii Crucii Miseurius	1	0
Tully of Old Age and Friendship		8
Martiall's Epigrams		6
Greek and Lat. cat.		3
Atterbury's Ser.	3	0
Excerpta de Ovid Met.		6
Bp. of Glouster Expos. on Ch. Cat.	1	6
Terence in English	1	0
?Passor Lexicon		6
Epigrammata Juvenilia		4
3 of Terence with Eng. notes		6
Lutius Florus Minclii Notis	1	0
6 Lat. com. Terence Mines notis		8
Baudy's Lat. Epist.	1	0
English Horace by several hands	1	0
Erasmus de Copia Verborum		6
Barnes ?Estor Gr. and Lat.		8
Duport in psalmos	1	0
Dissertat ?Aut. Gram.		6
Wit agst Wisdom		6
Homeri Iliad Liber primus		3
Lat. Test. Castalio		8
Juvenal Satyrs Lubin	1	0
Lat. Test. old.		3
Tullii ofic.		6
Ovid metam. old		6
6 Satyrs of Persius Bond		6
Gardiner's Specimen Orator		4
B. of Worster's ?Disc. etc.		6
an old small Virgill		3
Char. of a Whig		3
Compen. Graec. Nov. Test. Leusden		8
a small coment on Persius		4
an old small Horace		4
Lucian Dialog. Select		4
Westminster Gr. Epig.		6
Erasmus More Encominium		8
Liber Rhetor Walker		3
Tullii of Eng.		6
Boyle's Seraph. Love		8
Morden's Description of England	1	6
Primitiae sacrae		6
Pelling on humility		9
Norris Beat.	1	6
Pub. Stadius		6
Common prayer		6
Demosthenes Gre. and Lat.		6

Plautus		6
Erasmus Enchiri.	1	0
Bp. Pierson on Creed	4	0
Effigies Amoris		4

Source: PDA, Northamptonshire Inventories, 1700-1728 (Archdeaconry of Northampton series).
No. 70. Harold Milner.

The catalogue was drawn up by Benjamin Frauncis, vicar of Norton by Daventry, on 26 October 1711. His order of listing, spelling and punctuation has been retained.

Raleigh, Bacon, Dugard, Comenius, Hoole himself, the historian Gilbert Burnet and noted Restoration preachers such as John Tillotson and Edward Stillingfleet. A score or so books plainly were purchased or donated in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. All but a couple of these were classical, the exceptions being 'Kettlewell on Obedience' (1709), a title in Milner's collection, and 'Kettlewell on Communion' (1713).⁶⁶

A conversational topic at the Lamport dining table was the alarming phenomenon of grammar school rebellion attributable, as Hoole perceived, to uninspired teaching. An incident at Market Harborough (Leics.) just outside the Northamptonshire border was discussed one evening in November 1672. The master, Uppingham-educated John Bury, on good terms with the Ishams, had been 'shut out' by the boys who wedged horseshoes under the school door. Beforehand 'as usual' they had obtained jars of gunpowder, small quantities of which subsequently were 'wrapped in paper, set alight and flung into the streets'. Several hundreds of these missiles landed in the crowd causing a dog, frightened by the noise, to bolt and topple a potter's wares.⁶⁷ A 1683 King's School edict threatened with expulsion any boys reviving the 'former' Christmas custom of locking out their master.⁶⁸

Dryden never forgot the beatings inflicted on him by the notorious Richard Busby at Westminster but still sent two sons to be schooled there. The Northamptonshire poet and many of his contemporaries thought that the rod must enforce the scholars' daily round of translating, declaiming, sentence analysis, the study of idioms and the committing of passages to memory. This approach was relaxed with the coming into vogue of the so-called 'Eton plan of classical education' which curtailed scrutiny of original prose. The King's School under David Standish sen., Uppingham on Knapp's appointment and Oundle in the 1780s all strove to emulate it.⁶⁹

The particular endeavours of a few local boys are documented. Sir Justinian Isham, the 4th Baronet, whose monument in Lamport church records the delight he took in Cicero and Horace, sent his second son John and his fourth son Edmund (who founded the free school at Hanging Houghton), to Rugby School in 1699. The headmaster, Henry Holyoake, who seemingly remained faithful to the old ways of teaching, in a letter dated December 1702 reported pleasing progress:

I am happy that I can say they both continue very hopeful and are like to prove extraordinary scholars. Mr. John (besides his judgement in Greek and Latin authors) shows great parts, and ingenuity in his compositions both in prose and verse with solid sense and substantial Latin; and I believe will have a peculiar genius to Horace's measures, whom he has sometimes happily imitated in Odes on occasional subjects. Mr. Edmund has also made very great improvements; he renders his author naturally and with good command; writes judicious Latin; composes a short epigram not without its acumen in the close, and has a very good foundation in Greek, of which he gives no mean account. Their morals also bear proportion with their learning; their behaviour being always civil and decently modest, and their recreations innocent ...

Samples of exercises bearing the name of 'E. Isham' have survived. They are more likely to have been the work of Edmund than Sir Justinian's seventh son, Euseby. The death of a family pet in June 1706 prompted the boy to write the following lines which though in English, contain numerous classical allusions. The uninhibited and distinctive style is noticeable:

I moan a dove, ye fairest dove is dead
And all that's good and lovely's with her fled.
O come ye Cupids and bemoan this fate.
Never did day bear such an ugly date:
Let it be spotted with a Stygian stone
And celebrated be, with funeral moan.
Let it be dismal, black as she was fair.
Let it be dreadful, with a thundering air.
I fancy that when Pluto's ardent fire
For Prosperine did make him here retire
He spy'd this dove, and seeing a tender yoke
About her neck, he thus in passion broke.
'O that I could this lovely thing obtain
Perhaps by this I might my mistress gain'.

But Venus spying his malicious crew,
 Whipt on her doves, and swift away she flew.
 But O alas! this hellish black design
 Is now accomplished on this dove divine.
 But since ye lower region is her place,
 And here above's no more her beauteous face,
 Just like a diamond when in sable night
 It shews its virtue with a sparkling light,
 She sits surrounded with ye pious dead
 And from her eyes a sudden light is spread.
 Were I but Orpheus with my careful hand
 I'd search ye utmost holes in her demand,
 And even from ye Queen of Darkness take
 This dove, and bring her o'er ye Stygian lake.
 But since ye Venus of this fairest dove
 Is still in tears, I wish ye God of love
 To make these cares to cease, and cure ⁷¹ this smart,
 Would wound her gently in another part.

In the middle of July the following year ?Edmund penned lines in Latin
 under the heartfelt title 'Scholae Tiedia',⁷² while later that month he
 translated one of Horace's odes:

Horace. Book 2. Ode 16.

When once ye greedy mariner has launched
 Into the Aegeum, and so far advanced
 That stormy winds and raging billows roar;
 Then to the Gods for ease he does implore.
 The furious Thracians do in ease delight
 For ease ye Medians have an appetite ...⁷³

A piece neither signed nor dated, though in a similar hand, bore the
 behavioural advice of Epictetus; whether or not the writer had translated
 from the Greek is not known:

Remember to behave yourself in all ye circumstances of
 life, as you would do at a public entertainment. Where, if the
 dish yt you like shall come about to you, take a little of it
 modestly. If it shall be past you, do not be too solicitous for ye
 return of it. If it is not yet come to you, be not impatient,
 wait till it comes, and in ye meantime make use of what is
 before you. Be thus affected with relation to children, to wife,
 to preferments or to riches, and you will make yourself worthy
 to be entertain'd by the Gods. But if you can conquer your
 appetites so far, as to be able with a generous contempt to
 refuse 'em when they are set before you, you will not only be
 qualified to feast with the Gods, but to reign with 'em. Thus
 when Diogenes and Heraclitus and other wise men behave
 themselves, as they really were, so were they esteem'd Divine
 Persons.⁷⁴

From March 1706 John, the older brother, forwarded specimens of his work with trepidation to Sir Justinian at the House of Commons though the latter's approval was quickly forthcoming.⁷⁵ John's shorter Latin compositions included 'Novus annus' and 'Pro pace'.⁷⁶ They clearly allowed the imagination free rein, hinting stylistically at the Eton plan, as did his lengthy ornamental description of the gently undulating landscape in which Lamport Hall is situated. The verses, dated 23 August 1706, were possibly written voluntarily during vacation and began thus:

Haud procul a Neini ripis, ubi Pitchleiana
Urbs medium longo circumjacet ordine vallem;
Quâque domus humilis cannâ contacta palustri⁷⁷
Et nimium solem, et frigus Boreale repellet ...

Among other local boys who studied the classics was 'W' Cartwright of Aynho (presumed to be William, the later MP) whose workbook has on its cover a picture labelled 'The Fox and Stork' together with a virtuous caption in English, in the style of Aesop:

The Crane in pure revenge the Fox invites
To dinner, and disposed her delicates
In a glass vial; which her beak alone
Could reach. The Fox ashamed went empty home.

Moral. Fraud is by fraud but justly paid again
And to deceive the coz'ner is no shame.

The pages themselves however, furnish no words in the vernacular but a substantial, much-altered and unfinished Latin narrative, 'Carolus redux', upon which the dispirited scholar, who was probably privately taught, had obviously expended hours of labour.⁷⁸ A rare example of a timetable, constructed for Frank Dryden at Canons Ashby, possibly in 1799, divides each of the days from Monday to Saturday into three sessions. Authors specifically mentioned were Cicero, Homer and Virgil. The injunction, 'Mr. Denison (tutor) to give Frank a theme alternately in Latin and English ... to compose of an evening ... for Mr. D's examination in the morning',⁷⁹ was complied with evidently, and shows a continuing affection for the old curriculum.

Short summary.

By the late eighteenth century the scholarship of the ancient world no longer commanded universal awe. Furthermore, Latin had ceased to be the language of international communication; diplomacy was conducted in French. There were well-meaning attempts to restore confidence in the grammar schools by masters who in the Etonian manner considered elegant verse-making of little value and advocated the reading of fewer poets and more historians. Though keeping faith with such thinkers as Erasmus, Comenius and Locke, all of whom had emphasised the practical content of the classical curriculum rather than literary sophistry, they met with widespread public indifference. Ambivalence lingered, not to be overtaken by the times. For example, boys at Oundle Grammar School in the 1780s under John Evanson were deemed poorly educated because they knew only snippets of Corderius and a few of Phaedrus's metrical fables. The master claimed in defence to have introduced modern subjects in an effort to serve the community. His energy dissipated, Evanson was doubly discredited.⁸⁰

PART 4 : ALTERNATIVES TO GRAMMAR SCHOOLING.

A. Subjects and rationale.

Whilst the various academies collectively constituted an alternative to the grammar schools, the thinking of many proprietors is revealed only in the ways they publicized their specialized curricula which were said to qualify students for careers in the counting-house or trade, law, estate stewardship, the arts or the armed forces. However, Nonconformist tutors in particular went beyond merely listing subjects though those taught at the Northampton Dissenting Academy typically, make an impressive combination. Job Orton, a former student and sometime Deputy Principal, recounted in 1766:

One of the first things (Doddridge) expected from his pupils was to learn Rich's short-hand .. Those of them who chose it were also taught French .. Systems of logic, rhetoric, geography and metaphysics were read during the first year of their course .. To these were added lectures on the principles of geometry and algebra .. After these studies .. they were introduced to .. trigonometry, conic sections and celestial mechanics. A system of natural and experimental philosophy comprehending mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, optics .. and astronomy was read to them, with references to the best authors .. illustrated by a neat and pretty large apparatus .. Some other Articles were touched upon especially history, natural and civil, as the students proceeded in their course .. A distinct view of .. anatomy .. was given them .. A large system of Jewish antiquities was read to them in the latter years of their course .. But the chief object of their study .. was .. divinity in the largest extent of the word, including what is most material in pneumatology and ethics ..

Besides naming a subject, Orton explained the reasons determining its choice. For example, algebra obliged students to argue in a clear, concise and convincing manner, whereas anatomy promoted their veneration for God, the architect of the 'amazing' human frame. All syllabuses were structured to foster understanding and the curriculum was devised as a coherent whole to subserve one's 'honourable appearance in the ministry'.

Priestley was similarly specific. His 'Essay' together with his extensive 'Course of lectures' set out in three blocks, each having a separate rationale, were addressed to the trustees of Warrington Dissenting

Academy (Ches.). His introductory remarks outlined the benefits to be accrued from studying, for instance, British history and the evolvement of political policy:

An ordinary reader is completely satisfied when he sees in the papers a detail of foreign events and domestic occurrences; what battles have been fought, or what alliances have been formed; who is in, and who is out in the public offices of State etc. In general, the bulk of mankind are content with seeing how things are, without looking far into the causes or consequences of things. But a philosopher is not satisfied without endeavouring to see things, as much as possible, in all their connections and relations. He wishes to see how the present state of things arose out of the preceeding, till he have traced the constitution, privileges, powers, and all the advantages of his country to the earliest accounts of them, and then, by comparing things of a familiar nature, he may hope to be able to form a judgement of the probable consequences of things. Besides, it is only a knowledge how things were actually brought to the state in which they now are, that can enable us to judge how they may be improved. Thus our knowledge of the wrong steps which have been taken in conducting our commerce, agriculture etc, may teach us how to avoid them: and when we see the best schemes laid fairly open to examination, we may see how they might have been amended. And he is certainly a bad citizen, who hath leisure to make himself master of the history of his country, and yet neglects so useful a branch of knowledge.⁸²

With equal clarity he justified the teaching of what he actually termed 'commercial geography' which, allied to chemistry, pointed to the exploitation of natural substances:

This branch of knowledge is, indeed, as yet very much confined. We are probably strangers to some of the most useful productions of the earth on which we live .. By teaching it to youth .. would be the best provision for extending it. Then, gentlemen in their .. travels, would have their attention more strongly engaged to everything that appeared new or curious .. Captains of ships would not neglect to bring home specimens of a variety of articles, besides those which were the principal object of their voyage. A knowledge of chemistry is absolutely necessary to the extension of this useful branch of science .. (it is) pleasing that chemistry has, of late years, been more generally attended to .. and is daily introduced into more places of liberal education .. What losers men may be for want of commercial geography and of chemistry .. may be conceived ... A man might .. be digging for the ore of a baser metal, and overlook another of much more value, which might lie in his way .. And it is more than probable that the countries to which we trade for articles of small account are capable of furnishing us with commodities of much greater value, as soon as our attention is sufficiently awake to discover them.⁸³

Ryland, the most prodigious of the local educational writers, likewise decreed in the foreword to one of his textbooks that 'sensible knowledge' should be the dominant curriculum component. He invariably provided the criteria by which he judged a subject's worth. For example, arithmetic was 'exceedingly useful and important', while geometry, 'next to divinity and history', was 'certainly the very best science in which youth (could) be instructed'. As it tended 'to fix the attention, to strengthen and enlarge the mind, to improve the memory, to teach clear ideas, and an habit of just reasoning, it (was) surely the best logic that ever was invented for the use of mankind'.⁸⁴

In the foreword to a revised version of the book, Ryland revealed that in his experience scholars were 'terrified' when embarking on 'Newtonian Philosophy' but if they could be prevailed upon 'to get the first principles in their heads, the power and beauty of truth (would) irresistibly charm them to go on with admiration and incredible delight'. He wished to persuade adolescents to disdain sensual pleasures and sordid pursuits, and 'make a trial of these rational and manly entertainments'. Once they had come 'to taste the sweetness', they would 'find their understandings so strengthened and improved as to astonish even themselves', and they would thereby be prepared for all the 'important employments of life'. Replacing the 'folly and misery' which attended 'ignorant libertines' would be 'a rich abundance of happy consequences to .. their parents and their country'.⁸⁵

Ryland probably drew on Isaac Watts in advancing the claims of astronomy:

If we look upward with David to the world above us 'we consider the heavens as the work of the finger of God, and the moon and stars which he hath ordained', what amazing glories discover themselves to our sight! What wonders of wisdom are seen in the exact regularity of their revolutions! nor was there ever any thing that has contributed to enlarge my apprehensions of the immense power of God, the magnificence of his creation, and his own transcendant grandeur, so much as that little portion of astronomy which I have been able to attain .. When we muse

on these things we may lose ourselves in holy wonder, and cry out with the Psalmist, 'Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou shouldst visit him!'⁸⁶

The study of Greek was advocated with the fervour of his grammar school colleagues by Ryland in another textbook, a short grammatical guide to the language:

Beyond all doubt the sweetness and superior beauty of the Greek language was .. why the all wise and benevolent God chose to deliver to mankind the last and best edition of his glorious Gospel in it; so that the most consolatory doctrine ... might be proclaimed and diffused through the nations in the sweetest language in the world .. that ever was spoken by mortals .. And as we profess ourselves Christians and live in the College of Christ, let us love this Christian language, and cultivate its growth, and propagate its excellencies to the utmost of our abilities .. and with the most pungent of motives, addressed to hope, gratitude, interest, pleasure and a worthy ambition.⁸⁷

Ryland had little affection for the ancients, mathematicians apart. His regard for Greek sprang from the abiding piety with which he entreated the young to study the Christian religion which 'gloriously promotes the good of all civil societies, unites all ranks of men in one blessed band .. and turns all mankind into one general family of friendship and love'.⁸⁸

Conversely, there is a paucity of evidence as to the objectives of those who set up academies for females, Mrs. Cloutt apart.⁸⁹ A daughter of Sir Justinian Isham, the 2nd Baronet, Vere who sadly died at the age of 19 in 1674, is known to have been 'learned beyond her sex and years in mathematics and algebra'. Her workbook shows that she successfully solved the following typical problems;

If 8 horses be maintained 12 days with a certain quantity of provender, how many days will ye same quantity maintain 16 horses?

A, B and C freight a ship with 108 tuns of wine. A had 48, B .. 36 and C .. 24. They meet with a storm at sea were constrained to cast 45 tun overboard. Here ye question to be resolved is how much of ye 45 tun each particular merchant lost according to ye rate of his adventure?⁹⁰

Sister Mary was a skilled linguist who construed French 'every night' as a pastime; an interest in apiculture was fostered in both girls by Richard Richardson, the vicar of Brixworth. A later Vere, daughter of the 4th Baronet, frequently corresponded with her brothers in French. In such cases the liberalism of their fathers, who in matters intellectual recognized no boundaries, was the crucial factor. Serious textbooks were written for older girls⁹¹ though there is no evidence of their use locally.

Assumptions about the value of the social accomplishments were deeply entrenched. A curious treatise by apothecary Richard Browne, a native of Oakham, underpinned the place on the curriculum of singing, instrumental music and dancing. The author contended that the three 'divertissements' rendered admirable service as the enemies of melancholy thoughts and were a cure for the disease of 'spleen and vapours' to which females were prone on account of their 'tender and delicate constitutions'. He was aware that 'a surprising diversity of symptoms rendered the knowledge of this distemper vastly difficult to be attained to'. It did not, as was 'commonly imagined, consist of an orgasm, ataxy or tumultuous hurry of the spirits but on the contrary, in their defective secretion'.⁹²

The academies and private schools, whatever their staffs' teaching outlook and suppositions about students, collectively catered for a spectrum of interests, and the best of them supplied an education superior to that of the two universities. For the range of subjects offered see Fig.8.

B. Ryland's methodology.

Ryland, the most plausibly expositive of the local educators, was also exceptionally forward-looking. His motive in writing textbooks was to facilitate the communication of knowledge, and his methodological approach was summarized in words that Comenius might have used:

LIST OF SUBJECTS OFFERED BY PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES,
1721-1805.

ACCOUNTS	10,14,24,38,41.
ALGEBRA	9,25,28.
ANATOMY	9,23.
ARCHITECTURE	20.
ARITHMETIC inc. 'plain & ornamental'	2,10,15,17,18,21,22,23,25,30, 31,39,40,43.
ARITHMETIC vulgar & decimal	13,20,26,37.
ARITHMETIC vulgar & decimal, square) & cube roots, superficies, solid measure)	1.
ASTRONOMY	7,9,13,23,25,27,37,43.
BELLES LETTRES	39.
BOOKKEEPING Italian method	10,13,37,41.
BOTANY	43.
BUSINESS STUDIES	10.
CELESTIAL MECHANICS	9,23.
CLASSICS	18,21,30,33,34.
CONFECTIONERY	3.
CONIC SECTIONS	9.
DANCING	11,12,14,16,17,19,30,36,39, 40,43.
DEFENCE/SWORDSMANSHIP	16.
DIALLING/SUN DIALLING	13,20,25,37.
DIVINITY	9,21,23.
DRAWING	39,40,43.
ELOCUTION	29.
EMBROIDERY	3.
ENGLISH	4,8,15,17,18,21,29,30,37,38,40, 41,43.
ETHICS	9.
EXTRACTIONS OF ROOTS with uses	13,26.
FOREIGN EXCHANGE	2.
FORTIFICATION	13.
FRENCH	2,9,11,12,14,15,21,30,36,39,40, 42,43.
GEOGRAPHY	9,15,23,25,27,29,30,37,38,40, 41,43.
GEOMETRY	9,13,20,23,28,37.
GLASS PAINTING, JAPANING, GILDING	3.
GLOBES uses of	13,15,25,27,29,38,40,41.
GRAMMAR	15.
GRAMMAR English	26,29,32,39.
GREEK	5,8,9,15,18,22,23,26,29,37,38, 39,42.
GUAGING Practice & theory	13,25,26,28,37.
GUNNERY	13.
HEBREW	9,15,23.
HISTORY Civil or Ecclesiastic	9,18,21,23,29,40,42.
HYDROSTATICS	9.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES	9.
LATIN	5,8,9,15,18,22,23,26,29,37,38, 39,42.
LITERATURE	32,33,35.
LOGARITHMS	31.
LOGIC	9,42.
MAPPING	15.
MATHEMATICS	7,20,23,30,31,35,39,42.
MECHANICS	9,23.
MENSURATION cross multiplication, decimals, scale/dividers, pen and sliding rule.	13,26,38,41.)
MENSURATION superfices & solids	28,37.
MERCHANTS ACCOUNTS	10,18,21,22.
MERCHANTS ACCOUNTS Italian method	2,26.
METAPHYSICS	9.
MORALS	17,21,26,35,40.
MUSIC	6,11,12,14,17,36,38,39,40,43.
NATURAL HISTORY	9,23,43.
NAVIGATION	1,13,25,37,38,41.
NEEDLEWORK	14,17,19,24,35,40,43.
OPTICS	9,23.
ORIENTAL LANGUAGES	5.
ORRERY	13,23.
PENMANSHIP	39.
PHILOSOPHY (SCIENCE)	9,23,39.
PNEUMATICS	9,23.
READING	14,15,17,18,24,25,28.
RHETORIC	9,18.
SPELLING	17.
STATICS	9.
STENOGRAPHY	9,38.
SURVEYING	1,7,13,20,25,26,28,37.
TRIGONOMETRY inc. 'plain & spherical'	9,13,20,23,28,37,38,41.
WRITING	10,11,14,15,17,18,20,21,22, 24,25,26,28,30, 36,37,38,40,41,43.
WRITING Alamode Round/Italian	1.
WRITING All hands	1,2.
WRITING Law hands	10,18.

NOTES. Some subjects clearly overlap but the distinctions have been retained because they were meaningful to those who made them. Neither the subjects listed, nor the masters offering them should be regarded as exhaustive. It is not assumed that the standard of instruction and depth of study were uniform. Several scholastic establishments were in being before and after the dates (commonly of advertisements) referred to in the following 'Key to numbers'.

KEY TO NUMBERS.

1	Anon.	Northampton	1721
2	J.Lee	Northampton	1726
3	Anon.	Kettering	1728
4	B.Francis	Northampton	1729
5	T.Bowles	Brackley	1732
6	G.Wright	Stamford St. Martin's	1736
7	T.Cowper	Wellingborough	c.1736/40
8	J.Digby	Thistleton (Rut.)	1740
9	Doddridge Acad.	Northampton	1740s
10	H.Woolley	Northampton	1740s
11	Mrs. Luck	Northampton	1742
12	Mrs. Sympson	Stamford St. Martin's	1745
13	J.Noble	Northampton	1746
14	Mrs. Pasham	Northampton	1750s
15	P.Whalley	Courteenhall	1752
16	A.Moreau	Finedon	1753
17	Mrs. Wyckley	Northampton	1756
18	R.Wood/Woolley	Northampton	1756
19	Ellis family	Kingsthorpe	1757
20	T.Crass	Northampton	1762
21	W.Williams	Northampton	1762
22	J.Clarke	Guilsborough	1760s
23	Ryland Acad.	Northampton	1760s, 1770s.
24	Mrs. Cook	Northampton	1770s
25	Mrs. Shelton	Daventry	1772
26	T.Wadsworth	Daventry	1773
27	T.Trinder	Northampton	1770s, 1780s.
28	W.Gray	Whittlebury	1776
29	S.Ward	Cotterstock	1778
30	J.Evanson	Oundle	1781
31	T.Sarjeant	Northampton	1780s
32	W.Chown	Moulton	1780s
33	H.Andrewes	Blakesley	1785
34	J.Slade	Bugbrooke	1785
35	Mr. & Mrs. Hague	Northampton	1786
36	Misses. Burton	Uppingham	1789
37	W.West	Duddington	1791
38	Watts Bros. Acad.	Northampton	1790s
39	R.Comfield	Northampton	1795
40	Mrs. Dent	Northampton	1796
41	J.Fisher	Northampton	1797
42	Mr. Denison	Canons Ashby	1799
43	Mrs. Cloutt	Northampton	1805

It is a grievous thing to consider how we are suffered to waste seven or ten years in learning little more than mere words, whilst the improvement of the understanding, and the reason, is almost entirely neglected in most schools through the kingdom. The minds of youth are happily vacant of the cares and business of life; they are very receptive of ideas of all kinds, provided you propose them in a simple and familiar manner, and avoid⁹³ everything that is abstracted and remote from sense.

Ryland maintained that scholars under 16 years of age could comprehend incorporeal subject matter when skilfully handled, and was honoured when it was 'justly' said that at his 'school' the 'first six books of Euclid's Elements' were taught as 'a recreation'. He had purposely adopted 'a way of play' and worked out, with the boys, 'all the problems and most of the theorems' in the sand of the courtyard.

His teaching philosophy was enshrined in a passage imploring masters to be more imaginative:

A fire shovel, tongs and poker will show the foundation of the mechanical powers, especially the nature of levers. A spinning-wheel will clearly show the power of the wheel and axle. A brickbat on a table will show the advantage of broad above narrow wheels. Marbles will teach a schoolboy the nature of percussion and the laws of motion. By the whipping and spinning of tops, we may show the diurnal and annual motion of the earth. The twirling of a chambermaid's mop will show the nature of the centrifugal force of the planets. The fall of a farthing ball teaches the doctrine of gravitation, and the laws of falling bodies. A pennyworth of quicksilver, divided on a table, and some bits of cork in a basin of water, will show you the attraction of cohesion. A sponge will teach the rise of water in capillary tubes. A syringe, or a squib, or sucking with a reed or a wheaten straw, will show the nature of pump work. A schoolboy's Jew's harp will serve to teach us those tremulous motions which are the cause of sounds. And a glass prism, soap bubbles, a looking-glass and an ox's eye from the butcher's, will be a happy foundation for optⁱcs. A few hoops from the cooper's shop, placed with skill, will show the grand circles of the sphere viz. the horizon, the meridian, the equinoctial line, the ecliptic or sun's path, the two tropics, and the polar circles. A small pillar of the same size which is used for a barber's block, with a few rings of leather or of horn, with some wires and wooden balls, will make a tolerable good orrery, to show the situation, the distances, the motions and magnitudes⁹⁴ of the heavenly bodies in the Newtonian system of astronomy.

Ryland asserted that a body of data could be imprinted on the memories of older pupils by allowing them to sport with cards. For example, in the case of geography he advised:

Take a pack of blank cards, write on them the principal cities of Europe, Asia, Africa and America .. with the latitude, longitude, number of inhabitants, and their religion .. The manner of playing with them is as follows .. Deal out the cards and let the first boy begin, draw a card, inspect it, name only the city, and turn it face downward .. The second boy must answer thus .. suppose it was London. 'London .. is the capital city of the kingdom of England, its north latitude is 51 degrees and 32 minutes, its longitude is nothing because the first degree .. begins at London. The number of inhabitants in the city and suburbs are reckoned⁹⁵ near a million .. and the people profess the Protestant religion.

Definitions, in whatever subject, similarly lent themselves to this presentational treatment. For instance, an optical pack might contain easily understood descriptions of 'a ray of light, the inflexion of a ray of light, the refraction of a ray of light, the reflexion of a ray of light, the angle of incidence, the refracted angle, the angle of refraction, the angle of reflection, diverging rays of light, converging rays of light, parallel rays of light, a radiant point, a focus, a focus changed into a radiant, a double convex lens, a plano convex lens, a double concave lens, a plano concave lens' and so on.⁹⁶

Ryland's 1768 manual proper, consists of detailed syllabuses which were drafted with the help of the 'judicious friend' whose name he was then 'not at liberty to mention'.⁹⁷ The language used assumes a more academic tone, as in this sample lesson from 'Part 4' on astronomy, though there is no way of assessing each man's contribution:

To represent the moon's orbit on a celestial globe, tie a silk thread round the ball of the globe on the ecliptic, and then find the place of the moon's ascending node in the ecliptic by an ephemeris. This done, mark the place of the ascending node in the ecliptic with a chalk, and also the opposite points of the ecliptic for the place of the descending node; mark also the two points of the ecliptic which are halfway between the nodes, or 90 degrees from each. Then reckoning 90 degrees from the ascending node, according to the order of the signs, set the silk thread $5\frac{3}{4}$ degrees northward there, or halfway between the

nodes; and on the opposite side of the globe set the thread $5\frac{1}{4}$ degrees south of the ecliptic: and lastly adjusting the thread by hand to be like a great circle on the globe crossing the ecliptic at an angle of $5\frac{3}{4}$ degrees in the nodes, the thread will truly represent the moon's orbit in the heavens for that time, and show what stars it passes through, or near to. And finding the moon's place by an ephemeris for the given time look for the same place in the ecliptic, and right against it, under the thread, will be the moon's place in her orbit for that time.

The difficulties Ryland's scholars must have experienced with the text, additionally addressed to 'private gentlemen', prompted his issuing of the 1772 edition under an insignificantly changed title which he and Ferguson, now identified, hoped was 'more useful to schools'. The first lesson of a 'short and easy' series constituting an introduction to mechanics began thus:

Suppose a body (Which we will call A)
 To weigh forty pounds (40)
 And to move at the rate of two miles in a minute;
 And another body (Which we shall call B)
 To weigh only four pounds (4)
 And to move twenty miles in a minute;
 The intire forces, with which these two bodies
 Would strike against any obstacle
 Will be equal to each other
 And therefore it would require equal powers to stop them.
 The reason of this:
 For 40 multiplied by 2 gives 80,
 (The force of the body A)
 And 20 multiplied by 4 gives 80,
 (The force of the body B).

Next, devices such as the lever, the pulley, and the inclined plane, which assist in the raising of weights or in overcoming resistance, were examined in turn. The section on 'The wheel and axle' ran thus:

The velocity of the power is
 To the velocity of the weight,
 As the circumference of the wheel
 Is to the circumference of the axle;
 And the advantage gained by this machine
 Is directly in the same proportion;
 For the power and weight balance each other,
 When the power is in proportion to the weight.
 As the circumference of the axle

Is to the circumference of the wheel.
This machine is the principal part
Of a common crane.

An example to explain this power.

Suppose the circumference of a wheel
To be eight times as great as the circumference of the axle.
Then a power equal to one pound,
Hanging by a chord which goes round the wheel,
Will balance a weight of eight pounds
Hanging by a rope which goes round the axle.¹⁰⁰

This volume, slender in comparison with its 1768 counterpart, ended with 12 'capital experiments' of which the following are examples, which could be performed on what Ryland called a 'whirling table' or centrifuge:

1. To show the propensity of matter to keep the state it is in, whether motion or rest, for ever.
2. To show that bodies moving in orbits, have a tendency to fly out of their orbits.
3. To show that bodies move faster in small orbits than in large ones.
9. To show the reason why the tides rise at the same time on opposite sides of the earth. (This is the beautiful experiment invented by Mr. Ferguson).
- 11.(Johann) Kepler's 'Grand Problem' illustrated viz., that the squares of the periodical times of the planets round the sun are in proportion to the cubes of their distances from him, and that the sun's attraction is inversely as the square of the distance from his centre.¹⁰¹

Such, then, was Ryland's methodology; its modernity is striking.

Short summary.

Ryland vividly sheds light on the content of the curriculum and the structured teaching approach in his academy. Yet one can only speculate as to how many contemporary masters possessed his pedagogic skills and enthusiasm, matched his flexibility in adopting suitable stratagems, and shared his articulacy and capacity to searchingly evaluate. Dissenting tutors generally appear to have been troubled by current anxieties in their espousal of advanced instructional techniques which bore political, psychological and sociological dimensions. Plainly however, each denominational institution was keen to secure respected theologians for the cause, and the attention heaped on certain subjects was due to a collective

belief that they glorified a creative deity. Nor, despite their undoubted vision, were some men able to break completely free from the grip exerted by the classical languages. Orton points out that at the Northampton Academy care was taken to ensure that students 'retained and improved .. the Greek and Latin which they had acquired at school', and that they gained a knowledge of Hebrew too. To this end, appropriate lectures were given 'every evening', usually by an assistant tutor, but occasionally by Doddridge himself. The indefatigable Ryland wrote a companion Hebrew volume to his guide to the Greek tongue, advertising in 1768 that it was 'shortly to be published'.¹⁰² Even Priestley, that most rational of intellectuals, was not averse to resorting to Latin as in one instance, after apologizing for any textual inaccuracies, he added:

Quas aut incuria fudit, Aut
humana parum cavit natura.¹⁰³

CHAPTER 2 : REFERENCES.

1. NH 23 March 1901.
2. Joseph Toller was in business from 1836 to 1876. The battledore, and many other items mentioned subsequently in this chapter, are in the Northampton Public Library.
3. The Careless Child's Alphabet, Designed to Fix the Learner's Attention to the Shape of the Letters, Printed for William Adam (Northampton, 1776).
4. The Child's Complete Guide, or Reading Made Easy to the most Tender Capacity, Printed and sold by T. Dicey & Co. (Northampton). The Dicey family's extensive publishing business during the eighteenth century was run from premises in both Northampton and London.
5. Wills advertised his Swan Yard school in the NM 10 January 1785. His expectation that the hardback, stitched and bound manual of some 60 unnumbered pages would be published came to nought. However, it contained an offer of 'a quantity of books' of similar layout at 4s..6^d per dozen.
6. The Child's Complete Guide, p.71.
7. ibid., pp.61-8.
8. The Child's First Book, or Reading Made Perfectly Easy, Consisting of Scriptural and Moral Lessons, Hymns, Prayers, Graces etc., 6th edn. Printed and sold by F. Cordeux (Northampton), p.26. Cordeux published from 1815 to 1850.
9. Manuscript teaching manual. (Northampton Public Library, Ref. 198/71).
10. The Child's Complete Guide, pp.77-80; The Child's First Book, pp.69-72.
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12. The Child's First Book, p.68.
13. Selections from the Proverbs of Solomon : Designed Chiefly as a Schoolbook for Children, Printed by M. Tomalin (Daventry, 1826).
14. LAO, Document Johnson 1/2, p.71. See Ch.1. Pt. 3. pp.68-70.
15. Quoted by D.C. Douglas (ed.), English Historical Documents, X, 1714-1783 (1957), p.562.
16. Quoted by F.W. Garforth, Locke's Thoughts Concerning Education (1964), pp.73-4.

17. Quoted by A. Cohen and N. Garner (eds.), Readings in the History of Educational Thought (1967), pp.149-51.
18. Quoted by 'C.A.M.', NH 30 March 1901; this would be C.A. Markham.
19. Quoted by Cohen and Garner, op.cit., pp.133-34.
20. These brief details of William Carey's childhood are taken from S. Pearce Carey, William Carey, 1761-1834, 7th edn (1926), pp.17-24.
21. 'The charity of schools', pp.5-6.
22. The Child's First Book, pp.24, 38-9.
23. Manuscript teaching manual.
24. W. Chown, English Grammar Epitomised or a Short, Plain, Easy Compendium of English Grammar (for the use of youth at schools as well as all those adult persons who have hitherto neglected the most useful of all studies, that of their mother tongue), (Northampton 1788), pp.3-4. Chown advertised his services in the NM throughout the 1780s.
25. ibid., p.19.
26. ibid., p.21.
27. ibid., p.20.
28. School-books were frequently advertised in local newspapers. For example, in the LRSM 16 January 1734/5 William Loughton, a master in Kensington, offered his Practical Grammar of the English Tongue.
29. NRO, ZA 3084.
30. NRO, Document ZA 3091.
31. NRO, ZB 311.
32. NRO, ZA 3085, 3086.
33. NRO, T(KEL)106. The book was formerly in the possession of the Tibbits family of Kelmarsh but it is not known whether Bach was taught locally.
34. The example is taken from M.Seaborne, Education (1966), pp.124-25.
35. T.Sarjeant, A Synopsis of Logarithmical Arithmetic (in which the nature of logarithms and their application are made easy to those who have not studied higher branches of mathematics), (1781), pp.41-2.

36. ibid., p.53.
37. T.Trinder, Geographical and Astronomical Definitions (so far as they relate to the use of the globes), (Newport Pagnell, 1833), pp.5-6. This edition is not the original.
38. ibid., p.11.
39. ibid., pp.17-20.
40. ibid., pp.21-9.
41. Harding, op.cit., pp.103, 115.
42. Quoted by Cohen and Garner, op.cit., pp.222-23.
43. Quoted by Cohen and Garner, op.cit., pp.223-24.
44. LRSM 3 January 1736/7.
45. LRSM 13 November 1740.
46. LRSM 27 June 1765.
47. The point is elaborated by J.W.Adamson, A Short History of Education (Cambridge, 1919), Chapter V11.
48. This brief summary is a distillation of Chapters 1 and 111 in M.L.Clarke, Classical Education in Britain, 1500-1900 (Cambridge, 1959).
49. C. Hoole, A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole (1660).
50. M.Nedham, 'A discourse concerning schools and schoolmasters' (1663) in W.H.Dunham and S.Pargellis (eds.), Complaint and Reform in England, 1463-1714 (Oxford, 1938), p.717.
51. A New Discovery, p.113.
52. ibid., pp.269-70.
53. ibid., p.290.
54. See Introduction p.12, n .10.
55. Wase, op.cit., pp.97, 101.
56. A New Discovery, p.290.
57. ibid., pp.233-38.
58. 'A discourse', pp.718-19.

59. VCH Northants, ii, pp.204-05.
60. See Ch.1, Pt.3, pp.70-1.
61. Quoted by Shearing, op.cit., p.225. The Wase Papers are housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Ref.CCC.OXON.390).
62. NRO, Pamphlet NRS 145.
63. The Natural History of Northamptonshire, p.462.
64. VCH Rutland, i, p.272.
65. H.K.Bonney, Historic Notices in Reference to Fotheringhay (1821), p.8; Bibliotheca Topographica, p.105.
66. All the books, most of which are now housed at Delapre Abbey, are listed in Shearing, op.cit., Appendix 6.
67. G.Isham (ed.), The Diary of Thomas Isham of Lamport, 1671-73 (Farnborough, 1971), p.167.
68. VCH Northants, ii, p.212.
69. W.D.Larrett, A History of the King's School, Peterborough (Peterborough, 1966), p.22; VCH Rutland, i, p.285; NM 12 February 1781 respectively.
70. G.Isham, 'A Rugby headmaster's letters to a parent in the early eighteenth century', NNP, 1, 5 (1952), pp.33-4.
71. NRO, IL 4361.
72. NRO, IL 4366.
73. NRO, IL 4346.
74. NRO, IL 4369.
75. NRO, IL 4377. The first offering was a poem in English entitled 'Constancy'. It was accompanied by a letter from Oxford; John went up to the university in 1705 aged 16.
76. NRO, IL 4349, IL 4351 respectively.
77. NRO, IL 4350. A batch of 31 items dating to 1712 has survived but authorship can not be established in every case; confusingly, one carries the name 'John Edmund Euseby Isham'.
78. NRO, C(A) 8371.
79. NRO, Document D(CA) 283.

80. W.G.Walker, A History of the Oundle Schools (1956), pp.240, 247.
81. Quoted by Douglas, op.cit., pp.565-66.
82. 'An essay on a course of liberal education', pp.70-1.
83. ibid., pp.67-8. Trinder, who of course touched on these matters at a lower intellectual level, did not use the label 'commercial geography' himself.
84. J.C.Ryland, An Easy Introduction to Mechanics, Geometry, Plane Trigonometry, Measuring Heights and Distances, Optics, Astronomy (to which is prefixed an essay on the advancement of learning by various modes of recreation), (1768), pp.iii, v.
85. J.C.Ryland, An Easy and Pleasant Introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy, Containing the First Principles of Mechanics, Trigonometry, Optics and Astronomy (by a FRS, with an essay on the advancement of learning in various modes of recreation), (1772), pp. iii, iv.
86. ibid., pp.15-6.
87. J.C.Ryland, A Key to the Greek New Testament (exhibiting in the clearest point of view every primitive word in that sacred book, with an English translation of each root, for the use of serious and inquisitive Christians as well as schools and young students of divinity), (1777), preface (unfol.).
88. 'An address to the ingenuous (sic) youth of Great Britain', p.iii. It follows the preface in An Easy Introduction to Mechanics.
89. See Ch.1, Pt.1, pp.40-1.
90. NRO, IC 3550.
91. For example Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy Explained for the Use of the Ladies (in six dialogues on light and colours, from the Italian of Sig.Algarotti), Printed by E.Cave (2 vols., 1739) and W.Butler, Exercises on the Globes (interspersed with some historical, biographical, chronological, mythological and miscellaneous information, on a new plan, to which are added questions for examination designed for the use of young ladies), 4th edn (1808).
92. R.Browne, Medicina Musica or a Mechanical Essay on the Effects of Singing, Music and Dancing on Human Bodies (1729), quoted by G.Phillips, 'Some Rutland authors and their books', The Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record, 11 (1905/6), p.217.
93. An Easy Introduction to Mechanics, p.ii.
94. ibid., pp.vii-viii.

95. ibid., pp. x-xi.
96. ibid., pp. xv-xvi.
97. ibid., p.i. He was James Ferguson, the noted lecturer.
98. ibid., pp.159-61.
99. An Easy and Pleasant Introduction, p.3.
100. ibid., p.7.
101. ibid., pp.17-8.
102. Its title was An Easy and Pleasant Compendium of Almost the Whole Hebrew Bible (containing in select verses a quarter part of the Book of Psalms divided into LVI short lessons of ten verses each, including near 1,200 Hebrew roots of principal and frequent use, with an English translation of each root). There is, though, no record of its publication.
103. 'An essay on a course of liberal education', p.ii.

CHAPTER 3.

THE SCHOLARS AND THEIR SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

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PART 1 : CHARITY SCHOLARS.

A. The typification of plebeian children.

Graphic descriptions of the juveniles spawned by the lower strata of society and deemed the most fitting objects for the attention of elementary educators, abound for the period under investigation. Locke, without rancour if exaggeratedly, in 1697 considered 'the children of labouring people an ordinary burden' who were habitually sustained in idleness to the public's detriment. His proposed remedy, the working school, was intended for all above three and below fourteen years who were 'not otherwise employed for their livelihood' and were 'at home with their parents' while the latter were obtaining any relief of the parish. The school might provide bread and occasionally gruel to prevent a child starving, and could be either day or boarding depending on the distance from his 'place of abode'.¹

Kennett, in his 1706 sermon, identified the target groups of children with belligerent outspokenness. He labelled them variously as 'hopeful and destitute', the 'nuisance of our streets' and 'ignorant, vicious vermin preying upon nobler creatures'. In addressing those who through schooling had been brought 'out of darkness into the light of knowledge and salvation', he laid the blame for their previous plight on parental inadequacy:

You .. who are born of meaner parents rejoice in this, that God provides you friends better than your parents, charitable friends who clothe your bodies, and now dress your minds and souls; who timely remove you oh young plants into the best nurseries of learning and religion .. You will come to say oh what had we been if left unto ourselves, and to our parents unable to help us. Left to play in the streets, and to linger and pilfer from door to door. What had we been, when come to age, but .. idle wanderers and beggars, or possibly strolling thieves and robbers.²

Kennett was pleased that children of both sexes were being 'redeemed from the curse they lay under' and becoming 'no longer a stain and a load upon their birthplace'. He also foresaw boys getting a deserved chance to 'arise into a figure in the world', with wealth of their own to bestow:

If our splendid 'Hospital for Seamen' be within a little time adorned with an apartment for boys, to be bred early to .. those parts of the mathematics that are most useful to guide a ship, and to survey the world; from whence shall a supply of those boys be taken, but from our charity schools where lads may be picked out sprightly, hardy, ingenious and good .. for the service of their queen and country; to enlarge that dominion of the seas which .. is now our eminent glory.³

Watts, too, though apologetic in stating the case for elementary instruction did not rule out entirely its elevating dimension:

There are none of these poor who .. ought to be bred up to such an accomplished skill in writing and accompts as to be qualified for superior posts; except here and there a single lad whose bright genius and constant application and industry have outrun all the others.

Steele, in 1713, maintained that charity schools were the glory of the age since they steered 'little helpless people' from a life doomed to degeneracy and degradation. In arguing forcefully for an extension of the rescue principle, he listed the evils which deprived 'the Commonwealth of its full number of citizens'. There was 'scarce an assizes where some unhappy wretch was not executed for the murder of a child', and many more 'monsters of inhumanity' escaped punishment because of a lack of evidence. In addition, 'unnatural practices' were engaged in to defeat 'the intentions of providence'. What drove 'profligate women' to abortion, wrote Steele, was fear that they could not support those to whom they might give birth. The solution lay in the erection of 'Foundling Hospitals' to which unwanted babies could be secretly taken, as was the case abroad, to be sent to charity schools as they grew older.⁵

Bernard Mandeville, conversely, decried the redemptive powers of charity schools persistently from 1714. He distinguished, however, between the praiseworthy and the criminal poor, who together comprised an 'illiterate' and 'silly' mass. It was foolish to attempt to impose 'civility' upon the former group, whose 'stupidity' and 'ignorance' begot the 'innocence' and 'honesty' which made them amenable. As for the roguish element, schooling alone would effect no lasting behavioural change:

It is precept and the example of parents, and those they eat, drink and converse with, that have an influence upon the minds of children. Reprobate parents that take ill courses .. won't have a mannerly civiliz'd offspring .. The .. painstaking people, be they never so poor .. will keep their children in awe and never suffer them to rake about the streets and lie out a-nights. Those who .. have any command over their children, will make them do something .. that turns to profit as soon as they are able .. and such as are ungovernable that neither words₆ nor blows can work upon them, no charity school will mend.⁶

Mandeville's protracted attack on the schooling of children born in the 'meanest circumstances' rested on his belief that the peace of the nation was thereby being jeopardized. Spending time with books was an 'easy sort of life', and the longer boys continued in it the more unfit they would be 'when grown up for downright labour, both as to strength and inclination'. Knowledge multiplied desires, and the fewer things a man craved, the easier was he satisfied. Were a peasant to become wise about the ways of the world, he would not endure hardship cheerfully. No creatures submitted readily to their equals, 'and should a horse know as much as a man', it would not agree to being ridden.⁷ Similar sentiments were expressed when the first of the foundling hospitals, as envisaged by Steele, was opened in London in 1739. Its children would not be educated in such a manner as to put them on a level with the persons who had the humanity to initially save and then support them.⁸

Opinion remained divided, though by the middle of the eighteenth century, the liberalism implicit in Kennett's plea that the academically able amongst the poor be encouraged to advance to 'convenient trades and callings', gained on the view that all poor children should be inured to hard labour from an early age. This development, to which such as Samuel Johnson and Adam Smith were sympathetic, was mirrored in the growing appeal of Whig politics which accorded with the changing economic climate.⁹

By 1780, however, Methodism was exerting considerable sway. John Wesley, the movement's leader, drew on bigotry, reaction and superstition with his 'plain truth for plain people'. The creed's emphasis on abstinence, drudgery and thrift as the means to salvation was attractive to the dispossessed and fatalistic, but anti-educational. Wesley, who preached mainly in industrial areas, like his mother Susannah considered play unworthy of Christian children whose spare moments, if any, should be spent in learning the catechism which was all they needed to know. He thus appeared to give succour to unprincipled industrialists and unenlightened parents who were complacent about the exploitation of the child.¹⁰

In 1792, shortly after Wesley's death, the redoubtable Sarah Trimmer published a characteristically conservative tract. She observed that there were degrees of poverty as well as opulence, and if it was 'improper to educate all the children of the higher classes promiscuously', it was equally so 'to place all the children of the poor upon the same footing'. Though she would not deny schooling to 'lads of bright parts', her thinking on social mobility (as in the following passage) lacked the magnanimity displayed by Kennett some 80 years earlier:

It would be thought very cruel to send the child, or orphan, of a pious clergyman or a respectable but reduced tradesman to be brought up among the offspring of thieves and vagabonds in the schools .. founded for those most wretched of all poor children .. and it would appear very absurd to send a boy designed for husbandry to the Marine Society to be educated in the art of navigation.¹¹

Unlimited numbers of the 'lower kinds', she stated, could not be admitted to 'establishments for gratuitous instruction' because of both the expense and the damage to social cohesiveness, and it was imprudent to disqualify many 'for those servile offices which must be filled by some of the members of the community'. Mrs. Trimmer concluded that it was lamentable for the various kinds of elementary school, which she discerned, to be 'regarded in the light of rivalry and competition'. All were 'respectively calculated by their reflective and united benefits' to train those in their charge from the vulgar ranks to suitable 'stations'.

Thus were the children of the poor continuously stigmatized, if to varying degrees. The different elementary schools which the benevolent provided to accommodate them freely must be ascribed in part to strictures on the rational outlay of alms.

B. The local scene.

According to Pettit, 'the poor' in many Northamptonshire villages shortly after the Restoration constituted 'a considerable class'. His estimates are based principally on the numbers of householders, usually about a third of the total, who were discharged as unable to pay the hearth tax.¹² From late in the seventeenth century new forms of occupation were afforded, especially in the forest areas, by the large-scale felling of timber for the Navy and other public works. At King's Cliffe, for example, 26 men listed in 1762 as liable for the militia were described as wood turners. Pettit's most notable finding from studies of particular communities is that labourers comprised half the working population. Relying on casual

employment, they no doubt supplemented their livelihood by poaching, cutting sticks and gathering nuts. To engage in such activities meant breaking the law and enclosure was often urged by their social superiors as a preventative measure. The 'lazy' would then be obliged to earn their daily bread through industry and not 'by pilfering and stealing'.¹³

Uncertainty of employment was the most galling aspect of life for Rothwell's labouring poor who included weavers of silk and wool, ropemakers, sawyers and domestic servants, many of whom were parents with several young children. The workhouse which was built in the mid-eighteenth century, bastardy and settlement bonds, indentures and orders of the Justices of the Peace touching on assistance with rent, the provision of clothing and footwear, medical treatment and the buying in of hemp and flax to be woven, were intended to solve the problem.¹⁴ Plebeian marital life, characterized by impecuniosity and continually threatened with dislocation, would be dominated by stoicism. The premature death of one partner was, too, a frequent occurrence with obvious consequences for the children of the union.¹⁵

Free schooling was on offer at both King's Cliffe and Rothwell though unfortunately there is little evidence nationally bearing on plebeian attitudes to education. The rate of infant mortality was high. One baby in five customarily died before its first birthday while in the countryside approximately 30 per cent of the children of the labouring class succumbed before the age of five. The position was worse in markedly unhealthy areas such as the environs of London where, in the 1750s, 45 per cent of recorded deaths were of children under six years. It could be inferred that the precariousness of childhood deterred parents from becoming intensively involved in the upbringing of their offspring, and rendered long-term planning superfluous.

Children did not normally enjoy what might be termed 'public recognition' until after their tenth year. They then became economically profitable, their earnings or productive usefulness exceeding the value of what they consumed. This age was, for the majority, the start of a transitional period leading from dependency to a life of permanent, self-supporting toil. Childhood ended early by the standards of today but adulthood proper was delayed until one's middle twenties at least, for almost all young people continued to live in someone else's household, subordinate to his authority. They had gained status as full-time workers but not liberty.

Until well into the nineteenth century, it is very difficult to discover precisely how many children attended an individual school, at what age and for how long, and this is especially so in respect of the elementary sector. Educational historians point out that generalisations are seldom possible either because attendance was not compulsory, teachers came and went to such an extent that the availability of schooling in a particular place was sporadic, schools were unevenly distributed, parents were demoralized and passive in the face of hardship, and the fortunes of most schools are unrecorded.

A register of scholars in attendance at Kingsthorpe Charity School in May 1783, conceivably the only one of its kind locally to survive, illuminates these matters. They were 30 in number as the founder had stipulated almost a century earlier, but as all except one were boys the regulation calling for equal treatment of the sexes was then being ignored. However, the roll's compiler, besides providing names, usefully appended the length of stay at that date of each child. The 16 children who had continued in the school for between two and three years are indicative of stability and suggest that parents, persistently maligned, valued the education that was being tendered. (See Fig.9).

Fig.9.

'LIST OF BOYS OF THE FREE SCHOOL IN KINGSTHORPE
IN MAY 1783'.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>STAY (IN YEARS)</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>STAY (IN YEARS)</u>
1. John Abbott	3	16. John Flavell	3
2. Edward Boswell	1	17. Thomas Freeman	2.1/2
3. George Boswell *	0	18. Thomas Gibson	1/2
4. Thomas Bryan	2	19. Thomas Green	1/2
5. Thomas Buckler	2	20. Nathaniel Hollowell	1/2
6. William Buckler	2	21. Lambert Johnson *	0
7. William Cattel	1	22. Thomas Lack	1.1/2
8. Thomas Cox	2.1/2	23. William Lucas	2
9. Thomas Cuffley	1	24. John Morris	2
10. John Cumberpatch	3	25. Thomas Parrot	1
11. James Cumberpatch	2	26. Charles Stevenson	3
12. Richard Cumberpatch	3	27. Richard Sibley	3
13. John Dumbelton	2.1/2	28. Richard Taylor	2
14. John Fitzhugh	1	29. Henry White	1.1/2
15. Samuel Fitzhugh *	0	30. Sarah Whiting *	0

* Presumably these four children had been newly admitted.

Source: Document in the Thornton family collection;
copy kindly loaned by Mr. B. Dunnery.

Furthermore, by making reference to contemporary Kingsthorpe militia lists, the social background of the cohort of pupils can be established. Because those men liable to serve had to be aged between 18 and 45 years, fathers of many of the children at the school in May 1783 must appear on either the 1777 or 1781 lists; some fathers will appear on both. The father of a particular child cannot be identified with certainty. For instance, Abraham Abbot, a miller in 1777 and conceivably the 1781 servant of that name, or Thomas Abbot the 1777 weaver, could have been John Abbot's father. Similarly, any of four Cuffley men could have been Thomas Cuffley's father. Altogether, 57 men from the two lists can be projected as the possible fathers of 27 children. The occupations most frequently mentioned were those of, surprisingly, labourer (18), farmer (8), weaver (5), sievemaker (4) and carpenter (3). Among those named once were baker, coachman, cordwainer, servant, soapboiler and stonecutter. (See Fig.10).

In the cases of three scholars, there is no one on either militia list with the same surname. A partial explanation is that clergymen (including Dissenting ministers), articled clerks, seamen, parish constables and poor men who had three or more children born in wedlock, were exempt from duty. Speculation therefore surrounds John Dumbelton, Nathaniel Hollowell and Richard Taylor who may have travelled in daily to the school from just beyond the parish boundary. It is valuable to know, albeit singularly, the identities of the children admitted to Kingsthorpe, the ranks of the poor from whence they were drawn and the length of time they stayed. However, there is no way of telling how typical the intake and attendance were of the many other Peterborough diocesan elementary schools.

Several establishments, such as the model working schools at Finedon and Irthlingborough, were of the austere kind demanded by Locke. Elsewhere, and more ordinarily, the school was enmeshed in a concerted attempt to stave off deprivation within the local community. For example,

Fig.10.

POSSIBLE FATHERS, WITH OCCUPATIONS, OF CHILDREN AT KINGSTHORPE
CHARITY SCHOOL IN MAY 1783, DRAWN FROM THE KINGSTHORPE
MILITIA LISTS.

	<u>1777.</u>		<u>1781.</u>
	Abraham Abbot (miller)		Abraham Abbot (servant)
*	Thomas Abbot (weaver)		Thomas Bryan (wheelwright)
	Jeremiah Boswell (labourer)		John Buckler (cordwainer)
	William Buckler (breechesmaker)		William Buckler (tailor)
	Daniel Cuffley (carpenter)		William Cattel (labourer)
	Joseph Cuffley (carpenter)		George Cox (tailor)
*	William Cuffley (carpenter)		John Cumberpatch (farmer)
*	William Cuffley (weaver)		John Cumberpatch (gardener)
	Roger Cumberpatch (labourer)		Edward Fitzhugh (labourer)
*	William Cumberpatch (gardener)		Lucas Green (farmer)
	Charles Fitzhugh (farmer)		Samuel Green (weaver)
	Thomas Flavel (coachman)		Charles Johnson (weaver)
*	Thomas Freeman (labourer)		Thomas Johnson (soapboiler)
	John Gibson (labourer)		John Lucas (labourer)
*	Jeremiah Green (farmer)		John Parrot (labourer)
	Thomas Green (farmer)		Valentine Parrot (labourer)
*	William Green (farmer)		John Stevenson (baker)
	Charles Johnson (mason)		Samuel Stevenson (wheelwright)
*	John Johnson (farmer)		William Stevenson (woolstapler)
	John Johnson (weaver)		Thomas Siblee (landlord)
	Richard Lack (labourer)		Richard Sibley (sievemaker)
	John Lucos (farmer)		Robert Sibley (sievemaker)
	Samuel Lucos (labourer)		? White (blacksmith)
*	William Lucos (labourer)		
	Thomas Morris (labourer)		
*	William Morris (labourer)		
	Daniel Parrot (labourer)		
	Thomas Parrot (labourer)		
	William Parrot (labourer)		
	John Sibley (sievemaker)		
	William Sibley (sievemaker)		
	Thomas White (labourer)		
	William White (blacksmith)		
	William Whiting (stonecutter)		

Note: The 1777 list is printed in V.A.Hatley (ed.), Northamptonshire Militia Lists, 1777 (NRS, XXV, Kettering, 1973), pp.178-79. The untranscribed 1781 list (unreferenced), is housed at the NRO.

* These 10 men, pursuing the same occupations, appear additionally on the 1781 list.

Summary of trades/occupations, with frequency
of mention.

labourer	18
farmer	8
weaver	5
sievmaker	4
carpenter	3
blacksmith	2
gardener	2
tailor	2
wheelwright	2
baker	1
breechesmaker	1
coachman	1
cordwainer	1
landlord	1
mason	1
millar	1
servant	1
soapboiler	1
stonecutter	1
woolstapler	1

at Weston Favell, the school garden was profitably cultivated; from 1717 the master was directed to teach the children spinning, and the Ekins charity incorporated a bread dole. At some point, a benefactor conveyed a close of land to provide boys who had spent three years at the school with apprenticeships. Thus, in the 1740s, were bound Richard Faulkner when aged about 10 to a Houghton Parva shoemaker; his younger brother William at 10 to a Moulton tailor; George Brice, 14, to a Houghton Magna mason; Joseph Hull, 13, to a Northampton tailor and William Parbery to a Boughton stone cutter.¹⁶

The avenues of advancement for these typical plebeian adolescents were apparently limited. The affordable premiums of say, two or three pounds, matched the trades they entered which, though financially unrewarding and overstocked, at least gave practitioners a modicum of security. Master craftsmen normally wanted 20 pounds, a formidable monetary hurdle, when taking on a recruit. In the minority of families owning unpretentious property, for instance a workshop or cottage with common rights attached, the eldest son would expect to inherit. However, Malcolmson contends that menial positions in service were overwhelmingly the likeliest destinations for both youths and girls. It was widely regarded as socially respectable and the ideal preparation for marriage in presenting opportunities to acquire useful skills.

Short summary.

Commentators such as Kennett, Watts, Mandeville and Trimmer were spurred by a mixture of fear, pity, piety and self-interest handed down from the seventeenth century. They wished the schooling of the poorest section of the population to be weighted towards inculcating moral and social discipline as preparation for a narrow adult lifestyle, and so it transpired. Malcolmson hypothesises that from what is known about literacy levels, probably half of the sons and a third of the daughters of

labouring families nationwide benefited from a degree of elementary instruction.¹⁷ As the SPCK's literature and local practice make plain, considerations of welfare extended to relieving indigent parents of the responsibilities to house, feed and clothe children who may or may not have been under a schoolmaster. We cannot discern whether the Kingsthorpe and Weston Favell Charity Schools were the sort which Trimmer perceived as transmitting 'superior advantages' to boys of 'quick parts and aspiring tempers' or whether they condemned the 'invincibly dull and stupid to literary studies'. It seems likely that the villagers whose children gained access to these schools (perhaps after spending their earliest years in conventional play) viewed them as useful institutions affording, in Kennett's words, the chance to rise, when the era of free, universal, compulsory and largely secular education still lay in the distant future.

PART 2 : GRAMMAR SCHOLARS.

A. The local scene; general review.

Some knowledge is already to hand about the scholars who attended the leading Peterborough diocesan grammar schools, and in particular those who went on to make their mark in public life. For example, one of the boys at Oakham in the early 1700s was William Warburton whose father was the town's vicar and a school governor.¹⁸ He proceeded in due course to St. John's College (Camb.), gained a BA degree in 1707, was then licensed to a cure of souls at Egleton (Rut.) and thereafter served briefly as usher at both the Johnson schools. In 1714 he successfully applied for the mastership of Newark Grammar School (Notts.). Nathaniel Weston, Warburton's predecessor as the Oakham assistant, enrolled his son under Henry Wright. Other pupils of the latter included Thomas Lovett who in 1766 founded two exhibitions at his old College, Sidney Sussex (Camb.) open to the sons of graduate clergymen who themselves intended to take holy orders; John Henley who entered St. John's in 1709, and as 'orator Henley' was chastised by Alexander Pope in his Dunciad, and caricatured by William Hogarth; Caleb Parnham, the antiquary; John Adcock, the later Oakham head; Thomas Harrison who was awarded a BD degree in 1725; Robert Seagrave (BA, 1714), a Methodist preacher; William Hodgson (BA, 1719), a Fellow of Clare Hall (Camb.); William Richardson, also an antiquary and Master of Emmanuel College (Camb.); Christopher Hand (BD, 1731), sometime Fellow of that College; Thomas Negus (DD, 1763), Fellow of Clare; Richard Philpot (BA, 1726), Fellow of Christ's (Camb.), and William Hubbard, the Uppingham head. Of the 22 pupils sent by Wright to St. John's, 12 were the sons of clerks, and three the sons of gentlemen. The occupations of squire, attorney, bailiff, farmer, husbandman, grocer and plumber were each mentioned once.¹⁹

Wright was succeeded by Adcock under whom Oakham's high reputation was maintained. Among his pupils were William Weston, son of the usher, who entered St. John's in 1728, gained a BA degree three years later and became eventually a prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral; William Ridlington, the Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge University; William Talbott (BA, 1742), Fellow of Clare; Noah Thomas, FRS and physician to George III, knighted in 1775; John Cranwell, the poet and Fellow of Sidney Sussex; William Dodd, author of The Beauties of Shakspeare, and Seth Thompson, Fellow of Clare. With regard to the 26 boys sent by Adcock to St. John's, a similar pattern obtained as to parentage, 13 being the sons of clerks. The occupations of gentleman, squire and lawyer were each stated twice, and those of army captain, master of merchant vessel, gaoler, druggist, wineseller, farmer and grazier, once.²⁰

The social background of the boys sent from Oakham to St. John's by Wright and Adcock broadly conforms to the popular picture.²¹ The sons of clergy, gentlemen and professional men, if not of farmers, greatly outnumbered the small assortment which made up the total of 48. The impression of grammar school social selectiveness is heightened by reliance on casual entries in standard works of reference. Typically it is recorded that Anthony Gregory, a clergyman's son, was the Peterborough King's School's earliest known exhibitor, and that one of the scholars sent up to St. John's from Northampton Grammar School by Robert Styles was Brownlow Cecil who became the Marquis of Exeter in 1722.²²

In speculating about the scholars who attended the country's less prestigious grammar schools in the eighteenth century, historians draw heavily on contemporary generalisations. For example, Mingay quotes Defoe who claimed that many were younger sons since the eldest in a family was commonly tutored at home.²³ Cressy strongly argues the reality of Kennett's observation that the schools were 'too high for the meaner boys

born to the spade and the plough'.²⁴ Lawson and Silver point out that demographers often have little to guide them other than 'the personal experience of particular individuals recounted autobiographically' because the most vital clues of boys' names 'are difficult to discover except in the case of the minority who went on to Oxford and Cambridge, and these may not have been representative of the whole'.²⁵

Though not university educated, Thomas Adams of Whilton is an example of a man whose early life came to be documented solely because of his subsequent claim to fame. Orphaned at six in 1736, he was made the ward of Thomas Thornton of Brockhall. The next year he was sent to board with John Horton, the Guilsborough master, but in 1743, having proved a perverse scholar, he was placed with Mr. Jones at Preston Capes. After he again displayed little aptitude for learning, it was mooted to apprentice him to a London grocer but the sum asked, £420, was prohibitive. Ultimately, a Daventry attorney agreed to take him for a fee of £150. Thomas soon ran away, enlisted in the army, embarked in April 1747 for Holland and saw immediate action at Maastricht. Quickly promoted to major, he fought in India at the battles of Plassey, Gheriah and Andwanala where he commanded the united forces of the Crown. He was compelled to resign his commission through ill health in 1764 and died at Calcutta without enjoying the rank of brigadier-general which was accorded him when news of his exploits reached England.²⁶

The random occurrence of such data is confining but at least points to the unwisdom of stereotyping entrants to grammar schools. The lists, or rolls, of scholars who were educated at the reformed cathedral schools (where they exist) are obviously of especial import. Generally underexplored, they provide the names of a cohort of boys in attendance at particular times. In Cressy's words, 'evidence of this sort is sparse' and of

inestimable value in determining 'the social incidence of formal schooling'.²⁷ In the case of Peterborough, 23 lists of King's scholars and occasionally choirboys are extant, recorded in the visitation books to some extent at the whim of scribes. The first is dated 1561 and subsequent ones appear at regular intervals until 1667. The final two relate to 1726 which coincides with Kennett's episcopacy, and 1733, some five years after his death.

The former list is only the second which actually links pupils with their electors in accordance with the 1567 formula.²⁸ Adherence can be attributed to the Bishop's liking for correct procedure which had seemingly lapsed by 1733. (See Fig.11). Old Peterborough families with academic traditions such as Standish and Wildbore are represented on the eighteenth century lists while William Bradfield could be the son of the master, Thomas; John Jefferies could be the son of usher George Jeffreys and Daniel Wales would be the son of the parish clerk of that name. Le Plas may have been related to either Daniel Le Pla, born in 1708 and schooled at Stamford (Lincs.) who became the vicar of Newbottle in 1732²⁹ or James Le Pla of Oakham, clerk to Sir John Heathcote, who in 1746 was seemingly unsuccessful in canvassing the support of Winchilsea when applying for the post of Rutland's surveyor of lights and windows.³⁰ Two pupils on the 1733 list, Yorsin (Austin) and Barker, would then have spent at least two more years in the school than the decreed four or five. Yet in contrast with earlier times none of the total of 40 boys in the two cohorts can be traced as either having entered the Church locally, the stipulation of Elizabeth's commissioners to the dean and chapter,³¹ or progressed to university. This failure is surprising. That places on the foundation were still sought after is indicated by the unstatutory if intriguing preference in 1731 for King's scholars 'who live in the town'.³²

BOYS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE KING'S
SCHOOL, PETERBOROUGH, IN 1726 and 1733.

<u>July 1726</u>		<u>June 1733</u>	
John Hill	)	Charles Harrison (out))
John Browne	)	George Sparke)
Charles Stamford	)	William Bradfield)
Godfrey Langdale	) Dean's	Charles Standish)
Henry Penn	)	Andrew Barrowdell)
Francis Bridges	)	* Robert Yorsin)
Henry Hazell	)	Thomas Collins)
Edrus Bingham	)	William Delarme	)all
		James Hawkins	)appeared
John Denton	)Dr.Carter	Richard Bridges)
Matthew Turville	)	Roger Pemberton)
		George Standish)
Andrew Beharrell	) Mr. Kennett	Daniel Wales)
Thomas Wildbore	)	John Jefferies)
		Samuel Stevens)
Jacobus Olive	) Mr. ?Annoind	John Lucas)
Charles Barker	)	* Charles Barker)
		Edward Howard)
Joseph Woodfine	) Mr. Gibson	John Olive (out))
Robert Austin	)	John Le Plas (out))
Nathaniel Loving	) Mr. Russell	* These two scholars appear also on	
George Woodfine	)	the 1726 list.	
John Miller	) Mr. Cumberland		
Bandwell Exton	) (Kettering)		

Source:

PDA, VB 23 (unfol.)

Source:

PDA, VB 24 (unfol.)

NOTE: For comment on the electors
see Ch.1, Pt.3, p.71, n.78.

The admission registers of various Cambridge Colleges carry details of several entrants in the seventeenth century, and on to John Sparkes and Thomas Strong who respectively went up to St. John's in April 1730 and November 1735,³³ all of whom gave their school as 'Peterborough'. As their names do not occur in the relevant lists of King's scholars, they were possibly educated privately.³⁴ It is probable, however, that most were fee-payers at the King's School where they would have studied alongside the free boys;³⁵ the evidence, though flimsy, suggests that the majority of those attending in 1726 and 1733 were not of privileged background.

B. Statistical survey.

The admission registers are a source for the compilation of meaningful data against which the validity of judgements on the course of grammar schooling after the Restoration can be checked.³⁶ Cressy contends that from 1660 a hardening of class consciousness, snobbery and the rigid stratification of society inevitably resulted in the grammar schools becoming 'yet more socially selective'. He draws on pamphleteers such as Edward Chamberlayne who blamed them for fermenting the revolution and concludes that the discrediting of education saw 'the sons of the peasantry and artisans who at least had a toehold .. in the earlier period' being 'increasingly shut out'.³⁷

In the century following the Restoration the known Cambridge undergraduates whose surnames begin with the letters A, B and C, who had a direct or indirect connection with the Peterborough diocese, number 243. Of the sample, 75 were described only as being natives of either Northamptonshire or Rutland, and on this basis it must be assumed that they were schooled locally. A further 138 specifically stated the school attended and Northampton, Oundle, Peterborough, Oakham and Uppingham clearly emerge as the leading endowed seats of learning. However, several unsuspected private establishments including Clay Coton, Maxey, Stoke

Bruerne and Tinwell (Rut.) also at different times sent scholars to the university.

Between a third and a half (43 out of 116) of the boys at the five most reputable schools came from outside the two counties. There was two-way traffic though, as some of the wealthier local parents chose to send their sons to the popular public schools such as Eton, St. Paul's, Westminster and Winchester, and to relatively obscure distant grammar schools. Borders were occasionally crossed for the sake of convenience. For example, a sizeable proportion of the Oakham intake not unexpectedly was from Leicestershire while Meares Clark, who lived in St. Martin's, the Northamptonshire parish of Stamford, attended that town's grammar school which is located in Lincolnshire, and he is therefore classed with the true migrants. The main conclusion to be drawn from the sample is that there was a gradual reduction in the flow of boys going up to Cambridge Colleges from the diocese. The figure of 54 for the immediate post-Restoration decade fell away to 15 in the decade 1741-51. (See Fig.12).

In 139 cases out of 243 the occupations of fathers were given. The range is not as socially extensive as the total of 33 separate descriptions implies. Rectors (28), constituted the largest single category but the dominance of the well-to-do, comprising the clergy generally together with professional men in commerce, law and medicine, and a scattering of nobility, is plain. Nevertheless, the humbler tradesmen and craftsmen were represented, making up approximately ten per cent of the whole. (See Fig.13). It is evident from the admission registers in the instances where details are provided that graduates in later life moved in middle class circles. Typically, Francis Arundell of Stoke Bruerne, ex-Trinity, was Northampton's MP from 1704 to 1710 and White Bates of Maxey, ex-Christ's, entered the Church becoming rector of Creeton (Lincs.) in 1762.³⁸

SCHOLARS FROM THE PETERBOROUGH DIOCESE (SURNAMES BEGINNING WITH THE LETTERS A, B and C ONLY)
ENTERING CAMBRIDGE COLLEGES BETWEEN 1660 AND 1751, BY DECADES.

Source: J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis. Pt.1. (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922-27).

ORIGIN, NO FURTHER INFORMATION	1660-70	1671-80	1681-90	1691-1700	1701-10	1711-20	1721-30	1731-40	1741-51	TOTALS
'Of Northants' or 'born in Northants'.	16	13	5	8	7	4	4		3	60
'Of Rutland' or 'born in Rutland'.	4	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	15
<u>NORTHANTS SCHOOLS NAMED BY ENTRANTS.</u>										
Brixworth (and Wold) both attended by 1 scholar		1								1
Clay Coton		1								1
Cranford				2(2)						2(2)
Fotheringhay	1									1
Guilsborough			1	1(1)				1		3(1)
Hargrave					1					1
Higham Ferrers	1									1
Maxey									1	1
Northampton		2(1)		1	3(1)	5(2)			1	12(4)
Oundle	6	7(4)	5(3)	4(2)	2		2(1)	2		28(10)
Peterborough	2(1)	2(2)	4(3)	5(3)	2	1(1)	1			17(10)
Preston Capes	1									1
Stoke Bruerne				1						1
Strixton	1	1			1(1)					3(1)
Towcester	1									1
Winwick										1
Wollaston		1				1	1(1)			2(1)

Fig.12.

RUTLAND SCHOOLS NAMED BY ENTRANTS.

Oakham	6(1)	2(2)	1	1(1)	2	7(4)	5(2)	10(5)	* 5(4)	39(19)
Tinwell	2(2)									2(2)
Uppingham	8(2)	5(3)	2(2)	1(1)		2(1)	1		1(1)	20(10)

ORIGIN, NOT DIRECTLY FROM LOCAL SCHOOL.

'Of Northants' but schooled at Burghley House				1						1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Derby (Derbys.)	1									1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Eton				1		1	1	3		6
'Of Northants' but schooled at Knotting (Beds.)			1							1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Market Harborough (Leics.)	2									2
'Of Northants' but schooled at Merchant Taylors'					1					1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Monkwearmouth (Dur.)						1				1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Rugby (Warwicks.)					1					1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Saffron Walden (Essex)		1								1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Stamford (Lincs.)				2						2
'Of Northants' but schooled at St. Paul's					2					2
'Of Northants' but schooled at Westminster	1									1
'Of Northants' but schooled at Winchester									1	1

Fig.13.

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS GIVEN IN RESPECT OF 139 OF THE SCHOLARS IN THE SAMPLE OF 243, in alphabetical order.

Source: J. and J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis. Pt. 1. (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922-27).

Bailiff	1	Maltster	1
Baker	1	Master of grammar school	1
Baronet	2	Mercer	2
Barrister	2	Merchant	1
Bishop	2	Miller	1
Bookseller	1	'Minister of French Church'	1
Butcher	1	Physician	5
Clerk	24	Rector	28
Doctor of Divinity	3	Saddler	2
Earl	4	Sergeant-at-law	1
Esquire	8	Shoemaker	1
Farmer	4	Tobacconist	1
Gentleman	21	Vicar	7
Grocer	1	Vintner	1
Husbandman	3	Weaver	1
Knight	1	Yeoman	5
Lawyer	1		
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>139</u>

Another source, Longden's Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy, 1500-1900 valuably furnishes particulars of over 470 scholars having links with the two counties who proceeded to either Cambridge or Oxford Universities, during the eighteenth century, and subsequently took holy orders. More than 440 of them were stated to have been 'born at', 'born and christened at', 'christened at' or 'of' places within the Peterborough diocese. The remaining few were outsiders who came hither to be schooled. The remarkable spread of locations shows without doubt that a boy's geographical origin was no bar to educational advancement whatever the other impediments. (See Fig.14).

The local schools attended by 128 scholars have been recorded by Longden. In the vast majority of cases one school only was named. However, a few boys were educated at Northamptonshire or Rutland schools for an unspecified length of time before departing for what parents presumably considered superior schools further afield. Con Belgrave, for example, born in Preston (Rut.), went first to Uppingham then to Colchester, entering St. John's in 1723. Of those who travelled in the reverse direction was Nathaniel Chevallier, born in Greetham (Rut.), who went to school initially in Corby (Lincs.) from whence he transferred to Oakham, entering St. John's in January 1721/2.³⁹ It is evident from this source that 17 local schools prepared boys for the universities in the eighteenth century. The most successful were the five named previously with the addition of Guilsborough, though allowance should be made for a measure of double documentation of the Venn sample. It will be noted that a similar mix of traditional and private grammar schools again shared this academic market. Finally, the long-term decline in the numbers going to the universities is striking. There were 123 in the first 50 years of the century compared with just five in the period 1751-93. (See Fig.15).

Fig.14.

PLACES* IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND RUTLAND FROM WHICH
SCHOLARS PROCEEDED, BETWEEN 1700 AND 1796, TO EITHER
CAMBRIDGE OR OXFORD UNIVERSITIES AND SUBSEQUENTLY TOOK
HOLY ORDERS.

*Qualification: Scholars were 'born at', 'born and christened at', 'christened at' or 'of' the places indicated.

Source: H.I.Longden, Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy, 1500-1900 (16 vols., Northampton, 1939-1952).

Of Northamptonshire ...	26	Creaton	6
Of Rutland	11	Croughton	2
		Culworth	1
Abington	1	Daventry	8
Abthorpe	1	Deene	1
Achurch	1	Desborough	1
Addington	4	Dingley	3
Aldwinckle	1	Dodford	1
Ashley	1	Duddington	1
Ashwell (Rut.)	2	Duston	1
Barby	2	Earls Barton	1
Barton Seagrave	3	East Carlton	3
Billing	2	East Haddon	3
Blakesley	1	Easton by Stamford	1
Blatherwycke	1	Ecton	5
Bodington	2	Edgcote	1
Bowden Parva	2	Edith Weston (Rut.)	2
Bozeat	2	Empingham (Rut.)	2
Brackley	2	Exton (Rut.)	3
Braunston (Northants.)	1	Eydon	3
Braybrooke	1	Farthinghoe	7
Brington Magna	5	Farthingstone	2
Brixworth	4	Fawsley	3
Brooke (Rut.)	1	Finedon	2
Broughton	2	Fotheringhay	2
Bugbrooke	1	Gayton	2
Byfield	5	Glaphorn	1
Casterton (Rut.)	1	Greatworth	1
Castor	1	Greens Norton	3
Chacombe	3	Greetham (Rut.)	2
Charwelton	4	Guilsborough	6
Clapton	1	Hambleton (Rut.)	2
Clay Coton	3	Hardingstone	2
Clipsham (Rut.)	2	Hargrave	2
Clipston	1	Harlestone	2
Cogenhoe	1	Harpole	4
Collyweston	1	Hazelbech	2
Cottesbrooke	2	Hellidon	1
Cottingham	1	Helmdon	4
Courteenhall	3	Higham Ferrers	3
Cranford	4	Hinton	2
Cransley	1	Holcot	1

Houghton Parva	2	Ryhall (Rut.)	1
Irchester	3	Seaton (Rut.)	1
Irthlingborough	4	Slipton	1
Islip	1	Slapton	1
Kettering	5	Southwick	1
Ketton (Rut.)	1	Stanwick	1
King's Cliffe	2	Stoke Albany	1
Kingsthorpe	1	Stoke Bruerne	2
Kislingbury	1	Stoke Doyle	1
Lampport	3	Sulgrave	1
Langham (Rut.)	1	Tansor	2
Liddington (Rut.)	2	Thistleton (Rut.)	1
Lilbourne	1	Thornby	2
Lilford	2	Thornhaugh	2
Litchborough	1	Thorpe (Rut.)	1
Loddington	5	Thorpe Malzor	1
Lois Weedon	1	Thorpe Mandeville	1
Lowick	1	Thrapston	4
Lutton	2	Tickencote (Rut.)	1
Marholm	1	Tiffield	1
Market Overton (Rut.)	1	Tinwell (Rut.)	2
Marston Trussell	3	Towcester	1
Maxey	2	Uppingham (Rut.)	4
Middleton Cheyney	1	Wadenhoe	3
Moulton	3	Wansford	1
Naseby	1	Wappenham	4
Nassington	1	Wardley (Rut.)	1
Newnham	1	Watford	1
Newton Bromswold	2	Weldon	2
Normanton (Rut.)	1	Wellingborough	4
Northampton	25	Welton	2
Norton-by-Daventry	1	West Haddon	9
Oakham (Rut.)	6	Weston-by-Welland	1
Orlingbury	4	Weston Favell	1
Oundle	7	Whilton	2
Oxendon Magna	3	Whissendine (Rut.)	1
Paston	1	Whitfield	1
Pattishall	2	Whitwell (Rut.)	1
Peterborough	12	Wicken	2
Potterspury	1	Wilby	1
Preston (Rut.)	5	Wittering	1
Preston Capes	6	Wollaston	3
Quinton	1	Woodford	2
Ringstead	2	Wootton	1
Rockingham	1	Yardley Chase	2
Rothwell	3	Yardley Hastings	1
Rushden	1	Yarwell	1
Rushton	4	Yelvertoft	2
		TOTAL	<u>445</u>

LOCAL SCHOOLS WHICH SENT SCHOLARS (WHO SUBSEQUENTLY TOOK HOLY ORDERS) TO EITHER CAMBRIDGE OR OXFORD DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Source: H.I.Longden, Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy, 1500-1900 (16 vols., Northampton, 1939-1952).

SCHOOL	DATES OF ENTRY BY DECADE, WITH NUMBERS OF SCHOLARS.										Totals	
	1700-10	1711-20	1721-30	1731-40	1741-50	1751-60	1761-70	1771-80	1781-90	1791-93		
Aynho				1								1
Collyweston, boy 'educated at home'.					1							1
East Carlton		1										1
Fotheringhay			1*									1
Guilsborough		2	2	2	1							7
Hargrave	1											1
Kettering		1										1
Ketton (Rut.), boy 'educated at home'	1				1							1
King's Cliffe												1
Maxey					1							1
Northampton	3	4	1		1							10
Oakham (Rut.)	7	15	8	16	7	1		1				54
Oundle	6	1	3	3								13
Peterborough	3	2	2	1	4							12
Uppingham (Rut.)	9	5	2		1	1				1		19
Wellingborough										1		1
Wollaston		2		1		1						3
TOTALS	30	33	19	24	17	3	1	1	3	1	1	128

* This is a rare instance of a boy naming 2 schools attended in the diocese. In such cases, only 1 entry (the second and likeliest) has been recorded above.

The decline is markedly apparent in the entry figures by decade of the complete Longden cohort. Further analysis shows that the Cambridge Colleges were more favoured by local scholars than those at Oxford (which had long been so), and while boys went up in each of the twelve months of the year, the most popular period was March-July inclusive. (See Fig.16). In 107 instances Longden provides the occupations of fathers and again, allowance should be made for part duplication of the Venn data. Though rectors, vicars and other Church dignitaries (35), form the largest category as might be expected, the few farmers, the relative absence of the gentry and the better showing of a miscellany of tradesmen, are all noteworthy. However, the high number of men labelled simply 'plebeian' (24), is impressive. Schoolmasters (16), too, can be seen playing a prominent role in sending to university sons destined to become clergymen. (See Fig.17).

Short summary.

The local evidence, particularly the Longden data, challenges Cressy's assertions that by the beginning of the eighteenth century the grammar schools had become the preserve of 'the gentle and professional elite'. Arguments about whether the ratio of scholars from the poorer classes worsened lose significance given the fact that the goal of university entrance lost broad appeal with the passing of time. For instance, many King's scholars became undergraduates in earlier periods when, as Cressy concedes, philanthropy was no likelier to have been systematically targeted at ability. The prolonged depression which afflicted the schools and in turn, the universities, is not therefore disputed but it appears to have begun much later than the 1680s suggested by, typically, Lawson and Silver.⁴⁰

They surmise that contributory factors included the Anglican monopoly which kept out Dissenters, fewer prospects in the Church which reduced the numbers seeking ordination, the comparative inability of small freeholders to pay fees, institutional corruption and inertia, and the irrationality which

Fig.16.

THE H.I.LONGDEN SAMPLE OF 477 LOCAL SCHOLARS WHO
TOOK HOLY ORDERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

UNIVERSITY ENTRY BY DECADE.

1700 - 1710	...	85
1711 - 1720		85
1721 - 1730		69
1731 - 1740		59
1741 - 1750		69
1751 - 1760		29
1761 - 1770		26
1771 - 1780		22
1781 - 1790		19
1791 - 1796		12

MONTH OF ENTRY TO UNIVERSITY

January	...	22
February		18
March		51
April		53
May		55
June		70
July		72
August		4
September		14
October		33
November		24
December		19

NUMBER WHO ENTERED CAMBRIDGE COLLEGES ... 264

NUMBER WHO ENTERED OXFORD COLLEGES ... 209

- NOTES.
1. The numbers immediately above refer to Colleges of entry only; it is known that some undergraduates subsequently migrated.
 2. In a few instances neither the Cambridge or Oxford College entered, nor the month of entry, is revealed by Longden.

Fig.17.

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS (WHERE REVEALED) OF THE
H.I.LONGDEN SAMPLE OF 477 LOCAL SCHOLARS
WHO TOOK HOLY ORDERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY, alphabetically.

Advocate	1	Husbandman	6
'Agent to Duke of Montagu'	1	Maltster	1
Apothecary	1	Master of grammar school	16
Archdeacon	1	Minor canon of cathedral	1
Barrister	1	Plebeian	24
Bishop	1	Printer	1
Bookseller	1	Rector/vicar	31
Coal merchant	1	Saddler	1
Dean of Peterborough	1	Sailmaker	1
Druggist	1	Shoemaker	1
Duke	1	Surgeon	1
Earl	1	Vintner	1
Farmer	3	Weaver	1
Grocer	4	Wigmaker	1
Hatter	1		
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>107</u>

'shut the door' against science.⁴¹ The last, which lay at the heart of Priestley's 1768 indictment of the grammar schools and universities, was probably the most crucial. He correctly perceived the unchanging central role of the clergy which led naturally to 'the whole plan of education' being 'calculated for their use'. He believed that many influential people who had attended grammar school because it was customary now agreed with him that the benefits were 'very problematical' and did not intend to send their sons. The 'old maxims' jarred with the world as it was and the things studied were quickly forgotten since they were 'foreign to the business of life'. A debt was owed to the 'literati' amongst 'our forefathers' but 'a hundredth part of the time' formerly given to the classics was enough 'in this modernized age'.⁴²

In short, by 1768, the alternatives to grammar schooling had become irresistibly attractive.

PART 3 : ACADEMY STUDENTS AND REFINED FEMALE SCHOLARS.

A. Introductory comments.

It must be assumed, because of their proliferation, that the private schools and academies locally were well supported by the enterprising and resourceful sections of the prosperous classes in the middle and late decades of the eighteenth century. These groups in particular were not prepared to tolerate the perfunctory and occasionally meaningless curricula of the grammar schools and were fearful of the moral corruption through idleness, gambling and sexual promiscuity for which some university students were notorious. They also lacked the contacts and patronage used by the landed elite to secure good social positions for graduate sons.⁴³

As with elementary and grammar schools, there is no way of tracing precisely who attended the bulk of the establishments. However, generalisations are supplemented by such as Priestley; he was specific about who qualified for a course of liberal education (and presumably for entry to any dissenting academy). Surprisingly, in view of his radicalism, he visualised prospective students as being youths whose future 'fortune, rank and influence' were assured. Hopefully they would be imbued with a keen sense of patriotism as they were destined to occupy 'those stations in which a man's conduct will considerably affect the liberty and the property of his countrymen, and the riches, the strength and the security of his country'. He expected them to become magistrates, legislators, lawyers, senior army officers, merchants, open-minded divines or physicians, all occupations for which initiative was needed:

No man who can afford the expense of a liberal education enters upon any business with a view to spend his whole life in the mere mechanical part of it, and in performing a task imposed upon him. A man of spirit will laudably aspire to be a master in his turn, when he must be directed by his own lights, and when he will find himself miserably bewildered, if he have acquired no more knowledge than ^{was} sufficient for him while he followed the direction of others.⁴⁴

Priestley considered it proper that academy students, ideally aged 16 or 17 years on entry, as society's future leaders should question what was put to them in lectures. He personally welcomed interjections, which he thought did not promote 'impertinence and conceit in young persons' if accepted graciously. A 'mixture of dignity and freedom (which so far from being incompatible that they mutually set off one another)' prevented 'unseasonable remarks' and encouraged 'modest and pertinent' ones. Priestley, who 'would not forego the pleasure and advantage' which accrued both to pupils and tutors from the practice,⁴⁵ thus endorsed from his own experience the teaching methodology instituted, for example, at the Doddridge and Ryland Academies.

B. Doddridge's students.

The names of 116 students taught by Doddridge are known.⁴⁶ Many indeed came from families who could lay claim to 'fortune, rank and influence'. Sir Wadsworth Busk and Sir James Campbell, 3rd Baronet, were among his distinguished pupils, some from abroad. A letter written in 1739 was from David Dickson of Edinburgh who stated that although 30 years old he wished, on the advice of Isaac Watts, to study under Doddridge. As Watts was 'too sick to be troubled' wrote Dickson, a character reference might be sought from Colonel James Gardiner.⁴⁷ In another letter, four years later, Dickson again referred to Gardiner, and expressed delight that Sir James Fergusson, 2nd Baronet, the Lord Kilkerran, had decided to send his eldest son John, then aged 17 and studying at Edinburgh University, to Doddridge.⁴⁸

The behaviour and traits of individual pupils, who clearly would possess the confidence to query what was put to them, were frequently touched on in correspondence. In August 1744 Doddridge reported to Kilkerran that John displayed 'indolence of temper' and 'too great consciousness of his superiority of birth .. and of superiority of wit'.⁴⁹ In a further letter in

September 1744, Doddridge again complained that 'mornings are lost in bed, the small fine in that case being nothing to him, sports followed, and sometimes mere sauntering preferred to business .. Mr. Brabant, my assistant, is as great a critick both in Latin and Greek as any man I know among the Dissenters in England who undertakes to teach them .. He has offered to read any Latin or Greek book to Mr. Fergusson that he chooses ... yet he seems quite indifferent'.⁵⁰ Two months later Fergusson was excused 'from taking his turn at family prayers in the evening' because he had shown no remorse and was obviously 'not intended for the ministry'.⁵¹ A second student adversely commented upon by Doddridge, in a communication to Watts, was Charles Bulkley who had shown 'ungoverned love .. indolence, neglect of study .. chat, disputation, indevotion, pride and error'.⁵²

Fergusson and Bulkley, however, were in a minority who did not apply themselves. Doddridge in a letter to Mary Clarke of Breedwell (Devon), the mother of Richard and Thomas, stated his regard for the latter and confirmed that his 'House' was 'filled with sound and serious and evangelical youths, and those of another stamp seldom stay long in it'.⁵³ Vacations, too, were evidently spent in sober fashion. Typically, Dickson wrote in November 1743 as a diversion from meditating, explaining that 'the extraordinary appearances in religion .. in a great measure (had) ceased'. He thanked Doddridge for introducing him to 'such an author as (Richard) Baxter who is more excellent to me than all the dead uninspired writers, as you are more than all the living'.⁵⁴ Other letters from students told of journeys, marriage plans or family gatherings; gratitude was expressed to Doddridge for some favour, spiritual blessing being offered in return; prayer meetings were recounted; the intention to continue studying for a further year was proclaimed.

More than half the 116 students remained subscribers to Doddridge's organ The Family Expositor after they left the Northampton Academy. As the occupation most commonly adopted was that of Dissenting minister/tutor, its contents could be purposefully drawn on. Bulkley, his indiscipline conquered, became a Baptist minister; the Congregational, Presbyterian and Unitarian denominations had their converts too. A few ex-students, including Fergusson, joined the army. In a letter dated 19 January 1745/6 to Doddridge, he related the distressing engagements of his unit with the Jacobite invaders,⁵⁵ and confided subsequently that the notion of soldiering being 'an idle life' was 'very wrong'.⁵⁶ Doddridge gradually revised his opinion of the boy whose death from consumption in 1750, aged 22, was 'heart-breaking or at least heart-wounding news'.⁵⁷

Other of Priestley's designated 'higher spheres of active life' to which Doddridge's students gravitated included law, medicine, merchandising and publishing. Stephen Addington became an eminent mathematician; D'Avenant Hankins inherited a 'plentiful estate'; James Robertson was elected Professor of Hebrew at Edinburgh University, and John Roebuck achieved fame as an inventor. Doddridge, of course, taught many more students than the 116 who come to light in the correspondence. It is known that in July 1737, for instance, his boarders numbered 43 though their names are not disclosed.⁵⁸ As with grammar scholars, methods were found to support the impecunious, several being funded by the philanthropist William Coward. The worthy John French was recommended by Doddridge in April 1740 'for an exhibition from the Congregational Fund Board'.⁵⁹ (See Fig.18).

Doddridge's Academy was reconstituted at Daventry a short time after his death in Lisbon in 1751. A typical product of it, discounting Priestley, was Thomas Belsham. He had received some instruction under French, who became a noted Dissenting tutor in Wellingborough, prior to entering the

THE NAMES OF 116 STUDENTS TAUGHT BY PHILIP DODDRIDGE AT
THE NORTHAMPTON DISSENTING ACADEMY, 1729-1751, REVEALED IN
CORRESPONDENCE, WITH BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS.

- * Addington Stephen, Dissenting minister, mathematician.
- Affleck John, minister at Dordrecht and Middelburg.
- * Aikin John, Dissenting tutor.
- * Beman Hendrik, son of Rotterdam bookseller.
- * Birch George, son of Receiver-General for Warwicks.
- Blake Malachi (jun.), minister at Whitney and Fullwood (Som.)
- Blinch Philip, possibly became cornet in regiment of dragoons.
- * Boughton William, minister at Buckingham.
- * Boyce Benjamin, minister at Kettering.
- * Brabant Thomas, Dissenting tutor.
- * Bryant John, minister at Beaminster (Dorset).
- * Bulkley Charles, Baptist minister.
- Busk, Sir Wadsworth, Treasurer of Inner Temple.
- * Campbell, Sir James, 3rd Bart.
- * Carter Moses, assistant minister at Shrewsbury.
- * Clark Samuel (jun.), tutor at Northampton Academy.
- * Clarke Richard, of Devon, considered becoming a lawyer.
- Clarke Thomas, of Devon, 'a most promising youth'; Richard's brother.
- * Clayton Nicholas, minister at Octagon, Liverpool.
- * Coplestone Coriolanus, 'very acceptable, theological disquisition'.
- * Cotton W. Rowland, minister's son.
- * Darracott Risdon, minister at Wellington (Som.)
- De Hondt P. Abraham, of The Hague, London bookseller and publisher.
- Denny Richard, minister at Long Buckby.
- * Dickson David, of Edinburgh, acquaintance of Isaac Watts.
- Drew Thomas.
- * Ellis Thomas, Arian minister.
- * Fabyan Peter, became preacher.
- * Farmer Hugh, minister at Walthamstow (Essex).
- * Farr William (jun.), possibly went on to study medicine at Edinburgh.
- * Fawcett Benjamin, minister at Taunton (Som.) and Kidderminster (Worcs.)
- Fenton Samuel, nephew of Sir Harry Houghton.
- Fergusson John, son of Lord Kilkerran; died at age 22.
- Follett Josiah, Presbyterian minister.
- * French John, minister at Wellingborough.
- Gardiner David, son of colonel of dragoons.
- Gardner John, Presbyterian minister.
- Gardner Richard, Presbyterian minister.
- Gellibrand Joseph.
- Gibbs John, of Stratford upon Avon (Warwicks.), died young.
- * Gill Jeremiah.
- Gillespie Thomas, founder of Relief Church.
- Glynn Clement, later of Hertford College, Oxford.
- Greaves Thomas, minister of English Presbyterian church, Rotterdam.

- * Hancock Thomas, donated books to Northampton Academy.
- * Hankins D'Avenant, inherited a 'plentiful estate'.
Hanmer John, Arian minister.
- * Heap John, minister at Dorking (Surrey).
- * Hewitt James, later Viscount Lifford.
Hewitt Joseph, brother of James.
- * Hewson Benjamin, became preacher.
- * Hextal William, Congregational minister.
- * Holdsworth John, of Chelmsford (Essex).
- * Holland John, son of minister at Wem (Salop).
Holland Philip, brother of John.
- * Holman William (jun.), of Sudbury (Suff.)
Hulme Joseph.
- * Jennings John (jun.), minister at St. Ives (Hunts.)
- * Johnston William, Congregational minister.
Kendal Henry.
Kennedy David, of Barbados.
- * Kipps Andrew, Nonconformist divine.
Laugher Timothy, Presbyterian minister.
- * Lincoln William, Congregational minister.
- * Lister William, Congregational minister.
Marshall Humphrey.
- * Marshall Joseph, of Wellington (Som.), brother of Humphrey; died young.
- * Martin William, Congregational minister.
- * Maylin John, of London 'desirous of a commission in the army'.
Middlecott Edward, possibly later of Warminster (Wilts.)
Moore Henry (jun.), Unitarian minister.
Offley Edmund, of Norton Hall (Yorks.)
- * Olding John, Congregational minister.
Olive Thomas, became preacher.
- * Orton Job, assistant to Doddridge at Northampton Academy.
Parminter Andrew, son of Moravian minister.
Pembroke George (jun.), of St. Albans (Herts.)
Proctor William, Dissenting minister.
Pyott John.
- * Quarrel James, donated books to Northampton Academy.
- * Reader Simon, minister at Wareham (Dorset).
Renkine William, son of a captain, placed with a merchant for training.
- * Robertson Gilbert, minister at Kincardine (Fife).
Robertson James, Professor of Hebrew, University of Edinburgh.
- * Rocquette Pierre, son of Rotterdam wine merchant.
- * Roebuck John, inventor.
Rolleston Matthew (jun.), son of physician.
- * Rudsdell Jeremiah, Distributor of Stamps for Northants.
- * Saunders Joseph, of Stamford (Lincs.)
Sedgley William (jun.), minister's son.
- * Shepherd James, died aged 22; his sermons published posthumously.
- * Simpson Richard, Dissenting tutor.
- * Smalley Samuel, talented but died young.
- * Somerville Hugh, of Scotland, excellent speaker of French.
- * Sowden Benjamin, minister at Rotterdam.

- * Steffe John (jun.), Presbysterian minister.
- * Steffe Thomas, published his sermons; brother of John.
Tailer John, Presbyterian minister.
- * Tidcomb Jeremiah, minister's son.
- * Tozer Abraham, minister at Norwich and Exeter.
Tylston John (jun.), son of physician.
Tyndall Thomas, a student who had to 'bend or break'.
Urwick Thomas, Congregational minister.
- * Wadsworth F. Sylvester, assistant minister, Upper Chapel, Sheffield
(Yorks.)
- * Warburton William (jun.), Congregational minister.
- * Waters Joseph, attorney.
Watson Thomas, minister at Bridgwater (Som.), and in Hampshire.
Webb Thomas, minister at Welford.
West John, Congregational minister.
- * Wilcox Samuel, son of Presbyterian minister.
- * Wilkinson Isaac, ministered in Market Harborough (Leics.)
- * Wilkinson Joseph, minister at North Shields (Nthmb.)
- * Wilson John, minister at Bolsover (Derbys.)
Witton J. Spilsbury, minister's son.
- * Wood Samuel (jun.), minister at Rendham (Suff.) and at Norwich.
Worcester William, died 'aged about twenty'.

- * Indicates subscribers to Doddridge's Family Expositor.

Source: G.F.Nuttall, The Correspondence of Philip Doddridge, 1702-1751.
(NRS, XXIX, 1979).

NOTE: The brief biographical details refer, in the majority of cases, to the occupations adopted by students after leaving the Academy. In a few instances e.g. Beman and Birch, the details refer to origins.

Academy in 1766 at the age of 16. In 1770 he was appointed assistant tutor in Greek, and in 1771 tutor in logic, mathematics and metaphysics. In 1781 following a brief intermission at Worcester, he returned to Daventry with joint responsibilities as minister of the Independent chapel and holder of the Divinity chair. During the next few years he experienced doubts over the trinitarian position and resigned in 1789 on being offered the post of Professor of Divinity at Hackney College where his unitarianism was acceptable, and where Priestley was then lecturing. Belsham is chiefly remembered for his published sermons.⁶⁰

Several of the students taught by Belsham at Daventry were adult boarders. In November 1777, 17 were listed as being between 18 and 45 years of age, and thus eligible to serve in the militia.⁶¹ Of this number, William Broadbent earned the distinction of inclusion in the Dictionary of National Biography. He enrolled in August 1777, aged 22, and studied for five years, becoming eventually a tutor there in logic, mathematics, natural philosophy and the classics. On moving to Warrington (Ches.) in 1791 he adopted Belsham's unitarianism. The fragments of their correspondence which remain show that 'biblical exegesis was Broadbent's favourite study and textual interpretation played a prominent part in his preaching'.⁶² Amongst other Daventry students to gain national repute was Eliezer Cogan who established a school at Walthamstow (Essex) where he taught the young Benjamin Disraeli. Cogan's numerous sermons and incidental works of piety were published too.⁶³

However deep their interest in the broad areas of study espoused by Priestley, the bulk of the Northampton and Daventry students in later life seem to have been constantly embroiled in theological disputation. This can be attributed partly to an academy teaching style which encouraged debate but principally to the dominant role of religion in the daily lives of Nonconformists as a body.

C. Ryland's students.

The 'ingenuous youth' to whom Ryland submitted his address in 1768 were presumably typical of the students he taught. He endeavoured to exalt them by shaping their thoughts and characters because, in his view, they were 'the hope of the age to come'. He wrote in another of his texts, the Plan of Education, which has a Priestley dimension:

A liberal and virtuous education consists in furnishing the mind of a youth with all such branches of divine and human knowledge, as shall, under the special blessing of Christ, enable him, in a state of manhood, with rectitude and beauty, with prudence and wisdom, with greatness of soul, elevation of thought, and sublimity of spirit, to perform all the actions and duties of the personal and social life, to the glory of the everlasting Godhead, to his own honour and substantial felicity, and for the advancement of the peace and happiness of mankind, in a state of civil or religious society.⁶⁴

The Northampton Academy which Ryland opened in 1759 was a continuation of that kept by him for 13 years in Warwick. Registers of scholars, comprising in all 230 names in respect of the years 1761-1773 (inc.), have survived.⁶⁵ The number listed annually ranged between 6 (1773) and 30 (1767). However, these figures do not accurately reflect the size of the student body at a given time. The notebook's originator, undoubtedly Ryland, revealed that 20 of the 1769 total of 24 were 'new boarders' whereas he described all 15 and 17 of 1770 and 1771 respectively as 'new boys this year'. It is clear that there was a fresh intake periodically but no indication is provided as to length of stay. Ryland's method was to number the scholars consecutively. All therefore appear once only with the confusing exception of Thomas Porter who can be seen in the 1767, 1768 and 1771 lists. From 1771 the precise dates of admission are appended; surprisingly, entry was allowed to the Academy in every month of the year.

A few of the names command attention. Student 137, in 1762, was entered as 'Othello the Negro'; John and Severin Erickson arrived in 1767, while John Smith (1771) had links with 'Moorfields', having apparently transferred from the renowned London dissenting academy. The virtues and foibles exhibited by Ryland's charges were listed in the great majority of cases. The Erickson brothers and a John Smith are among 88 classed simply as 'honest and worthy'. A criterion of teaching success, stated Ryland in the Plan, was that scholars should leave his Academy self-controlled, free of prejudice, compassionate, benevolent and discriminating. About half, it seems, were incapable through human frailty of attaining these high standards. Individuals stigmatized in the early 1760s were James Campbell, 'a poor, indifferent creature'; Joseph Crooker, 'a mad, spiteful villain'; Henry Butler, 'a weak, lazy, slow, silly wretch'; Joseph Cartledge, 'a rotten-hearted scoundrel' and John Mears, 'Jesuit! serpent and rebel'. The sour judgements can not all be ascribed to Ryland as several hands are in evidence.

Some indication of the types of 'Business, Trade or Employment for life' for which Ryland strove to equip his students can be gleaned from the Northampton Poll Books and the county militia lists. Scrutiny of the former for the years 1768, 1774, 1784, 1790 and 1796 yielded only eight names of possible ex-students who settled in the town. (See Fig.19). The militia lists of 1777 were more fruitful in providing over 70 conceivable alumni exclusive of men stated to be labourers or servants. It is unlikely that anyone taking up such lowly stations would have passed through Ryland's doors though there is the occasional matching of a name. The occupations of farmer (18) and shoemaker (10) occur most frequently in a wide spread which includes weaver (7), blacksmith (4), gentleman (3) and singly, tradesmen such as brazier, cooper, molecatcher, watchmaker and wheelwright. This evidence, albeit insubstantial, suggests that the

POSSIBLE EX-STUDENTS OF RYLAND'S ACADEMY WHO SETTLED IN NORTHAMPTON,
AND OCCUPATIONS FOLLOWED, AS REVEALED IN THE POLL BOOKS.

NAME OF STUDENT	DATE OF ENTRY TO ACADEMY	DATE OF POLL BOOK		
		1774	1784	1790 1796
Jeremiah RUDSDELL	1762	Wool-stapler		
Thomas WALKER	1763	shoemaker	shoemaker	
a namesake			plasterer	
Joseph GOODMAN	1765		victualler	
John WHITEHEAD	1766		carpenter collarmaker (as SARGENT)	
William SARGEANT	1766			labourer
William CRADOCK	1769			
William WILLIAMS	1769		millwright	
William WARREN	1772		victualler	

establishment was both far less socially select, and more vocationally oriented, than Doddridge's and that religion and piety inspired the proprietor to a much greater degree than his clients. (See Fig.20).

D. Middle class girls.

It is recorded in Ryland's notebook that during the Warwick years and at Northampton (until 1773) his Academy educated a total of 345 male students and one girl.⁶⁶ Provision nationally for females had never been systematic above petty level, cost being an inhibiting factor according to Mingay.⁶⁷ More significantly, male prejudice dictated that pretensions to scholarship in a woman reflected an eccentric and wilful nature. It was commonly believed that middle class girls should be reared solely with a view to marriage. William Law was one of few local influential men to deplore this failure to exploit academic potential. He was not merely critical of society for pressurizing women to become 'poor and gaudy spectacles of the greatest vanity' but ridiculed the excesses which turned them into 'painted idols .. to allure and gratify men's passions'.⁶⁸

Law illustrated his points with an account of the imaginary Matilda who denied her three daughters normal contact with others and severely reprimanded them for expressing opinions:

She stints them in their meals .. and tells them how many fine shapes she has seen spoiled in her time, for want of such care ... Whenever they begin to look too sanguine and healthful she calls in .. the doctor, and if physic or issues will keep the complexion from inclining to coarse or ruddy, she thinks them well employed. By this means they are poor, pale, sickly, infirm creatures, vapoured through want of spirits, crying at the smallest accidents, swooning away at any thing that frights them, and hardly able to bear the weight of their best clothes. The eldest daughter lived as long as she could under this discipline and died in the twentieth year of her age. When her body was opened, it appeared that her ribs had grown into her liver, and that her other entrails were much hurt by being crushed together with her stays, which her mother had ordered to be twitched so straight that it often brought tears to her eyes.⁶⁹

Fig.20.

POSSIBLE EX-STUDENTS OF RYLAND'S ACADEMY, WITH OCCUPATION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AS REVEALED IN THE 1777 MILITIA LISTS, EXCLUSIVE OF MEN STATED TO BE LABOURERS OR SERVANTS.

<u>NAME OF STUDENT WITH DATE OF ENTRY TO ACADEMY.</u>		<u>OCCUPATION AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF NAMESAKES IN MILITIA LISTS.</u>	
1761	John Priestley	weaver	Northampton
1762	William Butcher Henry Smith	farmer blacksmith	Duston Earls Barton
1763	John Cole John Coles John Coles John Short Thomas Walker Thomas Walker John Walkins Thomas Watson	gentleman farmer innholder cooper cordwainer wheelwright currier currier	Northampton Wilby Oundle Syresham Northampton Aynho Daventry Brackley
1764	Thomas Fitch John Mears	grocer tailor	Northampton Weldon
1765	Joseph Goodman Joseph Goodman Joseph Goodman Joseph Hewes Richard Payne Edward Smith Daniel Weston John Young	husbandman victualler weaver tailor staymaker victualler farmer carpenter	Brington Kettering Oxendon Arthingworth Northampton Northampton East Farndon Irthlingborough
1766	Joseph Barnes Samuel Barnes John Palmer John Palmer Matthew Randell William Serjeant	baker watchmaker farmer innholder blacksmith collarmaker	Daventry Oundle Duston Oundle Marston Trussell Northampton
1767	Joseph Fisher William Hills Joseph Pattison Thomas Porter Thomas Porter John Richards John Richards Thomas Richards Thomas Richards Benjamin Smith	blacksmith shoemaker farmer's son carpenter yeoman farmer farmer brazier farmer schoolmaster	Wilby Raunds Wellingborough Wadenhoe Easton on the hill Kettering Rushden Byfield Irchester Greens Norton
1768	John Barnett Benjamin Coles	woolcomber farmer	Crick Whiston

	William Jordin	cordwainer	Wellingborough
	Benjamin Pewtress	gentleman	Northampton
1769	Thomas Chapman	farmer	Chelveston
	Thomas Chapman	farmer	Irchester
	Thomas Chapman	gentleman	Spratton
	William Collins	tailor	Oundle
	William Collins	weaver	Paulerspury
	John Hayes	farmer	Isham
	John Hayes	farmer	Rothwell
	William Lyon	cordwainer	Northampton
	William Morton	carpenter	Nether Heyford
	John Sanders	cordwainer	Northampton
	William Williams	farmer	Middleton Cheney
	John Woolston	cordwainer	Great Oakley
	John Woolston	glazier	Wellingborough
1770	John Neal/1	cordwainer	Wellingborough
	John Neal/1	shoemaker	Chelveston
	John Neal/1	tailor	Norton-by-Daventry
	John Neal/1	weaver	Braybrooke
	John Neal/1	weaver	Burton Latimer
1771	William Andrews	farmer	Burton Latimer
	Thomas Eaton	farmer	Old
	Thomas Eaton	farmer	Scaldwell
	William Edward	farmer	Yardley Gobion
	Richard Hill	blacksmith	Thorpe Malzor
	Robert Tebbutt	molecatcher	Brigstock
1772	John Berry	cordwainer	Eydon
	John Berry	weaver	Oxendon
	Edward Berry	butcher	Whitfield
	William Bond	farmer	Pitsford
	John Hall	weaver	Oxendon
	William Warren	cordwainer	Northampton

Source: V.A.HATLEY (ed.), Northamptonshire Militia Lists, 1777
(NRS, XXV, Kettering, 1973).

Summary of trades/occupations, with frequency of mention.

baker	...	...	...	1	husbandman	...	...	...	1
blacksmith				4	innholder				2
brazier				1	molecatcher				1
butcher				1	schoolmaster				1
carpenter				3	shoemaker				10
collarmaker				1	staymaker				1
cooper				1	tailor				4
currier				2	victualler				2
farmer				18	watchmaker				1
farmer's son				1	weaver				7
gentleman				3	wheelwright				1
glazier				1	woolcomber				1
grocer				1	yeoman				1

Yet the limits to Law's thinking are evident in his ambiguous judgement that Matilda's household was a commendable one for several reasons. For example, the 'much greater part' of the daughters in this social group were 'not brought up so well or accustomed to so much religion' as in his invention:

Their minds are turned so much to the care of their beauty and dress, and the indulgence of vain desires as in the present case, without having such rules of devotion to stand against it. So that if solid piety, humility and a sober sense of themselves is much wanted in that sex, it is the plain and natural consequence of a vain and corrupt education ... And if they are often seen to lose that little religion they were taught in their youth, it is no more to be wondered at than to see a little flower choked and killed amongst rank weeds.⁷⁰

Though comparatively liberal in outlook, Law did not advocate equal treatment of the sexes. His ideal woman was Eusebia, a pious widow who trained her five daughters 'to all kinds of labour that are proper for women as sewing, knitting, spinning ... not for their amusement but that they may be serviceable to themselves and others'.⁷¹

Archibald Hutcheson, the MP for Hastings (Sussex), who died in 1740, expressed a deathbed wish that his widow, Elizabeth, should lead an ultra-religious life under Law's direction. Hester Gibbon, aunt of the historian Edward Gibbon whom Law had tutored, and reputed to be 'Miranda' in A Serious Call, joined her in Law's King's Cliffe home in 1744. The trio adhered to the book's precepts on asceticism spending the days in prayer, meditation, Bible-reading and church attendance. Their dress was plain, their meals frugal and their recreations simple; worldly pleasures, even of the most innocent kind, were sacrificed to a saintly preparation for eternity. The disposal of income surplus to basic needs led Mrs. Hutcheson to add the elementary school for boys to the girls' school already founded by Law,⁷² though patronal abnegation would have restricted ambitions for the children educated there.

The origins of the conditioning which stultified the intellect of those in a position to influence, regretted by Steele, are not easily discernible. A change in attitudes, noted by such as Swift and Johnson, was gradually effected not least through the single-mindedness of the bluestockings,⁷³ who managed to balance a renunciation of frivolity with the obligation to be dutiful. Typically, Mary Wortley Montagu, daughter of the first Duke of Kingston, complained forcefully about the paucity of girls' education. In a letter dated 10 October 1753 to her daughter, Mary, she wrote:

To say truth, there is no part of the world where our sex is treated with so much contempt as in England .. I think it the highest injustice to be debarred the entertainment of my closet, and that the same studies that raise the character of a man should hurt that of a woman. We are educated in the grossest ignorance, and no art omitted to stifle our natural reason; if some few get above their nurses' instructions, our knowledge must rest concealed, and be as useless to the world as gold in the mine. I am now speaking according to our English notions which may wear out, some ages hence, along with others equally absurd.⁷⁴

Hester Mulso (later Chapone), the niece of John Thomas who was Bishop of Peterborough 1747-57, was a local bluestocking. Born at Twywell in 1727, she began her career as an essayist at the age of nine, and subsequently acquired proficiency-gained surreptitiously - in the French, Italian and Latin languages. Her most serious work, Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, written in 1772 and published the following year anonymously, was dedicated to Mary Wortley Montagu's kinswoman, Elizabeth. Hester's book, intended for her brother's daughter, did not wholeheartedly endorse learning for its own sake. Indeed, it warned against 'the danger of pedantry and presumption in a woman' and 'her exchanging the graces of imagination for the severity and preciseness of a scholar ...' Referring to the classics, Hester respected 'the abilities and application of those ladies who (had) attained them', and who made 'a modest and proper use of them' but she would 'by no means advise ... any ... woman who is not strongly impelled by a particular genius to engage in

such studies'.

Hester wanted the niece to master those subjects which admitted one to conversations with 'persons of sense and knowledge'. In this context she nominated history, the poetry of 'those immortal ornaments of our nation, Shakspear and Milton', and translations of Homer and Virgil, 'which everybody reads that reads at all'. Chronology, French, geography, nature study and a smattering of moral philosophy were recommended, while to write a legible hand and understand arithmetic, were 'indispensable requisites'. Dancing was a useful accomplishment, though drawing and music were only to be pursued where the necessary aptitude was possessed. Hester wished the niece to read the Guardian, Spectator and Johnson's Rambler, (to the last two of which she contributed), but she did not disapprove of romances, 'which young people are naturally fond of', provided they were selected with due thought to the proprieties. This leniency was not shared by bluestockings cast in the Hannah More mould.⁷⁵

Jane West, born in 1758, was another Northamptonshire woman who came to be feted, particularly in literary circles. She began composing verse, largely inspired by Thomas Gray, at the age of 13 and eventually published several volumes of poems, two novels, two tragedies, a comedy and a treatise The Advantages of Education; or the History of Maria Williams (1793). As a contributor to the Gentleman's Magazine she attracted the attention of Sarah Trimmer, the pair corresponding for several years. However, her background was not as unpropitious as some of her champions claimed while her prose writings betrayed an abhorrence of the radical views of Mary Wollstonecraft and her followers.⁷⁶

It seems that Hester and Jane were sufficiently intrepid to become autodidacts whereas girls such as Mary and Vere Isham and the latter's later Lamport namesake⁷⁷ owed their education (though tutored at home) to the progressivism of their fathers. As already made clear, by the late

eighteenth century, numerous schools had sprung up locally catering for middle class young ladies but unfortunately no lists of students, comparable to those which survive for academies, can be traced. However, the members of a presumed debating society at Mrs. Martha Trinder's Northampton establishment are known, though they have been juxtapositioned in confusing fashion with the places from whence it is supposed they came, as follows:

- 1769
- Woodward - Deptford, the founder
 - Porter - Deptford
 - S. Hills - London
 - Bingley
 - Ann Turner - London
 - E. Ryland - master's daughter
 - M. Brown - Northampton
 - Flude
 - I. Cowdall
 - Cowdall, sister of the first
 - Fox - Rotherhithe
 - Andrews - Market Harborough
 - Button - London
 - Hannah Hill - London
 - Walker - Rotherham
 - Elizabeth Rutt
 - Liddle - Greenwich
 - Barber
 - Carroll - London
 - Judith Lawrence - London
 - E. Slade.
- 1770
- Cobb
 - Lucas
 - Cooper
 - Richards
 - Brigs^{7/8}

Of the 14 girls assumed to be day scholars from the town, Elizabeth, the daughter of John Collet Ryland is readily identified. Possible fathers of the remainder could be listed in the 1768 and/or 1774 Poll Books and/or the 1777 militia lists. However, most of the men whose surnames match, excluding labourers, were tradesmen such as baker, butcher, cordwainer and fishmonger. One Martin Lucas, a wine merchant and one John Browne, schoolmaster, seem the likeliest progenitors.

Yet increased educational opportunity had become a reality. Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of Charles, drafted an enlightened programme of intellectual and recreational activities for the girls at a boarding school at Ashbourne (Derbys.) run by the Misses Parker. Recommended texts included Hester Chapone's Letters on the Improvement of the Mind and Hinton rector Richard Grey's Memoria Technica (1730).⁷⁹ The young ladies at local schools such as Mrs. Cloutt's may have been given similar reading matter.⁸⁰ Generally, though, the accomplishments continued to dominate at the expense of solid training; a historian of female education contends that the bluestockings themselves were essentially moderate.⁸¹

CHAPTER 3 : REFERENCES.

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3. ibid., p.26.
4. Quoted by Jones, op.cit., p.88.
5. Quoted by Copley, op.cit., pp.136-37.
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9. See Introduction, p.14.
10. J.H.Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century, 1714-1815, 2nd imp (Harmondsworth, 1953), pp.93-6; Seaborne, The English School, p.105 is less severe in his judgement of Methodism.
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12. P.A.J.Pettit, The Royal Forests of Northamptonshire : A Study in their Economy, 1558-1714 (NRS, XX111, Gateshead, 1968), Appendix IV.
13. ibid., pp.159-60, 182.
14. J.M.Steane, 'The poor in Rothwell, 1750-1840', NPP, IV, 3 (1968), pp.143-48.
15. R.W.Malcolmson, Life and Labour in England, 1700-1780 (1981), pp.60-71 is the source for this point and others on plebeian lifestyle in the following paragraphs.
16. Harrison, op.cit., pp.3-7.
17. Life and Labour, p.62.
18. See Ch.2, Pt.3, pp.108-09.
19. VCH Rutland, i, pp.272-73.
20. ibid., pp.273, 275.
21. For instance, Lawson and Silver, op.cit., p.195 describe grammar scholars as predominantly the 'sons of farmers, clergy and local gentry'; Mingay, op.cit., p.132 categorizes them as the sons of 'country gentlemen and farmers'.

22. VCH Northants, ii, pp.211, 238.
23. English Landed Society, p.133.
24. 'Educational opportunity', p.317.
25. A Social History of Education, pp.115, 135.
26. C.Tongue, 'A troublesome guardianship in the eighteenth century', NPP, 1V, 1 (1966), pp.19-23.
27. 'Educational opportunity', p.309. For the Ely lists see D.M.Owen and D.Thurley (eds.), The King's School, Ely (Cambridge Antiquarian Records Society, V, 1982).
28. This was done for the first time in 1667.
29. HIL., 8, p.241.
30. LAO, Documents Anc. X111/B/3e, 3f, 3g.
31. The 1559 edict is printed in W.T.Mellows (ed.), The Foundation of Peterborough Cathedral (NRS, X111, 1941), p.liv.
32. VCH Northants, ii, p.214.
33. HIL., 12, p.279; 13, p.99.
34. An example of a boy educated privately in Peterborough is Richard Reynolds who entered Sidney Sussex College in 1689 aged 14. HIL., 11, p.177. He was later the Bishop of Lincoln and father of George who pursued Doddridge in the Consistory Court. See Ch.1, Pt.2, p.49.
35. John Sparkes, for instance, was the son of Joseph Sparkes, a minor canon of Peterborough Cathedral, and almost certainly the brother of George Sparke who appears on the 1733 list. At the King's School, Ely, there were paying scholars in addition to foundationers.
36. See Introduction, pp.10-1.
37. 'Educational opportunity', pp.316-17.
38. J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis. Pt.1. (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922-27), 1, pp.42, 107.
39. HIL., 2, p.57; 3, p.105.
40. A Social History of Education, p.177.
41. ibid., pp.178-80.

42. 'An essay on a course of liberal education', pp.2, 6, 22-3.
43. The point is elaborated by L. and J.C.F.Stone, An Open Elite? England, 1540-1880 (Oxford University Press, 1984), pp.243-44.
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45. ibid., pp.30-2.
46. Their identities are revealed in some 1,800 extant letters written either by, or to him, and printed in G.F.Nuttall, The Correspondence of Philip Doddridge, 1702-1751 (NRS, XXIX, 1979).
47. Letter 572.
48. Letter 928.
49. Letter 1002.
50. Letter 1004.
51. Letter 1016.
52. Letter 605.
53. Letter 902.
54. Letter 928.
55. Letter 1120.
56. Letter 1136.
57. Letter 1641.
58. Letter 465.
59. Letter 605.
60. DNB, 11, pp.202-03.
61. Their names are printed in Hatley, op.cit., p.43.
62. DNB, 11, pp.1271-72.
63. ibid., 1V, pp.675-76.
64. J.C.Ryland, An Address to the Ingenuous Youth of Great Britain (together with a body of divinity in miniature, to which is subjoined a Plan of Education, adapted to the use of schools and which has been carried into execution during a course of near 50 years), (1802), pp.106-07.

65. C.A.Markham, 'Dr. Ryland's pupils', NNQ, New Series, VI, Article 300 (1926), pp.18-31. The names were recorded in a quarto MS book; blank pages follow the 1773 list although the Northampton Academy remained in being up to, and beyond, 1786 when Ryland removed to Enfield (Middx.)
66. ibid., pp.19, 23. She was entered as 'No.103. Miss Cook Clarke' in the 13th year, 1760. This was the last Ryland spent at Warwick.
67. English Landed Society, p.141.
68. W.Law, A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life (1729; Everyman's Library edn No.91, 1961), p.248.
69. ibid., p.251.
70. ibid., p.252.
71. ibid., pp.254-55.
72. DNB, X1, p.678.
73. For an explanation of the term see M.C.Borer, Willingly to School (1976), p.213.
74. Quoted by George, op.cit., pp.63-4.
75. DNB, 1V, pp.58-9.
76. ibid., XX, pp.1242-43.
77. See Ch.2, Pt.4, pp.122-23.
78. Harding, op.cit., p.158.
79. E.Darwin, A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools (1798), pp.121, 123, 125.
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81. J.Kamm, Hope Deferred (1965), p.111.

CHAPTER 4.
THE TEACHING FORCE.

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INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS.

Holmes has argued that education nationally was a professional sphere in which, by the late seventeenth century, the changing expectations of the consumer were beginning to have a profound effect.¹ The evidence points to this view having application locally. The desire of parents, from the aristocracy to the ambitious yeoman and the urban tradesman, for the most fitting rather than traditional schooling, had three consequences. It encouraged the habit of employing private tutors in the households of the wealthy, thus affording a new career opportunity to the clergy of the Church of England. Secondly, it stimulated a remarkable growth in demand, generated mainly by the dictates of commerce and partly by the needs of the armed forces, for specialist instructors. Some of them could be accommodated within the existing endowed foundations but most taught in a rich new crop of private schools and academies. Thirdly, parental ambition led to fee-paying, in respect of either boarder or day scholar, becoming commonplace. This was so profitable after 1690 that the secondary schoolmaster in many places was almost unrecognizable as the successor to the miserably paid drudge so familiar in the early seventeenth century. The financial incentives for able men, whether or not in holy orders, to adopt schoolmastering as a lifelong occupation were transformed.

Before the 1690s few contemporaries would have adjudged the overwhelming majority of teachers staffing the elementary schools of the country to have answered a call. As a group they lacked coherence, respectable qualifications and a full-time commitment to their pedagogical activities. However, the decade heralded the start of a process which gradually improved the situation. The charity schools in particular exerted a positive influence on both the quality and permanence of recruits to the lower sector. It was the firm expectation of the SPCK that all masters and mistresses appointed under its auspices should teach for eight hours

each working day in summer, and seven in winter, a practice which quickly became standard. Secondly, governors when filling posts, tried to insist upon the possession of basic intellectual equipment appropriate to the likely attainment levels of the children being taught. Thirdly, the SPCK encouraged what has been called a 'pupil-teacher method of recruiting', in effect an informal apprenticeship system, in order to cultivate the 'genius for teaching'. Once the demands and conventions of charity schoolmastering were defined, they came to be accepted by thousands of practitioners nationwide who settled on what was perceived to be an honourable form of regular employment.

All those men and, from later in the eighteenth century, women, who earned a living in one of the many and varied educational establishments, made up an amorphous body. It is misleading to speak of a profession in the modern sense. Although there were new dimensions to the work, teaching still required no formal career-oriented training, as did the law or the navy. Manuals apart, how to teach if not always what to teach, was left to instinct. Nevertheless, teaching was much more widely regarded as a true vocation by the beginning of George II's reign than it had been during Charles II's, and from then on innumerable committed teachers would have regarded it as perverse to be described as unprofessional.

PART 1 : THE PREOCCUPATION, OF DISSENTERS
PARTICULARLY, WITH SCIENCE.

Above all else, the undoubted scientific acquirements of the leading local masters won public esteem for the embryonic profession. A preoccupation with science was frequently allied to the spirit of Dissent as in the case of Quaker Thomas Cowper, born in Wellingborough in 1716. The spur of self-improvement led him, as a young man, to pick up a book whenever he was free from woolcombing. Eventually he began teaching in the town offering the subjects of algebra, arithmetic, astronomy, dialling, fluxions, guaging, geometry, navigation, surveying and trigonometry. His grasp of surveying techniques earned him numerous engagements from landowners at a time of enclosure.

Tribute to Cowper's learning was paid by J.B.Smith of University College, Oxford, in a letter to him dated 7 August 1739:

As I found your calculation of the late solar eclipse more agreeable to observation than any of the rest which were published .. I could hardly avoid begging the favour of you to inform me .. by whose tables it was made. According to Sir Isaac Newton's theory, it ought to have happened here about 8.1/2 minutes sooner than it did; by Whiston's tables .. it should have happened 8 minutes later .. ²Therefore .. let me know how you came to be so near the truth.

In 1760 Cowper's abilities were acknowledged by the Royal Society who extended an invitation to participate in an expedition to the southern Pacific, the chief objective being to observe the transit of Venus. He could not be persuaded to undertake a journey which would render his name 'memorable to all posterity' but he corresponded with Green, one of those who agreed to go. The following is an extract from a Cowper letter to him:

The above are deduced from Dr. Halley's Astronomical Tables with respect to the places of the sun and Venus, but with the application of parallaxes etc.. I am still in doubt whether this calculation and type be adapted to the place of your destination .. because neither E nor W, N nor S, is annexed to the longitude or latitude enclosed .. Yet, from the conveniency of situation, I .. computed the times and drew the type of the

apparent path of Venus on the solar disk accordingly, which is an irregular curve, and very different from the way I described on the other types, for four different parts of the globe.³

Cowper was attracted to astrology for many years despite possessing outstanding powers of deduction. His investigations convinced him that he was to die by water; to this is ascribed the cause of his refusal to travel across sea. He came to regret his devotion to chimerical pursuits which in his day was fashionable but as he succumbed to dropsy in 1778 the destiny was thought by some associates to have been accomplished.⁴

William Shipley was a drawing master in Northampton for several years prior to his departure c.1750 for London where he opened his noted academy. Perhaps the best known of the capital's coffee houses was Rawthmell's, Covent Garden, haunted nightly by Martin Folkes, President of the Royal Society in 1741. Here, on 22 March 1754, a group of Fellows of the Society gathered to hear Shipley's proposal to subsidize inventions by prizes, in much the same way as horse breeding was fostered by competition at the Northampton horse fair. Shipley was particularly anxious to find substitutes for cobalt and madder, dyes used in the cloth trade, both of which were imported and difficult to obtain. From a subsequent series of meetings germinated the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, later to become the Royal Society of Arts.(RSA) This body stimulated initiatives by awarding medals and issued a journal to disseminate knowledge of new discoveries. Mainly however, it mounted exhibitions, the first in 1761, to demonstrate the application of science to industrial production, a practice imitated in America and on the European continent. The RSA later helped incubate the Chemical Society (1841) and the Institute of Chemistry (1877).⁵

Schoolmasters were prominent in the affairs of the essentially scientific Peterborough Gentlemen's Society and the Northampton Philosophic Society.⁶ For instance, Thomas Mirehouse,⁶ head of the King's

School from 1747 to 1756, attended the sessions of the former⁷ which had the support of the nobility. Typically, the Earl Fitzwilliam of Milton took the chair and the Hon. Edward Wortley provided refreshments after meetings at the cathedral town's Angel Hotel. A substantial undertaking of the group was to defray the cost of publishing the works of the distinguished mathematician John Landen FRS, Fitzwilliam's land agent.

Routinely, the Peterborough members received reports on a multitude of topics, the first, in August 1730, being an account of hydrostatic experiments conducted off the coast of Norway. In September 1730 they debated the proposition 'that animals of different sizes view objects differently, and that as their sizes are greater or less, so the same objects at the same distance appear less or greater, in a magnitude reciprocally proportionable to their own bulks', and solved a conundrum, namely, 'There's a clock has 2 hands upon the same centre; one moves 5 times round in 4 hours, the other 6 times round in 5 hours. Quie the Synodical period of those 2 hands', posed by 'Mr. Marshall'. He would very probably be Thomas Marshall, vicar of St. John Baptist, Peterborough, from 1726 to 1748, and Mirehouse's predecessor at the King's School. Mr. Lynn's recorded observations of the weather over a period of five years covering barometric readings, rainfall, minimum and maximum temperatures and 'the quantity of wind that blew and from what quarter' were studied in 1731. Algebraic formulae, conic sections and the lunar eclipse of 20 November merited attention in 1732.

The Society's Minute Book shows that during the next few years the group considered, among other questions, conflicting contributions to the Royal Society on the constituents of the Aurora Borealis, Bishop George Berkeley's attack on calculus, the shortest global shipping routes, the 'different degrees of restringency of medicines', the blood stream and the

magnetic qualities of an iron bar. In connection with the last two topics, the findings of the Dutchman Loewenhook and the popular lecturer J.T. Desaguliers FRS, respectively, were contemplated. In 1737 a paper 'by a learned hand' in Latin praising their inspirational source, Newton, was taken into the group's keeping. Minutes continued to be written until 1809 but the later ones contain less significant detail, being more concerned with the Society's internal affairs than with the subjects under discussion.⁸

The five enthusiasts, including schoolmaster Henry Woolley, who formed the Northampton Philosophic Society in 1743, resolved to assemble once a week. Among others to quickly join them were Sir Thomas Samwell who was their president in 1746, Doddridge and his usher Samuel Clark, and inventor Thomas Yeoman, the owner of a Northampton cotton mill. Thus were Anglicans and Dissenters united in common cause.

The first year's course of lectures, on electricity, magnetism and mechanics, were given 'in coherent order' and 'illustrated by a variety of experiments by instruments'. In the second year, members entered on hydrostatics and pneumatics. After academic study of 'general principles' much practical work was undertaken related to the weight of water and the pressure of fluids according to their heights. Siphons and pumps, artificial fountains, the hydrometer, hygrometer and thermometer, the clepsydra (time-measuring device worked by flow of water) of the ancients and the diving bell were all investigated. Thoroughness of approach was exemplified in the procuring of much apparatus made to exact specifications. Optics was the theme during the third year following, by then, a customary summer vacation of three months.

By way of supplementing these major activities, individual members talked on topics as diverse as the comet sighted in 1743, a 'machine for carrying timber without horses', a 'pendulum of peculiar contrivance' and a 'universal dial .. so highly approved .. that the design was ordered to be

executed in brass for the use of the Society'. Mr. Chorlwood Lawton made presents of his pieces of apparatus 'for showing the efficacy of compounded and of oblique forces; to prove the angle of incidence is equal to that of reflection; to measure the degree of refraction in water; to illustrate the efficacy of weights at different differences from the centre of motion, yet so contrived as to move with equal velocities, or show the efficacy of pressure in contrary directions on the beam of a balance at unequal distances from the centre.' Doddridge exhibited monographs on the laws of motion 'as well in elastic as non-elastic bodies'. Yeoman gave an account of the ways in which he had applied the ventilators devised by Stephen Hales (who was known to the Peterborough Society and who played a leading role in the formation of Shipley's RSA). Yeoman had manufactured engines both for raising water and 'for cleaning foul and smutty corn' which were 'approved by the ingenious doctor who favours him with his correspondence'.⁹

The Nonconformist captivated by science found an archetype in Doddridge. The depth of his interest is clear from letters exchanged with the naturalist and poet Henry Baker whose daughter was deaf and dumb. Baker's work with microscopes earned him election to the Royal Society in 1740, and he later acted as secretary to the RSA. Shipley was mentioned by Doddridge in two letters dated 3 November 1747 and 11 May 1748, to Baker,¹⁰ while another, written on 28 December 1747, hailed Yeoman as 'a very ingenious tho' not a very learned man (who) has made a great many experiments in electricity'. Further, Doddridge recalled seeing at Kingston upon Thames (Surrey), 'the extraordinary phenomenon of the Prussian with two heads who was in England about the year 1714'. The sighting was one of 'the last things in life' that he would 'be liable to forget'.¹¹

In January 1748 Doddridge reported that he had passed to the Northampton Philosophic Society Baker's enclosure, fully describing the afflicted man, from the antiquary Martin Folkes, and added; 'It is but a little while ago that we had a calf produced in a neighbouring village with two heads and six legs, which the ignorant country people immediately brought to my house crying in a kind of rapture, "See the wondrous works of God", which one of them repeated to me more than 20 times almost in a breath'.¹² In March 1750 Doddridge communicated the Northampton group's thanks to Baker for his account of an earthquake one month previously. He also related the story of his pupil William Worcester's death, c.1732, 'after wounding his great toe on a bone frozen into the ground while exercising himself with some of his companions within my own walls at football', and of a local gunsmith named Tucker who claimed to have been cured of deafness in 1715 by the milk from the breast of a labouring man.¹³ Letters from Sarah Ekins of Wellingborough, as well as from Baker, show that Doddridge in 1750 and 1751 was anxious to discover more about the practice of inoculation; he was already familiar with David Some's pioneering book on the subject.¹⁴

It is manifestly obvious that whilst not exclusive the approach to scientific enquiry of Dissenters, masters especially, went far beyond dilettantism. All knew the interests of others which interlaced the societies to which they belonged or helped form. Their motive was succinctly summarized by Baker in his handbook on the microscope: 'Every step we take serves to enlarge our capacities and give us still more noble and just ideas of the power, wisdom and goodness of the Deity'.¹⁵ Validity was harnessed to a determination to educate their own kind as they thought fit. The scientific curriculum and teaching methodology at both the Doddridge and Ryland Academies was based on the principles of the Peterborough and Northampton Societies (forerunners of the Birmingham

Lunar Society to which Joseph Priestley and Erasmus Darwin belonged), extensive equipment being available for the dual purposes of demonstration and experimentation. Doddridge's students no doubt used their stenography to speed the process of recording results. Had no barriers been erected against them, the ablest Dissenters would not have sought admission to Oxford or Cambridge. In his Letters to Pitt (1787), Priestley observed, 'While your Universities resemble pools of stagnant water, secured by dams and mounds and offensive to the neighbourhood, ours are like rivers which taking their natural course fertilise a whole country'.¹⁶

PART 2 : THE UNIVERSALITY OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

To the eighteenth century Dissenters, the open-mindedness with which scientific truths were pursued, was totally compatible with religious conviction. Agnosticism was for later generations. Surprisingly, even the redoubtable thinker, Priestley, never yielded to scepticism about the existence of a divine Creator. He regarded history, for instance, not as the mundane unfolding of events but as 'anticipated experience'. It was the story of God realising Himself in humanity through the ceaseless activity of good men furthering His purpose by working for the greatest happiness of the greatest number.¹⁷

The extent to which the notable Dissenters were piously committed is well documented. Though Doddridge's passion for Christian mission brought him disappointments and rebuffs, it never left him. He was in demand as a preacher, especially on his visits to London where he drew huge congregations. One sermon there prompted the founding, in August 1750, of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor. In an age when sermons were read as well as listened to, many of Doddridge's were printed. Some were doctrinal, homiletic or hortatory; others were designed to 'improve' a 'providence' such as the destructive fire at Wellingborough in 1738 or the defeat of the Jacobites in 1746.

Doddridge's written output was prodigious. Four of his more ambitious works stand out as bringing him eminence nationally. They are his Answer (1742/3) to Henry Dodwell's Christianity not Founded on Argument (1742), in which he sought to demonstrate that faith could be defended rationally; his Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul (1745), which adapted the spiritual phenomenology characteristic of Puritanism to a form consistent with eighteenth century psychological understanding, and which altered the course of William Wilberforce's life in 1785; his Life (1747), of Colonel James Gardiner, which likewise gave new shape to

Puritan hagiography but aroused mixed reaction about the scale of the author's 'enthusiasm'; and his periodical The Family Expositor, the first issue of which appeared in 1738 with a dedication to the Princess of Wales, and the last in 1756 after his death.

Doddridge's position of leadership necessitated his frequent involvement in the ordination or solemn 'setting apart' of Northamptonshire Congregational ministers as at Creton (1738), Welford (1739) and Long Buckby (1741). He was instrumental in forming an Association of the county's ministers and he directed the circulation among them of appropriate reading matter. His sabbath day typically, Doddridge informed Watts, was an endless round from six o'clock in the morning until past ten in the evening of meditating, repeating, preaching, visiting the sick and instructing domestic staff. His letters and diaries tell of the strain generated by the organization of services, in taking spiritual stock, and in coping with schism and the defection from his church of members 'quite intoxicated with error and nonsense'. They are punctuated, too, by personal progress reports. In December 1746 he intended to begin study of the book of Romans on New Year's Day; on 14 June 1748 he had 'this day ended the paraphrase and improvement of the 12th of Hebrews', and by 13 October he was 'now in Jude'. In June 1750 a fire at the academy ruined much of a precious manuscript which ran from Corinthians to Ephesians.¹⁸

The Baptist William Carey, who taught both day and evening scholars locally for several years before departing for India, routinely engaged in theological argument as a young man. The mystical followers of King's Cliffe's William Law¹⁹ were among those whose challenges temporarily undermined his adherence to the gospel of divine sacrificial atonement. Robert Hall's book, Help to Zion's Travellers (1781), written with the aim of removing 'the stumbling-blocks to faith from the path of the thoughtful', and regarded by the orthodox as 'rank poison', was to Carey at

this time the 'sweetest wine'. Such was his subsequent religious zeal that for three years from 1782 he regularly walked 24 miles whatever the weather to lead worship at the Earls Barton meeting house. It was said that with a soul 'like Gideon's' he tried to demolish 'all Baal's altars' by, for example, burning playing cards, and he constantly prayed to be 'stripped of the rags of self-righteousness'.

It was the loan of literature on the voyages of Captain James Cook that convinced Carey of the cruelty, immorality and misery of the unchristian peoples, whose redemption Cook doubted. Carey wanted to prove the opinion unfounded. Though fascinated by exploration itself, he began planning the route of ships, chartered by evangelists of grace, on other than scientific errand. Carey adopted the Baptist creed upon hearing a sermon by John Horsey, a head of Doddridge's Dissenting Academy after the founder's death, and was baptized early one Sunday morning in October 1783, in the River Nene, by John Collett Ryland. Carey communed with his Saviour until able, in his biographer's words, to answer 'the heart-rending cry of outcast heathendom'.²⁰

Ryland contended that religious belief prompted us to improve 'all our talents of nature, literature and goodness, all our power, wealth and reputation for the divine honour; and to produce the glorious fruits of knowledge and benevolence proportionable to the advantage we enjoy, and thus to represent the beauty of God's moral perfections'. It humbled the sinner, exalted the redeemer and pressed us into useful employment. We were obliged to fill each hour of each day with such generous deeds as would 'follow us into eternity and enlarge our glory and felicity forever'.

Ryland suggested that the fulfilment of biblical prophecies amply demonstrated the divine truth and authority of the Scriptures. With an allusion to scientific advancement, but discarding his famed empiricism in that direction, he claimed that the evidence was daily accumulating, 'no

age or country' being 'blessed with a brighter display .. in its vast extent and connexion than our own'. Additionally, the Bible's accounts of Christ's working of miracles could not be dismissed. These two tenets, together with the inherent goodness of the doctrine, confounded sceptics by providing irrefutable proof of the Almighty at work.²¹

Thomas Trinder²² began his teaching career in Northampton as an assistant tutor at Ryland's Academy. He recounted that in 1757 at Cheltenham (Glos.) he 'first heard the gospel trumpet blown' in the delivery of a sermon about the conference between Nicodemus and Christ. Trinder's realisation of the power vested in the word 'regeneration' induced behavioural changes without which he would have been forever unhappy. For instance, he never again indulged in card-games, which he considered a spiritually bankrupt diversion. On reading criticisms of the Greek and Hebrew Testaments, and noticing in places a different translation, he determined to learn the two languages in order to exercise his own judgement. Trinder, who had been baptized at the age of 43, also by Ryland, became a deacon at the College Lane Chapel, Northampton, where he was described as 'an ornament to the name and profession of Christianity'.²³

The actions of several masters who were assiduous in promoting the public good bore the evangelical hallmark of Protestantism. Trinder was among 13 founders of Carey's Baptist Missionary Society and subscribed two guineas in each of the three years following its formation.²⁴ Doddridge was to the fore in establishing a hospital at Northampton in 1744. The Bishops Thomas Secker of Oxford and Isaac Maddox of Worcester corresponded with him about the project, which they regarded as a model for their respective cathedral cities.²⁵ Henry Woolley was the hospital's first secretary, a position he held for 20 years, and Thomas Bowles, the Brackley vicar/master was an early fund raiser.²⁶ The inaugural sermon, in All Saints Church, Northampton, was preached by

Grey, the Hinton rector/master, who took as his text:

Then shall the righteous answer unto him, saying, Lord when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee ? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in ? or naked, and cloathed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer and say unto them, verily I say unto you, in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

Sermons were preached at each anniversary, in 1745 by Thomas Holme, the Wellingborough vicar/master, and in 1747 by Hawley Bishop, the Crick rector/master.²⁷

The religious dimension to life loomed large for schoolmasters as a body, not merely for a few in the public gaze, though to Nonconformists it was profoundly significant, self-imposed and intense. The vast majority of grammar school masters such as Holme and, at Peterborough, Marshall and Mirehouse, were customarily in holy orders, and there was co-ordinated pressure on the teachers in elementary schools to exhibit a Christian lifestyle. In concert with the scrutiny of diocesan officialdom, and the checks implicit in the testimonial system, the SPCK perennially provided advice in the matter. A charity school master ought to be, 'A member of the Church of England, of a sober life and conversation .. one that frequents the Holy Communion; one that hath a good government of himself and his passions; one of a meek temper and humble behaviour; one who understands well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion and is able to give a good account thereof to the minister of the parish .. on examination'.²⁸

Masters of all ranks, when making their wills, reiterated the Protestant expectation of salvation. John Gawthorn, who taught privately in Wellingborough, wrote typically on 1 April 1702, 'Being sick and weak but of sound and perfect memory, praise be given to God .. first and principally I commend my soul to Almighty God my creator, assured that

by believing that I shall receive full pardon and free remission of all my sins and be saved by the precious death and merits of my blessed saviour and redeemer Christ Jesus, and my body to the earth..²⁹ Very similar sentiments were expressed by the Harrowden vicar/master Joshua Sheppard whose will is dated 9 September 1721,³⁰ and the Daventry usher Edward Atwell writing on 25 October 1733.³¹ John Shenston of Welton, who on his death-bed in 1734 described himself as 'Dissenting teacher', anticipated a place amidst God's 'chosen children in the world to come';³² Heyford's long-serving George Mobbs in 1756 wished his body to be decently interred, 'nothing doubting but at the general resurrection' he would regain 'the same .. by the mighty power of God',³³ and George Bottomley who taught in Empingham (Rut.) hoped in 1778 through the mediation of Jesus, 'to inherit eternal life'.³⁴

The evidence clearly shows that masters universally were sincere believers. Faith induced the most able and articulate to take action in Christ's name to alleviate the distress of their fellow men, and led all to supply a moral and religious tone to their teaching in the classroom.

PART 3 : THE FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL STANDING OF SCHOOLMASTERS.

Shortly after the Restoration, the social commentator Marchamont Nedham pointed out that to grammar school masters befell the duty of cultivating 'rude soil', or disposing youths to virtue and preparing them for public service 'against their natural inclinations'. He thought it unsurprising that few worthy men felt a vocation for teaching; indeed, it had to be assumed from the contemptible financial rewards and the negligible encouragement of parents, that those who taught were not acting spontaneously but were forced by an 'outward necessity of fortune or some other fatality'.³⁵ Mandeville, in his Fable was equally disparaging about the charity school master, arguing that he was 'not greatly qualified, as may be guessed by his salary'.³⁶

In the case of old endowed schools, salaries, once fixed by statute in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were rarely increased and were normally doled out to masters quarterly. Furthermore, they varied considerably. Kettering resident H.Perkins, in a 1675 communication to Oxford University's Christopher Wase, graded local schools familiar to him according to the size of annual stipend then given. At 'lately erected' Duddington it was £10; Burton Latimer, Harrowden Parva and Pytchley each paid £20; this was the sum allowed to the Guilsborough usher, with the head receiving £50.³⁷ During the eighteenth century, the unfortunate Brackley Grammar School masters Thomas Yeomans and John Young were paid £13.6..8, a sum determined in 1550. At Wellingborough, the salaries of John Troutbeck, Holme, William Proctor and James Gibbs, who held office for 21, 18, 36 and 20 years respectively, remained similar to the Brackley figure despite the increasing value of the land which sustained the town's grammar school. All six men of necessity engaged in the common practice of simultaneously holding various clerical appointments.³⁸

Only a few prestigious schools in the diocese were able, through bequests, to occasionally augment salaries along modest lines in the eighteenth century. It was at Oakham and Uppingham alone that the prospering foundation enabled the remuneration of both masters and ushers to be substantially improved, first in 1730 and again in 1745.³⁹ Ushers were often merely awaiting preferment. John Fancourt, whilst the Oakham assistant, held also the curacies of the Rutland parishes of Exton, Stretton and Teigh, which he surrendered on becoming the Uppingham master.⁴⁰ The financial position of ushers at the Northampton, Oundle and Peterborough Grammar Schools was indeed parlous. Their basic salaries compared unfavourably with those given at the charity schools of Kingsthorpe (master £12) and King's Cliffe (master £20, mistress £10). Though stipends generally were inadequate, their systematic payment on certain days in the year for periods sometimes stretching across centuries is remarkable,⁴¹ and at least afforded a valued measure of security to the recipients.

An array of devices was adopted to supplement the incomes of masters in the various establishments. Doddridge, in search of a linguist, offered '£24 per annum besides board and all accommodations but washing and firing for his own chamber and candles for his study, with the liberty of making what he can by teaching French and preaching abroad if he be a minister'. Richard Willis, the Higham Ferrers vicar/master had 'the offices of .. chaplain and governor of the hospital .. to make up his poor living'. The King's School's Marshall combined the posts of *ludimagister* and *hypodidascalus*, for which offence he was censured c.1740 by the dean and chapter, though the practice was reverted to by Robert Favell in 1773. Elsewhere, endowed grammar school masters charged pupils on admission, took in boarders and day fee payers above the number on the foundation, read prayers in return for an honorarium, acted as money lenders,

speculated in land and property, or exploited their literary talents. Perquisites included 'free commons', lodging allowance, a load of coal, the rent from letting a few acres of school land and, rarely, a pension. The several men, some of them able elementary school masters, who wrote teaching manuals no doubt found the exercise profitable.

The impression that teaching was an ill-rewarded profession, all of whose members struggled to make ends meet, is a popular one. However, local masters' extant wills, of which more than 50 have been scrutinized, reveal the financial standing of their authors, and surviving inventories provide details of worldly possessions. This evidence shows that there was no coherent pattern of wealth distribution, even within like groups. Plainly, too, many masters were sufficiently resourceful and thrifty to manage their monetary affairs successfully. Trinder was able to bequeath sums to the Baptist Missionary Society which, in the years 1795 to 1803, realised a total of £488.14.3. Yet the legacy was but a fourth part of the residue of his estate after the deduction of other gifts, one being £150 to the poor of College Lane Chapel 'so long as public worship .. upon the principles of .. Calvinism' continued. A fourth part was left to the most necessitous of ministers in his Northamptonshire and Leicestershire Association.⁴²

Shenston was one such Dissenter in dire financial straits who, with painstaking fairness, decreed in his will:

To my grandson, John Shenston, son of my son Richard, deceased, one shilling, and to his sister, Elizabeth, one shilling .. To my son, Henry, one shilling .. To my two grandsons, John Neal and Samuel Neal, five shillings apiece to buy each of them a Bible to keep in remembrance of me .. To my son, Robert, and his wife, one shilling apiece .. To my son, Samuel, and his wife, one shilling apiece .. To my grandson, Joseph Shenston, twenty shillings of ye forty shillings his father oweth me, and the other twenty shillings to his brother, John, and sister, Elizabeth, equally .. To my son, William, twenty shillings .. To my daughter, Rebecca Willison, two pounds .. To my daughter, Anne Brown, forty shillings .. The rest of my goods and chattels (debts paid) to my loving wife, and daughter Phebe.⁴³

The two roles of Anglican cleric and grammar school master were indeed closely interwoven from shortly after the Reformation but generalisations conceal marked differences in standards of living and accumulated wealth. John Morgan, the vicar of Warmington, was the competent head for 45 years until his death in 1781 of Fotheringhay Grammar School, which paid a meagre salary of £20 set in Elizabeth's day. The sum was released by yearly debenture at Michaelmas from the Exchequer to Northamptonshire's Deputy Receiver of Fee Farm Rents. In 1769 the aggrieved Morgan complained ineffectually to his governors because £1..3..8 in poundage and 2s..6^d 'for a bottle of wine' for officials had been deducted, leaving him with £18..13..10 'clear money'.⁴⁴

Morgan, who chose to describe himself in his 1779 will as a 'clerk', as some pluralists did, was actually a man of substance. He bequeathed to his daughter, Sarah, the portion of his 'estate lying .. within .. Yaxley (Hunts.) .. consisting of one farmhouse and other edifices and buildings ... belonging and adjoining, and 86 acres .. of arable ley meadow and fen lands .. which are more particularly .. specified in a certain deed of exchange made between the Right Honourable John Joshua Proby, Lord Carysfort in ... Ireland, and myself .. now in the occupation of Wright Squire Merchant or under tenant'. A tenement situated in High Street, Stamford (Lincs.), was to be made over to his wife, Alice, who was also to receive the sum of £200 and all household goods. Morgan left £400 to his son Richard, £200 to his son Nathaniel and £100 to his grandson John, and outlined arrangements for the collection of arrears of rent and interest on money lent. (See Fig.21). Others in the group of teaching rectors and vicars who in their wills referred to themselves as clerks, and were very comfortably placed in respect of land, property and money, included Joshua Sheppard and Abthorpe's Robert Porter.⁴⁵

John Morgan, 1779.

PDA, Peterborough Wills, 1758-1858

(unfol.) Ref. P5.

I JOHN MORGAN of the Parish of Northampton in the County of Northampton Clerk
 being of a Sound Mind and Memory (praised be God) do make herein and declare this my last Will and Testament in Manner and Form following
 That is to say. FIRST of all I will direct and appoint that my Funeral Charges and Lawful Debts be paid and discharged. Also I give
 devise and bequeath all that Part Share or Portion of my Estate Situate lying and being within the Parish and Precincts of Yaxley in the
 County of Huntingdon (and which hath not been already settled on my Daughter Bridget Bonny) consisting of one Farm-house and other
 Edifices and Buildings thereunto belonging and adjoining and rightly due Acres one Rod and thirty three Perches of Straddle by meadow and Ten
 Lands and which are more particularly mentioned and specified in a certain Deed of Exchange made between the right honorable John Selkue
 Esqy Lord High Sheriff in the Kingdom of Ireland and myself bearing Date the twenty fourth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one Thousand
 Seven hundred and Seventy nine, together with all and singular the Appurtenances to the said Estate belonging or in any wise appertaining and now
 or late in the Tenure or Occupation of Wright Esquire Merchant this Undersigned or Undertakers To my Daughter Sarah Morgan her Heirs and
 Assigns for ever. Also I give devise and bequeath all that my Mortgage or Tenement Situate Standing and being in the Town of Stamps in the County of
 Lincoln in a Street there called the high Street within the Parish and Precincts of Saint Michael and now or late in the Tenure or Occupation of my Son
 William Morgan with all and singular the Appurtenances to the same belonging or in any wise appertaining to my beloved Wife Alice Morgan for and during
 the Term of her natural Life and from and after her Decease I give devise and bequeath all the said Mortgage or Tenement with all and singular its
 Appurtenances to my Son Nathaniel Morgan his Heirs and Assigns for ever. Also I give and bequeath unto my said Son Nathaniel Morgan the Sum
 of two hundred Pounds to be paid him within the Space of twelve Calendar Months next after the Decease of my said Wife Alice Morgan. Also I give
 and bequeath unto my Son Richard Morgan the Sum of five hundred Pounds to be paid him by my Executrix herein expressed within the Space
 of twelve Calendar Months after the Decease of my said Wife Alice Morgan. Also I give and bequeath unto my Grandson John Morgan eldest Son of the
 said William Morgan the Sum of one hundred Pounds to be paid within the Space of twelve Calendar Months next after the Decease of my said Wife Alice
 Morgan by my said Executrix unto the Hands of my Son in Law Henry My Bonny Clerk (whose Acquittance shall be a full Discharge for the same) to be by
 him put out and lent upon Interest for the Use and Benefit of my said Grandson John Morgan during his Minority. Also I further give and bequeath unto my
 said Wife Alice Morgan the Sum of two hundred Pounds and all my Household Goods of what Kind or Quality soever. Also All and singular the Rights and
 Remainders of my Personal Estate I give and dispose of in the following Manner and Form, That is to say, I give and bequeath all the Arrears of Interest
 Money due at this Arraers of Rent that shall be due and owing to me at the Time of my Decease to my said Wife Alice Morgan. Also I further give and
 bequeath to my said Wife Alice Morgan all the Interest and Income of Interest that shall accrue and become due and owing for Principal Money lent by or
 upon Interest and during the Term of her natural Life, and from and after the Decease of my said Wife Alice Morgan I will devise and direct that the said Principal
 Money be called in by my said Executrix and the said Legacies above bequeathed to him with paid and discharged, and after the said Legacies and the Expenses of
 proving this my last Will and Testament are paid and discharged, if any Deep Bar shall remain out of my Personal Estate or Money lent upon Interest, I give
 and bequeath the same to my three Sons the said Nathaniel Morgan Richard Morgan and William Morgan to be equally divided between them Share and
 Share alike. And lastly I nominate constitute and appoint my said Daughter Sarah Morgan sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament hereby
 revoking and disannulling all other and former Wills and Wills by me heretofore made. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and seal
 this Twelfth Day of October in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy nine.

John Morgan

Signed sealed published and declared by the above named
 George Griffiths George Bonny
 Secy. Am. d. 1779

A full inventory drawn up in 1715 of the belongings of Brackley's Yeomans, the vicar of Evenley, portrays a lifestyle not so well-to-do but nevertheless free from hardship. (See Fig.22). Genteel respectability seems to have been the lot, also, of Towcester Grammar School's Ralph Robinson who in his will dated 13 March 1741/2 disposed of sums totalling just £16..11..6 but nominated close relatives to have his candle-stick, spoons, salt-cellars, spurs and watch, all of which were made of silver.⁴⁶ The inventories of grammar school teacher/clerks James Wight of Pytchley (1706), Harold Milner of Daventry (1711) and Moses Loveday of Brackley (1723), ranging in value between £20-£30, are similarly indicative of an unpretentious scale of living.⁴⁷

Several of the men who in their wills unequivocally used the title 'schoolmaster' to describe themselves, and appear neither to have taken holy orders nor to have been in receipt of an endowed salary, were evidently successful financially. Gawtharn, for instance, whose affairs were complex, in 1702 left to his eldest son John 'estate at Earls Barton of lands, houses, close and spinney' then in the tenure of a Mr. James, conditionally upon payment of two legacies, viz: to a second son William, at 21 years, 'four score pounds' and to daughter Elizabeth, at 21 years, 'three score and ten pounds'. His wife as executrix was empowered to recover the sums of money he had 'lent upon bond with the interest due' to Timothy Taylor, a Wellingborough dyer, and 'to Mrs. Adwidge of Kettering upon mortgage', and use the same partly to put their two sons 'apprentices when they be capable thereof'. Among other bequests, Gawtharn gave ten shillings each to his brother and sister for the purchase of mourning rings.⁴⁸ Thomas Brafield of Houghton Parva, in his will dated 18 March 1725/6, gave to Mary Luddington 'forty pounds for her waiting on me'. It is unlikely that Brafield had connections with the village's free school because his 'estate in lands, commons (and) pasture', with the 'house' in

'INVENTORY OF THOMAS YEOMANS, CLERK, 9 OCTOBER 1715'.Source : PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.456.

	£ ..	S ..	D
Wearing apparel and ready money.	5 ..	0 ..	0
Arrears of his stipends.	22 ..	0 ..	0
In the parlour one jack, one iron grate, one pair of hand irons, one cupboard, three tables, one screen, five chairs, one bacon rack and some pictures.	2 ..	5 ..	0
In the woodhouse some wood, two barrels, some bottles and a bottle rack.	1 ..	0 ..	6
In the orchard two ricks of hay.	6 ..	0 ..	0
Barley.	9 ..	0 ..	0
In the hall eleven pewter dishes, one dozen plates, one bason.	1 ..	5 ..	0
1 skimmer.	1 ..	10 ..	0
1 jack and weights.		15 ..	0
3 pairs of fire tongues, 1 fire shovel, 2 pairs hand irons, 2 pairs of links, 2 spits, 1 fender.		8 ..	0
1 table, 8 chairs and other lumber.		7 ..	6
In the kitchen 1 furnace, some coal and wooden lumber.	2 ..	0 ..	0
In the stable 1 old horse, 4 saddles and some faggots.	3 ..	8 ..	0
In the buttery 4 barrels, 1 old cupboard 1 beam and scales.		15 ..	0
In the hall chamber 1 feather bed, bedstead, bedding, curtains and valance	2 ..	5 ..	0
1 ?hanging press, 4 chairs, 1 pair of bellows and 1 pair of hand irons.		13 ..	0
In the little chamber 1 clock.	1 ..	5 ..	0

1 flock bed, bedstead and bedding.	6 .. 0
1 chest, 1 little table, 2 chairs.	5 .. 6
In the woodhouse chamber 2 old feather beds) and bedding, curtains and valance.)	2 .. 10 .. 0
1 flock bed and bedding.	12 .. 0
1 table, 2 old trunks, 3 straw hives.	16 .. 0
In the parlour chamber 1 feather bed,) bedding, bedstead, curtains and valance.)	2 .. 10 .. 0
1 chest of drawers, 1 table, 6 chairs,) 1 Dutch table board.)	16 .. 0
1 pair of hand irons.	3 .. 6
4 pairs of sheets.	2 .. 0 .. 0
4 table cloths, 12 napkins and some other) linen.)	15 .. 6
Books in the study.	5 .. 0 .. 0
An old pump.	1 .. 0 .. 0
	<hr/>
TOTAL	76 .. 11 .. 6

which he lived went to Thomas Tingey of Northampton, 'Dissenting teacher and my pastor'.⁴⁹ Culworth's William Robins, 'ancient and infirm' when making his will in 1744, bequeathed £60 to 'kinswoman Mary Gardner' who was to have £40 more if she pre-deceased her husband. Robins listed a further 16 separate bequests, amounting to £105, including one of '£5 to the poor of Culworth'.⁵⁰ John Hogg, who kept a school in Northampton, in his 1778 will named six beneficiaries who were to receive either £20 or £30 each, and left seven guineas to his 'usher and assistant Camp. Jones'.⁵¹

However, the material circumstances of a comparatively high proportion of those whose income was derived solely from schoolmastering were unenviable. The wills, typically, of William Friend of Byfield (1742), Isaac Baxter of Old (1743), Robert West of Long Buckby (1752), John Underwood of Raunds (1767) and John Summerfield of Wellingborough (1793), bear the signatures of executors who had sworn before the surrogate that the testator 'was not possessed of goods to the value of £20'. Several men in this group, such as John Eales of Cold Higham (1760), the father of five sons and three daughters, coped somehow with the problem of rearing large families. The occasional use of grandiose verbosity, as by George Nunns of Weekley (1757), does not disguise poverty. To each of his two children, daughter Hannah and son Samuel, he bequeathed one shilling.⁵²

Finally, there was a small number of men locally who, in their wills, specifically mentioned a second occupation in addition to teaching. Thomas Beaver (1737), for example, was a Northampton 'baker and schoolmaster' who besides leaving to his wife Martha all his 'goods, chattels, book debts and stock, instructed circumspectly that various bequests be paid four years after his death'.⁵³ Another was Thomas West (the father of Robert) who for many years was both schoolmaster and surgeon at Long Buckby. He would make 'no provision for the maintenance of' his wife Sarah, he wrote

in his 1739 will, being so 'satisfied .. of the mutual love, duty and affection subsisting between' son and mother. He doubted not that Robert would 'find .. during her life necessaries of all sorts suitable and convenient for her degree, rank and quality, in lieu of such claim as she might otherwise have had'.⁵⁴ Again, eloquence did not match reality. The estates of Beaver and Thomas West were also worth less than £20. Sarah West, bereaved twice in the span of a few years, had to manage as best she could on the unimproved inheritance. Combining another trade with the part-time running of a school was more likely an unavoidable expedient than a sure formula for growing rich.

Wills, often written or dictated at the supremely important moment when life is ebbing away, demand a concentration of attention to achieve exactitude, and are therefore a most reliable barometer of economic fortune. They illustrate graphically the social and financial standing of men who, either full-time or part-time, taught in the eighteenth century. The profession encompassed the publicly eminent who, having built up a reputable academy, or a private or an endowed school, had servants and consorted easily with the nobility; the extensive range of 'grammar school masters' whose revealed incomes strip some of the ambiguity from the title; an assortment of assistants or ushers down to those diverse types (including two who could only make their mark at the point of death) who kept school in the broad elementary sector, which can be thought of as embracing a number of 'decayed' grammar schools.

PART 4 : LEISURE PURSUITS: INTEREST SHOWN
IN BOOKS; 'GOOD WORKS' AND POLITICS;
SIGHTSEEING.

The incidence of book ownership was certainly high among masters, even those otherwise impoverished. Of the men already mentioned, John Eales, Moses Loveday, Ralph Robinson, Thomas West, James Wight and Thomas Yeomans typically referred in their wills to a collection of 'books in the study'. The value of a library, often bequeathed to a son, was invariably estimated in inventories to be around five pounds, a not insignificant proportion of the deceased's estate. However, only rarely, as in the case of Harold Milner, were executors sufficiently diligent to list the titles of books,⁵⁵ though William Chown did advise this. He wrote in his will, dated 21 May 1819: 'I devise a catalogue may be made of my books, and that they may be sold by some eminent bookseller at the prices fixed'. Chown estimated that the books were worth approximately £100,⁵⁶ but whether his wish was realised is not known.

Where a public library existed, the schoolmaster was seen as the most appropriate person in the community to place in charge. William Law decreed the arrangements at his King's Cliffe foundation thus:

The lending library in the schoolhouse, consisting of books of piety in English, are to be under the care of the schoolmaster ... The other small library, consisting of Hebrew, Greek and Latin Bibles, and a choice collection of the most spiritual Christian writers in the learned and foreign languages, is also to be under the care of the schoolmaster, for the use and benefit of the neighbouring clergy ...⁵⁷

A catalogue drawn up in 1753 listed 187 volumes each inscribed, 'Belonging to the school at King's Cliffe', and it is known that the custodians carried out their duties faithfully for the next century at least. Typical of the English books in the two libraries, which eventually merged, were John Bunyan's The Barren Fig Tree (1728), Gilbert Burnet's A Discourse of the Pastoral Care, 3rd edn (1713) and George Monro's An Essay on Christian Education, Showing the Necessity and Advantage of Reading Christian

Authors in Grammar Schools; Humbly Offered to Parents and Schoolmasters (1712).⁵⁸ Such reading matter as this, patently religious in nature, dominates the lists of books thought 'fit to be put into the hands of the masters' of charity schools, which were published annually by the SPCK.⁵⁹

Authorship was commonly resorted to by local masters. Many, referred to elsewhere in this text, specialized in writing school-books for use by the various age and ability groups in different areas of the curriculum. A score of others, capitalizing on their expertise, produced scholarly works. For example, Edward Lye, the Houghton Parva vicar/master, published with additions the Etymologicum Anglicanum (1743) of Francis Junius, from the manuscript in the Bodleian Library, and in 1750 a Gothic version of the gospels.⁶⁰ Courteenhall's Peter Whalley edited The Works of Ben Jonson in Seven Volumes (1756) and the first volume of John Bridges's History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire (1762), besides publishing several essays.⁶¹ Doddridge found the time to compose hymns, a first edition being published in 1755 after his death, though he considered his efforts in this literary form 'artless'.⁶²

Verse was a popular mode of expression for masters of all ranks, and the topics chosen varied immensely. Cowper submitted the following scientific conundrum to the mathematical section of the Ladies' Diary in 1750:

Near Albion's centre, in Northamptonshire
Where bleating flocks on every side appear,
Stands Wellingborough, known to ancient kings,
For mineral waters, and salubrious springs;
Here, wholesome air, and a rich soil is found,
With crops luxuriant here the fields abound.
The south-east side the River Nen glides thro',
And spires beyond admiring travellers view.
Three neighbouring ones, which I shall here disclose,
Shaded my cottage as bright Phoebus rose.
Strait from my house, next Higham o'er the plains,

I measur'd twenty four of Gunter's chains;
 Where at sun-rise on the solstitial days
 Irchester spire obscures the solar rays.
 On February's 'leventh, the rising sun display'd
 On the same spot, a view of Rushden's shade.
 If lines from Rushden and from hence be drawn,
 They will at Higham a right-angle form;
 Each spire's true distance from my house⁶³ explore,
 Counting refraction minutes thirty four.

On another occasion, when using the same poetic vehicle to offer paternal advice to his children, Cowper disclosed his acceptance of the view that natural disasters were the acts of a vengeful God:

Soon as the sun his orient beams displays,
 And in your room darts his refulgent rays,
 Let praises from each grateful heart ascend
 To our Creator, Benefactor, Friend,
 For his protection through the shades of night,
 From accidents and dangers which affright,
 From corruscations, earthquakes and from fire,
 (Which sometimes are permitted in his ire),
 From death and sickness, and from racking pain,
 And lets you still in balmy health remain;
 The greatest blessing we on earth can find,
 Except contentment and true peace of mind.
 Then God address (in supplicative way),
 For preservation from those ills each day;
 And that you may be kept from vice and sin,
 And all things that may give offence to him;
 If daily thus you for those blessings crave,
 No doubt you will his approbation have.⁶⁴

Typical of the grammar school and private classical masters who applied themselves to metrical composition were, respectively, Northampton head Samuel Rogers and Oundle curate John Farrer. The former's first volume of poems and the latter's 'The Trial of Abraham', a 'dramatic poem with choral songs on the model of a Greek tragedy', were both advertised in local newspapers.⁶⁵ Serious rhymesters among the elementary school masters included Chown and Weedon Beck's Benjamin West, whose published compilations bore similar titles. To help defray his costs of publication West secured several hundred subscribers, amongst whom were members of the aristocracy, masters of dissenting academies, attorneys, scholars at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, clergymen, and

schoolmasters throughout England. Local men in the last category formed an incongruous assemblage; Joseph Arlidge of Towcester, Thomas Comfield of Guilsborough, William Daniell of Crick, Thomas Sarjeant of Northampton, Joseph Harrald, the usher at Titus Wadsworth's Daventry establishment, and Jeremiah Jackson, the Uppingham head.⁶⁶

In his Introduction to the miscellany, West modestly declared, 'With respect to the translations, I freely confess my knowledge of the classics to be very superficial'. The contents are fustian in the fashion of the day, a typical entry being 'Chloe's Absence'. The first two verses ran thus:

Ye mossy founts! ye bubbling rills!
Ye flow'r - enamel'd meads!
Ye woods! ye lawns! ye vales! ye hills!
And sweet inviting shades!
Tho' now replete with vernal charms
Ye strike the wond'ring sight;
While Chloe's absent from my arms
Ye yield me no delight.

Tho' Flora, with her blushing train
Of roses, decks the bow'rs,
And paints the teeming earth again
With vari'gated flow'rs! -
Tho' feather'd warblers to the skies
Chant the melodious lay,
I Chloe's absence mourn in sighs,
And thus to wind I pray:⁶⁷

Two poems entitled, 'On the Departure of an inhuman Task-Master', and 'On viewing the body of a murdered Infant', differ markedly because they constitute social comment.⁶⁸

This stirring of conscience was not confined to West. A passion for social advancement as has been shown was characteristic of local masters, to whom Holmes's summary of a predilection among professional men to develop amenities, aptly applies:

(They) are to be found interesting themselves, and often taking the lead in, for example, town planning; the improvement of water supplies; the promotion of river navigation schemes; the founding of charity schools. But at the same time we also find them patronizing local music societies and assemblies; by their own private leisure interests making their neighbourhood a place to be sought out by visiting

antiquarians, virtuosi, bibliophiles and collectors; and either delivering, organizing, or subscribing to all manner of those courses of public lectures to which the educated Englishman of the early eighteenth century was growing so addicted - lectures on natural philosophy, or trigonometry, mechanics or hydrostatics, on geography, on anatomy (a particular source of fascination), and so on.

Further to the masters already mentioned in this context, Thomas Holme served as a Justice of the Peace from 1769 and Henry Woolley, besides acting as the hospital's first secretary was a Northampton Alderman and, as clerk to the River Nene Commissioners, kept the minutes in a fine hand. (See Fig.23).

The propensity of schoolmasters to be of use to their communities in ways additional to teaching was allied to an active interest in politics. Doddridge, in a letter dated 25 November 1733, to a noted fellow Nonconformist, John Barker, discussed the approaching Parliamentary election candidly: 'The conduct of Lord Halifax some years ago, in opposing Mr. Walmer (William Wilmer), the darling of all the Dissenters, in favour of a gentleman who .. proved a staunch Tory, disgusted them'. Doddridge had brought 'most of the Dissenters here to so good a temper' that their influence could not be ignored by the prospective candidates for the two Northampton seats. With regard to the county of Northamptonshire, whose 'affairs (were) not yet determined', he was composing a 'list of all the Dissenters who have votes' and wanted his 'brethren' to 'do the like'.⁷⁰ The Anglican clergy, of whom Richard Grey was a diocesan representative in Convocation, also played a significant role in the 1734 election.⁷¹

The individual preferences of the Northampton electorate in some elections are known though the samples of masters are too small to draw meaningful conclusions. Of six who were enfranchised in 1774, five including Hogg and Trinder voted for the successful candidates, the Rt. Hon. Wilbraham Tollemache and Sir George Robinson. The unsuccessful third candidate, Sir James Langham, descendant of the founder of

1758
April 24th

at a Meeting of the Commis^{rs} 35
held by Adjournment at the Guild
Hall in Northampton this 24th day
of April 1758

Present

Charles Isham, John Harvey Thurbur Jun^r Esq^r
Mr Eason, Mr Rogers, Rev^d Mr Frost,
Mr Ald Gibson, Mr W Hopkins, Mr Mayor,
Mr Biny Hill Jun^r.

The Committee attended, and reported that they had
not yet thoroughly considered Mr Case's Estimate
for undertaking carrying on and Completing this
Navigation upon the scheme of the Locks for
Penning of two Vessels, and therefore desired a
farther time for considering the same; accordingly
the Commissioners Adjourned to this Place till
Thursday next the 27th day
of April next at Eleven of the
Clock in the Forenoon.

H Woolley
Clerk

Fig.23. Handwriting of Henry Woolley,
clerk to the River Nene
Commissioners, 1758.
NRO, Minute Book 1. Ref. Nene 2.

Cottesbrooke School (1651), who was unpopular with Nonconformists, attracted the single vote of John Smith. In 1784, six masters can again be identified as entitled to cast two votes each. They predominantly favoured the Rt. Hon. Charles, Lord Compton, who topped the poll, and Lord Lucan who however, was beaten into third place by Fiennes Trotman.⁷²

Finally, whilst the interest of schoolmasters in writing, book-reading, 'good works' and politics can be amply verified, there are very few accounts specifying which simple pleasures occupied their leisure hours. Because Doddridge's life is so fully documented it is known that conventional sightseeing held intrinsic appeal, and in this respect he was probably not atypical. Often accompanied by one or more of his students, he went on tour during the summer vacations recording what had proved absorbing in letters home. On visits to London in 1734 and 1735 he viewed, for example, Sir Hans Sloane's collection of curiosities and Hogarth's paintings, and walked in Pope's gardens at Twickenham. In the south-west in 1742 he found the scenery engrossing, one day taking 'a voyage on the Sound' at Plymouth, and the next 'dancing in a little boat on the swelling sea and afterwards feeding a tame bear with bisket'. A week later he admitted to having been 'six several times wet to the skin' in 'the delightful countrey of Devonshire'. This he penned from Lymington (Hants.) which he considered 'the politest and most agreeable little town'. In other years he enjoyed being shown round Wilton House (Wilts.), marvelled at Ely and Salisbury Cathedrals, sought out Shakespeare's tomb at Stratford-on-Avon (Warwicks.) and journeyed to Castle Rising (Norf.), 'the finest old ruin' he had encountered.⁷³ However, whatever fleetingly attracted Doddridge's attention when travelling, his letters betray the expected consuming affection for his wife, Mercy, and their children. The well-being of the family circle was of central importance to many schoolmasters as the sentiments expressed in their wills show.

PART 5 : A CONSIDERATION OF 'PROFESSIONALISM'.

Holmes contends that such was the 'tangled thicket' of schools in Augustan England that an accurate figure of those who taught 'is bound to be elusive in the present state of research, and it may never be attainable'.⁷⁴ In respect of the Peterborough diocese the names of some 730 men and 1 woman who taught between the years 1561 and 1688 have been recovered,⁷⁵ whilst from the Glorious Revolution to the end of the eighteenth century the identities of some 680 masters and some 90 mistresses are now to hand (See Appendix 2), though a systematic search of parish registers would yield further teachers for each period. This can hardly be termed the dramatic increase canvassed by Holmes, and his claim that with each succeeding decade after 1700 'it became more and more the exception for teachers outside the grammar schools and large urban public schools' to seek the formal imprimatur of the licence,⁷⁶ does not apply locally.

So far as the humbler sort (whose credentials might superficially appear to be of questionable value) are concerned, episcopal involvement in the selection process ensured a high degree of supervision. Two criteria of worth were adopted, namely unblemished character and ability to perform duties satisfactorily. Additionally, the strict guidelines issued by the SPCK regarding lifestyle and competence were often wedded to an individual school's regulation that a master be able 'to write and cypher well', as at Kingsthorpe. Certainly the penmanship of many elementary school masters, evident from their subscriptions, was particularly free and elegant.⁷⁷ William Law, at King's Cliffe, envisaged that when a vacancy occurred there would be several applicants, necessitating the trustees to make a choice by ballot, thus ensuring high standards.

There are few ways of checking whether many men turned to schoolkeeping as a last resort as Lawson and Silver suggest.⁷⁸ The two local masters who made a mark when signing their wills were John Lovell in 1760 and John Underwood in 1767. It seems unlikely that the former could not write. He was nominated in 1744 by Pattishall trustees William Bell, yeoman, and William Manning, woolbuyer, was stated to be 'a literate person' by the licensing diocesan official, held the endowed post for 16 years and regularly appeared at visitation. Furthermore, this was the parish where Thomas Coleman Welch was vicar from 1742.⁷⁹ Little is known of Underwood, who taught at Raunds, beyond the fact that he disposed of a cottage, three roods of arable land in the common fields and one acre elsewhere. Both men may have been too infirm to produce a signature. Governors themselves occasionally dealt a blow to professional pretentiousness. The minister and churchwardens of Old, when advertising for a master in 1780, deemed that 'if he can SHAVE will meet with the more encouragement'.⁸⁰ It can be supposed that generally teaching was less of a casual occupation for town elementary masters than their colleagues in the villages. The dubiety surrounding those few men who practised a second trade is matched by the respectability conferred on others who doubled as parish clerk, for example Peter Carey at Paulerspury and Richard Fifield at Bodington.

The masters of grammar schools demonstrably formed a sizeable but not readily cohesive group, since a tiny minority of establishments after 1688 remained exclusively classical on the sixteenth century model. Local men invariably were well qualified academically. The LL B, MA and BA degrees respectively of Joseph Weedon (Pytchley 1725), John Fisher (usher, King's School 1756) and John Bullivant jun. (Clipston 1768), recorded when they subscribed, were typical. The incidence of rectors and vicars simultaneously serving as schoolmasters, as these three did, was particularly

marked in the Peterborough diocese. Combining teaching with a cure of souls seems a sensible step for a cleric to take in a country having a powerful Established Church, although founders were hostile to the practice. William Aylworth, for instance, stipulated in 1661 that no master at the Harrowden Parva and Pytchley Schools should at the same time benefit from a Church living,⁸¹ yet the rule was being contravened at both within a few years of his death.

Some pluralists no doubt viewed a mastership as a sinecure. It could be significant that several men in the late seventeenth century began teaching after holding an ecclesiastical benefice for some years. Typical were Henry Gray, the rector of Heyford from March 1678/9, who secured a licence to teach there in June 1683, and Timothy Rainbow, Plumpton's rector from 1681, who taught at Preston Capes from July 1692 for seven years at least. Whether the proximity of an endowed school prompted their actions is a matter of speculation. However, motivated to keep school in places where there was no endowment were such incumbents as William Fowler while at Cranford, Valentine Booth in Clay Coton and Strixton's George Harding. The emergence of a body of orthodox schoolmasters is possibly indicative of disenchantment with Puritan zeal.

Pluralists lent stability to the educational scene because the two stipends induced them to remain in office. Many, including Joshua Sheppard, Booth, Fowler, Waring at the King's School, and Uppingham's John Savage taught successfully despite their various responsibilities. Conversely the commitment of pluralists, and hence their effectiveness as promoters of learning, invited question. They were blamed, for example, for the temporary failure of the King's School in the 1720s. More serious were complaints against the clerical bird of passage motivated by greed, such as William Morel, who for 40 years pocketed a portion of the Harrowden teaching salary to the annoyance of the local inhabitants.⁸²

Disliked, too, were newly ordained men who taught briefly before launching into a Church career proper. Typically, Nathaniel Weston, briefly the Oakham usher, was made a deacon in September 1706 and given the curacy of Normanton (Rut.) the same month. He became rector of Whitwell (Rut.) in 1718, vicar of Exton (Rut.) in 1721 and vicar of Campden (Glos.) in 1743.⁸³ The pattern of employment among the Oakham ushers was distinct. Weston, Bass, Goodall, Tanner and Ball constituted an ephemeral breed, most of whom taught as a stopgap, thereby contributing little to the standing of the profession.

Though all the eighteenth century heads of Oakham and Uppingham were in holy orders, the contrasting fortunes of each school hinged directly on quality of leadership. Uppingham declined sharply in results and reputation after the death of Savage in 1721, being under the charge of a sequence of undistinguished masters. At Oakham on the contrary, Wright was erudite and gifted, while Adcock's personality impressed both his scholars and Rutland's influential. The turning-point for Uppingham came with the arrival in 1757 of Knapp. From then on, for some years, the positions were reversed. During his stay 19 boys were awarded Exhibitions, a considerable improvement on what his three predecessors had achieved. A later Uppingham head, the forceful and respected Jackson, was an innovator. For example, he encouraged drama, notably introducing his pupils to the plays of Shakespeare, and instituted 'speech-days'.⁸⁴ The pluralist who held several offices in order to boost his income was not therefore condemned outright for resorting to the practice. It was the man who took a salary and was then neglectful, the perpetual absentee, and the teacher of lesser calibre who generated disenchantment.

The very titles of masters, whether adopted personally or applied by diocesan registrars, have connotations of status; here is an unexplored avenue of research. Blisworth's William Adkins was at different times

called *pedagogus*, usher, schoolmaster and teacher. The last two titles were used on occasion to describe the King's School head, Thomas Bradfield, as were *archididascalus* and *ludimagister*. The popular appellations, plus a variety including *hypodidascalus*, *informator* and *gymnasiarch*, seem at a glance to be indicative of professional hierarchism.

In many cases teaching roles can be identified from the form of address. However, fashion played a part; the Latin terms which were used exclusively in the sixteenth century gradually fell from favour. Subscriptions reflect the decreasing importance of the language and the consequent need for schoolmasters to review their repertoire of skills. Between 1690 and 1700 in the Peterborough diocese, 12 men subscribed, all of them in Latin. In the first four decades of the eighteenth century, 56 men subscribed in Latin while 50 subscribed in English. From 1741 to 1804, 67 men pledged their loyalty, all in the mother tongue.

The male and female teachers who staffed the wide range of private schools and academies lived by a crude commercial yardstick. They had no alternative but to render a service acceptable to those who patronized them. As to the local men, the length of time they operated in one place testifies to public satisfaction. Furthermore, many were evidently not merely able but combined an abiding sense of fitness for the schoolroom with a truly professional concern for the advancement of education. The Dissenters in particular displayed an interest in academic theory. In a letter dated 3 October 1721 to Doddridge, Samuel Clark sen., father of the usher, commented: 'Mr. Locke's Essay is so useful to direct the mind .. that methinks it should have been read before you went upon pneumatics'. Two months later Doddridge replied that he was 'not an utter stranger to that excellent book' and that 'the greater part of our logic is built upon it. In the beginning of pneumatology we had frequent occasion to consult him, and it was by my tutor's advice that I deferred reading him entirely over till

this half year'.⁸⁵ Such was Doddridge's renown that in 1744 the statutes of Hertford College, Oxford, then newly incorporated, were sent to him for perusal and criticism before publication.⁸⁶ David Fordyce, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, likewise submitted his Dialogues on Education (1745) to Doddridge for correction.⁸⁷

Ryland, in his Address to ingenuous youth, listed the select books that would 'shorten (the) path to learning and strew it with flowers'. Chiefly recommended were Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690), Watts's Improvement of the Mind (1741) and 'John Clark's Essay on Study'.⁸⁸ Ryland possessed the intellectual stature to challenge the deists David Hume and Rousseau. Showing the depth of his reading, he maintained that the former had been 'fully answered by the late Dr. Leland in his View of the Deistical Writers, Vol.11, and by the Rev. Mr. Richard Price, FRS, in his Dissertations', while the latter had been 'effectually confuted by one of his own countrymen and fellow citizens, Dr. Claparede, Professor of Divinity at Geneva'.⁸⁹

Ryland naturally disapproved of the broad views on upbringing expressed by Rousseau, refuted in this passage:

The gospel ... with the most exquisite delicacy and wisdom, teaches us to confess the depravity of our own nature, and the rectitude and beauty of the divine; to acknowledge the holiness of the law, and cover ourselves with shame, for all our deviations from the wise and excellent order of heaven - it inspires us with sentiments of veneration for the excellencies of God; and obliges us to see and own the transcendent beauty of his perfections,⁹⁰ as the object of our choicest thoughts and highest esteem.

Ryland's Address included a plea for the increased professionalism of schoolmasters who needed to more 'accommodate themselves to the capacity and taste of enquirers after truth', and also to better their communication skills.⁹¹

Either he, or a like-minded acquaintance drafted the following advertisement:

On Friday, the 30th inst. December, will be held at the Dolphin Inn, in Gold Street, Northampton, A MEETING OF SCHOOLMASTERS, to consult on proper measures for the improvement of knowledge, especially in the conveying instruction to youth; those that please to encourage this undertaking with their presence and advice, will be so good as to be at the said Inn at ten in the forenoon of the same day, bringing with them such regulations and articles as they think will tend most to promote useful knowledge; that, from their various schemes, proper information may be obtained, and such regulations and articles made as may best answer the end.⁹²

Unfortunately, the outcome of the meeting, a worthy attempt to improve curriculum content and teaching methodology, is not known.

Holmes remarks that when A.F. Leach wrote of the eighteenth century as 'the age of long scholastic reigns' he meant it pejoratively, conjuring up an image of schools everywhere fossilising under the rods of incompetent greybeards. That continuity might signify satisfied parents on the one hand, and dedicated masters on the other, did not occur to him.⁹³ In the Peterborough diocese the charlatans, such as Finedon's Lee, and Osbourn at Preston Capes, were quickly dealt with. There is a great deal of incidental evidence which suggests that the conscientious and mentally alert Gray at Heyford was much more representative. When a tessellated Roman pavement was discovered in the village he was on hand carefully measuring and recording; he subsequently presented his sketches to the local historian, Morton.⁹⁴

Fulsome memorials to many masters including Jethro King, Robinson Lawford, Moses Loveday, William Manning, Charles Steward, Robert Styles, William Waring, Joseph Wasse and Thomas Coleman Welch, can be seen in their respective parish churches.⁹⁵ Other tangible tributes, to able teachers in every kind of establishment who won the good will and gratitude of the communities they served, are commonplace. In the belfry of Blisworth church is a wooden tablet commemorating Robert Watson, who

died in 1794 aged 54. It reads, 'In teaching the rising generation he was respected in his station'. John Van, the Ecton master for 40 years who died aged 75 in 1811, is buried in the churchyard adjoining his school which still stands. The inscription on his headstone, of expensive Leicestershire slate, describes him as, 'A tender husband, an affectionate father, an honest man and a sincere Christian'. A quotation from Psalm 37, 'Behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace', is followed by pious verses which complete his epitaph:

I hear the voice, 'Ye dead arise',
And lo! the graves obey,
And walking saints, with joyful eyes,
Salute th'expected day.

O! may my humble spirit stand
Among them, cloth'd in white.
The meanest place at his right hand
Is infinite delight.

Samuel Rogers, the Northampton Grammar School master was awarded the freedom of the borough in 1767 'as a public testimony of that esteem which his singular diligence and assiduity in the duties of his profession fully deserve'.⁹⁶ The Northampton Mercury of 9 January 1790 contains this notice of the decease of Martha Trinder:

On Wednesday last died Mrs. M. Trinder who, for 24 years, presided with prudence, tenderness and affection over a boarding school of young ladies in this town. Among many other endearing and domestic virtues, she possessed the difficult, but happy art of conciliating the fondest affections of the young people entrusted to her care at the same time that she was assiduously improving their minds, and implanting those excellent principles which at this moment render so many of them good and virtuous characters. That she was a kind and tender wife; a sensible and faithful friend; a neighbour ever ready to assist and oblige; the tears and regret her death has occasioned will more fully evince than the strongest language can ever express.

Plaques were erected in the College Lane Chapel honouring both Mr. and Mrs. Trinder. Of her, it was further recorded, in part:

Favoured with a quick and penetrating mind ..
Under the control of sound reason, and a solid judgement;
Actuated by strict integrity and holy fear;
She was peculiarly fitted for her station
As a tutress of female youth,
And for all the relations of social and Christian life,
Which she adorned with the most exemplary conduct,
In her Christian warfare,
She was often perplexed, though not in despair...⁹⁷

Thomas, who died in 1794, was portrayed simply as 'a valuable member of society'.

Short summary.

Much is known therefore about the members of the embryonic profession who nevertheless defy simple classification. Wadsworth at Daventry, for example, built a reputation as the proprietor of a successful boarding school yet he subscribed, paid procuration fees, and was recorded by the Church authorities in 1779 as being master of the town's 'charity school'. The skills of a number of teachers were highly specialized. Mention might be made of John Noble who taught gunnery and fortification, George Wright who advertised harpsichord tuition, Anthony Moreau who offered swordsmanship and defence, and Monsieur Foulques who instructed the nobility and gentry in the French language. The function of teaching obviously touched the social order at many points, as opposed in former times, to meeting the needs of a small leisured class only. Society was changing rapidly and becoming much more intricate. Many schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, discerning the interests of the differently cultured groupings, were opportunistic in providing the required services.

If teachers in the diocese were not substantially more numerous than in the seventeenth century, they had a sharper public profile, they possessed a greater variety of talents and they were concentrated in the towns which became centres of intense educational activity. Inevitably, the financial rewards of teachers were dissimilar. The entrepreneurial types earned a

good living compared to their colleagues in the endowed schools, while others were content to stay clear of pecuniary embarrassment. Teachers as a body exhibited certain characteristics. They developed fruitful schoolroom strategies to which bibliophilism was central; their own volumes ranged from the utilitarian and scholastic to the collection of elegaic effusions. They were practical in taking their civic responsibilities seriously, being impelled to do Christ's work. The biblical quotation chosen for Trinder's epitaph, 'He was a faithful man and feared God above many', (Neh., vii, 2), probably applied to all. Their strong religiosity was a productive motivating influence though it prevented some, such as Cowper, from being wholly rational. However, everyone in the teaching force who toiled with his charges at the various stages of learning would no doubt have avowed laudable intentions. Whether linguists, classicists, humanists, factors of subject-centred or rudimentary child-centred curricula, fervent advocates of interdisciplinary studies, converts to the 'enlightenment' movement of their day or factual *Gradgrinds*, they would have been convinced that their efforts were collectively worthwhile in contributing to the furtherance of desirable traits in a perceived proud island race.

CHAPTER 4 : REFERENCES.

1. See his Augustan England pp.16, 34, 76-80 and 'The professions and social change in England, 1680-1730' (Raleigh Lecture on History, 1979), Proceedings of the Royal Academy, London, LXV (Oxford University Press, 1979), pp.327-28, which are drawn on in the following paragraphs.
2. Quoted by J. Cole, The History and Antiquities of Wellingborough (1837), pp.270-71.
3. ibid., pp.272-73.
4. ibid., pp.277-78.
5. DNB, XV111, pp.112-13; Armytage, op.cit., pp.57-8.
6. See Ch.1, Pt.1, p.41.
7. Larrett, op.cit., p.24.
8. H.J.J. Winter, 'Scientific notes from the early minutes of the Peterborough Society, 1730-1745', Isis, XXXI (1939/40), pp.51-9.
9. Gentleman's Magazine, XV (1745), p.355; XVI (1746), pp.475-77.
10. Nuttall, op.cit., Letters 1287, 1339.
11. Letter 1303.
12. Letter 1311.
13. Letter 1595.
14. Letters 1683, 1686, 1688.
15. Quoted by Armytage, op.cit., p.51.
16. Quoted by Armytage, op.cit., p.65.
17. The conclusion is reached by Armytage, op.cit., pp.52-3.
18. These examples of the extent of Doddridge's religious commitment are drawn from Nuttall, op.cit., Introduction, pp.xix-xxii.
19. See Ch.3, Pt.3, pp.182, 185.
20. Pearce Carey, op.cit., pp.32-4, 37, 39.
21. An Easy Introduction to Mechanics, pp.xxxiii-xxxiv, xlv, l-li.
22. See Ch.2, Pt.2, pp.97-9.

23. J. Taylor, Antiquarian Memoranda and Biographies, Northamptonshire, (Northampton, 1901), Ch.XXIX, pp.1-4.
24. ibid., pp.5-6.
25. Nuttall, Letters 919, 1134.
26. F.F. Waddy, A History of Northampton General Hospital, 1743-1948 (Northampton, 1974), p.5; for Bowles see this study, Ch.1, Pt.1, p.37.
27. C.A. Markham, 'History of the Northampton General Hospital, Pt.2', NNQ, New Series, 11, Article 83 (1907/9), pp.57, 61.
28. SPCK, An Account of Charity Schools in Great Britain and Ireland (with the benefactions thereto, and of the methods whereby they were set up and are governed. Also a proposal for adding some work to the children's learning), 11th edn (1712), p.4.
29. PDA, Northants Wills, 3rd Series, f.103.
30. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.399.
31. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.184.
32. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.409.
33. NRO, Document CH 128.
34. LAO, Emphingham Wills; will identified by name and date.
35. 'A discourse concerning schools and schoolmasters', p.714.
36. Quoted by Copley, op.cit., p.139.
37. Shearing, op.cit., pp.254-55. Wase was in the process of gathering information for his book; see Introduction, p.12 and n.10.
38. VCH Northants, ii, pp.233, 268; for full details of the clerical offices held see HIL.
39. Matthews, op.cit., pp.32, 35-6.
40. ibid., p.41.
41. For instance, the master of the elementary school at Liddington (Rut.) was in 1820 still being paid a salary derived under the terms of a 1721 will; VCH Rutland, i. p.300.
42. Antiquarian Memoranda, p.6.
43. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.409.

44. Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, p.106.
45. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, ff.399, 375 respectively.
46. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.388.
47. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.428; Northants Inventories, 70; Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.334 respectively.
48. PDA, Northants Wills, 3rd Series, f.103.
49. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.202.
50. PDA, Will and codicil identified by name and date.
51. PDA, Will identified by name and date.
52. PDA, Wills identified by name and date.
53. PDA, Will identified by name and date.
54. PDA, Northants Wills, 5th Series, f.450.
55. See Fig.7.
56. PDA, Will identified by name and date. Chown, who lived with a cousin, Susannah Hills his housekeeper, appears to have been childless. See Ch.2, Pt.2, pp.90-2.
57. Law and Hutcheson, op.cit., p.22.
58. D.W. Barrett and C. Wordsworth, A Catalogue of the Library at King's Cliffe, Northamptonshire, Founded by William Law, MA (1886), pp.v, 7, 26.
59. An Account of Charity Schools, pp.70-2.
60. DNB, XI, p.318.
61. ibid., XX, p.1309. The committee which promoted the publication of Bridges's work met periodically in the Red Lion Inn, Northampton, from 1755; see Introduction, p.18.
62. Nuttall, op.cit., p.xviii.
63. Cole, op.cit., pp.273-74.
64. ibid., p.276.
65. NM 25 January 1766; LRSM 1 January 1790 respectively. Farrer, whether a practising teacher at the date of the advertisement, simultaneously announced the forthcoming opening of his private classical school.

66. B.West, Miscellaneous Poems, Translations and Imitations (Northampton, 1780), pp.vii-xxiii.
67. ibid., pp.12-3.
68. ibid., pp.26-7, 53. For further details of the ruthless employer, James England, and the involvement of pauper children in silk manufactory, see V.A. Hatley, 'The inhuman taskmaster : a story of Weedon Bec', NPP, 111, 1 (1960), pp.30-4.
69. 'The professions and social change', pp.321-22.
70. Nuttall; Letter 393 is one of several in this vein.
71. For a full account see D. Paton, 'National politics and the local community in the 18th century: The Northampton election of 1734', NPP, VI11, 3 (1985/6), pp.164-72.
72. Northampton Poll Books (1774) pp.6, 11, 20, 22, 24; (1784) pp.3, 5, 12, 14, 25. The standard work on local politics is E.G. Forrester, Northamptonshire County Elections and Electioneering, 1695-1832 (Oxford, 1941).
73. Nuttall, op.cit., pp.xxv-xxvi.
74. Augustan England, p.52; see also Plumb's comments, Introduction p.16.
75. For details see Shearing, op.cit., Appendix 7.
76. Augustan England, pp.51-2.
77. See Fig.2.
78. A Social History of Education, p.190.
79. See Ch.1, Pt.2, pp.49-50.
80. NM 10 January 1780.
81. NRO, Document NPL 2087.
82. See Ch.1, Pt.3, pp.60-3.
83. HIL, 14, pp.269-71.
84. Matthews, op.cit., pp.30-2, 40, 44.
85. Nuttall; Letters 2, 3.
86. Letter 947.
87. Letter 898.

88. Clark was the Hull Grammar School master who urged reform of the classical curriculum in the direction of utilitarianism by removing tasks such as verse-making. The full title of his piece was 'An essay on study; wherein directions are given for the due conduct thereof, and the collection of, a library', first published in 1731. DNB, 1V, pp.432-33.
89. An Easy Introduction to Mechanics, p.xxxv. For further details of John Leland, Price and their writings see DNB, X1, pp.896-97, XV1, pp.334-37 respectively.
90. An Easy Introduction to Mechanics, p. xlv.
91. ibid., p.xxii.
92. NM 19 December 1774.
93. Augustan England, p.76.
94. The Natural History of Northamptonshire, p.527.
95. HIL; for details see the entry under each name.
96. T.C. Lees, A Short History of Northampton Grammar School (Northampton, 1947), p.40.
97. Antiquarian Memoranda, p.8.

CONCLUSION.

The local evidence does not support the view that for a hundred years or so from 1688 education regressed, or at best, stagnated. Clearly, several trends on which the long-standing impressions of decline rest have been erroneously dated. The distortion with which, for example, the supposedly-drab late seventeenth century scene is customarily contrasted with the period of Puritan-inspired 'educational revolution' obscures basic facts. This investigation demonstrates that the eighteenth century witnessed concerned debate about the nature and purpose of schooling and, more importantly, the enterprising translation of new ideas into practice; increased attention to the needs of girls and adults (although women remained the subordinate sex); a broadening of professional expertise and, in the towns especially, a remarkable expansion of provision.

The endowed grammar schools founded in the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts comprised the most influential sector of the pre-Augustan educational heritage. A number of those which survived in the Peterborough diocese continued to develop organically in response to the flexible criteria of the changed times. Guilsborough, Kettering and Northampton fall into this category. Some, including Oakham and Uppingham retained their traditional image while others, such as Burton Latimer and Harrowden, subsided into elementary schools. Whatever the course pursued, old grammar schools continued to benefit from legacies intended to improve salaries and to extend or renovate buildings, hardly a symptom of public indifference. Collectively, of course, they ceased to be as dominant as in their heyday and the demise of the so-called unreformed school can be attributed to gradual disenchantment with the classical curriculum. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Latin still had its literary uses though by the end they had drastically shrunk; French had become both the language of diplomacy and the new *lingua franca*.

The grammar schools' retreat from uniform standards is frequently cited as reflecting both the decay of educational institutions and the civic slackness which are assumed to have characterized the duration of the Whig oligarchy. However, it was only one aspect of a generally positive educational reaction to the country's economic, political and religious climate. There was mounting interest in 'modern' subjects which were seen as plainly related to employment opportunities. To meet demand a host of private secondary schools and academies sprang up, the vocational dimension to their curricula being pronounced where not exclusively so. Typically, William Chown made his living explaining the correct use of spoken and written English. Thomas Sarjeant taught mathematics in the context of business transactions. Thomas Trinder's method of teaching the geography of the British Isles stressed commercial realities. The willingness of many of the better-off to pay for an education relevant to the requirements of sons testifies to the scale of familial ambition as well as national prosperity. This widespread readiness is indicative of a profound shift in attitudes. The gain of personal preference at the expense of Governmental prescription acted as a spur to the providers of facilities; competition extended up to boarding schools for young ladies which taught social accomplishments.

At the elementary level the acute unease felt by devout Anglicans after the Glorious Revolution prompted determined and largely successful attempts to improve the existing network of schools. Educational bequests constitute important historical landmarks but it should not be overlooked that at numerous places in the diocese, for instance Belton (Rut.) and Hambleton (Rut.), masters were active prior to their materialisation. The charity school movement, funded mainly by aristocratic and ecclesiastical philanthropy, flowered between 1700 and 1730. The desire to establish social discipline among the poor, whether residing in urban slum or remote

village, was based on the belief that they were particularly susceptible to debauchery and rebellion. The SPCK was to the fore in fervently urging all compassionate men and women of financial means to support the saving of souls. A useful upbringing, Kennett preached, besides arming the lower classes against the popery which bred ignorance and superstition, would lead them to piety, virtue and pursuit of an honest livelihood; further, it was essential to their own happiness and other people's peace of mind. In essence, the reasoning of those who staffed the SPCK and similar moralizing agencies was puritanical; godliness, purposeful labour and thrift were uppermost in their thinking. The motives of Aldwinckle's Richard Thorpe, outlined in his will of 1663, show that fundamentalist ties were not severed at the Restoration.¹ The SPCK helped secure, as a widespread if not universal right, access to an elementary education which was complete in itself. Previously, such initial training had been regarded to some extent as a stage preliminary to grammar school for the clever minority.

In the first few decades of the eighteenth century biblical instruction and the catechism were overemphasised during the formative years in the cause of mutual benefit to Church and State. As the century progressed, the elementary curriculum was leavened with the introduction of more appropriate early learning activities. Religious doctrine was still prominent locally though compilers of texts such as Joseph Wills and the unknown author of the reading primer, The Child's Complete Guide, had obviously become aware of what type of topic appealed to the young mind. A place was found for handwriting, spelling, simple tales bearing an ethical message and reasoning exercises; prudent behaviour, cleanliness and hygiene were pressed. Lessons occasionally were surprisingly advanced, John Clare at Glinton being taught how to calculate the volume of a geometrical solid.²

In the field of higher education the achievements of the dissenting academies more than offset the decreasing influence of Oxford and Cambridge. Admissions to the two universities undoubtedly fell away. The Puritan *penchant* for scholarship, far from dying with the Commonwealth, was channelled into the academies which were unshackled by statutes or custom. The local evidence substantiates the claim that these educational institutions enjoyed 'remarkable freedom of enquiry' and 'employed the newest methods advocated by .. reformers', but the statement that as a body they were the first to fully 'put into practice the theories which had found expression in the works of Montaigne, Elyot, Bacon and Comenius'³ is slightly exaggerated. Though Ryland frequently used the phrase 'the advancement of learning' - the title of Francis Bacon's most famous discourse - none of the latter's books figure in any of the surviving dissenting academy library catalogues nationally. The preoccupation of Ryland and Doddridge with theology resulted for students in much prayer and Psalm singing, discussions on sin and repentance, and lectures on Jewish lore. Though their scientific investigations are to be commended the two men considered discoveries of value to a future minister only because they enabled him to confute suggestions that Christ's miracles were not supernatural but occurred within the framework of nature's laws.

The Royal Society, incorporated in 1662, came nearer to being the institutional embodiment of Bacon's philosophy and Comenius's encyclopaedism. The scrutiny of things, not words, the reasoned explanation of phenomena, experimentation and invention, were entreated as worthy ends in themselves. Local Fellows included Sir Justinian Isham, the 2nd Baronet, who had been schooled at Uppingham, who corresponded with Comenius and partly funded his visit to England, provided apprenticeships and served as a trustee of Buswell's Clipston foundation. Morton, the Oxendon rector and topographer, another Fellow, was an

enthusiastic reader of the Society's Transactions and habitually corresponded with learned contributors. His curiosity was aroused by fossils and petrification, lightning, the spread of wild plants, disorders in animals and variations in crop yields. He was especially impressed by the technical ingenuity which overcame the problem of supplying water to Lord Northampton's Castle Ashby home.⁴ The travelling lecturer James Ferguson, Ryland's friend and textbook collaborator, was also a Fellow. He spoke typically about air pumps, hydraulic engines and pile drivers, and foresaw robots. His manual on electricity reached a third edition by 1779.

The appetite for a variety of educational services on an unprecedented scale led to the transformation of the teaching profession which became relatively easy to enter. For a few of its members in holy orders the distinction between teaching and ministering remained blurred, as was the case in the early seventeenth century. A stage removed, some Anglican masters continued to think of the narrow training they had received at grammar school and university as a valid preparation for the like performance of duties, and perhaps regarded themselves as forming the elite. Several clergymen turned to schoolmastering as an expediency. The ranks of the religious were swelled by such Dissenters as the Northampton Congregationalist Tingey,⁵ Welton's Shenston⁶ and John Carver and Thomas Thomas, both of whom were described in 1777 as 'teacher of a separate congregation' in Wellingborough.

However, many of the new entrants to the profession, though of uncommon social backgrounds, were united in being secular and pragmatic in outlook. They had career aspirations having gained knowledge or skills that were worldly and saleable. The opportunistic peripatetic made an appearance. Samuel Oakley, for instance, after spending the years 1758-74 at Rushton, had moved to Lowick by 1781 and on to Raunds by 1794. The family venture began to feature as the teaching force diversified. There

were husband-and-wife teams such as Ann and Thomas Harris, Martha and Thomas Trinder, and Ann and John Wadland. The Burtons, Holebrooks and Luckmans were among sisters who acted as co-proprietresses. Mothers and daughters who worked together included the Freakes and the Scrivens. Most probably father and son were Stephen and William Judkins at Spratton, William and Edward Clarke at West Haddon.

Accomplished masters and mistresses routinely won respect for the dedication and ability which gave a school its reputation. Many were valued by the communities in which they lived for their leadership or contributions to public life. The incomes and lifestyles of teachers differed greatly. Several men accumulated riches and consorted readily with the upper classes. Others left mean estates. The semi-voluntary procuration fees offered at visitation by those operating under the purview of the Church of England betoken a crude barometer of wealth. The proportion of erudite masters was surprisingly high. Confirmed and presumed graduates, the small number of men known to have attended university but left without taking a degree, and individuals whose learning or expertise is beyond dispute comprise approximately three-quarters of the total. Included here are those subscribers whose grasp of old controversies may have been suspect (as some copied out errors of date made previously) but their competency, orthodoxy and sobriety were attested.

It is clear that for a hundred years or so before the onset of industrialisation teachers *en masse* played a key role by helping maintain a firmly integrated social order despite significantly assisting upward mobility through sheer carrying capacity due to weight of numbers. It was possible that factors such as the uncertain state of the land market, a stabilizing population and the diminishing appeal of the universities would effect the opposite condition. Yet English society did not experience again the traumas of the seventeenth century. In short, the evolving profession

whilst being an influential agent of change was simultaneously a powerful tranquillizer.⁷

The expansion of trade above all else after 1688 triggered England's reappraisal of its educational provision which led in turn to the remedying of deficiencies. Many parliamentarians agreed with the point succinctly made by Defoe:

To sum it up in a few words, Trade is the wealth of the World; Trade makes the difference as to rich and poor, between one nation and another; Trade nourishes industry, industry begets Trade; Trade dispenses the natural wealth of the world, and Trade raises new species of wealth which nature knew nothing of; Trade has two daughters whose fruitful progeny in Arts may be said to employ mankind, namely MANUFACTURE and NAVIGATION. (1728).⁸

Local manifestations of these sentiments, which formed the core of Adam Smith's later thesis are, typically, the mathematics workbooks of John Capell and John Bach,⁹ and Lee's claim in 1735 to have successfully prepared hundreds of students 'for trades'.¹⁰

The country's healthy trading position was engineered in part by Sir Robert Walpole who removed all restrictive measures on the import and export of goods. It was given impetus by aristocrats on the 'Grand Tour', and others on more ordinary errand, whom Priestley advised to journey with a purpose. They noted the openings which manufacturers and merchants might exploit; they collected plants. As trading activity grew, an important function of the Northampton inns was to act as locations for the sale or auction of commodities. For example, over 40 types of cloth from brocades to Dutch velvets and Italian mantuas were offered at the Toll House in 1737. From the mid-eighteenth century the Woolpack Inn specialized in hops, the Hind in turnip seed and the Chequer in clover, grass and trefoil seeds. Considered in isolation these products appear unremarkable but their association with a particular inn reflected the national search for improved agricultural practice.

New methods of cultivation, the planning which the extension of urbanization engendered, the mansions erected by the gentry and not least, mining, all had educational implications. Shortly after the Restoration Britain was consuming two million tons of coal annually, that is five times as much as the rest of the world. Winning this fuel called for techniques and calculations that stimulated the study of mensuration and technologically-related subjects, together with the making of dials and instruments. The widening and dredging of rivers was an undertaking crucial to the development of transportation within Northamptonshire. The commissioners appointed to execute the first Nene Navigation Act observed at the inaugural meeting in October 1714, that there would be 'great benefit and advantage, not only to .. Northampton, but also to all the towns .. adjacent to the said river .. and .. general benefit .. by opening of a Trade and Commerce, and better accommodating the city with necessaries, and employing the poor, increasing the number of watermen, and preserving the highways ..'¹¹ Implementing the several Acts, which allowed boats access initially to Oundle, then to Thrapston and finally to Northampton, involved the construction of numerous bridges, cranes, locks, mills and wharves.

A concomitant of increased trade in Augustan England was the expansion of the armed forces on the grounds that war was profitable. Voltaire, though overlooking the natural resource of coal, observed:

As trade enriched the citizens .. so it contributed to their freedom, and this freedom .. extended their commerce, whence arose the grandeur of the State. Trade raised by insensible degrees the naval power, which gives the English a superiority over the seas, and they are now masters of very near 200 ships of war. Posterity will very possibly be surprised to hear that an island whose only produce is a little lead, tin, fuller's earth and coarse wool, should become so powerful .. as to be able to send in 1723, three fleets .. to three different .. parts of the globe. One before Gibraltar, conquered and still possessed by the English; the second to Porto Bello, to dispossess the King of Spain of the treasures of the West Indies, and a third into the Baltic, to prevent the Northern Powers from coming to an engagement.¹²

The creation of a standing army on a permanent basis led to the building of the country's first barracks at Berwick-upon-Tweed (Nthmb.) in 1719. Others were completed in Scotland at Fort Augustus in 1742 and Ardersier Point in 1763, and in England at York in 1795. The extensive troop accommodation built locally at Weedon in 1803 beside the Grand Junction canal had a separate wharf, entry to which was protected by a gatehouse and portcullis. The chain of Martello towers was conceived as an additional defence in case of a French attack. Sir Justinian Isham, the 2nd Baronet, monitored the ill-fated efforts of the diplomatist Sir Balthazar Gerbier in the 1650s to establish a military academy in London modelled on Sir Francis Kinaston's *Musaeum Minervae*. However, the problems inherent in defending the realm continued to be addressed. Whatever Lewis Maidwell's influence,¹³ there emerged such instructors as Northampton's John Noble whose academy syllabus included fortification, gunnery and use of the globes.¹⁴ He was typical of those teachers who rose to the challenge posed by the culture of enterprise and devised courses to train the necessary architects, estate stewards, mathematicians, navigators, soldiers and surveyors.

In the century following the Glorious Revolution then, fresh religious and intellectual perspectives met with a generally cordial reception. As commerce mushroomed, a tonic effect was exerted on human ingenuity. The acceptance of Smith's theories of political economy coincided with the survival into adulthood of more children of lower-middle class parents than previously. Appropriately educated and with a little money proffered perhaps by a fond relation they were quick to seize a business opportunity. Capitalists such as Richard Arkwright, Matthew Boulton, James Watt and Josiah Wedgwood, and inventors such as George Stephenson, who together

made the Industrial Revolution possible, were not of privileged birth. Demographic trends were hastened by new markets which swelled the numbers of artisans, clerks and shopkeepers. Men of energy, resilience and wit could acquire the status which came with affluence. It became easier to pass to a higher social class, a fact which astonished Voltaire.

A notable feature of the eighteenth century was the outpouring of printed matter. Every controversial issue generated a plethora of pamphlets. Newspapers, both in the capital and the provinces multiplied and were read as foreigners commented by workmen even, anxious to be informed about the topics of the day. Vast quantities of verse and drama, much of indifferent quality, were produced though the novel was comparatively rare. The popularity of travelogues can be attributed in part to the nation's spreading commercial interests. They were not intended solely to entertain, often containing prognoses of trading prospects and navigational hints. Many were bought by ships' crews because large stretches of sea remained uncharted. Augustan England's leading writers - Defoe, Swift and Alexander Pope - achieved a wide circulation with their books which were individualistic in style and content.

The work of their contemporary, Johnson, was dominated by a strict sense of form. He had little sympathy for the later movement in taste which was probably sparked by journalism's success. Ornately embellished prose and a highly personal choice of words gradually gave way to the plainer composition drawn more from the vocabulary of the simply educated. The trend was fostered by such as William Cowper and Thomas Gray, Jane West's inspiration.¹⁵ With the instinctive language of the heart they captivated sections of the public who grew hungry for a romanticized dimension to their reading. So great was the output of published material that detailed knowledge of both ordinary people's attitudes to their surroundings and their ability to use English exceeds that for any earlier

age. John Clare's poetry, for example, reveals a love of the flora and fauna of Northamptonshire and tells of the richness of the local dialect.

A book read by Clare when a boy was Robin Hood's Garland consisting of 27 ballads each adorned with a small woodcut.¹⁶ It was one of a series of chapbooks printed and sold by the Dicey family of Northampton who in the eighteenth century were the country's leading publishers of such literature.¹⁷ Characters besides the folk-hero still figuring in children's stories included Jack Horner, Simple Simon and Tom Thumb whose origins lie in the traditional oral lore of the English peasantry. Of equal appeal to the young were collections of fairy stories, fables and almanacs which dealt with omens and mystery, sought to explain the meaning of dreams and foretold the future. All the items were cheaply priced and many were illustrated. They formed the basic stock of pedlars such as William Mackelambrook who toured the midland counties in the 1730s ensuring wide distribution.¹⁸

Children probably found the bagman's fare more palatable than the narratives produced by the earnest followers of Rousseau's maxim that they must be taught the bare truth. Thomas Day's The History of Sandford and Merton (1783) at least attempted to convey useful information in an entertaining manner. However, other rationalist educators including Richard Edgeworth, his eldest daughter Maria, Hannah More, Sarah Trimmer and Letitia Barbauld, adopted clumsy devices in purposely avoiding fancy. The last named's Lessons for three-year-olds, of which this is typical, left nothing to the imagination:

Charles could not live under the water. No, because Charles is not a fish that somebody has caught. Poor little fish! Throw it on the grass. See how it flounces about! It has a hook in its gills. Take it by the tail. It is slippery; you cannot hold it. See, these are fins. It has got fins to swim with; and it has got scales, and sharp teeth. It will be dead soon. It is going to die. It cannot stir any more. Now it is quite dead. The fish dies because it is out of the water ..¹⁹

Didacticism was thus carried to extremes, if unwittingly.²⁰

By the late eighteenth century book ownership had become commonplace. According to James Lackington in his Memoirs (1792):

The scale of books has increased prodigiously ... The poorer sort of farmers and even the poor country people .. who .. spent their evenings in relating stories of witches, ghosts, hob goblins etc., now shorten the winter nights by hearing their sons and daughters read tales, romances etc., and on entering their homes you may see Tom Jones, Roderick Random and other entertaining books stuck up on their bacon racks etc. .. In short, all ranks and degrees now READ.²¹

Clare is known to have passed very similar remarks.

There is speculation as to whether the educational institutions and the abundance of printed matter together affected levels of literacy, which Plumb asserts improved considerably over the century. Kennett, in his 1706 sermon, paid tribute to the pupils of charity schools for their linguistic attainments:

You may see them on a Sunday evening at their quarterly exercises of Letters and Religion in a most edifying manner. Some .. are spelling the hardest words with more exactness than many adult persons can do who yet think themselves masters of the English tongue. Some are reading with such an emphasis and clear pronunciation as may instruct, if not shame, those men and women who come to hear them. Others are making speeches or holding dialogues or by turns rehearsing some parts of scripture or likewise reciting some particular clauses in the Acts of Parliament restraining vice and immortality.²²

Evidence of this sort, albeit isolated, is valuable in pointing to what might be achieved.

It is significant that of the 59 petitioners at Higham Ferrers seeking Glasbrooke's appointment as *ludimagister* 23 were able only to make a mark yet their school, in 1726, had been functioning continuously for two centuries.²³ Gradually down the years many countrymen became caught in what Hobsbawm described as 'the meshes of the web of cash transactions' which called for a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. In the

towns the additional opportunities for verbal exchange, the appearance of libraries and book clubs, the rapid development of retailing and the activities of multifarious craftsmen were all to signal the advantages of literacy and numeracy.

The Marriage Act (1753) required brides and grooms to sign a register whereas previously entries were made by the officiating clergyman alone. Realistic assessments of literacy are therefore possible after that date. In respect of the first 50 subsequent marriages in St. John's parish, Stamford (Lincs.), 54 of the contracting parties, some of whom probably came from Rutland and Northamptonshire, appended their names and can be judged as literate on this basis. The marks made by 46 men and women, interestingly, were not simply crosses but included capital letters of the alphabet, a hat, a fishing-hook, a semicircle and a square.²⁴

During the eight years 1754-62, 79% of all those who married in Northampton signed their names giving the town one of the best rates in the country. The figure between 1799-1804 fell to 62% which was still better than, for example, Bristol (59%), King's Lynn (57%), Nottingham (49%) and Halifax (47%). Researchers have discovered variations within counties, even from village to village, though the north of England's poorer record than elsewhere was constant. High ratios were registered in market towns, ports and cathedral cities. Conversely, low ratios were found in coalmining, textile and metal-producing areas and centres of domestic industry. It is known that 30% of parishes in the Oxford diocese in 1738, and 58% of those in the York diocese in 1743, possessed a school (though types are not indicated). The percentage of parishes with schools in the Peterborough diocese cannot be stated categorically for any one year though that based on occurrence at some date in the eighteenth century bears very favourable comparison.

The determinant factors of literacy levels, as well as of progression and regression, are complex but obviously linked to economic functioning. Certain regions could not cope with successive waves of migrants. As the presence of a school in a place was not always significant it seems that informal instruction in the family circle must have played a part. Perhaps some people thus learned to read but not to write. To many of the rural poor especially this achievement would be sufficient. Separating the percentages for the sexes shows that gender was an important consideration. For each of the three decades from 1761 to 1790, 70% of Northampton grooms signed their names compared to 44%, 42% and 49% of brides respectively.²⁵

The experience of Thomas Porter, the minister at King Street Independent Chapel, Northampton, for seven years until his death in 1785, throws a little more light on the position locally. Some of the parents whose children he had baptized in that time, he wrote in the register, were 'so very ignorant and uninstructed as to be unable to give ... their names in writing or by spelling them' but he added that in number they were 'very few'.²⁶ Conflicting statistics point to the difficulties in reaching conclusions about literacy levels though they are used in debate as to whether ever-rising educational standards were the fruits of the Industrial Revolution rather than the seeds of it. Certainly, reformers bent on schooling the poor had to contend continually with hostile opponents. By the close of the eighteenth century, nevertheless, the products of elementary schools such as Clare, as well as the masters of them such as Benjamin West,²⁷ were able to gain acclaim as men of letters.

It is impossible to quantify the people who were numerate in the eighteenth century. However, advanced mathematical knowledge was a prerequisite if tradesmen were to make use of the ready reckoners that were freely available.²⁸ Haselden's manual, by 1727 in its 8th edition, was

addressed to 'carpenters, joiners, glaziers, masons, painters, plasterers, paviours, sawyers etc.' A typical excerpt under the title 'The Table of Board Measure applied to the glazier's use' ran:

Let there be given a window to be glazed that hath six lights, every light three foot in length and seven inches broad, to find the content by the table in foot measure. Add the length of the six lights into one number which will be eighteen foot: which breadth and length enter the Table as is before taught in the use of measuring boards, you will find to answer seven inches in breadth and eighteen foot in length, ten feet and 5,000 parts of 10,000 of a foot: which by the Table of the decimal parts of a foot will be found half a foot more ... The breadth being seven inches and one quarter, and the same length, the content will be found ten foot, 8,750 parts of 10,000 of a foot, which is three quarters and half a quarter of a foot more ... The breadth being seven inches and an half, and the same length, content will be found eleven foot and 250 parts of 10,000 of a foot, which is one quarter of a foot more.²⁹

Such terms as 'square foot' and 'cubic foot' are never used in the book. Readers would have understood the concepts relating to area and volume because, in the interests of accuracy, frequent reference was necessary to conversion devices including 'The Table of 144' and 'The Table of 1728'. Haselden assumed a familiarity with pi, his equivalent of 3.14159 being a truer approximation than $22/7$ or 3.142. In his section on 'Gauging' a formula was provided complete with separate interpretation in words while under the title 'To find the content of a slice of the middle frustum of a parabolic spindle cutting the heads' a sentence of algebra was used as shorthand for what follows, a paragraph of prose.

Though the author kept a boarding school in London his curriculum was almost identical to that advertised by several local masters. Decimal arithmetic, use of the sliding-rule, Gunter's chain and compasses, and the mensuration of solids were taught by, for instance, Northampton's Noble and the Watts brothers, Titus Wadsworth at Daventry, William West at Duddington and William Gray at Whittlebury. The skills required for measuring and pricing timber, whether in bulk or cut, upon which Haselden laid the greatest stress, featured particularly in the teaching of Benjamin

Shelton at his academy in Daventry.

Of the 11,955 men listed as eligible to serve in the Northamptonshire militia in 1777 there were 398 carpenters and joiners, 189 masons, 25 glaziers, 15 sawyers and 7 painters. These workers and many others had to count and calculate in routinely pursuing their occupations. It is not suggested that all coped easily with mathematical units and symbols but they would at least be aware of the perils of guessing. The well-motivated amongst the unschooled could readily obtain such aids as Thomas Fletcher's Arithmetic Made so Easy that it May Be Learned without a Master.³⁰ The computing abilities of clerks in counting-houses, business and commercial managers, the hundreds of teachers themselves together with all those who were higher in the social scale can be taken for granted. It is beyond conjecture then that a sizeable proportion of the population was numerate to some degree.

* * * * *

In the century following the Glorious Revolution therefore, new strands of thought, some economic in character, others social and political, still others religious and intellectual, were interwoven to beneficial effect. The changes which consequently were wrought in the country as a whole were most strikingly noticeable in that central area of England in which the Peterborough diocese is situated. Technological advances, the increasing complexity of market mechanisms and especially the development of towns as commercial centres, the nation's propensity to conduct war, the enclosing of fields and the adoption of novel agricultural practices all spawned entrepreneurial activity on a huge scale. The whole was given the seal of approval in the brand of capitalism articulated by Locke, Kennett, Johnson, Smith and the rest which found acceptance because it did not entail abolition of the social order. Such commentators successfully proclaimed the desirability of an educated citizenry; in turn, vocational

training was boosted as the view that it was sensible to equip operatives with relevant skills won through.

Until roughly 1740 the population grew relatively slowly with twofold advantage. Firstly, existing scholastic institutions were not outstripped and secondly, prosperity was ensured. Savings typically were expended on supplementing educational provision if it was lacking. Religious toleration led to the broadening of curricula at all levels and though evangelism was in the ascendancy exhortations to lead a God-fearing life relied less on the retributive aspect for failure than in the past. Analysis of sermons preached and of pamphlets written on behalf of charity schools particularly, reveal deep-seated utilitarianism. Speakers commonly played on the emotions of their listeners by expounding on the value of these schools to the Hanoverian succession and the Protestant cause alike. The Church of England continued to keenly supervise the many masters within its own sphere of influence while the rise of Nonconformity led to both educational innovation and the extension of opportunity.

The Poor Law vested responsibility for the destitute, the sick and the orphaned in local government whose welfare initiatives - if occasionally harsh because of prevailing morality as in the cases of workhouses and schools of industry - augmented the efforts of philanthropists. The eighteenth century has been called the age of enlightenment, of reason, of pragmatic rationalism; new ideas were not universally ridiculed. Progressive thinkers were persuasive in canvassing the power of education to uplift. The conscience of the nobility and gentry had always been alive but was now demonstrably exercised with vigour. As relationships became more flexible social mobility was facilitated and consequently the transition of the teaching profession was accelerated.

Strong social forces thus precipitated the reorganization of schooling. The break with established tradition resulted in the introduction of 'modern' syllabuses. A liberal education, best exemplified by Priestley, encompassed the gamut of polite and useful knowledge, the classics, religious belief, the sciences and technical subjects. The French and Industrial Revolutions were to have far-reaching implications. Political emigres such as Messieurs Charrier, de Bouffray and de Haqueville had found a haven in Northampton before the crisis broke. British complacency was cruelly pierced with the appearance of a cheap edition of Thomas Paine's The Rights of Man (1791/2) which, it was claimed, portended the destruction of a society whose social patterns were divinely ordered. That society was not ideal; rakes prospered, charlatans were shown forbearance and corruption was rife. Yet it had, for a hundred years from 1688, purposefully educated the classes (which lived in easy juxtaposition) if not the masses, a problem which was to bedevil the well-meaning attempts of many future generations.

CONCLUSION : REFERENCES.

1. See Ch.1, Pt.1, p.28.
2. See Ch.2, Pt.2, pp.95-6.
3. I.Parker, Dissenting Academies in England (Cambridge, 1914), pp.134-35.
4. For a full account see Morton, op.cit., p.495.
5. See Ch.4, Pt.3, pp.215, 218.
6. See Ch.4, Pt.3, pp.209, 212.
7. Holmes makes this point strongly. See Augustan England, pp.x-xi, 15; 'The professions and social change', pp.337, 353-54.
8. Quoted by Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century, p.21.
9. See Ch.2, Pt.2, p.95.
10. See Ch.2, Pt.2, p.99.
11. Nene Navigation Acts 1713, 1724, 1756, 1794. Copies of the several Acts of Parliament (Stamford, 1826), in Northampton Public Library (Ref.1/183), pp.1,14. See also J.D. Alsop, 'The development of inland navigation on the River Nene in the early eighteenth century', NPP, V11, 3 (1985/6), pp.161-63.
12. Quoted by George, op.cit., p.2.
13. See Introduction, pp.12-3.
14. See Ch.1, Pt.1, p.40.
15. See Ch.3, Pt.3, p.187.
16. F.T., 'Curiosities of Northamptonshire printing', NNQ, 11, Article 324 (1886/7), pp.184-89.
17. See V.E. Neuberg, Popular Education in Eighteenth Century England (1971), pp.53-4, 139, 159.
18. LRSM 29 April 1736.
19. L.Barbauld, Lessons for Children (in four parts, part 11 being the first for children of three years old), (1798), pp.54-5.
20. Recreational reading is discussed at length by M. Maxwell, 'The perils of the imagination: pre-Victorian children's literature and the critics', Children's Literature in Education, 13 (1974), pp.45-50.

21. Quoted by George, op.cit., p.93.
22. 'The charity of schools', pp.9-10.
23. See Ch.1, Pt.3, p.67.
24. T.Sandall, 'The vestry books and registers of St. John's parish, Stamford', The Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record, 11, 12 (1905/6), p.124.
25. The sources drawn on in these two paragraphs are Lawson and Silver, op.cit., pp.192-94; V.A.Hatley, 'Literacy at Northampton, 1761-1900', NPP, 1V, 6 (1971/2), pp.379-81; W.B. Stephens, 'Illiteracy and schooling in the provincial towns, 1640-1870: A comparative approach', in D. Reeder (ed.), Urban Education in the Nineteenth Century (1977), pp.27-47.
26. Public Record Office, RG4/1275.
27. See Ch.4, Pt.4, p.222-23.
28. For example T. Haselden, The Carpenter's Rule Made Easy: or the Art of Measuring Superfices and Solids, 8th edn (1727).
29. ibid., p.49.
30. Advertised in the LRSM 22 May 1740. Fletcher was master of a boarding school in Ware (Herts.).

APPENDIX 1.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SCHOOL LOCATIONS IN
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND RUTLAND BETWEEN 1688
AND 1800 SHOWING THE TEACHERS RANKED
CHRONOLOGICALLY.

1. In many instances, of course, teachers would have held their posts before and after the dates of first and last mention.
2. There are separate sections for places where an excess of names might be confusing e.g. Daventry, Northampton.
3. The symbol (F) signifies the occurrence in a place of either schooling for girls or female teachers.

BARNACK.

Mr. THICKBROOM. 1730

BARNWELL.

Benjamin ROSSE. 1675 Feb. 1688
Charity school, 15 children. 1724
Richard WARD. (St. Andrew). Jun. 1730

BARROWDEN (Rut.)

William GOODFELLOW. 1727
Joseph FAIRCHILD. *name crossed out. Jun. 1736 Jul. 1739*
Charles EYRE (Roman Catholic, refused
licence). Jul. 1744
William LAXTON. Jul. 1744 1749

BELTON (Rut.) (F)

Philip WRIGHT. 1710
William CLAYPOLE. Jul. 1726
Sara SWAN. 1730
Bequest to education of poor. Apr. 1768

BENEFIELD.

Bequests to education second half 18th
century.

BLAKESLEY.

School from this date. 1669
John PETTIFER. Aug. 1720 Nov. 1729
David PRATT. Apr. 1730 Jul. 1753
Thomas FLESHER. 1753 1784
Henry Uthwatt ANDREWES. 1784 1810

BLATHERWYCKE.

John MORDEN. Jun. 1736 Aug. 1777

BLISWORTH.

Charles GRIFFIN. Mar. 1672 Dec. 1686
Thomas PERMAN. Oct. 1690 1710
Job KIRK. Jul. 1692 Jul. 1699
William ADKINS (usher, Jul.1733-Jul.1736). Aug. 1720 Aug. 1780
Robert BULLER. 1730 Nov. 1737
Robert WATSON. Oct. 1794
Samuel BASFORD. Jun. 1796
John HIPWELL. Jul. 1801

BODINGTON.

Educational bequests c.1740 onwards.

Robert WEST. May 1765 May 1765
Richard FIFIELD.

BOWDEN PARVA.

Joseph LARGE. Aug. 1726

BOZEAT.

John LETTICE, small private school 1740s
either here or STRIXTON.

BRACKLEY. (F)

John GIBBS *died. 1675 Dec. 1687*
Thomas YEOMANS, head G.S. Jul. 1692 1715
Moses LOVEDAY, head G.S. c.1710 1721
Richard COOPER (1), head G.S. Apr. 1721 c.Jul. 1752
Thomas BOWLES, private classical school. Sep. 1732 c.1766
George COLEMAN, unlicensed master in
the town. Jul. 1739
John YOUNG, head G.S. 1765 ?1777
John PHILIPS, curate, probably usher G.S. Jul. 1767
William BANNISTER, head G.S. Jul. 1767 ?1800
Charity school here. 1769
Mrs.GILBERT, girls' boarding school. 1771
Mark BLACKWELL, 'schoolmaster in the
parish'. Jul. 1774 c.1780
Mrs.A.LATHBURY, girls' boarding school. 1798
Thomas BANISTER, head G.S. 1784 Nov. 1821
Richard COOPER (2) 'schoolmaster' here,
died c.1814

BRAMPTON ASH.

Boy taught privately. c.1785
Samuel HEYRICK, exclusive private school. 1790 1795

BRAUNSTON.

School founded this date. 1733
John MASTERS. c.Dec. 1776
Michael BLANN. Dec. 1776 1792
John LEEDS made will. Jun. 1786

BRAUNSTON. (Rut.)

Nathaniel NORTH. Jul. 1726 1730

BRAYBROOKE.

Thomas HOLT. Aug. 1726
John DARLING made will. Sep. 1804
John KESTING (can not confirm).

BRAYFIELD.

Mr. LUMLEY. Aug. 1720

BRIGSTOCK. (F)

Elisha ROWLATT. 1708
Charity school, 30 children. 1724
Mr. & Mrs. MOODY kept a school where girls were taught. 1790s

BRINGTON MAGNA.

Schoolhouse from this date. 1691
Charity school, 30 children. 1712 1724
Mr. CHECKLEY. Aug. 1720

BRIXWORTH.

Endowment possibly supported a master some time after 1780.

BROOKE. (Rut.)

Boy educated here early in 18th century.

BUGBROOKE.

John LOVELL made will. Mar. 1760
James SLADE, private classical school. 1780s c.1800

BULWICK.

Mr. FOWLER. Jul. 1667

BURTON LATIMER.

William PHELIPPS. Aug. 1662 ?1702
Thomas AUNGIER. Jul. 1702
Richard WOOD possibly. c.1703 c.1705
John GOODRICH. Jan. 1707/8 ?1760
John READ/E. Jul. 1711
Thomas MORRIS, usher. Aug. 1723
Charles MORRIS. Aug. 1726 c.Jul. 1752
Robert WELBOURN. 1730
Gilbert WALTON. 1735 Apr. 1748
Mr. ?RICE. Jul. 1752

BYFIELD.

Endowments before and during 18th century.
William FRIEND. Apr. 1742
Edward HARRIS. 1777

CANONS ASHBY.

Mr.ASPINWALL, writing master, Dryden family.	1770s		
Mr.FERRY, dancing master, Dryden family.	1770s		
Mr.HOBBS, music master, Dryden family	1770s		
Mr.DENISON, classics tutor, Dryden family.			c.1800

CASTERTON PARVA. (Rut.)

Mr.DUGDALE.	1730		
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CASTLE ASHBY. (F)

Charity school, 12 girls.	1712		1724
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CASTOR.

Thomas ?STED.	Jul.	1726	
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CHELVESTON cum CALDECOT.

A schoolhouse from c.1760.			
John FOSCUIT.	1763	Mar.	1767

CLAY COTON.

Scholar went up to Cambridge.	May	1679	
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CLIPSTON.

John FARREN.		1691	1731
Nathaniel GERARD.	Feb.	1731/2	1748
Richard ONELY.	Apr.	1748	1768
Writing master, name unknown.	Jul.	1753	
John BULLIVANT.		1768	Jul. 1774
Thomas REYNOLDS.	Jul.	1774	1780
E.WILLIAMS.		1780	1820

COLD ASHBY.

Edward WICKES.		c.1680	
William COLLIER.	Apr.	1725	Jun. 1761
Humphrey FRENCH.	Aug.	1726	
Matthew PANTING.	Jul.	1767	Jul. 1774

COLD HIGHAM.

John EALES	made will.		Mar. 1760
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COLLINGTREE.

John CLARKE, rector, advertised classical school but he was probably referring to Guilsborough G.S.	Aug.	1766	Aug. 1776
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COTTERSTOCK.

Samuel WARD, private classical school. c.Dec. 1778 Feb. 1790

COTTINGHAM.

Non-classical school here, 18th century.

COURTEENHALL.

Robert ASHBRIDGE.	1681	Sep.	1718
Robert VAUX (1), usher.	Mar. 1715		
Edward ARUNDELL.	Nov. 1718	Mar.	1731
David PRATT, usher.	Nov. 1718		1730
James PASHAM.	Jul. 1731	May	1752
John DEAN, usher.	Jul. 1733		1743
Peter WHALLEY.	Jul. 1752		1760
Edward WATKIN.	Jul. 1767		1786
Christopher TOWLE, dancing master.	1770		
Robert VAUX (2)	1786	May	1792
Miles WALKER, usher to Feb.1792.	1789		1830
Charles MORDAUNT, died before this date.		Oct.	1806
Jeremiah MORDAUNT made will.		Aug.	1812

CRANFORD. (F)

William FOWLER (St. Andrew).	Jul. 1692	Jul.	1699
English or Writing school.	Sep. 1745		
Ann WADLAND (sen.) opened girls' boarding school.	1745		
John WADLAND (husband of above) commenced boys' department.	1746		
(The whole moved to Finedon in 1748).			
Henry ELLIS, dancing master.	Mar. 1748		

CRANSLEY.

Joseph NORTON.	Aug. 1726		
Solomon SAMSON.	Aug. 1726		

CRICK.

Judah HEATH.	Oct. 1706		
Charity school.	1724		
Thomas POTTS.	Aug. 1726		1730
Jeremiah BULLOCK.	1734		
Richard DADLEY.	Apr. 1753		
Hawley BISHOP, in a schoolhouse.	May 1753	Apr.	1757
John PRICE.	Mar. 1763		
William COLLIER.	1774	Jul.	1780
Thomas DICKENS.	Jan. 1779		
William DANIELL.	Feb. 1780		1786
John CURRIN.	Feb. 1787		1798

CULWORTH.

William ROBERTS.	Aug.	1726		
William ROBINS 'ancient and infirm'; the above?			Jul.	1744
William WILKINSON, private classical school.	Jan.	1779		1784
A parish schoolroom built 'before 1795'.				

DAVENTRY Dissenting Academy.

Caleb ASHWORTH, Principal.		1752		1773
Samuel CLARK, tutor.		1752		1756
Thomas TAYLOR, tutor.		1756		
Thomas HALLIDAY, tutor.				1769
Noah HILL, tutor.		1760		1770
Thomas BELSHAM, tutor. Senior tutor from 1781.		1770	Jun.	1789
Thomas ROBINS, Principal.		1773		1781
John TAYLOR, tutor.		1776		1781
Timothy KENRICK.		1779		1785
William BROADBENT, tutor.	Aug.	1782		1789
Eliezer COGAN, tutor.		c.1784		c.1787

DAVENTRY Grammar School.

William ADAMS.		1681		
John JACKSON*, probably head.	Jul.	1692		
Harold MILNER, head.	Sep.	1701	Oct.	1711
Charles WHALEY, head.	Dec.	1711		1713
William COLLIER, head.	Jan.	1713/4	Feb.	1718/9
William TAYLOR, head.		?1717		1732
Richard RUDGE*, possibly usher.	Aug.	1720	Jul.	1723
Thomas CROSFIELD, head.		1732		1739
Robert PORTER*, possibly usher.	Jul.	1733	Jul.	1736
John CADMAN, head.	Jul.	1739		1762
John WARREN, head (can not verify).		1762		c.1767
Henry LEE, head.		?1768		
Edward STEVENS, head.	Jul.	1767	Jul.	1780
William DENNY, head.		?1772		1787
William FALLOWFIELD, head.	Apr.	1787	May	1822
Writing master, name unknown.	Jul.	1787		

* These three, if not at Grammar School,
taught elsewhere in Daventry.

DAVENTRY Miscellaneous.

Charity school, between 8 and 20 children. Several educational bequests during 18th century.		1712		1769
English or Writing school existed 18th century.				
Edward ATWELL, 'schoolmaster', 'ludimagister'.	Nov.	1720		c.1738

Titus WADSWORTH (1) 'schoolmaster'.	Jun.	1722	
William GLAZE/R, 'ludimagister'.	Aug.	1726	c.1738
Mr. POWELL, 'pedagogus'.		1730	
Benjamin SHELTON, kept technical academy.	Apr.	1743	1772
John WARREN, kept a school where TOWLE taught dancing.		1749	1770s
Christopher TOWLE took over Jane STANTON's school.	Nov.	1753	
John WARLTIRE lectured in the town.		1763	
Titus WADSWORTH (2), proprietor of boarding school but Feb.1779-Jul.1783 at least, master of 'charity' or 'free' school.	Jul.	1773	c.1804
Thomas DICKENS, 'schoolmaster'.	Nov.	1777	Jan. 1779
Joseph HARRALD, 'usher', WADSWORTH's boarding school.		1780	

DAVENTRY. (F)

Mrs. WALKER, sold a boarding school			1746
Mrs. Jane STANTON, kept a boarding school			1753
Mrs. Elizabeth SCRIVEN (sen.), kept a school.	May	1769	1785
Elizabeth SCRIVEN (jun.),)assisted mother Mary SCRIVEN.)initially, then Sarah SCRIVEN.)ran the school.			c.1800
Hannah SHELTON, widow of Benjamin, continued his academy with help of unknown experienced master.	Nov.	1772	
Miss. EARNSBY, proprietress of girls' school.		1790s	
Miss. JONES.)co-owners of girls' Miss. ROGERS.)school.			
Miss LUCAS, proprietress of girls' school.		1790s	

DEENE.

John LANGTON, private tutor, Brudenell family. c.1720s

DENFORD. See RINGSTEAD.

DENTON.

Charity school, between 30 and 50 children. 1712 1724

DODDINGTON MAGNA. See WESTON FAVELL.

DODFORD.

Handsome educational bequest. May 1779

DUDDINGTON.

A school endowed at this date. 1667
A non-classical school existed, 18th century.
William WEST, kept private academy. Jan. 1791

EARLS BARTON.

Edward MUSCOT. 1705/6
Robert WHITWORTH. 1777

EAST CARLTON.

Edmund SALTER, private classical school. 1710 1722
Matthias SLYE, private classical school. c.1780 c.1810

EASTCOTE.

William ADKINS. 1702

EAST FARNDON.

A Nonconformist school here. Jul. 1737

EAST HADDON.

A non-classical school existed, 18th century.

EASTON on the hill.

Parish schoolhouse materialized. 1766
John SKYNNER, private classical school. c.1770 c.1800

ECTON.

Possibly a school from this date. 1688
Thomas GRIFFIN. Aug. 1720 Aug. 1726
School built. 1752
John VAN. 1771 Nov. 1811

EDITH WESTON (Rut.)

Mr. SKELTON. Jul. 1726

EMPINGHAM (Rut.)

Possibly a school founded this date. 1692
Charity school. 1712 1724
George BOTTOMLEY. 1771 ?1778

EXTON (Rut.)

Possibly a school founded this date. 1692
Thomas REEVE. Jul. 1696
Charity school. 1712 1724
?Simon CRAVEN. Jul. 1723 Jul. 1726

EYDON.

John BURBIDGE. (See AYNHO). Apr. 1705 Jul. 1711

EYE.

Mr. HILL. 1730
Mr. LUCE. 1730

FAXTON. See LAMPFORT also.

William GROOBY. 1726

FINEDON Grammar School.

Robert SMITH. 1686 Jul. 1692
Charles HENCHMAN. Jul. 1699
Charles LEE. Aug. 1699 May 1704
John WALTON. Jun. 1705 1735
Endowment appropriated to elementary ed. 1722
Joseph WARNER, probably WALTON's assistant. Aug. 1726 1736
Thomas BURLINGSON. Apr. 1743 Jul. 1752

FINEDON. (F)

Working school for 20 girls in purpose-built premises. 1710 1724
Ann WADLAND (sen.))their boarding school Mar. 1748 Jul. 1753
John WADLAND)removed from
)CRANFORD.
Henry ELLIS, dancing master. 1740s Apr. 1753
Anthony MOREAU, dancing master. Apr. 1753
Ann WADLAND (jun.), assisted father. Jul. 1753
Miss. Susannah STANTON, girls' boarding school. 1771

FLORE.

William ADKINS. 1696
Educational monies invested. 1730
John SMITH. 1777

FOTHERINGHAY.

Thomas BENNETT. 1696 ?1708
Samuel WHITWORTH, initially BENNETT's assistant. c.1701 1713
John LOVELING. Nov. 1713 Sep. 1734
John MORGAN. Jun. 1736 Feb. 1781
George GRIFFITHS. 1781 1790
Robert LINTON. 1790 1832

FURTHO.

John MANSELL, rector, perhaps taught. Jun. 1675 ?1697

GEDDINGTON (and NEWTON).

Charity school, 20 children.		1717		1724
John DODSON.		1758		
Schoolhouse re-thatched.	Jun.	1766		

GLAPTHORN.

A non-classical school existed, 18th century.

GLASTON (Rut.)

A school founded this date.		1725		
Anthony ALEXANDER, name crossed out.	Jul.	1726		

GLINTON.

Charity school.	Jan.	1711		
Seth WILLIAMSON (Glinton with Peakirk).	Oct.	1762	Nov.	1767
Mr. SEATON.		1800		1805

GREATWORTH (F)

A non-classical school existed from this date.		1694		
Mrs. GILBERT, girls' boarding school.				1771

GREENS NORTON.

Charity school, between 14 and 20 children.		1707		1724
Schoolhouse rented from Duke of Grafton, late 18th century.				
Benjamin SMITH.	Dec.	1777		

GREETHAM (Rut.)

Possibly a school from this date.		1692		
William ALLIN*, 'free school'.	Dec.	1709		
Charity school, 20 boys.		1712		1724
William ALLEN*.	Jul.	1723	Jul.	1726

*Probably one man.

GRETTON.

A non-classical school existed, 18th century.

GUILSBOROUGH.

Thomas CHAPMAN.	Apr.	1675	Jul.	1692
Thomas WESTON, usher G.S.	Apr.	1683		1720
Joseph WORTHING, head G.S.	Aug.	1694	Jun.	1722
Thomas COLLIS, usher G.S. and 'writing school'.		1720		1736
John HORTON, head G.S.		1722		1752
John BANBURY, always 'other schoolmaster'.		1736	Jul.	1774

Mr. CAOEELE (?COLEY).		1749		
John HOARE, head G.S. *name crossed out.	Jan.	1753	Jul.	1771*
Change of premises, writing school		1764		
Thomas COMFIELD, 'English free school'.		1764		
Writing master at G.S.(probably COMFIELD).	Jul.	1766		
John CLARKE, head G.S.	Jul.	1766	Jul.	1783
COMFIELD and his son J.COMFIELD advertised.	Jul.	1792	Jul.	1794

GUILSBOROUGH. (F)

Mrs.STOTT.)co-owners, girls'				1782
Mrs.WELLS, STOTT's daughter)boarding school.				1790
Mrs. NOURSE, WELLS's partner.	Apr.	1782		
Miss.BULLIVANT)co-owners, girls'		1788		1790
Miss.CLARKE)boarding school.				
WELLS took over this establishment.	Jun.	1790		

HAMBLETON (Rut.)

Samuel GOODALL.	Jul.	1714		
Thomas REEVE.	Jul.	1723	Jul.	1726
Possibly a school from this date.	Oct.	1760		

HANGING HOUGHTON.

Large sum bequeathed upon trust for education.	Nov.	1762		
School for 30 children built.		1775		
George PARKER.	Aug.	1777		

HARGRAVE.

Boy schooled here went to Cambridge.		1703		
William BEDELL, presumed to keep classical school.		1700s		

HARLESTONE.

John BIRD.		1777		
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HARPOLE.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.

HARRINGWORTH.

Possibly a charity school this date.		1705		
Charity school.		1712		1724
Ralph NEALE.	May	1716		1730

HARROWDEN PARVA.

William DAUD.	Nov.	1685	Jul.	1692
Joshua SHEPPARD.	Jul.	1699	Jul.	1711
John LANGLEY.	Aug.	1726		
John SHEPPARD, ?nominal.	Oct.	1726	Jan.	1753
John EVANS.		1730		
William MOREL, nominal.	Jul.	1758	Nov.	1804
Mr. GOODMAN.		?1758	Nov.	1804

HARTWELL.

Jonathan READ.		1680		1683
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HELLIDON.

David HUGHES.	Aug.	1726		1735
Thomas WODHULL.		1730	Dec.	1743
Mr. JAMES.*	Jul.	1736	Jul.	1739
Mr. JONES.*	Jul.	1744		
Joseph WARD made will.			Mar.	1769

*possibly one man.

HELMDON.

Richard DAVIS.	Apr.	1704		
Charity school, 10 children.		1721		1724

HELPSTON.

John Donald PARKER.				c.1764
Dame school.				1790s

HEMINGTON (and LUDDINGTON).

Charity school, 10 children.		1724		
Henry BUCKLEY.		c.1724		1744

HEYFORD (Nether).

Henry GRAY.	Jun.	1683	Feb.	1720/1
William TAYLOR*.	Aug.	1726		
George MOBBS.	Jul.	1730	Feb.	1756
William TAYLOR*	Jul.	1758		c.1770
William JONES, 'English free school'.		1770		1798

* probably 2 men in view of the time span.

HIGHAM FERRERS.

Joshua SHEPPARD. (See HARROWDEN PARVA)		1673	Apr.	1686
Thomas NEGUS.		c.1688	Jul.	1692
Richard WILLIS.	Apr.	1692	Feb.	1725/6
John GLASBROOKE.	Feb.	1725/6	Jan.	1730/1

George TYMMS.	Mar.	1730	Oct.	1731
Samuel CARTER, father of Christopher.	Oct.	1731		1776
Christopher CARTER, probably assisted father.				1754
Christopher ELLERSHAW.	Apr.	1776		1799

HINTON in the hedges.

Richard GREY, rector, probably taught occasionally.	Apr.	1720	Feb.	1771
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HOUGHTON PARVA.

Nicholas STILL.	Jul.	1692	Jul.	1699
Charity school.		1712		1724
William PAGE.	Jun.	1712	Nov.	1720
Edward LYE.	Mar.	1720/1	Jul.	1736
Thomas BRAFIELD made will.			Mar.	1725/6
John COLLIER buried.			Nov.	1751
Richard BATE.	Sep.	1767		
Jonathon MILLS.		1770	Aug.	1777
Thomas BATTISON buried.				1799

IRCHESTER.

William BAGLEY.	Aug.	1726		
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IRTHLINGBOROUGH. (F)

Working school for c.60 children in purpose-built premises.		1705		1724
Mrs. HARRIS, first mistress of working school.		1705		
John DILLINGHAM, 'ludimagister'.		1710	Aug.	1726
William TRIGG, part-time volunteer teacher at working school.		1715		c.1728
Mrs. Frances WARREN, second mistress of working school.		1718		
TRIGG left money to support a master.	Feb.	1728		
Thomas GROOM, active in Northants, probably here.	Apr.	1759		

ISHAM.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.

ISLIP.

John SEATON died.				1684
Mr. GORDON.	c.Jul.	1750	Jul.	1758

KELMARSH.

John LEE possibly.		c.1700		
S. RANDALL.		1785		

KETTERING.

Francis SAWYER, head G.S.		1684	Nov.	1709
Richard JONES, head G.S. (usher initially under a feeble SAWYER).	Nov.	1705	c.May	1722
John HUBBARD, 'schoolmaster' in the town.	Sep.	1708		
Charity school, between 10 and 14 boys.		c.1717		c.1730
Thomas SAUNDERS, Nonconformist teaching minister.		1720s		1736
Thomas ALLEN, head G.S.	Feb.	1722		1755
Henry ROCHBLOWE, engaged by ALLEN to teach French.		1724		
2 charity schools existed this date with total of 34 children (one for boys, one for girls?)		1724		
Thomas GRIFFITHS, usher G.S.	Apr.	1732		
Vaughan GRIFFITH, usher G.S.	Aug.	1741		1744
John WARNER, usher G.S. initially, then head.	Jul.	1744	Jan.	1800
Joseph KNIGHT, private classical school.		1778		
Mr. BLACKBURN, advertised a boys' school.		1794		
John WARLTIRE lectured in the town.		1799		
James HOGG, taught at G.S.	Jan.	1801		

KETTERING. (F)

Working school, 40 girls.		1710		1714
Mistress, name unknown, offers needlework, allied subjects in advertisement.	Sep.	1728		
Charity school, 20 girls.		1769		
Mrs.BLACKBURN, girls' boarding school.		1788		1794
Miss.DEXTER, girls' boarding school.		1790s		
Mrs.HAYWARD, girls' boarding school.		1792		

KETTON (Rut.)

Scholar sent from here to Cambridge.		1741		
John ADCOCK, memorial to schoolmaster erected.		1785		

KILSBY.

Thomas LEE.	May	1709		
A non-classical school existed this date.		1728		

KING'S CLIFFE. (F)

Boy schooled here went to Cambridge.		1705		
Charity school, 14 girls.		1727		
Charity school, 18 boys.		c.1745		
John MARGAN.	Aug.	1731		
Richard BLAKE.	Nov.	1736		
George STAINSBY.	Jul.	1739	Jul.	1744
William LAW, possibly tutored children of wealthy.		1740s		
Boys' school built.		1749		
Girls' school built.		1752/4		

KING'S SUTTON.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.
Thomas CARPENTER. 1764

KINGSTHORPE. (F)

'Free school' founded this date. 1693
Stephen APPS, 'free school'. Aug. 1720 ?1752
Mr. WEST. Jul. 1739 Jul. 1752
Henry ELLIS, dancing school. 1739
John ELLIS)assisted father. 1739 Apr. 1757
Ann ELLIS)
Henry ELLIS, girls' boarding school. Apr. 1757
William ADAM, possibly taught here. 1776
Thomas CORBEY. 1792
John BIRCH died in office. Apr. 1800

KISLINGBURY.

Thomas HOWSE. Aug. 1720
John HAWES)probably Nov. 1777
John HOWES died in office)the same. c.Mar. 1787

LAMPOR.

Monsieur DU SOL, private tutor, Isham family. 1699
Monsieur MASSON, private tutor, Isham family. 1704
A non-classical school said to be at LAMPOR
with FAXTON, 18th century.
School built at HANGING HOUGHTON this date; 1775
it was for LAMPOR children too.

LANGHAM (Rut.)

Possibly a school from this date. 1692
Thomas WHITE. Jul. 1711
Charity school. 1712 1724
James STUART. Apr. 1724
John CASTLEDINE. Jul. 1726 Jul. 1783

LIDDINGTON (Rut.)

A non-classical school here, 18th century, Sep. 1721
possibly from this date.

LILBOURNE.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.

LITCHBOROUGH.

Jos. WALTON. Aug. 1726

LODDINGTON.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.

LONG BUCKBY. (F)

John SANDFORD.	Mar.	1677	Jul.	1699
Thomas WEST, father of Robert.	May	1719		c.1741
Robert WEST.			Apr.	1752
Mr. BARTON.	Jul.	1752		
John WILLSON.	Jul.	1774	Jul.	1783
Richard JACKSON.	Feb.	1775	Mar.	1777
Miss.F.LUCKMAN)Co-owners, girls'		1790s		
Miss.L.LUCKMAN)boarding school.				
Joseph YATES, taught here or at nearby village.	Mar.	1797		

LOWICK. (F)

Working school, 20 girls and boys in purpose-built premises.		1717		1725
John LETTIN, small boarding school.	Mar.	1752		
Samuel OAKLEY.		1781		

LUDDINGTON. See HEMINGTON.

LYNDON. (Rut.)

John REELY.	Jul.	1711		
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MAXEY.

Mr. SNELL.			Apr.	1696
Robert BATES, vicar, probably kept small classical school.		c.1750		

MEARS ASHBY.

Handsome educational bequest.	Jun.	1710		
Mr. FISHER.	Aug.	1726		
James BIRD died in office.			c.Aug.	1782
William CHOWN.	Sep.	1782		1787

MILTON MALZOR. (F)

John WELLS buried.			Mar.	1720
Joseph FROAN buried.			May	1775
Ann FROAN, widow of Joseph.		c.1775	Jul.	1793

MORETON PINKNEY.

Peter HEMINGS made will.			Nov.	1817
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MOULTON.

John PAINTER.	Aug.	1720		
Robert MILLS.		c.1725		
William CAREY.		1785		1789
William CHOWN.		1787	May	1819

NASEBY.

Mr. THOMAS. Jul. 1774 Jul. 1780

NEWTON. See GEDDINGTON.

NORTHAMPTON Dissenting Academy.

Philip DODDRIDGE, Principal. Dec. 1729 Oct. 1751
John AIKEN.)
Thomas BRABANT.)
Job ORTON.) Doddridge's assistants.
James ROBERTSON.)
William ROSE.)
Samuel CLARK.) tutor-in-charge. 1751 1752
Intermission (DAVENTRY) Nov. 1789
John HORSEY, senior tutor. 1789 1798
William BROADBENT, tutor. 1789 1791
Robert FORSAITH, tutor. c.1796
David SAVILLE, tutor. c.1797 1798

NORTHAMPTON Grammar School.

Ferdinando ARCHER, head (last few years Dec. 1646 1705
nominally).
Thomas SCRIVEN, 'St. Giles parish' but Sep. 1690 Jul. 1692
probably usher.
Samuel SQUIRE, usher. Oct. 1699
Timothy ROGERS, usher. Jul. 1692 Apr. 1701
Robert STYLES, usher initially then head. Jan. 1696 1719
John CLARKE, head. 1719 Jun. 1748
Caleb SMITH)the same; usher 1723 Jul. 1733
Mr. SMITH)'pedagogue' of All Jul. 1723
)Saints parish.
Thomas GRIEVE, usher. Jul. 1736 Jul. 1739
Richardson WOOD, head. Sep. 1748 c.Nov. 1761
Henry WOOLLEY, usher, accomptant, c.1748 c.1761
writing master (separate premises).
William WILLIAMS, head. Feb. 1762 1765
Samuel ROGERS, head. 1765 1769
Thomas WOOLLEY, head. 1769 Apr. 1797
J.FISHER, sometime assistant to T.WOOLLEY.
John STODDART, head. 1797 May 1827

NORTHAMPTON Ryland's Academy.

John Collet RYLAND, Principal. Oct. 1759 ?Jun. 1785
Thomas TRINDER, usher/tutor. May 1762 Dec. 1763
Mr. WELLS, assistant to RYLAND.
Hugh WALFORD, tutor.
Jacob AUSTIN, 'English usher' 1760s
John RYLAND (jun.), assisted father. 1768 1778
co-Principal Jul. 1785 1793
John CLARKE, long-serving assistant. Jul. 1785
co-Principal from Jul. 1785
James RYLAND*, taught here? 1777
George DYER, usher. 1780s
* 'teacher' living in West Ward.

NORTHAMPTON Miscellaneous.

John CRESSWELL, writing master.		1693		
John LEE, writing master.		c.1700	May	1736
John WARREN, 'schoolmaster' here when married at PRESTON CAPES.	Apr.	1707		
DRYDEN charity school, 30 boys in 1712.		1707		c.1730
Bequest 'towards maintenance of a second charity school'.	Jul.	1709		
George MARRIOTT, 'pedagogue' of All Saints parish.	Aug.	1720	c.Dec.	1731
Bartholomew FRANCIS, writing master.		1720s		1730s
Writing master/mathematician, name unknown.	Sep.	1721		
G.WARREN.) lectured	Oct.	1722		
Martin WARREN.)				
Thomas TINGEY, Dissenting teacher.	Mar.	1725/6		1729
John MURRAY.) course of lectures.	Nov.	1725		
Martin WARREN.)				
Teacher of French employed by LEE.	Jun.	1726		
Jeffreys BEAVER, English/writing master.	Oct.	1729	Jun.	1742
DRYDEN school re-endowed.		1734		
BECKET and SARGEANT school.		1735	Aug.	1778
Mr. BRAFIELD, kept a school.		c.1735		c.1755
Archibald SPENS, lecture tour of Northants.		1736		
Charity school established by DODDRIDGE circle.		1737		
Thomas BEAVER, baker/schoolmaster.			Apr.	1738
William SHIPLEY, drawing master.		1740s		
John NOBLE, kept a technical academy.		1740s		
Henry WOOLLEY, private school, expanded into an academy (sometime G.S. usher).	Mar.	1742		1785
John SMITH, writing master, proprietor of school.		1740s		1759
Richard MAWBY, kept a school.	Jul.	1745	Apr.	1750
Mr.FERRY advertised (see also Mrs.PASHAM)		1750s		
Anthony MOREAU, dancing master/swordsman, established a school.		1753		
John ROBERTS, 'schoolmaster', made will.			Apr.	1754
Corporation charity school.		1753		
Vavator GRIFFI(TH)S, lectured.	Dec.	1741	Jan.	1755
Nicholas STRATFORD, 'schoolmaster' buried here.			Apr.	1755
Kellom TOMLINSON, dancing master, taught at schools of Mrs.PASHAM and John SMITH.	Jul.	1757		
Thomas CRASS, assistant to John SMITH.		1753		1759
assistant to SMITH's widow Joyce.		1759		1762
opened his own school.	Mar.	1762	Apr.	1786
Henry ELLIS, dancing school.	Feb.	1759		
T.BAILEY, taught drawing and architecture.		1760		
Corporation charity school further endowed, 25 boys.		1761		1796
John HONOUR, writing master, engaged by Joyce SMITH. (He taught 'in a nearby town', 1750-62).	Feb.	1762		c.1772
Walter CLEAVER, 'usher in a school' buried.			Dec.	1762
John WARLTIRE, lectured.		1763		1799

James FERGUSON, lecture course.		1764		
George ALEXANDER, visiting lecturer.	Nov.	1765	Dec.	1771
William HARMER, kept writing school, accepted boarders.	Jan.	1766		
Thomas TRINDER, private schoolmaster (see RYLAND's Academy).		c.1766	Nov.	1794
John AGAR, Gregory Street, called 'usher'.		1768		
John BROWNE, Bridge Street, 'schoolmaster'.		1768	Aug.	1770
John HOGG, Gold Street, 'schoolmaster'.		1768	Jul.	1780
Camp. JONES, HOGG's 'usher and assistant'.			Mar.	1778
John LOTHERINGTON, Abington Street, called 'usher'.		1768		
Benjamin WHITAKER, Bridge Street, 'schoolmaster'.		1768		1774
Barnet WILBY, of Fish Lane, then Cock Lane, 'schoolmaster'.		1768		1784
Christopher TOWLE, dancing master, taught at Elizabeth SCRIVEN's school; later gave lessons in own school and at COX's school.		1769		1770s
Mr.COX, kept a school.		1770		
William HEXTAL, Nonconformist teaching minister.				1777
John SMITH, St.Giles Street, 'schoolmaster'.		1774		
John AGGER, 'teacher', West Ward.		1777		
Mr. EGG, 'teacher', West Ward.		1777		
Thomas MARCH, 'teacher', West Ward.		1777		
Thomas SARGEANT, 'teacher', West Ward.		1777		1780
Mr. WITTSEY, 'teacher', West Ward.		1777		
Mr. PITT, lecture tours, Northants.	Apr.	1778		1792
Thomas HARRIS, opened 'old established school kept by late Mr. SMITH'.	Feb.	1780		
Monsieur CHARRIER, offered French, geography.	May	1780		
Robert THOMPSON, teacher of 3 R's.		1780		
Thomas HAGUE, with wife kept boarding school.		1780s		1790s
James REILLY, taught French privately. (also neighbouring towns, villages).		1783		
Adam WALKER, lecture tours, Northants.		1783		1796
Timothy AGER, Bridge Street, 'schoolmaster'.		1784		1796
John BOON, St. Giles Street, 'schoolmaster'.		1784		
William HALFORD, South Quarter, 'schoolmaster'.		1784		
William INGMAN, Bridge Street, 'schoolmaster'.		1784		1796
Joseph WILLS, advertised 3 R's plus classics.	Jan.	1785	Jun.	1793
John LACY advertised, had taken over Mr. SMITH's former school. (see Thomas HARRIS above).		1786		
Thomas CORBEY, advertised private tuition.		1788		
James CURRIE, South Quarter, 'schoolmaster'.		1790		
Dr.James GRAHAM, lectured.		1790		
Mr. MARSHALL, music teacher.		1790		
Mr. FREAKE, dancing school.		1791		
Richard COMFIELD, was in partnership with Thomas HAGUE (above).		1790s		c.1794
COMFIELD advertised alone.	Jan.	1795		
Monsieur L.FOULQUES, teacher of French.			Jul.	1796

John WATTS) advertised their academy. T.WATTS)	Jan.	1797	Jan.	1798
J.FISHER (See G.S.) opened day school.	Jul.	1797		
Monsieur HERBE, teacher of French.	Aug.	1798		
Monsieur de HACQUEVILLE)kept a language				1798
Monsieur de BOUFFRAY)school for many				1798
				)years.
John HALHAM, said to be a teacher of mathematics; dates?				

NOTE: A number of masters including Thomas CRASS, John HONOUR and John SMITH offered evening lessons.

NORTHAMPTON (F)

Mrs.Bartholomew FRANCIS, with husband kept a coeducational school.		1730s		
Eleanora LUCK, proprietress, girls' boarding school.	Dec.	1742		1748
Mrs.WYCKLEY, proprietress, girls' boarding school.		1750s	Apr.	1756
Mrs.Mary PASHAM, flourishing girls' school.	Oct.	1752	May	1781
Mr.FERRY, taught at Mrs.PASHAM's.		1750s		
Henry ELLIS, dancing master, Mrs.PASHAM's		1752		
John ELLIS, dancing master, Mrs.PASHAM's.	Oct.	1752		
Mrs.SMITH, assistant to Mrs.PASHAM.			May	1781
Mrs.MADDOX, sometime assistant to Mrs.PASHAM. became partner.	Feb.	1777		
Elizabeth SCRIVEN (sen.), assisted father Mr.BRAFIELD. (See DAVENTRY). kept her own school.		c.1745		c.1755
Christopher TOWLE, taught dancing here.		c.1755	May	1769
Mrs.DENT, girls' boarding school. (Day scholars from June 1796).		1750s		1760s
Mrs.DENT, girls' boarding school. (Day scholars from June 1796).		1760s	Jul.	1801
Joyce SMITH, conducted husband John's school. she engaged John HONOUR, writing master.	Feb.	1759	Mar.	1762
Mrs.Ann WALLIS (nee WADLAND) moved the FINEDON establishment here.	Jan.	1762	Mar.	1771
Mrs.Ann WALLIS (nee WADLAND) moved the FINEDON establishment here.	Jan.	1763	Mar.	1771
Mrs.Elizabeth RAVELL, owner of girls' school.		1767		
Mrs.Martha TRINDER (nee SMITH) kept school.	Dec.	1767	Jan.	1790
Mrs. COOK, girls' boarding school moved to larger premises, took day pupils.		1770s		
Mrs. HUNT, kept a boarding school.	May	1772		
Mrs. HUNT, kept a boarding school.	Jan.	1775		
Mrs. Ann HARRIS, proprietress of girls' school.		c.1776		1780s
Mrs. Thomas HAGUE, kept coeducational school with husband.		1780s		1790s
Maria HAGUE, assisted parents.			May	1803
Mrs.SMITH, opened own school this date. (see Mrs.PASHAM).	May	1781		
Miss.E.A.EDWARDS)co-owners of girls'		1781		
Miss.M.EDWARDS)boarding school				
Miss.D.HOLEBROOKE)co-owners of girls'		1781		
Miss.S.HOLEBROOKE)school.				

Mrs.LIDIARD, proprietress of girls' school.		1782	
Mrs.HOWE, proprietress of girls' school.		1784	
Mrs.McDONNELL (formerly Mrs.PORTER), kept girls' boarding school.		1787	
Miss.HANCE, took over Mrs.McDONNELL's school.		1789	
Mrs.WARWICK, proprietress of girls' school.		1790s	
Mme de CAMILLE, offered French and opened day school for girls.	Dec.	1791	
Mme de LAIRE, offered French.	Jul.	1794	
Miss.HANCE (see above))in partnership. ?Miss./Mrs.VEITCH)		1796	1797
VEITCH alone.		1797	
Mrs.FREAKE)kept young ladies' Miss.FREAKE)boarding school before)and after date.	Jun.	1803	
Mrs.CLOUTT, girls' boarding school, took day scholars too.	Jul.	1805	
Mrs.WALKER, owner of girls' school; dates?			

NOTE: A number of establishments including
Joyce SMITH's and Mrs.HUNT's offered
evening lessons.

NORTON BY DAVENTRY.

Charity school, 14 children.		1724	
Thomas TOMPSON.	Aug.	1726	

NORTH LUFFENHAM (Rut.)

A schoolhouse from this date.	Oct.	1688	
Henry WITHERS name crossed out*.		1710	Jun. 1761*
Thomas REDDISH.	Jun.	1761	Jul. 1783

OAKHAM (Rut.) (F)

Sampson CHOICE, usher G.S.		c.1671	1711
Henry WRIGHT, usher 2 years then head G.S.		c.1700	1724
Nathaniel WESTON, usher G.S.		1711	
Charity school, 12 girls and 12 boys.	Oct.	1711	1724
William CRAMP, subscribed to teach English.		1712	
William Warburton, usher G.S. briefly.		c.1712	
John BASS, usher G.S.		1716	1717
John GOODALL, usher G.S.		1717	1719
William HUBBARD, usher G.S.		1719	1734
Thomas BROOKS, 'ludimagister, free school'.	Oct.	1722	1730
John ADCOCK, head G.S.		1724	1753
Culpepper TANNER, usher G.S.		1734	Jul. 1739
Thomas BALL, usher G.S.		1751	c.1756
John POWELL, head G.S.		1753	1758
Enoch MARKHAM, head G.S.		?1755	Apr. 1769
Mr.PARSONS, usher G.S.		1756	1762
John FANCOURT, usher G.S.		1762	1771

Baptist Noel TURNER, head G.S.	Jul.	1769		1778
Thomas ORME, usher pre-1778 then head G.S.	Jun.	1778	Jul.	1796
William TREMENHEERE, usher G.S. left.				1785
George OSBORNE, usher G.S.		1785		1791
Edward TWENTYMAN, usher G.S.		1791		

OAKLEY MAGNA.

Mr.SEARLE.	Sep.	1680		
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OLD.

Isaac BAXTER.	Aug.	1726	Apr.	1743
An educational endowment this date.		1774		
Churchwardens advertise for a master.	Jan.	1780		

OUNDLE (F)

Mr.BRIGHT, usher G.S.		1687		1689
Edward BATTIE, usher G.S.		c.1690		
Edward CALDWELL, head G.S.		1689	Jan.	1717/8
John SNARY, 'schoolmaster' in the town.	Jul.	1711		
2 charity schools, one contained 30 boys,		1712		
another was for girls this date.				
LATHAM's school, conducted in 'very		1717		
negligent manner' at this date.				
John JONES, head G.S.	Feb.	1717/8	Apr.	1722
Richard JONES, head G.S.	May	1722	May	1761
2 charity schools, total of 42 children		1724		1769
these dates.				
John MORRIS, Jacob ROWE, Allen WALKER		1761		
were unsuccessful candidates for headship				
on death of R.JONES.				
Samuel MURTHWAITE, head G.S.	Feb.	1762	c.Oct.	1779
Name unknown, 'writing master in the town'.	Apr.	1762		
John EVANSON, head G.S.	Oct.	1779		1795
John FARRER, advertised his day school.	Jan.	1790		
Mrs.STAPLES)co-owners, girls'		?1790s		
Miss.STAPLES)school, 'late 18th century'.				

OXENDON MAGNA.

Thomas CLENDON.	Apr.	1693		
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PASSENHAM.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.				
Small annual sum willed to education from this date.	Mar.	1707		

PATTISHALL.

Sum willed to education this date.	Dec.	1684		
A schoolhouse materialized; rebuilt this date.				1818/9
Charles STEWARD.	Nov.	1707	Jul.	1711
John LOVELL, 'free school'.	Jul.	1744		c.1759
John WINCKLES, 'free charity school'.	Mar.	1760		
John RUSHALL.	Sep.	1762	Mar.	1763
Thomas Coleman WELCH, in a 'schoolhouse'.	May	1763		

PAULERSPURY.

William WICKENS, 'pedagogus'.	Jul.	1711		
Sum willed to education this date.	Oct.	1720		
A schoolhouse built.		c.1724		
Peter CAREY, conflicting dates for his death.	Apr.	1724		?1758
Further educational endowment this date.	Aug.	1726		
Mr.HERRING.	Jul.	1758	Jun.	1761
Edmund CAREY.		1767		

PEAKIRK. See GLINTON.

PETERBOROUGH Cathedral.

George GASCOIGNE, usher G.S.	Jul.	1683		
William WARING, head G.S.	Jul.	1683		1707
David STANDISH (sen.), head G.S.		1707	Oct.	1720
John BARBER, teacher of choristers.	Jun.	1711		
John SPARKES, usher G.S. lost his post.				1714
Mr.RICHARDSON, 'deputy' to SPARKES, then usher proper from this date.		1714		
Mr.DOWSE, usher G.S.		c.1720		
David STANDISH (jun.), usher G.S.	Aug.	1719	Oct.	1720
head G.S.	Oct.	1720	Jun.	1722
George JEFFREYS, usher G.S.	May	1722	Jul.	1726
Edward POOLE, head G.S.	Jun.	1722	c.Jul.	1723
Thomas BRADFIELD, head G.S.	Jul.	1723	c.Jun.	1736
Joseph SPARKES, head G.S. (can not verify).				c.1726
*Theophilus HILL, probably usher G.S.		1730		
George FEARNE, usher G.S.	Jun.	1733		
William PARKER, usher G.S. (can not verify).		1736		1739
William PALEY, usher G.S.	Jun.	1736	Jul.	1739
Thomas MARSHALL, head G.S.	Jan.	1737/8		1747
Richard REYNOLDS, usher G.S.	Jul.	1744	Jul.	1752
Robert BOURNE, usher G.S.	Jul.	1744		
Thomas MIREHOUSE, head G.S.		1747		1756
Thomas MARSHAM, head G.S.		1756		1767
John FISHER, usher G.S.	Apr.	1756		
John HEPWORTH, usher G.S.	Jun.	1761		
Charles FAVELL, usher G.S.		c.1764	Jun.	1767
head G.S.	Jun.	1767		1773

Robert FAVELL, 'master and assistant' G.S. (can not verify)		1773		
Robert FOWLER, usher briefly then head G.S.	Jun.	1773	Jul.	1776
Henry FREEMAN, head G.S.		1776		1796

*HILL taught elsewhere in PETERBOROUGH
if not at G.S.

PETERBOROUGH Miscellaneous (F)

Thomas DEACON's non-classical school for 20 boys, heyday to this date.				1730
Anne IRELAND's non-classical school founded by will this date.	Jan.	1711		
James BOOTH, 'pedagogus' Dogsthorpe.	Sep.	1730		
James CHATHAM, 'pedagogue'.		1730		
Mr.FLETCHER, 'pedagogus' Longthorpe.		1730		
Nathaniel SMITH, 'pedagogus'.	Sep.	1730		
Mrs.Elizabeth BACON, owner of girls' boarding school.		1753		1770
Simon ROOKS, 'English free school called Mrs.IRELAND's'.	Dec.	1756		1762
2 charity schools containing 60 children, this date.				1769
Miss.SEARLE, assisted BACON ... then proprietress of the establishment from...		1760 1770		1770
John LANDEN, author, mathematician and teacher.		c.1760s		c.1780s
Thomas BUFFEY, 'schoolmaster'.		1791		
John MEADOWS, 'schoolmaster'		1791		
Miss.Mary SMITH, owner of girls' school.		1791		
William WEST, 'schoolmaster'.		1791		
Richard WESTON, 'schoolmaster'.		1791		

PICKWORTH. (Rut.)

Tycho WING, astrologer, astronomer and mathematician taught here.		1727		
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PIDDINGTON.

William CAREY.		c.1789		
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PILTON. (Rut.)

Charity school, 5 children.		1724		
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POLEBROOK.

A schoolhouse existed, 18th century. Charity school, 4 children.		1719		1724
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POTTERSPURY.

John HELLINS, author, mathematician and teacher.		1780s		1790s
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PRESTON CAPES.

Timothy RAINBOW.	Feb.	1690/1	Jul.	1699
John STANLEY.	Sep.	1708		
Charity school, 20 children.		1724		
John STONELEY, possibly STANLEY above.	Aug.	1726		
Reference to 'free school'.		1728		
Thomas NICHOLL, 'free school' master.	Mar.	1727/8	Jul.	1736
Thomas CROSFIELD.	May	1739		1742
Mr.JONES.		1742	c.Jul.	1752
Mr.SHEPHERD.	Jul.	1752		
John OSBOURN, taught 'an English school'.	Sep.	1765		

PYTCHLEY.

John CORNEY.	Sep.	1680		
John HEBLETHWAITE.	Jul.	1692		1693
James WIGHT.	Jan.	1693/4	May	1706
Richard WOOD, possibly began earlier.	Jul.	1711	Jul.	1723
Joseph WEEDON.	Dec.	1725		1730
John BULLIVANT.	Jul.	1733	Oct.	1736
Henry THIRLBY.	Jul.	1739		
William BARTON.	Jul.	1744	c.Jul.	1763
William JACKSON, head of 'free school'.	Aug.	1763	Aug.	1785
School buildings said to date from ...		1770		
Joseph TOWNSEND, usher under JACKSON.			Oct.	1784

RAUNDS.

Simon COWPER.	Oct.	1704	Jul.	1711
Charity school.		1724		
Richard GROOME.	Aug.	1726		
John UNDERWOOD made will.			Jun.	1767
Samuel OAKLEY.		1794		

RINGSTEAD.

John ALLISON, 'pedagogus' at RINGSTEAD with DENFORD.	Jul.	1713	Aug.	1720
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ROCKINGHAM.

Charity school, 12 children.		1724		1769
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ROTHWELL.

Mr. DAVY.	Jul.	1692		
John YORKE.	Jul.	1692		
John ENSOR.	May	1696		
Richard BROOKS, possibly taught.	Aug.	1698	Dec.	1703
Joseph CATTELL.	May	1704	Jul.	1711
John CONNINGTON, probably CATTELL's assistant.	May	1704		
Edward CHAPMAN.	Mar.	1719/20	Jul.	1739
Mr.JARVIS, probably CHAPMAN's assistant.	Aug.	1726		
Thomas BARNETT (can not verify).		1741	Mar.	1776

Robert DEXTER, 'free school'.	May	1745		1754
William REMINGTON, died about this date.			Aug.	1746
Samuel NUNNS, socially exclusive private school.	Mar.	1755		
Eliezer COGAN, of Dissenting parents and taught at home, was born this date ...		1762		
John PALMER, 'free school'.		1776	Aug.	1777
Mr.MASON)co-proprietors of		1796		
Mr.WOOD)boarding school.				

RUSHDEN.

Mr. BAKER.	Jul.	1692	Jul.	1699
John WOOLLASTON.	Jul.	1713		
Mr. FISHER.	Aug.	1726		
Mr. SANDERS.	Aug.	1726		

RUSHTON.

William HARDWICK.	Aug.	1726		
Samuel OAKLEY.	Jul.	1758	Jul.	1774

RYHALL. (Rut.)

William GOFORTH.	Jul.	1726		
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SCALDWELL.

A school endowed for 99 years.	Sep.	1665		
Charity school.		1712		1724
Thomas POPE, died this date.				1717
John POPE, son of Thomas. *name crossed out.		1717	Aug.	1726*
Mr.LUCAS.	Aug.	1726		
Edward PALMER, 'charity schoolhouse'.	Jul.	1730		
Additional sum for master.		1735		
William WARREN, 'free school'.	Mar.	1741		c.1774
Samuel ALLAM, 'free school'.	Mar.	1775		

SLAPTON.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.

SPRATTON.

Stephen JUDKINS.	Jul.	1723	Jun.	1761
William JUDKINS.	Jul.	1767	Jul.	1780

STAMFORD St. Martin's. (F)

Thomas LYNDSEY.	Jul.	1711		
William JEPSON.	Jan.	1719/20		c.1726
John CLENDON.	Mar.	1730/1		
George WRIGHT, private music teacher.	Aug.	1736		
Joseph DIGBY.	Jan.	1738		
Mrs.DODD, kept girls' school, presumed here.		1740s		
Mrs.S.SYMPSON, opened girls' boarding school.	Jan.	1745/6		
Edward LAURENCE, author, mathematician, teacher. (Dates?)				

STAVERTON.

School plus master's house provided under multiple endowments. 1767
William TITE. 1789

STOKE ALBANY.

James MASTERSON. 1785

STOKE BRUERNE.

Boy schooled here went to Cambridge. 1693
John SMITH. 1777

STOWE Nine Churches.

Money by will to support a master. 1719
Charity school. 1724
Reference to school existing at this date. 1733

STRIXTON.

George HARDING, kept classical school. May 1692
Scholar went up to Cambridge, early 18th century.
John LETTICE, kept small private school 1740s
either here or at BOZEAT.

SUDBOROUGH. (F)

A school established by deed this date, for Oct. 1788
30 boys and 30 girls.

SULBY. See WELFORD.

SULGRAVE.

Possibly a charity school this date. 1712
A non-classical school for 10 boys, with Jun. 1722
premises, founded and endowed.
Charity school. 1724
Further educational bequest. Feb. 1763
John CHESTER, 'free English school'. 1770 1798
Christopher TOWLE, gave dancing lessons
at CHESTER's school. 1770
William HAWKES, master of the 'Academy'. 1783 1790s

SYRESHAM.

Charity school, 6 children. 1712 1724
Sum left to support a master this date. Feb. 1755
Further educational bequest this date. May 1773
Daniel FRANCE. 1780 1798
Thomas HORN, 'free school'. Jun. 1798 Oct. 1815

THISTLETON. (Rut.)

Possibly a school from this date.		1692	
Richard HOWITT.	Jul.	1711	
Charity school.		1712	1724
Thomas WARREN, 'free school'.	May	1720	1730
Samuel HAYWOOD.	Jul.	1739	c.1744
Joseph DIGBY, kept classical school from ...	Oct.	1740	

THORNHAUGH.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.			
Educational bequest this date.	Mar.	1707	
The school benefiting from the 1707 bequest was situated at WANSFORD this date.		1812	

THORPE MALZOR.

Cambridge entrants educated privately here late 17th century.			
William WILKINSON.	Aug.	1726	

THRAPSTON. (F)

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.			
Mrs.Elizabeth MERCER, taught needlework.	Mar.	1722	Mar. 1740
John PARKER, kept a classical school, *name crossed out.	c.1726		Jun. *1736
John HARGREAVES.			1785
Elizabeth SCALES, 'schoolmistress'.		1791	
Mrs.LEVERSUCH, proprietress of boarding school.		1791	
J.JACKSON, curate/schoolmaster.		1791	
Jonathan WOOD, opened boarding school.		1795	
Miss.DARNELL)co-owners of girls'		1798	
Miss.LIVERSIDGE)boarding school.			

TOWCESTER.

Jethro KING, head G.S.		1681	Mar. 1706/7
William GILBERT.	Apr.	1682	Jul. 1692
Francis HOARE, head G.S.	Oct.	1708	Oct. 1711
Richard HUDSON, 'schoolmaster' in the town.	Jun.	1710	
Gabriel OWEN, head G.S.		1711	May 1717
Ralph ROBINSON, head G.S.		1717	Mar. 1741/2
Thomas CROW, 'ludimagister', ROBINSON's assistant?	Aug.	1726	
Robert WILSON, writing master and proprietor of a school.		1736	
Thomas ADAMS, head G.S.	Aug.	1742	Dec. 1766
William CAREY, Dissenting teacher.			1743
John WARLTIRE lectured.		1763	
Robinson LAWFORD, head G.S.	Dec.	1766	Feb. 1795
William SMITH, 'schoolmaster' in the town.	Jul.	1774	1777
Joseph ARLIDGE, 'schoolmaster', probably private.		1780	
Thomas WHITE, 'free Grammar School'.	Apr.	1795	

WEEDON BECK.

A non-classical school endowed this date ..	1713		
Nathaniel BILLING, 'schoolmaster'.	Jul. 1723		1739
Further educational bequest.	1736		
John BARNFATHER, 'free school'.	Jun. 1739		c.1774
Samuel JEMSON (can not verify).	1747		
Benjamin WEST, 'free school'.	Jul. 1774	Jul.	1783
Thomas BILLING, licensed 'schoolmaster'.	Apr. 1792		
BILLING advertised his boarding school.	1795		1798

WEEKLEY. (and WARKTON).

Joseph PILCHES.	Jul. 1720		1730
Charity school, 10 children.	1724		
William HILTON.	Jul. 1744		
George NUNNS.		May	1757

WELFORD.

Several educational bequests, 18th century.
(WELFORD linked with SULBY).

Richard BARKER.	1710		c.1766
William BARKER.	Aug. 1726		
John CUMBERLIDGE.	May 1748		
John HILL, 'free school'.	Mar. 1764		
HILL advertised mathematics; took boarders.	Feb. 1774	Jul.	1780

WELLINGBOROUGH Grammar School.

John HAWKINS, usher initially; head from 1681.	1677	Jul.	1692
Richard HAWORTH, usher.	1688		1691
George WILKINSON, usher.	Oct. 1694		1696
Thomas EALES, head.	1696		1703
John KITCHINER, usher.		Sep.	1710
John EALES, head.	1703	Mar.	1717/8
Benjamin CHESTERTON, usher.	Sep. 1710		?1736
John TROUTBECK, head.	Mar. 1716/7		1738
Richard GIBBS, usher.	1726		
Joseph WARNER, usher.	Apr. 1736		c.1751
Thomas HOLME, head.	Oct. 1738		1774
William PROCTOR, head.	1773		1791
William BROWN, usher.	Jan. 1791		
William FANCOURT, head.	1791		1793
James GIBBS, head.	1793		1821

WELLINGBOROUGH Miscellaneous.

Thomas DOMINELL.	1687	Dec.	1695
John GAWTHARN, 'schoolmaster', made his will.		Apr.	1702
FREEMAN's charity school, with premises, endowed by will, 40 children.	May 1711		
A charity school occurs, with between 26-40 children.	1724		1769
Several further educational bequests, 18th century.			
Benjamin HART, 'ludimagister'.	Aug. 1726		

Thomas COWPER, taught mathematics privately.	c.1736		c.1752
John PACK, 'schoolmaster', died.		c.May	1751
Anthony MOREAU taught dancing, swordsmanship.	1753		
John FRENCH, Independent, noted master who taught all denominations.	1760s		
John CARVER, 'teacher of a separate congregation'.	1777		
Thomas THOMAS, 'teacher of a separate congregation'.	1777		
John GREEN, 'schoolmaster'.	Nov. 1777		
John SUMMERFIELD, 'schoolmaster', made will.		Nov.	1793
John NIALS, 'schoolmaster', made will.		Jun.	1797
William HAYNE.)Joint proprietors of	1797		
Thomas LEIGH.)a school.			
John WARLTIRE lectured.	1799		

WELLINGBOROUGH. (F)

Mistress (name unknown) taught lacemaking, spinning at FREEMAN's school.	c.1711		c.1730
?Miss./Mrs. VARLEY, kept girls' boarding school; masters employed for accounts, dancing, writing.	1780s		1790s
Miss. BOVELL, kept girls' school, day pupils and boarders.	1790s		
Miss. VIALL, kept girls' boarding school.	1790s		

WELTON.

Schoolhouse built; £20 p.a. left for teaching poor children.	c.1706		
John SHENSTON, Dissenting teacher.	Dec. 1734	c.Aug.	1741
School built this date, partly supported out of ancient charities.	c.1810		

WEST HADDON.

William CLARKE.	Aug.	1720	
Edward CLARKE.	Aug.	1726	
Joseph WATSON.	Oct.	1786	

WESTON FAVELL. (F)

Non-classical schoolhouse, master's house, stemmed from will this date. (DODDINGTON children could attend if WESTON FAVELL numbers low).	Feb.	1704	
William JUDY.	Jan.	1706/7	
Stephen APPS.	Jul.	1711	
Charity school, 9 boys and 6 girls.		1712	1724
John WARD.	Aug.	1720	Aug. 1723
William PHILLIPS.	Aug.	1726	1739
Further educational bequest this date.		1739	
John WINKELS, charity school.		1741	1747
John POOLE, charity school.		1747	1749
John GLEED, charity school.		1749	1752
John MATTINGS, charity school.		1752	1756

Daniel MARRETT, charity school.	1756	1757
Mr.HOWE, charity school.	1757	
Charles WEBB, charity school but described as 'Proprietor of a boys' school'.	1760s	1789
William JENSON, husband)jointly kept a Mrs.JENSON, wife)boarding school.	1780s	1790s
Mrs.J.SPENCER, owner of a girls' school.	1790s	

WHILTON.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.

WHISSENDINE. (Rut.)

John KILEKEN.	Jul.	1726	
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WHISTON.

Charity school, 12 children.		1717	1724
Ref. this date to charity school being in existence for many years.	Nov.	1747	

WHITFIELD.

Possibly a charity school this date.		1708	
Charity school, 8 children.		1712	1724

WHITTLEBURY.

Educational bequest this date.		1719	
Schoolhouse rented from Duke of Grafton, late 18th century.			
William GRAY, advertised his boarding school....	May	1776	
taught at 'English free school'.....	Aug.	1777	Jul. 1783

WILBARSTON.

A non-classical school existed here, 18th century.

WING. (Rut.)

Henry RUSSELL.	Jul.	1726	
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WOLLASTON.

George HARDING, kept classical school.	Oct.	1693	Feb. ?1707
Anthony MUNTON, private classical school.		c.1712	Feb. 1765
John BROWNE.	Aug.	1726	
William MANNING, continued MUNTON's school.		1765	Feb. 1770
William TURLAND.	Nov.	1777	

WOODFORD.

Charity school, 6 children.	1717	1724
Hornbooks at shop here.		1727

YELVERTOFT. (F)

Benjamin FACER.	Mar.	1706/7	c.Jan.	1714/5
Charity school, 16 children; schoolhouse.		1712		1724
Thomas WILCOX.	Aug.	1720		
William SOMERVILE, 'free school'.			Aug.	1726
Joseph ?FROWE.		1727		
John WATKIN.		1730	Jul.	1771
Edward PAGE, 'usher', assistant to WATKIN.		1730		
Lawrence SHERMAN.	Jul.	1733		
Miss.Mary ASHBY, owner of a girls' school.		1775		
Francis BARTON, made will.			Jan.	1790

APPENDIX 2.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS
ACTIVE IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE AND RUTLAND
BETWEEN 1688 AND 1800.

The two principal sources for the names and locations of teachers are the Church of England's visitation records and contemporary newspapers. Such works as DNB, HIL, VCH, school and academy histories, and university admission registers furnish extensive particulars in respect of those men who moved in influential circles. Normally, however, very little further can be discovered about the masters who occur incidentally in, for example, militia lists, Poll Books and village miscellanies. Because some 760 individuals are listed here, the biographical details given are deliberately restricted for obvious reasons. Only provided are the dates of birth and death and qualifications held where known, places of work and, if of significance, places of residence, personal appellations and school descriptions. All clerics included are the ones whose teaching role is confirmed. Many masters and mistresses are dealt with at length in the body of the thesis.

ADAM William. Published The Careless Child's Alphabet (1776); was then possibly teaching at Kingsthorpe.

ADAMS Thomas. (d.1766) 'literate', head of Towcester G.S. Aug. 1742-Dec.1766.

ADAMS William. Taught at Daventry G.S. from 1681.

ADCOCK John. (1695-1752) BA, MA, head of Oakham G.S. 1724-1753.

ADCOCK John. Memorial erected to schoolmaster of this name at Ketton, 1785.

ADKINS William. At Flore in 1696; at Eastcote by 1702.

ADKINS William. Blisworth Aug. 1720-?1780; called usher Jul. 1733-Jul. 1736.

AGAR John. Called usher, of Gregory Street, Northampton, in 1768 Poll Book.

AGER Timothy. (d.?1801) Schoolmaster of Bridge Street, Northampton, 1784, 1790, 1796 Poll Books; admon. of will granted Oct. 1801.

AGGER John. (see AGAR) Teacher in Northampton (West Ward), 1777.

AIKEN John. (1713-1780) Tutor at Doddridge's Academy.

ALEXANDER Anthony. Glaston, Jul. 1726, but name crossed through in VB 23 (unfol.)

ALEXANDER George. Lectured on 'Heads', Northampton, 1765, 1771.

ALLAM Samuel. Scaldwell 1775.

ALLEN Thomas. (1681-1755) BA, MA, head of Kettering G.S. Feb. 1722-1755.

ALLEN William. Greetham Jul. 1723-Jul.1726. (See next).

ALLIN William. Subscribed to gain licence, Greetham, Dec.1709.

ALLISON John. Ringstead Jul.1713-Aug.1720.

ANDREWES Henry Uthwatt. (1755-1810) BA, head of Blakesley G.S. 1784-1810.

APPS Stephen. Weston Favell Jul.1711; Kingsthorpe Aug.1720-?1752 (VB 27 unfol.); one reference to him says d.1737.

ARCHER Ferdinando. (d.1705) MA, head of Northampton G.S. Dec.1646-Jun.1705 when he again subscribed. Nominally in charge last few years.

ARLIDGE Joseph. Schoolmaster in Towcester when he subscribed to West's Miscellaneous Poems in 1780.

ARROWSMITH Joseph. (d.1753) Aynho, Apr.1732-1753.

ARUNDELL Edward. (1689-1731) BA, MA, head of Courteenhall, Nov.1718-Mar.1730/1.

ASHBRIDGE Robert. (1646-1718) BA, MA, head of Courteenhall, 1681-Sep.1718.

ASHBY Mary Miss. Proprietress of a girls' school, Yelvertoft, 1775.

ASHWORTH Caleb. (1722-1775) DD, Principal of Doddridge's Academy at Daventry, 1752-1773.

ASPINWALL Mr. Writing master, Dryden family, 1770s; possibly James, the Eydon curate in 1769, d.1816.

ATWELL Edward. (d. c.1738) Schoolmaster in Daventry from Nov.1720; his inventory taken 1738.

AUNGIER Thomas. At Burton Latimer briefly from Jul.1702.

AUSTIN Jacob. 'English usher' at Ryland's Academy, 1760s.

BACON Elizabeth ?Miss/Mrs. (d.1770) Proprietress of a girls' boarding school, Peterborough, 1753-1770; succeeded by an assistant, Miss Searle.

BAGLEY William. Irchester, Aug. 1726.

BAILEY T. Taught architecture, drawing; advertised building designs, Northampton, 1760.

BAKER Mr. Rushden, Jul.1692-Jul.1699.

BALL Thomas. BA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1751.

BANBURY John. 'Other schoolmaster', Guilsborough, 1736-Jul.1774.

BANISTER Thomas. (1754-1821) Head of Brackley G.S. 1784-Nov.1821.

BANNISTER William. Head of Brackley G.S. Jul.1767-?1800

BARBER John. Teacher of choristers, Peterborough Cathedral, Jun.1704.

BARKER Richard. Welford, 1710-c.1766, when he drew up codicil.

BARKER William. Welford, Aug.1726; relative of Richard?

BARNETT Thomas. (1716-1776) BA, MA, Rothwell, 1741-1776.

BARNFATHER John. Weedon Beck, June 1739-?1774.

BARTON Francis. 'Schoolmaster', Yelvertoft when he made will, 1790.

BARTON Mr. Long Buckby, Jul.1752. 'Teaches school but not any indowed'.

BARTON William. (1714-1763) BA, Pytchley, Jul.1744-1763.

BASFORD Samuel. Blisworth, Jun.1796.

BASS John. BA, MA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1716-1717.

BATE Richard. (1713-1775) BA, Houghton Parva, Jul.1767.

BATES Robert. (1692-1771) BA, MA, kept classical school, Maxey, 1750.

BATTIE Edward. MA, usher, Oundle G.S. c.1690 briefly; later became rector of Modbury (Devon).

BATTISON Thomas. (d.1799) 'Schoolmaster', Houghton Parva, at his death.

BAXTER Isaac. Old, Aug.1726; made will Apr.1743.

BEAVER Jeffreys. (d.1742) English/writing master, Northampton, Oct.1729-Jun.1742.

BEAVER Thomas. (d.1738) Baker/schoolmaster, Northampton at his death.

BEDELL William. (1662-1726) BA, kept classical school, Hargrave, 1703.

BELGRAVE William. (1712-1753) BA, MA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1738-Apr.1753.

BELSHAM Thomas. (1750-1829) Tutor, Daventry Dissenting Academy, from 1770; senior tutor 1781-Jun.1789.

BENNETT Thomas. BA, MA, head of Fotheringhay G.S. 1696-?1708.

BILLING Nathaniel. Weedon Beck, Jul.1723-1739.

BILLING Thomas. Weedon Beck, Apr.1792 apptd. by minister and churchwardens; kept a boarding school in the village 1795-1798.

BINFIELD Henry. (1737-1795) BA, MA, vicar of West Haddon, Aug.1777, 'ap. not but exhib. resides near Hampstead at a school'.

BIRCH John. (d.1800) Master of Kingsthorpe Charity School at his death.

BIRD James. (d ?1782) Schoolmaster, Mears Ashby at his death.

BIRD John. Harlestone, 1777.

BISHOP Hawley. (1702-1757) BCL, DCL, Crick, May 1753-Apr.1757.

BLACKBURN Mrs. Proprietress of a girls' boarding school, Kettering, 1788-1794.

BLACKBURN Mr. Advertised a boys' school, Kettering, 1794.

BLACKWELL Mark. (d.c.1780) A schoolmaster in Brackley from Jul.1774; died before July 1780.

BLAKE Richard. King's Cliffe, Nov.1736.

BLANN Michael. Braunston (Northants.), Dec.1776-1792.

BOON John. 'Schoolmaster', St. Giles Street, Northampton, 1784.

BOOTH James. Peterborough (Dogsthorpe), Sep.1730.

BOTTOMLEY George. (d.c.1778) Empingham, 1771 until his death.

de BOUFFRAY Monsieur. In partnership with de HACQUEVILLE; their school, Northampton, offered languages, science for many years until 1798.

BOURNE Robert. Usher, Peterborough King's School, Jul.1744.

BOVELL Miss. Proprietress of a girls' school, Wellingborough, for day pupils and boarders, 1790s.

BOWLES Thomas. (1695-1773) BA, MA, BD, DD, kept private classical school, Brackley, Sep.1732-c.1766.

BRABANT Thomas. Tutor at Doddridge's Academy.

BRADFIELD Thomas. (1691-1756) BA, MA, head of Peterborough King's School, Jul.1723-1736.

BRAFIELD Mr. Kept a school in Northampton, c.1735-c.1755; assisted by his daughter Mrs. Elizabeth Scriven.

BRAFIELD Thomas. Schoolmaster, Houghton Parva when made will, Mar.1725/6.

BRIGHT Mr. Usher, Oundle G.S. 1687-1689.

BROADBENT William. (1755-1827) Tutor, Northampton Dissenting Academy, Aug.1782-1789. (following the Daventry intermission).

BROOKE/S Richard. (1661-1703) Vicar of Rothwell and possibly taught there, 1698-Dec.1703.

BROOKS Thomas. 'Ludimagister, free school of Oakham', Oct.1722-1730.

BROWN William. 'Under schoolmaster', Wellingborough, Jan.1791.

BROWNE John. Wollaston, Aug.1726.

BROWNE John. Schoolmaster of Bridge Street, Northampton, 1768; made will Aug. 1770.

BUCKLEY (?BRINKLEY) Henry. Hemington, c.1724-1744.

BUFFEY Thomas. A 'schoolmaster' in Peterborough, 1791.

BULLER Robert. (1683-1737) BA, Blisworth 1730 until his death.

BULLIVANT John. (d.1741) BA, Pytchley, Jul.1733-Oct.1736.

BULLIVANT John. (1745-1803) BA, MA, Clipston 1768-Jul.1774; called 'John Bullivant, junior' twice in VB 28 (unfol.)

BULLIVANT Miss. With Miss Clarke kept a girls' boarding school in Guilsborough, 1788 to 1790, when Mrs Wells became proprietress.

BULLOCK Jeremiah. Watford, Aug.1726-1730; had moved to Crick by 1734.

BUNNING John. (b.1702) BA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1725-1737; on 2 occasions called David.

BURBIDGE John. Eydon, Apr. 1705-Jul.1711. (See next).

BURBIDGE John. Aynho, Aug.1720-1730.

BURLINGSON Thomas. 'literate', Finedon, Apr.1743-Jul.1752.

BURTON A Miss.)Sisters, kept a school for the accomplishments,
 BURTON M Miss.)Uppingham, before and after Jan.1789.

BUTLIN Joseph. Watford, Jul.1780-?1798.

BUTT John. (b.1755) BA, head of Uppingham G.S. 1794-1811.

CADMAN John. (1710-1766) BA, MA, head of Daventry G.S. July.1739-1762.

CALDWELL Edward. (1648-1717/8) BA, MA, head of Oundle G.S. 1689-Jan.1717/8.

de CAMILLE Mme. Political emigree, of Paris, opened girls' day school, Northampton, 1791; offered French and accomplishments.

CAOELEE (?COLEY) Mr. 'Of Guilsborough', 1749, when he enquired about his missing licence.

CAREY Edmund. (b.1736) Paulerspury, 1767. (Son of next).

CAREY Peter. (d.?1758) Paulerspury, Apr.1724-?1758. (Father of next).

CAREY William (1723-1743) 'A promising teacher in Towcester' at his death, aged 20.

CAREY William. (1761-1834) Son of Edmund; Dissenting teacher, Moulton, 1785-1789, and Piddington c.1789; noted Baptist missionary.

CARPENTER Thomas. King's Sutton, 1764.

CARTER Christopher. Assistant to his father, Samuel, at Higham Ferrers G.S. 1754.

CARTER Samuel. Head of Higham Ferrers G.S. Oct.1731-1776 when ill. Of Christ's Coll.Camb., but not known whether awarded degree.

CARVER John. 'Teacher of a separate congregation', Wellingborough, 1777.

CASTLEDINE John. Langham, Jul.1726-Jul.1783.

CATTELL Joseph. (1678-1719) BA, MA, Rothwell, May 1704-Jul.1711.

CHAPMAN Edward. (1696-1740/1) BA, MA, Rothwell, Mar.1719/20-Jul.1739. Most probably in office at his death.

CHAPMAN Thomas. Guilsborough G.S. Apr.1675-Jul.1692; probably the Cambridge graduate and vicar of Naseby, Dec.1679-1688.

CHARRIER Monsieur. Political emigre. Taught French, geography in Northampton, 1780.

CHATHAM James. 'Pedagogue' in Peterborough, 1730.

CHECKLEY Mr. Brington, Aug.1720.

CHESTER John. Sulgrave, 1770-1798.

CHESTERTON Benjamin. Usher, Wellingborough G.S. Sep.1710-?1736.

CHOICE Sampson. (b.1650) BA, MA, usher, Oakham G.S. c.1671-1711 when he was 'ailing' but 'still on payroll'.

CHOWN William. Kept boys' boarding school at Mears Ashby, Sep.1782-1787; at Moulton 1787-May 1819, date of his will.

CLARK Samuel. (1729-1769) Tutor-in-charge, Northampton Dissenting Academy, 1751-1752; tutor, Daventry Dissenting Academy, 1752-1756,

CLARKE Edward. West Haddon, Aug.1726. Son of William?

CLARKE John. (1680-1748) BA, MA, head, Northampton G.S. 1719-Jun.1748.

CLARKE John. (1724-1811) LL B, MA, head, Guilsborough G.S. Jul.1766-Jul.1783, and perhaps until his death, Mar.1811.

CLARKE John. Long-serving assistant tutor, Ryland's Academy; co-principal with John Ryland, jun., from Jul.1785.

CLARKE Miss. With Miss Bullivant kept a girls' boarding school in Guilsborough, 1788-1790, when Mrs Wells became proprietress.

CLARKE Mr. Private tutor, Isham family, 1754; not known whether based at Lamport.

CLARKE William. West Haddon, Aug.1720. Father of Edward?

CLAYPOLE William. Belton, Jul.1726.

CLEAVER Walter. (d.1762) 'Usher in a school'; buried Northampton, Dec.1762.

CLENDON John. Stamford St. Martin's, Mar.1730/1; possibly the man of that name (1702-1772) BA, vicar of Desborough, Mar.1727/8.

CLENDON Thomas. (1665-1710) BA, MA, Oxendon Magna, Apr.1693.

CLOUTT Mrs. Proprietress of school for young ladies, both boarders and day scholars, Northampton, Jul.1805.

COGAN Eliezer. (1762-1855) Tutor, Daventry Dissenting Academy, c.1784-c.1787.

COLEMAN George. Unlicensed teacher in Brackley, Jul.1739.

COLLIER John. (d.1751) Sometime schoolmaster, Houghton Parva.

COLLIER William. (1691-1762) BA, MA, head, Daventry G.S. Jan.1713/4-Feb.1718/9; 'ludimagister' Cold Ashby, Apr.1725-Jun.1761.

COLLIER William. Crick, 1774-Jul.1780.

COLLIS Thomas. Master of 'Guilsborough old f.s,' (writing master) 1720-1736; probably the 'clerk of Guilsborough' who died Sept.1738.

COMFIELD J. Son of Thomas; they advertised a school, Guilsborough, Jul.1792-Jul.1794.

COMFIELD Richard. Taught with T.Hague, Northampton, early 1790s; advertised in own name Jan.1795.

COMFIELD Thomas. Father of J.Comfield; master of 'Guilsborough English f.s,' 1764-Jul.1783; he and his son advertised Jul.1792-Jul.1794.

COMPER T. So-called by Hans, New Trends, p.248; should be Thomas Cowper.

CONNINGTON John. Assistant to Cattell, Rothwell, May 1704.

COOK Mrs. Proprietress of girls' boarding school, Northampton, 1770s.

COOKE Philip. Wansford, 1730.

COOPER Richard. (d.1752) Head, Brackley G.S. Apr.1721-c.Jul.1752.

COOPER Richard. (d.c.1814) A schoolmaster in Brackley at his death.

CORBET Thomas. BA, advertised private tuition, Northampton, 1788; schoolmaster, Kingsthorpe, 1792.

CORNEY John. Pytchley, Sep.1680.

CORRY Peter. Paulerspury, Aug.1726. This is Peter Carey.

COWPER Simon. (d.1723) Raunds, Oct.1704-Jul.1711, possibly until death.

COWPER Thomas. (1716-1778) Taught modern subjects 'to youth', Wellingborough, c.1736-c.1752.

COX Mr. Kept a school, Northampton, 1770.

CRAMP William. Subscribed to teach English in Oakham, 1712.

CRASS Thomas. Assistant to John Smith, Northampton, 1753-1759, then to Smith's widow Joyce, 1759-1762; advertised his own school, Northampton, Mar.1762-Apr.1786; offered evening tuition.

CRAVEN ?Simon. Exton, Jul.1723-Jul.1726.

CRESSWELL John. Writing master, Northampton, 1693.

CROSFIELD Thomas. (1708-1744) BA, MA, Head of Daventry G.S. 1732-1739; taught at Preston Capes, May 1739-1742.

CROSS Thomas. Schoolmaster, Northampton, 1768, 1774 Poll Books. This is Thomas Crass.

CROW Thomas. Towcester, Aug.1726.

CUMBERLIDGE John. Welford, May 1748.

CURRIE James. Northampton (South Quarter), 1790.

CURRIN John. Crick, Feb.1787-1798.

DADLEY Richard. 'literate', Crick, Apr.1753.

DANIELL William. Crick, Feb.1780-1786.

DARLING John. Taught at Braybrooke for some years before making will, Sep.1804.

DARNELL Miss. Co-owner with Miss Liversidge of a girls' boarding school, Thrapston, 1798.

DAUD William. BA, Harrowden Parva, Nov.1685-Jul.1692.

DAVIS Richard. Helmdon, Apr.1704; probably Richard Davies, BA, curate of Slapton, Jul.1702.

DAVY Mr. 'Ludimagister', Rothwell, Jul.1692.

DEAN John. (1708-1759) BA, usher, Courteenhall, Jul.1733-1743.

DENISON Mr. Resident tutor to Frank and Thomas Dryden, Canons Ashby, late 18th cent.

DENNY William. (d.1794) Head of Daventry G.S. ?1772-1787.

DENT Mrs. Proprietress of girls' boarding school, Northampton, 1760s-Jul.1801, day scholars from Jun.1796.

DEUR John. Wansford, 1762.

DEXTER Miss. Proprietress of girls' boarding school, Kettering, 1790s.

DEXTER Robert. 'literate', Rothwell, May 1745-1754.

DICKENS Thomas. A schoolmaster in Daventry, Nov.1777; in Crick, Jan.1779.

DIGBY Joseph. (1718-1786) LL B, Stamford St. Martin's, Jan.1738/9; advertised his classical boarding school, Thistleton, Oct.1740.

DILLINGHAM John. Irthlingborough, 1710-Aug.1726.

DODD Mrs. Proprietress of girls' school, presumed to be at Stamford St. Martin's, Jan.1745/6.

DODDRIDGE Philip. (1702-1751) DD, Nonconformist; taught very briefly at Market Harborough (Leics.) and Daventry prior to establishing his Northampton Dissenting Academy, Dec.1729-Oct.1751.

DODSON John. Advertised a boys' school, Geddington, 1758.

DOMINELL Thomas. (d.1701) Wellingborough G.S. 1687-Dec.1695.

DOWSE Mr. Usher, Peterborough King's School, c.1720; perhaps Robert Dowse, MA, curate of Wilby, 1707.

DRAKE Francis. ?BA, ?MA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1737-1738.

DUGDALE Mr. Casterton Parva, 1730.

DU SOL Monsieur. French speaking tutor, Isham family, Lamport, before and after 1699.

DYER George. (1755-1841) BA, usher, Ryland's Academy, 1780s.

EALES John. Head, Wellingborough G.S. 1703-Mar.1717/8. Related to Thomas?

EALES John. Cold Higham; made will Mar.1760.

EALES Thomas. Head, Wellingborough G.S. 1696-1703.

EARNSBY Miss. Proprietress of girls' school, Daventry, 1790s.

EDWARDS Elizabeth Ann Miss.)Sisters, co-owners of a girls'
EDWARDS Martha Miss.)boarding school, Northampton, 1781.

EGG Mr. 'Teacher', Northampton (West Ward), 1777.

ELLERSHAW Christopher. Said to be head, Higham Ferrers G.S. 1776 till death 1799; one Christopher Ellershaw (1766-1828), BA, MA, curate of Irthlingborough, 1780.

ELLIS Ann. Wife or daughter of Henry; assisted at his dancing school, Kingsthorpe, 1739-Apr.1757.

ELLIS Henry. Dancing master at the Wadlands' school, Cranford, Mar.1748; at Mrs Pasham's school, Northampton, 1752; at Finedon, till 1753; had own boarding schools for young ladies at Kingsthorpe, 1739-Apr.1757; at Northampton, 1759.

ELLIS John. Son of Henry? Assisted him at Kingsthorpe, 1739-Apr.1757; dancing master, Mrs Pasham's school, 1752.

ENSOR John. (d.1723/4) BA, Rothwell, May 1696.

EVANS John. (b.1701) BA, Harrowden Parva, 1730.

EVANSON John. (b.1753) MA, head, Oundle G.S. Oct. 1779-1795.

EYRE Charles. Refused a teaching licence, Barrowden, Jul.1744, 'being a Roman Catholic'.

FACER Benjamin. (d.c.1714) Yelvertoft, Mar.1706/7-Jul.1711.

FAIRCHILD Joseph. Barrowden, Jun.1736-Jul.1739, when name crossed through.

FALLOWFIELD William. (d.1822) Head of Daventry G.S. Apr.1787-May 1822; one William Fallowfield, b.1727, BA, MA.

FANCOURT John. (1742-1777) BA, MA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1762-1771; head of Uppingham G.S. 1771-1777.

FANCOURT William. BA, head, Wellingborough G.S. 1791-1793.

FARREN John. (d.1731) BA, Clipston, 1691-1731.

FARRER John. Proposed opening a school, Oundle, Jan.1790; 'all the usual branches of education'.

FAVELL Charles. (d.1807) MA, usher, Peterborough King's School, c.1764-Jun.1767; head there, Jun.1767-1773.

FAVELL Robert. Supposedly 'master and assistant', Peterborough King's School, 1773.

FE(A)RNE George. (b.1712) MA, usher, Peterborough King's School, Jun.1733.

FERGUSON James. (1710-1776) FRS, noted lecturer in 'experimental philosophy'; hired Red Lion, Northampton, Sept.1764, for his course on mechanics, laws of fluids, specific gravity, astronomy etc; consulted by J.C.Ryland about teaching methodology.

FERRY Mr. Advertised a school, Sheep Street, Northampton, 1750s; assisted at Mrs Pasham's school; a Mr Ferry occurs as dancing master, Dryden family, Canons Ashby, 1770s.

FIFIELD Richard. Bodington, May 1765.

FISHER J. Sometime assistant to T.Woolley at Northampton G.S; opened his own day school, Market Hill, 1797.

FISHER John. (b.1696) BA, MA, usher, Peterborough King's School, Apr.1756.

FISHER Mr. Mears Ashby, Aug.1726.

FISHER Mr. Rushden, Aug.1726.

FLESHER Thomas. (1727-1796) BA, MA, head of Blakesley G.S. 1753-1784.

FLETCHER Mr. Peterborough (Longthorpe), 1730.

FORSAITH Robert. (d. c.1796) A tutor at Northampton Dissenting Academy under Horsey, following the Daventry intermission.

FOSCUTT John. Chelveston cum Caldecot, 1763-Mar.1767.

FOULQUES L Monsieur. Native of France, resident Northampton Jul.1796 when advertised that he had resumed lessons in French to nobility and gentry.

FOWLER Mr. Bulwick, Jul.1667.

FOWLER Robert. LL B, usher, Peterborough King's School, Jun.1773; resigned as head there Jul.1776.

FOWLER William. (d.1714) BA, Cranford St. Andrew, Jul.1692-Jul.1699.

FRANCE Daniel. Syresham, 1780-1798.

FRANCIS Bartholomew Mrs. Joint owner with husband of school for boys and girls, Northampton, 1730s; taught needlework.

FRANCIS Bartholomew. Kept school in Bridge Street, Northampton, before moving to Market Hill, 1729; that year advertised his spelling book; 1732 offered tuition to girls, advertised for boarders, found better premises.

FREAKE Mr. Proprietor of dancing school, Northampton, 1791.

FREAKE Miss.)Their 'Ladies' boarding school, Northampton,
 FREAKE Mrs.)was commencing its summer holiday, Jun.1803.

FREEMAN Henry. MA, head of Peterborough King's School, 1776-1796.

FRENCH Humphrey. Cold Ashby, Aug.1726.

FRENCH John. Independent minister and Dissenting master, Wellingborough, 1760s.

FRIEND William. Byfield; drew up will Apr.1742.

FROAN Ann Mrs. (d.1793) Milton Malzor; probably began teaching after death of husband, May 1775-Jul.1793.

FROAN Joseph. (d.1775) 'Schoolmaster', Milton Malzor, at his death, May 1775.

?FROWE Joseph. Yelvertoft, 1727.

GASCOIGNE George. (d.Feb.1704/5) BA, usher, Peterborough King's School, Jul.1683; rector of Paston, Feb.1690/1.

GAWTHARN John. Schoolmaster in Wellingborough when drew up will, Apr.1702.

GERARD Nathaniel. (b.1709) BA, MA, Clipston, Feb.1731/2-1748.

GIBBS James. (1758-1843) BA, head of Wellingborough G.S. 1793-1821.

GIBBS Richard. Usher, Wellingborough G.S. 1726.

GILBERT Mrs. Proprietress of girls' boarding school which transferred from Greatworth to Brackley, 1771.

GILBERT William. (d. Jan.1693/4) MA, Towcester G.S. Apr.1682-Jul.1692, prob. till death; rector of Tiffield from Jun.1686.

GLASBROOKE John. (1692-1730) BA, head, Higham Ferrers G.S. Feb.1725/6-Jan.1730/1. Widow spelled name GLASSBROOK.

GLAZE/R William. 'Ludimagister', Daventry, Aug.1726-c.1738; poss.G.S. usher.

GLEED John. Weston Favell, 1749-1752.

GOFORTH William. Ryhall, Jul.1726.

GOODALL Samuel. BA, Hambleton, Jul.1714.

GOODDALL John. (1695-1742) BA, MA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1717-1719.

GOODFELLOW William. Barrowden, 1727.

GOODMAN Mr. Harrowden Parva, prob.1758-Nov.1804.

GOODRICH John. Burton Latimer, Jan.1707-c.1760. (this last date an error?)

GORDON Mr. Islip, c.Jul.1750-Jul.1758.

GRAHAM James. (1754-1794) 'Dr'; bogus medical practitioner; lectured in Northampton, 1790, on 'Health, long life and happiness', typically; invited those afflicted with baffling diseases to consult him.

GRAY Henry. (1646-1720/1) BA, MA, Heyford (Nether), Jun.1683 prob. until death, Feb.1720/1.

GRAY William. Advertised his boarding school, Whittlebury, May 1776 ('useful' subjects inc.algebra, trigonometry) taught at 'English f.s.' there. Aug.1777-Jul.1783.

GREEN John. 'Schoolmaster' in Wellingborough, Nov.1777.

GREY Richard. (1696-1771) BA, MA, DD, Hinton in the hedges, prob. taught, Apr.1720-Feb.1771.

GRIEVE Thomas. (1711-1745) BA, usher, Northampton G.S. Jul.1736-Jul.1739.

GRIFFIN Charles. Blisworth, Mar.1672/3-Dec.1686.

GRIFFIN (GRIFFITH) Thomas. Ecton, Aug.1720-Aug.1726.

GRIFFIS (GRIFFITHS) Vavasor. Lectured at the 'Hind', Northampton, and elsewhere in the county, 1750s on 'experimental philosophy'.

GRIFFITH Vaughan. (b.1717) Usher, Kettering G.S. Aug.1741-Jul.1744, when name crossed through.

GRIFFITHS George (d.1790) Head of Fotheringhay G.S. 1781-1790.

GRIFFITHS Thomas. (b.1714) Usher, Kettering G.S. Apr.1732; proceeded to Hart Hall, Oxford.

GROOBY William. Faxton, Aug.1726.

GROOM Thomas. Described as 'schoolmaster', 1759, in will of brother, a yeoman of Irthlingborough.

GROOME Richard. Raunds, Aug.1726.

GUILLIBEAU Nicholas. Tutor to the young Lord Compton (at Fulham?) Oct.1737.

de HACQUEVILLE Monsieur. Political emigre, in partnership with de BOUFFRAY; their school, Northampton, offered languages, science for many years until 1798.

HAGUE Maria. Daughter of Mrs T. Hague; was assisting at her school, May 1803.

HAGUE Thomas Mrs.)Joint owners of a school with separate
HAGUE Thomas.)departments for boys and 'young ladies',
)Northampton, 1780s-1790s.

HALFORD William. 'Schoolmaster', Northampton (South Quarter), 1784.

HALHAM John. Said to be mathematician and teacher, Northants. (No dates.)

HALLIDAY Thomas. Tutor at the Daventry Academy under Ashworth, resigned 1769; a classicist and 'ingenious'.

HANCE Miss. Replaced Mrs McDonnell as owner of girls' boarding school, Northampton, 1789; in partnership with ?Miss/Mrs Veitch, 1796-1797.

HARDING George (1655-1707) BA, MA, kept classical school, Strixton, May 1692; Wollaston, Oct.1693.

HARDWICK William. Rushton, Aug.1726.

HARGREAVES John. Thrapston, retired with poor eyesight, 1785.

HARMER William. He and assistants opened writing school, Northampton, Jan.1766; accepted boarders.

HARRALD Joseph. 'Usher, Mr. Wadsworth's boarding school, Daventry', 1780, when subscribed to West's Miscellaneous Poems.

HARRIS Ann Mrs. Wife of Thomas; proprietress of girls' school, Northampton (College Lane), 1780s; basic subjects plus needlework.

HARRIS Edward. Byfield, 1777.

HARRIS Mrs. 'First mistress' of model 'working school', Irthlingborough, from 1705.

HARRIS Nathaniel. Aynho, Jul.1692-Jul.1699.

HARRIS Thomas. Husband of Ann; re-opened the 'old established school ... kept by the late Mr Smith', Northampton, Feb.1780; basic subjects.

HART Benjamin. 'Ludimagister' in Wellingborough, Aug.1726.

HAWES John. Kislingbury, Nov.1777; so-spelled in militia lists. (See Howes.)

HAWKES William. 'From Oxford'; master of Sulgrave 'Academy' or free school, 1783-1790s.

HAWKINS John. (d.1721) BA, usher, Wellingborough G.S. from 1677, then head 1681-Jul.1692; perhaps curate, Addington Parva, 1683.

HAWORTH Mr. Usher, Wellingborough G.S. 1688-1691; prob.Richard HAWORTH, MA, the Isham curate, 1682.

HAYNE William. Joint proprietor with T.Leigh of a school in Wellingborough, 1797.

HAYWARD Mrs. Opened a girls' boarding school, Kettering, 1792.

HAYWOOD Samuel. Thistleton, Jul.1739-Jul.1744, when 'not schoolmaster now'.

HEATH Judah. Crick, Oct.1706.

HEBLETHWAITE John. (1642-1693) BA, vicar of Pytchley from Dec.1663; occurs as schoolmaster there Jul.1692.

HELLINS John. BD, ?taught whilst vicar of Potterspury, from Sept.1789; author, mathematician; 'distinguished for his scientific attainments.'

HEMINGS Peter. Moreton Pinkney; drew up will Nov.1817.

HENCHMAN Charles. Finedon, Jul.1699; poss.Charles Henchman, BA, MA, briefly vicar of Norton by Daventry and eventual master of the King's School, Chester.

HEPWORTH John. Usher, Peterborough King's School, Jun.1761.

HERBE Monsieur. Political emigre; taught French privately and by visiting schools, Northampton, 1798.

HERRING Mr. Paulerspury, Jul.1758-Jun.1761.

HEXTAL William. (d.1777) Nonconformist minister who taught in Northampton and district for many years.

HEYRICK Samuel. (1754-1840) BA, MA, kept private school, Brampton Ash, 1790-1795, attended by members of Knightley, Thornton and Wilton (Harrington) families.

HILL John. Taught geometry, trigonometry, mensuration of superficies and solids etc., Welford, Mar.1764-Jul.1780; engaged at f.s; advertised for boarders, Feb.1774.

HILL Mr. Eye, 1730.

HILL Noah. Tutor, Daventry Dissenting Academy, 1760-1770; lectured in Latin, Greek, mathematics.

HILL Theophilus. 'Pedagogus' in Peterborough, 1730; prob. Theophilus Hill, b.1705, BA, drew up will 1788.

HILLS Daniel. 'Master of a f.s.', Walgrave, Nov.1777.

HILTON William. Weekley, Jul.1744.

HIPWELL John. 'Blisworth f.s.', Jul.1801.

HOARE Francis. (1680-1711) BA, head of Towcester G.S. Oct.1708-Oct.1711.

HOARE John. (b.1709) BA, MA, head of Guilsborough G.S. Jan.1753-Jul.1771, when name crossed out.

HOBBS Mr. Music master, Dryden family, Canons Ashby, 1770s.

HOGG James. (1774-1844) 'literate'; 'schoolmaster', Kettering G.S. Jan.1801.

HOGG John. (d.1780) 'Schoolmaster' in Northampton (Gold Street, then St. Giles Street), 1768-Jul.1780.

HOLEBROOK D Miss.)Sisters, kept a girls' school, Northampton,
HOLEBROOK S Miss.)(Sheep Street), from 1781.

HOLGATE Richard. BA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1783-1802.

HOLME Thomas. (1703-1774) LL B, head, Wellingborough G.S. Oct.1738-1774.

HOLT Thomas. Braybrooke, Aug.1726.

HONOUR John. Writing master at Joyce Smith's school, Northampton, Feb.1762-c.1772; previously had been '12 years teacher in a nearby town.'

HORN Thomas. Syresham f.s., Jun.1798.

HORSEY John. Unitarian; senior tutor, Northampton Dissenting Academy, 1789-1798, following the Daventry intermission.

HORTON John. MA, head of Guilsborough G.S. 1722-1752.

HOWE Mr. Weston Favell, from 1757.

HOWE Mrs. Proprietress of girls' school, Northampton, opened 1784.

HOWES John. Kislingbury; admon. of his will granted, Mar.1787; related to T.Howse?

HOWITT Richard. Thistleton, Jul.1711.

HOWSE Thomas. Kislingbury, Aug.1720; related to J.Howes?

HUBBARD John. Taught in Kettering, Sep.1708.

HUBBARD William. (c.1698-1747) BA, MA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1719-1734; head of Uppingham G.S. 1734-1747.

HUDSON Richard. 'Schoolmaster' in Towcester; acted as surety, Jun.1710.

HUGHES David. (1700-1735) BA, Hellidon, Aug.1726-1735.

HUNT Mrs. Proprietress of boarding school, Northampton (Bridge Street), from Jan.1775.

INGMAN William. 'Schoolmaster' in Northampton (Bridge Street, Cock Lane), 1784-1796.

JACKSON J. Thrapston, 1791.

JACKSON Jeremiah. (1750-1828) 'of St John's Coll., Camb.', head of Uppingham G.S. 1777-1794.

JACKSON John. Taught in Daventry, Jul.1692; prob. head of G.S.

JACKSON Richard. Long Buckby, Feb.1775-Mar.1777.

JACKSON William. (d.1785) BA, Pytchley f.s., Aug.1763-Aug.1785.

JAMES Mr. Hellidon, Jul.1736-Jul.1739.

JARVIS Mr. Rothwell, Aug.1726.

JEFFREYS (JEFFERYS) George. (1700-1769) BA, usher, Peterborough King's School, May 1722-Jul.1726.

JEMSON Samuel. (1724-1780) BA, MA, vicar of Weedon Beck, 1747; said to be schoolmaster too.

JENSON William Mrs.)Kept a boarding school, Weston Favell,
JENSON William.)1780s-1790s.

JEP(H)SON William. (1695-1741) BA, Stamford St. Martin's, Jan.1719/20-c.1726.

JONES 'Camp.' 'Usher and assistant' to John Hogg (private school, Northampton), who by will, Mar.1778, left him £7..7..0.

JONES John. (1694-1752) BCL, head of Oundle G.S. Feb.1717/8-Apr.1722.

JONES John. (1751-1793) Abthorpe f.s., Aug.1777-Jul.1780 and prob.till death, Mar.1793.

JONES ?Miss/Mrs. Co-owner with Miss Rogers of a girls' school, Daventry, 1790s.

JONES Mr. (d.1752) Preston Capes, 1742-1752.

JONES Mr. Hellidon, 1744.

JONES Pryce. (1751-1831) BA, MA, Abthorpe f.s., from 1793 and prob. till death, Nov.1831.

JONES Richard. (1674-1761) BA, MA, head of Kettering G.S. Nov.1705-c.May 1722; head of Oundle G.S. May 1722-May 1761.

JONES William. Heyford(Nether), 'English f.s.', 1770-1798.

JUDKINS Stephen. Spratton, Jul.1723-Jun.1761; prob. father of next.

JUDKINS William. Spratton, Jul.1767-July.1780.

JUDY William. Weston Favell, Jan.1706/7.

KENRICK Timothy. Tutor in mathematics, natural philosophy, Daventry Dissenting Academy, 1779-1785.

KESTING John. Said to be weaver/schoolmaster, Braybrooke, 18th cent.

KILEKEN John. Whissendine, Jul.1726.

KING Jethro. (1655-1707) BA, MA, head of Towcester G.S. 1681-Mar.1706/7.

KING Mr. Gave course of lectures presumably in Northants, attended by member of Grant-Ives family (Bradden), in 1745.

KIRK/E Job. (1662-1727) BA, Blisworth, Jul.1692-Jul.1699, and prob. till death, c.Sep.1727.

KITCHINER John. Usher, Wellingborough G.S. until Sep.1710.

KNAPP Henry. (d.1812) BA, MA, head of Uppingham G.S. 1757-1771.

KNIGHT Joseph. (1747-1814) Kept a boarding school for the classics and 'rudimentary subjects', Kettering, from 1778.

LACY John. His school, Northampton (Sheep Street) 'formerly in the occupation of Mr. Smith', offered English literature and commercial subjects from 1786.

de LAIRE Mme. Political emigree, offered French tuition, Northampton, Jul.1794.

LANDEN John. (1718-1790) FRS, agent to Earl Fitzwilliam 1762-1788; author, mathematician and teacher, Peterborough area.

LANGLEY John. Harrowden Parva, Aug. 1726.

LANGTON John. Stamford writing master; taught George, Lord Brudenell, at Deene privately 1720s.

LARGE Joseph. Bowden Parva, Aug.1726.

LATHBURY A Mrs. Opened a girls' boarding school, Brackley, 1798.

LAURENCE Edward. Author, mathematician, teacher, Stamford Baron. Dates?

LAW William (1686-1761) BA, MA, tutor to Edward Gibbon at Putney; poss. tutored children of wealthy in King's Cliffe, 1740s.

LAWFORD Robinson. (1735-1795) BA, head of Towcester G.S. Dec.1766-Feb.1795.

LAXTON William. 'literate', Barrowden, Jul.1744-1749.

LAYBOURN (LAYBURNE) Henry. (1701-1757) BA, MA, head of Uppingham G.S. 1747-1757, but ineffective (ill) from Sep.1756.

LEE Charles. Finedon f.s., Aug.1699-May 1704.

LEE Henry. LL B, head of Daventry G.S. in 1768.

LEE John. Taught in Kelmarsch or Northampton, late 1690s/early 1700s; writing master, prepared pupils 'for trades' in large establishment, Northampton (Gold Street), for many years till May 1736.

LEE Thomas. Kilsby, May 1709.

LEEDS John. Braunston (Northants.); drew up his will, Jun.1786.

LEIGH Thomas. Co-proprietor with W.Hayne of a school in Wellingborough 1797.

LEONARD Richard. (1775-1861) BA, MA, Aynho f.s., c.1796-1815; one ?Richard Leonard advertised for custom, Aug.1784.

LETTICE John. (c.1708-1753) BA, educated his son (b.1739) at home; this would be either Strixton (rector 1733-1753) or Bozeat (vicar 1740-1753).

LETTIN John. Kept boys' boarding school, Lowick, Mar.1752; offered classics.

LEVERSUCH Mrs. Proprietress of a boarding school, Thrapston, 1791.

LIDIARD Mrs. Proprietress of girls' school, Northampton (Abington Street), 1782; offered music, French.

LINTON Robert. (d.1832) of Glasgow University; head of Fotheringhay G.S. 1790-1832.

LIVERSIDGE Miss. Co-owner with Miss Darnell of a girls' boarding school, Thrapston, 1798.

LOTHERINGTON John. Called 'usher', of Northampton (Abington Street), 1768.

LOVEDAY Moses. (1690-1723) BA, head of Brackley G.S. c.1710-1721.

LOVELING John. (1683-1735) BA, MA, head of Fotheringhay G.S. Nov.1713-Sep.1734, and prob. till death, Jan.1734/5.

LOVELL John. 'literate', Pattishall, Jul.1744-c.1759; was dead in Mar.1760 when successor J.Winckles took office. (See next).

LOVELL John. Of Bugbrooke when drew up will, Mar.1760; prob. the above.

LUCAS Miss. Proprietress of a girls' school, Daventry, 1790s.

LUCAS Mr. Scaldwell, Aug.1726.

LUCE Mr. Eye, 1730.

LUCK Eleanora. ?Miss/Mrs. Proprietress of a girls' boarding school, Northampton, from Dec.1742; sited Abington Street, 1745-1748.

LUCKMAN F Miss.)Sisters, kept girls' boarding school, Long
LUCKMAN L Miss.)Buckby, 1790s.

LUMLEY Mr. Brayfield, Aug.1720.

LYE Edward. (1695-1767) BA, MA, FSA, Houghton Parva f.s., Mar.1720/1-Jul.1736.

LYNDSEY Thomas. Stamford St. Martin, Jul.1711.

MADDOX Mrs. Assistant to Mrs Pasham, Northampton, before Feb.1777, and a partner from that date.

MANNING William. (1717-1770) BA, MA, kept private classical school, Wollaston, 1765-Feb.1770.

MANSEL(L) William. Walgrave f.s., 1693-Dec.1710.

MANSELL John. (d.1730) LL B, was master Beauchampton (Bucks.) before his appointment as rector, Furtho, Jun.1675; resigned 1697; it is presumed he taught there.

MARCH Thomas. 'Teacher', Northampton (West Ward), 1777.

MARGAN John. King's Cliffe, Aug.1731.

MARKHAM Enoch. (1724-1769) BA, MA, head of Oakham G.S. c.1755-Apr.1769.

MARRETT Daniel. (d.1757) Weston Favell, 1756-1757.

MARRIOTT George. 'Pedagogus', Northampton (All Saints), Aug.1720; admon. granted to widow Dec.1731.

MARRIOTT William. Arthingworth, Aug.1726.

MARSH Thomas. 'Schoolmaster', Aynho; drew up will Oct.1788.

MARSHALL Mr. Teacher of violin, violincello and tenor voice, Northampton, 1790.

MARSHALL Thomas. (d.1748) BA, MA, head of Peterborough King's School, Jan.1737/8-1747.

MARSHAM Thomas. (c.1731-1800) BA, MA, head of Peterborough King's School, 1756-1767.

MASON Mr. Co-proprietor with John Wood of boarding school, Rothwell, 1796.

MASSON M(onsieur?). Private tutor, accompanied Justinian Isham on European tour, 1704.

MASTERS John. Braunston f.s., (Northants.); had 'recently resigned', Dec.1776.

MASTERSON James. Stoke Albany, 1785.

MATTINGS John. Weston Favell, 1752-1756.

MAWBY Richard. Teacher of accounts, writing and French, Northampton (Bridge Street, later over 'Checker Gateway') Jul.1745-Apr.1750.

McDONNELL Mrs. (formerly PORTER). Proprietress of a girls' boarding school, Northampton, 1787-1789.

MEADOWS John. A schoolmaster in Peterborough, 1791.

MERCER Elizabeth Mrs. Taught embroidery, Thrapston, 1722-1740.

MILLS Jonathon. Houghton Parva, 1770-Aug.1777.

MILLS Robert. Taught in Moulton, c.1725.

MILNER Harold. (1673-1711) BA, MA, head of Daventry G.S. Sep.1701-Oct.1711.

MIREHOUSE Thomas. (d.1769) head of Peterborough King's School, 1747-1756.

MOBBS George. Heyford (Nether), Jul.1730-Feb.1756 when drew up will; dead by Jul.1758.

MOODY Mrs.)Kept a school, Brigstock, 1790s, which
MOODY Mr.)admitted girls

MORDAUNT Charles. 'Schoolmaster', Courteenhall, at his death c.1806.

MORDAUNT Jeremiah. 'Schoolmaster', Courteenhall, when drew up will Dec.1812.

MORDEN John. Blatherwycke, Jun.1736-Aug.1777.

MOREAU Anthony. 'Of London and Paris'; dancing master, replaced Henry Ellis at Finedon, Apr.1753; established a school, Northampton, 1753; also taught in Wellingborough; offered swordsmanship and defence.

MOREL William. (1729-1808) BA, MA, head (in name only) of Harrowden Parva f.s., Jul.1758-Nov.1804; he employed Mr. Goodman, keeping part of the salary.

MORGAN John. (d.1781) Head of Fotheringhay G.S. Jun.1736-Feb.1781; one John Morgan b.1697, BA, MA, priest 22 May 1722 (Pet.)

MORRIS Charles. Burton Latimer, Aug.1726-Jul.1752 when 'dead or gone'; related to Thomas?

MORRIS John. An unsuccessful candidate for Oundle G.S. headship on death of Richard Jones, 1761.

MORRIS Thomas. Usher, Burton Latimer f.s., Aug.1723; related to Charles?

MUNTON Anthony. (1689-1765) BA, kept private classical school, Wollaston, c.1712-Feb.1765.

MURRAY John. With M.Warren conducted a course of lectures on anatomy, Northampton, Nov.1725.

MURTHWAITE Samuel. MA, head of Oundle G.S. Feb.1762-c.Oct.1779.

MUSCOT Edward. (d.1705/6) Schoolmaster, Earls Barton, at his death.

NEALE Ralph. Harringworth, May 1716-1730.

NEGUS Thomas. BA, Higham Ferrers G.S. c.1688-Jul.1692.

NEWTON Mr. Tutor, Isham family c.1707; not known whether resident at Lamport.

NIALS John. A schoolmaster in Wellingborough when drew up will, Jun.1797.

NICHOLLS (NICOLL) Thomas. (b.1689)BA, Preston Capes f.s., Mar.1727/8-Jul.1736.

NICKOLLSON Thomas. BA, subscribed Jul.1711 as schoolmaster within the Peterborough diocese, no place stated.

NOBLE John. Offered a wide range of commercial subjects at his technical academy, Northampton (Bearward Street), Mar.1746/7.

NORTH Nathaniel. Braunston (Rut.) Jul.1726-1730.

NORTON Joseph. Cransley, Aug.1726.

NOURSE Mrs. Became partner of Mrs Wells, Apr.1782; their girls' school was at Guilsborough; replaced Wells's former partner, her mother Mrs Stott.

NUNNS George. 'Schoolmaster' of Weekley when drew up will, May 1757.

NUNNS Samuel. Kept private school, Rothwell, Mar.1755 when 'honoured with the youngest son of Lord Viscount Cullen'.

OAKLEY Samuel. Rushton. Jul.1758-Jul.1774; Lowick, 1781; Raunds, 1794.

OLIVER Elizabeth Mrs. Wife of next; on his death, 1783, she and 'Mr Leonard' kept Aynho school and advertised for boarders.

OLIVER Robert. (d.1783) MA, master of Aynho school, 1768-1783.

ONELY Richard. (1723-1787) BA, MA, 'Clipston f.g.s.,' Apr.1748-1768; advertised for custom, Jul.1753.

ORME Thomas. MA, DD, usher, Oakham G.S. pre June 1778, then head till Jul.1796.

ORTON Job. (1717-1783) An influential assistant tutor to Doddridge at the Northampton Dissenting Academy, till 1741.

OSBORNE George. (1765-1839) BA, MA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1785-1791.

OSBOURN John. Preston Capes 'English school', Sep.1765.

OWEN Gabriel. (1683-1717) BA, head, Towcester G.S. 1711-May 1717.

PACK John. (d.c.1751) A 'schoolmaster' in Wellingborough; admon. granted to his widow, May 1751.

PAGE Edward. Usher, Yelvertoft, 1730; (assistant to J.Watkin)

PAGE William. (d.1720) Houghton Parva, Jun.1712-Nov.1720.

PAINTER John. Moulton, Aug.1720.

PALEY William. (1710-1799) BA, usher, Peterborough King's School, Jun.1736-Jul.1739.

PALMER Edward. Scaldwell, Jul.1730.

PALMER John. 'Rothwell f.s.,' 1776-Aug.1777.

PANTING Matthew. (1730-1794) BA, MA, BD, Cold Ashby, Jul.1767-Jul.1774.

PARKER George. 'Hanging Houghton f.s.,' Aug.1777.

PARKER John. (1688-1742) BA, MA, kept a classical school, Thrapston, c.1726-Jun.1736 when name crossed out.

PARKER John. BA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1758-1781.

PARKER John Donald. 'Travelling Scottish schoolmaster'; active in north of Peterborough diocese; at Helpston till c.1764.

PARKER William. Said to be usher, Peterborough King's School, 1736-1739, but doubt this.

PARSONS Mr. Usher, Oakham G.S. 1756-1762.

PASHAM James. (1706-1752) BA, MA, head, Courteenhall G.S. Jul.1731-May.1752.

PASHAM Mary Mrs. Wife of James; on his death she commenced a girls' school, Northampton, which flourished; she retired May 1781.

PEDDER Thomas. Wansford, Dec.1774.

PENNINGTON John. (d.1768) MA, Aynho, 1753 (advertised)-1768.

PERMAN Thomas. Blisworth, Oct.1690-1710.

PETTIFER John. (1667-1729) BA, 'Blakesley f.s.,' Aug.1720-Nov.1729.

PHELIPPS William. Burton Latimer, Aug.1662-?1702.

PHILIPS John. 'Schoolmaster', Brackley, Jul.1767; prob.usher at G.S.

PHILLIPS William. (d.1739) Weston Favell, Aug.1726-1739.

PILCHES Joseph. Weekley, Jul.1720-1730.

PITT Mr. Lecturer in 'experimental philosophy', Northants, Apr.1778, 1785 (assisted by sons), 1792; possessed over 30 pieces of apparatus.

POOLE Edward. (d.c.1725) MA, head of Peterborough King's School, Jun.1722-c.Jul.1723.

POOLE John. Weston Favell, 1747-1749.

POPE John. Scaldwell, 1717-Aug.1726, when name crossed out; son of Thomas.

POPE Thomas. (d.1717) Scaldwell, until death 1717; father of John.

PORTER Mrs. (See Mrs. McDonnell)

PORTER Robert. (d.Mar.1738/9) BA, MA, Abthorpe, Jul.1692-Mar.1738/9.

PORTER Robert. 'Schoolmaster', Daventry, Jul.1733-Jul.1736; prob. usher at G.S.

POTTS Thomas. Crick, Aug.1726-1730.

POWELL John. (1721-1765) BA, MA, BD, head of Oakham G.S. 1753-1758.

POWELL Mr. 'Pedagogus' in Daventry, 1730.

PRATT David. (1696-1753) BA, usher, Courteenhall, Nov.1718-1730; head of Blakesley G.S. Apr.1730-Jul.1753.

PRICE John. Crick, Mar.1763.

PRIESTLEY Joseph. (1733-1804) DCL, entered Daventry Dissenting Academy 1751, taught by Ashworth; chemist, theologian, writer, educationalist and tutor.

PROCTOR William. (d.?1793) MA, head of Wellingborough G.S. 1773-1791.

RAINBOW Timothy. (1653-1702) BA, Preston Capes, Feb.1690/1-Jul.1699, and prob. till death.

RANDALL S. Kelmarsh, 1785.

RAVELL Elizabeth Mrs. (or Jane Rewell.) Proprietress of girls' school, Northampton (Bearward Street), from 1767.

READ Jonathan. BA, Hartwell, 1680-1683; perhaps curate of Collingtree 1682-1685.

READ/E John. BA, Burton Latimer, Jul.1711; still curate there, 1717.

REDDALL Ambrose. (1678-1734) BA, MA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1712-1721 and headmaster, 1721-1734.

REDDISH Thomas. North Luffenham, Jun.1761-Jul.1783.

REELY John. Lyndon, Jul.1711.

REEVE Thomas. Exton, Jul.1696. (See next)

REEVE/S Thomas. Hambleton, Jul.1723-Jul.1726.

REILLY James. Taught French privately, Northampton and 'in neighbouring towns and villages', 1783.

- REMINGTON William. (d. c.1746) 'Schoolmaster' of Rothwell; admon. granted to widow, Aug.1746.
- REYNOLDS Richard. Usher, Peterborough King's School, Jul.1744-Jul.1752; one Richard Reynolds b.1724, BA 1745/6, MA 1749.
- REYNOLDS Thomas. (1752-1829) BA, MA, 'Clipston f.g.s.,' Jul.1774-1780.
- ?RICE Mr. Burton Latimer, Jul.1752.
- RICHARDSON Mr. (poss.William) 'Deputy' to J.Sparkes, then usher proper, Peterborough King's School, from 1714.
- ROBERTS John. 'Schoolmaster' with 'schoolhouse', Northampton, when drew up will, Apr.1754.
- ROBERTS William. Culworth, Aug.1726; see W.Robins.
- ROBERTSON James. (1714-1795) an assistant tutor to Doddridge at Northampton Dissenting Academy; later, Professor of Hebrew, Univ. of Edinburgh.
- ROBINS Thomas. Unitarian; principal of Daventry Dissenting Academy, 1773-1781.
- ROBINS William. (d.?1744) Culworth when Jul.1744 'ancient and infirm' drew up both will and codicil; prob. identical with W.Roberts.
- ROBINSON Ralph. (1692-1741/2) BA, head of Towcester G.S. 1717-Mar.1741-2.
- ROCHBLOWE Henry. 'Of Dublin University'; engaged by T.Allen, 1724, to teach French at Kettering 'boarding school'.
- ROGERS Miss. Co-owner with Miss Jones of a girls' school, Daventry, 1790s.
- ROGERS Samuel. (1732-1790) BA, MA, head of Northampton G.S. 1765-1769; advertised for boarders, Feb.1766.
- ROGERS Timothy. Usher, Northampton G.S. Jul.1692-Apr.1701; one Timothy Rogers vicar of Guilsborough 1715, d.1718 aged 68.
- ROOKS Simon. 'English f.s. called Mrs Ireland's in Peterborough', Dec.1756-1762.
- ROSE William Dr. (1719-1786) Scottish Presbyterian, author and translator; assistant tutor, Northampton Dissenting Academy; in 1758 founded his noted classical school at Chiswick (Middx.)
- ROSSE Benjamin. Barnwell St. Andrews, 1675-Feb.1687/8.
- ROWE Jacob. Unsuccessful candidate for headship of Oundle G.S. on death of R.Jones, 1761.

ROWLAND William. Watford, Jul.1689-Jul.1699.

ROWLATT Elisha. Brigstock, 1708; one Elijah Rowlatt b.1645, BA 1662/3, MA 1667.

RUDGE Richard. (1695-1735) BA, MA, taught in Daventry, Aug.1720-Jul.1723; prob. usher at G.S.

RUSHALL John. Lived at Bugbrooke but master, Pattishall, Sep.1762-Mar.1763.

RUSSELL Henry. Wing, Jul.1726.

RYLAND James. 'Teacher', Northampton (West Ward), 1777.

RYLAND John. (1753-1825) DD, son of next; Baptist; assistant tutor, Ryland's Academy, Northampton, 1768-1778; co-principal with J.Clarke, Jul.1785-1793.

RYLAND John Collet. (1723-1792) MA, Baptist; author and educationalist; kept his Academy, Northampton, Oct.1759-?Jun.1785.

SALTER Edmund. BA, MA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1701-c.1711; kept private classical school, East Carlton, 1710-1722; drew up will, 1722.

SAMSON Solomon. Cransley, Aug.1726.

SANDERS Mr. Rushden, Aug.1726.

SANDFORD John. (d.1720) Long Buckby, Mar.1677-Jul.1699, and prob. till 1720; one John Sandford b.1657, BA, deac. and pr. Mar.1679/80(Pet.)

SARJEANT Thomas. 'Teacher', Northampton (West Ward), 1777-1780.

SAUNDERS Thomas. (b.1736) Nonconformist teaching minister, Kettering, 1720s-1736.

SAVAGE Culpepper. (1690-1753) BA, MA, son of next; usher, Uppingham G.S. c.1711-1712.

SAVAGE John. (1645-1721) BA, MA, father of Culpepper; head of Uppingham G.S. Apr.1684-1721.

SAVILLE David. Tutor, Northampton Dissenting Academy, c.1797-1798, under Horsey, following the Daventry intermission.

SAWYER Francis. (d.1709) BA, MA, head of Kettering G.S. 1684-Nov.1709.

SCALES Elizabeth. Schoolmistress, Thrapston, 1791.

SCRIVEN Elizabeth Mrs. (d.1785) Mother of Elizabeth, Mary and Sarah; assisted at her father, Mr Brafield's school, Northampton, c.1745-c.1755; kept her own school for the accomplishments, Northampton, c.1755-May 1769, and in Daventry, May 1769-1785.

SCRIVEN Elizabeth jun.)Sisters; assisted mother initially at the
SCRIVEN Mary.)Daventry school; managed it very successfully
SCRIVEN Sarah.)after her death; advertised regularly till
)end of century.

SCRIVEN Thomas. (1666-1737) BA, MA, 'ludimagister', Northampton (St. Giles), Sep.1690-Jul.1692; prob.usher at G.S.

SEARLE Miss. Assisted Elizabeth Bacon, Peterborough, 1760-1770, and then became proprietress of the establishment.

SEARLE Mr. Oakley Magna, Sep.1680.

SEATON Mr. Taught John Clare at Glinton, early 1800s.

SHELTON Benjamin. (d.1772) kept a 'Technical Academy', Daventry, Apr.1743-1772; boarders accepted. (See next)

SHELTON Hannah Mrs,. Wife of Benjamin; after his death, continued the Academy, having engaged an experienced master, from Nov.1772.

SHENSTON John. (d.c.1741) Described himself as 'dissenting teacher of Welton' in his will Dec.1734, proved Aug.1741.

SHEPHERD Mr. Preston Capes, Jul.1752; prob.Thomas Phillimore Sheppard, b.1718 at P.C., BA Jan.1738/9, MA 1745; vicar of Norton by Daventry, inst.1746; bur.Apr.1800 at P.C.

SHEPPARD John. (d.1753) BA, MA, Harrowden Parva, Oct.1726-Jan.1753; ?nominally schoolmaster; son of next.

SHEPPARD Joshua. (d.1722/3) MA, Higham Ferrers, 1673-Apr.1686; Harrowden Parva, Jul.1699-Jul.1711 and prob.till death, Jan.1722/3; father of John.

SHERMAN Lawrence. Yelvertoft, Jul.1733.

SHIELD Henry. (d.1840) BA, MA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1781-1783.

SHIPLEY William. (1714-1803) Drawing master, Northampton, 1740s; later kept an academy, London; helped found Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, now RSA.

SKELTON Mr. Edith Weston, July.1726.

SKYNNER John. (1724-1805) BA, MA, BD, kept private classical school, Easton on the hill, c.1770-c.1800.

SLADE James. BA, ?MA, kept private classical school, Bugbrooke, 1780s-c.1800; advertised for custom, Dec.1785.

SLYE Matthias. (d.1818) MA, kept private classical school, East Carlton, c.1780-c.1810.

SMITH Benjamin. Greens Norton, Dec.1777.

SMITH Caleb. (1701-1736) BA, MA, usher, Northampton G.S. Jul.1723-Jul.1733, and prob. till death Apr.1736.

SMITH Charles. Walgrave, Aug.1726.

SMITH John. (d.1759) Husband of Joyce; writing master at Mrs. Pasham's school; kept his own school, Northampton, 1740s-1759; conducted evening classes.

SMITH John. 'Schoolmaster', Northampton (St.Giles Street), 1774.

SMITH John. Flore, 1777, when described as 'infirm'.

SMITH John. Stoke Bruerne, 1777.

SMITH Joyce Mrs. Continued husband John's school, Northampton, from 1759; advertised for custom, Feb. Mar. 1762; conducted evening classes.

SMITH Mary Miss. Proprietress of girls' school, Peterborough, 1791.

SMITH Mrs. Assisted at Mrs Pasham's school; when she retired, 1781, Smith commenced girls' school, Northampton.

SMITH Nathaniel. 'Pedagogus' in Peterborough, Sep.1730.

SMITH Richard. (1710-1778) BA, Abthorpe, Sep.1739-Jan.1778.

SMITH Robert. (d.Mar.1727/8) Finedon, 1686-Jul.1692; rector of Addington Magna from Jan.1692/3.

SMITH William. 'Schoolmaster' in Towcester, Jul.1774-1777.

SNARY John. 'Schoolmaster' in Oundle, Jul.1711.

SNELL Mr. (d.1696) 'Schoolmaster', Maxey, till death Apr.1696.

SOMERVILE William. (d.1726) BA, Yelvertoft 'free school' at death, 1726; rector from Jan.1721/2.

SPARKES John. Usher, Peterborough King's School, briefly c.1714; nominal?

SPARKES Joseph. (1682-1740) BA, antiquarian, man of letters, member of Gentlemen's Society, Peterborough; poss. usher, King's School under D.Standish sen., and said to be head, King's School, resigned c.1726.

SPENCER J Mrs. Proprietress of girls' school, Weston Favell, 1790s.

SPENS Archibald. Lecturer in 'experimental philosophy'; toured Northants, 1736; advertised Oct.1736.

SQUIRE Samuel. (d.1699) Usher, Northampton G.S. at his death, Oct.1699.

STAINSBY George. King's Cliffe, Jul.1739-Jul.1744.

STANDISH David. (1665-1720) MA, father of next; head of Peterborough King's School, 1707-Oct.1720.

STANDISH David jnr., (1696-1728) BA, usher, Peterborough King's School, Aug.1719-Oct.1720, then became head till Jun.1722.

STANDISH William. (1695-1762) BA, usher, Uppingham G.S. 1721-1725.

STANLEY John. Preston Capes, Sep.1708.

STANTON Jane Mrs. Kept a boarding school, Daventry, till 1753 when C.Towle became proprietor; related to next?

STANTON Susannah Miss. Proprietress of a girls' boarding school, Finedon, opened 1771.

STAPLES Miss.)Co-owners of a girls' school, Oundle, late 18th cent.
STAPLES Mrs.)

STED (?SLED) Thomas. Castor, Jul.1726.

STEVENS (STEPHENS) Edward. (b.1744) 'of Jesus Coll., Oxf.,' head of 'Daventry f.g.s.,' Jul.1767-Jul.1780.

STEWARD Charles. (1664-1735) BA, MA, Pattishall, Nov.1707-Jul.1711 and prob. till death, Nov.1735.

STILL Nicholas. (b.1658) BA, Houghton Parva, Jul.1692-Jul.1699.

STODDART John. (d.1827) Head of Northampton G.S., 1797-May 1827; became blind in early life.

STONELEY John. Preston Capes, Aug.1726.

STOTT Mrs. (d.1782) Co-owner with daughter Mrs Wells of girls' boarding school, Guilsborough; well established when Stott died; it was then run by Wells and Mrs Nourse.

STRATFORD Nicholas. (d.1755) A 'schoolmaster', in Northampton, till death Apr.1755.

STUART James. Langham, Apr.1724.

STYLES Robert. (1662-1736) BA, MA, 'usher' of Northampton G.S. under ageing Archer but in reality head, Jan.1696-1719.

SUMMERFIELD John. A 'schoolmaster' in Wellingborough when drew up will, Nov.1793.

SWAN Sara. Unlicensed teacher, Belton, 1730; the only woman to figure in the records of visitation.

SYMPSON S Mrs. 'Late teacher to Mrs Dodd', Jan.1745/6; at that date opened own boarding school, Stamford St. Martin's.

TANNER Culpepper. (b.1701) BA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1734-Jul.1739.

TAYLOR John. Classics tutor, Daventry Dissenting Academy, 1776-1781.

TAYLOR Thomas. Tutor, Daventry Dissenting Academy, from 1756.

TAYLOR William. (1684-1750) BA, MA, head of Daventry G.S. ?1717-1732.

TAYLOR William. (d.c.1770) Heyford, Aug. 1726; and again 'Nether Heyford f.s.,' Jul.1758-Jul.1767, and prob. till death c.1770. 2 men?

THICKBROOM Mr. Barnack, 1730.

THIRLBY Henry. Pytchley, Jul.1739.

THOMAS Mr. Naseby, Jul.1774-Jul.1780.

THOMAS Thomas. 'Teacher of a separate congregation', Wellingborough, 1777.

THOMPSON Robert. Offered basic subjects, Northampton (St. Giles Street), 1780.

TINGEY Thomas. (d.1729) Congregationalist; 'dissenting teacher of Northampton', 1720s.

TITE William. 'Schoolmaster', Staverton, 1789.

TOMLINSON Kellom. Dancing master; came to Northampton from London, Jul. 1757; taught in several local schools from that date.

TOMPSON Thomas. Norton by Daventry, Aug.1726.

TOWLE Christopher. Dancing master; became proprietor of Jane Stanton's school, Daventry, in Nov.1753; gave lessons in several schools, South Northants, 1750s-1770s.

TOWNSEND Joseph. Usher to W.Jackson at Pytchley; mentioned in latter's will, Oct.1784.

TREMENHEERE William. BA, usher, Oakham G.S. under T.Orme till 1785.

TRIGG William. Helped build school cum workhouse, Irthlingborough, early 1700s; was subsequently a voluntary part time teacher; drew up will 1728.

TRINDER Martha Mrs. nee Smith. (1736-1790) Wife of next; kept a school, Northampton, Dec.1767-Jan.1790.

TRINDER Thomas. (1740-1794) Usher/tutor, Ryland's Academy, Northampton, May.1762-Dec.1763; kept his own school, Northampton (Chequer Ward, Market Hill), c.1766-Nov.1794.

TROUTBECK John. (1681-1738) BA, MA, head of Wellingborough G.S. Mar.1716/7-1738.

TURLAND William. Wollaston, Nov.1777.

TURNER Baptist Noel. (d.1827) MA, head of Oakham G.S. Jul.1769-1778.

TWENTYMAN Edward. University educated; usher, Oakham G.S. from 1791.

TYMMS George. (1698-1781) LL B, head of Higham Ferrers G.S. Mar.1730-Oct.1731.

UNDERWOOD John. 'Schoolmaster', Raunds, when drew up will, Jun.1767.

VAN John. (1736-1811) Ecton, 1771-Nov.1811.

VARLEY ?Miss/Mrs. Proprietress of girls' boarding school, Wellingborough, 1780s-1790s.

VAUX Robert. Usher, 'Courteenhall f.g.s.,' Mar.1715; poss. Robert Vaux, b.1697, BA 1713/4, d.1753 at Courteenhall; related to next?

VAUX Robert. (1723-1792) BA, MA, head of Courteenhall, 1786-May 1792.

VEITCH ?Miss/Mrs. Co-owner with Miss Hance of girls' boarding school (formerly Mrs. McDonnell's) Northampton, 1796-1797; appears to have continued later in sole charge.

VIALL Miss. Proprietress of a girls' boarding school, Wellingborough, 1790s.

WADLAND Ann Mrs. (1712-1755) Wife of John, mother of next; commenced a girls' boarding school, Cranford, 1745; a boys' department under husband added, 1746; they moved to Finedon, 1748; she retired 1753.

WADLAND Ann. (later Mrs. Wallis) Helped father run Finedon establishment from July 1753; as Wallis, moved to Northampton (Market Hill), Jan.1763; several changes of address; advertised frequently until Mar.1771.

WADLAND John. Supervised boys' department at his wife's Cranford school from 1746; they moved to Finedon, 1748; ran the school with daughter following wife's retirement in 1753.

WADSWORTH Titus. 'Schoolmaster' in Daventry, Jun.1722; related to next?

WADSWORTH Titus. Taught in Daventry, Jul.1733-c.1804; occurs as master of 'Daventry Charity School' and 'Daventry f.s.,' and as proprietor of a boarding school in which capacity he advertised frequently.

- WALFORD Hugh. Taught languages at Ryland's Academy, Northampton; dates?
- WALKER Adam. (?1731-1821) Autodidact and inventor; acquaintance of J.Priestley; lectured on 'experimental philosophy'; toured Northants 1783, 1796; possessed impressive collection of apparatus.
- WALKER Allen. Unsuccessful candidate for headship of Oundle G.S. on death of R Jones, 1761.
- WALKER Miles. (1765-1854) Usher to R.Vaux (2) at 'Courteenhall g.s.,' 1789-May 1792; still at the school, May 1795.
- WALKER Mrs. Sold a boarding school in Daventry, 1746. (See next)
- WALKER Mrs. Proprietress of a girls' school, Northampton; dates? identical with above?
- WALLIS Ann Mrs. Daughter of Ann and John Wadland; for details see Ann Wadland, jun.
- WALTON Gilbert. (b.1709) BA, MA, 'Burton Latimer f.g.s.,' 1735-Apr.1748; son of next.
- WALTON John. (d.Mar.1741/2) BA, MA, 'Finedon f.s.,' Jun.1705-1735, poss. longer.
- WALTON Jos. Litchborough, Aug.1726.
- WARBURTON William. (1687-1729) BA, MA, usher, Uppingham G.S. briefly 1711; usher, Oakham G.S. briefly c.1712; master of Newark G.S.(Notts.) Nov.1714-1729.
- WARD John. Weston Favell, Aug.1720-Aug.1723.
- WARD Joseph. 'Schoolmaster', Hellidon, when drew up will, Mar.1769.
- WARD Richard. Barnwell St. Andrew, Jun.1730.
- WARD Samuel. (d.1790) Kept private classical school, Cotterstock, c.Dec.1778-Feb.1790; advertised as 'Rev.S.Ward' i.e. rector of Cotterstock.
- WARING William. (1660-1726) BA, MA, head of Peterborough King's School, Jul.1683-1707.
- WARLTIRE John. Astronomer and chemist; one of England's foremost lecturers in 'experimental philosophy'; toured Northants 1763, 1799; worked with J.Priestley c.1780 and E.Darwin c.1785.
- WARNER John. Usher, Kettering G.S. Jul.1744-Oct.1755; from that date head of the school till Jan.1800; drew up will Jan.1800.

- WARNER Joseph. (d.c.1751) 'Ludimagister', Finedon, probably assistant to Walton, Aug.1726-1736; 'other schoolmaster', Wellingborough G.S. Apr.1736-c.1751; his will proved Aug.1751.
- WARREN G. Cambridge surgeon; lectured with M.Warren (related?) on anatomy, Northampton, Oct.1722.
- WARREN John. 'Schoolmaster of Northampton' when married at Preston Capes in Apr.1707.
- WARREN John. Kept a school in Daventry, where C.Towle taught dancing, 1770s; occurs as a 'Daventry schoolmaster' from 1749 however; perhaps connected to G.S. especially 1762-c.1767.
- WARREN Martin. BA, MA, MD, native of Northants; lectured with G.Warren (related?) on anatomy, Northampton, Oct.1722, and with J.Murray, Nov.1725.
- WARREN Frances Mrs. Second mistress of model working school, Irthlingborough; held office by 1718; offered to train teachers in her methods at the school.
- WARREN Thomas. 'Thistleton f.s.,' May 1720-1730.
- WARREN William. 'literate'; 'Scaldwell f.s.,' Mar.1741-c.1774; died before Mar.1775.
- WARWICK Mrs. Proprietress of a girls' school, Northampton, 1790s.
- WASSE Joseph. (1672-1738) BA, MA, BD, classical scholar and author; occurs as schoolmaster, Aynho, Jul.1723 but rector there, inst. Nov.1711-Nov.1738.
- WATKIN Edward. (1708-1786) BA, MA, Courteenhall, Jul.1767-1786; advertised, offering dancing lessons, French and 'private rooms'.
- WATKIN John. (1700-1772) BA, MA, Yelvertoft, 1730-Jul.1771, and prob. till death.
- WATSON Joseph. West Haddon, Oct.1786; one Joseph Watson, BA, priest Jun.1787 (Pet.)
- WATSON Robert. (1740-1794) Schoolmaster, Blisworth, at death in Oct.1794; M.I. in church.
- WATTS John. Baptist minister; kept an academy 'for young gentlemen', Northampton (College Lane), Jan.1797-Jan.1798; advertised wide range of subjects inc. Latin, Greek, geography, trigonometry, music, stenography. (See next)
- WATTS T. Brother of John; shared the teaching at the academy.
- WEBB Charles. Proprietor of a boys' school, Weston Favell, 1760s-1789.

WEDDING Andrew. 'Watford f.s.,' Apr.1719.

WEEDON Joseph. (d.1746) LL B, Pytchley, Dec.1725-1730.

WELBOURN Robert. Burton Latimer, 1730; one Robert Welbourne (1695-1764), BA, MA, rector of Lowick, 1744-1761.

WELCH Edward. 'literate', 'Watford f.s.,' Sep.1753-Jul.1783.

WELCH Thomas Coleman. (1714-1770) BA, MA, Pattishall, May 1763.

WELLS John. (d.1720) Was 'schoolmaster', Milton Malzor, at his death.

WELLS Mr. Assistant tutor at Ryland's Academy, Northampton; taught mathematics and science; dates?

WELLS Mrs. Kept a girls' boarding school with her mother Mrs. Stott, at Guilsborough; was well established when Stott died, 1782; Mrs Nourse taken into partnership Apr.1782; Wells became proprietress, Jun.1790, of a school formerly kept by Miss Bullivant and Miss Clarke in Guilsborough; advertised during last decade of century.

WEST Benjamin. (d.1790) 'Weedon Beck f.s.,' Jul.1774-Jul.1783, and prob. till death.

WEST Mr. Kingsthorpe, Jul.1739-Jul.1752.

WEST Robert. (d.c.1752) Son of Thomas; schoolmaster, Long Buckby; his will and inventory both Apr.1752.

WEST Robert. (d.c.1765) 'Recently deceased' master of 'Boddington f.s.,' in May 1765.

WEST Thomas. (d.c.1741) Father of Robert (1); schoolmaster/surgeon, Long Buckby, May 1719-c.1741; his will of Sep.1739 proved Feb.1741/2.

WEST William. Kept private boarding school, Duddington, Jan.1791; offered impressive list of subjects.

WEST William. Said to be a schoolmaster in Peterborough, 1791.

WESTON Nathaniel. (1684-1750) BA, MA, usher, Oakham G.S. 1711.

WESTON Richard. Said to be a schoolmaster in Peterborough, 1791.

WESTON Thomas. (d.1720) Usher, Guilsborough G.S. Apr.1683-1720.

WHALEY Charles. Head of Daventry G.S. Dec.1711-1713.

WHALLEY Peter. (1722-1791) BA, BCL, Courteenhall, Jul.1752-1760; advertised Aug.1752, offered Hebrew.

WHITAKER Benjamin. 'Schoolmaster' in Northampton (Bridge Street), 1768-1774.

WHITE Thomas. Langham, Jul.1711; one Thomas White, (1676-1735), MA, rector of Ayston, 1710.

WHITE Thomas. 'Towcester f.g.s.,' Apr.1795.

WHITWORTH Robert. Earls Barton, 1777.

WHITWORTH Samuel. (1678-1713) BA, Fotheringhay G.S. c.1701-1713; initially assistant to T.Bennett.

WICKENS William. Paulerspury, Jul.1711.

WICKES Edward. Cold Ashby, c.1680.

WIGHT James. (1670-1706) Of Magd.Coll.Oxf., Pytchley, Jan.1693/4-May 1706.

WILBY Barnet. 'Schoolmaster' in Northampton (Fish Lane, Cock Lane) 1768-1784.

WILCOX (WILLCOCKS) Thomas. Yelvertoft, Aug.1720.

WILKINSON George. Usher, Wellingborough G.S. Oct.1694-1696.

WILKINSON William. Thorpe Malzor, Aug.1726.

WILKINSON William. (1749-1784) MA, publicised his proposed boarding school, Culworth, Jan.1779; offered 'a complete qualification' for university.

WILLIAMS E. Said to be head, Clipston, 1780-1820; most prob. Evan Williams, curate there, subs. Jul.1786.

WILLIAMS William. (b.1719) BA, MA, DD, head of Northampton G.S. Feb.1762-1765, when dismissed; advertised for custom Feb. Apr. Aug. 1762.

WILLIAMSON Seth. 'English f.s., Glinton with Peakirk', Oct.1762-Nov.1767.

WILLIS Richard. (1667-1725/6) BA, MA, head of Higham Ferrers G.S. Apr.1692-Feb.1725/6.

WILLS Joseph. Kept a school in Northampton; was at Swan Yard when advertised Jan.1785; drew up will Jun.1793.

WILLSON John. Long Buckby, Jul.1774-Jul.1783, poss. till end of century.

WINCKLES John. 'Pattishall Charity School', Mar.1760.

WINKELS John. Weston Favell, 1741-1747. The above?

WING John. (c.1655-1715) 'Made himself useful in Rutland for nearly 30 years' teaching surveying technique; related to next?

- WING Tycho. (1696-1750) Astrologer and astronomer; taught the 'arts and sciences mathematical' at Pickworth, 1720s.
- WITHERS Henry. North Luffenham, 1710-Jun.1761 when name crossed through.
- WITTSEY Mr. 'Teacher' in Northampton (West Ward), 1777.
- WODHULL Thomas. (1682-1743) BA, MA, 'Hellidon f.s.,' 1730-Apr.1737, and prob. till death Dec.1743.
- WOOD John. Classics teacher and co-proprietor with Mr Mason of boarding school, Rothwell, 1796.
- WOOD Jonathan. Opened a boarding school, Thrapston, 1795.
- WOOD Richard. (d.1725) BA, at Burton Latimer until c.1705; occurs at 'Pytchley f.s.,' Jul.1711-Jul.1723; poss. began earlier and stayed till death Sep.1725.
- WOOD Richardson. (1717-1761) BA, MA, head of Northampton G.S. Sep.1748-Jun.1761, prob. till death Nov.1761; advertised for custom, Mar.1756.
- WOOLLASTON John. Rushden, Jul.1713.
- WOOLLEY Henry. (d.1785) Father of Thomas; taught privately, Northampton, 1742; was 'writing master, accomptant and usher' at Northampton G.S. c.1748-c.1762, in partnership with Richardson Wood; 'Master of Academy', Northampton (Marefair), 1768-1785; advertised frequently.
- WOOLLEY Thomas. (1747-1797) BA, ?MA, son of Henry; head of Northampton G.S. 1769-Apr.1797; in 1785 'relinquished his father's huge school', preferring to train a few boys only, for entry to Public School.
- WORTHING Joseph. (d.1722) BA, MA, head of Guilsborough G.S. Aug.1694-Jun.1722.
- WRIGHT George. Organist at Stamford St. Martin's; offered services as teacher of harpsichord, singing, Aug.1736.
- WRIGHT Henry. (1667-1724) MA, usher of Oakham G.S. for 2 years, then head 1702-1724.
- WRIGHT Philip. Belton, 1710, when he was old and infirm.
- WYCKLEY Mrs. Proprietress of a girls' boarding school, Northampton, which transferred to better premises, 1755; she advertised for custom Apr.1756.
- YATES Joseph. A 'schoolmaster' mentioned in brother John's will, Mar.1797; latter was a gardener of Long Buckby.

YEOMANS Thomas. (1657-1715) BA, head of Brackley G.S. Jul.1692-1715.

YORK(E) John. (d.1730) MA, vicar of Rothwell 1690-1694; occurs as master, Jul.1692.

YOUNG John. (1715-1777) BA, MA, BD, head of Brackley G.S. 1765-?1777.

NOTE:

The teaching force was augmented by several men and women whose names are unknown. For example, at John Lee's Northampton school in June 1726 there was 'a compleat master from London' who 'taught the French tongue', whilst the Misses A. and M. Burton employed 'assistants' at their Uppingham establishment in the 1780s. There are occasional references to boys being 'educated at home' or being taught by private tutors. Additionally, diocesan officials sometimes recorded that 'another schoolmaster' was active in a place, as at Daventry in 1739, 1744, 1749 and 1752, without specifying further.

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Empingham Wills; will of George Bottomley, 1778.

Johnson 1/2; for letters, Jane Johnson to son 1754, and to Henry Knapp, 1758.

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| 03851 | Biographical note, Courteenhall schoolmaster, 1763. |
| 96P/197/53 | Settlement certificate, Crick schoolmaster, 1779. |
| 96P/198/55 | Settlement certificate, Daventry schoolmaster, 1743. |
| C(A)8371 | Workbook of W. Cartwright, 1787. |
| C(H)120 | Biographical note, Eastcote schoolmaster, 1702. |
| CH 128 | Will of George Mobbs, 1756. |
| C(S)390 | Biographical note, Rothwell schoolmaster, 1753. |
| D 1739/10 | Biographical note, Daventry schoolmaster, 1719. |
| D 2547 | Biographical note, Daventry schoolmaster, 1755. |
| D 3742 | Biographical note, Staverton schoolmaster, 1789. |
| D(CA)283 | Timetable for Frank Dryden, c.1800. |
| D(CA)322 | 'Lady Dryden's Account Book from 1770-1790'. |
| FHT 57 | Biographical note, Northampton schoolmaster, 1787. |
| FX 111 256/6 | Biographical note, Beachampton (Bucks.) schoolmaster, 1675. |
| GI 465-70 | Scientific notes. |
| IC 1575 | Biographical note, Rothwell schoolmaster, 1698. |
| IC 2185 | Letter, Euseby Isham to his brother Sir Edmund, 1754. |
| IC 3189 | 'The advice of Monsieur Du Sol to Justinian Isham at his setting out for London in order to go to school, 1699'. |
| IC 3550 | Workbook of Vere Isham, c.1670. |
| IL 2265 | Petition, inhabitants of Burton Latimer to the Rt.Hon. William Cowper, c.1702. |
| IL 2640 | Biographical note, Wellingborough schoolmaster, 1769. |
| IL 4346 | 'Horace, Book 2, Ode 16', E.Isham, 1707. |
| IL 4349 | Poem entitled 'Novus annus', J.Isham, undated. |
| IL 4350 | 'Sphaeristerium Pitchleianum', J.Isham, 1706. |
| IL 4351 | 'Pro pace', J.Isham, 1712. |

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 ZA 3091 Poem written by Capell child, undated.
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