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***From Schoolhouse to Warehouse: The St Albans
British School***

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Education in nineteenth century St Albans was full of tensions as it was elsewhere. At the beginning of the century there was widespread fear about education spreading too far, a belief that it was best for society if people were educated 'according to their station'¹. In 1807, a Justice of the Peace wrote:

'It is doubtless desirable that the poor should be generally instructed in reading, if it were only for the best of purposes - that they may read the Scriptures. As to writing and arithmetic, it may be apprehended that such a degree of knowledge would produce in them a disrelish for the laborious occupations of life'².

Education was seen as the responsibility of families and the Church, rather than the state. But by the end of the century Board schools had been established and free compulsory elementary education introduced.

These developments will be traced mainly through the story of the British School in the Abbey parish of central St Albans, setting it in its wider educational context. Its rise and fall illustrates the changes in education in the city through the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of this story is drawn from the writing of Rev William Urwick, minister of the Spicer Street Congregational Chapel from 1880 to 1895³, Goodman's history of The Abbey School⁴ which is now a church primary school, and the writing of Kilvington, headmaster of St Albans School from 1964 to 1984⁵ are also drawn on.

Urwick was centrally involved in the events of the 1870s and '80s and his reports, while contemporary, are not those of a neutral observer. He was very committed to non-denominational education, and drew on the history of the previous 70 years to illustrate and support his arguments. Kilvington and Goodman were both writing as historians, more than 100 years after the events they reported.

The population of the Abbey parish

The population of the Abbey parish - the central area of St Albans - remained less than 3,000 during the first half of the nineteenth century and rose to just over 4,000 in 1881^{6 7 8}. In the middle of the century two religious censuses were carried out. William Upton, a Baptist minister in St Albans, undertook a census across

Hertfordshire in 1847 and 1848. In 1851 there was a national ecclesiastical census, which was reported to parliament in 1853.

Burg et al (1995) discussed the accuracy of these surveys. There are inevitably doubts about self-reported data from churches and chapels, but they probably give a broad picture of religious attendance at this period. Nationally, half the attendances at religious services were reported to be at the established church⁹. Upton's survey shows a similar proportion, with around two-thirds of the population reported as attenders at churches or chapels¹⁰. Upton commented that 'A town missionary is, I think much wanted here'¹¹. The 1851 survey shows that three chapels within the Abbey parish – the Baptists, the Methodists and the Spicer Street Congregationalists (later the Independents) – each had large congregations of between 250 and 500¹².

In 1851 it was reported in the national census that just over half of St Albans' children aged 5 to 9 years, and a third of those between 10 and 14 years were 'scholars'. Sixty five percent attended Sunday schools. Straw plaiting and straw hat manufacture were the main areas of employment for children. Considering those aged 10 to 14 years, one third of girls and 16% of boys were employed in straw hat making¹³. The number of occupied houses in the Abbey parish was 494 (in 1831) and 713 (in 1861)¹⁴.

Background

In the eighteenth and very early nineteenth century there were many dame schools and private schools¹⁵ in St Albans. St Albans School, an ancient endowed foundation was located in the Abbey's Lady Chapel¹⁶, and there were several charity schools. There were also 'plait schools' which taught children to plait straw. These schools often taught very little else except an hour or two of reading each week¹⁷. The Factory Acts, from 1802 onwards, limited children's working hours, and set out the hours of schooling they should receive. The St Albans Workhouse, established in 1835, was also required by the 1834 Poor Law Unions Act to provide three hours of schooling each day¹⁸. Later in the century some of these children were educated at the Abbey National School sponsored by members of the Abbey congregation¹⁹.

Between 1712 and 1720 Dr Samuel Clark established the St Albans Charity School in the Old Chapel in Dagnell Lane²⁰, now Lower Dagnell Street. There were 40 charity children (30 boys and 10 girls) and more than 60 scholars from across the district who paid fees²¹. The Bluecoat School for 24 boys was started in Fishpool Street by Lady Spencer in 1770²². This followed Church of England teaching. Both schools closed around 1840. The years between 1775 to 1845 were described as 'the dark age' of St Albans School, an ancient endowed grammar school²³.

There was little education available for poor children at this period beyond the charity and dame schools. Urwick commented that '... exhibitions and scholarships intended for the poor were increasingly monopolized by the rich'²⁴. This comment is confirmed in Kilvington's history of St Albans School, which was established as a charity for the education of poor children. He reported that, in 1848, the headmaster was '... refusing admission to the sons of poor folk because they were deemed unfit to be under the same roof with the more aristocratic scholars, calling upon parents to decide whether boys are to receive a classical or a commercial education so as to deprive the humble pupils of a classical education and thus distinguishing between the foundation scholars and his own boarders ...'²⁵.

St Albans School

The school is reported as being founded between 800 and 1100²⁶. By the early nineteenth century it was in serious decline. In 1809 it was reported that '... the School having now fallen into disuse, the windows are broken and the whole building neglected ...'; in 1823 it is described as being '... out of repair ... and very likely to fall into a very bad and ruinous state ...'²⁷. There were very few students. Urwick described the empty schoolroom covered in dust, with the occasional one or two students²⁸.

The curriculum of the school was revised in 1845 when the number of students had risen to around 20²⁹. In 1848 there was a very public disagreement between the headmaster and the under-master, with accusations and counter-accusations, about the state of the school, the curriculum, the neglect of the students, and the refusal to admit poor children³⁰. In 1863 the Commissioner for the Schools Inquiry Commission reported that '... the boys evidently enter the school very ignorant, and do not remain in it long enough to derive much benefit from the instruction'³¹. The poor state of St Albans School was not unusual at this period, and national concern about endowed schools was the focus of the Taunton Commission inquiry. By 1866 the school was experiencing 'new beginnings' with 30 students on roll. But the physical provision remained unsatisfactory, and another negative report was received from the Commissioner³².

In 1867 21 students entered the school but by 1873 the roll had declined again, to six boys³³. In 1868 the Church wished to take back the Lady Chapel as planning had started for the restoration of the Abbey. In 1871 seven boys moved from the Lady Chapel to the Abbey Gateway³⁴. Although the gateway was a bleak environment by modern standards – and had previously been the town prison - it allowed the school to develop. Separate classrooms were built and there was space for a playground³⁵.

St Albans School was on an 'upward path' from 1880. Forty two boys were on roll. In 1890 the headmaster reported that '... in the first and second terms of 1889 more boys were attending the school than there have probably been since the seventeenth century'³⁶. The school had financial uncertainties during the 1890s and there were continuing tensions between the those who wanted a liberal education for their sons, and those, mainly local tradesmen, who wanted a 'mere school of commerce'. By 1901 there were 67 students³⁷.

The nineteenth century was not a good period for St Albans School. Since then it has thrived. In 1927 it became a 'direct grant' school receiving a grant from central government rather than the Hertfordshire County Council, with 400 students³⁸. In 1974 it became fully private³⁹, and currently has 770 students⁴⁰.

The National, and the British, School Societies

In the early nineteenth century there was widespread concern about the need for better education for the poor. Two very influential organisations were set up. In 1808 'The Society for Promoting the Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor' was established to promote Joseph Lancaster's monitorial system⁴¹. In 1814 this became 'The British and Foreign School Society for the Education of the Labouring

and Manufacturing Classes of Society of Every Religious Persuasion' known as 'The British Society'. It was a protestant, non-denominational, organisation set up by dissenters who opposed the control of education by the Church⁴².

In 1811, the Church of England set up a parallel organisation: 'The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales', known as 'The National Society'. In 1833 the first government building grants were made available for education. This was given to the two school societies in direct proportion to the amount they raised themselves. The dissenters were not as wealthy as the established church and, of the first £100,000 given to education, 70% went to the National Society⁴³. Both organisations then gave grants to those setting up schools within their religious traditions and beliefs. In 1839 annual grants were given to schools after inspection.

While both these societies thrived, 'The Central Society of Education', founded in 1836, failed to keep religion out of education.

The National Schools

In 1846 the Abbey parish applied to the National Society for a grant of £79 (out of a total cost of £382) towards the cost of buying a site in Spicer Street and building a school for 84 boys and 78 girls⁴⁴. Most of the money required was raised locally, and every year a National Society's sermon was held at the Abbey, with the collection given to the school⁴⁵. The Bluecoat School had fallen into decline by this period and its students were absorbed into the new school which was opened in 1848. Because they were charity scholars they were expected to do domestic work around the school in lieu of fees. Initially fees (the 'school pence') were two old pence a week for children over seven and three halfpence for younger children. These school fees continued until 1891⁴⁶.

In 1861 the National School trustees rented a building in Temperance Street to provide additional accommodation for boys⁴⁷. In response to the 1870 Elementary Education Act the National School Society set out to increase the number of school places very rapidly. The Act was seen by some in the established church as a compromise between church and state, giving the church time to provide sufficient places for all children in the parish. The rector of the Abbey is reported as saying that building work was undertaken '... to ward off the School Board now threatened for St Albans'⁴⁸. They succeeded in preventing a Board school being built in the parish, but the first St Albans School Board was elected in 1878.

The Spicer Street building was extended to provide a classroom for infants which opened in 1876. The school was enlarged again in 1884, reflecting the increasing population of the district, due in part to the opening of the Midland Railway through the town. There were 549 places at the extended school, a surprising number to modern eyes given the size of the buildings: 166 infants, 182 girls and 201 boys.

But there were further tensions between the National School and the Board schools. The Board schools could offer higher salaries than the voluntary schools, which no longer charged 'school pence' after the 1891 Free Education Act. Teachers were hard to recruit and in 1902 the number of children in Church and Board schools was very similar⁴⁹. The Hatfield Road Board School was opened in 1881, and Garden Fields Board School in Catherine Street in 1896.

The Abbey School remained in Spicer Street. In 1933 it became a primary school, moving to its current premises in Grove Road in 1970. It is now a Church of England voluntary-aided primary school.

British Schools in the Abbey Parish

In 1834 a public meeting was held in the Town Hall. A committee was set up to establish a boys' school on British Society principles⁵⁰. One hundred and twenty pounds was raised, but they failed to find a suitable site. By 1836 it was decided to postpone the development of a British School for boys due to the lack of funds and go forward with an infants school. Urwick reported that '... they do not consider the idea of a British School for elder boys as by any means relinquished but simply postponed ... they deem the want of an infant school far more pressing'⁵¹. A National School had also been opened in St Peter's parish (in Cock Lane, now Hatfield Road) which '... has of course in some degree lessened the destitution which existed of the means of education in the town'⁵².

At the same time Enosh (or Enoch) Durant, of High Canons, Shenley, a wealthy businessman, who had supported the establishment of infants' schools in Hemel Hempstead and Barnet, provided money for an infants' school in Cross Street, St Albans. The school took children under seven years of age and had over 100 students when it opened in 1836. There should be '... no exclusion on the grounds of religious tenets ...'⁵³ but it was clear that Roman Catholics were not included. Catholics were also excluded from being trustees^{54 55}. The school thrived for many years. Urwick includes details of its teachers and accounts for fifty two years from 1836 to 1888⁵⁶.

The Society of Friends built two meeting houses and a burial ground in Dagnell Lane from 1672 onwards. In 1721 they built a plain brick meeting house, but by 1830 the meeting had been discontinued because of declining membership⁵⁷. In 1831 a Friend, John Hull, rented the meeting house and started a school. He employed a teacher from the British Schools Society, although it does not appear to have been formally a British School. Urwick reported that John Hull bought the school in 1835, but Quaker records show that it was bought by a St Albans Friend, Richard Kentish. Kentish ensured that the Friends also kept a right of way to their burial ground⁵⁸. Crellin commented that there are '... contradictory records ...' which he saw as resulting from the decline in the Society of Friends at this period and the construction of Verulam Road over part of the Friends' land in the mid-1830s⁵⁹. But the old meeting house became '... inadequate for the needs of a school'.⁶⁰

The ambition to set up a British School for older boys continued, and in 1846 a meeting to consider this was held in the Baptist Chapel in Dagnell Lane. The lack of a British School was '... much to be regretted ...' and that it was '... desirable to attempt the establishment of one with the greatest promptitude and energy'. Over £261 was raised, and land was bought from Richard Kentish in Spencer Street next to the old meeting house. The British School opened in 1847⁶¹. It was resolved '... that this meeting feels the high importance of universal education, and cordially approves of the British system as being intellectual, unsectarian and religious'⁶². In the 1860s, attendance was reported to be in the 30s, rising in the 1870s to around 60. But by the early 1880s it rose to around 100. The first master was James Townsend. He was followed by Charles Wroot (1860 to 1866). The third was Thomas Littlejohn Brash (1866 to 1885)⁶³.

Throughout the mid-nineteenth century the state had become increasingly involved in education. In 1861 the Newcastle Commission recommended that counties and large boroughs should run education, and raise rates (local taxes) to provide this. The Revised Code of 1861-62, which introduced a revised programme of inspection by Her Majesty's Inspectors⁶⁴ and 'payment by results', with grants from central government being given to schools according to their attendance rates, and the examination performance, of the students. British Schools were not exempt from these requirements.

In 1863 the secretary of the school's trustees reported that the public examination was held in the Corn Exchange with the Mayor presiding.

*'Subjects on which the boys were examined were reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, spelling, geography, mental calculations, and singing'*⁶⁵.

Children were assessed against six levels or 'standards'.

At this period one of the HMIs visiting the school was Matthew Arnold⁶⁶, poet and critic, who became chief HMI in 1884. He also assessed the student and certificated teachers. Inspectors commented that the school was more successful with the higher level students. In 1873 the trustees' secretary recorded:

*'The timetable gives much time to higher subjects, which are being fairly imparted and acquired, but the elementary subjects exhibit weakness: a proportion of scholars in almost all the standards failed in one or other of the subjects of examination. Before all things there should be thorough grounding of all the boys in reading, writing and arithmetic'*⁶⁷.

Decisions about who should be admitted to the school were problematic. Better off dissenters wanted to send their children to the school, but they were not eligible for the government grant. In 1865, the secretary reported that '... the school has a full supply of children of a good class and they are very fairly instructed'. In 1867 the log book records:

*'Much change has taken place here since my last visit. The Committee thinking there were too many tradesmen's sons in the school raised the fee for them and resolved to admit no more. In consequence 25 scholars of this class left, and at midsummer the master resigned. Also since that time the school has been in a transition state; up to Christmas several temporary teachers succeeded each other. Since Christmas a new master, who promises well, has been appointed, but neither the numbers, nor the success in the Examination, are what they were last year. In my opinion British and Wesleyan schools cannot hope to compete with National Schools as strictly schools for the poor; and they fulfil a useful function in educating children of a somewhat higher class along with the poorer ones'*⁶⁸.

In 1868 he wrote:

*'It is only within three weeks that the Committee have passed a rule relaxing a rule that prohibited the admission of any children for whom the Government Grant could not be claimed. Under that prohibition the school was not full. I think the Committee have done right in relaxing the prohibition'*⁶⁹.

In 1870 the Elementary Education Act (the Forster Act) established directly elected School Boards. It was opposed by the Church as '... the idea of secular education "on the rates" was opposed by many people in the established church ...'⁷⁰. School Boards were required to ensure that there were enough school places for the local population, and in 1878 the St Albans School Board wrote to the trustees of the British School asking whether they wished to transfer the Spencer Street school to the School Board. They agreed, and the transfer to the Board took place in 1879. The financial balance held by the trustees was £46 and this was passed to the treasurers of the proposed public library for the purchase of books⁷¹. The trustees were instructed by the School Board that the school should no longer be called the St Albans British School, but the Spencer Street School. The former British School trustees – now 'managers' – took a similar role to today's school governors being responsible for maintaining the buildings. A condition of continued recognition was that they were required to undertake '... alterations and improvements in the buildings as the reports of HM Inspectors may from time to time shew to be necessary for the fit conduct of the school'.⁷²

In 1880 the inspector reported that:

'The school has been transferred to the Board and the premises cannot be regarded as part of the permanent accommodation provided by that body unless the site is enlarged to render it more healthy. The offices need removing further from the building; a playground is necessary; and a classroom provided. The floor of the present room should be relaid on the level. It would however be better to rebuild on another site. The school fees are too high and must be re-adjusted so that all the classes may be within the reach of the means of a common labouring man. The requirements of the above report should receive careful attention'⁷³.

But concern about the physical environment in Spencer Street was not new. In 1865 the secretary to the Trustees noted that 'It is a pity it [the school] should have such cramped premises incapable of expansion in front or at the back'. In 1867 he wrote:

'A classroom and desk room are much wanted; more and better desk accommodation is also wanted. There are no inkstands. A reduction of the Grant under article 52a may be made next year unless attention is paid to HM Inspector's recommendations in regard to the premises'⁷⁴.

At this period the school roll was reported to be 50 to 60, rising to 100 by the 1870s. The building is approximately 30' by 18'. It must have been extremely overcrowded in comparison to the large, new, airy buildings being built by the School Board.

In 1880, the Education Act (the Mundella Act) made attendance at school compulsory for all children aged between five and ten.

In 1881 the inspector's reported on : '... the cramped nature of the premises ...' and added 'my Lords may be compelled to refuse any further grant to this school if it continues to be conducted in the present premises'⁷⁵.

In 1882 the Inspector again drew attention to the building: 'Considering the cramped space, want of class-room accommodation and generally unsatisfactory arrangements of the premises ... it [the annual grant] will certainly not be renewed

while the school is conducted in these premises⁷⁶. The managers were unable to improve the buildings or move elsewhere.

In October 1883 the School Board removed the school to the Old St Peter's School. This building was recorded as being 45' by 18', almost 50% larger than the Spencer Street building, but still not a large space for over 100 students. In January 1886 it became part of the Hatfield Road Board School. This Board School was built where the University of Hertfordshire's Law School is now located.

In January 1886 the Spencer Street school log book was closed.

'On the enlargement of the St Albans Hatfield Road Board School to provide accommodation for 450 scholars, the Spencer Street Board School was amalgamated with the Hatfield Road school and Mr Brash was appointed the headmaster of the amalgamated school. By direction of the Board no further entries are to be made on this log book'.

The amalgamated school was opened in January 1886. Mr Brash wrote:

'Thos Littlejohn Brash certificated teacher 1st class having been appointed Head Master of the Hatfield Road Board School (by the St Albans School Board) on the amalgamation of the above named School with the Spencer Street (Old School) Hatfield Road, re-opened the School after the Xmas holidays this morning at 8.45⁷⁷.

In November 1886 the Hatfield Road Board School log book the headmaster recorded that the Chairman of the School Board and the headmaster met 'to look over the furniture in the old Spencer Street School to decide on the removal of the furniture belonging to the Board'⁷⁸.

The non-conformists were extremely distressed by the loss of their school. Urwick wrote:

'Meantime our neighbours of the Establishment, not content with possessing two State-supported schools solely in their own hands, and with their strictly sectarian teaching, seemingly desired to banish the British School altogether from the Abbey parish, and to monopolize the educational agencies therein. They enlarged their building and by the cry of "saving the rates" they sought to bring all children into their own educational fold, ignoring the facts that there are five Nonconformist Churches and Chapels in the Abbey Parish, each with its Sunday school, and that our Sunday scholars number upwards of a thousand. For 170 years, as we have seen, the Nonconformists in this very parish have maintained a quiet but steadfast protest against Church-denominational schools. At considerable cost they raised, and year after year supported, an undenominational school open to all, first Dr. Samuel Clark's School and then the British School. This British School flourished under their management, and was a great boon to many families in the town, regardless of sect or party. Its managers transferred it in a prosperous state to the New School Board upon the pledge of the Education Department that it should be maintained. But when the building became too small, owing to the continued growth of the school, a majority of the School Board playing into the hands of the Established Church, succeeded, in the face of several protests and

*representations made by the Nonconformists, in the sale of the premises and the extinction of the school so far as the Abbey parish is concerned*⁷⁹.

This long quotation has been included to illustrate the powerful feelings of betrayal felt by the non-conformists. They campaigned hard for a Board School to be built in Hill Street and Mount Pleasant, lobbying AJ Mundella, vice-president of the Committee of the Privy Council for Education⁸⁰ who was an active supporter of the 1870 Act and the provision of education for all, and who supported their campaign. They also addressed public meetings, petitioned and sent deputations to the School Board and wrote letters to the local press. Their 1884 petition included the arguments set out above, and also that the new Board School in Hatfield Road was too far away from eight year olds living in St Michael's to walk to. It ended:

*'Appealing to your sense of justice and fair play, we earnestly request that you, gentlemen of the St. Albans School Board, and the Committee of Council of Education, will re-consider the matter and restore our non-sectarian school, either by such alterations and improvements in the present buildings, as may be necessary for its fit conduct, or by the erection of a new Board School upon the same or an adjacent site, and on the same side of the city, to meet the wants of that part of the population'*⁸¹.

This campaign continued through 1884, as reports in the local paper show⁸². It was one of the major topics of School Board meetings throughout the year. The Spencer Street trustees lobbied the Board, and there were public meetings. At first there were discussions about enlarging the building by adding an upper floor, then by buying additional land. But there was little available: the building was bounded by a pub on one side, and the Quaker burial ground behind. There was regular debate about whether the trustees still owned the building and whether it should be handed back to them. The possibility of building a new school in Hill Street and Mount Pleasant was discussed, and the Board were split. But it was rejected on the grounds of cost. The plea to have a Board school in the Abbey parish was, in the end, rejected: 'parishes' were no longer relevant under the 1870 Act, it was the provision of enough school places across the Board area which was the key, provided these were within a two mile walk of the local children. The Act also permitted parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction, and teachers were permitted not to teach it.

The closure of the Spencer Street School building was not, however, quite as unfounded as Urwick presented it. Warnings of the possible withdrawal of the grant because of the inadequacy of the buildings had – as we have seen - been made over the previous 20 years.

They did not succeed in keeping a Board School in the parish. Initially the trustees refused to sell the Spencer Street building unless a local Board School was agreed. In December 1885, however, the Board obtained legal advice that they were owners of the school site, and that they were entitled to sell it after they had obtained the permission of the Education Department. In 1886 the Spencer Street school building was sold for £200, which went into School Board funds. It became:

*'... a straw-hat warehouse - a standing monument of an injustice done to the Nonconformists of St. Albans, which will not be atoned for until an Undenominational school is again established in the Abbey parish, and on the west side of the city'*⁸³.

The Cross Street infants' school continued until April 1902. At this point it had 124 places, 52 on roll, and an average attendance of 34. The Education Department records record that the managers proposed to close the school as '... funds are insufficient and the accommodation inadequate'. The HMI agreed writing that '... the Abbey School and Garden Fields will provide places'⁸⁴.

Some of the reporting above was taken from Urwick's own memoirs of these events and the remainder from the local newspaper and the school log books. Sadly the Minutes of the St Albans Board of Education for this period are lost, but their monthly meetings were reported at length in the paper. From these reports it is evident that Urwick's reports are not an entirely accurate record of what happened. But they are calmer and more measured than the reports in the Herts Advertiser: discussion is reported as being very acrimonious, with frequent splits and votes on the way to go forward.

The current educational provision for young people living in the Abbey parish still bears the impact of this history. There are no secondary schools with a 'natural' catchment area in the centre of the city. Christchurch School in Verulam Road no longer exists as a school, nor does the Hatfield Road Board School. Leavers from city centre primary schools travel in all directions to maintained and voluntary church secondary schools on the perimeter of the city. This is still of concern to those who live in the city centre.

End note

This survey of school-based education in a small central area of a Hertfordshire town has illustrated how the current, often controversial, issues of social class, religion, and the purposes of education - should we focus on basic and vocational skills, or on providing a liberal education for all - developed through the nineteenth century and remain key in educational debates today. There are also current issues around the charitable status of private schools and the 'public benefit' they provide. The extent to which state-funded primary education is still provided in church schools, and the building of new faith schools, are also of concern.

These are all themes which were threaded through nineteenth century education. They aroused passions then, and they still do today.

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¹ Urwick (1888) page 234

² Williams R (1961) *The long revolution* London: Chatto and Windus quoted in Gillard D (2007) *Education in England: a brief history* available online at: www.dg.dial.pipex.com/history/

³ <http://www.spicerstreet.org.uk/historyic.html>

⁴ Goodman (1991)

⁵ Kilvington (1986)

⁶ <http://vision.edina.ac.uk/index.jsp>

⁷ Burg et al (1995) page 62

⁸ Goodman (1991) page 3

⁹ <http://vision.edina.ac.uk/index.jsp>

¹⁰ Burg et al (1995) pages 62 and 63

¹¹ Burg et al (1995) page 63

¹² Burg et al (1995) pages 169 to 172

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- ¹³ from Goose (2000) page 98, table 10. This table included data from the Abbey, St Peter's and St Michael's (Urban) parishes. In 1851 this was the 'town' area of St Albans and there is no reason to think the data would not be broadly similar to that for the Abbey parish.
- ¹⁴ <http://vision.edina.ac.uk/index.jsp>
- ¹⁵ <http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/education/stalbans-schools.htm>
- ¹⁶ Kilvington, FI (1986)
- ¹⁷ see Gróf (1988) page 63 to 75 and Davis (1981). Straw plaiting for straw hat manufacture was a major home-based industry in St Albans and district
- ¹⁸ <http://www.workhouses.org.uk>
- ¹⁹ Goodman (1991) page 9.
- ²⁰ <http://www.spicerstreet.org.uk/historyic.html>
- ²¹ Urwick (1888) pages 223 and 227
- ²² Urwick (1888) page 236
- ²³ Kilvington, FI (1986) page 40
- ²⁴ Urwick (1888) page 235.
- ²⁵ Kilvington (1986) page 53
- ²⁶ Kilvington (1986) page 1
- ²⁷ Kilvington (1986) page 45
- ²⁸ Urwick (1888) page 235
- ²⁹ Kilvington (1986) page 51
- ³⁰ Kilvington (1986) page 53
- ³¹ Kilvington (1986) page 55
- ³² Kilvington (1986) page 55
- ³³ Kilvington (1986) page 57
- ³⁴ Kilvington (1986) page 57
- ³⁵ Kilvington (1986) pages 58 and 59.
- ³⁶ Kilvington (1986) page 63
- ³⁷ Kilvington (1986) page 73
- ³⁸ Kilvington (1986) page 94
- ³⁹ Kilvington (1986) page 119
- ⁴⁰ <http://www.st-albans.herts.sch.uk/>
- ⁴¹ Birch et al (2008) pages 7 to 12
- ⁴² Birch et al (2008) pages 9 to 18
- ⁴³ Goodman (1991) page 4
- ⁴⁴ Goodman (1991) page 3
- ⁴⁵ Goodman (1991) page 4
- ⁴⁶ Goodman (191) page 3
- ⁴⁷ Goodman (1991) pages 21 and 22
- ⁴⁸ Goodman (1991) page 24
- ⁴⁹ Goodman (1991) page 25
- ⁵⁰ Urwick (1888) page 243
- ⁵¹ Urwick (1888) page 245
- ⁵² Urwick (1888) pages 244 and 245. These two town hall meetings are reported in detail by Urwick
- ⁵³ Urwick (1888) page 245
- ⁵⁴ Urwick (1888) page 246
- ⁵⁵ A Catholic school for girls was opened in 1900 by the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy. Corbett (1999) page 6
- ⁵⁶ Urwick (1888) pages 247 and 248
- ⁵⁷ Butler (1999) page 262
- ⁵⁸ Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Record Service FR2/1/1/6

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- ⁵⁹ Crellin (1999) page 48. There is also a map of the district showing the route of the new Verulam Road on page 76
- ⁶⁰ Crellin (1999) page 47 and 48
- ⁶¹ Urwick (1888) page 249
- ⁶² Urwick (1884) page 853
- ⁶³ Thomas Littlejohn Brash became headmaster of the Hatfield Road Board School in 1886, but a warrant for his arrest was issued in March 1889 for embezzling School Board money. See Ouston, J *Thomas Littlejohn Brash: the rise and fall of a St Albans headmaster*
- ⁶⁴ HMI were set up in 1839. Their role was expanded in 1862 under the 'revised code'. Their papers are held at the National Archives but none relating to the St Albans schools of this period remain
- ⁶⁵ Spencer Street School log book. 1863 – 1886. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS), Hertford ref: HED1/131/1
- ⁶⁶ Murray, N (1996) *The life of Matthew Arnold*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Matthew Arnold was an HMI from 1851 to 1886, becoming chief inspector in 1884. He was appointed as one of three lay (non-clergy) inspectors. Church schools were inspected by clergy, so he mainly inspected British and Wesleyan schools. He argued against the revised code and 'payment by results' as it disadvantaged the poorest and for universal elementary schooling
- ⁶⁷ Spencer Street School log book. 1863 – 1886. HALS ref: HED1/131/1
- ⁶⁸ Spencer Street School log book. 1863 – 1886. HALS ref: HED1/131/1
- ⁶⁹ Spencer Street School log book. 1863 – 1886. HALS ref: HED1/131/1.
- ⁷⁰ Goodman (1991) page 24
- ⁷¹ Urwick (1888) page 252
- ⁷² Letter from the central government Education Department to the British School Committee, quoted in Urwick (1888) page 252
- ⁷³ Spencer Street School log book. 1863 – 1886. HALS ref: HED1/131/1
- ⁷⁴ Spencer Street School log book . 1863 – 1886. HALS ref: HED1/131/1
- ⁷⁵ Spencer Street School log book. 1863 – 1886. HALS ref: HED1/131/1
- ⁷⁶ Urwick (1882) page 253
- ⁷⁷ Hatfield Road School log book. 1886. HALS ref: HED1/132/1.
- ⁷⁸ Hatfield Road School log book. 1886. HALS ref: HED1/132/1.
- ⁷⁹ Urwick (1888) page 254
- ⁸⁰ In modern terms 'secretary of state'
- ⁸¹ Urwick (1888) page 255
- ⁸² Herts Advertiser for 1884. On microfilm at St Albans Central Library and at HALS. Minutes of School Board meetings are lost.
- ⁸³ Urwick (1888) page 256
- ⁸⁴ The National Archives ED21/166. Garden Fields was a Board school built 1896. The building is now the Jubilee Centre in Catherine Street.