

Lambeth Palace Library
Research Guide
Education Sources





Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

Education Sources

1	Introduction	1
2	Lambeth Palace Library – Archbishops’ Archives.....	1
3	Church Of England Record Centre.....	5
4	Other Sources	9
5	Glossary.....	10

1 Introduction

The archives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Fulham papers of the Bishops of London and papers created by the National Church Institutions, notably the National Society, together provide a rich treasure trove of information recording the endeavours of the Church of England to develop education across the country. This guide aims to provide information on the range of sources relating to the history of education held at Lambeth Palace Library, supported by quotes from selected sources to illustrate the variety of the surviving material available.

Please note that material referred to below at the Church of England Record Centre is now held at Lambeth Palace Library.

The material ranges from local elementary schools to the universities and teacher training colleges, witnessing the Church’s long history of supporting and providing education. Information on the archival holdings concerning education can be found in the online archives and manuscripts catalogue, whilst many publications concerning education can be found in the Library’s online printed books catalogue.

These sources provide only a partial account of a particular school or subject within the history of education, however when used in conjunction with other sources held at The National Archives and in the network of local record offices they provide valuable additional information on the support given to education by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the central institutions of the Church of England.

2 Lambeth Palace Library – Archbishops’ Archives

2.1 Faculty Office

The *Faculty Office* licensed schoolmasters in accordance with canon 77 of 1603. The papers for the most part are testimonials and applications for a licence to teach, and may bear the archbishop's *fiat* (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **F I-F II**). Schoolmasters are also recorded in the Archbishops’ Act Books (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **VB 1**) and subscription books (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **VG 1**) and there are records for the Archbishops’ peculiars, e.g. licensing records (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **VH 33**) and subscription books (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **VH 88**).



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

2.2 Visitation Records for the Diocese of Canterbury and London

A *visitation* is a periodic visit to inspect the temporal and spiritual affairs of the parish carried out by the Bishop or the Archdeacon. The library holds visitation records of the Bishops of London and the Archbishops of Canterbury for the 18th and 19th centuries.

By the 18th century most bishops published articles of enquiry in advance listing the questions being addressed to the parish clergy and churchwardens. During the 19th century the articles of enquiry usually included questions concerning local schools. Questions 22 and 22A of Archbishop Tait's visitation of 1880 related to local schools (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **VG 3/4**), as did questions 7 and 8 of Bishop Blomfield's visitation of 1842 (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **FP Blomfield/72-73**). These asked about the numbers of scholars attending 'daily, Sunday and infants schools'; and asked 'What is the number of children in your parish without means of education?' The incumbent's answers often give an insight into local communities and the clergy's perception of where they stood socially. The Revd. Richard Allnutt, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Tonbridge in 1872 replying to a question about the local school commented 'all the teachers in Boys School belong to the working class, except my own son' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **VG 3/4d f.202**).

The amount of detail very much depends on the incumbent filling in the visitation returns. The returns also give a lot of information concerning the wider economic, pastoral and social context in which schools operated. In 1858 the Revd. John Abiss, Rector of St. Bartholomew's Great, London on why his congregation was not proportionate to the population of his parish explained: 'Some are Jews, some Roman Catholics, some Presbyterians, some Independents, some Unitarian, some Wesleyans – many being confined during the week in a close atmosphere visit their friends in the suburbs & some live out of the parish & some exhausted by labour make Sunday literally a day of rest & mothers say they have no other time for home duties' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **Tait 440/200, Question 17**). Whereas the reply of the Revd. Alexander Sketchley, Vicar of St. Nicholas, Deptford to the same question was a laconic 'dissent and indifference' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **Tait 440/49, Question 17**).

2.3 Archbishop as College and School Visitor

The Archbishop of Canterbury was a *Visitor* to a number of schools and colleges including All Souls, Balliol and Merton Colleges at Oxford and a number of independent schools including Eton, Harrow, Marlborough, Rochester, and Dulwich College. His powers included officially visiting an institution such as a college or school to prevent or remove abuses or irregularities. In practice this often took the form of a right of appeal by members of these institutions to the Archbishop. Sections 20 and 46 of the Higher Education Act, 2004, curtailed appeals to the Archbishop concerning staff discipline and students' complaints from the universities, but remain for those independent schools for whom the Archbishop continues serve as a Visitor.

An appeal to Archbishop Thomas Tenison (1695-1714) from John Proast, chaplain to All Souls College gives an insight into the tensions within the College during the late 1690s. He had been dismissed as college chaplain in 1688, and on appealing to the Archbishop of Canterbury as College Visitor was restored to office in 1693. His relations with the Warden of the College, Leopold Finch Warden had been simmering ever since. On 30 December 1697



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

tensions came to a head when Proast went 'out of town without leave' and when challenged by the Warden of the College caused the chaplain to make a 'protestation in a vehement passionate manner'. As a result he was 'put out of commons and suspended from office' until 1 May. The visitation records include the depositions received from the various parties when the chaplain appealed to the Archbishop and provide a detailed description of the dispute with verbatim record of the confrontation between the Chaplain and the Warden (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **VV 1/4/5/2**).

An appeal to Archbishop Moore (1783-1805) in 1785 from some of the Governors of Harrow School led by the Vicar of Harrow, Revd. William Walters, focused on whether the charitable objects of Harrow School complied with the intentions of its founder John Lyon who established the school in 1572. Who should benefit: the local children of the parish or paying pupils who had 'entirely engrossed the school to themselves, the charitable Benevolence of the Donor has, and we fear ever will be frustrated as long as the present system prevails' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **Moore 5, f. 345**). The party of governors led by the Revd. Walter Williams, Vicar of Harrow contended that the donor's intention was that 'every encouragement be given to parishioners to send their children to the Free School for the Parish of Harrow' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **Moore 5, f. 344**).

The majority of the governors led by Sir John Rushout however believed: 'that the school was established for the sole purpose of moral and classical improvement: nor can we allow that the Trust has been perverted by its great credit and increase because the great expense of the universities may have probably deterred the Inhabitants of the Parish from adopting a learned profession for their children: and the conviction that a little clerical knowledge, can be of no service to a Farmer or Mechanic' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **Moore 5, f. 337**).

Archbishop Moore in an undated draft letter judged that both fee paying 'foreigners' from outside the parish and parishioners could be taught at the school, however the interpretation of the founders' will was 'according to the judgement and discretion of the Governors, effectively confirming the status quo (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **Moore 5, f. 346**). The surviving correspondence shows an insight into contemporary views concerning what was the appropriate education for different social classes and who should benefit from charitable status in a debate that continues today.

2.4 Clergy Orphan Corporation School

The Archbishop was Governor of the Clergy Orphan Corporation (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **MSS 3018-3059**) which established a school at Canterbury. The Corporation was founded in 1749. Its two schools, St. Edmund's, Canterbury (for boys), and St. Margaret's, Bushey, Herts. (for girls) became independent charitable companies in 1996. The Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy assumed trusteeship of the Clergy Orphan Corporation in 1997. The surviving archives held at Lambeth Palace Library include minutes and papers for the School Governors for St. Edmund's School, Canterbury for period 1787-1997 (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **MSS 4550-4572**).

Most impressive are the set of contract architectural plans designed by Philip Hardwick in 1854-1857 for the Orphan's School for Boys at Canterbury which later became St Edmund's School, Canterbury and has been described as 'On a splendid site overlooking the City, Hardwick placed a group which can be justly called the finest Victorian school in the country.



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

It sums well the Victorian idea of education, loftily forbidding yet at the same time rich and self-confident' (Buildings of England Series: North East and East Kent, John Newman Editor, 3rd Edition, p. 248). The plans set out in detail the layout of classrooms, chapel, dormitories, dining room, lavatories, library, staff rooms and even the geological strata found beneath the school when a 50 foot well was sunk in the stable yard and well illustrates the facilities of a mid-Victorian boarding school (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **MSS 3057–3059**).

2.5 Archbishops' Papers

The correspondence of many Archbishops will include material relating to education and one example is Archbishop Frederick Temple's correspondence with the London School Board and other schools as Bishop of London between 1885-1896 (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **FP Temple 50**).

Archbishop William Temple's (1942-1944) correspondence concerning education is arranged together and provides an insight into the intricate negotiations between the Church of England and the government leading up to the Education Act, 1944 which was to establish the post-war system of education (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **William Temple, 19–22, Education**).

A crucial part of the negotiations was the correspondence between Archbishop Temple and R. A. Butler, Minister of Education and other interested parties such as the National Society; prominent laymen like Earl De Grey; and Sir Frederick Mander, Secretary General of the National Union of Teachers, over the position of Church schools and religious education within the new reformed education system, which continues throughout William Temple's Archiepiscopate, 1942-1944. William Temple's contribution was patiently to construct a consensus within the Church of England behind the legislation and actively to support the legislation in the House of Lords. On 1 April 1942 R. A. Butler wrote to the Archbishop 'I am anxious to continue discussions behind the scenes until such a time that the plan has reasonable measure of support' and adding 'it is our bounden duty to use the present respite from sectarian and political differences to attempt a forward move, without which we cannot achieve that reorganisation which is the basis of all educational progress' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **William Temple 19, f. 5**). Writing on 5 May 1942 to the prominent layman Earl De Grey, the Archbishop emphasised that in his discussions with Butler he was 'very anxious' not to suggest that 'Church folk would be merely standing for the existing order of things' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **William Temple 19, f. 25**).

When eventually a sufficient consensus for legislation had been negotiated the Archbishop actively supported the Bill in the House of Lords and on 6 July 1944 he wrote to the Earl of Selborne on the new experience of putting down three amendments at the Report Stage of the Bill commenting 'supposing that other persons than the Government do put down amendments at this stage: but I have never been connected with the actual course of a Bill in Parliament before' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **William Temple 22, f. 147**). The correspondence also reveals William Temple grappling with the securing of a Christian presence in the educational system, which inevitably required working through the existing teaching profession. Writing to Revd. Reginald Lamb, Vicar of Chislehurst on 16 September 1944 'I think we took a false turning when the State came into the field: but you cannot merely reverse that and start afresh. The great teaching body is on the ground and we have got to do the best that it seems likely that you can do with and through it. On the other hand



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

it is very difficult to say this publicly without offending that body in a degree which would render the co-operation one is working for impossible' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **William Temple 22, ff. 189-190**).

The correspondence ends abruptly. On 23 October R. A. Butler wrote 'I hope that you are making a satisfactory progress and will soon be wholly restored to health' (Lambeth Palace Library Ref. **William Temple 22, f. 22**), however William Temple died three days later on 26 October 1944 ending his short but extremely influential ministry.

Other material on education in the Archbishops' Papers includes 24 volumes in the papers of Randall Thomas Davidson (Archbishop 1903-1928) concerning the Education Act during the Liberal Government.

3 Church Of England Record Centre

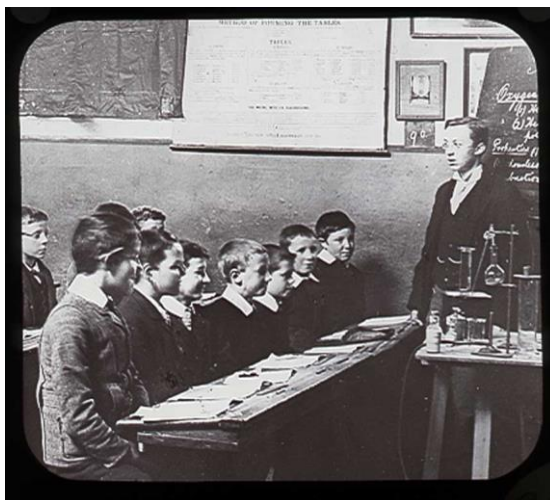
This material is now held at Lambeth Palace Library.

3.1 National Society Archives

History - The National Society for Promoting Religious Education was founded on 16 October 1811. As it was the first National Society to be founded, it was allowed to use 'The National Society' as its official short title. Its major aim was to found a church school in every parish throughout England and Wales, and it set out to do this by encouraging and supporting local initiatives to build such schools. Today there are still approximately 5000 church schools in England and Wales, many of whom were founded with support from the Society. It was also heavily involved in other aspects of education such as the publication of books, the provision of equipment and the provision of inspectors for schools. It was also involved in the setting up of teacher training colleges as well as the training of the teachers themselves. The Society's involvement in education began years before the Government's (which began in 1833 with the setting up of the Privy Council Committee on Education, the first fore-runner of the present day Department for Children, Schools and Families). After 1833, the Society took on the responsibility of representing the voice of the established church in its dealings with the Government. This including negotiations over the passing of the 1870, 1902 and 1944 Education Acts. This was a role the Society only started to relinquish in the 1940s after the passing of the 1944 Education Act. Below are various sources, which give information on the Society and its work.



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide



The National Society Today - The work of the Society continues in conjunction with the Education Division of the National Church Institutions and its aim is to support church schools and to promote Christian education. Its website gives useful and concise information not only about its formation and history but also about its current activities and initiatives such as collective worship, church school management and guidance material for church schoolteachers and governors (www.natsoc.org.uk). The *Church of England Year Book* (the official yearbook of the Church of England) also gives useful summary information on the Society and its current activities.

The National Society Archives - 'I do not hesitate to say, that the populace in general, are either ignorant or wicked, and in most cases where they have a little learning, it is either of a schismatical variety, vainly philosophical, or treacherously political [in] nature' so wrote Revd. Patrick Bronte, Vicar of Haworth in West Yorkshire, father of the novelist Charlotte Bronte, to the National Society on 4 August 1843. This is just one of thousands of documents in the National Society's archives which forms the corporate memory of the Society's achievements and the Church of England's involvement with education since 1811. The archive documents the Church's considerable efforts during the nineteenth century to bring schooling to children across the England and Wales from the remote rural parish to the teeming suburbs of the rapidly growing industrial towns.

The Society's surviving archives include 15,000 files relating to the Society's dealings with individual schools in England and Wales. Material on these files includes application forms for National Society building grants, which were available for building new schools, as well as extensions and improvements to existing ones. The files can also contain copies of, or information on, school trust deeds, and sometimes maps, plans and builders' specifications of the proposed buildings, which would have been sent in as part of the application for a grant. However, the content of individual files can vary considerably.

The Society's archive also contains minutes of its major committees, copies of its annual reports and a reasonable selection of its publications which give information on the other activities the Society has been involved in since its foundation, such as the training of



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

teachers, publication of books and its dealings with the Government. The annual report of the National Society for 1843 eloquently stated the view that 'the religious education of the poor is the great and only safe bulwark of social order' and that without 'daily school' the children of the poor 'attained an unhappy notoriety for rudeness, violence, insubordination'. The report reveals that the Society in the previous year made 259 grants amounting to £11,986 towards the construction or improvement to school buildings, supported the training of 184 teachers at training colleges in Chelsea and Manchester and was about to develop a series of school textbooks 'desirable, with a view to cheapness and uniformity'. The objective was to give each child, to quote the masculine language of the day: 'such an acquaintance with his own language, and with the general principles of Christianity, that he shall fully understand the text of His Bible and the comments of his Minister'.

A growing proportion of the Society's archives are catalogued and can be identified in the online archives and manuscripts catalogue and the objective is to have archive fully catalogued in time for the National Society's bicentenary in 2011. The finding aids to the Society's publications are not as yet available online. Many of the National Society's publications can be found using Lambeth Palace Library's online printed books catalogue.

Haworth National Society School File - Today if you visit Haworth in Yorkshire the fruits of Patrick Bronte's various applications to the National Society can be seen in the form of the schoolhouse first erected in 1831-1832, converted into a Day and Sunday School in 1843 and which continued to serve as a school until 1897. When Charlotte Bronte gave her heroine Jane Eyre a spell as a schoolmistress in the fictional village of Morton following her flight from Mr Rochester, she was writing with the experience of having taught at Haworth School. The Haworth School file gives fleeting and fascinating glimpses into a Victorian class room (Ref. **NS/7/1/6011**).

Patrick Bronte obtained in 1843 a grant of £50 for the extension of the school and the building specification sent in support of the application gives a detailed description of the construction of the extension to the school including stone walls, glazed windows, a slate roof and an interior painted throughout in 'best oil and colour'. Another application in 1844 indicates that Haworth had a population of 6301, school accommodation for 400 children of whom only 140 attended on an average day. The school spent £56 13s. 4d. (£56.68) each year on staff salaries and that the total expenses of the school amounted £96 7s (£97.35) including £26 on books and 10 s. 6d. (52p) for candles! However an annual deficit of £57 10 s. (£57.50) implied a degree of anxiety worthy of Mr Micawber.

Details of the school's curriculum are given in a report made in 1845. This consisted of two sections: 'Religious Instruction' in the Old and New Testament and the Church Catechism and 'Secular Instruction' including reading, 'parsing' (grammar), etymology, geography, arithmetical rule and table, writing and English history and 'Writing on Slates'. There is even a rare reference to individual pupils who are even named as having 'left the school to attend new schools' including Fanny, Ann and James Lambert. Normally children are anonymous in the surviving records.

National Society's Published History - For a general history of the National Society see: '*Enterprise in Education: The Story of the Work of the Established Church in the Education of the People Prior to 1870*' written by Henry Burgess, published by the National Society



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

and S.P.C.K, 1958. A revised and less detailed history was published by the National Society in 1961 to commemorate the Society's 150th anniversary: '*A Short History of the National Society 1811-1961*' by Henry Burgess and P. A. Welsby.

Further reading - There are various education related journals, which refer to the work of the National Society but mainly relating to its involvement with church schools. However, the *Oxford Review of Education* contains an article by Priscilla Chadwick on the Anglican perspective on church schools which puts the National Society's role in perspective against all other events in the progression of education:). '*The Anglican perspective on church schools*'. *Oxford Review of Education*, 2001 Vol. 27, No. 4, pp.475-487 and available online (<http://wf2la6.webfeat.org> - Accessed: 25 March 2007)

In April 1997, the Religious Archives Group, a body affiliated to the Specialist Repository's Group of the Society of Archivists held its annual conference on the theme of the Church and the Classroom. One of the papers at this conference was on the work of the National Society to 1870 and is a good summary of both its history and the sort of records held by the Society and what uses can be made of them: Religious Archives Group (1997) *The Church and the Classroom*. Regents Park College, Oxford, April 1997. London: Religious Archives Group.

3.2 Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Archives.

The benefice and estate files of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners often include references to local elementary schools particularly as where the Commissioners' were a local landowner they were frequently asked to give financial assistance towards the establishment or improvement of a local church school. Often these files can open a window to local economic and social conditions and the development of a particular school. They sometimes can be used in conjunction with relevant National Society school file.

In Pitton and Farley in Wiltshire the Ecclesiastical Commissioners inherited the Salisbury Cathedral Treasurership Estates tithe rent charges and consequently supported the local church schools between 1848-1938. The appropriate estate file provides much information concerning the vicissitudes of Pitton School for this period. The file for example includes information on the school's financial circumstances including the accounts for the year ending 31 October 1881; the difficulty of recruiting 'a suitable teacher' due to the lack of a school house in 1884; the attempted provision of a school playground in 1896; fundraising for a parish reading room in 1911 and the view of Revd. Charlie Matthews Gay, Vicar of Farley and Pitton in 1923 that the 'local dissenters would like our C of E School to die off' (Ref. **ECE/7/1/5952**). The relevant National Society school file for Farley also survives (Ref. **NS/7/1/4817**).

Another Ecclesiastical Commissioners source that can include information concerning local schools is the series of estate surveys undertaken by their agents such as Cluttons and Messrs. Smith & Watkins following their acquisition of various estates from Bishops and Cathedral Chapters (Series Ref. **ECE/6/1**) and the summary of the report at the end of each survey often refer to local schools. The survey for Pitton and Farley, dated 28 November 1848 for instance refers to the tithe barn at Pitton being 'given to the Vicar to assist him in the erection of a school' (Ref. **ECE/6/1/82/30**).



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

3.3 Church Assembly and General Synod Archives

The establishment of the Church Assembly in 1919 created a central legislative body and policy forum for the Church of England and education was one of major social issues that concerned the Church nationally. In addition to the network of church schools, in 1936 the Church managed 28 teacher training colleges and was major partner with the State in the provision of elementary education. The National Society continued to act as the central church body on educational matters but a Board of Education was established in 1958 to further develop the co-ordinating role formerly provided by the National Society. Whereas the Archbishop's papers provide details of the intricate negotiations between the government and other interested parties within the Church, the Church Assembly records document the public forum where Church of England conducted its discussions over education policy.

An example is the General Synod debate held on 3 and 4 March 1943 to consider the report of the National Society concerning proposed legislation that eventually became the Education Act, 1944. The Assembly debated how best to secure religious education in all schools and to maintain Church schools in any future reform of the educational system. The assembly was circulated two reports by the National Society (Church Assembly References **CA712** and **CA 716**) and the ensuing debate gives the flavour of the range of opinions held by both clerical and lay members of Assembly. Lord Quickswood made perhaps the most colourful speech 'We cannot adopt the methods of the suffragettes. His Grace would feel a natural repugnance to chaining himself to the railings in Downing Street. We cannot put things in Post Office letter boxes to destroy letters.... What we must do is never cease to ask for what we want, and make our support – our political, Parliamentary and electoral support – depend on getting as much as we can of what we want.' (Ref. **Church Assembly Debate Transcript, Spring Session, 1943, p. 133**).

Other speakers included the Bishops of Coventry and Oxford, Archdeacon of Dudley, Colonel Sir Robert Martin lay member for Leicester and Miss Florence Hunt lay member for Chelmsford Diocese who spoke of the a 'marvellous influence of the saintly school master, who was a real disciple of Christ and loved the Church and the children, his one idea being to bring up the children for God'. (Ref. **Church Assembly Debate Transcript, Spring Session, 1943, p. 224**).

Lambeth Palace Library holds a full set of Report of Proceedings and bound papers of the Church Assembly, 1919-1970 and of General Synod from 1971 (Ref. **H5018 C4**). There is also a bound series of transcripts of Church Assembly proceedings for the years and these often are closer to a verbatim record of the proceedings than the published proceedings which often at this date omit the more humorous and idiosyncratic remarks of individual speakers (Series Ref. **Church Assembly Transcripts, 1920-1969**). The records of the Board of Education established in 1958 have not yet been catalogued and enquiries concerning this material should be addressed directly to the Library.

4 Other Sources

4.1 British Library

The National Society was involved in the publication of books from its foundation until 2003. From the outset it set out to produce affordable and relevant books for both schools and



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

Sunday schools. These books were on such themes as the Bible, religious education and also school textbooks. They were published by the Society, in conjunction with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and also by its own depository. As mentioned above, some can be found using Lambeth Palace Library's book catalogue. A more comprehensive collection can be found using the British Library catalogue (www.bl.uk).

The National Society was the voice of the Church of England in educational matters in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. As a result its activities and initiatives were reported in the church and national press, such as a conference in June 1857 chaired by Prince Albert on the subject of the early school-leaving age of children of the labouring classes and how this could be prevented. This was reported by *The Times*, 23-24 June 1857. *The Times* has a searchable archive back to 1996, but earlier editions than these can be accessed via the British Newspaper Library at Colindale, which has a set from 1788 onwards. This library also holds a complete set of the *The Church Times* from 1863 onwards.

4.2 The National Archives

The National Archives at Kew holds the records created or inherited by the Department for Children, Schools and Families and its predecessors relating to the provision of education in England and Wales. These records include applications for government building grants (ED 103), preliminary statements filled in by the school's promoters (ED 7), and files on schools in receipt of government grants (ED 21). This material should complement material held in the National Society's archive. For further information see The National Archive's leaflet 'Sources for the History of Education, Domestic Records Information 119 or access their website (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk).

5 Glossary

Church Assembly – Established by the Church of England (Powers) Act, 1919 as the central legislative body for the Church of England. Renamed and reconstituted in 1970 as the General Synod by the Synodical Government Measure 1969.

Faculty Office – The Faculty Office was set up under Peter's Pence Act of November 1533 to issue 'licences, dispensations, faculties, compositions, and rescripts, etc.' previously granted by the pope or papal curia.

Fiat – This is an order signed by the Archbishop or a Faculty Office official and is an essential step in the procedure to grant a faculty or licence.

General Synod – Established by the Synodical Government Measure 1969, to replace the Church Assembly as the central legislative body for the Church of England.

National Society for Promoting Religious Education – established in 1811 with the objective to create a church school in every parish throughout England and Wales, and it set out to this by encouraging and supporting local initiatives to build such schools.

Visitation – The periodic visit to inspect the temporal and spiritual affairs of the parish carried



Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

by the bishop or the archdeacon.

Visitor – Power of the Archbishop of Canterbury to officially visit an institution such as a college or school to prevent or remove abuses or irregularities. In practice this often took the form of a right of appeal by members of these institutions to the Archbishop. Sections 20 and 46 of the Higher Education Act, 2004, curtailed appeals to the Archbishop as visitor from the universities but remain for those independent schools for whom the Archbishop continues serve as a Visitor.

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