

ART. XVIII. – *The Headmaster, the Provost, and the Earl: the Affair of the St Bees School Mineral Lease, 1812-1817.*

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IN 1817, William Wilson, headmaster of St Bees School, resigned his post. He was said to have been forced out of office: salary reduced from £70 to £50, censured for allowing excessive holidays, and refused a formal licence to officiate by the Bishop of Chester. His fault was to have suggested that the lease, by which Lord Lonsdale extracted the coal under the school's lands in Sandwith on the southern edge of Whitehaven, was invalid. The lease was granted for 867 years on 11th November 1742 at a rent of only £3. 10s. a year. Sir James Lowther, to whom it was granted, was also a governor. A governor of a charitable institution is a trustee, and a trustee should not profit by his trust. Sir James and his family had profited greatly.

The story has been told before, but always with a certain reticence.¹ Now the fortunate discovery of new evidence at Queen's College, Oxford, and in the Lowther archives, makes this fuller account possible. It tells, first, of the power of a great landowner in the early nineteenth century; second, of an incident which was grist to Henry Brougham's early reform of education; third, of the windfall which transformed St Bees School from a small rural grammar school to a public school on Arnold of Rugby lines. It also throws light on the personalities of the protagonists, William Wilson himself, Septimus Collinson, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and William, Earl of Lonsdale. It marks other cross-currents, like the claims of the Bishop of Chester to license the headmaster of St Bees School, and the conflict of an evangelical headmaster with the Tory-High Church alliance of bishop and peer. It is offered as a small contribution to the history of the school in its quatercentenary year.

On 5th January 1811, the Provost of Queen's, Septimus Collinson, appointed the Revd William Wilson of Kendal to be the master of St Bees School, on the death of John Barnes. Under Grindal's statutes, the power of appointing the master lay with the Provost alone.² Wilson had entered Queen's on 15th July 1801 and graduated M.A. in 1808. He was an earnest young don, aged about 28. Like some of his predecessors he also took the bulk of the services in St Bees parish, for the incumbent, William Harrison, was an elderly absentee.³ Later letters speak of his zeal in visiting the sick and taking communion to them, and holding popular preaching meetings in private houses. He seems to have been an evangelical – there was a suspicion of Calvinism about him.⁴

Although Provost Collinson never steps to the front of the stage, it is likely that he instigated the enquiry into the lease. Queen's College was at this time a closed foundation, a college of Cumbrians, and Lord Lonsdale's activities must have been a matter of note at high table. Collinson's interest could have been aroused by a query in 1807 from a Whitehaven solicitor about the title of Lord Lonsdale to work coal within the school's manor.⁵ Not long after Wilson's appointment, Collinson evidently asked him for information. On 29th April 1812 Wilson replied: "it is generally understood that a Lease was granted . . . but the validity is disputed and doubted by his Lordship himself, as report says that he dare not sink a pit within the (School's) Manor." He was said to be

getting coal away underground nonetheless.⁶ Collinson had noted that the school accounts at this time did not show separately the rent received from any mineral lease. Was this for administrative reasons, as the school's steward claimed? Or was it intentional, to avoid a sensitive point? The steward was also Lord Lonsdale's attorney in Whitehaven.⁷ Wilson told the Provost that he had been thinking of resigning, since "in the present state of the school the emolument is not equal to the labour . . . I am also somewhat apprehensive that my health will not bear the application necessary". Now that his interest in the investigation had been aroused, he resolved to stay on.⁸ The crusader had found a cause.

The crusader also had pressing and proper reasons for increasing the revenues of his school. The rent of a lucrative alabaster quarry at Sandwith was falling, and the school was shortly to be landed with the expense of the enclosure award for St Bees Common – for which the governors were, in 1814, forced to sell land.⁹

At least another year passed before Wilson got any further. The school chest (still in existence) had three locks which were only supposed to be opened in the presence of three governors. While one of the locks was being mended, Wilson looked inside the chest for the first time – and found the school's counterpart copy of the lease. He noted that it was indeed in favour of Sir James Lowther who was a governor at the time; and that the term of the lease, 867 years, was written over an erasure. Wilson went on to obtain counsel's opinion that if the lease was to a governor, it was void, and that it was now a fairly easy matter to open proceedings by petition to the Lord Chancellor. The question now was whether Lord Lonsdale would settle, or fight to keep all he had.¹⁰

At this point a chance discovery at the Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle throws light on the case from the Lowther side. Placed in the back of a register book which has nothing directly to do with the matter is a sheaf of letters to Lord Lonsdale from his Whitehaven lawyer, Mr Younger, and the Revd Richard Armitstead, minister of St James' Whitehaven (1790-1821), rector of Moresby (1813-1821) and lately appointed (23 February 1814) a governor and receiver of St Bees School.¹¹ This is how Younger broke the news to Lord Lonsdale, on 30th March 1814, of Wilson's discovery and its disclosure:

"On Sunday Mr Irton called upon me . . . Mr Irton said that about a fortnight ago, Mr Wilson paid him a visit at Irton Hall . . . informed him that he had taken Mr Hart's opinion (upon the mining lease); that the way to bring the matter into agitation was by petition to the Chancellor, and he wished to know if Mr Irton had any objection to be a copetitioner . . . Mr Irton remonstrated with him on the impropriety and futility of any such attempt, and would have nothing to say to it; on which Mr Wilson wanted to enjoin him to secrecy . . . but Mr Irton would give him no such assurance".

In consequence Mr Irton, who was also a landowner in St Bees, eventually decided to tell all.

"Mr Armitstead and I determined the best plan was to see Mr Wilson, – and Mr Wilson seemed much surprised and shocked at what he deemed a breach of confidence in Mr Irton . . . In the evening he came to Whitehaven, and had an interview with Mr Armitstead and me, and after a great deal of conversation upon a subject which he seemed not fully to comprehend, and attempting to convince us that his object was the good of the school, I think we satisfied him of the impropriety of prosecuting his pious intentions any further".¹²

Lord Lonsdale, however, took seriously every threat to his interests. He passed

Younger's report to the Revd James Satterthwaite, another governor and rector of Bootle, for comment. Satterthwaite said that this was not the first time he had heard of a possible challenge to the mineral lease.

"I conceived therefore that some designing persons disaffected to your Lordship's interests, and seeing in Wilson a fit tool for their purposes, had instilled into him this old doctrine".

Satterthwaite's advice was against any further discussion with Wilson – all that needed to be said to him was "use your own discretion, your intentions are known and will be met in their proper place and time".¹³

Embarrassingly for Younger and Armitstead, the Lowther copy of the lease could not be found, so the two of them went down to St Bees to inspect the school's copy. Younger reported briefly to Lord Lonsdale. It was left to Wilson to observe that this was unlawful, because three governors were required to open the school chest – forgetting that Wilson himself had done just the same. Wilson later told Collinson:

"I was obliged . . . to remonstrate against their intention of taking out some paper which they seemed desirous I should not see. As they persevered in their intention of taking it, I summoned courage to take this paper out of Mr Younger's hand . . . and it proved to be the Lease".¹⁴

Irton's disclosure had brought the matter into the open sooner than Wilson intended, but he pressed on. At the Governors' meeting on 16th April 1814 he laid before them the opinions of counsel that the lease was invalid.¹⁵ He still hoped Lord Lonsdale would negotiate or make some offer to the school. Ten days later the headmaster called on Armitstead to find out what his Lordship's reaction was, but received none. Armitstead clearly thought Wilson was bluffing and lacked the support he claimed.¹⁶

At this point, Wilson was made to learn – as a friend later put it – that "your wish to do good has made powerful men your bitter enemies".¹⁷ At the Governors' meeting on 16th April, Armitstead had "read out that part of the statutes which fixes the master's salary, in a very audible tone of voice".¹⁶ Now word went out from Lowther that Wilson was, if possible, to be forced out and discredited. (Bear in mind that the governors had no power to dismiss him). Armitstead, applauding Lord Lonsdale's instructions, wrote, "I am convinced, it is the only plan to bring him to a sense of his duty or to induce him to resign his situation, an event most devoutly to be wished".¹⁸

The governors met again in a special session on 28th September 1814 and Lord Lonsdale himself attended.¹⁹ The meeting was ugly and heated. Wilson insisted on being present and was asked to leave the room. He later claimed that Lord Lonsdale had challenged his right to remain. Wilson said "It is implied in the statutes that I ought to be present". Whereupon Lord Lonsdale was alleged to have said "we do not want your interpretation of the statutes, Sir".²⁰ All this was later denied, but even the witness on the Lonsdale side tells of tension enough. With crushing aristocratic civility, Lord Lonsdale intervened to say that, after what had passed, he hoped Wilson would leave the room. "Mr Wilson still seeming to hesitate, his Lordship added that he hoped it would not be necessary to repeat his request. Upon which Mr Wilson replied, that if he were compelled to leave it, he certainly must".²¹ And he did. Two hours later the headmaster was called back to be told that, upon the pretext of the expense to which the governors had been put over the enclosure award, his salary was reduced from £70 to £50.²²

Soon after Wilson's challenge in 1814, Armitstead was taking note that the headmaster

had been giving the school holidays "whenever it suits his own convenience to have one". Armitstead's son observed and reported his movements. "Mr Wilson was seen at a very early hour in the morning going towards Egremont. In all probability he might be going to see his friend Mr Holderness . . . who was to have signed a petition to the Lord Chancellor along with Mr Irton".²³ In the following year the governors met to enquire into Wilson's conduct and Armitstead said he had absented himself for at least 80 days in the year. Wilson claimed that, after the particular circumstances were examined, the governors "allowed that there was nothing particularly blameable as to my being absent on those occasions". Nonetheless a minute was drawn up stating that the governors had found it necessary to reprimand him for neglect of duty. And a copy was sent to the Bishop of Chester.²⁴

Wilson was also in trouble with his bishop. At a visitation in Whitehaven in 1814, Bishop Law had rebuked him for extempore preaching and holding meetings in private houses and neglecting regular services in St Bees. Wilson also said later that the bishop had either accused him of being a Calvinist, or had asked the churchwardens whether he was a Calvinist, statements which the bishop later refuted publicly. This brought a reply of seven long pages from Wilson – and the bishop produced statements from six witnesses to vouch for what he had said. (Law's views on Calvinism were well known, however; his biographer, writing in 1829, says that "the Bishop is perhaps, the clearest propounder of any writer, ancient or modern, of the true orthodox and scriptural system of salvation as opposed to the Calvinistic heresy".) Wilson had been helping with the parish duties and had possibly been hoping for the living himself when William Harrison died. Lord Lonsdale and Bishop Law had other plans. In July 1816, the bishop stayed at Whitehaven Castle with the Earl and visited St Bees, and in October 1816, William Ainger was appointed to the perpetual curacy of St Bees and also commissioned to start a theological college there. Wilson saw this as a Lowther plot to damage the school by setting up a competing institution, but this again was strongly denied by Law.²⁵ Finally, Wilson appears to have been advised that he must be licensed by the bishop as master at the school. If he did not have such a licence he might not be heard in court. On one pretext or another Law delayed the grant of this licence. Now he said he would grant it, now it was postponed, now it would have to be on paper that had paid stamp duty, now Collinson would have to approve it.²⁶

No wonder that Wilson speaks of himself at this time as under great pressure, sick and tired and restless: "For some time previous to my resignation I could not trust myself even in a fournoon to hear a class their lesson, except by walking about at the time to prevent my yielding to the languor of my frame".²⁷ Nonetheless, he was able in 1815 to publish an edition of the *Satires* of Juvenal (expurgated).²⁸

Wilson never got his licence and never petitioned the Chancellor. His London backer (who is never named) took further advice and withdrew. He was told there was too much hearsay evidence, and the distance to Cumbria and the power of Lord Lonsdale would make it too difficult to get better evidence. So in January 1817 Wilson told Collinson that he intended to resign. He was still in post in May, corresponding about possible successors, and left St Bees in June 1817.²⁹ His route back to Oxford had already been prepared, for he had been elected a fellow of Queen's in May 1815.³⁰

The Earl of Lonsdale was soon to find that Wilson was more dangerous out of St Bees than in it. In 1816 Henry Brougham had secured the appointment of a House of Commons

Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders. Although state expenditure on education was still unthinkable, the Committee sought to show that the existing schools could be reformed and their endowments redirected upon utilitarian lines.³¹ The Committee started its hearings on St Bees School on 20th May 1818, and Wilson gave evidence on 22nd, 23rd, 25th and 28th May. The Committee's questions show that they were well-briefed on what had been going on; by whom we do not know. The first witness, a London solicitor, said that he had been making enquiries in the last few months, on the instructions of "some gentlemen in that neighbourhood".³² The proceedings of the Committee were even better than a Chancery action, from Wilson's point of view. He could speak without hostile cross-examination, without proving his case by the formal rules of evidence, and with the benefit of parliamentary privilege against any action for defamation. Some of what he said was later challenged, but in the main his evidence is corroborated by letters written nearer the time. Provost Collinson did not give evidence – he was aged 78 – but came to London before the hearings, and laid before the Committee all his papers from Queen's College about the school. Belatedly, the governors offered theirs.³³

His evidence given, William Wilson drops out of the story. After a post as tutor and chaplain in the household of Lord Galway, he took up his fellowship at Queen's. He was Senior Proctor in 1819, D.D. in 1824, and was presented to the college livings of the Holy Rood, Southampton, and Church Oakley, Hants, the same year. The living of Holy Rood carried with it the stewardship of the college's extensive estates in Southampton and the Isle of Wight. No doubt the Provost and Fellows saw Wilson's determined defence of the School's rights as one of the qualifications for the post, and a competent steward he proved. He also became chaplain to the evangelical Bishop of Winchester, Charles Richard Sumner, and married the bishop's sister. His assistance was recognized in 1832 by appointment to a canonry at Winchester. He died in 1873, at the age of 90.³⁴ Evidently the St Bees episode did no lasting damage to either health or reputation. Well-meaning, innocent, wordy, he found that no one could challenge the Lowthers with impunity; but, to their great irritation, he was vindicated.

As recommended by Brougham's Education Committee, Parliament quickly established the Charities Commission to carry through the reform of the endowed schools.³⁵ St Bees was high upon their list and they held hearings in Whitehaven during 1819. It is beyond the scope of this essay to summarize the evidence. The main finding was that 677,600 cubic yards of coal had been extracted from under 132 acres of the school's lands by way of the Lowther pits; and that the school should be compensated.³⁶

Meanwhile, Lord Lonsdale and his staff prepared their ground. There was a flurry of attempts to set the record straight about what Wilson had said to the Education Committee.³⁷ Lord Lonsdale, whose assistance with the foundation of the theological college in 1816 may well be seen as a shrewd move to keep the Bishop of Chester on his side, went on to enlarge St Bees School by adding an extra storey to the foundation building in 1820 at a cost of £600.³⁸ What counted, however, was the legal issue: was the lease valid?

There were, it seems, two strings to Lord Lonsdale's bow. He could argue that there was no impropriety in Sir James Lowther taking the lease although he was a governor. No one else at the time had been willing to work the school's coal on any better terms; and at the time of the lease £3. 10s. was a fair rent. More ingeniously, he could argue

that the coal had never been the school's to grant in the first place. It belonged to Lord Lonsdale's manor of St Bees and had not been included in the grant by James I to the school in 1604.³⁹

Correspondence at this time between Lord Lonsdale and Provost Collinson shows the Provost as always deferential, but firmly and quietly refusing to be overawed; and his Lordship as incensed at the "calumny" of Wilson's evidence, reluctant to argue the details of his case, certain that he must win. Collinson made his views clear in an exchange of letters in the autumn of 1818 when Lonsdale wrote to him to check the details of a meeting some three years before, mentioned before the Committee. Collinson emphasizes "I have no sort of private or personal interest in this business". When he had first been told about Lord Lonsdale's mining of the school's coal he had refused to credit it because no mention of it appeared in Mr Younger's accounts. Now he was told there was a lease, and that if it was granted to Sir James Lowther while a governor it was invalid. He went on, "I am not competent to determine anything on this point". But in a later addition to the draft he wrote more firmly: "If I might venture to give my opinion, I should say that this lease ought not to have been granted".⁴⁰

In the spring of 1819 Lord Lonsdale and his son Lord Lowther started to check on the documents which had come from Queen's to the House of Commons Committee, but Collinson stalled, refusing to allow any general examination of his papers. Lord Lonsdale was not pleased. He explained that, as the Charity Commissioners were investigating St Bees, "I have purposely abstained from putting forth one single statement to refute the various statements from which so many erroneous conclusions have been deduced. Fortunately for me, I may say almost miraculously, we have been able to collect a mass of evidence, which at the commencement of our examination we never expected to discover". Commenting on a provocative remark of Collinson's that the governors might possibly manage their own coal mines, his Lordship was full of scorn. "It would not be within the compass of the most ample Revenue possessed by any individual in this county to undertake such a concern; and were it once accomplished, the article it produced could not be sold, as there is no access from it to the sea but through my land".⁴¹ The exchange of correspondence goes on with five letters on each side in all. Collinson's last draft reply speaks volumes on the man and the issue. "It is with regret that I reflect on the trouble I have for months past occasioned to your Lordship . . . No body can be more averse from dispute and litigation than I am. No body can be more sensible of the danger of disturbing established rights" – which Collinson then changes to "disturbing *what have been considered* as established rights". He reasserts that the manor belongs to St Bees School – Lonsdale had just written "The manor of St Bees is mine without dispute". He ends with the main point: "But the question remains. Was this lease a legal grant? . . . It seems to me that this is the only question of importance".⁴²

Collinson may never have learnt the decisive answer to his question. Following the Charity Commission's report, the Attorney General commenced proceedings in the Court of Chancery in 1821 to have the lease set aside. Collinson commented at the time: "I have declined being the relator of the Bill (i.e. a party to the proceedings) principally on account of my great age as having little reason to expect that I would live to see a decision of the question".⁴³ How right he was! It took the court a mere six years to give judgement. On 24th January 1827, in London, the Chancellor gave his decree that the lease was void. That same day, in his college in Oxford, the Provost died.⁴⁴

Lord Lonsdale was ordered to pay £5,000 into court, representing the capitalized value of revenue lost to the school. It was also ordered that he should have a new 42-year lease at an economic rent. It was a further 15 years before the school saw any benefit, during which time various proposals, including removing the school to Whitehaven, were canvassed. Chancery finally issued a scheme for the administration of the invested funds – by then amounting to £13,280. 13s. 5d. – on 16th March 1842. Within a month, the foundation stone of the building now called Foundation South had been laid, and the transformation of the school began.⁴⁵

The recent research of J. V. Beckett provides a wry footnote to the affair. The lease of 1742 was not only questionable on the high principles of equity. It was obtained dishonestly. Only three governors, one of whom was Sir James Lowther's agent, attended the meeting which granted it. The quorum was four. After the meeting an absentee, Sir Thomas Lutwidge, was persuaded to sign "a note prior to the date of my lease that he agrees to the lease". Lutwidge was indebted to Sir James at the time.⁴⁶

Acknowledgements

Mr John Kaye, the Keeper of the Archives at the Queen's College, Oxford, first drew my attention to Provost Collinson's papers and gave every facility for their examination. Without him this medievalist's excursion into the nineteenth century would not have taken place. I am grateful to the Provost and Fellows for their permission to reproduce extracts from the college archives, and to the Headmaster of St Bees School for permission to use the school muniments. I owe to the Revd Trevor Park, Vicar of Dalton-in-Furness and author of the recent history of St Bees Theological College, the idea that the foundation of the college and the Wilson affair were closely linked and Mr Park has commented helpfully on this article. As always, I am indebted to Mr Bruce Jones and the staff of Cumbria County Record Office at Carlisle for their assistance with the Lonsdale papers. Mrs Dorothy Fielding kindly typed the whole article, twice. My wife Mary has been my partner in much of the work in Oxford and at home, transcribing atrocious handwriting in MSS., criticizing drafts of the article and laughing in all the right places.

References

The following abbreviations are used:

Q.C.O. – Queen's College, Oxford MSS.

C.R.O. – Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle. (References to letters at C.R.O. are to the collection in the back of D/Lons/W/Deeds Registers, 1510-70, unless otherwise stated.)

St B.S. – St Bees School MSS.

H.C. – House of Commons Papers — H.C. (1818) iv contains the Third Report of the Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders. H.C. (1820) iv contains the Report of the Commissioners for Charities in England and Wales.

D.N.B. – *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹ William Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees* (London 1892) ii, 217-23; C. Collison, *Ye Boke of Ye Busie Bee* (Millom 1940, 114-17, 126-35).

² D.N.B. xxi, 618; Jackson, *Papers*, ii, 217.

³ Communication from the Revd Trevor Park, who also points out that when Wilson completed the articles

- of inquiry sent out by Bishop Sparke of Chester in 1811, he refers to "the superannuated state of Mr Harrison who lives at a distance". Cf. also H. B. Stout, *The Registers of St Bees Cumberland*, (Kendal 1968) part iii, 165-77.
- ⁴ C.R.O., D/Lons/W/Deeds/St Bees, Wilson to Law 29 Dec. 1818 and Law to Wilson 20 Jan. 1819.
- ⁵ Collinson was brought up at Great Musgrave: *D.N.B.* iv, 840; Q.C.O., SC (C) 3, Hodgson to Collinson, 24 Jan. 1807.
- ⁶ Q.C.O., SC (C) 5, Wilson to Collinson, 29 April 1812.
- ⁷ Q.C.O., SC (C) 8, Younger to Collinson, 1 Aug. 1815; SC (C) 21, Collinson to Lonsdale, after 5 Oct. 1818; H.C. (1818) iv, 106.
- ⁸ Q.C.O., SC (C) 5.
- ⁹ St B.S., leases; Q.C.O., SC (C) 8.
- ¹⁰ Q.C.O., SC (C) 6, Wilson to Collinson, 14 May 1814. The lease itself is still in St B.S. and has certainly been tampered with, although the alteration may be contemporary with the original. Sir James Lowther is not mentioned as a lessor, although other governors are so named, including the then Provost. Wilson was able to work out that Sir James was a governor at the time from the minutes of appointment in the Register Book: Q.C.O., SC (C) 12, Wilson to Collinson, postmarked 31 Dec. 1816.
- ¹¹ C.R.O., D/Lons/W/Deeds Registers, 1510-70, containing copies of early documents about the school; Timothy Cockerill, "The Revd Richard Armitstead of Whitehaven", CW2, lxx, 374-80.
- ¹² C.R.O., Younger to Lonsdale, 30 March 1814; this is substantially corroborated by Wilson's later evidence, H.C. (1818) iv, 116.
- ¹³ C.R.O., Satterthwaite to Lonsdale, 5 April 1814. Satterthwaite also advised on the appointment of a new governor, illustrating how the self-perpetuating governors upheld the Lonsdale interests.
- ¹⁴ C.R.O., Younger to Lonsdale, 13 April 1814; Q.C.O., SC (C) 12, Wilson to Collinson, postmarked 31 Dec. 1816.
- ¹⁵ C.R.O., Younger to Lonsdale, 17 April 1814.
- ¹⁶ C.R.O., Armitstead to Lonsdale, 27 April 1814.
- ¹⁷ Q.C.O., SC (C) 15, Wilson to Collinson, 14 Jan. 1817.
- ¹⁸ C.R.O., Armitstead to Lonsdale, 7 May 1814.
- ¹⁹ St B.S., Register, p. 163.
- ²⁰ H.C. (1818) iv, 109.
- ²¹ Q.C.O., SC (C) 22, Statement by Mr Hobson, a Clerk in Younger's office, 17 Oct. 1818, enclosed with Armitstead to Collinson, 4 Jan. 1819, SC (C) 23.
- ²² H.C. (1818) iv, 109-10.
- ²³ C.R.O., Armitstead to Lonsdale, 7 May 1814.
- ²⁴ H.C., (1818) iv, 111; St B.S., Register p. 165 (23 May 1815).
- ²⁵ C.R.O. D/Lons/W/Deeds/St Bees, Wilson to Law, 29 Dec. 1818 and Law to Wilson, 20 Jan. 1819; Q.C.O., SC (C) 23 (part), Bishop Law's statement enclosed with Armitstead to Collinson, 4 Jan. 1819. Wilson officiates at marriages frequently up to 1814, thereafter occasionally to 1816: H. B. Stout, cited in note 3, 171-4. I owe to Trevor Park the reference from S. H. Cassan, *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells* (1829) ii, 213. On the foundation of the College see now Mr Park's *St Bees College 1816-1895: A Short History* (Dalton in Furness 1982) 14-15.
- ²⁶ H.C. (1818) iv, 110-11.
- ²⁷ C.R.O., D/Lons/W/Deeds/St Bees, Wilson to Law, 29 Dec. 1818.
- ²⁸ *D.N.B.*, xxi, 619.
- ²⁹ Q.C.O., SC (C) 14, 15 and 16, Wilson to Collinson, 11 and 14 Jan. 1817, 11 May 1817; H.C. (1818) iv, 105.
- ³⁰ *D.N.B.*, xxi, 618.
- ³¹ W. H. G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education* (Cambridge 1970) 93.
- ³² H.C., (1818), 102-30.
- ³³ H.C., (1818), 334-60, 129-30.
- ³⁴ *D.N.B.*, xxi, 618-19; J. R. Magrath, *The Queen's College, Oxford*, (Oxford 1921) ii, 166-7. Information on Wilson's stewardship was kindly communicated by Mr John Kaye.
- ³⁵ John Hunt, *Education in Evolution: Church, State, Society and Popular Education, 1800-1870* (London 1971) 18-19.
- ³⁶ H.C. (1820) iv, 5-21, Appendix 5-68.
- ³⁷ Q.C.O., SC (C) 23, Armitstead to Collinson, 4 Jan. 1819.

³⁸ Jackson, *Papers*, ii, 220.

³⁹ The two lines of argument are indicated in Lonsdale's letters to Collinson of 10 April and 19 March 1819 respectively: see notes below.

⁴⁰ Q.C.O., Collinson to Lonsdale, SC (C) 19, 21, drafts, after 24 Sept. 1818, and after 5 Oct. 1818.

⁴¹ Q.C.O., SC (C) 30, Lonsdale to Collinson, 19 March 1819.

⁴² Q.C.O., SC (C) 31, Collinson to Lonsdale, draft, replying to Lonsdale's letter of 10 April 1819.

⁴³ Q.C.O., SC (C) 40, Collinson to person unknown, undated draft.

⁴⁴ Jackson, *Papers*, ii, 220; Magrath, *Queen's College*, ii, 144. The coincidence of dates does not seem to have been noted before.

⁴⁵ Jackson, *Papers*, ii, 220-3.

⁴⁶ J. V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco* (Cambridge, 1981) 24.

