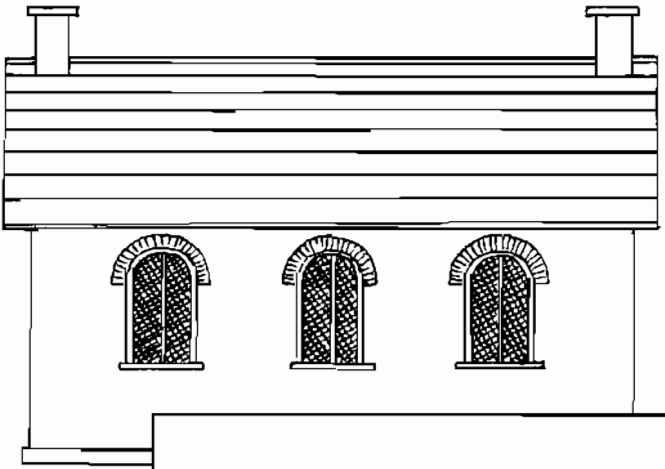
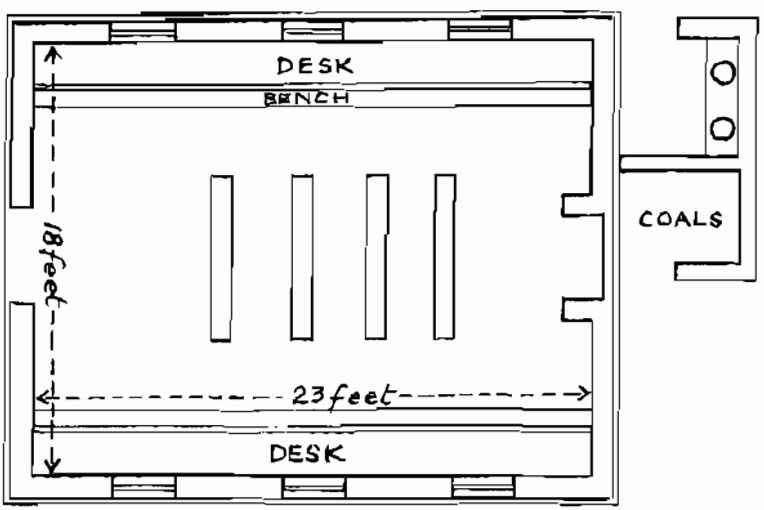


PRIMARY EDUCATION IN EAST YORKSHIRE 1560-1902

by

J. LAWSON, M.A.

EAST YORKSHIRE LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY
1959



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The cover illustration shows the school at Foston on the Wolds, built in 1844 at a cost of £57 13s. 10d. with accommodation for 69 pupils.

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PRIMARY EDUCATION IN EAST YORKSHIRE

1560 - 1902

by

J. LAWSON, M.A.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN EAST YORKSHIRE 1560-1902

A popular notion which dies hard is that there was little or no elementary education before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is true that schools steadily multiplied in number then, in East Yorkshire as elsewhere, but the fact is that evidence abounds for the existence of schools, even in remote villages, from a much earlier period, though little more is known about them than that they did exist.

Schools, however, are only one of the means to education, and in a rural area of small and isolated villages, such as East Yorkshire was, they were of necessity relatively unimportant. When the majority of people lived near the subsistence level, every child in the family had to earn his bread as soon as he was capable of doing so; book learning was irrelevant to their few and simple needs, and the greater part of education consisted of vocational skills acquired in early age by practice, of traditional folklore heard at the fireside, and of simple religious beliefs learnt in church. Generally speaking, schools are an indication of a comparatively advanced level of economic prosperity and they have increased in number as living standards have improved, particularly during the past century.

Even so, the existence of schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and in places where none might have been expected—is often evidenced by parish or diocesan records. The archbishops' registers at York are a rich and hitherto little explored source for educational history and the valuable index of references to schools and teachers compiled by Dr. J. S. Purvis reveals how widespread was the availability of instruction from Tudor times. The visitation act book of 1563 and 1564 shows schoolmasters at Burton Agnes, Holme upon Spalding Moor, Hunmanby, Kildwick, Lowthorpe, Spaldington; that for 1600 shows schools at Acklam, Marton, Ottringham, Skipsea; other visitation records reveal schools at Market Weighton in 1576, at Welton in 1586, at Sledmere in 1596. But the parish chest is also likely to indicate the existence of a school, in some chance reference in parish register or churchwardens' or overseers' accounts. The register at Roos, for instance, records the burial on 8 September 1654 of " John Bottomley, scolemaster and scrivner"; at Rillington, Marmaduke Spink, schoolmaster, was buried on 30 May 1727; and the churchwardens' accounts at Owthorne in 1741, when the church was being repaired, include a payment " for fetching sand for ye schoolhouse " which suggests a school held in some part of the church.

It would be quite misleading to think of these schools as resembling in almost any way the schools of the present day. For the most part they were not permanently established institutions accommodated in specially provided buildings—a school was little more than a group of children under a teacher, meeting anywhere. Villages were small and not many would have sufficient children to keep a teacher permanently employed, so that teaching was almost invariably a part-time occupation, and schools tended to be casual, sporadic and fleeting in existence. Teachers were obscure and humble men and women, themselves imperfectly, if at all, educated; and keeping school, as a writer in 1660 observed, was usually "left as a work for poor women, or others, whose necessities compel them to undertake it, as a meer shelter from beggary". Such at Scarborough in 1636 was the wife of John Rybie, "a poor seafaring man. When he is at sea his wife is used to teach a few girles and boyes under seaven years of age". At Burstwick in the 1760's lived Thomas Todd, "soldier and schoolmaster"—no doubt a discarded ex-serviceman turned teacher, like Parson Woodforde's Cousin James Lewis. Some schoolmasters, particularly the writing masters, were peripatetic, contracting with squire or parson to teach the village children for a period and then moving on; some would set up school in a village and leave when demand fell too low to provide a livelihood, and probably most gave up teaching when a more profitable occupation presented itself; many eked out a living by combining the jobs of schoolmaster and parish clerk (when the school was commonly held in the parish church as, for instance, at Hunmanby and Kirkburn in 1636); some were scriveners or land surveyors or collectors of rates for the overseers.

Particularly in Elizabethan and early Stuart times, if the village had no schoolmaster the children might be taught by the vicar or curate, for Canon 78 of 1604 enjoined that in those parishes which lacked a school the curate, if able and willing, was to be licensed by the bishop to teach "for the better increase of his own living and training up of children in principles of true religion". At Bilton and at Garton the curate was schoolmaster in 1605, at Brandesburton in 1640, at Gembling the curate of Lissett in 1662.

The evidence for all the schools so far cited comes from ecclesiastical sources; and an excellent illustration of the great value of church records for educational history is provided by Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, conveniently printed by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. These consist of the replies made by the clergy to a series of questions addressed to them by Archbishop Herring in 1743 in preparation for his primary visitation of the diocese. The third question asked, "Is there any public or Charity School, endow'd or otherwise maintain'd in your Parish? What Number of Children are taught in it? And what care is taken

to instruct them in the Principles of the Christian Religion, according to the Doctrine of the Church of England; and to bring them duly to Church, as the Canon requires?" The information contained in the answers to this particular question provides an interesting picture of the distribution and condition of education in Yorkshire. *Prima facie* it suggests the relative backwardness of the East Riding, for of 168 parishes making returns as many as 101 show no school, whilst in the North and West Ridings together of 485 parishes some 165 apparently had no school. But statistically these returns are not to be too much relied on, for it is obvious that incumbents replied to the question in different ways, some discounting private schools, some including them. "No School of any kind", declares the rector of Goxhill unambiguously; "No publick or Charity School" is the return from Full Sutton and North Ferriby; whilst at West Heslerton the rector states merely, "I have no Charity-School in my Parish"; and the rector of Hotham, "There is not any Endowed School". But the curate of Keyingham more informatively replies, "We have no Such School—but, my Lord, we have a poor woman yt Teaches a few Children"; similarly, the curate of the adjacent parish of Ottringham, "There is no Charity Schole or other regular Schole in the Parish. The Clark undertakes to teach such as come to him; but he is very oft without any Scholars".

This last reply emphasises that the returns are not only imperfect statistically, but that they relate only to the position in 1743. The availability of education must have been subject to a good deal of fluctuation; for instance, schools apparently did not exist in 1743 at Folkton, Foston and Bugthorpe but there were certainly schoolmasters at the first two places in 1713 and at the last in 1752.

Nearly all these schools were private-venture schools, though some were partly supported, as will be shown later, by small endowments; but for the most part they were conducted—precariously—for what the parents paid. Not many are specifically stated to be taught by women, but that is so for example at Allerthorpe, Bainton, Keyingham and Watton, and the return from the last place probably epitomizes dame schools of this kind, "A poor Woman teaches a few children within her Own house to read, knit, & sow". What was perhaps a typical village school appears in the return from Lund, "We have a private School where about thirty Boys and Girls are taught English Writing and Accompts; the School-Master is very carefull to instruct them in the Principles of the Christian Religion, According to the Doctrine of the Church of England, and doth bring them duly to Church as the Canon requires". No doubt most of these schools were "maintain'd only by ye Contributions of those Parents who have Children taught there", as the vicar reported of the school at Wawne; but at several

places, for example Atwick, Beeford, Harpham, Rise and Swine, the parishioners as a whole seem to have contributed voluntarily. In other places the schoolmaster was supported in part by a voluntary payment from the squire, as at Barmston and Rowley, or the parson, as at Escrick. In numerous places the parish clerk was the schoolmaster, for instance at Acklam, Barmby on the Moor, Burstwick, Lockington and Skipwith. At Bubwith ye Parishers have or hire a School Master Monethly or Qterly to teach their Children to read, & to come duly to Church to be instructed in ye Church Catechism". At Garton on the Wolds in 1743 the school was remarkable in that it was taught by a university-educated man, Thomas Pearson, a one-time scholar of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and he received his meals in part payment—" his meat from house to house is most he gets for his instruction, he receives Very small wages."

As has been said, a majority of parishes, and those not necessarily the smallest, reported no school. Hornsea with 133 families had none, nor had Leven and Langtoft with about 50 families each. Some places, however, had two or three schools. Hutton Cranswick with 148 families had three, so had Dunnington with 78 families; North Cave with 123 families had two schools " wherein the most, if not all, the Children in the Parish are taught." Paull with only 35 families had two schools, whilst Market Weighton with 120 families had only one of 30 children taught in the parish church. Numbers in attendance probably fluctuated as much as the supply of schools. At Bishop Burton, with 82 families, " ye Master, who teaches Reading, Writing & Arithmetic, has sometimes near fifty Children, sometimes not many above twenty." Brandesburton with 50 families shows " betwixt 40 and 50 scholars "; Hedon with 100 families a school of 20 or 30; Catwick with 18 families and Harpham with 30 each returns a school of 15. Twenty or so was perhaps an average size for a village school.

Where a school had a permanent existence and the teacher a more or less fixed and guaranteed stipend, it was because there was an endowment. In any village some philanthropic person might give or bequeath a piece of land or a sum of money, usually invested in a piece of land or stock, the rent or interest from which was to provide a stipend for a schoolmaster, occasionally a schoolhouse as well, and in return he was to teach free a specified number of local children, the others paying him his fees in the ordinary way. Provision was often made, too, for the apprenticing of some of the children on the completion of their schooling. The trustees who were made responsible for the capital investment, the appointment, supervision and payment of the master, and the nomination of the free scholars, were usually the parson and the parish officers, the wardens and sometimes the overseers—which illustrates the close association of elementary education and poor relief. The great

source of information for these charity schools are the Reports of the Charity Commissioners published between 1819 and 1840, those for the East Riding being mostly in volumes ix (1823) and xi (1824).

The only pre-reformation village charity which was applied to education seems to have been at Walkington, where in 1537 one William Sherwood made a bequest part of which was traditionally employed to pay for the schooling of the poor children of the village. One of the earliest about which much is known is that founded at Burton Agnes in 1563 under the will of the vicar, Richard Green, who bequeathed his goods and chattels to raise the sum of £200 to buy land, the rents from which were to provide £8 a year for a schoolmaster, the rest being divided equally between the church and the parish poor. Children from Burton Agnes were to pay only "entering pennies", others 8d. a quarter, and for supervising the school the wardens were each to have 6s. 8d. In doing this the vicar was probably endowing an existing school, for the archbishop's visitation shows a schoolmaster, one Henry Cowston, at Burton Agnes in 1563. Some years elapsed before the trustees were able to secure the bequest, and then only after an action at law, when they bought 37 acres known as the Willerby Haggs in the parish of Kirk Ella. The schoolhouse until 1835 was in a chapel on the north side of the church. In 1743, after another grant of land, the master's stipend was £11 4s., children from outside the parish still paid 8d. a quarter and in all 30 were being taught; by 1824 the stipend had increased to £20 13s. 4d. and there were 30 to 40 children, those from the village being taught reading free, outsiders paying, and all paying for writing and arithmetic.

Three similar endowments were given in the seventeenth century, all in Holderness. At Skirlaugh a school charity was created under the will of the local squire, Marmaduke Langdale of Dowthorpe Hall, who died in 1611. He left £200, the yield of which was to be applied by the "most substantial men" of the place, among other things for teaching the children of Skirlaugh and putting out some of the poor ones to apprenticeship. The founder here had decided views about the personal attributes of the teacher who was to be the recipient of his benefaction: he was to be "a diligent and painful teacher of the children . . . an honest, vertuous godly man, to leade a single life, neither to be a married man, nor to take or marry a wife for his owne use or company; neither to be a whoremonger, fornicator, or drunkard, nor a great company keeper, but a civill honest man in livinge to all mens judgements; and to behave himself according to God's holie lawes . . . and not to run a fleshinge and eating flesh of forbidden dayes . . . for a diligent teacher . . . in that place at Skerley chappel sball have little occasion to have the use or company of any woman . . . being in such a bare and barren place as Skerley chapel stands in." In 1657 two closes in Ellerby, some 32 acres in all, were settled upon

trustees, and a portion of the rents was annually paid to a schoolmaster; it was only £2 in 1743 so that most of his 20 pupils then must have paid fees; in 1846 it was ten guineas, for which he taught ten children free. The schoolhouse until 1860 was in one of two cottages which stood in the churchyard and belonged to the chapel.

In 1663 Robert Towrie, a landowner in Aldbrough, devised by will a 130-acre farm to the vicar, wardens and overseers for the relief of the parish poor and the schooling and apprenticing of indigent boys and girls. Part of the rents was regularly paid to a schoolmaster, and the school for many generations was held in the church, at the east end of the north aisle which was boarded up to separate it from the chancel. When Poulson wrote his account of Aldbrough about 1840 there were some 30 boys and girls in the school and usually three were apprenticed every year.

A similar endowment was given at Atwick in 1689 by Edward Fenwick who conveyed to the vicar and others an oxgang of land in the open fields at Beeford, the rents to support a school and apprentice one poor boy. This was later supplemented by half an oxgang at Hornsea given by one Ralph Burton. The schoolhouse, when it is first mentioned, stood on the village waste. In the 1830's the two charities provided the master with £26 a year, for which he taught reading, writing and accounts to some 20 boys and girls of the parish, free.

A somewhat unusual school in that it enjoyed a building but no endowment was established at Hessle during the Commonwealth by the "preaching minister," the Rev. Joseph Wilson. He built a small hospital for the aged poor, with a schoolroom on the floor above, but never provided either with an income, perhaps because before he could do so he was ejected for refusing to conform in 1662 and left Hessle for Hull, where he became presbyterian minister. The schoolmaster here was later elected by the ratepayers, and the school continued in the original building, restored in 1858, until about 1902.

In the eighteenth century educational benefactions increased markedly in number in East Yorkshire as in the country generally. Perhaps because mass poverty was one of the chronic ills of the age, the age was pre-eminently one of philanthropy, and for a variety of motives, religious, humanitarian, or disguised self-interest, the middle classes gave money by subscription, donation or bequest to improve the lot of the poor, not least by providing for the education of their children. But it was also an age of class and privilege, and benevolence stopped short at raising the lower orders above their social station : the aim was rather to give the children of the poor the means of earning their own living, so that they would not

grow up to be a burden on the parish, to make them socially submissive, and humble, dutiful members of the established church.

Some of these individual benefactors of popular education promoted several schools, in different places with which they had connections. Dorothy Wilson, a pious York spinster who died in 1717, not only endowed the village schools at Skipwith and Nun Monkton, but also founded two schools in St. Denys' parish in York, one for boys (which until 1764 occupied the house she had lived in) and one for girls. In 1716 Leonard Chamberlain, a draper and presbyterian of Hull, left two farms in Sutton and Stoneferry to provide among other charitable bequests £5 a year for the master of Wilson's school at Hessle, for which he was to teach reading to 20 poor children "of what persuasion soever", and £5 a year to a schoolmaster at Sutton for the same purpose. Ann Watson, a wealthy widow of Stoneferry who died in 1721 and was buried at Hedon, left 20 shillings a year to the schoolmaster at Hedon, and £5 for a scholar sent to Oxford from Halsham school, which had been founded in 1579 as a grammar school but had probably never been more than an ordinary village elementary school. At Brandesburton, £100 was left for the education of the parish's poor children by another widow, Mrs. Frances Barker, in 1729; she also left £30 for the school at Acklam; and in 1726 during her lifetime gave £50 for poor relief and education in Huggate, where her father, William Mason, had been rector.

In the first forty years of the eighteenth century some twenty educational endowments of this kind were given in the East Riding. John Baron of Bridlington left £5 a year in 1709 "towards the founding and maintaining a free school in Nafferton, for teaching and educating the poor children of the town in good literature"; in 1712 Mark Kirby, a merchant in Hull, devised certain rents "to be paid yearly to the schoolmaster in Cottingham churchyard, commonly called the Free School, and to his successors, for teaching ten poor children of parents not of ability to pay for their learning"; Mrs. Elizabeth Gee in 1714 gave £100, which bought ten acres, to support the village school at Bishop Burton; at Preston, Thomas Helmes in 1718 bequeathed £200 "for the benefit of a schoolmaster . . . to teach and instruct the poor children born in the town of Preston, in reading and writing, and further as such master should be capable to do for their advantage."

These endowed schools are not entirely distinguishable from the private schools: the endowment itself rarely afforded a sufficient living and almost invariably a school included private pupils paid for by fees as well as the village charity children. No doubt in many cases the endowment was given to an already existing school; but that an endowment did not necessarily mean the existence or

creation of a school is shown by the Barker charity accounts at Huggate for the years 1725 to 1791—they show that there was no schoolmaster there from 1730 to 1764, perhaps because the endowment was so small, and private pupils too few, to provide a livelihood. The income at Sproatley, on the other hand, was able to support a school dame as well as a master; Bridget Biggs in 1773 left several farms in Sheffield, Penistone and Ecclesfield to pay a master to teach ten poor boys of Sproatley reading, writing and casting accounts, and a dame to teach ten poor girls reading, writing and needlework, and to put out as apprentices or servants such of them as wished it. A small schoolhouse was built at the end of the churchyard, and the master and mistress occupied different parts of it. In 1734 they were teaching "about thirty children" and the trust income was £56 a year.

However, the most characteristic charity school of the eighteenth century was not that founded or endowed by the individual benefactor, but that established by co-operative philanthropy on the joint-stock principle, often on a relatively ambitious scale and usually in towns where subscriptions and donations were more plentiful. These were the Blue Coat or Grey Coat Schools set up under the auspices of the S.P.C.K. which came into being in 1698 and almost immediately formulated a plan for assisting local philanthropy to organize charity schools throughout the land. Local clergy were encouraged to become corresponding members of the Society and to stimulate interest in the setting up of a local school among the tradesmen and gentry of the neighbourhood. Not unnaturally, the first of these public-subscription charity schools in Yorkshire was in York. In 1705, under the patronage of the corporation, the archbishop and the cathedral, the Blue Coat School, originally for 40 boys, and the Grey Coat School, originally for 20 girls, started their long and honourable existence. They were for orphans or the children of poor freemen with large families, and the pupils were boarded and clothed and taught free at the subscribers' expense, and then put out to apprenticeship or service. The boys occupied St. Anthony's Hall in Peaseholme Green and were taught reading, writing, accounts and woollen spinning; the girls, till 1764 in a building in Marygate, learnt sewing and spinning and household duties in preparation for domestic service.

In 1710 came the Beverley Blue Coat School. The chief promoters of this were John Moyser, one-time M.P. for the borough, Thomas Mease, vicar of the minster, George Davis, apothecary and former mayor, and Sir Francis Boynton, of Burton Agnes. In the first year the school had 26 boys and four girls "taught, cloathed, and wholly maintained by Subscriptions of about £190 a Year, and the accidental Gifts put into a Box, set near the School Door for that purpose". In Hull, William Mason, vicar of Holy Trinity and a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K., formed a "Religious

Society" of clergy and tradesmen with pious and philanthropic objectives in 1729. "This Society", observes Gent in his History of Hull, "is eminent for its Religious Zeal; and especially, its well-order'd Charity, in respect to Poor Peoples' Children, for whose Education they take particular Care". In 1730 this body established the Vicar's School for 20 poor children, the members undertaking to "pay 2s. a Quarter for teaching each Child, and hear them read and repeat their Catechism every Quarter before they pay their Money". All these charity schools were further supported by the collections at annual sermons, and eventually, as subscriptions declined with the initial enthusiasm, by bequests and donations which put them on an endowed footing and guaranteed their continuity.

Another type of charity school that can be distinguished is the industrial school, which might be established by individual or joint philanthropy, or by a parish or corporate body. The emphasis here was on learning a trade, and the school was expected to be partly self-supporting from the sale of the products of the children's labour as they learnt. But to some extent vocational training formed part of the plan of most charity schools; for instance at Beverley, notes Cox in his Magna Britannia, "the People mostly support themselves by working of Bone-Lace, which of late hath met with partieular Encouragement, the Children being maintained at School, not only to read, but to work this Sort of Lace".

Before the existence of the S.P.C.K., Hull Corporation maintained a charity school in the town workhouse where orphan boys and girls were taught knitting and spinning as well as reading and writing, and as early as 1687 they were fitted out with a uniform of blue coats. Early in the eighteenth century, under the influence of Robert Banks, vicar of Holy Trinity and a man keenly interested in the work of the S.P.C.K., the school was partially supported by subscription, but it soon became and remained a workhouse industrial school.

The earliest industrial school in East Yorkshire was Bower's Knitting School at Bridlington, established in 1671. William Bower, a merchant of Bridlington Quay, built a schoolhouse near the Bayle gate and gave a farm at Birdsall near Malton to train 12 children of the poorest inhabitants "in the manufactory, art, trade, mystery or craft of carding and spinning of wool, and knitting of all manner of woollen ware". Boys and girls from 6 to 12 years were eligible, but the school soon seems to have become one for girls. The rents from the farm were divided, one-third to the master, two-thirds equally among the children each week, and each child was allowed one-sixth of the proceeds of her work after being eighteen months in the school.

The other industrial schools were in or near Hull or York. In 1753 Alderman William Cogan gave his house and £2000 in 3 per cent. consols to found a school to train poor Hull girls for domestic service; in 1786 the ancient corporation of Trinity House established a nautical school to train poor boys for the sea service. Ann Watson, who has already been mentioned, left £5 a year "to a school dame . . . (in Sutton) . . . to teach ten girls yearly for ever to knit, spin and sew, being children of the poor inhabitants there". Spinning schools were established by co-operative philanthropy in York in 1784, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Catharine Cappe, wife of the minister of Hewley chapel, and in Hull in 1786; in the last two instances the schools relied on voluntary subscriptions to supplement the sale of the children's work.

For some reason there was a marked decline in the number of new educational charities in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, but then the tide flowed again and between 1770 and 1810 some twenty schools were founded or endowed by individual benefactors in York and the East Riding. In York John Dodsworth, an ironmonger, founded two schools in 1798 and a third in 1803; in Beverley the Rev. James Graves, formerly curate of the minster, left £2000 to found a school in 1804 as well as sums of £200 to support schools at Thorpe Basset and Hovingham; John Marshall of Cottingham left £150 to provide an income for the schoolmasters at Skidby and Sutton in 1803; at Garton on the Wolds in 1779 Mrs. Jane Cook bequeathed to the village school a £150-share in the new Driffield canal; Christopher Wharton willed £500 to establish a school at Stamford Bridge in 1787, and his widow provided a schoolhouse in 1795; in 1810 Marmaduke Constable gave £400 for the education of 15 poor children at Sigglesthorne, to be chosen by the owner of Wassand or the parson. In other places where endowments were not forthcoming schools were erected about this time by public subscription, for example at Leconfield in 1784, Riccall in 1791, Heslington in 1795, and at South Cave where a "commodious and well-fitted schoolroom" was built over the market cross in 1796.

Thus, although private enterprise supplied most of what education there was, it was augmented by charity during the eighteenth century; and the charity school had a more or less continuous existence, whilst the private-venture school tended to be insecure and short-lived. But charitable endowments were fortuitous and not necessarily related to local needs, and several relatively large places had no educational endowments and thus no public elementary school. Such were Hedon, Patrington, Driffield, Pocklington, and Market Weighton, and they were entirely dependent on private-enterprise schools. So too until about 1810 was Bridlington with a population of 3,700, save for Bower's Knitting School for 12 girls and a small decayed grammar school that had become little more

than a parish elementary school. Pocklington with a population of 2,500 had no day school in 1843, and Patrington with over 1,800 inhabitants had no regular school until 1855.

By the end of the eighteenth century public interest in education was on the increase, partly because of the rapidly growing population—particularly the child population, increasing through the reduction of the infant mortality rate, partly because of a sharpening of social conscience through religious evangelicalism. But opinions were divided on the expediency of educating the labouring poor. An objection commonly brought against the extension of popular education may be found vigorously put by George Hadley in his History of Hull published in 1788. His reference to the Sunday schools recently established in Hull in 1786—" a preposterous institution, replete with folly, indolence, fanaticism and mischief "—stirs him to a diatribe against working-class education in general. " The working poor," he observes, " are by far the most numerous class of people, and when kept in due subordination, they compose the riches of the nation. But there is a degree of ignorance necessary to keep them so, and to make them either useful to others or happy in themselves. What ploughman who could read the renowned history of Tom Hickathrift, Jack the Giant-killer, or the Seven Wise Men, would be content to whistle up one furrow and down another, from the dawn in the morning, to the setting of the sun ? . . . That the inordinate increase, and general influence of learning extirpates industry, is proved by the experience of nations and individuals . . . in England it is a common observation among the farmers, that a husbandman who can read and write is an incumbrance to a parish; and that generally speaking, the parish clerk is the idlest person in the village . . .It is by confounding all degrees of ranks, that men so often render themselves ridiculous, and absurd . . . the Merchant quits his Counting-house to be dubbed Esquire; the shopkeeper despising the retail trade, (which has rescued him from indigence) commences merchant; and the labourer, who can read and cast accounts, will aspire to be a shop, or at least a bookkeeper. But where shall we find any to supply the place of labourers ? The class will be extinct. Not to be learned will be a disgrace to humanity; and a learned labourer is a solecism in language ".

An interesting statement of the opposite case is to be found in A General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire, written in 1812 by H. E. Strickland, a gentleman farmer of Reighton near Bridlington. " The deficiency of education among the lower classes," he argues, " is greatly to be regretted, many being unable to read, and still more of course to write or keep accounts. This is productive of much inconvenience to the individuals, unfitting them for many situations, for which their natural abilities might otherwise qualify them, and leaving them an easy prey to numerous

temptations. In towns, indeed, and in some villages, may be found schoolmasters who teach the minor branches of knowledge at a moderate price, but these are too few in number, and the desire for their increase is too weak to render knowledge general in lower life.

"It is much to be lamented that here, as in other districts, the endowed free schools are too frequently shut up, and become sinecures; it is believed that the greater part of them in this Riding are thus circumstanced, greatly to the loss of the middle and lower orders of society, for whose benefit they were more particularly founded; and who undoubtedly would take advantage of them, had they but the power of doing it; this great and disgraceful evil demands immediate scrutiny; and the correction of it is worthy the early and serious attention of Parliament . . . It is hoped . . . that it still may be done with due effect; because daily experience proves the necessity of affording to the lower orders every facility of gaining information, as the only way to make them act wisely is first to teach them to think correctly.

"To the admirable system and praiseworthy efforts of that benevolent man Joseph Lancaster, we may look for the general diffusion of suitable information among the working orders, without which we shall in vain endeavour to inculcate honesty, sobriety, industry and other moral virtues. Some schools upon his excellent plan are already established in this Riding, which are carried on with complete success, and it is to be hoped that many more will speedily be set on foot."

In this last remark the writer no doubt had in mind schools established on Lancastrian principles in 1810 at Bridlington, Scarborough and Hunmanby, the last by the squire Humphrey Osbaldeston. But these were not the first schools in the Riding to be organised on the new monitorial method, for the Salthouse lane school in Hull had been planned on Lancaster's system in 1806 and its opening in 1809 had been marked by a visit from Lancaster himself.

It was not parliament, however, but the church of England which set out to provide a national system of elementary education, one based on the rival monitorial plan of Dr. Bell. The National Society, founded in 1812, had as its aim "to communicate to the poor generally, by means of a summary mode of education lately brought into practice, such knowledge and habits as are sufficient to guide them through life in their proper stations, especially to teach them the doctrine of Religion according to the principles of the Established Church". It worked partly through affiliated diocesan and district societies which raised funds by subscription, and helped local promoters of schools with grants of money, slates, bibles and prayer books; and the annual reports of the National Society and the district societies supply much information about the progress of education in the early nineteenth century.

The York National School Society was formed in March 1812 to provide schools in York and encourage and assist educational effort throughout the diocese; in 1813 it opened the Manor school for boys and the Aldwark school for girls, the first of a series which provided some 3000 church school places in York by 1870. In June 1812, at a meeting of clergy and gentry at Beverley, the East Riding District Society was set up with the Rev. Joseph Coltman, vicar of the minster, as secretary; and later that year the first national school in the area was opened at Beverley, in Minster Moorgate. Coltman calculated in 1816 that there were 94 East Riding parishes which had no school; the masters of endowed schools showed no inclination to adopt Bell's system, and he suggested grants to encourage them to take instruction in it at the Beverley school. However, by 1816 the East Riding society was giving advice and help to schoolmasters at Hull, Hunmanby, Keyingham and Hedon, and new national schools were built at Beeford in 1816, and in 1818 at Bridlington and Driffield. Perhaps because the monitorial system was devised for mass instruction in large town-schools, the village schoolmasters continued slow to adopt it ;but some did, for instance the Graves school at Beverley and the schools at South Cave and North Ferriby. In the late 1820's the National Society increased its efforts and a number of new schools were built in connection with it —at Beverley the minster girls' school adjacent to the vicarage, at Elton, Holme upon Spalding Moor, Sutton upon Derwent, Welton, Howden, Hessle, North Ferriby, Londesborough, Norton; the funds being raised by subscription, donations from the parson and the squire (e.g. the duke of Devonshire at Londesborough), sometimes aided by a grant from the Society.

The British and Foreign Schools Society, based on Lancaster's system of instruction and sponsored by the various nonconformist bodies, made little impression in East Yorkshire, perhaps because of the relative poverty of dissent, tending now to primitive methodism, in such a predominantly agricultural area. The only British schools that were established were in the towns : in York the quakers supported a British school for girls in Newgate in 1813, and one for boys in 1827; in Hull a British school was opened in Dock Green in 1833 and another in Dansom lane in 1838. Later, when the various denominations provided their own schools, the influence of the British Society became inconsiderable.

Lack of funds was the chief obstacle to educational progress, preventing the supply of both adequate schoolhouses and efficient schoolmasters. In the absence of a school-building, a common place for the school to be held was still the village church, where the end of an aisle or part of a transept might be bricked or boarded up to form a schoolhouse; and the mutilated state of the monuments is still an indication of the former presence there of generations of

village children. At Aldbrough the Melsa tomb bears dated scratchings from 1604, and when Thomas Thompson visited the church about 1820 collecting information for his Ocellum Promontorium, he found the tomb much defaced by the boys of Towrie's school, established in the Melsa Chapel, and the iron helmet that hangs there yet was in use as the school coal bucket. A new vicar in 1834 had the school removed and the wooden partition taken down. In at least a dozen places, most of them in Holderness, some part of the church provided the schoolhouse until the 1830's or 1840's, for instance at Keyingham, Humbleton, Barmby on the Marsh, Goodmanham, Welwick and Easington. But under the influence of the Oxford movement, ecclesiastical authority at this time was bent on restoring decency and seemliness into the buildings and services of the church : the sexton ceased to keep his chickens under the tower, the parson to put his hat and crop on the altar, the schoolmaster to teach his school in the aisle. Archdeacon Wilberforce's visitation articles in 1843 enquired of the incumbent, " Is the church used as a schoolhouse, or for any other purposes without leave of the Ordinary ? " and soon afterwards the last schools were removed from churches, at Wetwang in 1843, at Withernwick and Flamborough in 1845. The ending of clerical absenteeism about this time, which gave many villages their first resident vicar within memory, also helped indirectly to promote school building, for the incumbent was often the most active organizer of local educational effort.

Failing the church, a nonconformist chapel was sometimes occupied by the village school; for example, the Wesleyan chapels at Garton on the Wolds and Kirby Underdale, the primitive methodist chapel at Elvington, the congregational chapel at Swanland, the quaker meeting house at Welwick. At South Cave throughout the century the school continued in the upper room of the market hall. In the absence of any other suitable schoolhouse the squire in some cases allowed a teacher the rent-free use of a cottage, as at Rise and Winestead.

The annual parliamentary grant after 1833 marked the beginning of a new era in school building, though the movement was slow in starting. The first school in the area to be subsidised by government building grant was the British Dock Green school in Hull in 1833, the next was the national school at Barmby on the Marsh in 1834, the next the national schools at Burton Agnes and Keyingham in 1835—the last three rehousing schools previously held in the church. Government policy was merely to aid local enterprise, and the amount of grant was proportionate to the educational need of the locality and the extent of local contributions. For example, at Keyingham the site was given by the archbishop as patron of the living, and the contributions of the villagers and

the neighbouring farmers were supplemented by a £25 grant from the National Society and a government grant of £35. With the active encouragement of the education committee of the privy council established in 1839 and guided by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the provision of new schools and the re-housing of older endowed schools received a great stimulus: and in the 1840's some thirty schoolhouses were erected in the East Riding by voluntary effort aided by government subsidy: at Market Weighton (1842), Pocklington and Lockington (1844), Hornsea, Skipsea and Hutton Cranswick (1845), Rillington and Kilham (1847), Beverley (1848) . . . These schools were often the result of much local effort and self-sacrifice, and their opening was an event in the life of the community: when the new Beverley minster national school was opened in August 1848 the minster bells were rung, there was a public tea with music by Ramshaw's band, and an address by Samuel Wilderspin, the father of infant education.

But hardly less important than parochial effort and government grant in the building of village schools in East Yorkshire, was the generosity and public spirit of some of the landowners, especially during the golden age of agriculture in the 50's and 60's. Probably everywhere the squire and parson contributed to the parish subscription list which government grant supplemented, but sometimes they gave the building site and sometimes met the entire cost of the new school. Richard Sykes built a school at Kirk Ella in 1838, Colonel Norcliffe a school at Langton in 1841; Captain Duncombe in 1845 gave the site and £500 towards the school at Barmby on the Moor; at Bainton the school was built at the joint expense of the squire, John Grimston, and the rector; Archdeacon Wilberforce built a girls' school at Burton Agnes and Archdeacon Bentinck one at Sigglesthorne; and Lord Muncaster, having rebuilt the church at Warter, erected a schoolhouse in connection with it. Some of the greater landed proprietors met the cost of several schools on or about their estates: Lord Hotham provided schools at Humbleton, South Dalton and Beswick, Lord Londesborough at Goodmanham, Routh, Middleton and Willerby near Scarborough, Lord Wenlock at Kexby and Stillingfleet. But the prince of East Riding school—and church—builders was Sir Tatton Sykes, the fifth baronet. A great promoter of education on the wolds, like his parents before him, in the 60's and 70's he restored and enlarged the schools at Garton and Wetwang and at his own expense built new ones at Kirkburn, Fimber, Bishop Wilton, Thixendale and Wansford.

Architecturally, these Victorian schools were unpretentious, for they were built on the cheap; usually they consisted of no more than one or two rooms, with or without porch and offices, but generally with a teacher's house attached, and in the same Victorian gothic style as the church and parsonage to which they were often

adjacent. A school was sometimes sited midway between the two villages it was intended to serve. for example between Beswick and Watton, Folkton and Flixton, Ellerker and Brantingham, Thearne and Woodmansey. Occasionally, also for economy, it was built to serve on Snndays as a chapel of ease for some outlying part of the parish, as at Leavening in the parish of Acklam in 1850, Skelton near Howden in 1851, and Woodmansey in the parish of Beverley minster in 1855.

After 1846 the annual parliamentary grant was no longer confined to the two original school societies, and other religious bodies entered the field so that education became almost a denominational activity. Apart from the church of England, which easily predominated, the two bodies most active in education in East Yorkshire as elsewhere, were the Roman catholics and the Wesleyans.

No doubt, well-to-do catholics continued to send their sons to be schooled on the continent despite the statutory penalties for doing so—in 1703 John Ellerker of Anlaby was summoned to produce his son before the justices, being suspected of having conveyed him to some " seminary or popish school beyond the seas "—but even in penal times there were catholic schools in England which were little interfered with. The most striking example of a catholic school carried on openly under the very eye of civil and ecclesiastical authority was the Bar Convent school established outside Micklegate in York in 1686 : this was a boarding school for the daughters of the catholic gentry of Yorkshire, but associated with it there was also a day school for girls of the tradesman class in York. In the eighteenth century numerous catholic squires maintained schools on their estates, presumably for the children of their catholic tenants and farm workers. At Burstwick in 1735 there was a mixed school kept in a private house by one Richard Rand, a catholic convert and a suspected priest, and later in the century at both Everingham and Marton near Skirlaugh the Constables maintained a school, as did the Langdales at Sancton. At York, other catholic schools were opened in Oglethorpe in 1796 and Castlegate in 1814, and at Hull, immediately after emancipation, in the new St. Charles's church in 1829. Other "estate" schools were provided by the Stourtons at Holme upon Spalding Moor, and by the Constables at Seaton Ross; elsewhere schools were built in connection with new catholic churches which were mainly in towns, for instance at Beverley, Driffield and Pocklington.

More active in elementary education were the Wesleyans, though their schools too were mostly in the more populated areas. Their first school in the region was an infant school in Fossgate, York, opened in 1823. After the formation of the Wesleyan Edu-

cation Committee in 1840 schools were built in rapid succession—Albion Street, York, and Bridlington in 1840, Beverley in 1844, Skipsea in 1845; and within ten years of the committee being made eligible for parliamentary grant in 1846 others were erected in Walmgate, York, in Nafferton and Howden (1847), Adelaide Street, Hull, and Sutton (1850), Pocklington (1852), Filey and Priory Place, York, (1857). The congregationalists, too, had day schools attached to chapels at York and Swanland, and later for a short time at Hull.

One of the early and important consequences of the state subsidy was the establishment of the inspectorate in 1840, and thereafter the award of grants to schools on condition of the admission of Her Majesty's Inspector. The first inspector for the Northern District was the Rev. F. W. Watkins, and his reports, published in the annual minutes of the committee of council (and reprinted openly in the local press) provide a most interesting picture of educational conditions, generally as well as in particular schools. The three schools for girls, boys and infants in Beverley met with his complete approval in 1844 : " One of the best schools I have inspected ", he reports of the girls' school, " mistress well-qualified and devoted to her work "; " a good school for boys under an intelligent and well-trained master "; and " 120 infants under one mistress with assistant; discipline fair; progress very good; sum in Compound Multiplication correctly done; Commandments distinctly repeated; good object lesson on 12 kinds of bark ". At Sunk Island he found " a mixed school under an untrained master who was formerly a farmer. The state of discipline and progress is poor. Roof needs repair, ventilation imperfect. Attendance of children very irregular in spring, summer and autumn "; at Hedon, " discipline good, progress fair, religious and moral condition hopeful "; at North Frodingham, " boys and girls mixed under a master trained for six months at York who questions the children sensibly. They are in fair order and making tolerable progress. There is no sewing-mistress and great deficiency of funds to maintain the school ".

Poverty handicapped most schools even after a building had been provided, and the managers had to struggle to make ends meet. The usual sources of revenue were subscriptions, donations, collections at sermons, teas and bazaars, and the children's weekly pence, plus the small vested income if there was an endowment. At some places the school received generous support from the hall—Admiral Mitford allowed the school at Hunmanby £40 a year; at Escrick " the school is liberally supported by Lord Wenlock and carefully tended by Lady Wenlock ", observes Watkins; the Bethells subsidized the school at Rise, Colonel Grimston that at Garton; and at Roos the active interest of the Rev. Charles Hotham made the school, in Watkins' opinion, " the best village school in the East Riding " and " one of the best in England ". But in many places the

managers ended the year with a deficit. Keyingham may be taken as an example. In 1844 the income was £46 (£18 from the endowment, £28 from fees) and the expenditure was £50, all on salary. In 1845 income was only £42 because of a fall in attendance, and expenditure was £60 2s. 6d. (salary £42, repairs £1 10s., books £14 12s. 6d., candles and coal £2). At 3s. 4d. to 5s. a quarter fees were already unusually high, and the deficit had to be met by intensified canvassing and collecting. "Arithmetic is the only subject that is efficiently taught here," reported Watkins in 1845, "no improvement since last year; the master has other occupations than his school"—he was John Escreet and he was the parish clerk. Some financial relief came after 1846 with the institution of government grants for apparatus and for the training of pupil teachers, and in 1849 Keyingham received £2 1s. 8d. for books and maps and £15 for one pupil teacher.

Although the Keyingham schoolhouse was only ten years old in 1845 its condition was reported to be bad; and the inspectors' reports reveal how rude and primitive school accommodation often was, even in the case of the grant-aided and inspected schools which no doubt were superior to the common run of private-enterprise schools. This was particularly so in country districts "where the desire for education and the means of providing it are equally scanty. Some I have found", writes Watkins in 1845, "without enclosure, without offices, with no floor but the hardened earth; no windows that could be opened; the fuel, a heap of coal it might be, or small stack of peat, in one corner; the master's dog or hen or chickens, in another. No books but a few torn Testaments and 'spellers'; no furniture but the master's desk, and a few low wooden benches; no apparatus but the one or two broken slates . . ." An inventory of the school property at Shipton Thorpe taken in 1837 shows an oven, a firegrate, mantelshelf, writing desk, tables and forms worth 14s., a backdoor shed and a cowshed, total value £7 2s. 6d. At Yedingham, the one-roomed schoolhouse cost £31 5s. 5½d. to build in 1837; Watkins described it in 1845 as "a small unventilated brick building standing on the waste without any enclosure or outbuilding of any kind. A brook runs at the back which at times overflows its banks and fills the little room . . ."; and this continued in use till nearly the end of the century. Town schools were not necessarily any better. Before a new building was erected for the Vicar's school in Hull in 1857, it used the accommodation originally provided for it in 1730, rebuilt in 1792: two small rooms, one above the other, formerly part of the vicar's stables, access to the upper room being gained by a ladder from below.

Inevitably, the condition of the school reflected the local interest shown in it, and this varied considerably from place to

place. At Barmby on the Marsh, Watkins reported in 1845 " a fair village school in which both the clergymen and the farmers seem to take much interest "; but at Hornsea he notes " little interest appears to be taken in the success of these schools ". This indifference naturally revealed itself in the numbers of children attending. So far as attendance was concerned, the state's attitude was one of complete *laissez faire*, and no compulsion was applied to elementary schooling until after 1870, and not until 1880 on a national scale. More than half the children of school age never attended a school at all—as late as 1861 it was calculated that in the eighteen parishes and townships in the Sculcoates Union, from Preston and Hedon to Waulby and Welton, 7,864 children out of a total of 13,930 between the ages of 3 and 15 attended no school, and the average number attending was no more than 4,735. Those who did attend, did so no more on average than for one year 10 months in all, or 3 years one month including attendance at private as well as public elementary schools. The average attendance often bore no relation to the accommodation or the numbers on the books : at Hornsea, for instance, in 1847-48 there were 400 boys and girls on the roll but the average attendance was only 58, and 55 were actually present when H.M.I. made his inspection.

Child labour in agriculture as in industry was one of the great obstacles to educational advance. Almost everywhere attendance fluctuated according to the opportunities for employment, and children left to start work as soon as they could. Fortunately in East Yorkshire there was not much employment of children in agricultural gangs. In Holderness apart from haytime and harvest there was relatively little child labour, for there was practically no root crop and little weeding was required, and for the draining, banking, and hedging which formed much of the farm work children were unsuitable. On the wolds, however, they were much more extensively employed—bird-tenting, brassocking, setting and lifting turnips and potatoes. And everywhere at harvest they went with their families into the fields, mowing, gathering, band-making, binding, gleaning. " Many children absent ' pulling turnips ' ", reports Watkins at Market Weighton in 1844; and again at Fridaythorpe " many of children absent ' pulling turnips '—general want of activity in the school business "; " great irregularity of attendance caused by agricultural occupations " he notes at Hedon in 1845, and " half the first class at present at work in the fields " at Sutton on Derwent on 27 May 1847. From the age of eight children would be absent intermittently for casual field work, save in the winter months; and about ten they commonly left school for ever to enter farm service.

In an endeavour to make good the effects of poor attendance and early leaving, a movement was sponsored by the National

Soeiety in the 50's and 60's to open evening classes in some schools. Here older children and young workers were taught by voluntary unpaid helpers, for the regular teachers were often prevented by the managers from taking part lest attendance at the day school should fall off, children being sent prematurely to work because of the new opportunity for evening instruction. An interesting example is the night school for farm lads kept at Boynton by the vicar's daughter, Mary Emily Simpson, and described by her in Ploughing and Sowing, or the Annals of an Evening School in a Yorkshire Village.

Another serious obstacle to educational improvement was the lack of properly qualified teachers. It remained true, as an observer wrote in 1799, that " whenever ushers of mature years are completely fitted for teachers, they are capable of earning a greater salary than the school can afford; so that all who are really fit for the situation are looking out for something better ". Too often therefore teaching was merely a refuge for the destitute. " At one school in Yorkshire ", records the Rev. F .W. Watkins in 1845, " the master is a poor hunchbacked man, very deaf and ignorant, placed in his situation by the parochial authorities that he may not be burdensome to them for his support ", at another " I found a master of notoriously immoral conduct, ignorant and violent in school, brutal and profane when out of it. Yet it seems doubtful whether the trustees have the power, if indeed they have the wish, to eject him from a situation which he fills to his own disgrace and to the positive evil of the children under his control ". Thomas West, schoolmaster at Barmby Moor in the 30's and 40's, was a hunchback who perhaps taught because he was incapable of manual labour. When the vicar offered to teach him fractions, decimals and land surveying, he said " he thought he had as much knowledge as his head would earry ". He used to punish children by putting the thumb in a noose suspended from the ceiling at a height which forced them to stand on tip toe.

In many places, however, the schoolmaster was a respected figure, a pillar of village society, a self-taught man able to confound the simple rustics in the alehouse with his knowledge and his arguments, but sharing their interests and speaking the same broad dialect because he was one of them. Often he was the parson's right-hand man as choirmaster and parish clerk, sometimes he was the local registrar and land surveyor, in great demand before enclosure to measure the divisions of the open fields and at harvest time to calculate the land that the reapers and gleaners had worked. Such was Mark Heselton, schoolmaster and parish clerk at Swine from 1801 to 1836, " an intelligent and respectable old gentleman ", says Poulson, and a keen antiquary and collector of finds; such, too, Robert Sharp, schoolmaster, surveyor and rate

collector at South Cave, whose diary from 1826 to 1837 has survived. Less amiable but more striking was Richard Fewson, schoolmaster and parish clerk at Long Riston, who impressed Poulson as "a person of much intelligence", and whose feats of arithmetical skill were equalled in the district only by the parish clerk's of Catwick; "insobriety was his normal condition . . . after school hours", and one of his methods of punishment was the approved Lancasterian one of suspending the offender from the ceiling in a basket, though he was remembered to have terrorised a truant on one occasion by going through all the motions, save the final one, of burying him alive in the mud floor of the schoolroom.

From the same parish schoolmaster generations of village children received whatever formal instruction they ever got, in the schoolroom in which he had taught their parents and grandparents; and in a pension-less age he continued in harness until he died. His death like that of the old parson or the old squire came as a break in the continuity of things, and his oddities were remembered for half a century. Richard Harrison was schoolmaster at Rudston for "over 60 years" before he died in 1840, Thomas Smith who died at Nafferton in 1856 had been schoolmaster there for 58 years, Charles Silversides taught the village school at Roos from 1844 to 1894. These are men who have left no memorial save the gradual extension of literacy and education in a remote, rural society; and although there have been other and more complex causes of the decay of village life and culture, the decay has coincided with the imposition over the past century of a town-made system of education and the simultaneous disappearance of the old-fashioned village schoolmaster.

The beginnings of a change in the old order came with the establishment of training colleges and the pupil-teacher system in the 1840's. In 1841 the York Diocesan School Society opened what is now St. John's Training College at Monkgate, transferring it to its present buildings in 1845 and establishing in the Monkgate premises a women's training college subsequently moved to Ripon. Here the first trained teachers in the area—very few in number—received their training in the middle 40's: Charles Silversides of Roos, Robert Brown of Skipsea, W. Douthwaite of Scampston. The first college-trained woman teacher was A. A. Housley of Neswick who had spent over two years at Whitelands. All these received the government bonus paid after 1846 to encourage training, and it might amount to as much as a third of salary; for instance, Charles Silversides received a salary from the managers of £40, plus £16 10s. training bonus. In addition there was the chance of taking on a pupil teacher, and by 1850 some 32 schools in Hull, York and the East Riding were receiving grants for participating in

this scheme; and it was mainly the boys and girls so apprenticed who went to the training colleges and supplied the **élite** of trained teachers in the second half of the century.

The first attempt at professional organisation was the Hull and East Riding Schoolmasters' Association established in 1823, with quarterly subscriptions forming a permanent fund for the relief of aged and infirm members and pensions for their widows and orphans; but there is no indication of its membership nor of its duration. Later, there were other local associations such as the Hull and District Church Schoolmasters' and Schoolmistress's Benevolent Association, and after 1871—the local manifestation of the newly formed N.U.T.—the Hull and District Association of Elementary Schoolteachers. But at first these brought little improvement in status or security: the teacher's duties often included lighting the fires and cleaning the schoolroom, and his pay depended on the managers' caprice and the amount of government grant awarded by the inspectors; even at the end of the century teaching in country districts was still very much a part-time occupation—the schoolmaster appears in the directories as parish clerk and choirmaster, registrar of births and deaths, assistant overseer, sub-postmaster (the post office at the schoolhouse), secretary of the local co-op., insurance agent, ' actuary ' of the penny bank, and so on.

A composite picture of a typical village school in mid-Victorian East Yorkshire would show a small one or two-roomed brick building, with or without an enclosure; in the porch the pegs for bats and coats; no water supply and no wash basins; at the back an earth closet and in the schoolroom, unless recently built, a mud floor and bare brick walls. Next door would be the two or three-roomed cottage of the teacher. The daily attendance, fluctuating seasonally, might average thirty children or so aged from five or six to ten or eleven, with more boys than girls, and they would all come from the village or nearby cottages, bringing their weekly fourpence or sixpence every Monday morning. Any organization for teaching, other than division into groups, would be impossible; and unless he had the assistance of a pupil teacher (aged from 13 to 18) the master's only help might be the vicar's wife or daughter, teaching the girls sewing in the afternoon, and the vicar himself, taking the morning scripture lesson with the older children. The vicar was the predominant influence and sometimes regarded the school as his own property: at Boston Spa in 1876 a girl of seven was expelled for refusing on her guardian's instructions to curtsey to the vicar's wife, and when the master refused to chastise her for this offence he was dismissed by the vicar on the spot, although he had held the post for twenty years. Under the Revised Code, reading, writing and arithmetic with ' plain ' needlework for girls

were practically the only subjects, apart from religious instruction; and the most awesome event of the year was the annual visit of Her Majesty's Inspector to test the results, for on these depended the school's grant for the following year, and on that the teacher's salary. On that day therefore the children mustered in full force, faces washed, boots blacked and pinafores ironed, for the inspector was a potentate to be humoured. A pleasanter event was the annual tea and treat, with music by the village band, and perhaps an outing to the sea by wagonette and railway, if the railway happened to be within reach.

With the progressive interpenetration of town and country by motor car and county library, cinema, radio and television, it is difficult to imagine the loneliness and isolation of many a village teacher in those days. Not easily accepted by the villagers because of his education, looked down on by the farmers because of his poverty, kept at a distance by the hall and vicarage because of his lack of social connections, and struggling single-handed or with only one pupil teacher to drill an all-age school against H.M.I's next visit, small wonder if he sometimes abandoned the work—if not always as abruptly as the Burton Pidsea schoolmaster cum rate collector who in 1875 attempted to decamp to New Zealand taking with him the rates and his eighteen year old pupil teacher, the daughter of a local farmer.

The only schools provided by public authority, and the ones where compulsory attendance was first applied, were those in prisons and workhouses. Each union workhouse provided schooling and industrial training for its pauper children, and for this purpose the guardians employed a master and mistress who in addition to a salary had a room and rations in the institution. For destitute children outside the workhouse some provision was made in Hull by the Ragged school opened in 1849, but in an age of *laissez faire* it was all too easy for such children to turn to delinquency and crime. Following the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854 a Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders was launched in Hull in 1855 under anglican auspices and with the earl of Carlisle, a nobleman much concerned with social reform, as president; and a reformatory was opened on a farm at Castle Howard leased by him to the society's school committee to serve the East and North Ridings and the cities of York and Hull. Shortly afterwards at Holme on Spalding Moor a Roman catholic reformatory for the whole of Yorkshire was set up on a farm originally given by Sir Edward Vavasour as a site for a religious community. To both these, boys under 16 could be committed by the magistrates on conviction for any punishable offence. An extension of the work of the Hull Ragged school in caring for abandoned and destitute boys on the verge of crime was the establishment in 1868 of

the training ship *Southampton*, a former fifty-gun frigate and one of the last of the wooden walls, which lay in the Humber until 1912, receiving boys from many parts of Yorkshire and giving them a training mainly but not exclusively for the sea.

Even with a mounting state subsidy the voluntary societies failed to provide sufficient school places or to penetrate the poorest country districts, and by the 1860's it was clear that private enterprise and voluntary endeavour were unequal to the task. The Education Act of 1870 was the result. In those areas where the voluntary bodies failed within a given period of time to supply adequate school accommodation, a school board was to be elected by the ratepayers with powers to establish rate-aided board schools, where religious instruction—if given at all—was to be strictly undenominational. This last provision inspired the religious bodies, particularly the church of England, to redouble their efforts in order to preserve the religious basis of education; and between 1870 and 1875 in the East Riding, excluding Hull and York, some 30 new church schools were built or existing ones enlarged, often with the help of anglican gentry or nobility, for instance Lord Halifax at Bugthorpe, Lord Middleton at Birdsall and Wharram le Street, Sir Henry Boynton at Burton Agnes; and another dozen or so followed between 1876 and 1880. In York seven new schools affording some 2,700 places were built between 1870 and 1877, and enlargements increased these places to 3,350 by 1889. But the struggle was too great, and in 1889 the school board which the York National School Society had striven so hard to avoid was compulsorily established. The educational record of the church of England in East Yorkshire was never so impressive as in this post-1870 era.

After 1870 the H.M.I's were not allowed to enquire into religious teaching, and in the voluntary schools this was left to denominational inspectors. From 1874 the diocesan inspector in East Yorkshire was the Rev. M. C. F. Morris who has left some impressions of church schools and of his journeys to visit them on foot, by train, horseback and dog cart, and of his entertainment by parson and squire en route. Some clergy, regarding the school as their private affair, refused to have it inspected, but he encountered practically no nonconformist opposition to the church school: in 1874 he examined 23,407 children in 208 schools and found only 12 withdrawn from religious instruction by their parents. "There was no religious difficulty," he maintained. "The 'Nonconformist Conscience' was almost wholly a manufactured article; it existed only in the minds of the agitators, and was a most valuable instrument in parliamentary elections."

The first school board to be set up in East Yorkshire was at Hull in February, 1871, closely followed by that at Driffield the

next month. At Driffield, to supplement the national school opened in 1818 and rebuilt in 1854, the school board erected a large board school for 700 children in 1873. Three boards were elected in 1872—at Hutton Cranswick, Burstwick and Hedon, and each set about providing a new school to remedy existing deficiencies. Under the act, the Education Department had powers to compel the election of a board where there was a lack of school accommodation and locally the first compulsorily elected board was at Keyingham in 1873, the next at Holme upon Spalding Moor in 1874. Bridlington was made to set up a school board in 1879, York in 1889. Quite apart from any religious considerations, a school board meant an additional rate and one was sometimes resisted on that account: parish meetings were being held at Patrington as late as 1901 to escape what was regarded as an unwelcome burden. Beverley with a population of 12,000 successfully avoided a school board because of the satisfactory provision already made by the voluntary schools: the national schools of the minster and St. Mary's for boys, girls and infants, to which St. Nicholas' was added in 1879, and the Wesleyan and catholic schools.

By 1900 forty-two boards had been established, four in boroughs (Hull, York, Hedon and Bridlington), thirty-eight in parishes or united districts, twenty-two of them by compulsory order. But these were not the only school authorities, for after 1876 school attendance committees had to be appointed in the boroughs and poor-law unions with power to enforce attendance in those areas not served by school boards. In the East Riding eleven of these bodies were set up, at Beverley and in the ten poor-law unions.

In the twenty years following 1870 some 28 board schools were erected in the East Riding, excluding Hull. The Hull school board in all built 37 new schools including three higher grade schools and a girls' industrial school, and in addition took over two voluntary schools, and four schools from neighbouring boards when the borough boundary was extended. However, not every board built a new school. Hornsea, elected in 1884, had a sufficiency of places and contented itself with enforcing the attendance clauses of the Education Acts; several small boards merely rented nonconformist chapels as schools, for example Cottingwith and Foggathorpe, under Holme upon Spalding Moor school board; others took over an existing church or endowed school, as at Atwick, Eastrington, Fridaythorpe, Holmpton and South Duffield near Hemingbrough. It was not uncommon indeed for the eighteenth-century charity school to become the nineteenth-century national school and eventually the post-1870 board school. Eastrington near Howden affords a good example of this process. Hewley's Free School, founded there in 1727, was associated with the National Society when the

trustees received a grant towards the cost of a new schoolhouse iu 1844: in 1876 a school board for the united district of Eastrington, Balkholme, Portingtou and Cavil was formed compulsorily, and this took over the school and rebuilt it to accommodate an infants' and a mixed department, the endowment being applied to pay the weekly pence of 30 children and to buy annual prizes.

Some endowed schools had been discontinued earlier in the century on the establishment of a parochial national school, to which the trustees paid some or all of the endowment income. At Skirlaugh, for instance, the trustees of Marmaduke Langdale's charity paid £20 to the national school; at Sutton on Hull Chamberlain's trustees paid the income to the Wesleyan school whilst Marshall's trustees supported the national school. Others, however, had been able to maintain sufficient accommodation to make a national school and a board school unnecessary. For example, Towrie's school at Aldborough was housed in a new building in 1862, and in 1892 had 112 children on the roll and an income of nearly £150. The school at Sproatley was rebuilt in 1868, had 130 on roll in 1892 and an income of £300; and the increasing industrial value of its property in Sheffield enabled it to remain quite independent until 1921. Cogan's school in Hull retained its original form until 1950 and was reborn in 1957 as a church of England co-educational secondary modern school.

The weakness of the local system of educational administration that existed at the end of the nineteenth century, the result of uncoordinated and haphazard growth, is clearly visible in East Yorkshire. For elementary education alone there were 53 different authorities—42 school boards and 11 school attendance committees. The school boards ranged in size and means from Hull with a population of 200,000 to Skerne with a population of 182. Excluding Hull and York, there were only seven with populations exceeding 1,000, thirty-three had under 1,000, and eighteen of these had fewer that 500. Most boards were single-school authorities, and nearly all showed an adverse balance on the year's working. In the year 1900-1901 Hull school board handled £162,000 and had loan liabilities of £412,000; Faxfleet had an income of £54 0s. 8d. and an expenditure of £57 14s. 0d. Income came from Board of Education grant, school fees (a diminishing source after 1891) sums under the Agricultural Rates Act, amounts paid by the rating authority, and endowments—if any; expenses were incurred mainy on school maintenance, loan repayments and salaries. Apart from this financial responsibility, teachers had to be appointed, the building kept in repair, the school work supervised, and the small boards must have found difficulty in attracting members with the necessary interest and knowledge to manage these affairs with competence, particularly in the frequent absence of any salaried clerical assist-

ance. Five was the usual number, and the smallest allowed by the act, but some boards had seven, and all were elected triennially. In Hull there were 15 members and the elections were keenly contested, mainly on religious differences. The rural school boards were usually composed of small farmers and shopkeepers, with perhaps a solicitor in the neighbouring market town engaged as part-time clerk. Although the boards were non-sectarian and predominantly secular in outlook, the parson was not infrequently a member and sometimes gave his services as clerk and correspondent. At Keyingham in 1892 the five members were the village grocer (chairman), the draper (vice-chairman), two farmers and the shoemaker, and the clerk was the assistant overseer; at Hedon, the vicar was chairman, other members were a solicitor, a farmer, a butcher, a dyer's agent; at Preston, the rector was chairman, other members were a saddler, a cowkeeper, a land agent, a blacksmith.

Local interest in education is of prime importance and local control is one means of stimulating it; but efficiency and some equivalence of standards are also necessary; and these did not result from large numbers of small and unco-ordinated parochial authorities. Accordingly, despite Liberal and nonconformist opposition, school boards and attendance committees were abolished by the Education Act of 1902, and in East Yorkshire in place of 53 authorities five were recognized—the new East Riding County Council, the two county boroughs of York and Hull and the non-county boroughs of Beverley and Bridlington. And with the act of 1902 the recent history of education in East Yorkshire really begins.

REVISED BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE 1970

References to schools and education may occur in almost any kind of historical source, but for the principal material see R. B. Pugh, 'Sources for the History of English Primary Schools', **British Journal of Educational Studies,** No. 1 (Nov. 1952). Documentary evidence is sometimes to be found in the parish chest, and for this see M. W. Barley, **Parochial Documents of the East Riding,** Yorks. Archaeological Society, vol. 94 (1939). The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research at York contains diocesan records which are of much importance for the history of education, and Dr. J. S. Purvis' MS index to schools and schoolmasters may be consulted there. Other documentary evidence, particularly important for the school board era, is to be found in the records of Hull Corporation and in the East Riding County Council records at Beverley.

Here it is possible ro indicate only some of the more important and accessible printed sources:

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Much interesting and valuable information may be found in the nineteenth-century newspapers, and an index to the Hull press (which carried much East Yorkshire news) is in process of compilation. One volume has so far appeared—**An Index to . . . "The Hull Advertiser" . . . from July 1794 to December 1825,** edited by K. A. MacMahon (1955). Contemporary references to schools may also be found in the various Hull, York and East Riding directories, and occasionally in the local histories, for which see A. G. Dickens and K. A. MacMahon. **A Guide to Regional Studies on the East Riding of Yorkshire and the City of Hull** (1956).

Since this pamphlet was written, articles on schools in York and Hull have appeared in the **Victoria History of the County of York, City of York** (1961) and the **Victoria History of the County of York, East Riding,** volume I (1969). T. W. Barnford, **The Evolution of Rural Education** (1965) deals with East Riding schools since 1850. Also relevant is W. P. Baker, **Parish Registers and Illiteracy in East Yorkshire** (East Yorkshire Local History Series, No. 13, 1961). All these contain further bibliographical material.