E.Y. LOCAL HISTORY SERIES: No. 14

THE ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF EAST YORKSHIRE

by

JOHN LAWSON, M.A.

EAST YORKSHIRE LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

1962

Four Shillings

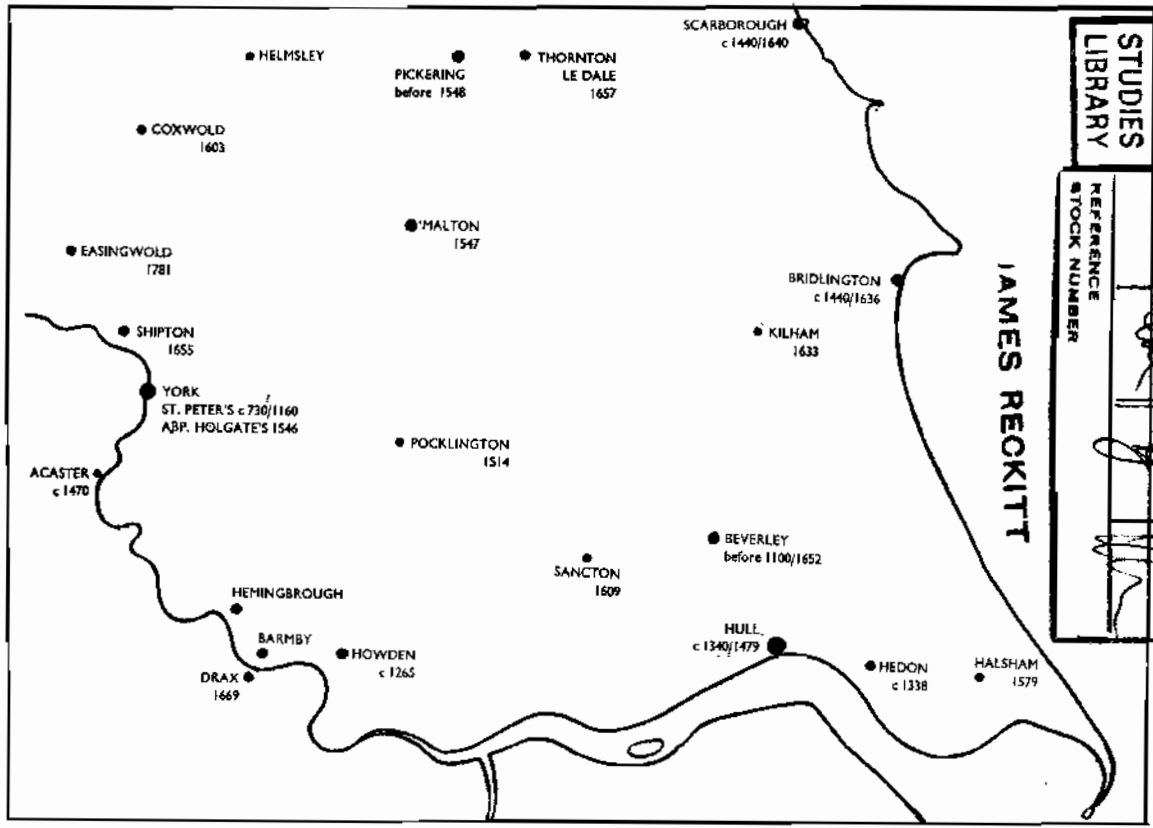
Further copies of this pamphlet (price 3s. to members, 4s. to non-members) and of others in the series may be obtained from the Secretary, East Yorkshire Local History Society, 2 St. Martin's Lane, Micklegate, York.

THE ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF EAST YORKSHIRE

by

JOHN LAWSON, M.A.

1962



THE ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF EAST YORKSHIRE

The single date shows the known or probable year of foundation. Where two dates are given the first is the hypothetical year of origin, the second the earliest known endowment.

THE ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF EAST YORKSHIRE

JOHN LAWSON, M.A.

I

Although schools must have existed in Roman Britain, and therefore in such places as York and Brough and Malton, we know nothing of them. The first schools in England were established in the seventh century by the early missionaries from Rome who taught the Latin grammar because it was the indispensable key to the Latin services of the Roman church. From the beginning, therefore, the teaching of Latin was part of the professional training of the clergy, organized as a function of the bishop's household; and in course of time a grammar school became a necessary adjunct of every bishop's church. Thus it is more than likely that the first school in Yorkshire was at York, and that it was an appendage of the cathedral founded by Paulinus in 627. In the following century, taught by Archbishop Egbert's *scholasticus*, Æthelberht, and then by Æthelberht's pupil and successor, Alcuin, the school at York became the principal centre of English scholarship and a continental influence.

From the ninth century canon law required all bishops to provide grammar schools in their churches, and this rule was reiterated by the Lateran councils of 1179 and 1215 and so became part of the law of the Western church. Our oldest existing grammar schools probably came into being soon after the Conquest with the reform of the church in England by the new Norman bishops. It is possible that the school of Egbert and Alcuin at York had existed since the days of Paulinus; it is also possible that it continued to exist until the post-Conquest organization of the York chapter and the appearance of the present St. Peter's; but for neither supposition is there any real evidence whatsoever. The documented history of St. Peter's begins with the appointment of a *scholasticus* or *magister scholarum* by the Norman archbishop Thomas of Bayeux sometime before he reconstituted the chapter on a secular basis about 1090. Among the dignitaries then created the *magister scholarum* ranked third after dean and precentor, taking precedence over the treasurer; then, a century later, his responsibilities having expanded, he became the chancellor, the chapter's legal officer, and appointed a schoolmaster as his deputy.

In the cathedral statutes, of unknown date but first codified in 1307, the master of the grammar school has a clearly defined place. He is appointed by the chancellor, has to be a regent in arts, and 'according to the ancient customs of the church' he holds office for a term of three years renewable for a fourth. Although this remained the usual period, the rule had to be relaxed after the Black Death when M.A.s became scarce; and on two occasions at least a master was appointed for life. The school's essential purpose was as an

adjunct to the life and work of the cathedral, and the master's primary task was to teach Latin to certain of its junior ministers—the choristers, the younger vicars and other clerks of the second form, and he was also expected to follow the choir and assist the offices and services there. For this, from the time of Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Evêque (1154-81), he received an endowment of £5 a year raised on three archdeaconries of the diocese, and perhaps later a stipend from the chancellor. But he also admitted to his school, for fees, boys from the city and neighbourhood who were unconnected with the cathedral. To enhance his living from fees he was granted a monopoly of grammar-teaching within a ten-mile radius of York, and any teacher who infringed this without the chancellor's licence did so on pain of excommunication. Because of the great population and importance of York the school was probably always relatively large, and some indication of its medieval size occurs in 1369 when an advocate of the archbishop's court willed 2d. to each of 60 poor boys of the school who sang psalms at his funeral. The first schoolhouse of which there is any evidence must have abutted on to the Norman nave, perhaps at its south-east corner (that is, it stood on the city side of the cathedral), for when Archbishop John Romeyne began building the present nave at that point in 1291 the schoolhouse had to be taken down and the residence of the prebendary of Dunnington was appropriated by the chapter for the school's use. The provision of a schoolhouse was thus the chapter's responsibility though liability for repairs belonged to the master.

If we disregard supposition and rely on the evidence, the grammar school at Beverley dates from much the same time as St. Peter's, and its function as the school of a great church of secular canons was exactly similar. The first reference to it occurs almost incidentally in an early twelfth-century prose work by one of the canons describing the miracles wrought by their patron, St. John. One of these tells of the chapter's *scholasticus*, an admirable young schoolmaster whose pernicious infatuation for a local girl was marvellously cured by the saint's intercession. This story, together with a set of ordinances made about 1150 for the Bedern, the common hall of the minster clergy, shows the schoolmaster already an important member of the establishment, ranking after the canons and their provost but taking precedence over the canons' vicars and such lesser officials as the master of the works and the bell ringer. From the chapter act book covering the years 1286 to 1340 the school emerges with remarkable clarity. The master is appointed by the chancellor usually for a three-year term and he takes the oath of obedience to the whole chapter before being inducted into the schoolhouse by the master of the works. His office is to teach the junior vicars and the clerks and the deacons who assist in the various ministrations of the church, but he also teaches others, town boys and boarders, who can pay his fees. Within the liberty of St. John he enjoys a monopoly, and the chancellor is ever ready to coerce, even with excommunication, unlicensed masters who teach to the prejudice of the minster school. From a number of indications the

school seems to have been of some size and repute. Like the regent in the university the master created his own bachelors—older students who taught as his assistants under his direction, perhaps because the school was too large for one man; and in 1320 two scholarships at University College, Oxford, were founded for students from Beverley by a native of the town, Philip Ingleberd, rector of Keyingham. As at York, the schoolhouse belonged to the chapter but the master answered for repairs. It appears to have been part of the fabric of the church until the early fourteenth-century rebuilding of the nave, when it was removed into the south-west corner of the minster yard, where it remained until 1816.

Another school of the same kind as St. Peter's and Beverley, though on a much smaller scale of importance, existed in Howdenshire under the patronage of the prior and convent of Durham, ordinary of the spiritualities in the peculiar. At Howden the school perhaps dated from the mid-thirteenth century when the church was made collegiate; but the surviving schoolhouse adjoining the south aisle at the west end would appear to be early Tudor in date, perhaps contemporary with the top stage of the tower. Evidently in the later fourteenth-century the school was of some standing, for when Bishop Hatfield founded Durham College at Oxford in 1380 he reserved two of the eight secular scholarships for clerks from Howdenshire. John Hemingbrough, a local man who was prior of Durham from 1391 to 1416, showed much interest in the school and several appointments made in his time suggest that the church then had a reading and a song school as well as a grammar school, that they were sometimes taught nevertheless by the same master, that nine years was the usual period of the grammar master's tenure, and that custom required him to attend the choir offices with his scholars. The neighbouring church of Hemingbrough, made collegiate in 1426, perhaps also maintained a grammar school of this kind; none is mentioned in the ordinance creating the college, and there seems to be no record of masters being appointed, but the chapter seal clearly shows a master, rod in hand, hearing a scholar say his lesson.

Originally part of the professional training of the clergy for the service of choir and altar, Latin became after the Conquest the written and spoken language of public administration and business. Memoranda books, minute books, account rolls, deeds, writs, charters, wills . . . all the miscellaneous records of town corporations, gilds, courts and manors were written in Latin. No town of any size could have managed without a supply of clerks and officials competent in the language, and for that purpose formal instruction and therefore a grammar school was necessary. And this need was made all the greater by the growing body of clergy that was required as churches, gilds and chantries increased in number, particularly during the fourteenth century. Where there was no great church to maintain a school as canon law prescribed, a town was obliged in its own interest to meet the need, perhaps by making available a rent-free chamber and allowing a master a local monopoly in order to ensure for him an adequate living from the fees of his pupils.

The grammar school at Hull probably dates from soon after 1320 when the town was growing in importance as a port and free borough, and it emerges into the clear light of documented history in the corporation records in and after the 1430's. The school was then held in a building provided by the town on the south side of Holy Trinity churchyard; the master was appointed by the corporation and in certain periods rewarded with a salary and a livery and a rent-free dwelling, though for the most part he depended on fees which the corporation fixed at 8d. a quarter for grammar and 6d. for reading. Because the school was not endowed, and perhaps because the number of pupils fluctuated, the master could not always be guaranteed a living, and on occasions the town seems to have had difficulty in attracting and retaining one. A school is first mentioned at Hedon in 1335 when a master was appointed by the Crown by letters patent, the town being then subject to the king as direct lord of Holderness. When the next master was appointed in 1343 it was by William de la Pole, to whom divers of the king's liberties in the seigniory had meantime been granted, and the office was to be held for five years. After the charter of Edward III the borough seems to have assumed responsibility for the school. Like other medieval schools it appears in the records only intermittently, but the intervals of time between references to it make its continuance a reasonable assumption. In the mid-fifteenth century the schoolroom stood in the churchyard adjoining St. Augustine's at the south-east corner of the chancel, and over it were two small chambers one of which the master was allowed as his dwelling. In the absence of documentary evidence, probability would assign an early grammar school to Scarborough as another important trading borough like Hull and Hedon. One certainly existed there in the mid-fifteenth century for in 1444 the corporation of Hull tried to interest the Scarborough schoolmaster in moving to their own vacant school; and Hugo Rasen, 'lately master of the grammar school', is mentioned in a Scarborough burgess's will in 1457.

To ensure a school's continuance in the face of the uncertain yield from fees, a common device in the fifteenth century was to endow it in connection with some religious institution or society whose perpetutity could be taken for granted. A chantry was primarily a foundation to secure prayers for the dead, but the chaplain might be required by the founder to perform other duties as well, one of which often was to keep a free school for boys of the neighbourhood; and it is obvious that this educational objective was sometimes as important to the founder as the more purely religious one. In most cases the foundation was for a single priest but a wealthy and ambitious benefactor might establish a college of several priests all bound to teach as well as celebrate. Such was the college of St. Andrew founded in his birthplace at Acaster Selby sometime between 1470 and 1483 by Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells and chancellor of Edward IV. This consisted of a provost and three chaplain-schoolmasters teaching respectively grammar, song and writing, and celebrating for the souls of the king and queen and

prince of Wales; and it was endowed with rents and farms in Acaster, North Cave, South Cliff, Barmby and Beverley. A similar but grander foundation was Jesus College at Rotherham, established in 1483 by Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York. A third Yorkshire lawyer in Edward IV's service was John Alcock, a native of Hull, a friend and colleague of both these prelates and like them deeply interested in education. In 1479, when he was bishop of Worcester and an ex-chancellor, he founded a chantry in Holy Trinity church in Hull (his brother being mayor that year), and his mass priest was to teach a free grammar school—not a new school but the town school which the corporation had supported for the past century and a half. The school continued in the old building in the churchyard, not many paces from the new chantry chapel, and fees were now abolished because the master had an assured stipend out of the endowment. This consisted of rents in Hull and north Lincolnshire which were intended to yield £28 a year and provide, besides an annual salary of £10 for the master, £2 for the parish clerk to teach the boys song, and £3. 6s. 8d. for exhibitions for ten of the boys.

If not with a chantry a school might be associated with a hospital—St. Leonard's at York kept a grammar school—or with a gild or fraternity existing primarily to honour some particular saint or festival but incidentally to promote other religious or charitable objects as well. Thus, the educational needs of Pickering were met by a grammar school kept by a gild devoted to Our Lady in the parish church, which had been set up at some unknown time by the voluntary effort of the parishioners. The last pre-Reformation school to be established in East Yorkshire was at Pocklington where the grammar school was provided by the confraternity of Jesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas founded in the parish church in 1514 by John Dolman, a member of the local landed-family and a Cambridge-trained lawyer whose chancery career had been rewarded with the archdeaconry of Suffolk. The dedication to St. Nicholas shows that the school was a principal object of the foundation. St. Nicholas of Myra (or Bari) was the patron saint of schoolboys, and the seal of the school and gild of Pocklington depicts him with the three boys whose dismembered corpses he resurrected from the brine tub in which their innkeeper murderer had concealed them.

Nothing has been said so far of the contribution of monasticism to local education. The old legend of the monks as the schoolmasters of the middle ages has long been discredited but it is an unconscionable time adying. To teach was no part of the monastic profession and monks were not schoolmasters. Thus when the master of the cathedral grammar school at York became a monk in 1344 it was natural that he should vacate the school. However, some houses of black monks and Austin canons maintained schools for local boys as a work of charity, but they were usually taught by hired seculars and held not in the monastery but near the almonry at the gate. The first school in Bridlington was probably kept by the Austin canons of St. Mary's priory. Henry VI, greatest of royal

patrons of education, 'for the grete affection and singuler devotion' which he felt for 'the glorious Confessour Seint John of Brydlyngton' exempted the convent from payment of all clerical subsidies on condition that they found twelve choristers and a master to teach them grammar and song; and when the commons in parliament petitioned in 1450 for a resumption of all royal grants in order to secure some relief from taxation, the Bridlington grant was one of the exceptions reserved by the king, so the schoolmaster presumably continued, at least for some time. At Kirkham about 1460 a school was being taught by Dom John Killom, one of the canons, in the parochial nave of the priory church; and a similar school may well have existed at Haltemprice priory. If any other religious house in East Yorkshire kept a school, it has not come to light. The greatest Benedictine abbey in the diocese, St. Mary's at York, had no school of its own but aided education by maintaining a boarding house for poor boys studying at the cathedral school. It was known as the 'Conclave' or 'Clee', and stood near the abbey gatehouse, and at the time of the dissolution it provided for as many as fifty boys—another indication of the unusual size of St. Peter's, judged by the standards of the time. The contribution of the religious to school education in the later middle ages was thus relatively unimportant, in East Yorkshire as elsewhere in England.

Another minor source of grammar education, for it would apply to a few boys only, was to be found in the households of magnates where schoolmasters were kept to instruct the sons of the family and their young henchmen. The Northumberland Household Book, compiled about 1520 for the Percy establishments at Wressle and Leconfield, shows grammar masters employed, each with an allowance of £5, and provision made also for 'a servaunt . . . to be usher of the scole'. Here the scions of the family, with the sons of dependants and neighbouring gentry, would receive their grounding in grammar and humanity. Perhaps the Neville household at Sherriff Hutton made similar provision. It is interesting to note also in these ordinances that when the earls of Northumberland spent Christmas at Leconfield they were accustomed to receive and reward the boy bishop of Beverley grammar school on his visitation progress round the district.

If education in the middle ages was predominantly an ecclesiastical concern, schoolmasters—though clerks—were not necessarily in major orders and therefore bound to celibacy. We hear by chance of a thirteenth-century married schoolmaster at Helmsley, and at least three fifteenth-century masters of St. Peter's are known to have been married—one from his tomb inscription, two from their wills. Other schoolmasters were prominent persons in the civil life of the local community; Hugo Rasen, grammar master at Scarborough (who also had a wife), may well have been the man of that name who was bailiff of the town and parliamentary burgess in 1422; William Hardynges, the Beverley schoolmaster, a substantial householder in Keldgate, was repeatedly one of the town governors in Henry VI's reign; and Nicholas Gysburgh, ex-schoolmaster at Hull, became town clerk there in 1484.

II

Bound up so closely with the church and the religious life of the Catholic, medieval past, how were these schools affected by the Reformation? It is not to be expected after what has been said that local education suffered any crushing blow from the dissolution of the East Yorkshire monasteries. The schools at Bridlington and Kirkham (if indeed they still existed at the dissolution) would come to an end, to the deprivation of the neighbourhood; and the loss of the boarding house at St. Mary's abbey inflicted some hurt on St. Peter's. But that was all.

More controversial is the harm caused by the suppression of colleges, chantries, gilds and hospitals by the Chantries Act of 1547. As the school of a cathedral of the old foundation, St. Peter's was untouched, but the schools at Beverley and Howden would come to an end on Easter Day, 1548, with the chapters that maintained them. On the other hand the Act provided for the continuation of those chantry schools whose existence was recommended by the two commissioners specially appointed for this purpose, and in these cases the Crown granted the master an annual stipend equal to the net value of the foundation at the time of suppression. Thus, the schools at Hull, Acaster and Pickering continued without interruption and all three masters went on teaching into the new age and under the new dispensation. William Jellotson, appointed grammar master in Stillington's college at Acaster in 1541 taught there until 1580, regularly drawing his yearly salary of £8 from the Crown receiver at York after 1548, and observing, approvingly or regretfully, the religious and intellectual transition of Yorkshire from Catholicism to Protestantism. Far from suffering from the government's policy these ex-chantry schoolmasters were actually better off financially at first, for there were now no altar and chapel services to support from the endowment, the net value of which was paid over wholly to the master as salary. For instance, the master at Hull after 1548 received a stipend of £13. 2s. 2¾d. in place of the £10 previously allowed him by the founder. This was a short-lived advantage, however; serious damage was caused later when the Tudor price revolution reduced the real value of fixed incomes and brought these schools to a state of chronic poverty.

The school at Pocklington was another of those continued on a government grant, but only for a short time. For through the efforts of Thomas Dolman, the founder's nephew and heir and another lawyer, the confiscated estates were restored to the school in 1551 by private act of parliament (on the plea that they had never been legally conveyed to the gild and therefore still belonged to the heir), and the patronage was given to St. John's College, Cambridge, where the founder had previously established scholarships for boys from the school.

Elsewhere, any damage that was done was soon made good by the restoration of schools by local enterprise, for no community would quietly acquiesce in the loss of its grammar school. At York

St. Peter's seems to have met with difficulties after the closing of the boarding house at St. Mary's, and although the school was evidently still in existence when Archbishop Holgate's injunctions for the cathedral were issued in 1552 it seems to have suffered a sharp decline and finally to have come to an end soon afterwards. For in 1557 the dean and chapter secured a grant from the Crown of the ruinous premises of the lately dissolved hospital of St. Mary, on a site outside Bootham Bar commonly known as the Horsefair, in order to refound the school there. Although the language of all the documents concerning this grant points to the foundation of a new school, not the transfer of an existing one to a new site, this Tudor school may perhaps be properly regarded as a continuation of the medieval one, with the difference that whereas the school had formerly been provided by the dean and chapter out of their common fund and ruled by the chancellor, it now had an independent existence with the dean and chapter as patrons and governors.

In other places the grammar school was preserved temporarily by groups of interested burgesses; later by the town corporation, who shouldered the responsibility rather than see the school die out. The burgesses of Beverley in 1552 petitioned the young Edward VI for a grant of land from the minster's confiscated estates, pleading that 'the said towne of Beverley is . . . the greatest within all Estryding . . . having a grete nombre of youthe within the same, and fyfe thowsaund persons and above, whereof some of them be apte and mete to be brought up in learning, whiche are not, for so muche as there is neither gramer schole, or any other . . .'. Accordingly they begged 'that there maye be erected within the said towne, of your moost princely fundacion, one fre gramer schole, to the further encrease of such youthe as there remayneth at this present daye and in tyme to come . . .'. But these were grim years for the government, faced with war, rebellion and economic dislocation, and the appeal was refused, partly perhaps because the old school had been voluntarily maintained by the chapter and never specifically endowed. Consequently the townspeople themselves seem to have restored or continued the school. It existed evidently in 1556 for there is mention of the schoolmaster then, Robert Robynson, being ordered to proclaim the cause of a heretic's penance at the market cross. From the early 1560s the corporation gradually accepted responsibility for it, finding the master's salary, regulating the teaching, buying books, and in 1606-8 undertaking the considerable expense of rebuilding the school house. In the same way the corporation of Hull gradually took over responsibility for the grammar school from the burgesses, augmenting the master's government stipend from the 1560s, making rules and imposing fees in the 1570s, building a new schoolhouse next to the old one in 1585 and securing the patronage by charter in 1611. What happened at other schools is less clear. The town school at Hedon disappears from the records, but elsewhere what evidence there is points to continuity. At Scarborough the vicar was teaching the grammar boys in 1563, but in 1597 a master was appointed by the town council in terms which suggest

that the school had existed for some considerable time, regulated by articles made by the town and apparently supported by a town rate. There was certainly a schoolmaster at Bridlington in 1564 and perhaps it was to ease the town's burden in finding him a salary that a plea was later made to Lord Burghley for the grant of a piece of preferment to support a schoolmaster, 'unto which hitherto nothinge hath byn applied since the suppression'. Boys from Howden were going to Cambridge in the 1560s and the churchwardens' accounts show a school in the church at least in 1601; it seems reasonable to suppose that this was a continuation of the former chapter school, but with what intermission of time, if any, it is impossible to know.

III

The century which followed these Reformation changes was prolific in new school foundations throughout the country: evidence of the church's concern for a more educated clergy and of the prosperity and philanthropy of the gentry and merchant class. In the area under review the first two grammar schools of the new age were founded in the last days of Henry VIII by Robert Holgate, archbishop of York and president of the king's Council in the North, who established a school in York in 1546, and in 1547 another in Old Malton (and a third at Hemsworth, his birthplace in the West Riding). The school at York was housed by the church of St. John del Pike in Ogleforth (in the close, near the Treasurer's house), and in contrast with St. Peter's it was placed under the archbishop's patronage, not the dean and chapter's; furthermore it was free, and because of this it probably contributed to the decline of St. Peter's until the latter acquired the Horsefair premises. At Old Malton the school stood in the cemetery of the lately dissolved Gilbertine priory, where Holgate had once been a canon. Both schools were furnished by the archbishop with carefully drafted statutes, differing from one another only in details, and because they vividly illustrate conditions in the grammar schools of the time and are the only East Yorkshire statutes to survive, they merit some attention.

At both schools the master might be clerk or layman, married or celibate, and he must be competent to teach Greek and Hebrew as well as Latin—a requirement which marks the advent of the 'new learning' into the schools of the north. To ensure that the school would never lapse through want of a master elaborate arrangements were made for his appointment. At Malton he was to be chosen by the archbishop, but on his default by the dean and chapter, and on their default by the archdeacon of Cleveland acting with eight of the most honest housekeepers of the parish, and failing them the election was to pass to the farmer of the Grange at Old Malton together with twelve of the parish householders. For heresy, murder, treason or felony, or if a 'common drunkard' or 'remiss in his teaching' he

might be removed by the archbishop, but only on formal complaint by thirteen parishioners—and then only if he had refused to mend his ways on being solemnly warned four times by the churchwardens in the presence of the vicar. The master was to teach Latin, with Greek and Hebrew at his discretion, and he was to take no fees. To assist him he was to have an usher, and the usher was to fill the master's place temporarily in the event of a vacancy, helped by one of the older boys. School hours were the usual ones—6 to 11 a.m. and 1 to 6 p.m. in summer, 7 to 11-30 a.m. and 12-30 to 5 p.m. in winter; and during these hours the master had to be present in the schoolroom personally. Each school day was to begin and end with prescribed prayers, and on Sundays and Holy days the boys were to attend the services in Old Malton church accompanied by the master. Holidays were allowed at Christmas and Easter, some six weeks altogether. The Malton endowment consisted of land at Norton, Yedingham and Ebberston, let at fixed rentals to produce an annual income of £20, from which the master was to have a salary of £10 and the usher £4, the rest being devoted to rent collection, property repairs and so on. Framed with the conditions of 1547 in mind, these statutes became in course of time a millstone round the schoolmaster's neck.

Only one school in East Yorkshire dates from Elizabeth's reign. In 1579 at Halsham, the family seat, Sir John Constable founded a grammar school with a rent charge on various lands of his at Burstwick, Keyingham and Paull, and the bequest was confirmed in letters patent granted to his heir in 1584. Following a practice that was not uncommon the establishment included an almshouse as well as a school, and a building to accommodate them both was erected beside the churchyard, the school occupying the ground floor, the almspeople the floor above. The greatest period of East Yorkshire school foundations came in the first half of the seventeenth century when they averaged one for each decade until the Restoration. Here we have a striking regional manifestation of a national phenomenon, for throughout the country there was a vast outpouring of charity for grammar-school foundations during the earlier Stuart period, most of it by merchants and puritan gentry. Coxwold was founded in 1603 with an annual rent charge on the manor of Nether Silton near Northallerton by a city alderman, Sir John Harte, a native of Kilburn near Coxwold, who had grown rich as a grocer in London. In 1609 Marmaduke Langdale, squire of Dowthorpe, settled a grammar school at Sancton, the family's principal seat, endowing it with an annuity on his estates in Skirlaugh; and at Kilham another grammar school was created in 1633 by John, Baron Darcy of Aston, with a rent charge on 200 acres in the parish, where he was lord of the manor. Whether it was connected with an earlier one or not, there was a school at Bridlington about 1630 and boys were going from it to Cambridge; and it may have been this school that William Hustler, a merchant of the place, made free by the gift of a charge on his manor of Broughton near Malton in 1636. Another grammar school was established in 1655 at Shipton, near York, by

a bequest of £1,000 under the will of Mrs. Ann Middleton, who intended the schoolhouse to serve as a chapel of ease to the parish church at Overton. At Pickering the Crown stipend granted in 1548 seems to have been lost, probably in Mary's reign, when these grants had to be sued out afresh in the exchequer; but a free grammar school existed there at least intermittently during the seventeenth century, and it was perhaps at this period that it was endowed with 26 acres by a gift whose origin was eventually lost to memory. Only four miles away, at Thornton-le-Dale, Elizabeth, Viscountess Lumley founded a grammar school in 1657 to serve the adjacent parishes of Thornton, Farmanby, Sinnington, Marton and Edstone, which may suggest that the Pickering school if not in abeyance then was not very active. Another new foundation which must be mentioned though only on the perimeter of East Yorkshire was the school at Drax, established in 1669 by Charles Read, a native of the place, who for this purpose bequeathed £2,000 to trustees to be laid out in land yielding £120 a year. If we exclude a bequest of 1712 for a grammar school at Barmby-on-the-Marsh which seems never to have come into being, no other endowed grammar school was founded in East Yorkshire until Mrs. Eleanor Westerman's at Easingwold in 1781.

The essential act in the foundation of a school, therefore, was the provision of an endowment which would furnish a schoolmaster's salary; almost invariably this was the principal purpose of the endowment, so that in effect the master *was* the school. With this usually went the nomination of trustees to supervise the school and perhaps appoint the master. In most cases the endowment consisted of an annual rent charge on land, the amount being fixed by the founder at what he considered to be a satisfactory income for a schoolmaster at the time—£20 at Halsham, Coxwold, Sancton and Kilham, £26. 13s. 4d. at Bridlington. At none of these schools was there a body of trustees: the patronage belonged to the founder's heir at Bridlington, Halsham and Kilham, to the landlord bearing the rent charge at Coxwold and Sancton; and at all these schools the master himself was responsible for collecting what was due to him from the owners of the property. Where there were trustees, as at St. Peter's, Thornton, Drax and Pickering, they exercised the patronage and managed the property, paying over the income to the master, except at Drax where his salary was fixed at £30 by the founder. At Shipton all the resident freeholders were trustees with power to appoint and dismiss the master, whose salary they settled at £40 by a rent charge created in 1686; later all the freeholds became the property of the lord of the manor, who thus became sole patron and governor. The corporation acted as patrons and trustees at Hull, Beverley and Scarborough, and here the master's salary was a voluntary payment by the town, save that at Hull he also had the Crown stipend of £13. 2s. 2½d. which was augmented after 1602 by £6 a year from the rents of two tenements devised to the corporation for this purpose by Alderman William Gee. There was no endowment for the master at Beverley until Dr. Robert Metcalfe bequeathed

£10 a year towards the master's salary in 1652; nor at Scarborough until Gregory Fysh, a burgess, gave a field for this purpose in 1640, one of the borough's M.P.s, Francis Thompson, adding to this the interest on a gift of £100 in 1694. The greatest degree of independence (and the heaviest financial responsibility) belonged to the master who constituted at law a corporation sole: he had no trustees or governors, was the landlord of the school estates, and had a freehold as complete as the parson's. This was so at Pocklington, where he was appointed by the master and fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, and at Archbishop Holgate's schools at York and Malton; but at these last two the master was shackled by the founder's statute fixing the salary at £10 and prohibiting any alienation of the property and also any increase in the rents and fines.

In addition to providing for a master, some founders provided for an usher to assist him. In these cases the usher had a guaranteed stipend from the endowment like the master, who usually appointed him: £13. 6s. 8d. at Bridlington, £10 at Coxwold and Kilham, only £4 at Archbishop Holgate's Malton school and £2 at his York school (these last two amounts being fixed before the great inflation began). The usher at Pocklington formed part of the corporation with the master, who appointed him in consultation with the vicar and churchwardens, and it became customary for him to receive one-third of the income, the master two-thirds. Elsewhere no formal provision for an usher existed, but one was regularly employed by the town corporation at Hull and Beverley, and at St. Peter's by the dean and chapter, his salary being met out of the fees.

Besides a master and perhaps an usher, the foundation often provided a schoolroom, and adjacent to it a dwelling house and garden for the master, all near the principal church. At Thornton and Drax, as at Halsham, the school shared the foundation with an almshouse, and the original Tudor building of school and hospital survives at Halsham near the churchyard. An excellent example of its type, the brick schoolroom used at Hull from 1585 to 1878 still stands by Holy Trinity churchyard and the marketplace; and in few places in England is the ancient country grammar school and master's house better seen than at Coxwold, standing at the top of the village street opposite the church. Two East Yorkshire schools lost their buildings in the Civil War and had to be re-housed. St. Peter's was moved inside the walls when the Horsefair premises were destroyed during the siege of 1644 and thereafter until 1730 occupied the old Bedern just inside Monk Bar; whilst at Scarborough, when the schoolhouse in the Charnel Garth near St. Mary's was commandeered and demolished by the parliamentary governor in 1648, the master and his scholars were transferred to the south transept of the church where the school remained for the next two centuries. There can be small doubt which East Yorkshire schoolhouse served its purpose longest: in the little stone chamber adjoining the west front of Howden church successive generations of local boys must have parsed and construed for over four hundred years.

If a school possessed any other endowment it usually took the form of exhibitions tenable at the university or some particular college. The foundation of these exhibitions for local 'poor schollers' was a characteristic expression of seventeenth-century charity. They consisted essentially of gifts of land or tenements, the rents from which furnished an annual allowance which was conferred for either four years to take a scholar as far as the B.A. or seven years to see him through to the M.A. Sometimes they were bestowed on the school itself and administered by its trustees, sometimes given on trust to a town corporation, sometimes to a particular college for award to boys from a specified school. Pocklington was especially well endowed in this respect with its founder's five Dolman scholarships at St. John's College, Cambridge. Halsham had a scholarship to Trinity College, Oxford, given by the founder's sister, Dame Catherine Constable; and Thornton was originally supplied by its foundress with no fewer than ten scholarships, five to Oxford, five to Cambridge. In the seventeenth century Alderman Thomas Ferries and John Bury, a scrivener, gave exhibitions to Hull corporation to take local boys to Cambridge, and the ejected Calvinist minister of Settrington, Alexander Metcalf, a Hull man by birth and upbringing, left money to establish a scholarship at Clare College, Cambridge, for Hull grammar school. Beverley corporation likewise was made trustee for several scholarships—six beween 1652 and 1681, and others later. Like those at Hull these came to be held conjointly as rising prices diminished the real value of the awards, and this greatly reduced the number of boys who were able to benefit from them.

Archbishop Holgate's statutes confined the teaching at both his schools to Latin with Greek and Hebrew, and these were the only subjects ordinarily taught in grammar schools throughout the seventeenth century, by custom if not actually by statute. However, at Bridlington and Drax the school was not intended by the founder to be exclusively classical, for reading, writing and accounts were prescribed, as well as grammar at the former, and Latin, Greek and Hebrew at the latter. (In the late eighteenth century Easingwold was also founded to teach English, writing and arithmetic as well as Latin). Writing was not usually taught by the grammar master but by a scrivener or professional writing teacher who in towns visited the grammar school at regular hours, or kept a school of his own which the grammar boys attended during the mid-day break or half-day holiday; whilst in country districts the grammar school was usually visited each year for four or five weeks at a time by an itinerant writing master. In the ordinary routine of the two-man grammar school it was the usher's task to ground the younger boys in the grammar rules at the lower end of the schoolroom, whilst at the upper end the master exercised the older boys in composition and translation, introduced them to Greek and perhaps Hebrew, and generally finished them into scholars. To this classical regimen was added only practical religion, and a regular feature of school life was the corporate attendance at the parish church on Sundays and other sermon days, master and scholars sitting together in some part of the church specially reserved for them.

IV

Because of the influence which the schoolmaster was able to exert on the minds of his pupils, who included the best-connected boys of the neighbourhood and its future leaders, he had to be a man of approved character and sound doctrine as well as sufficient education. Accordingly, founders sometimes stipulated the qualities they required. At Burneston, near Northallerton, where the school was established in 1681, he had to be 'not a man of common parts and conversation but singularly hopeful, a graduate in the university, competent in Greek and Latin . . . learned in divinity, sound in the faith, orthodox in judgment, no papist nor popishly affected person . . . sober, pious, industrious, serious . . . no raw youth . . . nor one that hath been debauched or was ever known to be drunk or noted for a company keeper . . . a single man, unmarried and without children . . . and if ever he marry let him quit his place and his salary cease". Celibacy however was an exceptional requirement; what was chiefly expected of the grammar schoolmaster was a university degree and doctrinal conformity.

As proof of their Anglican orthodoxy all schoolmasters were required to have the bishop's licence from Elizabethan times, and this came to be demanded by statute as well as canon law. To enforce the rule bishops regularly inquired in their visitation articles whether the schoolmaster was lawfully licensed by the ordinary in writing and under seal. In addition the canons required the teaching of the approved catechism and regular attendance at church by master and scholars. The reason behind the government's anxiety thus to detect recusant schoolmasters may be seen from two York instances. John Fletcher, master of Archbishop Holgate's, was deprived for Catholicism in 1574 after teaching the school for ten years; but a master of St. Peter's, John Pullen, a more discreet Romanist, held his office for fifteen years, teaching Guy Fawkes and three of his fellow conspirators, including the brothers John and Christopher Wright from Plowland near Welwick in Holderness, as well as several other future papists—and this under the very nose of the archbishop and the Council of the North. Hardly less dangerous at a later period were puritan schoolmasters. The influence of puritan preachers and lecturers on public opinion before the Civil War is known to have been considerable—they blew the bellows of sedition, said Laud in 1629. But the grammar-school master was sometimes a preacher as well, and thus doubly able to shape the religious and political attitudes of the local community. Two successive masters of Hull grammar school, James Burney and Anthony Stevenson, were puritan preachers who had much influence in Hull, and Stevenson and several of his pupils were later among those ejected in 1662. A similar man was Christopher Nesse, master of Beverley from 1649 to 1652: he was a well-known preaching minister in the area and became a much excommunicated nonconformist after the Restoration. Following the Uniformity Act of 1662, therefore, episcopal licensing of schoolmasters was much more

rigorously enforced, and for the next forty or fifty years few Yorkshire schoolmasters can have avoided the journey to York or Bishopthorpe soon after their appointment to subscribe before the archbishop or his vicar-general. As a result the diocesan subscription books are virtually a schoolmaster's directory for the period.

Where a teacher set up a private school without a licence, this was regarded as an infringement of the public grammar school's monopoly and the trustees would take action to have him inhibited. Thus in 1609 Beverley corporation brought an action to stop William Eilis from teaching grammar in the town, and in 1691 Hull corporation complained to the archbishop about a private master who had been licensed to teach grammar in Sculcoates but was actually teaching in Hull. The corporation at Scarborough in 1649 ordered nobody to teach town children above seven years of age save the master and usher of the free school 'accordinge to auntiente custome'; but because of the master's 'neglect and carelessness . . . his insufficiency and inability to teach a gramar Schoole and his severe and Barborous usuage of the children and boyes under his teaching', the burgesses petitioned the archbishop in 1677 to allow another school, pleading the size of the place and the fact that for some sixty years past there had actually been 'three severall Latine or gramar Schooles in the Towne'.

It will be seen that the educational rôle of the archbishop as diocesan was of considerable importance. Not only did he license all schoolmasters in his see (in theory, at any rate), but in some schools he had a special authority. He appointed the master at Archbishop Holgate's two schools, and it was only on complaint to him that the masters there could be removed. At Pocklington and Halsham he appointed in default of the patron. The master at Hull had to be nominated by the corporation under the charter of 1611, but he had then to be 'examined, approved and allowed' by the archbishop; and when in 1670 the corporation wanted to get rid of their schoolmaster it was to the archbishop that they turned for help. That some archbishops' interest was not merely nominal is shown by the letters of Archbishop Sandys to St. John's College in connection with a vacancy at Pocklington in 1581. Amid all the cares of office he had ridden over to Pocklington to reprove the master for his negligence, and then wrote to the college bidding them elect 'a man lerned, godly and discrete' and promising to call the vicar and wardens before him to ensure the election of more suitable Dolman scholars than had recently been sent from the school.

In a century without newspapers and advertisements, how was a new schoolmaster found when a vacancy occurred? To Pocklington St. John's College usually elected one of their own fellows; and the archbishop would be in a position to know of likely candidates for the schools to which he appointed, though Holgate's statutes for York and Malton required him to promote the usher if he was suitable. Elsewhere trustees relied on personal knowledge or recommendation, which often meant that a local man was chosen. The townspeople of Pocklington recommended two local candidates to

St. John's College in 1612—Robert Fowbery, master at Hull, and William Petty, master at Beverley; but the college chose neither. To fill a vacancy at Hull in 1647 the corporation canvassed Robert Steele, master at Beverley, and also sent the town clerk to interview William Smelt, master at Coxwold; but in the end they promoted the usher, a man of 24. In 1651 they negotiated with both the Gainsborough schoolmaster and the curate of Wintringham near Malton; and again they promoted the usher, this time a man of 21. In 1677 they inquired of two Cambridge dons, both of them East Riding men, and got three candidates—the master at Thornton-le-Dale, the master at Boston, and a schoolmaster from near Richmond, the last of whom they appointed.

The living to be made from schoolmastering was exiguous. Two endowments brought the Hull schoolmaster just under £20 a year, and this the corporation voluntarily supplemented to £26. Fees for burgesses' sons were 10s. a year from 1647, and after 1670 these were divided equally between master and usher. With a school of 50 boys the master then made some £38 plus his rent-free house, so that according to Gregory King's estimate of social classes and their incomes in 1696 he made the same sort of living as a shopkeeper or artisan. Until the nineteenth century the schoolmaster's profession was hardly distinguishable from the clerical, and most masters were in orders. In smaller schools such as Howden, Halsham, Sancton and Kilham, the master was often the incumbent or his curate, or a curate from the neighbourhood; and in town schools he frequently added to his income by serving as assistant preacher or afternoon lecturer or as minister to some almshouse or hospital, though a cure was sometimes prohibited by the trustees as prejudicial to the school. Many clerical schoolmasters taught only until they were able to secure a comfortable benefice, rather than 'weaken their bodies by excessive toyle and so shorten their dayes'. Two successive Pocklington masters resigned in 1613 and 1624 to take over the parsonage of Barmston, two Hull masters in 1647 and 1664 went to the parsonage of Roos, Robert Steele quitted Beverley in 1649 for Scorborough, Stephen Clarke left Thornton-le-Dale to become vicar of Beverley minster in 1677. But a few men were professional schoolmasters to the end of their days, and although they were usually laymen, such as Robert Fowbery and Robert Pell of Hull, they also included some clerks, like James Galloway of Malton, and Joseph Lambert of Beverley. Perhaps because so many masters were clergymen waiting for preferment, or because outside the larger towns much the same livelihood was to be made out of teaching one endowed school as another, little movement seems to have taken place from school to school, at least in the seventeenth century. Some exceptions occur, for instance Robert Fowbery went from Hull to Newcastle in 1613, John Clark from Howden to Pocklington in 1660, John Parkes from Thornton-le-Dale to Hull in 1676. The comparative security of an endowed school, however, was a definite attraction to private schoolmasters (of whom there were many), and in 1578 Robert Brocklebank left a private school in Hessle to take over

Beverley grammar school, in 1638 Christopher Wallis left one in Bridlington to go to St. Peter's; Robert Steele, before going to Beverley in 1646 had kept a private school in Cottingham, as had Stephen Clarke before going to Thornton in 1676—after being an unsuccessful applicant for the mastership at Hull the same year.

The usher—if Hull may be taken as typical—was usually a young man straight from the university, perhaps not yet of age for deacon's orders, and he tended to leave the school as soon as he was ordained and had a cure. His pay at Hull came entirely from his half-share of the fees, so with 50 boys in the school he made £12. 10s. which was less than Gregory King's estimated income for common soldiers and day labourers. On these earnings alone he could scarcely have lived, and therefore if he was not a young man teaching temporarily whilst awaiting ordination the usher tended to be a local curate or incumbent, teaching merely to eke out his clerical pay. Even with supplementary earnings it was rare for a man to spend his working life as an usher: if he was not promoted to the mastership he would quit the schoolroom as soon as his circumstances permitted. Few were prepared to serve as usher for nearly forty years as Lawrence Scailes did at Hull, where he was appointed by the corporation in 1586. Not only did the usher earn much less than the master, he also had the more arduous and uninteresting ploys—he was concerned merely with the preliminary grammar drill in the junior forms, and because many boys left school without finishing the course his division was probably always larger than the master's. Except in the smaller schools the usual complement was one master aided by one usher, but if the foundation did not provide an assistant a master would manage without when numbers were low. At Beverley 50 boys were considered sufficient to warrant the appointment of an usher in 1670. From 1601 to 1606 Hull grammar school had two, but that was quite exceptional until the nineteenth century.

With or without an usher the master was in a position to make or mar a school. If he was capable and energetic and had the goodwill of the neighbourhood his pupils would grow in number; if he was inefficient or idle or excessively brutal they would dwindle. When well patronized a large town school might have a hundred or more boys, an average one half that number, a small country school only a dozen or two. A remarkable feature of schools is the fluctuation in numbers, where evidence for numbers exists. Pocklington seems to have risen to as many as 140 in the 1570s, but in 1612 the townspeople were complaining to St. John's College that because of the master's gross negligence the school had been reduced 'to two children, the oldest not exceeding twelve yeares', whereas nobody could remember a time when there had been fewer than eighty. Hull had 'about a hundred scholars' in the 1630s but in 1647 it was 'like to be dissolved' because the master had left and no successor could be found. Numbers often declined after the master's acceptance of a benefice, especially if it happened to be some miles away. This was so at Pocklington in 1612; and in 1676 Hull corporation dismissed their schoolmaster (after much trouble and expense)

because he spent too much time at his vicarage at Burstwick and refused to accept the corporation's nominee as usher, so forcing 'the Burgesses and other Inhabitants . . . to send their Children abroad to other Schools in the Country.'

It is not easy now to discover the names of boys at particular schools. All schoolmasters must have kept admission registers of some sort, but their survival is rare. Two interesting local exceptions are a register kept at Pocklington between 1650 and 1657, and a list of boys in form order at Hull in June 1680. Some names are yielded by the admission books of Cambridge colleges, where freshmen had to record their parentage and schooling; a few others come to light in miscellaneous sources. The boys came mainly from the middle class of merchants and yeomen and clergy, with a few from the landed families of the district, a few the sons of husbandmen and artisans. The Pocklington register contains such county names as Fairfax, Saville, Darley, Beaumont and Vavasour; and among the boys going to Cambridge from Beverley in its heyday under Joseph Lambert from 1674 to 1716 were Gees and Boyntons, a Hildyard and a Constable. St. Peter's and Archbishop Holgate's at York were able to draw on a large trading population with a relatively important professional element of clergy and lawyers (especially during the lifetime of the Council of the North), and at times St. Peter's attracted boys from all three Ridings as well. The oak fittings of the schoolroom at Coxwold were later said to be carved with the names of county families. Hull was patronized to a much less extent by the neighbouring gentry, but it educated the sons of the ruling merchant class of the town (some of whom had close ties with the East Riding families) as well as the sons of humbler artisans and tradesmen.

In an age of slow and difficult travel and when the school day started as early as six or seven o'clock, all boys who lived more than a walk or pony ride from school would necessarily have to be boarders. If they did not live in the master's house they would be lodged with kinsfolk or private families in the town, and all grammar schools must have included some of these 'strangers'. But it was primarily for the benefit of local boys—parishioners' or burgesses' sons—that schools were founded, and the purpose of the endowment was to make the teaching free for these: hence the common name 'free' or 'public' school in contrast with a private school conducted for profit. Only for 'foreigners" children was the master originally expected to charge fees. Eventually, however, as the real value of endowments declined fees were often imposed by the trustees on foundationers as well as on strangers, but at a lower rate on the former. The purpose of the fees was to raise an extra salary for an usher, where none was provided by the foundation, or to increase the master's income to a more acceptable level.

What would appear to be a typical grammar-school age range is revealed by the Pocklington register which shows boys aged from six to eighteen, most of them from eight to fifteen, with 12½ years the average. The usual educational requirement for admission was no

more than ability to read, so that a start could be made at once on the Latin accidence. In towns boys would have learnt to read in an ABC or petty school, in country districts perhaps from the curate or parish clerk. No doubt most of them left the grammar school before the course was finished and became apprentices to some trade or one of the lesser professions of scrivener, apothecary or notary. Those who stayed longer would be intended for the university, and a relatively large number went to Cambridge from St. Peter's, Pocklington, Beverley and Hull, the great majority of them becoming clergy, a few of them physicians or counsellors at law. The parsonages of East Yorkshire were largely supplied by men who had been educated in one or other of these schools. But any school might foster a boy who was later to become outstanding in the religious, political or intellectual life of his times. Andrew Marvell was nurtured at Hull grammar school in the 1630s; St. Peter's produced Henry Dodwell, 'the greatest scholar in Europe when he died', according to Thomas Hearne; and at Northallerton in the 1650s the bibulous monarchist Thomas Smelt taught four boys who were to make names for themselves—the great Anglo-Saxon scholar, George Hickes; the historian Thomas Rymer, editor of the *Foedera*; the devout non-juring bishop John Kettlewell; and Dr. John Radcliffe, Queen Anne's physician and a notable benefactor of medicine at Oxford.

V

There can be little doubt that the seventeenth century, especially the period before 1660, saw the grammar schools at their best, and with a larger number of scholars, absolutely as well as relatively, than they were to have for the next two hundred years. With some exceptions the eighteenth century saw a general decline, and this went on throughout the greater part of the nineteenth. A root cause of the decay was the obsolescence of statutes and foundation deeds, especially where they fixed the master's salary and confined the teaching to Latin and Greek. But poverty was the real problem. As the price revolution advanced masters found it increasingly difficult to live on the stipend which the foundation allowed. The imposition of fees was the earliest expedient, but numbers were often too small for much to be made from this source. During the eighteenth century, therefore, masters tended to hold local cures often in plurality, which must have meant some neglect of teaching or ministry or both. The master at Thornton-le-Dale in 1743 was vicar of three parishes—Yedingham, six miles away, and Scalby and Cloughton near Scarborough; the master at Bridlington was curate of Grindall chapel and assistant curate at Flamborough and Bempton; the master of St. Peter's in 1761 was rector of Catton and Scrayingham. Where the master was not a pluralist, almost invariably he had one cure, and he might be non-resident in the school and thus master only in name, drawing his salary and paying an usher to do the teaching, as did Samuel Jackson at Malton between 1779 and

1783. On the other hand Joseph Milner was for thirty years both a conscientious master of Hull grammar school and a zealous curate and vicar of North Ferriby.

Another source of income was the private pupil boarding with the master's family and being taught privately by him in his house, as well as in the schoolroom with the local boys. All schools must have contained some boys drawn from outside the borough or parish who paid fees fixed by private treaty with the master, but these did not usually live with the master's family. His private boarders stood in a different relationship, and they could be very profitable—Kingsman Baskett, master at Pocklington, benefitted handsomely from young William Wilberforce who boarded five years with him. The *York Courant* and the *Hull Packet*, both dating from the eighteenth century, frequently contained advertisements from grammar-school masters for pupils of this kind.

The crippling effects of a Tudor founder's statutes in the changed conditions of a later age are clearly seen at Malton. Unable to increase the rents and fines above the level fixed by Archbishop Holgate, the master in 1762 was leasing land at £14 a year which his tenants were straightway sub-letting for over £110, and the master had the trouble and expense of leasing the property and seeing to repairs. Consequently, with the archbishop's approval, the school lands were alienated at the enclosure of Ebberston, Yedingham and West Heslerton in 1769 and 1770, in exchange for a rent charge to be awarded by the enclosure commissioners. This had the effect of raising the yield to £92 but since it was fixed at that sum the improvement was only temporary; and the master complained to the archbishop in 1775 that he had been allowed only £17. 4s. by the Ebberston commissioners for land really worth £80. Unless he happened to be something of an estate manager, the master's interests were likely to suffer where he was personally responsible for the foundation's real property. At Pocklington the master had over 800 acres to superintend, and in the eighteenth century they were let on long leases at small rents to the school's impoverishment. Even where a master depended upon small fixed rent charges he had the worry and inconvenience of collecting them and sometimes had to incur the cost of a law suit to get his money. The rent charges due to the Bridlington master amounted to as many as twelve, varying in amount from a shilling to £2. 18s. 5¼d., and in 1741 the founder's heir and several townsmen had to go to chancery on the master's behalf to recover his arrears.

At the two town schools of Hull and Beverley the respective corporations did what they could to enlarge the master's income to a decent level. The endowment at Hull totalled just under £20 and this was voluntarily supplemented by the corporation to £50 from 1731, and to £63 from 1767; and thereafter the lectureship at Holy Trinity became virtually annexed to the school in order to provide a further stipend. To the Beverley master's salary of £10 from Dr. Metcalfe's benefaction the corporation added £30, and then in 1736 in order to induce John Clarke to come from Shipton they

solicited the borough's two M.P.s for an annual contribution of £10 each, and this continued to be paid (sometimes in arrears) until 1835, making £60 in all. However, this was not always sufficient to attract the right kind of master and in some periods at least it was brought up to £80 by a subscription sponsored by the corporation. In addition they appointed the master to the Sunday afternoon lectureship in St. Mary's, which brought him in another 10 guineas a year, and after 1780 provided him with a house in Keldgate.

Apart from poverty of endowments, grammar schools suffered in the eighteenth century from the competition of new schools offering a curriculum more suited to the times than Greek and Latin. With the gradual passing of episcopal licensing and the idea of the public school's local monopoly private teachers increased in number, offering English subjects, modern languages, mathematics and accounts as well as the traditional classics. The private academy, with boarders as well as day boys, became a feature of the towns and a serious rival to the grammar school. The Academy at York conducted by John and then William Randall in the 1770s and 1780s was a flourishing concern when St. Peter's and Archbishop Holgate's were sunk in neglect. Falling demand for the classics forced some grammar-school masters to introduce the newer subjects, and it was by teaching these to private fee-paying pupils and confining the classics to the 'free' boys that they looked to make a living. A new master at Malton in 1747 advertised: 'Youth are compleatly qualified for any Manner of Business, in Latin, Greek etc. Also Arithmetic in all its Parts, Navigation, Mensuration, Merchants Accompts etc. And Writing in very great Perfection'. His fees were seven guineas for board, nine guineas for 'Board and Learning', and for 'Learning, Board and Cloaths, found in a neat decent Manner' £12. Lack of demand for the classics in poor rural areas had probably converted several grammar schools into village petty schools at a much earlier period—those at Acaster, Halsham and Sancton, for example; and others were to accept this humbler rôle later.

The eighteenth century saw a general inertia in endowed corporate bodies of all kinds, and school trustees were no exception. If some masters tended to neglect their responsibilities, perhaps it was because governors and feoffees neglected theirs. The relative sparseness of references to the affairs of Hull grammar school in the minutes of the corporation suggest a marked decline in the aldermen's interest in the school during the middle decades of the century. At Scarborough the town by default allowed control of the school to pass to the vicar who came to regard it as his own, encouraged no doubt by the fact that it was still housed in the parish church. Two successive vicars acted as master for half a century, and the next two appointed a succession of curates to the school, which thus came to be known as 'the church grammar school'. The dean and chapter allowed St. Peter's to fall into complete obscurity. In 1730 the school moved from the Bedern to the nearby derelict church of St. Andrew, occupying the chancel whilst the nave did service as a

stable; and here, in a mean back street, it lived in poverty and stagnation for the next hundred years, still known as 'the Free School in the Horsefair'. Archbishop Holgate's school passed through a similar dark age: it had only 20 pupils in 1743 and 24 in 1764. Seven successive masters held Pocklington without leaving any mark, and then Kingsman Baskett held it for fifty-three years, apparently without any pupils at all during the last eleven.

Not all schools, however, suffered eclipse, and there were some notable local exceptions. Beverley grammar school flourished in the 1740s under John Clarke, who had a hundred pupils in 1743. A mechanic's son from Kirby Misperton, one of Lady Lumley's exhibitioners to Cambridge, he was a classical scholar and schoolmaster of some repute in his day, and came to Beverley from Shipton in 1736, bringing some of his private pupils with him—as masters often did when they changed schools. Coxwold also prospered during at least part of the fifty-three-years mastership of Robert Midgley, 'an able divine and excellent classic' who 'educated several gentlemen of the county'. During the 1780s and 1790s Hull grammar school under Joseph Milner, though probably seldom counting more than fifty scholars, was 'the great seminary for boys in the East Riding' and a nursery of wranglers and divines.

VI

Persuaded that many charitable endowments were being misapplied, the government appointed a commission of inquiry in 1818 and in its monumental reports made over the next twenty years the decrepitude of the endowed grammar schools as they then existed stands revealed. More of those in East Yorkshire were now nothing but village primary schools. The school at Sancton was still called 'the free grammar school', but no classics had been taught there within living memory. It was the same at Halsham where Dame Catherine Constable's scholarship to Trinity College, Oxford, had become extinct because never claimed. Shipton likewise had now become an ordinary village school. The 'grammar school charity' at Pickering was paid by the trustees to two local schoolmasters, both teaching only elementary subjects, one in a dilapidated schoolroom in West Castlegate belonging to the charity, the other in a part of the church where a school had been kept time out of mind. The master at Malton had only four boys taking classics, but he allowed the parish clerk to teach reading, writing and arithmetic in a lower school separated from the grammar school by a partition, and in 1827 he had between 20 and 30 labourers' children all paying a small fee. Lady Lumley's trustees at Thornton had applied to chancery in 1818 for permission to change the foundation by adding reading, writing and arithmetic to the classics but sanction had been refused, so the school was still a grammar school and therefore a very small one. Among these country schools Kilham was exceptional in its numbers at this time. Generally it had between 80 and 100

pupils, a dozen or more boarding, but though Latin was still offered few asked for it, and the school was really an English school. At Coxwold the vicar was nominally master but his interest was limited to possession of the schoolmaster's house, there being no parsonage house attached to the living; he left the teaching entirely to his curate who in 1821 had only nine local boys and six boarders as pupils.

The area afforded some outstanding instances of particularly gross neglect at this period. Although Archbishop Holgate's school at York was worth some £360 a year it had fallen practically into disuse and had only four pupils in 1819. William Moore held Bridlington for thirty years and when he died in 1816 he had been an absentee for twenty-six: his then usher had never taught, though he had taken the salary, and the school was for all practical purposes extinct. Since there were no trustees various townsmen took the initiative in petitioning chancery for the improvement of the school. As a result in 1818 the patronage was confirmed to the founder's heir, the ushership was abolished and the master required to reside and teach grammar, reading, writing and common arithmetic, and 20 was to be the maximum of free scholars he was obliged to take. The new master was the village schoolmaster of Garton-on-the-Wolds, and during his long tenure Bridlington school sank into complete obscurity in a back lane behind the Corn Exchange. Pocklington supplied another notorious example of neglect. Thomas Shield, a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, gave up the vicarage of Royston in Hertfordshire to take over the school in 1807, and during the thirty-nine years that he held it he treated the property as his private freehold and the teaching as an incidental obligation of minor importance. In 1817 when the school was reduced to one boy the townspeople were driven to complain: the master had not been near the school for a year, the usher who was in sole charge was stone deaf and 'totally incapable', and the ruinous schoolroom had been let to a timber merchant as a saw pit. Shield's interests lay in his rents, and in twenty years by dint of careful management he increased his income tenfold to over £1,000. As a result of the protests he rebuilt the schoolroom in 1819, but notwithstanding repeated complaints his teaching became no more conscientious than before, and during his last three years (he died in 1846) there was again only one boy in the school.

However, not all the East Yorkshire grammar schools were in this state. Although the old municipal corporations were soon to be assailed for their abuses, both at Hull and at Beverley the corporation took a paternal interest in the welfare of its grammar school at this time. At Beverley the ancient schoolroom in the minster yard was replaced by a new one in Keldgate in 1816, money was given for prizes, library books were rebound, rules made for the conduct of the school, and one unsatisfactory master was removed in 1814, another in 1820. The school indeed enjoyed some repute during these years and in 1818, with 10 town boys, 30 other scholars and 12 boarders, the master's gross income must have been around £800 which would allow him a very respectable living. At Hull a stove, a

pair of globes and prizes were bought for the school by the corporation which was also generous to two successive masters in their financial difficulties. To meet changing demands both schools had now added English subjects and mathematics to the old classical curriculum, but generally numbers still remained small, particularly in view of the growing population. Encouraged by a new dean, St. Peter's threw off its eighteenth-century inertia in the 1820s—its income was increased as old leases expired, a reforming headmaster raised numbers to over 100, and in 1832 the school moved from its slum in St. Andrew's church into a new building in Minster Yard. Unfortunately, a relapse followed the appointment of a new headmaster in 1838 and by the time he was removed in 1844 numbers had fallen below twenty.

All these schools had now lost the virtual monopoly they had once enjoyed of all local education above the most rudimentary, and opportunities for a secondary education of a more modern and perhaps more efficient kind were everywhere increasing. Country clergy often kept small private schools in their parsonages, advertising for pupils in the local newspapers. In places like Driffield, Bridlington, Scarborough and Thorne, as well as in Hull and York, private academies had come into existence, aided by the improved roads and coach services: one of the advertised advantages of Mr. Stephenson's academy at Thorne in 1808 was that 'The Hull Rodney Coach passes the Academy daily'. A much more serious competitor than these appeared in the 1830s and 1840s in the new proprietary colleges. These aimed to give a broader and more up-to-date 'middle class' education than the majority of grammar schools were then providing, and they were promoted by joint stock companies paying dividends on sums advanced to buy a site and erect a building. Having no endowments these schools were dependent on fees for their support once they were opened, and thus many of them ended in failure. The condition of Hull grammar school in the 1830s led to the establishment of Hull College in 1836, and since this was intended to be non-sectarian a rival Anglican institution, Kingston College, was immediately called into being. In 1838 the York Proprietary School was established in Clifton, in 1846 the Yeoman School in Lord Mayor's Walk, the former intended for the middle class, the latter for the lesser tradesman and tenant-farmer class. Dependence on fees, competition for pupils and the depressed trading conditions of the mid-40s led to the early collapse of the first three of these. By the 1850s the railways and growing industrial wealth made it the fashion for more boys of the middle classes to be sent away to public boarding schools such as Rugby and Harrow, and this had the effect of still further weakening the grammar schools. Moreover, denominational schools were now providing middle-class education based on particular religious principles—the Benedictines of Ampleforth had started their college in 1802, the Quakers had opened Bootham school in 1829, and Elmfield College, a Primitive Methodist boarding school near York, flourished from the 1860s. Because of all this competition many grammar schools were much smaller in the mid-nineteenth century than they had been in the seventeenth.

The condition of the grammar schools was investigated on a massive scale by the Schools Inquiry (or Taunton) Commission appointed in 1864, and the Yorkshire schools were visited for this purpose in 1865 and 1866 by Joshua Fitch. Only three of those under consideration were well reported on. St. Peter's had now set its house in order and won high praise as 'a grammar school of the highest rank and of increasing repute'. Reduced to 18 boys in 1844 it had amalgamated with the financially moribund Proprietary School (which then had 55 boys), and under the headmastership of the latter's principal, and translated to its buildings in Clifton, St. Peter's had entered the modern phase of its long history. By the 1860s it had grown to 150 boys, 90 of them boarders, with a staff of eight and three visiting teachers; it had built up strong university connections and acknowledged the modern subjects by setting up a civil and military side. Archbishop Holgate's had also been restored to useful life in the 60s. By a scheme of chancery it was reorganized in 1858 and given a governing body which included representatives of the cathedral and city; the headmaster lost his freehold and became dismissible by the governors; and the school was transferred from its ancient building in Ogleforth to the more spacious premises of the former Yeoman School, a hostel system being established to attract sons of neighbouring farmers as boarders on inexpensive terms. Pocklington too had been restored. The master who came in 1846 was a more conscientious teacher than his predecessor and an equally capable landlord of the school estates (34 acres of which he farmed himself), and by judicious management the rents were increased and the school premises entirely rebuilt. However, after twenty years there were only 44 boys, 26 of them boarders, and there were complaints that the advantages of the school's rich endowment were shared by too few scholars, that local boys were discouraged from attending by reason of the mainly classical and mathematical curriculum, with the result that 'the whole establishment partook too much of the character of a private school'.

The grammar schools at Hull and Beverley were now in a precarious condition. As a result of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 the town councils which replaced the old corporations were prevented from devoting any of the borough funds to charitable uses, so their grammar schools were thrown back entirely on their own resources—£10 a year at Beverley, under £20 at Hull. To attract fee-paying pupils in competition with the proprietary colleges and the private academies, Hull grammar school virtually dropped the classics and became a quasi-commercial secondary school with some 50 or 60 boys, and it survived because its two proprietary rivals succumbed in the economic depression of the late 40s. The lack of opportunity for a 'middle class' education then brought into being in 1867 yet another proprietary school, the Hull and East Riding College, and this again had the effect of depressing the status of the grammar school. Beverley on the other hand struggled on as a would-be classical school. When Fitch visited it there were only 15 boys being

taught by the master unaided; those in the bottom of the three forms were below the average standard in elementary schools at a similar age; and lacking claimants the school's university scholarships were being used by the corporation for poor relief. 'The school languishes in poverty', he reported, 'the premises are dirty and the school furniture out of repair . . . the general aspect . . is lifeless and disheartening'. Because of these deficiencies the town had obtained chancery's sanction for the establishment of another school through the diversion of an obsolete eighteenth-century charity for the relief of decayed tradesmen, and this had been opened as the Foundation School in 1861. With 39 boys it was larger than the grammar school, and staffed by two college-trained, government-certificated masters, was reported to be much more efficiently taught.

Poverty of endowments and masters' consequent dependence on fees had led to the virtual conversion of some grammar schools into private academies. A flagrant instance of this was at Malton, where the Rev. William Pounds soon after he became master in 1835 abandoned and let the old schoolroom near the priory church and opened a high-class private school in Norton to which he admitted Malton boys at a reduced rate, teaching *gratis* those of them who wanted classics only. In effect, the grammar school ceased to exist, though the master continued to enjoy the income from it. There were no trustees, the office was a freehold, and the inhabitants had no remedy. Bridlington too had become merged in the master's private establishment, though this was a very inferior one. When Fitch visited it he found it in a small room at the top of a narrow flight of stairs with 'Mr. Perritt's Academy' inscribed on the door. The teaching was all but worthless, he reported, and 'the school in its present state hinders rather than promotes the civilization of the place'. In the schoolroom at Easingwold the master's private pupils were separated from the free boys by a breast-high partition, and the two groups were further segregated in the playground. In Fitch's opinion the school was no better than an elementary school: it was essentially a private speculation simulating a public grammar school, and by perpetually reminding the poor boys of their social inferiority it did great harm to the community. At Scarborough the grammar school had become the corporation's responsibility once more after the Municipal Reform Act, but the council was prevented by the Act from spending public money on it; and when St. Mary's church was restored in 1848 the school was turned out and made homeless. Thereafter the town simply paid the endowment, such as it was, to a succession of private-school proprietors who in return taught four poor boys free.

If Malton was a glaring example of the evils of the schoolmaster's freehold (and this was one of the great obstacles to grammar school reform) Coxwold provided another. There the vicar was still master, but still only in name and in order to enjoy the dwelling house: he had given up teaching altogether and paid over the income to the village National school to admit 25 local children free. The grammar school was defunct.

In the whole of the East Riding at the time of the Schools Inquiry Commission's investigations only Pocklington was a grammar school in the sense of giving a predominantly classical education such as was still required for admission to the university. Beverley merely kept up the fiction of being a school of this kind. Even so, in 1867, when the population of the East Riding was over 240,000, these two schools had only 69 boys between them, and some of those at Pocklington came from outside the Riding. Howden with 24 boys taught the rudiments of Latin but was only nominally a grammar school. Although the population of Hull was nearly 100,000 the town's only grammar school had usually only about 50 boys, and it had given up the pretence of being a classical school and thus abandoned its university connections. Both the York schools were grammar schools, but together they counted no more than 100 local boys when the population of the city was over 40,000. In East Yorkshire as a whole only two schools—St. Peter's and Pocklington—regularly sent boys to the universities. Not only was efficient grammar-school education rare, it was still confined almost entirely to boys of the middle class. At St. Peter's the boys were the sons of 'gentlemen', clergymen, army officers, solicitors, surgeons and the like; at Archbishop Holgate's the parents were mainly 'professional men and tradesmen'; at Pocklington and Beverley they were neighbouring clergy, farmers, corn and timber merchants, the post master, station master and so on. Only schools such as Bridlington, Kilham, Sancton and Halsham, which had become entirely elementary, catered for working-class children, girls as well as boys; and these were almost always inferior to the new state-aided, state-inspected elementary schools run by the voluntary societies. Shipton was an exception—it was an efficient elementary school for the very reason that it had become a National school, with a certificated master and government inspection.

VII

This revelation of the poverty, incompetence and confusion of the grammar schools was followed by the Liberal government's Endowed Schools Act of 1869. This could go no farther than the *laissez-faire* attitudes of the time would allow, and all it did was to appoint commissioners empowered to make schemes reforming the constitutions and finances of schools. But even this body showed too much zeal for the succeeding Conservative government, which abolished it in 1874 and transferred its powers to the slower working charity commissioners. As an assistant commissioner, Joshua Fitch started the task of reforming the Yorkshire endowed schools by successfully negotiating a scheme for Pocklington in 1875. By this the master's freehold and the patronage of St. John's College, Cambridge, were terminated, a representative governing body was appointed, the curriculum broadened, the finances strengthened. Other schemes reorganised Easingwold and Kilham as secondary schools, and though the former survived as such the latter did not.

Generally, those schools which had long been elementary remained so, their endowments being used for prizes and the remission of selected children's fees. For example, Halsham received a new scheme in 1877 and, in the original building, served as the village school until 1948. Vested interests obstructed reform in some places. A scheme which would have modernized Hull grammar school in 1878 was delayed for nearly twenty years by local opposition to the proposed diversion of obsolete apprenticeship charities to 'middle-class' education, on which the scheme depended for funds. After a period of crisis caused by falling numbers and mounting debt, Archbishop Holgate's in 1895 and St. Peter's in 1898 accepted schemes giving each of them a more widely representative governing body, a sounder financial footing and a more up-to-date curriculum.

However, for some of the poorest schools this rescue operation came too late, and in the last quarter of the century several of them died from sheer penury and public indifference—Coxwold, Malton, Bridlington, Beverley, Scarborough. Those schools which managed to stay alive did so with difficulty. Hull had no more than 40 pupils at one time in 1887; Pocklington was reduced to 10 in 1889, and was saved by the arrival of a new headmaster bringing with him 40 boarders from his previous school. Thornton had 16 pupils in 1890; Howden 14 (taught by the church organist) in 1892; Holgate's at York 47 in 1895. It was obvious that only state aid could save the grammar schools, and for that they had to wait until the epoch-making Education Act of 1902.

The East Yorkshire situation started to improve, however, in the 1890s. Firstly, two entirely new schools came into being. Hymers College, opened in 1893, was a new endowed school (a rare phenomenon in the nineteenth century) founded indirectly under the will of Dr. John Hymers, rector of Brandesburton, to provide Hull with a 'first-grade school'; Scarborough College, opened in 1900, was a proprietary school with a similar aim for the Scarborough area. Secondly, two of the old but lately deceased endowed grammar schools were restored by charity commission schemes, both of them arranged by A. F. Leach, whose pioneer work on the history of schools sprang from his investigations as an assistant commissioner at this time. After an abeyance of twelve years Beverley was revived in 1890, taking over several local educational charities including the endowment and the building of the Foundation School, and moving to its present site in 1902. Bridlington was re-established in its present building in 1899 with funds from various amalgamated charities, supplemented by the feoffees of the manor, aided soon afterwards by the new town council and the East Riding County Council.

This period also saw advance in the secondary education of girls in this area. Of the endowed schools under consideration only Easingwold was intended by the founder for girls as well as boys, but Easingwold was probably never in any real sense a grammar school. Girls' secondary education was the province of private seminaries, except for two denominational schools in York—the Bar

Convent school outside Micklegate, which the Catholic community there had maintained since 1686, and the Mount, established by the Quakers in 1831. But the Girls Public Day School Trust opened a high school in York in 1880, and the Church Schools Company followed with another in 1891; and though both were eventually closed, the latter was replaced by the present York College for Girls in 1907. In Hull the first public secondary school for girls was Hull High School, established by the Church Schools Company in 1890. The modern provision of girls' schools, however, had to wait until the present century.

After 1902 the recently established county and county borough councils were charged with responsibility for promoting secondary education in their areas under the supervision of the new Board of Education. Aided by government grant and local rates secondary education underwent a veritable revolution during the next twenty-five years. Lady Lumley's school, suspended since 1900, was amalgamated with the foundation at Pickering, and the present school started life in a new building there in 1905. The present grammar school in New Malton was established in 1911, like Pickering under the aegis of the North Riding County Council. Both these schools were for girls as well as boys. So were most of the new municipal secondary schools developed by the county boroughs after 1902—Craven street (later Malet Lambert) and the Boulevard (later Kingston High School) in Hull, and the High School in Scarborough, though this divided into separate boys' and girls' schools in 1923. Hull also created what is now Newland High School for girls in 1907, and the provision of secondary education in the city was enlarged by two Catholic voluntary schools—St. Mary's for girls (1907) and the Marist College for boys (1925). York established what is now Queen Anne Grammar School for girls in 1906 and separate boys' and girls' schools at Nunthorpe and Mill Mount in 1920. The East Riding County Council aided the existing boys' grammar schools at Beverley and Pocklington but provided for girls Bridlington High School in 1905 and Beverley High School in 1908.

Public financial support apart, several developments were tending now towards the academic revival of the older grammar schools. There was a growing demand for secondary education as working-class conditions of life improved and the benefits of universal elementary education were spread; teaching in grammar schools became more professional; and efficiency was stimulated by external examinations and state inspection. Nevertheless, some of the older foundations were not immediately relieved of their difficulties. Before the First World War, although Hull and Archbishop Holgate's were each about 250 strong, St. Peter's had no more than 65, Pocklington at one time had under 50, Drax and Howden—still one-man schools—about 20. It was during the First War and the inter-war years that expansion took place and these older schools took on their present appearance. Two of them, however, have been unable to overcome the difficulties inherent in their geographical

isolation—after struggling to exist without grant Howden died in 1925, and Drax is even now under sentence of death. Those that survive are among the oldest of East Yorkshire institutions, though their adaptability to modern conditions often conceals this fact. Perhaps only their essential purpose remains unchanged—'the educacyon and bringinge uppe of youth in vertue and lernyng', as Thomas Dolman's Act put it in the case of Pocklington in 1551. And this ideal they have communicated to the newer secondary schools fashioned after their kind during the present century.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

A background sketch is provided by Foster Watson, *The Old Grammar Schools* (1916), and a fuller account of different periods by A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (1915), Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (1908) and relevant chapters in J. W. Adamson, *English Education 1789-1902* (1930).

For original material generally available see W. E. Tate, 'Sources for the History of English Grammar Schools', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, i (1952-53), 164 ff, ii (1953-54), 67 ff, 145 ff.

Manuscript evidence older than the nineteenth century is seldom found in schools. The chief single collection of documents bearing on the East Yorkshire schools (though not concerned exclusively with education) is the diocesan records now in the Borthwick Institute at York, and for examples of what may be found there on this subject see J. S. Purvis, *Educational Documents* (1959) and *Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York* (1948), pp. 103-109. Dr. Purvis has also compiled from the diocesan registers a MS index of schoolmasters which may be seen at the Borthwick Institute.

Primary material for certain of these schools may be found in the records of the corporate body which had the patronage or trusteeship—the chapter act books in the case of St. Peter's and Beverley, the corporation minutes and accounts in the case of Hull and Beverley, the muniments of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the case of Pocklington. Extracts from these sources containing references to schools are printed in the following:

A. F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, 2 vols. Yorks. Arch. Soc. xxvii (1899), xxxiii (1903).

A. F. Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, 2 vols. Surtees Soc. xcviii (1897), cviii (1903).

J. Dennett, *Beverley Borough Records 1575-1821*, Yorks. Arch. Soc. lxxxiv (1933).

K. A. MacMahon, *Beverley Corporation Minute Books 1707-1835*, Yorks. Arch. Soc. cxxii (1958).

R. F. Scott, 'Notes from the College Record', *The Eagle* (St. John's College, Cambridge, Magazine), xix (1897), xx (1900), for letters concerning Pocklington.

For schools connected with chantries see W. Page, *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, 2 vols. Surtees Soc. xci (1894), xcii (1895).

Primary printed material, mainly relating to the nineteenth century, is to be found in:

N. Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 2 vols. (1818).

Charity Commission Reports, vi (1821), vii (1822), x (1823), xi (1824), xii (1824), xvii (1827), xix (1828), xxi (1829).

Schools Inquiry Commission Reports, ix, xviii (1869).

Secondary Education Commission Reports, 6 vols. (1895). Although this did not survey East Yorkshire it contains some references to secondary education there and is invaluable for conditions just before the Education Act of 1902.

Interesting information, often in the form of advertisements, is supplied by the eighteenth and nineteenth-century newspapers, especially the *York Courant* (files and index in York Reference Library) and the *Hull Advertiser* (file in Hull Reference Library and index being compiled by K. A. MacMahon). The local directories are also sometimes useful.

The only secondary work which touches on all these schools is A. F. Leach's article in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, vol. i (1907), but like much of Leach's work this is not entirely reliable. For particular schools see:

Angelo Raine, *History of St. Peter's York* (1926).

P.C Sands and C. M. Howarth, *History of Pocklington School* (1951).

J. Lawson, *A Town Grammar School . . . Hull Grammar School against its Local Background* (1962).

References to schools are often made in local histories, for instance:

J. B. Baker, *History of Scarborough* (1882).

J. R. Boyle, *Early History of Hedon* (1895).

T. Burton and J. Raine, *History of Hemingbrough* (1888).

R. W. Jeffery, *Thornton-le-Dale* (1931).

G. Poulson, *Beverlac . . .* (1829).

The following articles are also relevant:

A. A. R. Gill, 'York Boy Bishops' *East Riding Antiq. Soc.* xx (1914), 11-30.

H. Lawrance, 'Pocklington School Admission Register 1626-1717', *Yorks. Arch. Soc.* xxv (1920).

A. F. Leach, 'The Foundation and Refoundation of Pocklington Grammar School' *East Riding Antiq. Soc.* v (1897), 63-114.

J. Lawson, 'Beverley Minster Grammar School', Hull University *Studies in Education*, II. i (1953), 7-26; 'Hull Grammar School in 1680', *ibid.* II.3 (1955), 151-67; 'Seventeenth-Century Grammar Schools with some East Riding Examples', *ibid.* II. 4 (1956), 367-87; 'Middle-Class Education in Later Victorian Hull', *ibid.* III. i (1958), 27-49.

For the Cambridge connections of these schools see J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 10 vols., (1922-54), and, because of this particular college's close link with certain of the schools, J. E. B. Mayor and R. F. Scott, *Admissions to the College of St. John . . . Cambridge, 1630-1802*, 4 pts. (1882-1931).

PUBLICATIONS

THE DE-LA POLE FAMILY OF KINGSTON-UPON-HULL by A. S. HARVEY .... out of print

---

EAST YORKSHIRE SERIES

No. 1. MASONS' MARKS by F. W. BROOKS .... 1s. 0d.

No. 2. THE OLD POOR LAW IN EAST YORKSHIRE by N. MITCHELSON .... 1s. 6d.

No. 3. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EAST YORKSHIRE RAILWAYS by K. A. MACMAHON out of print

No. 4. YORKSHIRE AND THE STAR CHAMBER by F. W. BROOKS .... out of print

No. 5. THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE by OLGA WILKINSON .... 2s. 6d.

No. 6. THE BATTLE OF STAMFORD BRIDGE by F. W. BROOKS .... out of print

No. 7. CHARLOTTE BRONTE ON THE EAST YORKSHIRE COAST by F. R. PEARSON 2s. 6d.

No. 8. THE DRAINING OF THE HULL VALLEY by JUNE A. SHEPPARD .... 2s. 6d.

No. 9. THE OPEN FIELDS OF EAST YORKSHIRE by ALAN HARRIS .... 3s. 0d.

No. 10. PRIMARY EDUCATION IN EAST YORK

No. 11. P

No. 12. T

No. 13. P

Copies of the

THE EAST YORKSHIRE LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY exists to promote and encourage the study of local history in East Yorkshire. Membership is open to all who are interested and the subscription is 10s. 6d. due on April 1st each year.

This pamphlet is the fourteenth in the East Yorkshire Local History Series, which is issued free of charge to members.

For further information please write to the Secretary, East Yorkshire Local History Society, 2, St. Martin's Lane, Micklegate, York.

J. T. Stokeld & Sons Ltd., Printers, 18 Fountain Street, Guisborough, Yorks.