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THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN LEEDS,
[THE EMERGENCE OF A SYSTEM OF
SECONDARY EDUCATION],
1800 — 1907.
FREDERICK C. BASSETT

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF M.ED.
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM
DECEMBER 1965

P L A N

FOREWORD

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

PART 1. 1800 to 1830

"THE ANCIENT GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRADITION"

CHAPTER 2. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL, [The Eldon Decision And Its Aftermath]

CHAPTER 3. WORTLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

PART 2. 1845 to 1870

"MID-CENTURY STIRRINGS"

CHAPTER 4. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

CHAPTER 5. WORTLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

CHAPTER 6. THE SCHOOLS OF THE LEEDS MECHANICS' INSTITUTE: The Modern Schools, [founded 1845], (i) Boys' School; (ii) Girls' School.

CHAPTER 7. LEEDS CHURCH MIDDLE CLASS SCHOOL: [Founded 1870, out of the National School.]

PART 3. 1895 to 1907

"INQUIRY AND ACTION AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY"

CHAPTER 8. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

CHAPTER 9. WORTLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL: [To Its Closure in 1907]

CHAPTER 10. LEEDS MODERN SCHOOLS: [Transferred to the L.E.A. in 1907].

Page
(i)

1.

9.
4-3.

50.
78.
87.

119.

124.
163.
179.

CONTINUED

(ii)

CHAPTER 11. LEEDS CHURCH MIDDLE CLASS SCHOOL: [To Its Closure in 1907]. 198.

CHAPTER 12. LEEDS GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL: [Established 1876; Endowed from Leeds Grammar School in 1898]. 212.

CHAPTER 13. THE SCHOOLS OF LEEDS SCHOOL BOARD. [Central Higher Grade School, founded 1885. Southern Higher Grade School, founded 1891]. 228.

CHAPTER 14. THE WORK OF LEEDS EDUCATION COMMITTEE. [Thoresby High School, 1905, developed from the Pupil Teachers' Centre. West Leeds High School 1907. Day Preparatory Trades Schools 1906]. 251.

CHAPTER 15. CONCLUSIONS AND A BRIEF REVIEW OF LATER DEVELOPMENTS TO 1939. 275.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 304.

APPENDICES: [CONTENTS]. 311.

INDEX. 361.

Illustrations:

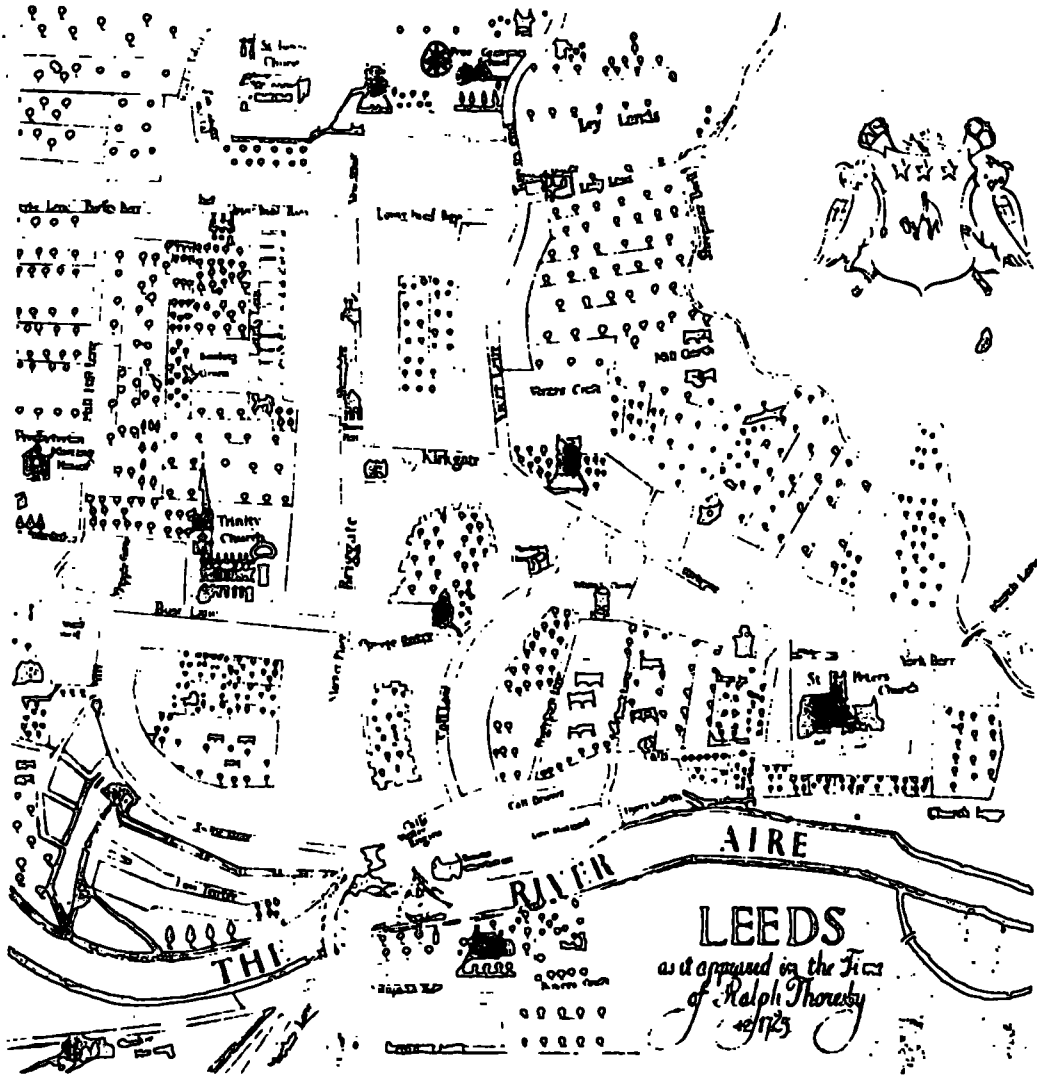
Map of Leeds, 1725. (iv)

The old Free Grammar School. (v).

Public Record Office, (vi)
CDL/29/507/8229/m 15.

Map of Leeds Wards and before 124
Secondary Schools, 1926

Map of the Central Educational Precinct, 1935. before 124.



The original of this map was drawn from a survey made by John Cassins in 1725. This reproduction is based on a copy made by A. E. Kirk, A.R.D.A. and published in the Thoresby Society's Miscellanea, Vol. IX. It shows Leeds as a small town, with all its main streets and houses within the area of the map. The School ⁽²²⁾ built by John Harrison is at the top of the map, standing in the midst of his estate, near to another of his benefactions, St. John's Church. The New Chapel, which was the home of the School before Harrison moved it to his own estate, is in Lady Lane and is here marked as the Workhouse ⁽²³⁾.

THE FEELS FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NORTH STREET.



Handwritten Latin text, likely a medieval charter or record, partially obscured by bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE
DL/29/707/6229
M 15

Presented by
Professor le Patourel

THE EARLIEST KNOWN REFERENCE
TO A GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN LEEDS

Mr. A. F. Leach, the founder of educational history, probably underestimated the age of the Grammar School. He thought it was a chantry school (as it may have been), founded in 1489 in pursuance of the will of Thomas ... d.1469, (as apparently it was not). This document proves clearly enough that a school existed 23 Ric. II and Hen. IV (i.e. ... but in annis precedentibus). The document is an account of the Honour of Pontefract, which came to the (Flantagenet) House ... master by John of Gaunt's marriage with Blanche of Lancaster in 1359, and merged in the Crown on the succession of Henry ... 1399.

The section marked * (which has an incidental reference to the Leeds Schoolmaster ...)

(SERVICIA PREPOSITI CUM ALLOCACIONE REDITUM)

Et in decemento reddituum 1^o parcium (xv^d) unius acre terre, 11^o acrarum terre (11^o 11^o 11^o d), d ... re terre et terciie partis (vij^oob) unius acre nuper in tenura predicti Roberti secundum rentale in annis precedentibus canino in manu domini pro defectu conductorum ... il levari potest isto anno nisi 1^o s de herbagio eiusdem sic dimisso per prepositum magistro scolarum hoc anno ut in annis precedentibus 11^o s j^o ob.

(THE SERVICES OF (i.e. accounted for by) THE REEVE, AND THE DISPOSAL OF THE RENTS (by him).)

Rent of $\frac{2}{3}$ acre of land (15d. inserted)
Rent of $\frac{1}{3}$ acres of land (3s. 3d. inserted)
Rent of $\frac{1}{3}$ acre and $\frac{1}{3}$ acre (7^o d. inserted)

... sometime in the tenure of the aforesaid Robert Sadman, according to the rent roll in former years, now entirely in the lord's hands for lack of tenants, therefore nothing can be raised this year save 2s. from the grazing of the same, so let by the reeve to the Master of the Schools this year as in former years, 3s. 1^o d.

According to the usual method of medieval book-keeping the reeve debited himself with the receipts and credited himself with the 'issues' of this manor. Here he notes himself as entitled to an extra credit of 3s. 2^o d. because this item of revenue has fallen off. He had 5s. 1^o d. worth of arable land for 2s. because the tenant was able to use it only as pasture. The interest of the document from our point of view is its evidence that: (a) there was a Magister Scholarum in Leeds in 1299 at any rate. (He was a schoolmaster - not a sort of mediaeval Director of Education - master of several schools. The plural here is used as in the ancient universities, where nowadays we should use the singular). (b) Like many schoolmasters from time immemorial, in supplementation of his salary he had to run a side-line, in this case a little farming.

FOREWORD

This study is concerned with that kind of education which was provided in schools during the period 1800 to 1907, and it does not attempt to deal with the education given in the University and Colleges which were founded during this period.

It deals only with the Secondary and Technical education dispensed by public bodies. The private adventure schools are excluded as are the elementary schools, both private and public, and schools maintained by the Roman Catholic Church. Most of the main terms used in describing types of education in England have difficulties of definition, and this is true of the terms Secondary and Technical. In particular, "Secondary Education" has had changes of connotation from time to time. For the purposes of this study, the terms are defined as following: "Secondary Education" is education of above elementary standard provided in schools established to supply it, or utilised for that purpose, while "Technical Education" is education with a technical bias, and above elementary standard, provided in schools devoted to that purpose for children of school age.

The development of education in Leeds is a topic which is important from the national, as well as the purely local, point of view. The distinguished historian of English Schools, A.F. Leach¹ has said:

"In no part of the country can more ancient schools or schools with a more interesting history be found than in Yorkshire."

1. A.F. Leach, in the introduction to the two Volumes of, Early Yorkshire Schools, 1903, p.V.

The history of education of Leeds is as interesting in its own way, as that of the County in which it lies. Indeed the development of Secondary Education in Leeds represents in microcosm the development of Secondary Education in England. Leeds has its ancient grammar schools whose roots lie in medieval times; in one of its townships was a Seventeenth Century foundation; it had one of the earliest schools to be established by a Mechanics' Institute for the teaching of modern subjects, and it had the first Day Preparatory Trades Schools in the country, forerunners of the Junior Technical Schools. The Eldon Decision, famous in the history of education, was the outcome of a law suit instigated by the governors of Leeds Grammar School. In the history of Secondary Education in Leeds can be traced; the various influences of the national scene, the changing economic and social conditions, the ways in which the old institutions adapted themselves as a result of these pressures, and the emergence of new types of schools. Such a local history reflects the national history of education and at the same time should illuminate it.

The main aim of this thesis is to show the manner in which Secondary Education in Leeds developed between 1800 and 1907 into a system near its present form. It is hoped that it will show the contributions made by the many sources from which the present system emerged. To this end, therefore, attention will be concentrated upon the various contributing movements, and forms

of Secondary Education, at the times when they were most influential. In order to do this, it will be necessary to explore over certain periods the histories of all the schools involved, but it is not intended that this thesis will be a complete history of these schools. The pattern of this study is outlined below; it has been so devised that each of the main national actions on education, and most of the important local innovations, occur during the periods selected. In particular, advantage is taken of the main Government enquiries into Charities and Secondary Education, for the light they throw upon the local situation.

It is hoped in this way to achieve the aims set down, and also to produce a coherent account of the growth of Secondary Education in Leeds.

Throughout this study the policy concerning the selection of material has been to use in detail, so far as possible, only that which has not been drawn upon in the various school histories. The latter are, with the exception of the rather out-dated history of Leeds Grammar School, very brief, and all display a partiality in the use of records. It is hoped that this work will, in one volume, provide useful additional material for those wishing to read, or indeed write, the histories of the individual secondary schools of Leeds.

This policy is bound to lead to some unbalance, but the author believes that this is justified by the increased originality and value of the study.

CHAPTER 1. - INTRODUCTION

This study begins in the year 1800. At that time, a local historian¹ tells us Leeds was governed by a corporate body consisting of a Mayor and twelve Aldermen, a Recorder, a Town Clerk, and a Common Council of twenty-four Burgesses, the Mayor being elected by the Aldermen. The population was then about 60,000, and to keep the peace there was a Night Watch of 38 men, a Patrol of 16, and 10 Constables. The social and economic changes now popularly known as the Industrial Revolution were well under way and the population was increasing quickly. Writing of the Leeds industries of 1819, Kitson-Clark² wrote,

"The town possessed woollen and linen manufacturers, a flourishing leather trade, iron works, pottery and glass works, and in addition the streams worked mills for grinding corn and dye-wool and for crushing rope-seed, while several cotton mills were worked by steam engines."

There were, at that time, two newspapers published in the town, the "Leeds Mercury" established in 1754, which came out on Saturdays, and the "Leeds Intelligencer", published on Mondays. The "Leeds Guide"³ of 1806 stated that Leeds was then seven miles from East to West, and thirty miles in circumference. There were ten townships lying within the borough boundaries. London was less than

1. Griffith-Wright, (Ed), "A History of the Town and Parish of Leeds," 1797, p.43
2. Kitson-Clark, "The Leeds Institute of Science, Art and Literature. A Historical Sketch. 1824 - 1900," 1901, p. 1.
3. John Ryley, "The Leeds Guide," 1806, p. 3.

twenty-one hours by coach. ~~Always~~ a more modern form of transport was being used for local freight, for the Aire-Calder canal was in operation, as also ~~was~~ part of the Leeds-Liverpool canal, begun in 1771, but not then completed.

The Leeds Grammar School, ~~endowed~~ in 1552, was one of the oldest institutions in the city, even older than the Corporation. The School was situated in North Lane on the northern side of the town-centre, where it had been housed since 1624.¹ In that year, a prominent Leeds citizen, John Harrison, had provided a site and built the premises. This building had originally consisted of one large room which had been provided with five stained glass windows of which a local history² states

"In the year 1784 the Glazier was permitted to remove these pieces of painted glass, and sold them to an antiquary of the town. Placed in the windows of a Grammar School it is remarkable that for nearly a century and a half they had escaped another fate."

At this time also, a house was added for the Master and this adjoined a library which had been provided in 1692 by an ex-mayor of Leeds, Godfrey Lawson. There was around the school a small playground enclosed by iron railings.

The School recognised as its founder William Sheafield³ B.A., a former chantry priest in Leeds who by will surrendered his copyhold lands

1. See Map at the front of this section.
2. Thoresby.R., "Ducatus Leodiensis", 1816 Edition, (edited by Whitaker), p.83.
3. Also other spellings: e.g. Sheffield, Sheaffield.

for

"finding Sustainment and Livinge of one honest Substantial learned Man to be a School Master to teach and instruct freely for ever all such Younge Schollars Youthes and Children as shall come and resort to him from time to time to be taught."¹

He stipulated that the parishioners must provide a school building and this they did within two years, though its location is not now known. A number of other gifts and endowments helped to put the School on a sound financial footing. Though the original endowment was worth less than £5 per annum, the fact that it and the subsequent additions were in real estate, mostly in the town, was a major factor in the School's survival. A second factor was the system of feoffeeship devised by the founder, which, though the trustees were self-elective, ensured that the endowment was devoted to its purpose.

It is probable, however, that the original foundation of the School occurred somewhat earlier than 1552. The noted historian of English education, Mr. A.F. Leach² suggested that there was a link between the School and Clarell's Chantry which was founded in 1489. In the Yorkshire volumes of the "Victoria History of the Counties of England", he refers to a document dated 1496/7 which made mention of the scholars who may have been attached to this chantry. Clarell's Chantry was confiscated under the Act of 1547, and one of

1. A.C. Price, "History of Leeds Grammar School", 1919. p.63.
2. "Victoria History of the Counties of England," Vol.1, Yorkshire, 1907, p.457.

the links with the later foundation is that the priest at the time of the closure was the Rev. Wm. Sheafield who later endowed the school. The value of Sheafield's endowment was £4. 13. 4d. per annum and the fact that this was also the value of the lands purchased by Clarell's executors in founding the Chantry, is seized upon by Leach as additional evidence for his assumption that Sheafield was merely ensuring the continuation of an older educational foundationⁱⁿ which Sheafield had continued to teach after the Dissolution.

Leach described the origin of the School as obscure. In recent years the position has become further obfuscated by the discovery by Professor le Patourel of a reference to a "magister scholarum" in a document¹ dated 1399, lying in the files of the Public Record Office. A photostat of the relevant part of the document is in the Museum of the History of Education, University of Leeds, and a translation of this states that the schoolmaster supplemented his income by renting 4½ acres of land from the Reeve of the Honour of Pontefract. (It is interesting that the land, valued at 5/1½d per annum was rented for grazing only at 2/- rent because of lack of tenants - evidence, probably, of the long-term effects of the Black Death). Dr. Curtis in an article² on Yorkshire schools makes brief reference to this document and points out that the plural term "magister scholarum" was customary usage

1. P.R.O., DL/29/507/8229., M. 15., See Illustrations
2. S.J. Curtis, "The Ancient Schools of Yorkshire", Researches and Studies, No.8, May 1953. p. 33

for a schoolmaster, and that the school must have been a Grammar School, probably attached to a Chantry. Nothing further is known about this school, and there is nothing to link it with Clarell's Chantry or with Sheafield's foundation, but it is possible that there is a direct line of descent to the Leeds Grammar School. Thus the School has three possible dates of foundation; the recognised endowment of 1552, the Clarell bequest of 1489 as suggested by Leach, or sometime before 1399, as the document of that ¹ date may indicate.

In 1800, when this study opens, there was extant in Leeds a second endowed grammar school. This was at Wortley, a village which lay within the borough boundaries south of the River Aire, and which, according to the 1806 "Leeds Guide"¹, was "inhabited chiefly by clothiers".

This school, the foundation and early history of which is described in Chapter 3 of this study, had been founded in the 17th Century by bequest. The foundation was not a valuable one, and consequently, and because of its outlying position, the school was an impoverished one. At this time it was probably little better than a superior primary school.

Of elementary education generally in Leeds at this time there is not a great deal of information. The first detailed picture of elementary education was provided by a Corporation inquiry² in October 1839, and if due allowance is

1. Ryley, op. cit., p. 152.

2. "Report on the Condition of The Town of Leeds and its Inhabitants: By a Statistical Committee of the Town Council, October 1839." Article in, "The Journal of the Statistical Society," Vol. II. p. 397.

made for the considerable progress since 1800 an impression of the situation at the beginning of the Century can be obtained. The report referred to states that there were 154 schools, not including 20 factory schools and 20 Sunday schools, for the 27,299 children under 13 years of age, of whom nearly 7,000 were working. Some 6,700 children attended week-day schools, and 11,500 attended Sunday Schools, which had been flourishing for many years. The Report¹ is outspoken on the quality of the education which many of these children received;

"Of the week-day schools it will be seen that out of 154, 112 were kept by females, that the charge per head in 109 is under 6d per week, that knitting and sewing are taught in 107, and writing and accounts in 74, or rather less than half. Many of those in which the charge is under 3d a week bear the character of dame schools only, and are in fact more for keeping children out of danger during the employment of the mother than for the purposes of real education. In very few is anything taught beyond the elements of the English language, by persons more fitted to be scholars than teachers, and rarely if ever upon a system based upon proper principles. The factory schools, also, with the exception of three or four, are similar to the others, and the education bestowed is of the most meagre description."

At the time when these words were written the main Voluntary Societies were managing schools in Leeds, as elsewhere, which provided a much better education than that described in the extract. But in 1800 there were no such Voluntary schools for the poorer classes, the public agencies which worked to lessen

1. IBIA, p. 417

the squalor and ignorance of the poor were local, less well organised, and dependent upon subscriptions. One such body founded five girls' schools of industry in the four years prior to 1800. These schools were founded by subscriptions, but attempted to be self-supporting by the sale of work done in the school. A contemporary account¹ of charities in Leeds described these schools, which had been founded for the purpose of giving instruction in reading, knitting and sewing. The description claims that the schools,

"have supplied the neighbourhood with some good female servants and have preserved hundreds of children from ignorance and profligacy".

Each of these schools contained 50 girls, who were taught by mistresses receiving 5/- per week. Whatever their faults, these schools must have been an improvement on the dame schools which catered for most of those children who received schooling. At this date, 2,000 children attended Sunday schools in Leeds, according to the contemporary history edited by Griffith-Wright² which states that such schools

"are now very numerous".

These schools attempted to teach literacy, mainly through the reading of the scriptures. One such Sunday School was at Kirkstall, and a contemporary account³ stated that it had 30 pupils on its roll, and was newly opened in 1800. As in other large towns,

1. T. Bernard, "Account of the Ladies Schools and other Charities at Leeds", Article in "The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Conditions and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor", No. CVII, of Vol. IV, 1805, p. 114.
2. Griffith-Wright, op cit, p. 52.
3. Mrs. Carr, "Extract from an Account of a Sunday School, at Kirkstall, near Leeds". Article in "The Reports of the Society for Bettering the Conditions and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor", No. CXI, of Vol. IV, 1805, p. 169.

for the rather better-to-do artisan class, who could afford the weekly subscription, there was a Charity School. This had been founded by the John Harrison who had benefacted the Grammar School with the provision of new premises. The 1797 History of Leeds¹ stated that the School had an endowment of £80 per annum, and took in both boys and girls.

For the most part, elementary education in Leeds in 1800 would be of similar standard to that described in the 1839 Report quoted. Such well-meaning attempts to remedy this situation as have been mentioned, could only touch the fringe of the problem. It is against such a background of ignorance and neglect that the Secondary Schools of that time must be viewed. In the light of the deplorable state of elementary education, particularly in industrial towns such as Leeds, it is not surprising that Secondary Education was provided for only a small minority of boys, and practically not at all for girls.

1. Griffith Wright, ed., op.cit., p.51.

P A R T 1

1800 TO 1830

THE ANCIENT GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRADITION

CHAPTER 2. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The Eighteenth Century is generally regarded as a period of stagnation in education, at least as far as the Universities and the Endowed Grammar Schools are concerned. It was left to the Dissenting Academies and the leading Private Schools of the day, to promote advances in education. H. McLachlan¹, a leading historian of the Academies quotes, with approval, Dr. W.A. Shaw, on this point:

"The abiding claims of the Dissenting Academies to historical recognition rest on the high standard of academic education which they maintained during a century in which the English Universities were nearly as palsy-stricken as the Church",

and with the Church, the Endowed Grammar Schools are grouped as being in decay. Dr. Hans², it is true, has attempted to redress the balance a little in favour of the older established educational institutions. He sums up their work as achieving success in a limited field:

"The education of the masses was the problem of the future but the education of the classes was not only attempted, but achieved a comparative success in the Eighteenth Century".

He analyses the figures of the leading men in England,

1. H. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts, 1931, p.16.
2. Nicholas Hans, New Trends in Education in the 18th Century, 1951, p.16.

in 1685 - 1785, using the Dictionary of National Biography, and shows that the older established institutions produced the major share of them. The nine great schools which had, by the Eighteenth Century, emerged, educated 28% of the leading men, and the old Grammar Schools produced about 20%. This is useful evidence in favour of the older establishments, though it is not conclusive and Hans admits that there were great differences between many of the endowed schools. The old established schools in the country had probably declined more than many of these in the towns, where the competition of private schools, and the demand of the increasingly wealthy merchant class brought about reform of the curriculum. Thus, to speak of all the endowed schools as being in a uniform tradition opposed to a realistic curriculum, is contrary to established facts; on the one hand, there were schools, such as Christ's Hospital, and Manchester Grammar School, which taught mathematics and science ^{early} in this century, and on the other, there were many small schools which had changed little in character since Elizabethan days. There were good reasons for the dissatisfaction which was felt by many people towards these schools which clung to the traditional curriculum. After all, Latin was no longer the universal language of diplomacy. The Church, the Law and the Universities were no longer the only avenues for an educated man to follow. Commerce was absorbing many of the grammar school products, and

ability to write well, keep accounts, and correspond with foreigners was of greater value than a knowledge of Latin. But on the other hand, not all the blame for the moribund state of many schools, rested on the schools themselves. No doubt, many governors and masters refused to countenance any change in the curriculum because of an exaggerated respect for Latin, but many schools found it difficult to make changes. In those schools where the founders had named, in the School Statutes, those subjects to be taught, the Law upheld the founder's intentions. If it was desired in these circumstances, to add new subjects at the expense of those which were laid down by the founder, then a private Act of Parliament was needed. A very interesting example of a School following this procedure before the Eldon Case took place is provided by Queen Mary's Grammar School, Walsall, which according to the recently published history¹ obtained a Private Act in 1797, permitting additions to the curriculum.

In the latter half of the 18th Century, the Leeds Grammar School had suffered a decline in numbers, and by 1800 was down to fewer than 50 pupils.

1. D.P.J. Fink M.A., Queen Mary's Grammar School, Walsall. 1554 - 1954, 1954.

NOTE: This School has a similar history to that of Leeds. Inferential evidence points to it being the successor of a Chantry School referred to in a document written in the 1490's, but its formal foundation is Post-Reformation, as is ^{that of} Leeds, and this date is only two years later than that of Leeds.

"The Brief History"¹ states that for five years subsequent to the year 1792, the average number of scholars was 44 and

"a further rapid decrease and decline in that number is recorded in the year 1799";

moreover, almost all of these scholars were shown by the registers to belong to the lower school. The governing body evidently felt that the traditional curriculum was the cause of this decline because they resolved to add to the staff, Masters to teach writing and accounts, French and other foreign languages. When they attempted to implement this decision by agreement with the Master, they found that both he and the Usher were opposed to this step. The Master during the period from 1789 to 1815 was an old boy of the school,^{the} Rev. Joseph Whiteley, and he would not admit that the Committee had the power to appoint the extra Masters. Accordingly, a suit in Chancery was agreed upon and began in 1797. The governing body gave as their reason for desiring the change, the extensive foreign trade of Leeds; there was ~~to~~ need for mercantile or commercial education, since nine-tenths of the boys were put into trade or commerce. They complained that these boys were taken from the school at 14 years of age to take up apprenticeships, or enter merchants' counting houses. The governing body's statement gives us an indication of the changing function of the school.

1. [J. Sheepshanks], "A Brief History of Leeds Grammar School", 1822, p. 54.

The School's aim was the teaching of grammar to boys who wished to enter the learned professions, and for which Latin was essential. But in practice, only a small proportion of boys persevered with the full course, the majority left at an early age and obtained employment for which their education had been totally unsuitable. In these circumstances, it was not surprising that the citizens of Leeds, beginning to prosper with trade, were not sending their sons to the school. Nor is it surprising that the governing body, the Committee of Pious Uses, anxious to see that the school prospered; and that it served the town well, sought to change the curriculum and therefore the nature of the school, so that it could prepare boys for their future role in commerce.

Referred to the Court of Chancery in 1797, the case was as long drawn out as Chancery Cases could be and its cost and results were quite in accord with Dickens' warning in "Bleak House",

"Suffer any wrong that can be done you,
rather than come here."

The famous judgment of Lord Eldon, given in July 1805, was only an interim one, but the school took the case no further, evidently feeling that the Court, in the words of Dickens,

"Exhausts finances, patience, courage,
hope."

Certainly, the cost must have been a heavy burden for the endowment to bear, and the further loss, disturbing only to the historian, was that of many of the documents of the school, which

apparently were allowed to remain in the offices of the Solicitors engaged in the case, and were lost.

A.F. Leach¹ stressed the importance of the judgment which, he said,

"dismayed all interested in the advancement of education, and nearly killed half the schools in the country",

unless like Bradford Grammar School, they were able to resort to the expedient of a private Act of Parliament. Yet it is doubtful whether this strong comment is justified. It seems to the writer that comments such as this overlook the fact that the judgment did not alter the procedure already existing, and in fact did not rule out the teaching of other subjects, as is sometimes thought. At this stage, a fuller look at the judgment would be helpful.

The suit began in 1797 and was referred to a Master in Chancery. It was an amicable action, the Committee bearing all the costs. The Master delivered his report to the Court in 1805. Lord Eldon, the Chancellor heard the case. The Attorney General, Spencer Perceval, and a Mr. Martin appeared for the Committee, and the Defendant, the Head Master, was represented by a Mr. Richards and Mr. Bell. The Master's report² included a consideration of the original endowments,

1. Victoria History of the Counties of England,
Yorkshire, op.cit., Vol. 1., p. 457.

2. F. Vesey's Chancery Reports, Vol. XI., Part 2,
pp. 241 - 252.

the numbers in the school over the past five years, the salary of the School Master and of the Usher, and

"whether it would be proper and for the benefit of the country to have any other Master or Masters to teach writing, arithmetic and other languages besides the Greek and Latin."

In presenting his report, the Master in Chancery having cited the various endowments, continued:

"the learning of French and other modern living languages was become a matter of great utility for the Merchants of Leeds and to such of the inhabitants as were concerned in the trade thereof; and the teaching of such living languages was become a proper and useful part of the education of youths intended for the trades."

The Master in his report favoured the Committee's case; he thought that there was nothing in the original endowment which necessarily excluded the teaching of any useful kind of learning and that it would be very beneficial to the inhabitants to use part of the funds for teaching

"those things which may be useful in trade or commerce."

He therefore approved the addition to the establishment of one German Master and one French Master and a Master for teaching Algebra and Mathematics,

"As were usually considered to form the basis of a mercantile or commercial education."

His main grounds for approving these proposals were that it would be valuable to the inhabitants of Leeds to have these modern subjects taught and also that it would be the means of greatly increasing the number of scholars. But because

"there are a variety of schools in Leeds, already, for teaching writing and arithmetic, where boys may be instructed at a very small expense in both branches of education, and that a greater proportion of prejudice may arise to such seminaries",

he approved only of these three posts. On the question of salaries the Master of Chancery further stated that the Committee should be free to give reasonable stipends to the additional staff, and to vary the salaries of the Master and Usher

"according to the increase and decrease of the scholars".

The Master of Leeds Grammar School took exception to this report on the grounds that the school was intended to be a Free Grammar School only, not for the teaching of mathematics or modern languages, and that

"the persons who endowed the school"

intended that only one Master and one Usher should be appointed and endowed. The utility of French and German, Mr. Whiteley believed, depended upon political and commercial considerations and these subjects should not be made permanent.

The Lord Chancellor was not disposed to treat the case lightly. The alteration of the nature of a Charity, even though it would preserve

the nature of that Charity was, to him,

"a proposition as serious as can be offered to the judgment of the Court".

Lord Eldon drew attention to the singular circumstances of the case the object of which, in his opinion, was to convert this old school into a Commercial Academy. For Eldon the issue was clear:

"The question is not what are the Qualifications most suitable to the rising generation of the place, where the Charitable Foundation subsists, but what are the Qualifications intended."

He was not aware what authority the Court had to allow the conversion of a school which was founded as a Free Grammar School into one filled with scholars learning German and French languages, mathematics

"and anything except Greek and Latin".

Such a change might be ^{very} useful to the rising generation of Leeds,

"but cannot possibly be represented as useful to this Charity".

Eldon noted that the Trustees had paid gratuities to the Master above the fixed salary and he was not prepared to condemn this. Indeed:

"it is much more consistent with the principles of this Court from time to time to reward the Master out of the Fund, and very largely, perhaps in proportion to the number of years he has held the office or to the number of boys, than to apply any part of the Fund to a purpose that Donors did not look to."

If there was money over, after making the Master respectable and independent, there was no harm in him having

"a little beyond what will secure that reasonable independent situation he ought to have."

If changes are contemplated, he continues then he could not see why reading and writing of English should not be included. The Committee's proposals would indicate that the scheme is for the benefit of the Leeds Merchants rather than the poor people;

"I fear the effect would be to turn out the poor Latin and Greek scholar altogether."

To Lord Eldon, the school was clearly a Free Grammar School, for teaching grammatically the learned languages, according to Dr. Johnson's definition. If the Will of the Founder could not be obeyed, then the Fund would be applied

"as near as may be; growing out of another principle that you are to apply it to the object intended if you can."

Hence there was no case for varying the provisions.

This seemed clear and decisive but in a significant passage he added:

"If according to the Plan every boy to be brought to the school was to be taught the learned languages, and a circumstance that these other Sciences were to be taught, would induce parents to send boys to the school to learn Greek and Latin also, then this might be construed as being not only beneficial to the Foundation but as actively promoting its object."

Thus, he opened the way for the School to make some significant changes in the curriculum, provided that they served to strengthen the original purpose of the Charity. Indeed, in sending the case back to the Master for a further report he suggested that the School might prepare a plan to lay before the Master so that he might review it. This famous Judgment was not therefore wholly negative. Changes could be made but proposals would be considered in the light of what was

"proper and necessary not for the benefit of the inhabitants of Leeds but for the benefit of the Charity."

The matter of salaries and gratuities was also referred back for further consideration but the case, already a costly one, was taken no further.

The circumstances of the case have been described by J.R. Yorke-Radleigh, H.M.I., in a manuscript¹ which is deposited in the Leeds Central Reference Library. He holds Leach's view that the impact of the ultimate decision was considerable:

"Certainly, it was largely responsible for containing the curriculum within very narrow limits in all endowed schools until well into the 19th Century. Furthermore, as the principle upon which the case was decided extended to Charities which were not necessarily educational, its influence on English Law was far-reaching".²

Yorke-Radleigh points out that the Eldon Judgment was referred to when the Trustees of Highgate School tried, in 1838, to engraft the teaching of mathematics to the approved course of study.³ The Vice Chancellor felt himself obliged to act on the

1. J.R. Yorke-Radleigh, "Law and the Curriculum", 1958.
 2. Ibid., p.1.
 3. Ibid., p.7.

principle expressed by Lord Eldon that it was not competent to the Court to change the nature of the Charity as long as it could find any way of applying the charitable funds to the Charity as it was intended by the Founder. Thus, the negative elements of the Eldon judgment were upheld by others, and remained in force as a legal principle for many years. Brian Simon in a recent work¹ states that even with the passing in 1840 of the Grammar School Act, no overall reform was possible. He quotes Patrick Cumin's evidence to the Newcastle Commission as stating that Eldon's decision was "curiously strengthened and confirmed by the 1840 Act."²

The position was not fully remedied until the passing into law of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, and by then the situation had changed and other agencies were providing the commercial education which the Merchant class had been calling for. In Leeds, for example, a school was opened in 1845 for the teaching of those modern subjects upon which the Grammar School had based its appeal to the Court of Chancery. This school was brought into being by the Leeds Mechanics' Institute. It seems reasonable to suppose that if Lord Eldon had decided in favour of the introduction of these subjects by Leeds Grammar School, the Modern School would not have been started or would have been founded somewhat later

1. B. Simon, "Studies in the History of Education 1780 - 1870", 1960, p. 319.
2. IBIA., p. 319, (footnote).

when the demand for middle class education increased.

The immediate practical significance of the case, according to Simon¹ is that it greatly strengthened the resistance of Masters of schools to any attempt by the middle class to introduce curricular changes and it discouraged further attempts to transform the grammar schools, and he quotes Loughborough and Ashby Schools as examples. Simon sees the case as being a conflict of class interests. Eldon,

"the highest of Tories, would naturally be concerned to maintain the established order and the primacy of classical education...The Committee, representing the manufacturing and commercial class, were concerned not so much perhaps with the education of their own children as with ensuring a supply of efficient clerks and accountants," even though this might mean the exclusion of "poor" scholars. The third group were the parents of the potential "poor" scholars whose needs were not consulted and who were not an "articulate pressure group."²

This is, perhaps, to read too much into the economic and social interests involved; some of the arguments in the Leeds case it seems, were motivated by genuine concern for the type of education offered in the local school.

Yorke-Radleigh and Simon are partly correct in their statements that there were no major changes in the curriculum of the school for

1. IBIA, p.107.

2. IBIA, p.105.

many years after the Eldon decision. Indeed modern languages were not introduced until 1856, as part of the sweeping changes introduced by Rev. Alfred Barry who was appointed Head in 1854. But, nevertheless, the judgment gave a slight opening to the door to a wider curriculum through which within a few years English and Mathematics and elementary Geography were able to slip. What the Eldon judgment did do, was to retain the primacy of Latin at Leeds, as at other endowed schools, and to prevent the school from being turned into a commercial academy. It did not prevent the widening of the curriculum but it did make the teaching of other subjects subsidiary to the teaching of classics. The Governors of Leeds Grammar School introduced changes gradually taking care that neither the classical teaching nor the financial interests of the Masters were in any way prejudiced. The real stumbling block was the Master and until his death in 1815 little was changed.

The Brief History of 1822 gives what may be described as an 'inside' view of the Eldon Judgment. It comments that among many evils one good has arisen from the lawsuit and that is:

"The Governors of the school have been put in possession of a declaration from the Lord Chancellor, saying what is the specific nature of the Charity committed to their care."¹

In conformity with this declaration they had promoted the objects of the foundation and had

1. Sheepshanks, OP. CIT p. 52.

achieved success in that the number of scholars had greatly increased, and

"the general character of the institution as a Grammar School has risen and is fast rising into classical reputation."

Thus it seems that either the Governors decided to change their plans for the school and run it strictly as a classical school, or Lord Eldon was incorrect in ascribing to them the desire to turn the school into a commercial academy producing clerks for the city's commercial offices.

This History gives a restatement of the aims of the school which shows that the Governors felt that they had succeeded in reconciling the interests of the Foundation with those of the inhabitants of Leeds who are urged to avail themselves of the advantages in the education of their sons which are much greater than ever before. Thus might Leeds,

"whilst it retains its high character for commercial industry, and commercial wealth, become distinguished also for its attainments in every species of honourable and useful learning: laying the foundation of these where they are best and most easily laid, in an early and accurate knowledge of the first principles of the learned languages, of mathematical science, and of sound religion."¹

The reference to mathematical science would not have occurred before 1815, and its placing between classics and religion would appear to show that it was already highly valued in 1822.

1. Ibid., p.55

The Brief History also refers to the questions of the Master's salary and the position of free scholars both of which were raised by Eldon. Presents and gratuities, it seems,¹ were frequently given to the Masters by the more opulent parents of the free scholars. When salaries were raised, in 1737, to 100 guineas per annum for the Master, and half that sum to the Usher it had been laid down that gratuities were not to be accepted from scholars whose parents resided within the parish of Leeds. This would have made these pupils genuinely free scholars but, the History laments, the rule was soon broken.

The Lord Chancellor's advice on salaries was taken by the Governors. In 1807 the Master's salary was raised to £200, with a house, and the Usher's salary to £100, and five years later these were raised to £300 and £170 respectively, Price² records. This was a generous increase, but when, in 1815, new appointments were made to the post of Master and Usher, their salaries were raised to £500 and £200 per annum.³ No doubt it was thought that these high salaries would bring to an end the acceptance of gratuities; but in the revised rules of 1820 the practice was again specifically banned. In 1819 the total cost of salaries was further raised when an Assistant was appointed.

1. IBID., p. 31

2. A.C. Price, "A History of the Leeds Grammar School From Its Foundation to the End of 1918", 1919, p. 143.

3. Sheepshanks, Op. Cit., p. 31

The Charity Commissioners' Report made in 1826 suggests¹ that the school changed little until the death of the Master, Mr. Whiteley, which happened in 1815. The Committee took advantage of the new situation to introduce mathematics into the curriculum and this led to an increase in the number of pupils, the Commissioners' report. It seems probable therefore that Mr. Whiteley had resisted any widening of the curriculum even on the lines suggested by Lord Eldon. Perhaps also, the Undermaster, Mr. Swaine, was opposed to any change, for following on the Master's death he was persuaded to resign in return for a grant of 400 guineas.² It was from this year that the school set out to re-organise itself, the moving spirit being the Rev. John Sheepshanks (author of the "Brief History") who acted as Master for some months until a successor to Mr. Whiteley was appointed. Mr. Sheepshanks, the incumbent of Trinity Church, set out to improve the School's position, financially and scholastically. The buildings and equipment were renovated, the management of the Estate improved, new Orders issued for the direction of the School, and the curriculum widened to include English, as an ancillary to classical instruction, some ancient history, and geography. In 1820 the right to free instruction was defined and re-affirmed when the Governors declared that:

1. Charity Commissioners, "Report Concerning Charities and Education Of The Poor In England and Wales, 1815-1839," 1839, Vol. 40, p. 663
2. A.C. Price, Op. cit., p. 149

"all boys, being natives of the Borough of Leeds, or the sons of residents therein, should be taught and instructed freely, and that the Master should receive no present or reward for their teaching."¹

The School's financial position is also referred to in the 1826 Report².

"In 1815, shortly before the death of Mr. Whiteley, the stock which remained after defraying the expenses of the Suit in Chancery, was £5,700, 3% consols."

The expense of the Law Suit must have been considerable but the finances of the school were not unsound for the report tells us³

"the income considerably exceeds the current annual expenditure; and the surplus, whenever it is of suitable amount, is laid out in the purchase of stock."

However, with the growth of Leeds as a business centre there came the opportunity to improve the school's financial position. The "Brief History" of 1822 states:⁴

"several Sub-Committees have been appointed since the year 1797 to devise the best means of improving the rental of the school estates, and two methods are so obvious as to have been uniformly recommended by them for trial:

- (1) To let on building leases, such houses as were in ruinous conditions;
- (2) To gradually rebuild such houses with the surplus of annual revenue, in order that they might then be relet at rents considerably advanced."

1. Charity Commissioners' Report, 1839, Op. cit., Vol. 40, p. 663
2. Ibid., p. 664.
3. Ibid., p. 664.
4. Op. cit., p. 13

Some buildings had been erected on the estate, including a hospital built in 1805, and a plan had been devised for the erection of markets and shops. The school had the good fortune to have its endowment in land, which escaped the erosion of its value as a result of inflation, unlike endowments held in money. But, in addition its estate, once on the periphery of old Leeds, was now quite central in the greatly expanded city. Today, Vicar Lane is part of the Leeds shopping centre and has many shops, a large covered market and a bus station. Modern development schemes there are but the continuation of a movement started by the Committee of Pious Uses who administered the estate of Leeds Grammar School.

The School itself was not, at this time, neglected. In 1822 the schoolhouse was enlarged and its exterior was improved, as well as its interior to make it

"worthy of the instruction given within its walls."¹

Further improvements were made, including one which must have been most welcome to the scholars, the installation of central heating. The latter improvement is recorded in a hand-written note in the margin of the Brief History. Presumably this note was penned by Mr. Griffith-Wright in whose collection of papers entitled

Matters of Interest to the Town of Leeds" this particular copy of the Brief History is bound.

1. Ibid., p.55

The note states that a new library was erected and, in 1839

"the school is warmed by hot water passing through pipes".

A further change in the School in the years immediately following the death of Mr. Whiteley may or may not have been influenced by the result of the Eldon law suit. The Brief History refers to the need for a complete change in the system of instruction because of the deficiencies of the old system.

"A convenient opportunity of effecting this"¹ arose when the offices of both Masters became vacant, it is stated, and new rules for the guidance and government of the school were adopted. Great benefit was derived in the framing of the new rules from

"Mr. Carlisle's Concise Description of Endowed Grammar Schools",

the Brief History states. At the same time a study of the methods of teaching led to the Madras System,

"as already introduced into the Charter House School",

being selected as the best. Leeds Grammar School being associated with the Church could hardly have selected the rival Lancasterian System of monitorial teaching. Dr. Bell apparently favoured the School in 1815 with a visit during which he gave a demonstration of his system before the Masters and several of the Governors.² No account of his visit has survived and the local newspapers for that year have no report of it. "Leeds Intelligencer" does

1. Ibid., p.27

2. Ibid., p.27

contain, however, an interesting account of an examination conducted by Dr. Bell at his own school in London. It is given in full because it tells us something of the system and reveals the high favour with which it and its originator were regarded. It may well be that the appearance of this passage in the "Leeds Intelligencer"¹ is connected with Dr. Bell's visit.

"A scene more interesting to the feelings of Christians and Englishmen has seldom been witnessed than that which was exhibited on Monday se'nnight upon the celebration of His Majesty's Birthday, at the Central School, in Baldwin's Gardens, London. In a short examination, conducted by the venerable author of the Madras system (Dr. Bell), the attention, the accuracy, and the surprising proficiency of the children were so conspicuous, that they could not fail to impress the minds of the auditors with the convictions, both of the excellence of the system itself and of the ability with which it had been carried into effect. After the examination, according to annual custom, the children, amounting to upwards of 900, sat down to a plentiful and substantial dinner. Satisfaction and happiness were diffused over every countenance, and where so much order was seen blended with so much animation, amidst the acclamations that followed "God Save the King", which they sang as with one voice and one soul, it was impossible not to feel that, in addition to the knowledge they daily acquired, they were thus associating with the most pleasant recollections those principles which attach them to the civil and religious establishments of their country."

This School was, of course, an elementary one, but many Grammar Schools adopted the system with just as many hopes. The method, of course, relied upon

1. "Leeds Intelligencer", June 16th, 1815.

rote memory which has its limitations in education, but in an age dominated by the growing importance of industry and fascinated by the new science of economics, the efficiency and economy claimed for the monitorial system, whether Bell's or Lancaster's, were regarded as the paramount consideration. The optimism with which the claims of efficiency were regarded is well shown in the closing note to this description¹ of the system as used in Leeds.

- "1. The lessons learned in the school are confined to grammar and construing.
2. The Scholars of each form sit round their proper table, having their slates placed before them, and being under the direction of the Monitor and sub-Monitor, who sit at the top and bottom of the table and are those two boys in each form who had the highest amount of marks of merit for their labours of the preceding week.
3. In a grammar lesson, each boy in his turn reads one word of a sentence and all of them copy upon their slates what is read, until the period is finished; this period is then continued to be read from the slates in like manner until every boy is able to repeat it; the subsequent periods are so learnt until the whole lesson is finished.
4. In a construing lesson, the words of each period are read, parsed, and construed according to the same plan, the lexicon also is consulted, notes are read, maps are inspected, and other explanatory books referred to at the discretion of the monitor, and the English of each period is thus written down on every boy's slate. The construing is now repeated from their slates, each boy taking as few words together as possible, until the whole form is considered to be perfect; the books are then shut, the monitor dictates the English,

1 Sheepshanks, "The Brief History", 1822, ^{op. cit.,} P. 32.

and the other boys give the corresponding words in Latin or Greek; this also is repeated until the whole form is deemed perfect in the re-translation of the period; and the lesson thus learnt by periods is said in the same manner to the proper Master.

5. The boys are allowed no books when saying a verse lesson, whether Latin or Greek, but repeat, construe and parse it wholly from memory.
6. Along with every new lesson is said that which preceded it from the same author so that every construing lesson is twice said, and the latter time after a considerable interval.

It is thus impossible for any boy in the school to be idle for a single moment or to neglect the learning of each lesson perfectly without the knowledge of the whole form and the notice of his monitor."

In this account it is interesting to note the stress which was laid on marks added up weekly and the classification of boys accordingly.

The Madras System was not adopted immediately, however, and since it only came into operation in 1818, when again there was a change of Master, it seems likely that the Rev. G.P. Richards who was in office from 1815 to 1818 was opposed to it. On his appointment Mr. Richards had been welcomed warmly; perhaps any successor to Mr. Whiteley would have received the eulogy given by the local press:

"We congratulate this vicinity on the choice of so excellent, so learned, so loyal a man - one, so well qualified to instruct the rising generation in sound principles of religion and learning, that, we understand, he comes recommended by the highest authorities of the country".¹

1. Leeds Intelligencer, August 28th., 1815.

The advertisement for the post in 1815 had given details of the large and excellent house which went with the post, and had stated that the salary would be not less than £500 per annum, and

"is intended to receive such additions as the improvement of the School property may from time to time permit."¹

The post must have been attractive for there were 40 candidates². The successful applicant, Mr. Richards perhaps found the restrictions contained in the new rules rather irksome, or perhaps the Committee's pressure for the adoption of the monitorial system was too great for him. Whatever the reason, after three years he resigned in order to enjoy the less arduous life of a country parson.

Certainly, there must have been much pressure upon him for the adoption of Dr. Bell's system; for instance soon after his arrival in Leeds the following letter, written anonymously, appeared in the Leeds Intelligencer³. It illustrates the high opinion in which Dr. Bell's system was held, at least by members of the Established Church.

"I have had Sir, sundry opportunities of estimating the value and efficiency of the new system of education, first introduced by Dr. Bell, and it is with pleasure, I annex my testimony to its intrinsic excellence, and its perfect adaption to the condition of the poor. As a discovery it may be ranked as high among the means of moral and religious improvements of the age, as vaccination is among the methods of diminishing the aggregate of bodily suffering."

The people of Leeds took a keen interest

1. Ibid., June 3rd, 1815.
2. Ibid., July 20th, 1815.
3. "Leeds Intelligencer", December 11th, 1815.

in matters concerning the Grammar School and from time to time correspondence in the press appeared. One matter which received attention at this time concerned the Rules which were drawn up in 1815. The reference to Free Scholars was welcomed; for example the following letter, with its cryptic nom-de-plume appeared in the "Leeds Intelligencer"¹:

"Mr. Printer, the Rules and Regulations for the interior government of this school, seemed to be of general importance, not only to the inhabitants of this parish, but to the public at large, for the school is declared by both the founders, Sir. Wm. Sheaffield and Sir Wm. Armistead to be open to all such as shall repair there-unto. I request therefore that you will give an early publication to these Rules, as they ought certainly to be in the possession of every parent who intends to avail himself of this excellent institution

I am, etc., etc.,

A Friend of One of the Late Candidates"

The Intelligencer published the rules which were evidently favourably received for the next week there appeared the following comment in the Leeds Intelligencer²;

"It gives us much pleasure to learn that the publication of the Rules of the Free Grammar School, as well as the Rules themselves, has been a matter of gratification to many of our Townsmen. We believe they were framed by the Trustees, on the last vacancy."

As these are the earliest published Rules of the school, they are provided as APPENDIX A₁, in full as they appeared in the Leeds Mercury³, which described them as,

1. "Leeds Intelligencer", September 16th, 1815.
2. "Leeds Intelligencer", September 25th, 1815.
3. "Leeds Mercury", September 23rd, 1815,

See pp. 312 - 318.

"the Rules and Regulations for the government of the Free Grammar School in this Town, founded by Sir. Wm. Sheaffield and Sir Wm. Armistead and declared by them to be open "to all such as shall repair there-unto", they will no doubt, prove highly acceptable to those parents who intend to educate their children at this institution."

For their day these Rules seem liberal and wise, though some of the clauses are strange to modern ears. One of the most interesting references occurs in Rule 8 where favourable mention is given to the discipline obtaining in the National Schools. Some of the Governors no doubt were also on the governing body of the Leeds National School and from time to time drew upon the experience of the latter. For instance, in 1831 the Rules of that year include as Rule 12 the stipulation that Religious Instruction was to be according to the doctrines of the Established Church and on the plan instituted in the National School. This School was also the pioneer in Leeds in the introduction of the Madras System of instruction, according to Griffith Wright¹, who states that the school was founded in May 1812 and had accommodation for 320 boys and 180 girls. No doubt the adoption of the Madras System in the Grammar School was partly the result of its success in the National School. The mild discipline of the National School, and the request for lenient punishments in the Grammar School and the restrictions upon the use of corporal punishments seem to indicate that the age was not such a harsh one for the schoolboy as is often suggested.

1. Griffith-Wright, A pamphlet entitled "Walks Through Leeds" amongst the collected papers entitled: Matters of Interest To The Town of Leeds, 1839, P, 29.

Perhaps the most noticeable feature of these Rules is the frequent reference to the rights and duties of Master and Usher. Rule 17 for instance, states that the school-yard is for the use of boys and no animal belonging to Master or Usher can be kept there, nor can pupils be used for duties other than their school instruction. Presumably the Committee had had experience of Masters who employed boys about the house. Rules 9 and 10 stipulated that the Master and Usher must not absent themselves from school without good cause, nor could they employ assistants without consent. Perhaps previous Masters had been in the habit of having unofficial leave of absence. Certainly the terms of employment had been a cause of dispute between the previous Master and Usher and the Committee on occasion. For instance, in 1801 the Usher, Mr. Swaine, had been warned not to employ a substitute, while in 1802 the Committee, in drawing attention to the lack of discipline in the School, had expressed the hope that the Master would not absent himself more than he could avoid¹. With the adoption of the new Rules in 1815 and the changes in the Master's office the problem of exercising adequate control over the Masters seems to have been overcome although in 1835 the Committee had occasion, Price records,² to reprove the then Undermaster, Mr. Wollaston, for absenting himself to ride with the foxhounds, conduct which they regarded as,

1. A.C.Price, Op.cit., p. 146-47

2. IDIB., p.169.

"totally inconsistent with the character of a Clergyman and a Schoolmaster, and calculated to diminish the confidence of parents."

Following the resignation in 1818 of the Rev. G.P. Richards from the office of Master, the Rev. George Walker was elected to the post. He remained as Master until his death in 1830. He was not, by National standards, an outstanding Master, but he was a conscientious one. Mr. Walker was congratulated in 1820 by the Committee on the great improvement made since he came to the School¹. The Leeds biographer, R.V. Taylor, who was at one time an assistant at Leeds Grammar School, said of him,

"though not possessed of shining talents, he was possessed of qualities far more valuable to society in a solid and perspicacious judgment, sound and extensive learning, and the power of communicating the knowledge he possessed."²

During his term of office, states Taylor,

"the Leeds School obtained a very high character among the public schools of the kingdom, its numbers greatly increased, and many of the pupils gained distinguished honours in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Walker was a strong supporter of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, an organisation which was eventually to run its own school in opposition to Leeds Grammar School.

1. Ibid., p. 166.

2. Rev. R.V. Taylor, "Biographia Leodiensis," 1865, p. 322

The monitorial system introduced with such high hopes in 1818 was not to last for long throughout the school. As early as 1822 it is recorded that:

"it has been found expedient to release the higher forms from what may be called the technical part, or machinery of the Madras System."¹

Thus the system, in its full form, was in use only with the lower forms. As in many other Grammar Schools, including even Charterhouse, the model for Leeds, the system did not long survive. It apparently had one permanent effect upon the school, however, and this was upon the School house which was given the typical monitorial school appearance; according to the Brief History:

"The whole interior of the school-house has been altered since 1815; the roof has been under-drawn, the desks of the Masters and the seats of the scholars have been removed, and nothing is now to be seen but a plain floor covered with tables, which are themselves surrounded by movable benches. This has been done in order that the Madras System of classical education may be carried on with the greater comfort and convenience."²

This was to remain the appearance of the school-house until the removal to Woodhouse Moor in 1859.

The matter of free tuition for scholars was the subject of an amendment to the Rules in 1820. In that year, the "Freedom of the School" was at last defined for it was resolved³

1. Sheepshanks. Op. Cit., p. 27
2. Ibid, p. 15.
3. Ibid, p. 24.

"that it was the opinion of this Committee that the Grammar School was intended as well by the original founder as by the Inhabitants of Leeds who complied with the condition of his foundation for the use and benefit of boys native of or sons of residents in the Parish and Borough of Leeds only and..... that the Committee declare the school free for such boys only."

At the same time the instruction of "foreigners", was allowed,

"so long as such instruction is..... no ways detrimental to the complete and free instruction of the scholars for whom the institution was originally built and intended."

The fees for such outsiders were also fixed in the 1820 Rules at £8. 8. Od. in the lower forms and £12. 12. Od. in the upper forms. Thus the Leeds Grammar School changed but gradually from a Free Grammar School into a fee charging school with some free scholarships. In 1830, the "foreigners" were limited to 20 but this number was soon to be exceeded. For local boys the introduction of fees occurred with the introduction of subjects other than classics and Religious knowledge for these were subject to extra payment.

To what extent the Madras System was a success is not known but there was a significant expansion in the number of scholars after 1818. Nicholas Carlisle's survey¹ of the school made

"with the assistance of Mr. Thomas Buckle" states that

1. N. Carlisle, F. "A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England". 1818, Vol. 2, p. 847.

"the school is open to all boys in the Borough or Parish of Leeds free of expense. There are at present about 70 boys in the school. Boys are admitted by qualification, not by age; and there is no prescribed time for Superannuation. The form of admission is by public examination holden half yearly by the Masters which the Trustees may attend."

Carlisle also gives details of the Exhibitions available to the school. The Hastings Exhibition was shared by Leeds with

"eight of the principal schools in the County of York, viz. Leeds, Wakefield, Bradford, Beverley, Skipton, Sedburgh and Sherburn and two more in Cumberland, viz. St. Bees and Penrith",

to take five poor scholars to Queen's College, Oxford. This Exhibition, founded by Lady Elizabeth Hastings, in a codicil to her Will dated 24th April 1739 had extremely detailed instructions for the selection of holders. Every five years one scholar from each school were to gather at Aberford in the best inn and be examined by the Rectors of Berwick, Spofforth, and Bolton Percy, and the Vicars of Leeds, Ledsham, Thorp-Arch and Collingham. They were to choose the best eight scholars and then from a vase the Provost was to draw the chosen five;

"though this method of choosing by lot may be called by some Superstition or Enthusiasm, yet as the advice may be given by an orthodox and pious Prelate of the Church of England as leaving something to Providence and as it will be a means to save the scholars the trouble and expense of a journey to Oxford under the great uncertainty of being elected I will this method of balloting be forever observed,"

stated Lady Hastings. Carlisle also reports¹ that

1. IBID., Vol. 2, p. 848.

the school had also a claim to the Fellowship and two Scholarships founded at Emmanuel College, Cambridge by John Frieston, of Altofts in the County of York when they are not filled up from the Free School at Normanton. There were likewise three scholarships of £20 p.a. each at Magdalen College, Cambridge, for scholars from Leeds, Halifax and Heversham Grammar Schools.

Carlisle gives also a list of some of the distinguished men who had received their education at the school. These included: Sir Thomas Dennison, a King's Bench Judge, Christopher Wilson, Bishop of Bristol, Joseph Milner, a "Pious and learned Divine", Headmaster of Hull Grammar School, Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle and Master of Queen's College, Cambridge, Joseph Jowett, late Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge and Richard Fawcett "the present worthy Vicar of Leeds."

We can conclude this Chapter by quoting the comments of the Charity Commissioners in 1826 that

"The school is at present very ably and satisfactorily conducted, and of late years the number of scholars resorting to it has been greatly increased, being at present above 100."¹

Thus, the School had increased its number of pupils by almost 50% since 1818, when the changes had been made. Despite the retention of a classical curriculum the School was obviously giving a useful service in providing education both to the free

1. Charity Commissioners' Report, 1839, op.cit., Vol. 40, p. 66A.

scholars and to the fee-paying pupils. But not everyone was happy with the use which was being made of the endowment. A strong attack was launched on the School by the author of a book which followed the publication of the Charity Commissioners' enquiry into Charities in Yorkshire. This book¹, published in 1827, began its comments on the School thus:

"The Leeds Grammar School has become a rich foundation indeed, but we think many of the inhabitants will dissent from the opinion of the Commissioners, that it is, even after the reforms recently introduced, conducted in an able and satisfying manner."

The author, also Editor of "The Cabinet Lawyer", then compared Leeds most unfavourably with endowed schools in London; the benefits received for an expenditure of £927. 14. Od. a year on salaries at Leeds were not commensurate with those secured at St. Olave's in Southwark for example. At the latter school, he stated, there were seven Masters giving to 250 boys an excellent classical and English education at a cost of only £973 per annum, yet only 100 boys were receiving instruction in the Leeds school. He was particularly aggrieved that the Masters were allowed to receive fee paying pupils and he suggested that a wealthy endowment such as this should be free. Wade also referred to the separate issue of the curriculum and called for the teaching of modern languages and commercial knowledge. He insisted that there were powers to effect this change under the 1663 decree of the Court of Chancery, despite Eldon's ruling. No doubt there were many

1. J. Wade, Rights of the Poor. An Account of Public Charities Digested from The Reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners on Charitable Foundations, 1827, p. 548.

citizens who would support Wade on one or both of these points, which remained matters of discussion for the rest of the Century. But, by the time of the second period of this Study, a third matter had become the subject of most complaint, and this was the question of the government of the school. The control of such an important public endowment by a body of self-elective Trustees, confined to members of the Established Church, was bound to attract increasing criticism throughout the Century. Nevertheless in the first quarter of the 19th Century some success had attended the Trustees in their efforts to improve the School, though there could be legitimate doubts as to whether these were in accord with the Founder's intentions or were as successful as they could have been.

CHAPTER 3 - WORTLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

In 1800 Leeds Grammar School, was not the sole grammar school in the city. There was an old foundation still surviving in an outlying district known as Wortley. This was the Wortley Grammar School which had been founded in 1676. Wortley was a "township". A booklet¹ written in 1887 by John Stones, says of this township:

"It manages its own affairs, appointing its own overseers. It is separated from Leeds by the River Aire, but for municipal purposes it is in the Armley and Wortley Ward."

Throughout the period covered by this study Wortley appears to have been within the boundaries of Leeds. Certainly it must have been a small "township" when the school was founded. A comparatively modern publication² by William Benn, member of the Thoresby Society, states:

"Returns dated July 4th 1663, fortunately preserved amongst the Corporation records, show that Wortley had 33 inhabitants and 57 stoves.... seeing that there were in Wortley in 1663 only 33 rateable inhabitants, we imagine the total population at the time, reckoning five persons to one house, to have been about 165 individuals."

In this tiny place was founded a school which survived for some 230 years; surely a tribute to the tenacity with which people cling to our charitable endowments. However, the endowment was not a large one and the position of the school was not a secure one. Its founder was Mr. Samuel Sunderland of Harden, near

1. John Stones, Wortley, Past and Present, 1887, p. 27
2. Wm. Benn, Wortley-de-Leeds, History of an Ancient Township, 1926, p. 7.

Bingley, and an Alderman of London. He left his lands in Wortley under his Will dated 26th January 1676

"towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach the children of the inhabitants of Wortley aforesaid to read English or Latin the same Master to be elected from the said Trustees or their successors from time to time."¹

The estate was conveyed to five Trustees, and to the original endowment, a Mr. William Farrar subsequently added a rood of land. It is interesting to note that Samuel Sunderland also founded another grammar school in Yorkshire; the Victoria County History² section on Schools edited by A.F. Leach states that Sunderland partly endowed Thornton Grammar School, near Bradford.³ The state of the Wortley endowment in the early 19th Century is fully reported in the Charity Commissioners' Return⁴ of 1826, under the title "The Free School of the Chapelry or Township of Wortley." The property listed here includes

"two small crofts, and a close, all in the occupation of the schoolmaster, and worth together 16 L per annum, or thereabouts, and six cottages in Wortley.....let at their fair annual value."

The financial arrangements are that

"the rent of the cottages and crofts, not occupied by the Master, are paid to him by the trustees, and he instructs ten poor children, as free scholars, and other children, on moderate terms, in reading, writing and accounts. The Master and the free scholars are elected and nominated by the trustees."

1. Charity Commissioners' Report, 1839, op.cit. p.680. Vol.40,
2. Victoria County History of Yorkshire, Vol.I, op.cit. p.485 p.680.
3. An article by E.P.Green in Researches and Studies No.26, of Nov.1963, p.17, refers to Sunderland's endowments to two other Yorkshire Grammar Schools: Bingley and Hipperholme.
4. Charity Commissioners' Report., loc. cit.

The total annual rental income appears to have been £24. 18. 0d, hardly a princely income for the master, even though it was augmented by the fees of paying scholars. No doubt the master was not qualified by learning or previous teaching experience for the post, but was the best that could be secured under the terms provided. It is possible perhaps that a successful master could have attracted pupils from other parts of Leeds and so built up a useful income, but this does not seem to have happened. The type of master secured throughout the school's early history was no doubt similar to the one described by John Stones whose booklet we have earlier referred to. Stones was an old boy of the school, attending it for some three or four years after 1814, and he describes¹ the educational methods which he endured:

"From the various modes of punishment, we select the following, namely, the cane, the whip with six lashes, chaining the culprit to the desk, cracking the skin of one's cranium with a ruler, being compelled to sit astride the ridge of the cow-house to commit to memory some neglected task, having a pair of handcuffs locked round the ankle, being crowned with a huge hairy wig, giving one quite a ludicrous and clown like appearance. Those forms of discipline are things not easily forgotten. Some of the modes of punishment were no doubt dictated by the eccentricity of the Master; as to the rest, let us try to give him credit for having acted upon the wise man's maxim that 'the rod and reproof' give wisdom."

This state of affairs contrast sharply to that reported in the National School in Leeds and referred to in the previous chapter. It may be that at this

1. STONES, op.cit., p. 27.

time the schools which excelled in punishment were the small inefficient schools of which there were many. Perhaps the following incident reported in the press at about this time happened in such a school; it serves to illustrate the lack of proper control on the part of teachers:

"On Monday week, a Writing Master, in this town, unfortunately put out the right eye of one of his pupils, by carelessly throwing a pen at him."¹

Wortley was little more than an elementary school at this time and obviously less efficient than the National Schools with which it was competing. It was later described as giving elementary education,² but in status it was, by reason of its endowment, that of a Grammar School and as such it was inspected by the Taunton Commission. However, in the early years of the Century Wortley Grammar School achieved some limited success. In 1814 it moved to a new building which, according to Stones was made necessary because of the increasing number of scholars.³ The old building which stood at the bottom of what was then called Chapel-Hill, and was opposite the workhouse, was converted into two small cottages. During the erection of the new school the scholars were taught in one of the upper rooms of the workhouse. Stones gives no details of the number of scholars save to state that there were 12 poor children receiving free schooling:

"this, I presume, was a provision in the Deed of Endowment made by the donor",

1. "Leeds Intelligencer", January 22nd., 1816.
2. Victoria County History, Vol. 1, p. 4855.
3. STONES, op.cit. p. 27.

op.cit.,

he adds. This was not so however, for there was no such stipulation, and presumably the number of free scholars was agreed upon by the Trustees and the Master. For instance, in 1826 the Charity Commissioners reported¹ ten free scholars and in 1869 Mr. Fitch reported² that

"there were formerly eight boys receiving gratuitous education in respect of the endowment, but this number has lately been increased to twelve, and the trustees hope to make a further addition to the number as the income increases."

The controlling factor, therefore, appears to have been the income from the endowment. However, whether Stones is correct or not in ascribing the removal to an increase in the number of pupils, the move was made possible by a re-arrangement of the endowment property. The details of this are given in the 1826 Report of the Charity Commissioners³;

"There also belonged to the Trustees of the Free School a close 3A and 37 P in the township of Armley but it is not known how it was acquired. The close was given up some years ago to a person named Wigglesworth in exchange for three crofts, in Wortley, containing together 2A and 2 P, and the sum of 250 L. The sum of 250 L was laid out in rebuilding the school house, and the three crofts are let to John Cliff, as yearly tenant, at the annual rent of 12 L full value."

This exchange seems so advantageous to the charity that one must conclude that the land at Armley was

1. Charity Commission, op. cit., p. 680.
2. Schools Inquiry Commission. 1869, Vol. 7., p. 304.
3. Charity Commission, loc. cit.

required for building purposes. The new building was opened in 1814 and though not large seems to have been more imposing than the old school. The Charity Commissioners Report¹ at the end of the Century described this school, which was almost unaltered, as being

"situated in that part of Wortley which is called Town End, on the road from Leeds to Farnley, and faces towards the north-west. There is a small enclosure, or yard, in front, which is in a neglected position and appears not to be put to any use either as a garden or a playground. The Master's house is at the north-east end of the premises and is a two storey building; the schoolroom is a lower building, of one storey only. The dimensions of the schoolroom, which is substantially built of stone, are 34 by 18 feet. It is lighted by three windows on each side, and there is a ventilator in the middle of the roof. For the use of the boys there is a large double door opening into the front of the enclosure, and there is also a small door communicating with the master's house."

The local historian, Benn, states² that over the door there was a Latin inscription reading, in translation,

"For the use of boys to be instructed either in Latin or in English Literature (from the proceeds of certain lands belonging to this institution which were exchanged for others the property of John Wrigglesworth Knight) Matthew Bateson and William Walker had this building erected A.D.1814.",

while inside the school there was the Latin motto "Tenete Bonum". On the management of the school the

1. Charity Commissioners: Report of Inquiries In The Administrative County of the West Riding of York and The City of Leeds, 1894, Vol.IV.,(North Eastern Division), 1899, p.516.
2. Benn, op.cit., p.62.

1826 Charity Commissioners Report states¹ that the school estate is vested in five Trustees, inhabitants of Wortley under a conveyance executed in 1822. These Trustees were appointed for life, the successors to be appointed by the survivors. This arrangement was to be the cause of conflict later in the century, as we shall see. For the moment, the governing body was strong, the school's finances sound, though not ample, the building modern, and the master probably incompetent, but able to give some form of elementary education to the ten or twelve free scholars, and, perhaps, twenty paying pupils.

1. Charity Commissioners, 1839, p. 680.

P A R T 2

1845 to 1870

"MID-CENTURY STIRRINGS"

CHAPTER 4. - LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The historical sketch contained in the Fleming Report¹ emphasises the importance of the Headmaster in the development of the public schools. It points out that Shrewsbury with 360 boys in 1581, then

"the best filled Grammar School in England", declined to two boys in 1798 at the appointment of Dr. Butler, and then increased again. The size of Harrow School fluctuated considerably in the 18th Century under various Headmasters and Rugby School only reached prominence with the appointment of Thomas James in 1777. But by the end of the Century these great schools had established their positions, and no longer entirely depended upon individual Headmasters for their success. For the local endowed Grammar Schools, however, the reputation of each school was still linked closely with that of the particular Headmaster and the number of scholars attending varied accordingly. Richmond School in Yorkshire is an example² of a local school achieving regional fame for its academic successes during the regime of a particular Headmaster (James Tate, who guided the school from 1796 to 1833), only to slump in the period following his departure. Leeds Grammar School conformed to this pattern of dependence upon the quality of the Headmaster, though its location in an important centre of population was a stabilising

1. The Public Schools and the General Educational System, H.M.S.O, 1944, p.13.
2. L.P. Wenham, A History of Richmond School, Yorkshire, 1958.

factor. By the middle of the Century new conditions had arisen to reinforce, in the Local Grammar Schools, those factors which made the influence of the Headmaster very important.

Sir Michael Sadler has described these new conditions in the second part of his fine historical essay,

"The Scholarship System in England since the Reformation."¹

"The rapid development of the old public schools, the foundation of new ones and the establishment of Preparatory Schools could not have taken place but for the economic and social changes in England. The Industrial Revolution had raised to affluence a new upper middle class. New facilities of communication made it easier for parents to send their sons to distant boarding schools. Changes in their economic position led many middle class parents to desire for their sons better opportunities of education (social even more than intellectual) than they had themselves endured. A new social group had emerged in the community through the working of economic forces. That group instinctively sought a type of education which would consolidate it, and would impart to its younger members the kind of corporate and non-individualistic training which was needed as a moral corrective to the competitive influences of industry and commerce. Such a training Arnold and other great school masters had proved it possible to give through the influences of boarding school life. In consequence many of the local Grammar Schools were gradually depleted of much of the most influential support which they had enjoyed when long distance travelling was difficult and costly."

1. Sir Michael Sadler, "The Scholarship System in England since the Reformation", in Essays on Examinations (International Institute Examinations Enquiry), 1936, p. 63.

In these circumstances, the Headmaster's reputation was even more vital to the struggling Grammar Schools. But those old endowed schools which were located in the larger towns were more fortunately placed to meet the new conditions than were those in the country towns and villages which had not been caught up in industrial progress. The latter schools lost their most affluent scholars to the boarding schools and were unable to increase the number of middle class pupils. Indeed, the rapid development of railway branch lines dealt them a further blow, for many of their pupils began to attend the more thriving Grammar Schools in the nearby towns. The larger schools in the town were also able to attract the children of the new commercial classes of people, though in some cases this meant changing the character of the schools. In the mid-century most of the schools, however, were still closely tied to the classical curriculum.

Leeds Grammar School came through this difficult period strengthened because it had an advantage in its location, and it secured a young vigorous Headmaster who built up the school on the basis of a curriculum which had earlier been extended. The School's location in Leeds became more advantageous when the development of branch lines enabled it to draw pupils who travelled in daily by train from surrounding districts. The extension of the curriculum began in 1847 when application was made under the new Grammar School Acts for an amended scheme for the regulation of the school.¹

1. { Charity Commissioners:
Report of Inquiries in the Administrative
County of the West Riding of York and the
City of Leeds, in 1899, etc. op. cit.,
Vol. 4, p. 326.

The new Rules recognised the right to free education for the sons of Leeds residents but only in the learned languages. Rule 3 laid down that additional subjects would be taught and for these subjects fees could be charged. These subjects, mathematics, arithmetic, writing, reading, English literature, geography, English composition, history, and practical science were to be taught only in conjunction with the classical instruction which was still to be regarded as the principal object of the foundation. Rule 4 allowed the Headmaster to admit up to 20 scholars who were entirely fee-paying, and Rule 5 gave the Trustees, with the Headmaster's consent, permission to appoint such additional teaching staff as might be required.

Thus the extension of the curriculum was legally authorised some forty years after the Eldon Judgment, and twenty-two years before the passing of the Endowed Schools Act which made such changes easier to make. The extension, coupled with the charging of fees, limited the extent to which the school was a Free Grammar School, and the admission of outside fee-paying scholars would make true Free Scholars an anachronism. The Trustees were to be disappointed in the effect of the changes at first, however, for the new instruction fell between two stools; on the one hand it did not attract pupils destined for commerce, on the other it impaired the classical teaching. This was admitted by the Trustees when, in 1855, they applied for the rules to be modified¹ by the Charity Commissioners. The

1. IBID., Vol. IV, p. 327.

Trustees, in justification of their application, stated that:

"Neither the class originally contemplated by the founder nor that to which the Court of Chancery intended in 1847 to extend the benefits of the Charity derived as much advantage as might be the case if the system were improved and developed."

As so often happened in schools when changes were introduced the number of pupils had risen to 230, then for some years averaged 200 but had gradually declined to 105. Of these one third were under 12 years of age, one half between 12 and 15, and only one-sixth above 15. Only one or two boys each year went on to the University. One reason for the decline, not referred to in this Report, could have been the establishing of a Modern School by Leeds Mechanic's Institute in 1847. This school must have been competing to some extent with the Grammar School.

The Trustees' response to the decline in numbers was to re-organize the school and permission for this was granted on 7th June 1855.¹ The School was thereupon divided into two parts, the Upper Department, mainly Classical but with an extended curriculum, and the Lower Department, with a Commercial bias. In the Upper Department, English, French, German, Mathematics, History and Geography supplemented Classics. In the Lower Department, Latin, to a lower level, was retained and Arithmetic, Geography and Mechanics were offered. All subjects other than Latin carried a fee and pupils in the Upper Department paid ten guineas and those in the Lower, five guineas. It was stipulated that the

1. IBID., Vol. IV., p. 327.

extra income would be devoted to increasing the number and efficiency of the Masters. The School was thus radically changed, but it retained its character by insisting on Latin as the basis of the curriculum. In a commercial department this could be a handicap since a school such as the Modern School was not obliged to insist on Classics. The new regulations continued a process begun earlier in converting the School into a fee-paying establishment, for, the widening of the curriculum in effect meant that the School had ceased to be a Free School. By 1857, Price¹ reports there were only 9 free scholars taking only the 'foundation' subjects, having dwindled rapidly. Thus Leeds followed the pattern of many schools in moving away from free tuition and catering entirely for the relatively well-to-do.

As on past occasions the changes in the Rules coincided with a change of Master. Dr. Holmes had served the School well but it may be that the fall in the roll of pupils owed something to his advancing years and declining health. In 1854 he resigned and died within a few weeks of giving up office. R.V. Taylor² described him as

"much respected by his fellow-townsmen,
and always held in the highest esteem
by his scholars."

His successor Rev. Alfred Barry, was a man of higher calibre academically with a more dynamic personality but in terms of length of service his contribution was to be only a third of that given by Dr. Holmes. Price³ quotes Mr. Barry, on taking over,

1. Price, op. cit., p. 200.

2. Taylor, op. cit., p. 455.

3. Price, op. cit., p. 189.

as describing the Lower Department as a writing department which was

"a serious evil to the school's work. With the master was unable to maintain order or to teach satisfactorily."

The Upper School he described as having a good tone in which the boys tried to set a good example both in industry and behaviour¹.

It is interesting to note that the 1855 Order gave the Trustees greater freedom of action in governing the School. Rule 27 stated that, within the provisions of the Grammar Schools Act, the Trustees were empowered to make further rules, laws and orders for the well being of the School.

Mayhall, the local historian, no doubt reflected influential opinion in the town when he commented favourably on the new rules. The entry in his Annals² on July 2nd, 1855 reads,

"The Trustees of Leeds Free Grammar School, with Dr. Hook as Chairman, did great service to the cause of popular education by extending the basis of the system of teaching at the school, so as to meet the needs of a class very numerous in the town."

The credit for the changes have been claimed on behalf of several people. Dr. Hook, referred to by Mayhall above, is stated in a recent biography³ to have

"had a large share in the work."

Price, the School historian, gives the credit to

1. IBID, p. 192.

2. J. Mayhall, "Yorkshire Annals", 1866, Vol. 1., p. 666.

3. C.J. Stranks, "Dean Hook", 1954, p.105.

Dr. Barry. It is possible, however, that an earlier writer¹ puts his finger on the moving spirit behind the reforms when he writes of Dr. Heaton, a Trustee at this time:

"all his sympathies were on the side of progress" -

perhaps because of his experiences as a scholar at the school. By 1855, Dr. Hook was 57, and, as his biographer² points out, his views on education were not by then noticeably progressive. It seems likely that the reforms were pushed through the Committee by a combination of the dynamic young headmaster and that indefatigable supporter of good causes, Dr. Heaton.

Within a few years more changes were to come for by 1860 drawing was available as an extra, chemistry, botany and geology were optional in the Lower Department and English literature could be taken.³ Whatever traditionalists may have thought about these changes they were popular with parents and from 152 boys in 1856 the roll increased to 252, of whom only 72 were in the Lower Department.

With this reorganisation the function of the school had undergone a distinct change. Up to the 19th Century the Grammar Schools had been, in the words of the Spens Report⁴

"vocational schools oriented towards the University".

1. T.W.Reid, A Memoir of J.D.Heaton....of Leeds, 1883, p.255.
2. Stranks, Op. Cit., p.106.
3. A.C. Price, Op. Cit., p.201.
4. Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, H.M.S.O., 1938, p.6.

This function had been increasingly taken over by the Great Schools, now known as Public Schools. At Leeds, as at other local endowed Schools, a path of studies to the Universities was still provided but the changed situation had been accepted by the School. The 90% or more of the pupils not intending to go on to the Universities were given an education which it was hoped would fit them for the Lower professions and commerce. Although fees were charged for this modern education it seems that more parents were willing to send their boys to the school than when the school was entirely a classical one and there were no tuition fees.

An important factor in causing the governing body to change the role of the school was, no doubt, the presence of a growing and thriving school for the teaching of modern subjects which had been established in 1845 by the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, of which more will be written later. The Governors of the Grammar School must have felt that there was sufficient demand for schooling of a utilitarian character, as a preparation for a business career, to support two schools, and the increased numbers attending both schools showed that this was so. The reasons for this public demand were outlined in the Spens Report¹ thus:

"the Middle Classes had been enfranchised by the Reform Act, 1832, . . . ^{and} a large number of new avocations which demanded an education of a super-primary type, though not necessarily of a grammar school type, were

1. IBid., p. 25, footnote.

becoming available for boys in the first half of the 19th century." [e.g. the stock exchange, insurance, local government (after the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835), posts connected with the Poor Law (after 1834) and in gas and water companies.]

Since the Lower Department of the Grammar School was orientated towards such occupations, it was in effect a commercial school, but at the same time, the Upper Department gave a more scholarly education, with a wider curriculum than formerly, winning on the average two scholarships to the Universities each year. This new arrangement was not to everyone's taste, and complaints were made of the short stay made by many pupils in the school at this time. But this was apparently general throughout the century, judging by the comments of Edmund Wilson¹ in his introduction to the annotated Admission Books of Leeds Grammar School.

In order to obtain some details of the type of pupils using the Grammar School, I have analysed the records for the year 1860 contained in this book.² There were 36 admissions, and the parents included four Ministers of Religion, three manufacturers, two surgeons, two commercial travellers, three merchants, a barrister, a cashier, a schoolmaster, a farmer, a civil servant, an ironmonger, a brewer and an insurance broker. The school clearly served the middle classes; the only artisans appear to have been a millwright, an instrument maker, and a dyer. Of the boys themselves, the future careers of 17 are stated in Wilson's records and these are: four vicars, two manufacturers, two

¹ E. Wilson, (ed.) Leeds Grammar School Admission Books, Thoresby Society, (Vol. 14), 1906.

² IBid., p. 151

solicitors, one higher civil servant, one engineer, a merchant, a surgeon, an architect, a land agent, a commercial traveller, an insurance broker and a managing director. Thus the school served the middle classes and indeed there seems to have been fewer representatives of the labouring classes present than in 1820. This was no doubt due to the imposition of fees at this time and to the opening of the Mechanics' Institute School which tended to cater more for the sons of artisans and lower middle class.

Reference has been made earlier to the influence of a young vigorous headmaster in pushing through the changes in the school. This new Head was Rev. Alfred Barry, son of the eminent architect Sir Charles Barry, and a brilliant academic who was only 28 years old when appointed. A.C. Price¹ quotes an old boy of the school as saying

"Mr. Barry began with a few judicious expulsions and brought about various reforms by degrees. In course of time the ways of civilisation prevailed, more subjects were taught and he had won for himself much the sort of devotion and respect that Tom Brown and his friends paid to Arnold."

Mr. Barry left his mark on the school in four main ways. First, as we have seen, he enlarged the curriculum, secondly he increased and improved the staff, thirdly he greatly increased the numbers of boys attending the school and fourthly, he secured the moving of the school to entirely new buildings.

It is true that the removal of the school had been mooted before Barry's headmastership; in

1. Price, op. cit., p. 194.

the application made to the Court of Chancery in 1844 for a change in the rules the question was raised. The 1894 Charity Commissioners Report¹ describes this application thus:

"At the same time the school buildings erected by John Harrison, although added to and enlarged from time to time, as was mentioned in the Report of 1826, had become inadequate for the increased numbers of the school consequent upon the extended course of instruction, while the limited extent of the site did not admit of a sufficient recreation ground for the scholars."

The Trustees negotiated for land adjoining the school site, but could not meet the cost from their capital. Also they found that they had no express power to buy land and the freehold of their own land had lapsed owing to non-compliance with legal requirements. The Committee immediately sought the advice and the assistance of the court. By order of the Master of the Rolls dated 30th July, 1844, the matter was referred to the Master of the Court for enquiries to be made. The latter in his report dated 11th March 1847 approved the rebuilding scheme and provided for a re-arrangement of the estate. He declared that the then existing school buildings were not adequate to accommodate more than 150 boys and were wholly inadequate to accommodate the number of boys then frequenting the school which had gradually been increasing for several years. In July 1846 this number amounted to 193, and it was expected that under the new scheme the numbers would still further increase, and additional accommodation be required,

1. ^{Vol. 4.} Charity Commissioners, 1899, op. cit.,
Vol. 4, p. 323.

yet there was no ground for the boys to exercise or play in, except a yard 20 yds. long and 15 yds. wide. A draft Bill to accomplish the Committee's aims was therefore laid before Parliament and received Royal assent on the 22nd July 1847. The ground was bought and used for recreation but the proposed extensions were not carried out, and the number of boys dropped steadily to about 100 in 1854.

With the later rise in numbers following the changes consequent upon Mr. Barry's appointment interest in the building scheme revived, and in April 1856, a public meeting of parents of scholars, called by the Trustees passed a resolution favouring removal to a more airy and country site. Contributions were invited and by April 1857, £6,400 had been subscribed. The approval of the Charity Commissioners was obtained for the financial arrangement and on 19th January 1858 an entirely new site was purchased. The statements¹ made by the Trustees in their application to the Commissioners of the 23rd June 1857 throw some light on the condition of the school at that time. There were then 199 boys in the school, 132 being in the Upper department, and 67 in the Lower. The fees charged were six guineas a year to the former and four guineas to the latter, but of the whole number, 29 boys were paying only half the full fees, under the provisions contained in the new rules, and nine were being taught free of charge, having been admitted into the school before the rules came into operation.

1. Ibid., p.332.

The idea of removing to a new site near Woodhouse Moor was put forward by Mr. Barry. The old buildings were by this time in a dilapidated condition after their 230 years of service and would have needed extensive repairs and reconstruction. In fact, the building was quite inadequate for modern schooling, and was also crowded. There were fifty more boys in the school than the Masters of the Rolls had, in 1847, thought desirable. An old boy of the school writing much later described the old schoolroom as

"a veritable old barn, dark, dingy, dusty and decaying."¹

The furniture also was old and battered, and the primitive system of central heating was inadequate and the ventilation poor. Mr. Barry's suggestion for a new site was agreed to, and arrangements went ahead quickly, a sub-committee being formed to raise a subscription which realised the sum of £6,400.² The new building was designed by the Headmaster's brother, Edward, who was following his father's career of architect, made famous by the designing of the Houses of Parliament. The new school was completed in 1859 and was of decorated Gothic design. It was, in essence, two large halls, one over the other, in a Gothic nave. The building was hailed at first as a masterpiece, though by the end of the century its defects as a school were apparent. Changing tastes, and educational needs, are reflected in the differing comments on the

1. A.C. Price, Sp. Lit., p.208

2. IBIA, p. 210.

building, by the two great Commissions into secondary education. In 1867 Mr. Fitch said

"no statelier or more commodious school buildings are to be found in the country."¹

Whereas in 1895 Mr. Laurie found the building to be

"of a somewhat ornate character, but not well designed or particularly suited for school purposes."

Mr. Laurie was quite patronising:

"We find here one of those long rooms meant for holding two or three classes at once, which still linger in grammar schools, though rapidly dying out from the modern elementary schools. This is so very inconvenient a plan that it is remarkable that it should ever have been adopted."²

So the wonders of today become the follies of yesteryear. But for some time to come the buildings were to be regarded as a great acquisition to the school. The site was a good one, if rather cramped for playing fields, and the School still stands there today, somewhat dwarfed by its upstart neighbour, the University of Leeds.

Mr. Barry left the School in 1862 and made his career in the Church in which he gained a bishopric. Not unexpectedly numbers declined but the fall was not catastrophic. In 1867 there were 194 boys which was about the number ten years before. The greatest decline had been in the Lower Department which offered the shorter commercial type of education. Perhaps this was due to the

1. The Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1867, Vol. 18., p. 168.
2. Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895, Vol. 7, p. 136.

boys in this section of the school being regarded as of different status owing to their lower fees. Most of these boys had a short stay in the school and only 8% passed from the Lower to the Upper Department.¹ The Upper Department was prospering and its curriculum had been extended to include drawing and drill. It was at this stage, with a flourishing Classical Department and a moribund Lower Department in the School that it was inspected by Mr. Fitch on behalf of the Schools' Inquiry Commission headed by Lord Taunton. This report was instituted in 1864 and the Commissioners instructed to report on all endowed schools other than those already described by the Clarendon and Newcastle Commissions.

Simon² describes the Taunton Commission as the most determined and unceremonious of all the great educational enquiries. It included, together with such men as Northcote and Lyttleton who had served on the Clarendon Commission, the Liberal leader W.E. Forster and the Radical Nonconformist, Edward Baines, directly representing the industrial middle class. Edward Baines was a prominent Leeds citizen, editor of the Leeds Mercury and President of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute which had established the Leeds Modern School. There were 12 Assistant Commissioners who personally examined nearly 800 Endowed Schools making outspoken criticisms and assessments of each. The Commissioner for the West Riding was Mr. J.G. Fitch and his report is valuable to this study, not only for its comments

1. A.C. Price. op.cit., p.224.

2. SIMON, op.cit., p.319.

upon Leeds Grammar School and the Leeds Modern School but for the comparative picture of other schools in the area. The Commission found great variation in the endowed schools, of which a quarter were normally classical, and nearly half non-classical; the remainder taught Latin but no Greek. The classical teaching was generally poor and many schools which provided this education were very small. But if the situation in these schools was bad, in the non-classical schools it was worse. Most of these schools provided an education which was elementary in character and many of the foundations had become defunct and in some cases the funds had been misused. Of course, there were good schools in existence and the Report gave due praise to such schools as Manchester Grammar School in the first grade and Leeds Modern School in the second grade. These gradings were drawn up by the Taunton Commission, their Report envisaging three distinct types each serving different sections of the population. This was a reflection of the social conditions of the time; as the Spens Report¹ says,

"the constructive recommendations of the Commissioners in respect of the curriculum show clearly the influence of that class idea of education which held the field in England till the end of the 19th Century. Education was envisaged in terms of social classes, there was to be one education for the less affluent class, another for the middle class of society, and a third for the upper classes. There was no machinery for passing from one grade to another, though a boy of exceptional ability might succeed in doing so."

1. Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, op.cit., p.32.

The Commissioners, noting the evils which had befallen many free Grammar Schools, favoured the imposition of fees in all schools. For instance, in his evidence¹ Mr. Fitch stated,

"the truth is that, considering the altered condition of society a free grammar school is an anachronism. If a school be free it is filled with a class of children who do not learn grammar, and if classics are sedulously taught the school soon ceases to be free."

Unsatisfactory as the conditions in most schools were, the description of the good schools show that in some places secondary education was well provided. For example, the report on the West Riding had this to say,

"There are three grammar schools in this district which are conspicuously in advance of all the rest, in numbers and reputation. They are St. Peter's in York, Leeds and Doncaster. These schools lay themselves out for higher education, and their curriculum is designed to prepare boys for the universities. All are under the care of accomplished and energetic men, are increasing in numbers, and are obtaining distinction at the universities, and I do not believe that better preparation is to be had anywhere than is obtainable at these schools under their present management."²

That this is no light praise is shown by the later comment,³

"if I except from the list of Yorkshire Endowed Schools about eight, which my specific reports show to be more or less efficient, the remainder may be characterised without harshness as very feeble and worthless."

1. The Report of the Schools' Inquiry Commission, 1867, Vol. 9, p. 152
2. Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 165.
3. Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 173.

And they are so in a great degree for the simple reason that they are called Grammar Schools."

He was referring here to the many inefficient classical endowed schools of which he said,

"it is manifest to me that Latin, though the one subject in which these schools profess to excel others, is/a rule taught to very little purpose."

This report makes clear that Leeds Grammar School had undergone a further change since the reorganisation instituted by Dr. Barry. The information provided by the school, which is given in the Digest of Information¹ stated that the curriculum was that approved in 1855, the subjects of instruction being "

"Grammar, by foundation. By present scheme for the endowment, Religious Instruction according to the doctrines of the Church of England, classics, composition, ancient history and geography."

There were still two departments of which the Upper was classical, while the Lower department was now semi-classical and referred to by the school as being second grade. It seems therefore that the Lower department was not entirely a commercial department as it had been previously. There were 173 boys in the classical department, 28 of them being over 16 years of age, and in the Lower department 50, which was the maximum allowed by the Trustees by a decision made in January 1865. There were 20 boys living in the school house and the houses of the second master and the modern languages master. The statistical details in the Digest provide an interesting sociological study

1. IBid., Vol. 18., p. 172.

of the school as it was then. For instance, a sample group of parents of the ten highest and the ten lowest day scholars in the Upper department included the following: ten tradesmen, two merchants, two solicitors, one ironmaster, two manufacturers, one stockbroker, one civil engineer and one surgeon, all of whom lived within four miles of the school. The Lower Department had a wider social group represented among the parents of its boys; a similar sample here included: one banker, one brewer, two cloth manufacturers, and two commercial travellers, while the remainder were artisans and tradesmen. If a comparison is made with Wilson's¹ analysis of the 1860 admissions referred to earlier it will be seen that there had been an influx into the Lower Department of boys from the Upper levels of the working classes, for 14 out of the 20 given in the later sample could be so described.

It seems that the Lower Department as now organised was a compromise between a grammar school and a commercial school. Fitch² thought that it was an unsatisfactory compromise. He referred to it as an English Department, and thought that it corresponded neither to the needs of the town nor to the prestige of the school. He felt that it was impossible even for a competent master to teach such a school of 50 boys of mixed ages. This particular master, Mr. Fitch clearly did not regard as competent, a belief which may have been linked with the fact that he was a clergyman, for Mr. Fitch³ seemed to

1 See p. 59.

2. Schools' Enquiry Commission, op. cit.,

2. C. S. S. Vol. 9, p. 168.

3. See also, Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 188, "Four of the worst schools I ever saw in my life were conducted by clergymen."

have an anti-clerical bias. The Lower Department was regarded as quite separate from the main school and the boys received no lessons in common with those in the classical school. They learnt a little Latin and some French, reported Fitch, and were "looked ^{down} upon as an inferior caste and do not associate with the rest either in play or otherwise."¹

The Trustees did not seem to be anxious to develop this part of the school, for Fitch reports that they were unwilling to increase the number of boys beyond 50, although the room would hold double that number in his opinion. The Trustees felt that if the numbers increased another Master would have to be engaged "and the additional fees would not suffice to pay him."

So one Master had to cope with 50 boys, although he could

"but hear a few boys at a time while the rest are learning lessons or writing lessons with little or no supervision,"

Fitch² reported.

Elsewhere, Mr. Fitch³ again expressed doubts about the future of the Lower Department, partly because of the inferior status and staffing of the latter.

"It is too early to pronounce with any confidence as to the ultimate success of this experiment or to determine how far the general objection to the establishment of two departments for scholars of different social grades in one school are met by the plan pursued here. It will be observed that the Upper Department containing less than four times the number of scholars commands the entire services of seven masters, whereas the Lower school, comprising boys of very various ages, has only one Master."

1. IBIA, Vol.9, p.169.
2. IBIA, Vol.9, p.168.
3. IBIA, Vol.18, p.170.

Although the governing body were luke-warm about the Lower Department, and it was not well run it had shown the value of a wider curriculum. Fitch declared that it proved that,

"in a rich commercial community like Leeds there is great readiness to appreciate the course of instruction which is mainly based on the ancient languages, but which is pervaded with a modern spirit and includes most of the subjects generally considered indispensable in an English education."

Although he was critical of some aspects of the Lower Department he praised it for the inclusion of French in the curriculum of all but the lowest forms, of German for those wishing to take it, and of science as an alternative to Greek in the Upper forms. He noted that drawing was taken by an unusual number of boys who paid an extra fee; in this subject there was

"more interest than in any other grammar school."

The curriculum indeed seemed to

"have been most judiciously devised to meet the objections so commonly urged against an exclusively classical education for the upper classes of a commercial town."¹

The idea of the Lower Department was one that he approved of, but he clearly felt that it could only succeed as a separate school catering for a different social class than that in the classical school, for

"in practice all the best teaching power of the school is concentrated upon the teaching of Latin and Greek, and all the traditions and feelings of the school are naturally in favour of the supremacy of these studies."

1. IBid., Vol.18, p.170.

The Upper Department had not solved the problem of its curriculum, but this was true also of many other schools. Mr. Fitch¹ in his general remarks posed the problem of the leading Grammar Schools:

"There is, in fact, no attempt to give completeness to a boy's education, or to preserve any proportion between its parts, except on the assumption that he is to go to the University.....Nevertheless, the statistics of the schools prove that less than 20% of the scholars ever complete this course, and little more than that number ever reach the sixth form. Of the remaining 80, a large number leave at 15 or 16 from the fourth or fifth form, and go at once into business, or into some of the lower professions. And the question is constantly asked by parents, 'does this sort of rudimentary scholarship which a boy of 16 years gains in a good classical school, constitute the best training he could receive?' "

The answer to this rhetorical question revolved upon the place which was given to classics in an education which was not preparation for a university. Mr. Fitch summed up the case for teaching classics thus²:

"they have inensibly influenced his cast of mind, have made him more conscious of the need of exactness in language, have enlarged his vocabulary, and have given him the key to the sort of allusions which are to be found in the speech and writing of educated men. But these advantages have cost him too much."

However, by the time that Mr. Fitch had written these words, the teaching of classics was becoming more entrenched in the grammar schools by

1. IBIA, Vol. 9, p.166.
2. IBIA, Vol. 9, p.167.

the development of a system of external examinations such as those for the Indian and Home Civil Services first held in 1855, and the London matriculation and Oxford and Cambridge Lower examinations. In addition to this, classics was becoming to be regarded as the subject which above all others developed the intellect and trained the mind in the right ways of thinking. These developments influenced the organisation of grammar schools so that whereas the earlier division had been between classical and commercial departments, it now tended to be between classical and modern departments, but with Latin retaining a prominent place in the latter. The modern side also emerges as a full length course and begins to give prominence to science. Already by the time of the Schools Inquiry Commission these trends were beginning to become apparent in the Leeds Grammar School and it was only some little time later that the Lower department was abandoned, afterwards to be replaced by a modern subjects course with Latin. Already the Leeds Grammar School was by way of being a pioneer among endowed schools for its teaching of science.

Mr. Fitch reports¹:

"Leeds is the only ^{grammar} school in which I have found resolute and systematic attempts to teach science. Here there is an excellent laboratory and the class is well drilled in chemical manipulation and analysis. Chemistry has so close a relation to the success of the woollen manufacture, that in Leeds at least there is no fear of its being disregarded. Accordingly, there is a demand for systematic instruction in this branch of practical science; this demand has been judiciously met by the governing body of the school."

1. IBTA, Vol. 9. p.182.

He regretted, however that it was not as an educational instrument that the subject had been taken up. Science was a concession to the manufacturing needs of the town. It was pursued by the sons of manufacturers in order that

"they might better understand the processes of dyeing and preparing the cloth. It was demanded just as navigation is demanded in a seaport town, as a commercial necessity, not as a branch of liberal education."

The summing up of the school was very favourable, and the new Headmaster, Dr. Henderson received credit from Mr. Fitch:¹

"Throughout all the classes the boys were working with steadiness and method and I was particularly impressed by the frankness and manliness of tone which pervaded the school. Much of this is evidently attributable to the personal influence of the Headmaster, who takes an active share in revising and directing the work of the lower forms as well as in the teaching of his own special department. Some of the tests which he was applying to the mathematical work were exceedingly skillful and expeditious. The entire organisation struck me as being more compact than that of many great schools in which the number of masters causes each class to be practically severed from the rest."

As a result of this report a few changes were made, of which the most important was, according to information supplied to the Commission by the Headmaster in July 1869, the decision to discontinue taking boarders. More important, however, was the

1. Ibid, Vol. 18, p. 169.

decision, recorded by the 1894 Report¹ of the Charity Commissioners as being taken at the end of 1868, to abolish the Lower Department. Clearly the criticisms of the Schools Inquiry Commission were taken note of.

Once again, however, the numbers of pupils declined and new proposals for reform were submitted to the Endowed Schools Commissioners following the Act of 1869. The new proposals were designed to reform the schools organisation and bring the curriculum up to date, and at the same time make the Governing body less parochial. The draft scheme² submitted proposed five important changes:

1. The governing body, the Committee of Pious Uses, would have three additional members appointed by the Charity Commission.
2. There would be three courses of study, the modern, scientific and classical courses.
3. The Headmaster was not required to be in Holy Orders.
4. The Governors were to have the right to remove the Headmaster, under certain conditions.
5. Boys were to be allowed to remain in the school until the age of 20.

The proposed educational reforms were lost in the controversy which the proposed reforms of the Governing body engendered. The governing body had two contestants, on the one hand liberal and non-conformist opinion in the town anxious to liberate the School from the control of the

1. Charity Commissioners, 1899, op. cit. ^{Vol. 4} p. 332.
2. IBIA, p. 332

Established Church, and on the other, the Endowed School Commissioners seeking the public interest. The Commissioners had the stronger weapon for insisting on amore representative governing body for the Trustees proposed appropriating to the school funds the income of the Charity known as the Poor Estate. A final settlement was not to be reached before the end of the century, however, and this settlement was to include provision for financial assistance to girls' education.

In 1870, however, a long period of struggle for the reform of the governing body was opening. The existing arrangements came under increasing attack, particularly after 1871 when, states Leach¹, a scheme of reform compatible with that

"which effected a rapid reform at Bradford was hotly opposed by the self-elective trustees and dropped."

Agreement was reached only on the provision of scholarships for boys from public elementary schools, when in 1878 the surplus of the Poor Estate up to £700 was made available for this purpose.²

At the end of the period under review, Leeds Grammar School had been praised by the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, and was providing a satisfactory classical education. Proposals for further reform of the curriculum were being made but were delayed by the controversy over the control of the school. What was needed in the school organisation was a modern side offering science and other subjects and with a status as high as that of

1. "Victoria History of Counties of England",
op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 460.
2. A.C. Price, op. cit., p.238.

the Classical side. Because of the failure to effect such changes the numbers in the School were falling off as the period closed. Numbers were to fluctuate during Dr. Henderson's long regime as Master, and the roll reached 281 in 1878.¹ The School, apart from the discord over the management, was entering a quiet period which was to last throughout Dr. Henderson's period of office which ended in 1884.

1. IBID., p. 241.

CHAPTER 5 - WORTLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

This little school, on the outskirts of Leeds, continued in existence throughout this period. The Trustees were still active in maintaining the endowment, though the school was almost dormant. For instance, the 1894 Charity Commissioners report¹ that in 1835, for the sum of £17. 11. 8d., two small pieces of land adjoining other property of the trust, were acquired. The school was first brought to the notice of the Commissioners in June 1858, when the trusteeship appeared to be in some danger of ending. There were by this time only two trustees remaining and though each wished to enlarge their number, no agreement on nominations could be achieved. This was due to the religious question; one trustee, Mr. Hartley, wished to have a Nonconformist majority, while the other, a Mr. Bateson, objected to this view, and applied for advice to the Commissioners. The case was then caught up in the bureaucratic machine.

"The Commissioners at first advised that no action should be taken until the issue of the Ilminster School case (Baker v Lee, 8 H.L.C.) then under notice of appeal to the House of Lords, should be known, but, ultimately, Mr. Hartley, having died in May 1859, an application to the Court of Chancery was advised, and under the authority of an Order or certificate of the Commissioners dated 3rd February, 1860, an application was made accordingly."²

Vice Chancellor Page Wood at Chambers on 28th January, 1861, ordered that, under the Charitable Trusts Acts of 1853 and 1855, the following be appointed

1. Charity Commissioners, 1899, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 51b.
2. IBID., p. 516.

trustees: The Rev. John Pettit, Vicar of Wortley, Christopher Topham and George Hepper, Gentlemen, Thomas Brayshay, a Butcher, James Hartley and John Edward Varley Nussey, Cloth Manufacturers; all of Wortley. Thus the trust was preserved and in addition the position regarding future trustees was regularised: Every trustee was to be a member of the Church of England, and any person who ceased to be such, or became bankrupt, or ceased to reside in Wortley, or failed to attend meetings over a period of two years: disqualified himself as a trustee, It was also laid down that any vacancies were to be filled at the next meeting of the Trustees. The duties of the trustees were concisely stated in the Digest of Information provided for the Schools Inquiry Commission¹

"Seven trustees, self-electing, resident in Wortley, appoint the Master, elect the free scholars, and examine the school half-yearly, but do not otherwise interfere."

In 1865 Mr. Fitch visited the school on behalf of the Commissioners, and because of the lack of other evidence, his report on the education provided is especially valuable. He pointed out that the presence of a National School in the village made the endowment a suitable one for the provision of higher or secondary education. The school was attempting

"though with very imperfect success, to fulfil this purpose."²

The number of free scholars had been recently increased from 8 to 12, no mean feat with the

1. Schools' Inquiry Commission, op.cit., Vol. 18, p. 305.
2. IBid., Vol. 18, p. 304.

endowment yielding only 40/- per annum. The other children, of whom there were about 30 attending regularly, paid weekly fees somewhat higher than those charged at the National Schools, being from 6d to 1/- depending upon the number of subjects taken.

Mr. Fitch's opinion is stated very firmly:

"The instruction at the time of my visit was not, in elementary subjects, up to the level of a good National School, but by the help of ornamental writing and ciphering books, it is made to profess a higher character. The state of the schoolroom is not satisfactory, the maps are dirty,¹ and the school material is inadequate."

The Assistant Commissioner did not altogether blame the Master for this state of affairs -

"The Master informed me that there are no funds available for the repair and furnishing of the premises, and that he is obliged to pay for all school requisites from his own pocket. He has never taught Latin in the school, as the parents evince great apathy and even reluctance, whenever he attempts to introduce higher subjects. He believes that the more respectable inhabitants, to whose children it would be appropriate to give advanced instruction, are prevented from sending them as scholars, through an unwillingness to let them associate with the free boys. He is not certificated, and has never been subject to inspection, but had conducted a private school with some success before his appointment to this present post."

Mr. Fitch laid the blame on the system, and its administration by the trustees, for in his general report² he quotes Wortley as an example of his

1. IBIA, VOL.18, p.305.
2. IBIA, VOL.9, p.154.

statement that in those non-classical endowed schools which are filled by the children of the poor, the resistance to the imposition of fees comes chiefly from the trustees. He writes,

"At Wortley, there is a respectable endowment, and the trustees feel themselves bound by the terms of the founder's will to devote it to the maintenance of free scholars in the school I had the advantage here of some conversation with one of the principal trustees. He told me that the income had increased, and that by the sale of some property which had lately become valuable, it was likely to increase still more. I asked what the trustees would propose to do with their augmented income. He replied that they would increase the number of free scholars. I suggested that it might be better to increase the efficiency of the school, and the vicar of the parish also expressed a wish that some of the money should be devoted to the improvement of the teaching staff and of the school premises. But this proposition did not find favour with the trustees. To all representations that the people of Wortley do not want gratuitous education and that it helps to pauperize them and to do ^{them} more harm than good, there is but one answer 'This is an endowment left for free scholars, we neither have the power nor the wish to alter it.' "

This anecdote Fitch used to support his argument that a free grammar school was an anachronism¹;

"If a school be free it is filled with a class of children who do not learn grammar, and if classics are sedulously taught, the school soon ceases to be free."

Yet there seems much to be praised also in the attitude of Trustees attempting to keep to the original aims of the Foundation, but Mr. Fitch did

1. IBIA, Vol. 9, p.152.

not acknowledge it.

Mr. Fitch also referred to Wortley's methods of charging fees in his general comments¹ with reference to its variable fees.

"The plan of regarding the school as a shop in which the parent may buy whatever kind of instruction he asks for, and in such quantities as he chooses takes its most mischievous form in the humbler schools, where reading is taught at one fee, writing at another, arithmetic at a higher, and where those who advance beyond the rule of three pay highest of all."

Obviously Mr. Fitch was not satisfied with the state of affairs at Wortley Grammar School and one must agree with him that the endowment was not being put to its most valuable use in education. But, unlike many other endowments described by the Report of the Commission, it was being used for the purpose for which it was intended. It was also being used in accordance with the founder's wishes, for he had stipulated only that the instruction given in the school shall be "English or Latin" to the "children of inhabitants." Mr. Fitch, however, pointed out in his special report² that there had been no stipulation expressed or implied that the school was intended only for the poorer classes. He wished to see the school revitalised, and felt that there was only one way to achieve this³:

1. IBID., Vol. 9, p. 143.
2. IBID., Vol. 18, p. 304.
3. IBID., Vol. 18, p. 304.

"As the population of this parish and neighbourhood is quite sufficient to sustain two schools, it seems very desirable that this little endowment, with its schoolroom and dwelling house, should be made available as a good secondary or upper school. There is nothing in the industrial or social condition of the inhabitants to constitute any exception to the general rule, or to justify the continuance of the free system and it is obvious that the practice of giving gratuitous education is the principal hindrance to the continuance of the school."

Further information as to the state of the school in the second half of 1866, that is in the year following Mr. Fitch's visit, is given in the Digest of Information contained in the Report¹. The Master received from the endowment the annual sum of £36. 18. 2d., and retained the fees of non-foundations which now appear to have been fixed at £1. 4. 0d, per year. There were no boarders, and all pupils paid 6d a year for fires. There were 36 day scholars of whom 12 were foundationers, all are described as sons of artisans and labourers, living within one and a half miles of the school. Boys on admission were required to know the alphabet - hardly a satisfactory entrance standard! Instruction was given in "the usual elementary subjects"; 36 boys learned reading, writing and arithmetic, and 15 of them also took history, geography and English grammar, while four also took drawing. There was no provision for attendance at church, and some

1. IBIA, Vol. 18. p. 305.

pupils received "a lesson on Sunday". The school was examined yearly "by friends who are schoolmasters." A playground, twenty square yards in size, adjoined the school. The school year consisted of 48 weeks in the year, and 29 hours per week.

Clearly then the school at this time was in function a "superior" elementary school, though in intention it was a higher school. Mr. Fitch found some difficulty in defining its status; he listed it, together with two schools at Elland, and one at Rastrick as being

"Endowed schools, which, though not set down in the returns are reputed Grammar Schools, appear not to be exclusively designed for the children of the poor."¹

As it was known as Wortley Grammar School, and because it later became the concern of the Higher Education Sub-Committee of the Leeds Education Authority, it falls within the province of this history.

Following the Commission's Report attempts were made to improve the school, but not on the lines recommended by Mr. Fitch. The Master, Mr. Thomas Riley, was dismissed, and replaced by a Mr. Freeman. The Charity Commissioners Report of 1894 states² that application was made to the Endowed School Commissioners in 1873 for permission to make certain alterations and improvements in the building for which sanction was legally required. Opportunity was then taken

"to consider the advisability of establishing a Scheme"

1. IBID, Vol. 9. p. 106.

2. Charity Commissioners, 1899, op.cit., Vol. 4, p. 517.

under the 1869 Act, that is a new form of government with wider representation. In April of 1873 when Mr. Fearon on behalf of the Commissioners visited the school there were 50 scholars of whom 12 were free. It was reported that the teaching had improved

"but the scholars for most part left the school at too early an age to be able to do more than the ordinary elementary subjects."¹

Thus, this period in the life of the school ends with the education still elementary in nature, and the trustees still determined to maintain the free scholarships. The tenacity of the trustees was to keep the school going for another thirty years in the face of such difficulties as the suggestion of the Endowed School Commissioners, made in 1873, that the school be closed, and the endowment diverted for the provision of exhibitions.

"They desired to maintain it as a free charity school for 12 poor boys, with the Master able to take private day scholars or boarders at his own terms."

the Commissioners report². In the face of "especially hostile" reaction the Commissioners withdrew their proposal: and the school continued on the lines suggested by the trustees. No doubt had the trustees not been handicapped by the small size of the endowment, they, in their determination to maintain the school, would have effected major reforms while taking care to increase the number of free scholars. The slow

1. IBID., p. 517.

2. IBID., p. 517.

growth of the value of the endowment is shown by the 1873 "Return of Owners of Land"¹ which records the lands of the Wortley School as having a rental of only £46. 16. 0d. In 1867 the Digest of Information² provided for the Schools Inquiry Commission, listed the endowment as producing £41. 8. 6d.

The stubborn Trustees persisted in trying to maintain the School on its tiny income, but certainly they deserve more credit than they got from official inquisitors.

1. W.E. Tate, "The New 'Domesday Book' of 1873 as a Record of Schools and Educational Endowments in Yorkshire" in Researches and Studies, No. 9, Jan. 1954, p. 63.
2. Schools' Inquiry Commission, op. cit., Vol. 18, p. 305

THE SCHOOLS OF LEEDS MECHANICS' INSTITUTES

CHAPTER 6. LEEDS MODERN SCHOOLS.

(i) BOYS' SCHOOL

The first period of this study, that is the early decades of the 19th Century, was largely, so far as secondary education was concerned, a period of slow development in the broadening of classical studies. But these years saw the foundation of a movement which was destined to play an important role in education, particularly in the secondary field. The Mechanics' Institutes may be said to be a typical development of the mid-19th Century, involving what might at first be thought to be the contradictory motives of "Self-help", later to be popularised by Samuel Smiles, the desire to improve the standard of workmanship in the skilled industrial trades, and the need to enlarge the literate, responsible classes in a society throbbing with discontent at the lower levels. The London Mechanics' Institution which began lectures in February 1824 was the first in England, but the roots of the movement go back further, as T. Kelly pointed out in a perceptive article entitled "The Origin of Mechanics' Institutes."¹ Among underlying factors in their origin, he states²:

"The growing interest in science and the growing demand for the modernisation of the school curriculum is particularly significant. Adam Smith in 1776 was proclaiming the value of geometry and mechanics in primary education and the scheme of middle class secondary education propounded by Jeremy Bentham in his *Crestomathia* (1816) covered almost exactly the range of subjects offered in the larger Mechanics' Institutes ten years later."

1. Kelly, T. "The Origins of Mechanics' Institutes", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol.1, No.1, Nov. 1952.
2. IBid., p.18.

The early Mechanics' Institutes were either subject to struggles for control, from which the middle class element emerged victorious, or more commonly were founded by middle class citizens who retained control. Simon¹ points out that

"After 1823 the movement to establish Mechanics' Institutes developed with extraordinary impetus. But elsewhere the lesson had been learned and where possible the middle class assumed full control."

This reference is to the London Institution which was involved in a long and bitter struggle for control. The Leeds Mechanics' Institute was a product of this "extraordinary impetus". Mabel Tylecote in her recent important work² on northern Institutes states that

"When, hard upon the foundation of the London Institution, suggestions came for the foundation of similar Institutions throughout the country, the proposals were at once echoed from innumerable platforms in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

The two industrial towns took the lead. As early as November and December 1823, the work of promoting Mechanics' Institutes in Manchester and Leeds appears to have begun."

The Manchester Institute opened in April 1824: Leeds later in the year. The Leeds Mechanics' Institute was founded by leading citizens, and the middle class element was foremost in governing the Institute. Tylecote states³

1. Op. cit., p.157.

2. Tylecote M. 'The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851', 1957. p.56.

3. IBID., p. 57.

"The Leeds Institute was founded by a group of influential men including the Edward Baines, father and son, of the Leeds Mercury, the Marshalls, leading manufacturers in the town, and in particular, Benjamin Gott, eminent man of business and patron of the arts, who with his 'confident zeal' subscribed £250 to the Institute in its first year."

She states¹ that the younger Baines is said to have had his enthusiasm roused by watching Birkbeck with Brougham by his side, experimenting before 'unwashed artificers' in London. This was the Edward Baines who served on the Taunton Commission, and who, in 1843, founded the Voluntaryists to oppose State aid for education. Tylecote adds that the honorary members of the Leeds Institute established an oligarchical form of government despite Brougham's stricture, made in correspondence with Marshall, concerning a similar situation in Manchester.

In its early years, Tylecote states,
The Leeds Mechanics' Institute

"concentrated upon providing lectures on physical science and classes in mathematical drawing and chemistry, the pupils numbering about 150. In its library, works of fiction and general literature were at first excluded and there was even opposition to the historical and biographical drawings. Leeds thus adhered more rigidly to the purposes of Mechanics' Institutes and had a smaller membership."

A footnote suggests that it may have been because of this Policy that a separate literary society was founded in the City in 1834. The Leeds Literary Institute, as it was at first known, had

1. Ibid., p. 61.

more liberal aims but it was

"supported almost entirely by the intelligent middle classes"

as a contemporary newspaper correspondent signing himself "A Working Man" complained¹, while the Leeds Mechanics' Institute dealt almost exclusively with mechanical and scientific subjects. The correspondent suggested an Institution for intelligent working men. The merger of the two Institutions three years later in 1842 may have met his objections.

Meanwhile a third rival body had been formed in Leeds, as in other towns, where dissenting Churchmen were prominent in the Mechanics' Institute. The Leeds Church Institute under its distinguished Chairman, Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds from 1837 to 1859 was a thriving organisation which opened a number of branches.

The early years of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute were not particularly distinguished. The first meeting place consisted of two rooms in Park Row, one used as a library the other as a classroom. The first rules of the Institute defined the objects thus:

"To supply at a cheap rate to the different classes of the community the advantages of instruction in the various branches of science which are of practical application to the various trades and occupations. Such instruction cannot fail to prove of importance to every working man who is employed in any mechanical or chemical occupation, and a scientific instruction which will give a more thorough knowledge of their arts, will greatly tend to improve the skill and practice of those classes of men who are essentially conducive to the prosperity of this large manufacturing town."²

1. "Leeds Times," correspondence column, 26.1.1839, quoted by Tylecote, *ibid.*, p.70.
2. "The Leeds Institute of Science, Art and Literature: Historical Sketch, 1824 - 1900," 1901, p.5.

Much prominence was given by the Institute to public lectures which became the most important activity of the Institute. Mayhall, the local historian, commented¹ in October 1851 that

"a most interesting series of meetings were held at this time to celebrate the opening of the New Hall of the Mechanics' Institution, South Parade."

The new premises had formerly been a Socialist meeting house, and were re-named the Hall of Science. Alas for the Founders' intentions, the educational work was not so advanced as had been hoped. In Leeds as elsewhere the manual working classes did not give consistent support to the Institute; although weekly wage earners and boys under 18 years were admitted at reduced fees,

"from one half to two thirds of these members changed each year."²

The Mechanics' Institutes survived only because they attracted the support of a different type of membership: clerks, tradesmen and the like. A further impediment to the giving of advanced science instruction was the low level of elementary education and in Leeds as elsewhere in the country most classes in the early years were confined to instruction in the three Rs and very elementary science. More advanced classes in chemistry and electricity were provided, but despite the growing importance of these subjects in local industry, the number of students rarely exceeded 15.³

1. 'Yorkshire Annals', entry dated October 13th 1841, op. cit., Vol. 1., p. 478.
2. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 68.
3. Education in Leeds: A Backward Glance and Present View, Leeds Education Committee, 1926, p. 90.

The amalgamation in 1842 of the Leeds Literary Society with the Mechanics' Institute was an important milestone. Edward Baines was the first President of the united body, the Vice-President was the Rev. Charles Wicksteed of Mill Hill Unitarian Chapel, at which in the previous century Joseph Priestly had for a short time been Minister, and Mr. James Kitson was Hon. Secretary. The Kitson family was to play an important part in the affairs of the Institute until its dissolution in 1940. The result of the amalgamation was the broadening of the lecture programme in the Hall of Science, a considerable increase in the book circulation, and the admission of women as members in 1845. The latter year is most important, for the purposes of this study for the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and the Literary Society opened a Mathematical and Commercial school for boys. The direct descendant of this school is Leeds Modern School, now a maintained grammar school situated at West Park, Leeds.

A number of Mechanics' Institutes founded their own schools, and these with their wide curriculum and attention to the needs of the community made an important contribution to education in England. Their influence on other schools was greater than their numbers would indicate, for they tended to be centred only in the large cities such as Leeds, Manchester and their immediate neighbourhoods. The motives behind the Institutes were not wholly altruistic, for as

Tylecote suggests

".....they were not only useful in themselves, but beneficial in their influence upon the other work of the Institute - providing experienced teachers and recruits with previous instruction."¹

That this was appreciated by the Leeds Committee is shown in an Annual Report of the Leeds Institute which, in reporting that all the boys in the school were enrolled as subscribers to the Institute, claimed that

"they have secured a more permanent and secure standing for the society, as they anticipate that the boys educated in the Institution will eventually become its firm and zealous supporters."²

There were in some quarters misgivings concerning the schools, and the Manchester Institute soon gave up its schools, while in Liverpool the school became more important than the adult work in the Institute. An amusing reference to the Liverpool Schools occurs in the Report³ of the Taunton Commission, where Mr. Fitch writes

"Someone in Liverpool remarked to me 'the Institute was meant to be a place for modern education, and it now teaches classics to the whole of its upper modern school, its discipline was to be maintained without corporal punishment, and the cane is now in regular use; it was to be purely secular, and its late and present headmasters are clergymen of the Church of England' ".

The Leeds school in contrast was able to keep to the principles of its founders, while overcoming early difficulties, and achieve success. Tylecote⁴

1. Op. cit., p. 267.

2. "Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society; Report of the Committee to the Annual Meeting", 22nd Jan., 1846, p. 7.

3. The Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, Op. cit., Vol. 1. p. 314.

4. Op. cit., p. 70.

appraises the educational achievements of the Leeds Institute thus:

"Day schools were founded in 1845 and were said to provide a 'sound English and commercial education' for 150 boys (in 1849). The schools were the forerunners of the boys' and girls' Modern Schools but the Technical School and the School of Art also subsequently developed in close association with the lecture and the class departments and the maintenance of successful classes in chemistry, drawing and mathematics, as well as writing and bookkeeping, the establishment of a mutual improvement society with 200 members, where instruction could be obtained in the three Rs and the provision of a lecture programme which included a number on science and applied science suggests that at Leeds in particular an effort was made, and partial success achieved, in fulfilling the ideas of a Mechanics' Institute."

The aim of the mathematical and commercial school was expressed by the classes sub-committee of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and Literary Society in the Minutes¹ for July 1845:

"the day school of this Institution was established for the purpose of implanting in youthful minds principles of morality; to impart a sound and practical education; to qualify the pupils for men of business and active life; to maintain their position in society with credit and respectability."

The new school owed its inspiration to the Liverpool school, and its implementation to the success of the evening classes run by the Institute, for the Annual Report² of the Institute, presented on Jan. 2nd 1845, ~~after~~ referring to the establishment of new commercial evening classes, stated that

1. Leeds Mechanics' Institute, Minutes, 31st. July, 1845.
2. Leeds Mechanics Institute (and Literary Society), Annual Report, 22nd. Jan., 1845, p. 7.

"should success attend this change your Committee would strongly recommend to their successors the subject of forming day classes which constitute so distinguished and successful a feature of the Liverpool Institution."

Success must have rapidly attended the new venture for within six months the day school was founded, and the first headmaster was Mr. Twist who had formerly been in charge of the Institute's evening classes. The public were invited to give their support to the new school in the following terms as published in the "Leeds Mercury"¹

"The Committee beg to inform the members, subscribers and the public generally, that they have resolved to open a day school for boys, early in July, in connection with the Institute, to be conducted under the most approved principles of Education under the direction of Mr. Samuel Twist, late head master of Leigh Grammar School.

The course of instruction will be divided into two parts:-

Elementary: which will comprise Reading, Writing and Exercise in Numbers and Orthography. The more advanced course will comprise Grammar, Composition, Elocution, History, Geography and the use of the Globes, Natural Philosophy with Problems, Writing, Book-keeping and Mathematics. Hours of attendance 9 to 12 or from 2 to 4.30p.m. Terms 12/- per quarter which includes all the privileges of the Institution.

French and German 5/- per quarter extra"

The school thus began by offering a part-time day course of instruction, but this was soon changed to a 36-hour week and a 43-week year as was customary at this time. The school opened the doors

1. "Leeds Mercury", June 28th, 1845.

for the first time on July 14th 1845, and by the end of the year there were 72 pupils, and an assistant master had been appointed.¹ The fees of 1/- a week may not seem unduly high, for a secondary school, but they were beyond the reach of large numbers of the population, as can be seen from the sample figures of wage rates for lower paid workers, quoted by Mayhall² in 1841.

"From the report of the Operative Enumeration Committee on the poor in Leeds it appeared that out of 4,752 families examined, consisting of 19,936 individuals, 3,780 were in work and 16,156 were out of work: the average earnings per head being 11½d weekly for each individual"

The fee of 1/- a week was a substantial amount (at that time) and clearly the school was designed to meet the needs of the wealthier artisans and the lower middle class people of Leeds. From the outset the curriculum with its strong element of scientific and commercial subjects was planned to be utilitarian in nature. Only after the school had gained local standing was Classics taught, and then to a minority.

The school had to pass through periods of difficulty before it was firmly established, and one of these crises happened only eighteen months after the school opened. But at first the school had made good progress, and the Annual Report of the Institute presented on January 21st 1846, commented:

"On looking back at the proceedings for the past year, no part of their labour gives your Committee more satisfaction than the establishment of the day school."³

1. E. Bullus, (ed.), "The Modernian", 1931, p.2.
2. "Yorkshire Annals" ^{op.cit.} Entry for October 1841.
3. op.cit., 1846, p.7.

The members of the classes Sub-Committee of the Institute which governed the school included one who was to achieve lasting fame, Samuel Smiles, author of 'Self-help'. The results of the first examination held on December 21st 1845, by Mr. Edward Baines Jnr., the President of the Institute, were said to be satisfactory and

"exhibiting the progress of the scholars and the ability and diligence of the teachers."¹

When the school reopened in January 1846 the number on roll reached 120 and, owing to lack of space in the Institute building, the premises of 22 East Parade were taken to accommodate the Art School. This additional building also provided room for more evening school classes, and enabled the Day School to have more rooms in the Institute building.

In the following year the school made further progress; the number of pupils rose to 139 and Mr. Twist's staff was increased by the appointment of Mr. Brook and Mr. Dickinson. A Gallic gentleman, Mr. Lafargue was also appointed to take charge of the teaching of French. The Annual Inspection, made in January 1847, this time by the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, did not report so favourably on the school. Good progress was recorded in arithmetic, geography and history but in the examiner's opinion

"one or two scholars had made little or no progress."²

Mr. Twist in his report as headmaster complained of

1. IBIA, p.8.

2. IBIA, Annual Report, Jan. 1847, p.7.

the attitude of parents, saying

"Little can be accomplished where little or no attention is paid by them to the children's performance of home duties and their regular attendance at school."¹

A later headmaster, Dr. Barber,² commenting on the position at this time suggested that the number of pupils had increased too greatly for the available staff. There were then 139 pupils and 3 teachers. Mr. Twist did not stay long at the school; in November 1847 he had a dispute with the Committee and resigned³.

A new headmaster was found in the person of Mr. F.W. Bedford,^{subsequently} a graduate of Trinity College,^{Dublin} and previously on the staff of Woodhouse Grove School. Mr. Bedford was a man of considerable ability and he introduced a number of changes. His first year at the school was a troubled one, however, due to the heavy depression in trade which affected Leeds and other towns in 1848. In consequence the number of pupils dropped to 100 and proposals to rehouse the school in new buildings were dropped. Although prosperity came again to the city in a few years, the new buildings were not secured until some twenty years later. The Classes Sub-Committee of the Institute which was the governing body of the school had the utmost confidence in Mr. Bedford as headmaster and supported him in the changes which he made. His first major change was to introduce a form^{of} specialist

1. IBID. p.7.

2. E. Bullus, (Ed), Op. cit., p.3.

3. Leeds Mechanics' Institute: Annual Report January, 1848. p.8.

teaching in the school. The 1849 Annual Report of the Institute described the new system thus:

"To his two assistants and himself the Headmaster has assigned an equal number of subjects to teach; selecting for each those subjects in which he considers them most likely to be useful."¹

An early form of specialisation evidently. One Master was deputed to give all the instruction in Writing, and this, the Report claimed, had led to a "wonderful uniformity of style".

The Committee, indeed, were full of praise for the system. One of the advantages listed is that

"for the Masters there is daily experienced by each the pleasures connected with the communication of the advanced position of any subject, and a natural inducement is afforded to cull from every source whatever may tend to elucidate and illustrate the limited number of subjects in each teacher's province."

This arrangement is claimed to be achieving success "much beyond the master's expectations".

The 1849 Annual Report also refers to an increase in the number of classical pupils, tuition in classical and modern languages being an optional extra for which a charge of 5/6d per quarter was made.

Clearly Mr. Bedford was altering the school's function, and the Annual Report for 1850 refers to this development and finds it necessary to restate the aims of the school:

"Although the classics and modern languages are taught, yet the prominent character of the School is commercial, and everything in the way of accomplishment is systematically made subservient to the essential branches of instruction."²

1. IBL, 31st. Jan., 1850, p.5.

2. IBL, p.6

An interesting innovation more akin to an American P.T.A. perhaps, is mentioned in this Report:

"Every opportunity is afforded to the parents for acquainting themselves with the system of the school and the attainments of their children, as they are invited to the fortnightly, periodical and the half-yearly general examination."¹

Examinations at this time must have been quite an ordeal for some of the school's pupils.

The Report for 1853 refers to Dr. Bedford's "valuable suggestions for the remodelling of the school",²

the main features of which were concerned with improving the teaching of science. The higher development of the school necessitated an increase in fees, the Report stated, so as to

"make this department of the Institution eminently useful to the middle and working classes of Leeds".

The Report for the following year shows that progress in this remodelling was made, particularly in the teaching of Natural Philosophy

"in which every step has been clearly demonstrated by actual experiment."³

The increased fees had resulted, not to the surprise of the Committee, in a fall in numbers from 219 to 179.

In 1854, to the regret of the Committee, Dr. Bedford resigned in order to take over the headship of Heriots Hospital School, Edinburgh. Thus ended the first clearly defined period in the life

1. Ibid., p.7

2. Ibid., 31st. January, 1854, p.9.

3. Ibid., 31st. January, 1855, p.13.

of this school. Under its first two Headmasters its curriculum had been vocational in nature, mainly commercial, but with an increasing emphasis on science. The second period was to consist of seven lean years under four different headmasters, years of great concern to the Institute for, according to the Annual Report for 1857; no competent headmaster who would agree to continue both School and Evening classes could be found, as there were no longer sufficient pupils to provide a satisfactory income. A Mr. Henry Kincaid, M.A. was appointed as headmaster, apparently with a view to his accepting responsibility, but he resigned before the transfer was completed. The plan was dropped and the Annual Report for 1859 stated that the Committee was pledged

"to promote a thoroughly sound, practical and commercial education",¹

and no further attempts to separate the school were made. In this year the numbers had risen to 162, an increase of 54 in one year, and the Committee reported that the School was flourishing under a new Headmaster, Mr. Dall. But within a year Mr. Dall had given up his post and opened a private School in the town. This was a grievous blow to the school and, though the Committee stated that they felt that it would be of a very transient nature they admitted that

"The natural consequence of this change, following so soon after the resignation of Mr. Kincaid, was a sudden and considerable diminution in the number of scholars which only time and the vigorous and judicious course of management pursued by the new master, Mr. Horsman, will enable him to regain."²

1. Ibid., January 1860, p.25.
2. Ibid., January 1861, p.22

Fortunately for the school, the Committee's expectations of the new headmaster were to prove justified. The school was badly in need of a strong character as head, a man who could remodel the school to meet the changing conditions of the latter half of the 19th Century. Mr. Horsman was to prove to be the right man for this task, and his headship of 23 years was to be a memorable one in the school's history, and not only because under his guidance the school soon recovered from its "lean" period. Thomas Horsman, B.A. was certainly a man of strong character and an outstanding teacher. The Rev. J.T. Lawrence, who from the school won a scholarship to Malvern and later went to Oxford and afterwards became Principal of a Church College in India, is reported¹ to have said of him:

"I believe Mr Horsman could have taught Chinese if it had been necessary for a Scholarship. I never needed to learn more mathematics after I left the School. I was able to take my degree on what he taught me."

Thus the year 1861 marked the beginning of a new era for the Leeds Modern School, and we should at this stage perhaps glance briefly at the other educational achievements of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and Literary Society. Of the Girls School founded in 1854 more will be written: it will, therefore, be sufficient to note that at this time there was in Leeds no other school under public management which provided for girls an education higher than elementary standard. The Institute was also

1. Bullus, OP. CIT., p.5.

maintaining two other educational foundations which were eventually to emerge as Colleges of Technology and of Art respectively, and which are outside the scope of this study. Of the Leeds Institute a Society of Arts enquiry in 1853 stated¹ that it was one of the few Mechanics' Institutes which had good class departments capable of development into efficient schools of industry, and which combined the varied educational and recreational activities with systematic instruction. Leeds has reason to be grateful to the Institute for its pioneering educational work. The part played by government agencies should also be recognised. The transfer of the Department of Science and Art, which had originated as a branch of the Board of Trade in 1853, to the Committee of Council on Education in 1856 gave an impetus to scientific and technical study. Financial aid, gradually increasing in amount enabled Institutes and other educational agencies to provide instruction in certain branches of science to the industrial classes. Subjects such as botany and zoology, physics and chemistry, geology and mineralogy, geometry, technical drawing and building ranked for grant aid. By 1861 S.J. Curtis² states, the number of grant-aided science classes was 70 with 2,543 pupils. Within a few years this number was to increase enormously, and the Leeds Institute made a valuable contribution to this progress.

1. Tylecote, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

2. { S. J. Curtis
History of Education in Great Britain,
 1950, p. 481.

The long period of office of Mr. Horsman as Headmaster paralleled that of Dr. Henderson at Leeds Grammar School in achievements and in time. The latter held sway from 1862 to 1884, Mr. Horsman from 1861 to 1884. During this period the policy of the Mathematical and Commercial School underwent gradual changes. Mr. Horsman was a brilliant teacher and he built up the numbers at the school to over 300, but the school became more of an orthodox secondary school. Classics was given a more important part in the curriculum, which for the brighter boys was aimed at the securing of Public School scholarships. Though this policy was successful it was not altogether popular with the Institute for it led to the brighter boys leaving at the age of 14. Differences over this policy were eventually to lead to Mr. Horsman's resignation. But meanwhile there were important events, among them the visit of Mr. Fitch on behalf of the Taunton Commission, only a few years after Mr. Horsman's appointment, and then a few months later the removal of the school to the new buildings of the Institute.

The importance of the Taunton Commission has already been discussed in connection with grammar schools. The Report had much of value to say concerning proprietary schools also. In the General Report¹ we find that they are placed in four grades. First, the full classical schools; like the other proprietary schools, with very few exceptions, they were "almost all not yet 40 years old". They were offering a classical education of the first grade, but

1. Schools Inquiry Commission,
op. cit., Vol. 1., p. 310.

were giving more attention to modern subjects than the endowed schools. Such schools included Cheltenham, Clifton and Haileybury. In the second grade there were those boarding schools which did not give classics a regular place in the curriculum and these included Framlingham and Crawley. The third grade comprised

"those intended mainly for a less wealthy section of the community, clerks, small shopkeepers and upper artisans. They have usually risen out of the Mechanics' Institutes, or been founded by the clergyman of a large parish, or are in connection with a non-conformist body.....The school maintained by the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick, and the Birkbeck schools established by Mr. Ellis belong also to this class. Almost all of the schools coming under this head are day schools."

The fourth grade consisted of those denominational schools established for the benefit of members of religious groups, e.g. Woodhouse Grove, Mill Hill, Stonyhurst. But in all these cases, the survivors were the remainder from a much larger number. The Report gives reasons for the rise of these schools:

"The history of these schools is in a great degree the history of recent struggles for the improvement of secondary schools. The system of the Grammar Schools forty years ago was very different from what it is now. The exclusive cultivation of classics, and often of the least essential parts of classics, the neglect of Mathematics and modern languages and English, the severe system of punishment, the tyranny exercised by bigger boys over the smaller boys, and the bad accommodation, together produced a ferment which eventually issued in the series of experiments which took the shape of proprietary schools."²

1. Ibid., Vol. 1. p.312.

2. Ibid., Vol. 1. p.314

It has already been suggested that the Leeds Mathematical and Commercial School came into existence partly to provide an education more in line with local needs than that provided at Leeds Grammar School. But clearly the basic *raison d'être* of the new school was the growth of a new lower middle class and artisan class prepared to pay for their children's education but not able to pay the high fees of the grammar schools. This is clearly shown in the objects of the Leeds school as provided to the Taunton Commission and given as a digest in the Report¹, where the school is described as

"A public school where sons of tradesmen, clerks and middle or lower middle classes may obtain a good, sound and thorough education at a reasonable cost."

This digest also gives a sample list of parents' occupations which enables us to confirm that it was meeting the needs of these newly emerging sections of the population. The sample is of the top ten and the bottom ten boys in the school and the occupations of their fathers are listed as 3 Printers, 3 Captains, 2 Travellers, 2 Publicans, 2 Managers, 1 Clerk, 1 Baker, 1 Pawnbroker, 1 Book-keeper, 1 Grocer, 1 Station-Master, 1 Whitesmith and 1 Nailmaker, all living within four miles of the school. The fees at this time ranged from £3 to £6 per year, being about half those charged at the Grammar School. The latter in its Upper Department dealt with children from wealthier social groups than did the Modern School, but to

1. IBID., Vol. 1., p.657.

some extent its Lower Department competed with the Modern School. This is shown by the report¹ on the two schools made by Mr. Fitch; the Grammar School charged £4. 4. Od. for the Lower Department which was a competitive fee, and out of the sample of twenty parents given in the Report, fourteen were artisans or tradesmen. Thus, there was some overlapping of function, and it is interesting to compare the two Reports. The fact that the Grammar School shortly afterwards closed its Lower Department seems to show that the Modern School offered better value for money. Dr. Fitch's report indicated that it offered a better education.

"In the boys' school", Dr. Fitch reported²

"I found 150 scholars under four highly trained masters, of whom the first also possessed a university degree. Here were all the characteristics of a superior British school, united with the home lessons, written exercises and advanced studies which are proper for the middle-class day school. The order was admirable, the attainments in history, English grammar and mathematics unusually sound. Latin and French were taught in the Upper classes, while the amount of mental activity and interest in learning displayed in all the classes was such as to evince both skill and enthusiasm on the part of the teachers."

Mr. Fitch felt that the schools gained much from their relationship with the Mechanics' Institute while making no financial claim upon it. Apart from "attentive superintendence" the schools were self-supporting, he pointed out.

1. See pp. 69, - 70 for details of Report on Leeds Grammar School, Lower Department.
2. Op. cit., Vol. 9, p. 245.

Such a favourable report must have been a source of great pride to the Committee and the Annual Report following its publication quoted many of its comments. 1868, the Annual Report stated, had brought an increase of 60 in the enrolment of the boys' school and the Committee felt able to declare:

"The numbers of the school were never so large, nor has its intellectual standing ever been more varied or more extensive."¹

Nevertheless, the Committee felt that the school could be still further improved given stability in its pupils, for the work was disturbed by the half-yearly admission and removal of pupils.

In the meantime the plans for a new Institute building had gone ahead, and in 1868 the school was rehoused there. All the activities of the Institute, including a Library, Reading Room, Evening Class Rooms, Schools of Art and Science were accommodated in the new building which was planned, said the Committee,²

"in the Italian style, intending to present a fine bold appearance having an external arch supported by lay figures, technically called caryatides, surrounded by a pediment filled with sculpture."

This fine building known as the Brodrick building, after its architect, who was the designer of Leeds Town Hall, is still in use today, the hall for public gatherings and the remainder as an adjunct to the Technical College. The new premises were inaugurated on September 23rd 1868, with a lecture

1. { Leeds Mechanics' Institute:
Annual Report for 1868. p.9.

2. Annual Report for 1867. p.3.

Ibid.,

by Dr. Hook, the late Vicar of Leeds, then Dean of Chichester. The Chairman, the press reported,¹ described the Institute as

"an educational establishment which they were confident was not excelled in England."

Thus, at the end of this period, the Leeds Mathematical and Commercial School was well established, housed in a fine new building, with a headmaster in the middle of a long term of office, and its pupils entering for many examinations. Mr. Horsman had given the school a good standing in Leeds, a status which was endorsed by Dr. Fitch; he had gathered a well qualified staff, and had ensured a good supply of pupils. The passing of the Education Act of 1870, directed as it was to elementary education, was bound to increase the supply of pupils for secondary schools. That competing schools would be set up under the new system of elementary education was not envisaged by the directors of the Mechanics' Institute schools in Leeds, when in their Annual Report² for 1870 they welcomed the new Act in most optimistic terms.

1. "Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer," Sept. 24th., 1868.
2. op. cit., Jan. 1871, p.3.

(ii) LEEDS LADIES EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE, FOUNDED BY
THE LEEDS MECHANICS' INSTITUTE IN 1854.

From time to time we have referred to the pioneering role of the Mechanics' Institute with regard to girls' education as well as boys'. In setting up a girls' school the Institute was perhaps being more enterprising than when founding the boys' school. Secondary education for girls was, at this time, but rarely provided. Dr. Fitch in his report¹ for the School Inquiry Commissioners stated:

"It is only when the endowed school loses its classical character and sinks down to the condition of a village school that it opens its doors to admit girls"

Such was the case at Ilkley School, and in the whole of the West Riding there was only one endowed school in which any attempt was made to give the girls any instruction of a higher kind than that of an elementary school, and this, Dr. Fitch reported was Rishworth,

"an eleemosynary foundation".

In these circumstances any attempt on the part of public bodies to remedy this deficiency was valuable. Yet success was not guaranteed by the absence of competing schools, for as yet secondary education for girls was not highly prized. The Leeds Ladies' Educational Institute, as the girls' school founded by Leeds Mechanics' Institute was named, was favoured in that it had the support of the more enlightened middle class people of the city, and

1. op. cit., Vol. 9., pp. 196-197.

the success of the Institute's Boys' School as an inspiration. It was with some diffidence however that the managing body of the Institute had decided to establish a girls' school, and their public announcement¹ was careful to point to the success of similar schools in other big cities.

"Female education has been a most important element in the proceedings of the Manchester and Liverpool Institutions, and having before them the experience of these societies, and strongly feeling the necessity for diffusing sound practical instruction in the rising generation, rapidly emerging from girlhood into womanhood, the Committee have decided on establishing a girls' school in connection with the Leeds Institution."

Thus, the Liverpool Institute was quoted as a model for both the boys' and girls' schools founded by the Leeds Institute.

The proposed course of instruction in the new school was, according to the public notice, to be

"at once comprehensive, sound and practical."

An advertisement in the same issue of the paper gave further details :

"School opens on Monday July 24th at 4, South Parade, with hours 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ a.m. and from 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.m.

The course of instruction will be designed to prepare the pupils for the active duties of life, and will be comprehensive as well as thoroughly practical; it will comprise - Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, study of the English language and composition - Accounts and Book-keeping, Elementary Drawing, Practical Geometry, History, Geography

1. "Leeds Mercury", May 27th, 1854.

elementary Natural Philosophy and Vocal Music - Logic, or the right conduct of the understanding - Ethics, or systematic moral culture and Callisthenics. The following subjects may be studied under well qualified Masters at an extra charge - Drawing, figure and landscape - Music, the pianoforte - Dancing - modern languages, French, Italian and German - Latin - Natural History - a competent knowledge of the principles of Chemistry, Natural Philosophy and Physiology."

This was certainly comprehensive, but made little concession to the traditional selection of subjects for girls' education. In order to allay doubts as to the practicability of this ambitious curriculum the Directors of the Institute invited the Secretary, Mr. W.H.J. Traice, to address members of the Institute. In his address¹ he reviewed the history of the boys' school and touched upon the objects of both schools, before coming to the controversial topic of the curriculum best suited to the needs of girls:

"To provide educational facilities for females is a desirable object but one whose attainment requires great circumspection and very considerable attention to detail..... If the immediately useful has been too much insisted on in the education of boys, it has surely been too commonly ignored in that of girls; as though all our gallantry and homage to the sex attained its climax in the acknowledgement that though beautiful, they are no use whatever. The young lady must be accomplished; she may be well informed. She must prattle French like a native (i.e. of Great Britain), copy charming landscapes without being able to draw, and transform bobbins of wool and silk into fabrics that set schools of design at defiance. There we have the outline of what has been received

1. W.H.J. Traice, - Address given on the establishment of a Girls' School in connection with the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, 1854.

as an appropriate education for the daughters of England"

Having delivered these lusty swipes at girls' education, some of which must have embarrassed the directors of the Institute, Mr. Traice defended the curriculum of the new school:

"What are the studies best calculated to promote a useful culture and discipline of the female mind? Two distinct classes of results are wanted, one in imparting direct information and knowledge likely to be of service, such as the elementary arts, reading, writing, arithmetic, composition and needle work, and the other, the formation of habits likely to give strength and stability of character."

It must be concluded that the proposed curriculum, with its large number of subjects, was not exactly in accordance with Mr. Traice's suggestions, but no doubt his talk served to secure support for the Institute's new venture.

On June 17th that year it was announced that Miss Dorrington of Leeds had been appointed Head Governess of the new school. The Institute had advertised¹ for

"A lady who has some experience in the management of a large establishment"

and offered a salary of £100 per annum. After only a year's service Miss Dorrington resigned in order to become a missionary in India, and a Miss Bonnyman replaced her, after which the 1856 Annual Report was able to note

"signs of improvement in the tone and character of the instruction in the school."

1. "Leeds Mercury", May 13th, 1854.

From the original 22 pupils the school roll had increased to 34, and a third teacher was engaged, an assistant, Miss Potter, having been appointed at the start.

The brief history of the school¹ gives some details of the early years. The school was divided into Elementary, Middle and Upper Departments with fees ranging from 15/- to 30/- a quarter. A quaint feature of the school arrangement was the introduction of a fourth quarter held in July and August, a practice which persisted until 1882. By 1857 there were 70 pupils in the school and there was a removal from the Institute building in South Parade to the Art School premises at 22, East Parade nearby. It is evident that the curriculum originally proposed was not fully adopted, for only in 1854 was Natural Philosophy added to the recognised subjects. In 1860, the historical sketch² tells us, the art of map-drawing was introduced, and in the Upper School

"the transposition of poems by Milton and Cowper"

was added. Algebra, English Literature and Greek History had however been adopted as early as 1856.

The Annual Report for 1862 states that the school had 140 girls on the roll. An interesting link with the social and political history of the

1. "Lawnswood High School, (1854-1954): A Centenary Souvenir", 1954.
2. Ibid., p.8.

times is provided by the reference in this Report to a bazaar held by the scholars in the Hall of the Institute, for the sale of fancy articles, mainly their own work,

"for the relief of the distressed operatives of Lancashire,"¹

who were, presumably, then suffering from the effects of the North's blockade of the cotton exports of the South in the United States Civil War. In that year Miss Bonnyman retired and was replaced by Miss Knowles who remained for only one year, being succeeded by Miss Ash. In 1864 the school moved to premises in Queen's Square; the main entrance was in Woodhouse Lane and the Square was used as a playground and for callisthenics taken by Sgt. Palmer of Harewood Barracks. A difficult problem for all girls' schools at this time was that of having standards measured by recognised public examinations. The Oxford Local Examination though suitable was debarred for most pupils because of the high fees, and in 1865 pupils were entered for the Society of Arts examinations.

The School was called upon to supply a Digest of Information² to the Schools Inquiry Commission, and this enables us to assess the progress made in the first twelve years. The objects were now stated as

"Public School, where a good sound and thorough education may be obtained for the children of the middle and lower middle class of society."

- Leeds Mechanics' Institute;
1. Sp. & L., Jan. 1863., p.19.
 2. Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, op.cit., Vol. 1., p. 690.

The sample of Parents' Occupations provided for the Commission lists 2 Brokers, 2 Builders, 1 Oil Merchant, 1 Sub-Editor, 1 Flax Spinner, 1 Carver and Gilder, the remaining twelve being tradespeople. It is perhaps surprising that the middle class was not better represented, as this was the only established girls' school in the city; no doubt, the traditional institution of governesses was still regarded by the wealthier classes as the best means of educating their daughters. The School's curriculum comprised Arithmetic, history, geography, English grammar, reading and writing, vocal music, drawing and needlework. Optional subjects were French, taken by 30 pupils, Natural History by 73, Instrumental Music and Callisthenics. There were in all 212 pupils and their average stay was three years, the school year being 43 weeks of 27 hours.

Dr. Fitch, though primarily interested in the boys' school run by the Institute, referred¹ to the girls' school in favourable terms:

"The girls school in which there are 140 scholars possesses similar merits (i.e. to those of the boys' school) It is under the care of teachers who have been specially trained for their work, and it displays a high average of general intelligence,"

Dr. Fitch also referred to the plans to provide new premises for the schools. When the new Mechanics' Institute building in Cookridge Street was completed in 1868 the girls' school was housed there in addition to the boys' school.

1. IBID., Vol. 9., p. 245.

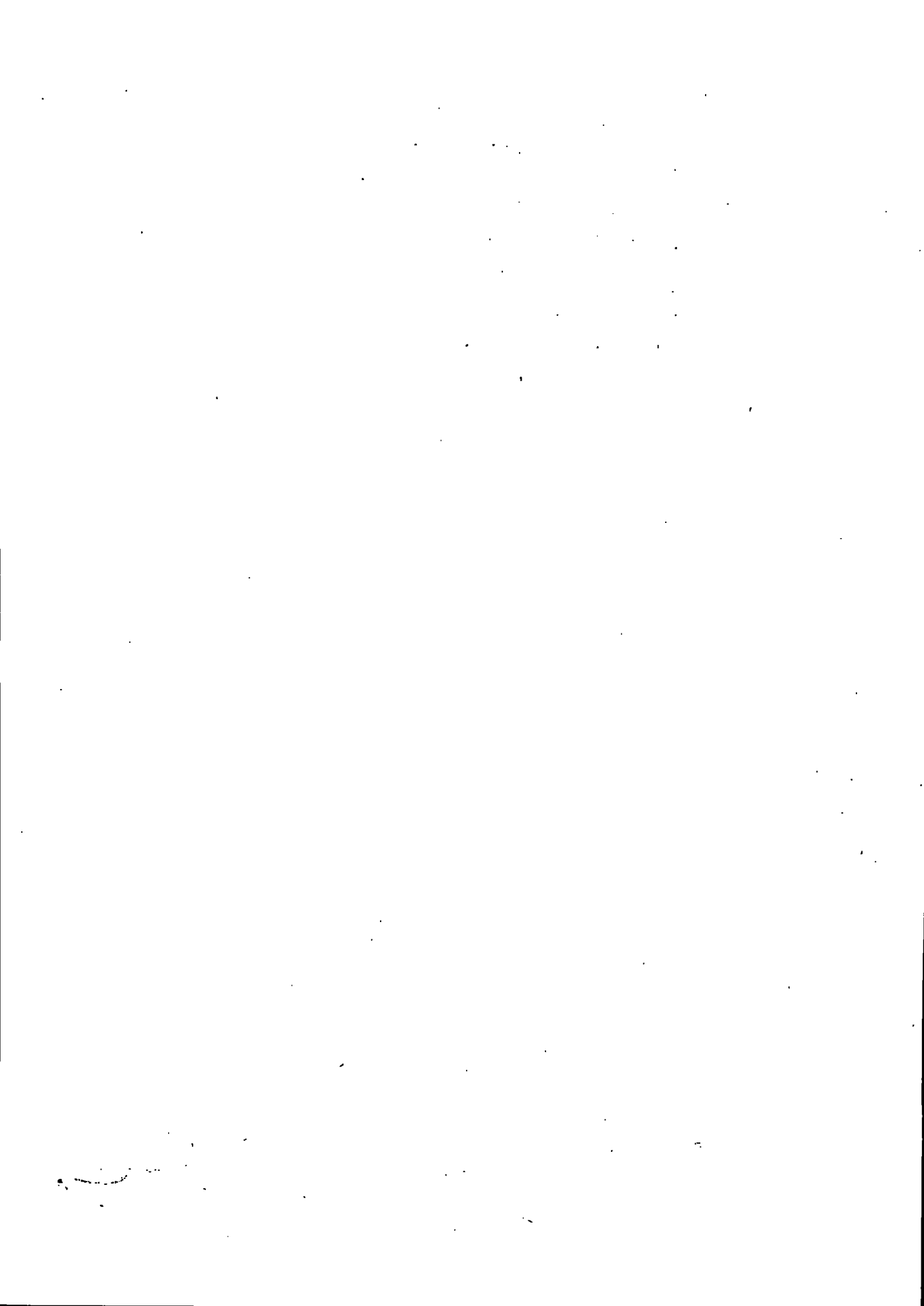
The girls used a separate entrance but shared with the boys the science building. The school was a pioneer in the teaching of science to girls, and Physical Geography and Animal Physiography were added to the curriculum at this time. This deviation from the Day High Schools' normal curriculum with its stress on 'accomplishments' was in line with the intentions of the Directors when founding the school, but the influence of an enterprising boys' school on the premises was probably the major factor in promoting modern subjects. Few girls' schools at this time were so fortunate as to have the use of well-equipped science rooms.

The school continued to prosper under the guidance of Miss Ash, and at the close of our period, the 1870 Annual Report was able to claim a roll of 236 pupils. The first entries to the Cambridge Local Examination had been made, but Miss Ash was complaining that because of the early withdrawal of girls it was difficult to form an examination class.

~~The School's~~ ^{was} roll of 236 pupils, only fifty fewer than the boys' school. The Annual Report stated that French, German and Italian tuition was available. The School was divided into three departments, for which the charges were: Elementary 17/- per quarter, Middle 23/- per quarter, Upper Division 34/- per quarter.¹

1. Op. cit., Jan. 30th., 1871, p.16.

The School, then, in 1870 was well established and well supported. It was not doing work of as high a standard as its brother school, but it was supplying much needed education of a satisfactory standard for girls of the lower middle, and artisan classes. Its devoted Headmistress, Miss Ash, was conducting the School on a sound basis and she was to continue in office until 1894.



CHAPTER 7 - LEEDS CHURCH MIDDLE CLASS SCHOOLS

The schools dealt with so far were founded with the intention of providing one form or other of education of above elementary standard. However, as was pointed out in the introduction, some of the roots of secondary education in England grew out of the elementary system. Perhaps system is not the most appropriate term to use in referring to the elementary education of the years before 1870, with which we are dealing. Through the efforts of the voluntary societies much provision had been made for the education of the children of the working classes, but the supply of educational facilities was inadequate and this deficiency the State, under the Education Act passed in 1870, proposed to remedy. One of the first to draw attention to the deficiencies of the voluntary societies was a prominent citizen of Leeds, the Rev. W.F. Hook. Dr. Hook was Vicar of Leeds when in 1846 he wrote his famous pamphlet¹ in the form of an open letter to the Bishop of St. David's who, like himself, was a campaigner for a more intensive drive to educate the poor. The accuracy of Hook's strictures has been disputed, and A.K.C. Brown quotes² evidence refuting some of his charges. This dispute is not the concern of this study, but it is useful to note that Dr. Hook expressly³ excluded Leeds from his strictures as to the quality of elementary education:

1. Rev. W.F. Hook, "On the means of Rendering more Efficient the Education of the People. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's", 1846.
2. C.K.F. Brown, "The Church's Part in Education", 1942, p.27.
3. Rev. W.F. Hook, op. cit., p.11.

"I must begin by remarking that we possess some admirable schools. I have schools in my own parish which might challenge comparison with any schools anywhere established."

This remark could still have been made twenty years later, but by this time the inadequacy in the quantity of elementary education of a satisfactory standard was more apparent. Statistics compiled for a Parliamentary report¹ in 1869, dealt with elementary schools in four main cities including Leeds, and showed not only what was being done, but also the inadequacy of this effort. Leeds, this report shows² then had a population of 253,110 and a child population of 58,307 aged from three to thirteen. Of the latter total some 28,000 were on the rolls of schools of all types, but the average attendance was only 19,492. There were 38 inspected Church of England schools, 8 inspected British schools and 4 inspected Roman Catholic Schools. Only those children regularly attending these schools could be said to be receiving a satisfactory level of education, and as the average attendance at inspected schools was only 12,422, this applied to some 25% of children of school age. Despite this deficiency a number of these voluntary schools were giving to their brighter children a higher form of education.

Dr. Fitch, in his Report for the Schools Inquiry Commission drew attention to the work being done in the two leading Church of England schools in Leeds. He described³ this development as

1. House of Commons: 1869. Return on Schools for the Poorer Classes of Children, Leeds, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester, 1869.
2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Op. Cit., Vol. 9., p. 246.

offering to children

"of higher class than those for whom grant can be obtained",

education in upper divisions. Such schools existed in Hull, York and Doncaster, and in Leeds at St, George's National School, where, according to Fitch,

"the reputation of the teaching has become so high that the Committee have become embarrassed by applications for admission from parents of a higher rank."

Another school which had developed similarly was the Leeds Parish School, which Fitch reported

"had engaged a master with a high certificate to take the exclusive charge of an Upper department composed of children for whom the Government grant cannot be claimed. The boys in this school pay 12/- per quarter, and their average age is two years higher than that of the boys in the National School. Many of them come up from the other department, and regard this as a finishing school. Euclid and Algebra are taught; and through the kindness of the Rev. Canon Atlay, the Vicar, who watches over the school with great interest, one of his curates attends regularly to give lessons in Latin to the upper boys." ¹

In effect a form of secondary education was being given in these schools, and within a few years this process of growth into higher levels of education was to expand rapidly with the setting up of School Boards which soon adopted this feature of the voluntary societies. Backed by ambitious Board members and the use of rates, such Higher Departments eventually led to separate Higher Grade Schools, many of which later became Secondary Schools. But the upper departments of voluntary schools in some

1. IBEL, Vol.9., p.246.

cases were also the direct progenitors of another form of secondary school, the Church Middle Class Schools. This was the case in Leeds.

In 1864 Edward Ison was appointed Headmaster of the Leeds Parish School, and within a few years he formed upper classes and entered his best pupils for the May examinations of the Science and Art Department. By 1869, E. Kilburn Scott¹ states, there were nearly 100 pupils in the upper department, and it was decided under the moving spirit of Canon Woodford, to set up a new school for the education of such pupils. One of the founders of this new school was Lord Leigh who had endowed the school at Stoneleigh where Edward Ison was formerly Headmaster. The Leeds Church Middle Class School opened in premises in Basinghall Street in January 1870. The notice of opening published in the local press² gave details of the aims of the school which was

"intended mainly for the children of the middle classes, and will be available for both boys and girls. Instruction will be imparted by competent masters.....and it is intended to qualify the pupils for commercial and other professional pursuits."

It seems that dissatisfaction with the curriculum of Leeds Grammar School, was one of the reasons for starting the new school, for Scott states³ that the former school gave

"a classical education that was rather out of line with the requirements of industrial towns."

No doubt, fees had much to do with the founding;

1. E. Kilburn Scott, "Leeds Church Middle Class School: Records from 1870 to 1907", 1927, p.5.
2. "Yorkshire Post"; 24th., January, 1870.
3. E. Kilburn Scott, op. cit., p.5.

there was a rising group of parents able to pay reasonable weekly fees for a higher education, but not able to afford the ten to sixteen guineas asked by the Grammar School. In effect the school was catering for a similar class¹ to that using the Mathematical and Commercial School founded by the Mechanics' Institute. But that school offered no religious teaching whereas the new school gave religious teaching according to the beliefs of the Church of England.

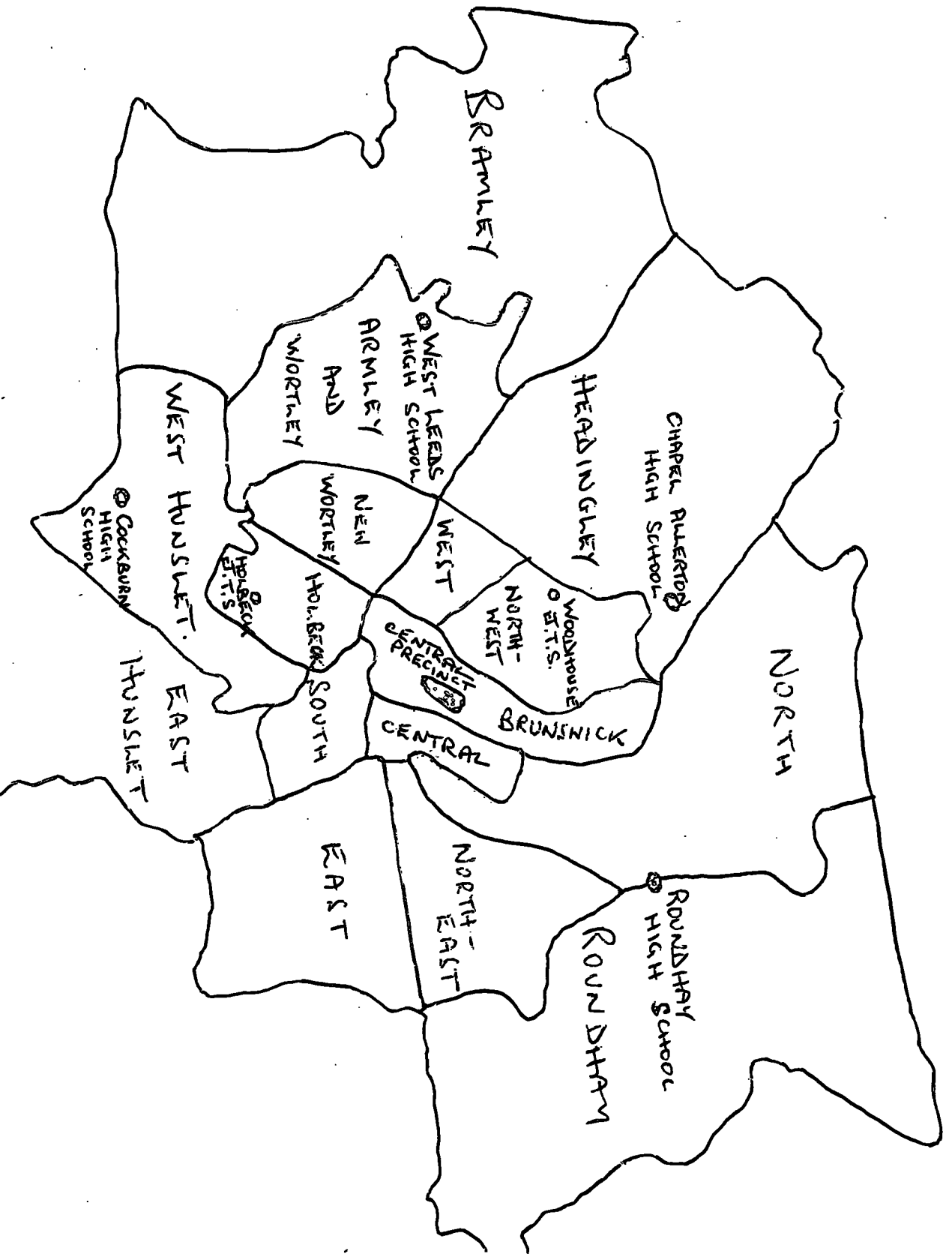
Another difference between the two schools was that the Church Middle Class School was at first mainly commercial in scope, though it was soon to broaden its curriculum. In its original buildings it soon acquired a reputation for the quality of its science teaching, and when, in 1876 new premises were acquired, particular attention was given to equipping the science rooms with the latest apparatus. However, in 1870, the year of its foundation, this study leaves the school as it establishes itself with the powerful backing of the Established Church in Leeds.

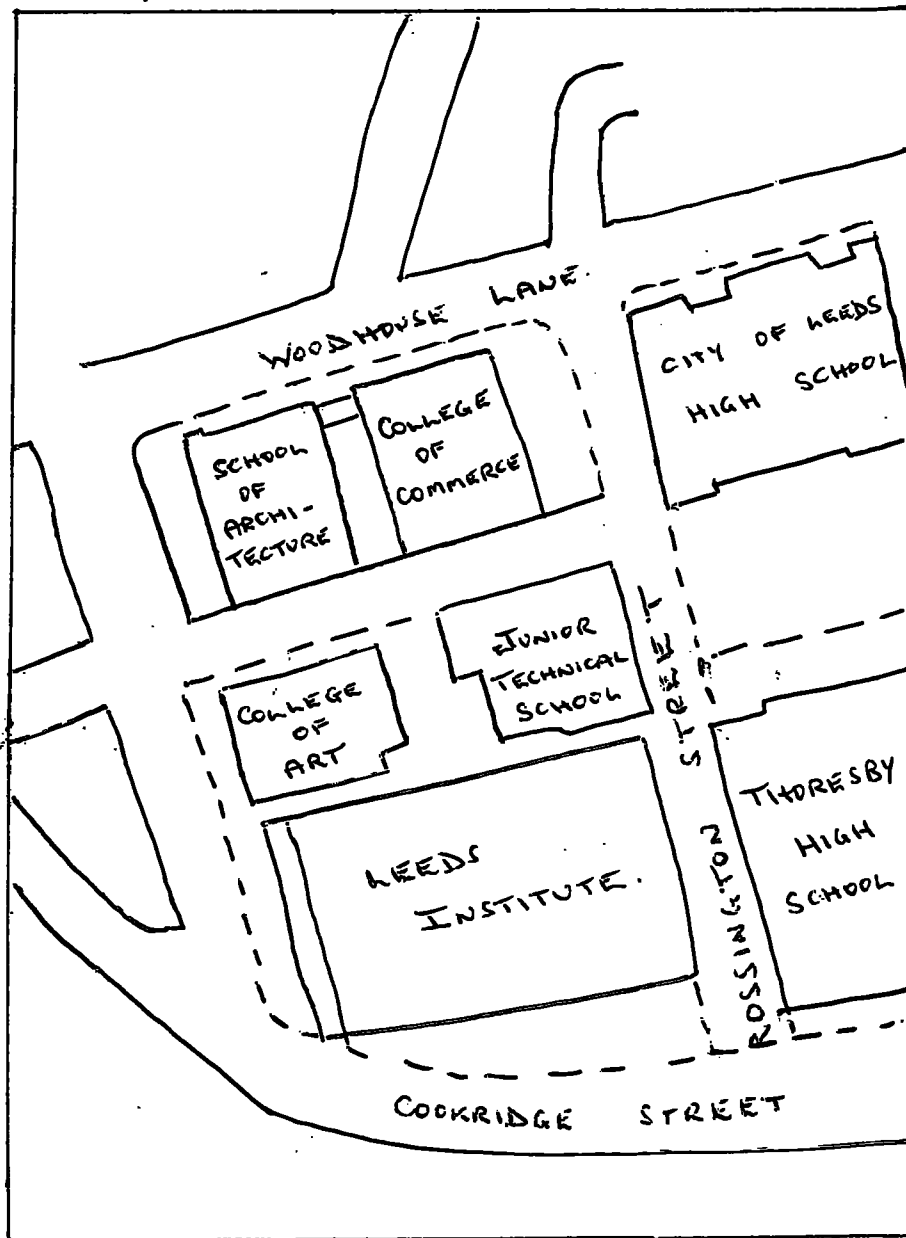
1. G.K.F. Brown, (op. cit., p. 53), refers to the first Report of the Middle Class Schools Committee of the National Society which appeared in 1869. The people whom it was proposed to help were the foremen and small employers, clerks, farmers and superior artisans.

P A R T 3

1895 TO 1907

INQUIRY AND ACTION AT THE TURN OF
THE CENTURY





THE CENTRAL EDUCATIONAL PRECINCT.
1935.

CHAPTER 8 - LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Towards the end of the Century, Leeds Grammar School was again declining in numbers. There were several reasons for this loss of prestige. The School was under frequent attack from Nonconformist citizens in the town who regarded it as a centre of influence for the Established Church. These attacks were partly due to the failure of the governing body to reach agreement with the Charity Commissioners on a reformed scheme of management. Most endowed schools were falling into line with the new order, but because of the failure of the negotiations which had begun in 1871, Leeds Grammar School was still managed by co-opted governors. To many people this was an anachronism, as was the rule that the Headmaster must be in Holy Orders. Also at this time, the School curriculum was under attack on the grounds of narrowness and lack of utility. A further reason for the fall in numbers at this time was the changed situation in the provision of education. The Grammar School no longer had a monopoly in middle class education in Leeds. The gap between it and the Leeds Modern School had narrowed; pupils from the latter school proceeded to universities, and a few won scholarships. New schools were being established and they had the advantage of lower fees and newer buildings. The Yorkshire College, set up quite close to the school, was running preparatory classes which were in

competition with the upper forms of the Grammar School. In these circumstances the conflict between the School and an influential section of the Leeds community was one which ~~was not helpful to the School.~~

In the country at large, the problems of secondary education were receiving a good deal of notice. Despite the labours of the Charity Commissioners who had implemented hundreds of schemes of reform in endowed schools, many important areas were deficient in grammar schools, while many of the smaller schools remained in places where they were superfluous. R.L. Archer¹ says of the Commissioners' work:

"Great improvements had thus been effected: for instance, in the West Riding there were thirty-six efficient schools (eight of which were first-grade) against twenty-eight (of which only three were first-grade), mostly inefficient, in 1865. But the deficiency in the supply of secondary schools which had been pointed out by the Schools Inquiry Commission had only in part been remedied."

Mr. Norman Lowndes² estimated that by this time over 75,000 children were being educated in endowed grammar schools, a five-fold increase since the previous report. But it was evident that it was impossible to create a complete system merely by the reform of existing endowments, as the Schools Inquiry Commission had asserted. For one thing such endowments did not cover the newer industrialised centres of population, for another it was difficult to divert

1. R.L. Archer, "Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century", (1921), p.310.
2. G.A.N. Lowndes, "The Silent Social Revolution", (1937) p. 49.

existing funds to provide secondary education for girls which had been sadly neglected. Leeds was an example of the difficulties which faced the Commissioners. At Wortley there was an old endowed school which was inefficient, if not superfluous, and its small funds might have been better used in other ways had the Trustees approved. Leeds Grammar School was one of the more richly endowed local grammar schools and some of its endowment might have been diverted to girls' education, had the Trustees approved. It is with events at the latter school that this Chapter is concerned.

From 1870 to the time of the Bryce Report the School's fortunes had not been particularly happy. The Charity Commissioners, from 1869 to 1874 the Endowed School Commissioners persistently pressed for changes in the government of the School, and the Governors stubbornly refused to agree on reform. In 1871 Assistant Commissioner Fearon visited Leeds and conferred unsuccessfully with the Trustees in an attempt to resolve the differences concerning Corporation and School Board representation on the Governing body.¹ Mr. Fearon's report throws light on the condition of the school at this time; there were only 173 pupils and the Lower Department had given way to a "trifurcated" system with six forms. On Dr. Henderson's retirement in 1884 the Commissioners renewed negotiations and Mr. Stanton visited the school on their behalf. There were now 248 pupils

1. Charity Commissioners' Report. 1899, op. cit.,
Vol. 4, p. 333.

and the "trifurcated" system had been abandoned as a failure. An innovation was the introduction of German as an alternative to Greek above the fourth form¹. There were only two free scholars admitted under the Scheme of 1855. Their education, being limited to the foundation subjects must have been a narrow one.

The Commissioners prepared a draft scheme whereby the school would be a day and boarding school, and provision of £500 per annum be made for girls' education in Leeds. This was rejected by the Trustees as was a further draft scheme submitted in 1887. The Commissioners expressed some exasperation at the lack of progress. The publication of the draft scheme had not elicited any evidence of dissatisfaction, they recorded,

"except on the part of the Trustees, who again submitted objections and suggestions substantially the same as those submitted to the Charity Commissioners, and directed principally against the proposed governing body, the headmaster's fixed stipend, and the provision for education for girls."²

Negotiations were not completed and the School continued to be governed under the 1855 Scheme.

Statistics obtained in 1884 by Mr. Stanton show something of the structure of the school at that time. Of the 248 pupils, 165 were under 15, and only 19 over 17 years of age. Of the 248 no less than 33 were the sons of Church of

1. IBID, p.333.

2. IBID, p.335.

England clergymen, and this large representation must have been a regular feature for a later enquirer was to refer to the School's reputation as being

"for parson's sons."¹

84 of the total were classified by the headmaster as being sons of parents belonging to the professional classes, the remainder, presumably, being mainly lower middle class white collar workers. Some 20 boys were in a so-called modern school which, Mr. Stanton reported,

"Appears to be a refuge for the duller boys."²

By 1894 numbers had fallen again and there were 161 boys in the school, and the fall in tuition fees from £2,446 in 1890 to £1,551 reflected the drop in enrolment. The position of a school could change within a few years, and Leeds Grammar School had shown much fluctuation in its roll in the quarter of a century between the second and third period of this study. In part the decline in enrolment was due to the increased competition afforded by the Central Higher Grade School, the Headmaster, Mr. Matthews was certain. Writing in the introduction to the register of pupils published in 1897 he made the point that in the twelve years since the opening of that school, the enrolments had dropped from about 234 to 160 boys³.

1. Royal Commission On Secondary Education, 1895, Vol. 7, p. 146.
2. Charity Commissioners Report, 1899, op. cit., Vol. 14, p. 333.
3. J.H.D. Matthews and V. Thompson, "Register of The Leeds Grammar School, 1820 - 1896" 1897, p. 24.

Mr. Matthews was prepared to concede that there were other reasons for the decline but was not free to state them. Presumably this was a reference to the religious controversy concerning the governorship of the School. Mr. Mathews was in an unfortunate position in that the decline in numbers coincided with the early years of his period of office. He had been appointed in 1884 when Dr. Henderson resigned to take preferment as Dean of Carlisle.¹ Dr. Henderson's stay had not been eventful but it was a period of consolidation and growth which had seen the roll reach as high as 281 in 1878.² That his work was appreciated is shown by the gift of £600 made to him in 1883 by friends of school who also presented him with an illuminated address, commemorating his 21st year of office.³ Mr. Matthews had had to follow a well thought of and respected figure, but he stayed 18 years which were more difficult than those of Dr. Henderson's period of office. He had to cope with the problem of increased competition, and face the increased criticism caused by the unreformed scheme of government. Some idea of the strength of feeling about the school is given by Dr. Henderson's remark that there were

"Old Boys who professed to regret that their education, which they did not attempt to deny was excellent had been received within its walls".⁴

Faced, in his early year as Headmaster,

1. Leeds Grammar School, "Leodensian", Nov., 1905, "Obituary Notice: Dean Henderson." p.105.
2. Price, op.cit., p.241.
3. "Leodensian", op.cit., Nov.1905, p. 105.
4. Matthews and Thompson, op.cit., p.25.

by the fall in numbers, Dr. Matthews had attempted to improve the curriculum. In 1890 the Modern Division, criticised by Mr. Stanton, was dispensed with, and the middle forms were divided into classical and modern sides, according to whether the boys did Greek or German.¹ More science was offered, in a laboratory which had been opened in 1880, and carpentry was begun in 1890. One may speculate whether Dr. Matthews, although a clergyman, regarded the School's connection with the Church of England as one of the factors in the fall in numbers about which he was not free to speak. It is significant that from 1886 the School Calendars no longer describe the Religious Instruction as being

"according to the principles of the Church of England."

Under Dr. Matthews, this subject became Biblical study only. The 1892 Calendar gives details of the curriculum at that time. The Ordinary Course of study comprised English, Latin, Greek, French, German, Arithmetic, Mathematics, History, Geography, Physical and Experimental Science, Vocal Music, Freehand and Model Drawing, Shorthand, Book-keeping and Writing.² This is an extraordinarily wide range of subjects but a number of these were alternatives and most of them were offered on the modern side only, the classical course not allowing so much time for other subjects. Not that there was much time on the modern side for other subjects

1. Leeds Grammar School, Calendar, 1890, p.4.

2. Ibid., 1892, p.4.

after allowing for English, Latin, French and German. Despite this wide curriculum, and no doubt partly because of the continuing primacy of classics the number of pupils fell, and as this third period opens, was at the very low level of 150.

Thus, at the time when the Royal Commission was enquiring into secondary education, Leeds Grammar School was in the unfortunate position of being the centre of a long-standing controversy concerning the governing body and its relationship with the Established Church and was losing pupils to its rivals in the city. The Assistant Commissioner who investigated the West Riding for the Bryce Commission was Mr. A.P. Laurie. When the Report was published in November 1895, it provided a shock to the School and a sensation for the townspeople. The following comment on the findings of Mr. Laurie is taken from the files of the Leeds Mercury:¹

"SECONDARY EDUCATION IN LEEDS, GRAMMAR
SCHOOL AND HIGHER GRADE. A REMARKABLE
CONTRAST.

There is nothing in the report of Mr. A.P. Laurie, M.A., the Assistant Commissioner appointed by the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, of which we published a summary in our Friday's issue, more striking than the contrast between the impressions made upon this expert by the condition of the Leeds Grammar School and that of the Leeds Higher Grade School. The Grammar School is one of the very few schools of the kind in the West Riding which is not working under a revised scheme

1. "Leeds Mercury", 19/11/1895.

drawn up by the Charity Commissioners. Let the public of Leeds note that fact. Let them also note that this unreformed educational institution - the chief secondary school in the city, and even in the county, it ought to be - has an income of £4,455 from its endowments alone. This large income is managed by a governing body which is in no sense representative, unless it be representative of the Church and Tory party."

The writer then proceeds to quote the report on the Local Higher Grade School, which, he points out was

"built, organised and managed by a popularly elected and representative body like the School Board."

Mr. Laurie's most favourable comments upon this school were contrasted with his criticisms of Leeds Grammar School, and his general proposals for a reformed governing body for the Grammar School with a modified curriculum were welcomed.

The criticisms of the Grammar School and the proposals for reform were in line with the views of the Nonconformist and Liberal Party element, which the "Leeds Mercury" represented. The other side, though discomfited, fought back and a letter from the Headmaster of the Grammar School, Rev. J.H.D. Matthews, appeared under the heading

"Mr. Laurie and the Leeds Grammar School,"

in the rival newspaper "The Yorkshire Post".¹ The facts outlined therein, if true, would seem to cast doubt upon the value of Mr. Laurie's judgments.

1. "Yorkshire Post", 16/11/1895.

"Sir,

The report of the Assistant Commissioner, whose "asperity" towards this school you notice, is inaccurate and misleading in several important points. One point only I wish to call attention to, in justice to the assistant masters, whose professional interests are concerned, and who cannot very well defend themselves. Mr. Laurie has thought fit to make certain general remarks about them from what he professes to have seen of their teaching! Now Mr. Laurie, while paying his official visit, spent about ten minutes in all, in two classrooms where teaching was going on, and may possibly have heard in the intervals of our conversation some of the teaching of one form (we have eight in all). He was, during the whole of the ten minutes, talking with me, and also during a part of it with one of the assistant masters then in charge of a form, whom he had known at Cambridge. (It is possible that he may subsequently have been for a few minutes in one of the same class-rooms in company with a large number of the Commissioners, who entered it in the course of their visit.)

Were any weight to be attached to this portion of the report, it would be interesting to set it against Mr. Laurie's own statement, as reproduced by you, that "in mathematics and classics the school seems to do well". (The lessons which he looked in upon were classical).

I am, Sir, very faithfully yours
J.H.D. Matthews"

The School Historian, A.C. Price, was on the staff at the time of the Inspection and he confirms Mr. Matthews' statements that the visit was a short one and that not a single lesson was heard. His opinion¹

was that

"of inspection, as we now understand the word, there was nothing."

Mr. Price could not be unbiased, being a member of a staff regarded as 'sleepy' by the Commissioner, but his evidence in print taken with the Headmaster's statement in the press certainly throw doubt on the worth of Mr. Laurie's report. This gentleman seems to have had an undue concern for briskness, for he found it lacking at Leeds Grammar School and the Church Middle Class School, but was impressed with the briskness at Leeds Modern School.¹

In an earlier section I drew attention to an apparent prejudice against clerical teachers on the part of Dr. Fitch. It may be that Mr. Laurie's prejudice lay in the value he placed upon briskness. A correspondent² of the 'Yorkshire Post' in defending the Leeds Church Middle Class School against Mr. Laurie's remarks on that school made some caustic comments on

"this evident admirer of all that is fussy,"

as he described the Inspector.

"Is it unreasonable," asked the writer, under the non-de-plume A.R.W.,

"to believe that the 'smartness' beloved of Mr. Laurie breeds the kind of cubs that congregate in Headingley Lane on Sunday evenings?"

Possibly Leeds in 1895 had its contemporary Teddy Boy or Mods and Rockers problems!

The Assistant Commissioner was quite categorical in his view, but he also called upon

1. Royal Commission on Secondary Education, op.cit., Vol.7, p.153.

2. 'Yorkshire Post', 16/11/1895.

external and anonymous evidence to support his view:¹

"While the staff of Masters are all University men, and no doubt are well qualified as far as scholarship is concerned, yet I was not much impressed by the discipline of the school. The boys struck me as being inattentive, and the Masters sleepy, while there was a general want of smartness and briskness about the way in which the classes were conducted. I find this opinion confirmed on inquiry outside, the impression being that the teaching is wanting in vigour."

While one must have sympathy for the people subject to such strong attacks on so little evidence it must also be stated that Mr. Laurie's general strictures on the school were justified by the findings of the Governors themselves when they investigated the position as a result of the 1895 Report. For the relative stagnation of the school the Governors rather more than the staff were to blame however.

On other matters the Assistant Commissioner showed a shrewd judgment; his comments upon the curriculum, for example, echo some remarks of Dr. Fitch quoted earlier.

"While I should be sorry to enter into a discussion of the rival merits of science and languages as subjects for mental training and discipline, there can be no doubt that as a mere matter of business, the devotion of a good deal of the school time to science pays at present in Yorkshire, and that if the modern side of the school devoted more time to science and less to languages, while the classical side was left as it is, the school would be more popular with Yorkshire parents."²

1. { Royal Commission on Secondary Education,
op. cit., Vol. 7, p. 140.
2. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 136.

The Assistant Commissioner is pointing the way to the development of a modern side, which is truly modern and quasi-technical in nature. This point was pressed from a less materialistic point of view, by the full Report of the Bryce Commission in a passage which has been attributed to the pen of Sir Michael Sadler,

"Secondary education is the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being who needs to be instructed in certain rudiments of knowledge, but it is a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed."¹

Mr. Laurie also made minor practical suggestions for improving the teaching of science. The course is well arranged he said,

"but I cannot help thinking that the science master is hardly awake to the rapid progress which has been made of late years in the devising of sound experimental courses in elementary science with a distinct educational aim, and this is more remarkable, as one of the most vigorous exponents of newer and better methods of teaching science, Professor Smithells, is engaged in giving sound courses of practical chemistry within a few yards, at Yorkshire College. Where a school is seeking to obtain grants from the Science and Art Department we cannot expect to find much originality or spontaneity in its methods of teaching science, but a richly endowed institution like this can easily do more in devising sound courses of instruction in elementary science of real value."²

1. Royal Commission On Secondary Education, OP. CIT., Vol. 1, p. 136.

2. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 138

The Report provides much information concerning the function of the school at this time. We find, for instance, that book-keeping and shorthand are offered, which is some indication of the provision of subjects intended to prepare boys for employment. The syllabus also included model drawing, vocal music, history, geography and science, but, as Mr. Laurie points out, the teaching of languages occupied fifteen hours out of the twenty-seven hours tuition each week, which left little time for each of the other subjects on the modern side. Mr. Laurie also pointed out that the number of early leavers was still a problem; the Sixth Form contained eleven boys and few boys went on to University.

"The tendency to leave early is more marked on the modern side, boys occasionally leaving as young as 15. The boys do not seem to go from this school to Yorkshire College, those who take scholarships going on to Oxford and Cambridge, the remainder going into business. The only exception to this is that four or five boys go every year to the Medical School in Leeds."¹

The Assistant Commissioner believed that the School was only partly achieving what should have been its function, and he continued:

"It has been allowed to drift into a backwater away from the main current of educational progress. This is the most unfortunate in that it possesses a headmaster of the highest culture."

To remedy this situation, he suggested a more representative governing body, an increased amount of science teaching on the modern side of the School,

1. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 136.

2. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 140.

and an improved teaching staff. Then he felt that the School might be expected to become five hundred strong and

"remain through its traditions and through its scholarships, the institution in Leeds into which all boys should be drawn whose ultimate career would take them to Oxford or Cambridge."¹

Mr. Laurie would have liked to have seen a co-ordinated system of secondary education in Leeds, and he wished to see boys with a special bent for classics moving from the Higher Grade School to the Grammar School. He found it distinctly unfortunate that boys who show a special bent for higher scholarship and would be likely to distinguish themselves at Oxford or Cambridge should not pass on to the Grammar School. But the Assistant Commissioner commented favourably upon the valuable scholarships which the school possessed both to universities and for admission to the school itself. Of the former there were six of £50 per annum tenable for four years, apart from the right, shared with other schools, to compete for the Hastings and Milner Awards. For entry into the school there were four senior scholarships of £20 each tenable for four years, and four junior of 10 guineas each, in addition to four of £20 confined to boys under 14 who had attended public elementary schools in Leeds for the three preceding years. There was also the Lancasterian scholarship of 10 guineas subject to

1. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 164.

the same conditions (In view of the religious controversy about the school's management it is rather surprising to find the term Lancasterian here: the funds came, the Charity Commissioners' report¹, from the sale of the Royal Lancasterian School by deed dated 1st October 1847, half of the proceeds of which sale went to Leeds Reformatory School, the remainder being divided 2/3rds to Leeds Girls' High School and 1/3rd to Leeds Grammar School, in both cases to provide scholarships) The headmaster referred to the question of scholarships for public elementary school pupils at the Speech Day in August 1901. He claimed that there was a great deal of jealousy on the part of the Masters of elementary schools whenever scholarships to the Grammar School were awarded to their boys.² This attitude would have existed also at the Higher Grade School, one imagines, had Mr. Laurie's idea of brighter boys moving from there to the Grammar School been implemented. The elementary schools did not send many pupils to the Church Middle Class School also, and it may be that the Higher Grade School was regarded as the proper channel. It is not entirely cynical to point out that elementary school masters did not like losing pupils to any school, a fact remarked upon in Chapter 13.

In his general comments³, Mr. Laurie was not disposed to accept complaints of undue

1. {Charity Commissioners' Report, 1899, Vol. 4,
op.cit., p. 394.

2. "Leodensian", Vol. 20. No. 5. P. 1.

3. OP.cit. Vol. 7, pp. 198-199.

competition in accounting for the fall in numbers. While the Leeds Grammar School had fallen in numbers from 275 to 150 and this falling off had coincided with the growth of the Higher Grade School, the Mechanics' Institute School which was next door to the Higher Grade School had not been affected. Therefore, the decline at the Grammar School had to be accounted for on other grounds. Mr. Laurie specified some of these grounds:¹

"There can be little doubt that one of the first things that should be done in order to revive this school and give it its proper position as the Grammar School of Leeds, would be the revisal of the present scheme, and the placing of the governorship on more popular lines."

But in addition to the unpopularity of the scheme of government there were other factors, he felt:

"In the first place, while it is true that there is now no religious difficulty (the sons of Non-conformist ministers attending the school) there was a time when it was exclusively a Church of England School, and there seems to be still an impression in the town that it is a place meant for, as they crudely put it, parsons' sons."

Finally there were the disadvantages of the building and the deficiencies in the teaching, previously referred to. The low quality of the science instruction and of the voluntary classes in woodwork, taken by

"a very incompetent teacher", were contributory. However, in Mathematics and classics the school seems to do well, Mr. Laurie conceded, and the drawing was fairly good. The Assistant Commissioner's concluding remark on the school was that more might have been done to connect it

1. Ibid., Vol.7, p.136.

"with the higher grade movement at the one end and with the Yorkshire College at the other."

This largely unfavourable report must have come as something of a shock to the Governors who, perhaps, had been able to accept the fall in numbers philosophically because of the sound financial basis of the school. Earlier in this study attention has been drawn to the advantages of an endowment held in land. The Estate had by this time risen in value to over £50,000, not including the School buildings which were valued at some £20,000. ¹ Property in the Calls and Call Lane was worth £36,675 alone, and the total income for 1895 was £6,076. With a surplus on the year's working of almost £900, and substantial reserves the Governors at this time had no financial troubles. Perhaps such financial security was a mixed blessing in that reforms could be resisted long after they were due. The unfavourable publicity following publication of the Royal Commission's report must have been sufficiently wounding to shatter complacency for within a few weeks the Governors were stirred into conducting their own enquiry. One finding which emerged from this enquiry was that the school had a better endowment than many, yet provided a poorer return for the money. The enquiry was undertaken by a special Sub-Committee which had been appointed. There is a copy of the report of this sub-committee in a collection of some hitherto unused papers² in

1. Charity Commission 1899, op.cit., p.349.

2. F. R. Spink, Press Cuttings and Other Papers Relating to "The Committee of Pious Uses": 1895 - 1900.

the Central Library. The document has a lengthy title; Leeds Grammar School.

"The Report of the Sub-Committee, appointed (at a court holden on the 10th day of January 1896, by the Committee for the Execution of Charitable Uses within the Borough of Leeds) for the following purposes: 1st. To consider the Head Master's Report on the buildings and equipment, and to make suggestions for their improvement, to the Committee, and 2ndly. To report on the general question of what can be done to increase the numbers at the Grammar School."

Across the front of this document has been pencilled the words "Printed in London for Secrecy"!

Perhaps the most interesting point of this report is a comparison made between Leeds Grammar School and a number of other similar schools. The Sub-Committee selected six other schools for this purpose, their points of similarity being:

1. Set in a town with a population of at least 190,000.
2. Having similar fees and scholarships.
3. Possessing a substantial endowment.
4. Being entirely for day scholars.
5. The town in which placed being a business one, and not therefore likely to attract parents to reside there for the sake of the education of their children.

The six schools selected were Bradford, Bristol, Leicester, Newcastle upon Tyne, Nottingham and Manchester Grammar Schools. The statistics which

follow are valuable for comparative purposes, and I am therefore giving them in compact form.

1. BRADFORD. Population 216,361, has an Endowment of £1,235 and 419 scholars, that is one in 515 of the population.
2. BRISTOL. Population 228,139, endowment £1,742, educates 252 pupils, that is ONE in 922 of the population.
3. LEICESTER. Population 193,839, endowment £1,200, educates 500 pupils, that is ONE in 385 of the population.
4. NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, has a population of 302,892 (including Gateshead), an endowment of £1,005, and 240 pupils, that is it educates ONE in 1,262 of the population.
5. NOTTINGHAM, with a population of 226,658, has an endowment of £3,000 and 348 pupils, that is ONE in 647 of the population.
6. MANCHESTER has a population, including Salford, of 733,117, and the school has an endowment of £2,956, and 800 pupils, that is, a ratio of ONE in 916 of the population.

The average of these six Grammar Schools, is an endowment of £1,856, a roll of 510 pupils, and a ratio of pupils to population of ONE in 773. LEEDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL, serves a population of 395,546 has an endowment of £4,500, 160 pupils, and a pupil population ratio of only ONE in 2,472.

These figures must have startled the Sub-Committee, for the report points out in heavy print that the Leeds School with an endowment more than double the average, was educating less than one third of the average proportion of the population. This difference was so pronounced that the report adds that if the members had been sure that Leeds was adequately supplied by other institutions, with

which the Grammar School could not reasonably be expected to compete, they would not have hesitated to suggest changing the endowment, so as to establish a public Boarding School outside the city! On reflection, and for the following considerations,

"the members of this Sub-Committee decided against such drastic action."

"First, that in the matter of a Classical Education, i.e. of the education of youths in the learned languages, which is its primary function, and which it gives to 75 out of its 160 pupils, the Grammar School has no competitor in Leeds (unless the Yorkshire College can be considered a competitor).

Secondly, that in the matter of a Modern Education, which it gives to its remaining 85 pupils, it has no endowed competitors, except the Higher Grade Board School, the Modern School of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute (a private adventure school which receives a grant from the Science and Art Department), and possibly (in the case of the boys above sixteen) the Yorkshire College.

Thirdly, that in three of the six towns selected for comparison, viz. - in Bradford, Manchester and Nottingham, Higher Grade competition has to be faced, yet the Grammar Schools there, with an average endowment of only £2,400 i.e. only five-ninths of that of Leeds, are educating on an average one in 692 of their population, that is, nearly four times the population educated at Leeds."

The task facing the school was not minimised:-

"If Leeds Grammar School is to rise to the present standard of these three schools, its numbers must rise from 160 to 570, and we think we are justified in doubting whether such an increase could be expected to result from the adoption of our suggestions."

Despite this rather gloomy conclusion, bold suggestions were made by the Sub-Committee. On the question of the composition of the governing body, for instance, they were realistic:

"We fear that it must be admitted having regard to the present deficiency in numbers, that the School is not popular, which we think is largely due to the fact that the Governing Body is wholly co-optative and non-representative and has an ex-officio chairman. A School with such a Governing Body can hardly be expected to command universal confidence. Moreover, experience shows that the Governing Body labours under the suspicion, however unjust, of being opposed to all reform. We, therefore, suggest that application should be made to the Charity Commissioners for its reconstruction on the lines of the scheme in that behalf which has for some time been before their Department."

This was quite a change of attitude for the draft scheme referred to had been drawn up some ten years previously, and negotiations had been begun fifteen years before then, and at no time had there been any urgency on the School's part, as the Charity Commissioners' Report had made clear. With regard to the buildings the Sub-Committee were

"unable to arrive at the conclusion that their defects have to any great extent deterred parents from sending their sons to the School."

Nevertheless, having compared them with those of Hymer's College, Hull, they agreed with the view, expressed by Mr. Gardew, the Assistant Charity Commissioner, that they compared unfavourably with other schools. They had, therefore, secured an

architect's report, and recommended a large expenditure on new buildings, provided that it was part of a comprehensive scheme of reform. On the question of staffing, they made an equally frank appraisal of the situation, helped no doubt by the controversy, still continuing, over Mr. Laurie's Report. They found that the salaries paid at the Leeds Grammar School were

"distinctly low as compared with those paid elsewhere,"

and added that although the Headmaster

"expresses himself perfectly satisfied with his present staff, both as to teaching powers and also as to the interest they take in the general well-being of the boys, we fear that his view in this respect may possibly be too optimistic."

They recommended purchasing a house nearby and making it a staff house, so as to promote esprit de corps, as the Headmaster suggested. Higher salaries were also recommended, and, an important suggestion in the light of later practice, that

"an Assistant of the first rank, for each branch of study"

be secured. The Sub-Committee also felt that any scheme of reform must make provision for the education of girls, and they suggested that a newly constituted Governing Body should acquire and partly endow the existing Leeds Girls' High School, and continue it under their management. This report, so important in the School's history, was signed by Edgar C.S. Gibson, A.T. Lawson, C.F. Tetley and George Banks.

Within a few years all the important suggestions of the Sub-Committee of 1896 had been, in some form, carried out. In 1898, a reformed scheme of management was at last agreed to by the School and the Charity Commissioners, and this provided for a representative governing body. The School was declared undenominational, the clause restricting the choice of Headmaster to a Clerk in Holy Orders was removed, and the financial provisions favouring Leeds boys were revoked.¹ The Sub-Committee's proposals on the Girls' High School were not accepted, but the sum of £12,000 was set aside for the education of girls. Then in the following year some minor rebuilding took place, and plans for the main rebuilding scheme were drawn up. A complete reconstruction of the School buildings began in 1904, and the new extensions were opened on 13th July, 1905, by Sir A.W. Rucker, Principal of London University.

In the meantime a new Headmaster had been appointed, as Mr. Matthews had left the School at Easter 1902, having accepted the rectory of Purley, near Reading. The appointment of the new Headmaster revived the old controversies which the new Scheme of Management had lulled. The reason for this was the appointment of another clergyman, which had preserved the old tradition. Some interesting details of the appointment and the controversy, are contained in the collection² of records for the period 1895 to 1905, compiled by F.R. Spark. The applicants for the post

1. Price A.C., op.cit., p.260-4
2. F.R. Spark. "Committee of Pious Uses and Leeds Grammar School:" Papers relating to, 1895 - 1900, op.cit.

included two headmasters, but the successful candidate was the Rev. J.R. Wynne-Edwards, M.A., who had had a brilliant career (he had combined a 1st in Classics and a 2nd in Physics at Oxford), and was supported by a remarkable array of testimonials, including one signed by seven of his colleagues at Cheltenham College. The comments of the "Leeds Mercury"¹ were, not unexpectedly, rather sour. Under the heading "Another Clerical Headmaster" it began

"We regret that we cannot congratulate either the Board of Governors or the people of Leeds on the appointment"

and concluded,

"An opportunity has been thrown away such as may not occur again during this generation."

The bitterness of the article is shown by the comment that the pension of £400 granted to the retiring head was only justified if the best man had been secured to raise the level of the school. But this was a year when passion ran high on the subject of education, for the great controversies over the Education Act of that year were arousing religious and political feelings. It is not surprising that Leeds Grammar School should be drawn into this controversy. An instance of this feeling is given in a letter in the "Leeds Mercury"² a few days later, which concluded:

"The education question is without doubt the most important question in this coming election, and perhaps we may get a bit more light thrown on the Leeds Grammar School."

1. "Leeds Mercury", January 28th, 1902.
2. "Leeds Mercury", 15th. July, 1902.

But it must be said that the new Headmaster justified his appointment, and his period in office, lasting 21 years, is comparable in results achieved with that of Mr. Barry. Within a few years, the system of instruction in "sets" had been introduced in many subjects, the entrance examination stiffened, and the curriculum modified so that all boys took Swedish drill, divinity, history, mathematics and French. The prefect system, which had been so successful in boarding schools was introduced, and house competitions organised. Some changes were made in Mr. Wynne Edwards' first year in the School. The editorial in the School magazine in February 1903 referred to the smooth transition of the school,

"in spite of numerous innovations which have been most delicately adapted to the old system."¹

The main change mentioned was the complete separation of the Modern and Classical sides of the Upper Forms. There is also an interesting editorial comment which suggests that there were hopes of a new era in the school's life. Welcoming the award of a mathematical scholarship the writer suggests that this is

"practical proof that we do not confine our whole attention to antiquity."²

Certainly in one respect a new era came in a few years when the school successfully applied for, and obtained a grant from the government under the

1. Leodiensian, February 1903, p.2.

2. IBLA, p.3.

1902 Education Act. For this purpose the School received regular inspections, beginning with a major one in 1905, as a result of which it was able to receive grant aid. Mr. Wynne Edwards' accomplishments in office must have done much to allay the belief that his appointment was due mainly to his clerical status. Some years later, H.M. Inspectors said of Mr. Edwards,

"he is doing excellently well"¹

1905 was an important year for the school. In July the new buildings were opened and in October an important Inspection was made. At the opening ceremony the Headmaster promised that the School would retain its old classical character while he hoped to increase its intake of scholars who contemplated entering business, the professions and other walks of life. The main speaker was Sir A.W. Rucker, whose speech was a fine one. He was then Principal of London University, and had been a Professor of Science at the Yorkshire College. Much of what he had to say² is of relevance today. He discussed the relationship of science and literary educations, and did not think that there was necessarily an antithesis between them.

"Changes in the education of the ordinary man were inevitable, but they ought not to be such as to make a man exclusively a literary man ignorant of science, or exclusively a scientific man ignorant of literature."

It was in the firm belief that the teaching of the Leeds Grammar School would be carried on with this

1 Board of Education: Report of Her Majesty's Inspectors
2. on Leeds Grammar School, Feb. 18th 1910.

2. Reported in: "The Yorkshire Post",
14th. July 1905.

high ideal, that he declared the buildings open. The extensions included twelve classrooms, a lecture room and three science laboratories,

"admirably adapted to their purpose" in the opinion of the Inspectors who visited the School, a few months later.

This Inspection was a thorough one by six Inspectors, and a satisfactory report ensued, praising the ability and interest displayed by the Headmaster and his staff. For the School, the report had the great merit of ensuring 'recognition', which was granted by the Board of Education in 1906. That cramming for examinations was not the form of education provided is shown by this passage from the Report¹

"It is only in the upper forms that anything approaching specialisation begins, and it is not till the sixth form that a great preponderance of time is given to classics. The boys therefore are naturally somewhat at a disadvantage as compared with those who come from schools where classics forms almost the only subject of instruction throughout the school. But this disadvantage is more than made up for by the better general education which they receive."

Because of the pressure of languages, the literary content of the modern side was very weak, the Inspectors felt. They suggested therefore that Latin should be discontinued as a subject on the modern side. They also suggested that the preparatory classes should be established as a junior department, under a special master, with a distinct time table, and with teachers who have a special

1. Board of Education Report of His Majesty's Inspectors on Leeds Grammar School, 1906. (in F.R. Spark's 'Papers... 1900/07. etc'. op.cit.).

knowledge of young children. They thought too, that the standard of the school would improve if, in the selection of pupils for the main school, only those boys under 12, and properly prepared, were admitted. With regard to the future, the inspectors pointed out:

"It cannot be considered that the numbers have nearly reached the limit of what might reasonably be anticipated. A large number of boys no doubt go to boarding school, but unless the school chosen is one of proved excellence it would be much better that they should use the education offered here. The fees are still very moderate, and the Governors should not be satisfied unless the numbers grow to nearly double what they are now."

The age distribution of scholars is given in the Inspector's Report and this shows a falling off at fifteen years of age, but the problem is less acute than formerly. The age distribution was as follows :-

TABLE A

Ages of Scholars in July 1905										
Age	Under 10	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18 & over
Number	13	14	25	49	40	35	36	18	15	10

The Inspectors also made some inquiry into the social structure of the School. The following table was given by them to show the background of the pupils.

TABLE B

<u>CLASS IN LIFE</u>	<u>SCHOLARS</u>
Professional & Independent Merchants, Bankers, etc.	1 Boarder & 117 Day Pupils
Retail Traders	65 " "
Farmers	15 " "
Clerks etc.	2 " "
Elementary Schoolmasters	44 " "
Artisans etc.	3 " "
Not stated	7 " "
	1 " "
TOTAL	255 PUPILS

When allowance is made for the small number of scholarship boys, it can be seen that the school was almost entirely middle class in character. Mr. Laurie, as has been stated earlier, had hoped to broaden the base of the School by enlarging the entry from other schools, but the school was even more representative of the middle class than ten years earlier. A second table was given to show the area which the School was serving in 1905. Clearly the school was local in character, and was a Leeds, rather than a Yorkshire, institution.

TABLE CAREA FROM WHICH PUPILS ARE DRAWN

Leeds	207
Yorkshire	42
Dorset	1
London	2
Ceylon	2

(Boarder comes from Kent)

The Inspection was followed by the governing body drawing up a scheme to obtain a grant from the State. The grounds upon which this decision was made are given in the following memorandum¹

1. { Leeds Grammar School;
Proposed Scheme for Obtaining a Grant,
Nov. 1905. (in F. R. Spark's "Papers Relating
to Leeds Grammar School": 1900-1907)

drawn up by the Headmaster, and filed with a second batch of papers by F.R. Spark.

"Proposed Scheme for Obtaining a Grant"

(Approved by the Committee summoned to consider the question on November 2nd 1905)

- A. To earn a Grant the following requisites are necessary.
1. There must be a minimum time devoted to Mathematics and Science of 7 hours, of which 2 hours must be Science. English must receive $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours. (With very slight modification these already obtained under the existing Time Table).
 2. There must be such provision as the Board may approve for,
 - (a) Instruction of Manual Work. (In the lower forms we should probably have to give slightly more time than we give now).
 - (b) Physical Exercises. (Enough is now given in the Junior School, and in the Middle Part of the School. It would probably meet their demands if gymnasium was made compulsory to boys who do not play games).
- B. The Grant takes two forms.
1. For the Ordinary course of 4 years, the grants being £2, £3, £4, £5 per boy for successive years(§ 32). Boys must be over 12 when they start the course except with the special leave of the Inspector. Boys under 12 can start the course but do not receive the grant.
 2. For the Special course of 4 years, the grants are somewhat higher. During the 3rd and 4th years, boys specialise either in Languages (they must do 12 hours) or Science and Mathematics (they must do 13 hours) but must still fulfil the minimum condition laid down by § 5. (This would preclude the Classical VIth and probably the Classical Vth from receiving a Grant, and I think it would be best for us to take the Ordinary course in Modern Vth and the Fourths, Thirds and Seconds).

No grants are given when a boy does not complete the year. Promotions have to be annual, as far as possible, but a fair amount of latitude is allowed. As far as I can see we should at present stand to obtain a grant of over £300 per annum.

J.R. Wynne Edwards"

If this memorandum be compared with the present regulations for Direct Grant Status, the rules for grant aid appear to be rigid and bureaucratic. But when compared with the earlier codes for payment of grants to elementary schools, they were liberal and simple. The School went ahead with the scheme, and agreed to comply with the general regulations of the Board, concerning fees, attendance, keeping of records and staffing and in 1906 began to receive grants. In the following year the regulations concerning subjects were considerably changed to give schools greater freedom over their curriculum. The School continued to receive Grant aid until 1944, when the decision to remain Independent was made, and State assistance came to an end.

Among the interesting happenings in 1905, it is worth recording that the Staff of the School petitioned¹ the Headmaster to use his influence to institute a definite salary scheme. This move no doubt had some connection with the proposed scheme for Grant aid, because the petition draws attention to the

"benefit to a school, especially a day-school, that the staff, if capable, should be permanent".

1. In F.R. Spark's Papers, 1900-1907, op. cit.

In asking for a maximum of £300 for all, with opportunity to reach £400 per annum they point out that

"the fact of a man's not becoming a headmaster is no evidence of his incapacity as a teacher" !

An innovation in the same year was the institution of School Houses, named Barry, Sheafield, Lawson and Harrison. The "Leodiensian" of February¹ comments:

"The system of the Games has been quite revolutionised by the institution of four School Houses, befittingly named after the School's four greatest benefactors"

and the "Leodiensian" of June² that year adds

"The interesting nature of the Sports this year has been quite doubled, any rate from the boys' point of view, by the fact that in the Sports, as in other School institutions, the four Houses were competing against each other for the supremacy. This competition among the Houses removes to a great extent, as the Headmaster said in his speech, the objection to School Sports, namely, that each boy only acts for himself. But now the objection of selfishness is greatly diminished in so far as boys who know that they themselves have no chance of winning a race, run for the sake of winning marks for their House."

The many changes in the early years of the Century, show the dynamic policy of Mr. Wynne-Edwards. One of his earlier innovations was the prefect system, and I am quoting the following plea which appeared in the form of a letter in "The Leodiensian"³, because it shows the minor

1. "The Leodiensian", February 1905.
2. IBID., June 1905.
3. IBID., July 1902.

difficulties which arise when reforms are introduced. The letter reads:

"Dear Sir,

Since we have had Prefects appointed lately I should like to express an opinion which I am sure is shared by many members of the School in addition to myself. It is that the Prefects should wear some distinguishing mark of their office. Such a mark of distinction might well be a different cap from the ordinary school cap, or even a different badge. I am certain it would enlighten many of the Junior members of the School, as to who the Prefects are.

I should like to call the attention of the Prefects to my suggestion, and let them see if something could not be done.

I am, Yours truly, X.I.T."

A noteworthy member of the staff at this period was Mr. Cyril Norwood, M.A. who capped a distinguished career by sitting as Chairman of the Secondary Schools Examination Council, which in 1943 produced the Report on Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools, more familiarly known as the Norwood Report. It seems, from the farewell note in "The Leodiensian"¹ that in his five years at the school, Mr. Norwood had made a deep impression. He was Sixth Form Master, a keen sportsman, and had presided over the Literary and Debating Society. The magazine comments:

"We are not vain for ourselves, but we admit that it is our conviction that among the verse contributions to the "Leodiensian" in the last few years will be found some that are inferior to nothing of their kind, whether in the columns of Punch or elsewhere"

1. IBLd., July 1906.

A man of parts evidently, Mr. Norwood was already writing on education, for the writer adds

"We have found ourselves reading again a certain pair of articles on the Education of the Future, and wondering whether at Bristol, Mr. Norwood is going to put any of those ideas into practice."

The third period of this study has dealt with the years from 1895 to 1907. At the beginning of this period Leeds Grammar School had been stagnating. The decline in the number of pupils, and the adverse criticisms made by Mr. Laurie in the Royal Commission's Report had, as we have seen, reflected its lower prestige in the city. By the end of this period the School had done much to restore public confidence, and this was reflected in a roll of over 250. It is true that little had been done to implement Mr. Laurie's suggestion¹ that a closer association be made with the Yorkshire College at one side of the School, and the Higher Grade School at the other, but this was not a matter only for the School. However, the other suggestions made by Mr. Laurie had been acted upon, the buildings had been improved, the staff strengthened, and the teaching of science given more prominence in the curriculum. Above all, at long last the system of government had been reformed in agreement with the Board of Education, so that the School could not now be thought of only as a parson's school. A happy outcome had been the provision made for the education of girls out of the School's endowment. All of these developments had helped to restore

1. See Page 141.

confidence and pride in the School. In addition, the status of the School had been raised by the adoption of features common to Public Schools; a "house" system, a prefect system, and the separation of the younger boys in a Preparatory Department, for instance. The School had not yet grown to the size which had been suggested as a reasonable aim, both by Mr. Laurie and His Majesty's Inspectors ten years later. But numbers were increasing quickly, and in 1907, A.F. Leach¹ was able to state confidently that

"the school now numbers some 250, and promises to grow to a size worthy of its old renown and the modern need for it."

Only one year later there were 301 pupils, and in 1918, 517, Price² records.

Thus, the School had not only avoided the fate of the many endowed schools which, because of the changed conditions following upon the 1902 Act, had allowed local authorities to assume control, but had greatly improved its position. When the pessimistic tone of the Governing Body's report of 1896 is recalled, the magnitude of this achievement can be perceived. Whether the retention of independence was in the best interests of the citizens of Leeds may be doubted by some. From the protests of the Education Committee, after 1907, at the waiving by the Board of Education, of the provisions concerning the composition of the governing body in order that the School could earn grant-aid, it can be assumed that there were many

1. "Victoria County History," op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 460.

2. op. cit., p. 278.

who would have welcomed the absorption of the School into the City's own school system. There were also voices raised in favour of a more thorough-going reform of the curriculum, to the extent, even, of changing the nature of the School; The Leeds Chamber of Commerce¹, for example:

"In Secondary Education the two Higher Grade Schools under the School Board, the Modern School of the Leeds Institute, the Leeds Church Middle Class School, and the Leeds Grammar School all seek to provide suitable instruction, but with regard to the last named would it not be possible out of its Endowment to afford on its modern side increased facilities for the acquisition of Modern Languages, and for the higher branches of Commercial Instruction on similar lines to those instituted at the Bradford Grammar School, as arranged by representatives of the Bradford Grammar School in consultation with the Authorities of the West Riding."

The School went its own way, as it had done for so many years. It could point to the increasing numbers of pupils as evidence of fulfilling a need, and it was still in a sound financial position and could afford to be independent of local pressures.

The School, then, had not only avoided being adversely affected by the 1902 Act, financially it had gained by it, for from 1906 the School received the Government grant. From the following year, under the new Regulations this grant was subject to the School admitting a quota of 10% of its admissions from the public Elementary Schools. This low quota broadened the social

1. { Leeds Incorporated Chamber of Commerce:
Report on Secondary, Commercial and
Technical Education, Leeds Incorporated
 Chamber of Commerce, 1901, p.26.

structure of the School and the effect was to be cumulative. In 1905, it has been pointed out earlier, there were only 7 pupils whose parents were in the artisan class. By 1910 one ~~tenth~~ of the boys were from this class, while only one third had professional or independent parents.¹ Thus, at the end of the period covered by this Chapter a social revolution was beginning in the School, a revolution which was not foreseen in the report drawn up by the Headmaster when the decision to apply for grant was taken. But at that time, the grant was without strings.

In the years immediately following 1907 the School made considerable progress. The number of pupils increased rapidly from 300 to 500 by 1918. In 1910 the School was inspected by His Majesty's Inspectors and received a favourable report which included commendation for its teaching of practical subjects. An entirely new note is struck in the comment that

"a real attempt is being made to cultivate the taste and perception of the pupils."²

New buildings were added and a larger staff employed, both at considerable cost. By 1914 a change had taken place in the financial situation, for income from fees was greater than that from the School's assets! The rapid expansion of the School in these first years of the Century had exceeded the rise in the value of the estate. This was not in itself undesirable but it meant

1. A.C. Price, Op. Cit., p.278.

2. IBID., p.278.

that a basic change had taken place. This ancient School had developed considerably since its foundation and its function had changed from time to time. In 1907 it had emerged from a period of uncertainty and looked to continued progress. This was to come but so were fundamental changes in its social structure and financial basis.

CHAPTER 9 - WORTLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The Charity Commissioners Report of 1894 gives an account of events at Wortley Grammar School since the last period. It will be recalled that Dr. Fitch in his report for the Schools Inquiry Commission had recommended that the endowment be used for the improvement of tuition and premises and that no free scholars be admitted. Nevertheless, the Managers had determined to keep the free scholars and to improve the school. Some success seems to have met them in their efforts for in 1873, when Mr. Fearon visited the School on behalf of the Endowed School Commissioners, he reported¹ that the teaching had improved and that there were fifty scholars of whom twelve were free pupils. Nevertheless, the Commissioners suggested that the School be closed and the endowment used for the provision of exhibitions. This proposal was withdrawn as a result of strong opposition by the Governors of the School. The School's fortunes then began to decline again, the number of scholars fell and in 1875 the Master, Mr. Freeman, resigned.

The Governors then decided to make a new attempt to revitalise the School, now down to 9 pupils. Their attempt to improve the standard of education struck a note of optimism for the future, and a pride in the past which was hardly justified:

1. { Charity Commissioners' Report, 1899,
Op. cit., Vol 224, p 517.

"they consider this to be a favourable opportunity for restoring the School to its former position of a good middle class one, in which in addition to all the usual branches of a thorough commercial education, boys can be instructed in the Classics, Modern languages, the higher mathematics, and specially prepared (when required) for the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations, and the preliminary examinations for the legal and medical professions."¹

The Trustees pointed to the establishment of Board and National Schools at Wortley

"which amply met the requirements of the poorer classes"

as justifying the proposed change in the character of the School. They hoped for and confidently expected

"the support of those inhabitants of Wortley and the surrounding district who desire to give their sons a sound and liberal education".

Again the advice of Dr. Fitch and of the Endowed School Commissioners was rejected for the Trustees continued to admit foundation scholars free. For other scholars the fees were one guinea per quarter.

As so often happens the new policy met with initial success; an experienced Master Mr. Benjamin Rowe was able to make the School's policy pay. But by 1895 the position had changed again, and there were only 7 boys in attendance, varying in age from 9 to 16 years, described as the sons of Wortley tradesmen. Their education posed problems for the Master, for, the Charity Commissioners report,²

1. IBUd., p. 518.

2. IBUd., p. 518.

"two were learning Latin, five French, and two Euclid and Algebra. Freehand drawing is taught by the Master himself, and elementary mensuration, but no instruction of any kind is given in the natural sciences"

The Commissioners report unfavourable comment at this time, because there were no free scholars in the school, the last having left in 1894. The Trustees stated that no applicants had been forthcoming owing to the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1891. The Trustees were, in fact, in a thankless position, under pressure from official sources to give up free tuition, criticised in the village for not having any free scholars in the School, and unable to get applicants to come forward. It may be, however, that they were not over-anxious to admit free scholars for there is evidence to suggest that the lack of scholars began, for different reasons, before the date given by the Commissioners. Mr. Stones in his booklet¹ on Wortley published in 1877 refers to the free scholarships of Wortley Grammar School and states:

"I fear that this provision has been suffered to lapse, I have been told (whether true or not I cannot say) that at present there are not any free scholars in the school."

The Charity Commissioners' Report² states that Mr. Rowe claims that he did not understand upon appointment that there was an agreement to teach a definite number of scholars free of charge. Possibly there was some apathy (or antipathy) on the part of the Master towards the free scholars!

1. John Stones, Wortley, Past and Present, 1887. P.28

2. 1899, Vol. 4 p. 519.

The Commissioners made no attempt to blame the decline in numbers upon Mr. Rowe. He had served the School for 21 years and had sent in candidates until recently, to the Cambridge Local, College of Preceptors, and the preliminary legal and medical examinations. Printed reports of examinations of the school conducted in earlier years by local clergymen had spoken highly of the work of the boys and the conduct and condition of the School. But of the present, the Commissioners concluded:

"From the facts recorded above it is clear that to whatever causes the failure of the School may be attributed, the endowment is not now applied to the best advantage, and is indeed practically wasted. The Trustees appeared at the Inquiry to recognise that this was so, and that the time had arrived for a reconstitution of the trust"¹

Thus, at last this old school appeared to be coming to an end, and the transfer of the endowment to other educational purposes seemed imminent. There was still to be reckoned with, however, the tenacity of the Trustees of this foundation. Once again they decided to flout official advice and try to revitalise the School. On this occasion the Trustees used the absence of a Higher Grade School in Wortley as evidence of a need for the Grammar School. The Commissioners report this further turn of events in a footnote² to the obituary-like conclusions previously reached:

"Since the above was written, information has been received that Mr. Rowe died shortly after the Inquiry. Canon Brameld states that the trustees, owing to strong

1. Ibid., p. 519.
2. Ibid., p. 519.

representations made to them that there is no Higher Grade School in Wortley, and that it would be a great pity to give up the School without a further effort, have decided to give it one more trial..... and if the school does not prosper, the trustees will apply to the Charity Commissioners for a new scheme;

According to this information there were nearly 100 applicants for the Mastership, and Mr. Robert Bruce, M.A. formerly Assistant Master at the Leeds Church Middle Class School was appointed.

The trustees must have been aware of the difficulties they faced. The mastership was made subject to six months notice on either side, and both parties must have known that there was a likelihood of this being invoked. Basically the small size of the endowment was the cause of these difficulties. But the School also was in the difficult situation of being in an outlying part of a city now well provided with schools of all types, though there was only an elementary school in Wortley. It could not hope to attract scholars from Leeds, it had to rely upon attracting the able pupils of Wortley. The school had little to offer, however, and there was little prospect of improvement. The total endowment consisted of £1,446. 13. 4d., in new consols which produced only £39. 15. 8d., and a small farm at Town End, Wortley, let for £15 per year, together with a further 1½ acres let for £5. 10. 0d., per annum. Thus, the total annual income was £60. 5. 8d., which, less the cost of repairs and other outgoings, was paid to the School Master who paid the rates and other expenses

connected with the school and his own residence. With the school down to only 7 pupils in 1895, Mr. Rowe's income in his last year in office must have been no more than £70. per annum, nett.

Another problem arising from the lack of funds was the state of the building which was described by the Commissioners as "poor and inadequate",¹ and for which little had been done in late years in the way of repairs. The description of the Master's accommodation is symptomatic of the state of the foundation:

"The house contains on the ground floor a very small kitchen, used also as a scullery, a small stone-paved room next to the classroom about 16 ft. by 11 ft., in extent, which was formerly used as a classroom, but in late years by the Master as a sitting room, a very small room adjoining used as a classroom for a few girls taught by the Master's wife, and one other sitting-room of a fair size. On the upper floor, approached by a very small and steep staircase, there are three bedrooms, one of which has no fireplace, and a small room formerly used as a bathroom. There are at present no offices inside the house. The external woodwork has been allowed to fall into a very bad condition."

This is hardly an inviting prospect for the Master's wife, even though she might be able, for a little time longer, to eke out her husband's stipend by teaching girls in the house. The schoolroom had last been refitted in 1874 when an attempt to attract pupils was being planned; it was then given a wooden floor and equipped with

1. Ibid., p. 520.

long parallel desks. Now the salary which was saved between the time of Mr. Rowe's death and the start of Mr. Bruce's Mastership was used to paint the school and paper the house. But the school must have presented an old-fashioned appearance at a time when large new schools were being built in Leeds.

So the School began its final trial, with minor improvements, a New Master, and considerable local controversy. The people at Wortley may not have used the school a lot but they certainly maintained an interest in it. Two issues were raised at this time: the religious one which had caused such difficulty in the middle of the century, and the question of free scholars. The local historian, William Benn¹ gives an account of the controversy. He describes a lively meeting held in the Old Workhouse following the publication of an advertisement for a new Master in which the school is described as a Middle Class Church School! The meeting was told that the School had been so described to limit the applicants to Churchmen, a rule which was laid down in 1861. The trustees claimed that the School was a Church Foundation though a welcome was given to any child of the township who wished to attend the school. It was also pointed out that the trustees had been given to understand by the Charity Commissioners that they were not bound to seek free scholars. One wonders whether any of the disputants knew of any possible free scholars, for, in view of previous

1. Wm. Benn, Op. Cit., p. 63.

experience it seems unlikely that any would now be forthcoming. No doubt there were two elements involved in the controversy: those who stood for the carrying out of the original intentions of the founder at all costs, and those who resented the dominance of the Established Church. The meeting seems to have engendered some confusion as well as heat for, Benn reports, a motion approving the action of the trustees was adopted and then declared not carried by the Chairman as some who voted were found to be non-ratepayers! The Vicar, Canon Brameld, then attempted to pacify the opposition by repeating his pledge to the Charity Commissioners that should the School not succeed a new scheme would be applied for. In any case, he pointed out, the Master's appointment was not for life.

As on the previous occasions the attempted revival of the School met at first with some success. Mr. A.F. Leach¹ reported that in 1904 there were some 30 boys receiving secondary education. Mr. Bruce was then still schoolmaster at Wortley, but since the passing of the 1902 Education Act the last real hope of maintaining the school had gone. There was now in Leeds a Local Education Authority with the power, and the desire, to organise a complete system of secondary education in the city. At first, however, the new Act had little direct effect upon the Wortley Grammar School. Yet as early as February 1902 various bodies providing secondary education

1. Victoria County History, op.cit., Vol.1, p.485.

in Leeds had come together with the Leeds School Board to reach an agreement¹ for the regulation of competition. This concordat is significant as heralding an integrated system before the Leeds Education Committee came into being. The Wortley Grammar School, like Leeds Grammar School was not involved in the discussions, but one Wortley educational institution is referred to in the document. This is the Leeds School Board's Preparatory Evening School held in Upper Wortley Board School, one of 47 such schools in the city, tuition at which cost 1/- a session. Scholarships from these preparatory evening schools were available to take students to the Higher Grade Evening Schools of which there were both Artisan and Commercial types. At the apex was the Central Higher Grade Evening School for Advanced Work which had scholarships in technical and commercial subjects, and also conducted classes in modern subjects. Thus a ladder had been created by means of which, through evening study, brighter working class children could ascend to receive a form of higher education. Perhaps these classes did not compete much with Wortley Grammar School, but in conjunction with the Board School in Wortley and its scholarships to the Higher Grade Schools, they were evidence of the increasing amount of publicly provided higher education. In the 1870's the Grammar School had had to be reformed because,

1. "Concordat Between The Committee of the Institute, the Managers of the Church Middle Class Schools, the Church Day Schools' Association, and the School Board."
 (Town Clerk's Office), Leeds, Feb. 1902.

with the growth of elementary education at that time, it could not secure sufficient scholars for an education which was little, if any, better than elementary standard. Now, with the growth of publicly provided secondary education, the School could not meet the competition by providing an education which was barely of a secondary type. It was trying to provide a general course of secondary education, but without a good course in classics it could not attract the sons of the wealthier, or more ambitious parents, and without a sound course in science it could not attract many children with an artisan background.

Nevertheless the School continued for some years under Mr. Bruce. Perhaps the comparative isolation of Wortley from Leeds was a factor in the School's favour. But the position changed when transport improved, and a Board of Education report¹ in 1905 suggested that as the School had been made redundant by the extension of the Leeds tramway system, it could usefully become a mixed preparatory school. This report had been requested by the Leeds Education Committee² as a preliminary to the re-organisation of secondary education in the city. The Inspectors visited Wortley Grammar School but did not inspect its work. Their report suggested³ the establishment of two schools at Armley, each to accommodate 250 secondary pupils. The Board of

1. Board of Education: General Report on the Present Supply of Higher Education in Leeds, 1905, p.15
2. Higher Education Sub-Committee of Leeds Education Committee: Minutes, 25th May, 1905.
3. Op.cit., p.10.

Education now began to 'strongly urge'¹ that new secondary schools be established at Roundhay and Armley. Armley lies on the west side of Leeds, adjacent to Wortley, and a school there competing with Wortley Grammar School would remove the latter's last advantage, its remoteness from other Schools offering secondary education. Had the Wortley School been a substantial one no doubt its incorporation into the Education Committee's system would have been considered, for the Mechanics' Institute Schools and the Church Middle Class Schools were absorbed within a few years. The little School, however, had unsatisfactory buildings and only a small endowment to offer. Its absorption into the system does not seem to have been contemplated.

Plans for the new school at Armley were quickly drawn up as the Education Committee recognised the

"immediate need for such a school at Armley".²

The school was to be mixed, with accommodation for about 800 children, and was due to open in September 1907. The trustees of the Wortley Grammar School recognised the inevitability of the end, and negotiated for a new scheme. This decision is reported by the Higher Education Sub-Committee in their Annual Report dated 31st July, 1907:

1. Report of the Higher Education Sub-Committee for the year Ending 31st July, 1906, p.7.
2. IBID., 31st July, 1906, p.7.

"Associated with the opening of the West Leeds High School is the decision of the Trustees of the Wortley Grammar School to apply to the Board of Education for power to divert the funds of the Trust to some other educational purpose. The Wortley Grammar School has in the past served a useful purpose in the Secondary School provision of the City, but as the West Leeds High School will amply supply the Secondary School needs of the Wortley district, the continued existence of the Grammar School would, under the present conditions, be unnecessary."¹

The transfer of the endowment to other purposes was not to be achieved without argument, a development which should not have been unexpected in view of the controversies which had arisen in the 19th Century whenever changes were proposed in the Wortley school. A conference between Board of Education officials and representatives of the Higher Education Sub-Committee and the Wortley Grammar School Trustees was held on Monday 9th December 1907, the school then having closed. The Minutes of the Sub-Committee record that it was agreed that application be made for a new scheme whereby the income of the endowment would be used to supplement with maintenance grants scholarships gained to secondary schools by boys from the Wortley district;

"the funds of the Trust by this means would not be diverted from the locality which they were intended to benefit under the original scheme."²

1. Ibid., 31st July, 1907. p.5.
2. Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, 12th December 1907.

Negotiations with the Charity Commissioners took some time, and on September 16th of the following year a Draft Scheme was published.¹ The main provisions were for a Governing Body of the Trust to consist of the Vicar or his nominee, two representatives of the City Council, one of the West Leeds High School, and one of the Leeds Grammar School, and three co-optative Governors, residents of Wortley. The West Leeds High School governors objected to the representation of the Leeds Grammar School and sought two representatives of their body. They also suggested that the grants be awarded only to scholarship holders who attended West Leeds High School, and that the area be extended to include Upper Armley and Farnley as well as Wortley. The Higher Education Sub-Committee eventually accepted² these suggestions which were communicated to the Board of Education. There was then correspondence between the latter and the Education Committee concerning the right of the Leeds Grammar School to representation on the new Trust. This culminated in the Vice Chairman of the Education Committee interviewing³ the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education. The protests were unavailing, however, and though the other suggestions were accepted, when the scheme was approved and sealed in February 1910 Leeds Grammar School's representation was confirmed. At the

1. West High School Governors, Minutes, September 16th, 1908.
2. Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, November 15th, 1908.
3. Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, November 1909.

time of writing the dispute seems a storm in a teacup; no doubt it was symptomatic of the long-standing animosity felt by non-conformists toward Leeds Grammar School that it took 2½ years to agree on the terms of the new scheme for the Trust. However it was no doubt pleasing to many people in Wortley that their old endowment continued to aid the education of their children.

For the Schoolmaster of Wortley, Mr. R.H. Bruce, the ending of the school was not so satisfactory. He was appointed to the staff of the Boys' Modern School (as the former Mechanics' Institute School was then named) as a Form Master at £160 per annum, which must have meant a considerable rise in income for him. But some time later the Head of that school was obliged to report on his unsatisfactory conduct and he was placed on three months 'probation' by the school governors.¹ The Higher Education Sub-Committee at its following meeting² over-ruled the school governors and decided that the services of Mr. Bruce be terminated forthwith with one month's salary. Despite the protest³ of the governing body this decision was adhered to. Perhaps Mr. Bruce did not find it as congenial a post as the Wortley one; at the latter school the disadvantages of low salary and a modest dwelling house had at least been offset by a higher status in the village. Certainly the post of Master must have had some advantages, for from 1875 to the closing of the

1. Leeds Institute Schools and Class Sub-Committee, Minutes, 6th March, 1913.
2. Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, 12th March, 1913.
3. ~~Leeds~~ Minutes, 3rd April, 1913.
Institute Schools and Classes Sub-Committee,

school in 1907 there was only one change of Master and that resulted from the death of Mr. Rowe.

The School buildings at Wortley were let for other purposes, and this increased the income of the Trust, which was reported¹ to be £763 6. Od a year in 1909. Benn sadly records² that the School was being used as a bakery in 1926 and he wishes that the proprietors could be persuaded to remove the sign which covers the historic latin inscription. Under the School motto "Tenete Bonum" carved on an inside wall generations of schoolboys had been educated, in a fashion. Among them, Benn states, Mr. Henry Oxley, twice Mayor of Leeds, John Wormeld J.P., a prominent councillor and Judge Hargreave. The last-named gentleman is referred to in a book³ published in 1868 wherein it is stated that

"the first rudiments of his education was obtained at the Wortley Grammar School, under the care of the late Mr. Joseph Brook."

He later went to Bramham College and then to London University. The School had not educated many men of note, nor had it ever been very important, but it is an interesting example of the many smaller Grammar Schools which were founded in minor towns and villages centuries ago. It provides evidence of the pride and sense of ownership felt by the inhabitants of these places towards the old foundations. Even as late as 1926, Wm. Benn is

1. Wm. Benn, Op. cit., p.63.

2. IBID., p.61.

3. 'Eminent Men of Leeds', by "A Leeds Man", (believed to be C.S. Spence), 1868, p.71.

protesting at the inclusion of people from Farnley and elsewhere in the provisions for scholarship holders' maintenance made in the new scheme of the Trust. Yet, by then the School had been closed for nearly twenty years.

CHAPTER 10 - LEEDS MODERN SCHOOLS

Of the Schools provided by the Mechanics' Institute it was recorded at the end of Chapter 6 that, under new head teachers who were to stay many years, both were prospering. The Boys' School, the Mathematical and Commercial School, it was suggested, was pursuing a course rather different from that which was originally proposed. Many examination successes were gained in University Local Examinations as well as in the examinations of the Science and Art Department. Such successes were, no doubt, welcome to all parties concerned but when Mr. Horsman began to encourage boys to enter for scholarships to public schools his policy was less popular with the Managers of the School. The change of emphasis began with boys being prepared for University Scholarships which called for a greater emphasis upon Classics in the school. During this period new public schools were being opened and scholarships to these were available. Mr. Horsman perhaps thought that boys would have a better chance of University scholarships from such schools and in 1874 he was successful in having places awarded at Clifton and Malvern Schools.¹ This was the start of a run of similar scholarship successes and by 1880 ten boys had entered Clifton and others had gone to Rossall and Bath. The Managers must have viewed this trend doubtfully but it brought the school

1. Bullus, op.cit., p.8.

credit, and by 1882 there were 324 pupils.¹ It was perhaps no coincidence that as the standard of Latin improved that of Science declined. The Science and Art Department had to urge the Committee in 1880 to purchase the stock of chemicals and apparatus maintained by the Evening Class Science teacher, and it was only in this year that laboratory work began.²

The question of examination entries came to a head in 1884 over a relatively trivial matter when Mr. Horsman, according to the Committee,³ declined to send in to the Cambridge Local Examination ten boys who had entered from lower forms than usual. The Committee felt that this would mean that the examination results would not be

"a fair representation of the work of the School,"

and Mr. Horsman resigned thus bringing to an end 25 years sterling service as Headmaster. The announcement of the appointment, to the post, of Mr. Alfred Barker, M.A., contained a lightly veiled hint of the Committee's disapproval of his predecessor's policy:

"This change will give the Committee an opportunity of somewhat reorganising the work of the School, and bringing it more into accord with the requirements of modern education with which the new head master has great sympathy."⁴

The Committee also referred at the same time to the smaller numbers of passes in Chemistry, a

1. Leeds Mechanics' Institute, Annual Report for 1882, p.8.
2. Ibid., 1880, p.3.
3. Ibid., 1884, p.6.
4. Ibid., 1884, p.7.

situation which they hoped would be remedied by the replacement of the head of the Chemistry Department. Also significant is the statement that Mr. Barker proposed to provide increased facilities for technical subjects appropriate to local needs.¹

Thus the year 1884 marked a change of emphasis in the School, which was now to become more science based and with a vocational purpose rather than a preparatory school for public school scholarships, and a grammar school with a university orientated curriculum. The former emphasis would seem a more appropriate one for a school run by the Mechanics' Institute. As usual when changes were made, however, the result was to undermine public confidence to some extent, and enrolments fell. In 1885 there were 212 pupils but the Committee expressed confidence in Mr. Barker and felt that

"in due time good results must follow."²

Some embarrassment must have been caused by Mr. Horsman opening a private school in the town, and no doubt, taking away some of his former pupils.

Mr. Barker set out to retain his better pupils at least to the age of matriculation at London University, and for the others introduced Commercial subjects as well as Technical subjects. In fact a full modern curriculum was adopted and indeed in 1889 the title of the school was changed

1. Ibid, 1884, p.7.

2. Ibid, 1885, p.6.

to Leeds Boys' Modern School. In that year also the School moved into a newly built annexe of the Institute's Brodrick Building, now too small for all the activities of the Mechanics' Institute. The new building was opened by Sir James Kitson, grandson of one of the founders of the Institute. Sir James, Chairman of the Institute called for an integrated system of education in Leeds. The scheme of education was now complete, all that was needed, he believed was something to connect the elementary Schools, the Mechanics' Institute Schools, the Higher Grade Schools in course of erection, and the Yorkshire College.¹ This rather vague suggestion was perhaps motivated by the action of the Leeds School Board in erecting their Higher Grade School on a site next to the Institute, an action which was to pose problems for the future. Certainly, integration was needed, but the omission of the Grammar School from the list of Schools is odd.

In 1890 Mr. Barker took a better appointment and was replaced by Dr. Barber, who stayed at the Modern School for 30 years. Writing in "The Modernian" he described changes which he made; the curriculum included fewer Science subjects, and more time was given to French and English, and German was introduced. Manual instruction was also provided in two workshops converted from Classrooms.² Numbers enrolling at the Boys' Modern School had risen during

1. "Yorkshire Post", January 16th, 1889.

2. Bullus, op. cit., p. 11.

Mr. Barker's stay and by 1889 had reached 336. Despite the increased numbers the financial position of the School became difficult following the erection of the new building. This had been an act of faith in the future but its cost became a heavy financial burden. 1889 brought some financial relief for the passing of the Technical Instruction Act enabled the City Council to aid the School, and this led to a reduction in fees, eventually. The Balance Sheet for 1889¹ showed that a quarter of the School's income came from Government grants, for which there was much dependence upon the science department's examination successes.² More significant for the future was the £5,000 mortgage on the new building.

In the meantime the girls' school, the Leeds Ladies' Educational Institute, had continued successfully under the guidance of Miss Ash. The Annual Reports speak of satisfactory comments by examiners, though some of these seem to be limited in their application, as, for instance, that by Mr. J.R. Moyley in 1876:

"Writing, spelling and arithmetic deserve, on the whole, considerable praise."³

An interesting sidelight on schooling at that time lies in the same examiner's comment that,

"the reading was of praiseworthy accuracy, but it failed in loudness."

At this time French was compulsory in the Upper

1. Leeds Mechanics' Institute; Annual Report, 1889, p.5.

2. Bullus, Op. Cit., p.12.

3. Leeds Mechanics' Institute: Annual Report, 1876, p.9.

School but the curriculum was not the broad one envisaged when the School was founded. However, scientific studies were developing and Physical Geography and Animal Physiography were included in the curriculum. In this respect the School differed from the Day High Schools which were being established in many towns, including Leeds. From 1881 pupils began to take the Cambridge Local Examinations and the names of successful candidates appear frequently in the Annual Reports of the Institute. By 1890 there were 200 pupils and a staff of seven assistants, and in the following year the School was remodelled to place it on the same footing as the boys' school in its curriculum and extra teachers were appointed.¹ In 1893 the School became the Leeds Girls' Modern School and in the following year Miss Ash retired. She had been with the School since its early struggling days and her retirement was a more dignified occasion than was Mr. Horsman's departure.

Thus both Schools had achieved much since their foundation and were in a satisfactory position at the opening of the third period. 1895, of course, marked the 50th Jubilee of the Boys' School and this was celebrated by the Old Boys holding their first annual dinner. By this time these two Schools were almost unique, and Mr. Laurie pointed out in his report to the Royal Commission that except for Girls High Schools they were the only proprietary schools in the West Riding not associated with some religious body.

1. IBID., 1891, p.9.

The situation had changed in the last quarter of the Century for while the Schools of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute:

"flourishes now as it did at the time of Mr. Fitch's report, there is no other left, and some even of those that have the support of a distinct religious connexion are put to it to live."¹ hard

The difficulties of financing such Schools were no doubt mainly responsible for their diminishing number. With the development of Higher Grade Schools the proprietary schools had two courses open to them. They could raise their fees and become more exclusive, like the Girls' High Schools, or they had to keep their fees low, or even reduce them as the Modern Schools did in 1891, and compete on educational grounds. The disadvantage of the former course was the competition of the Grammar School and Girls' High School in many cities, of the latter course, the financial problem.

The Leeds Modern Schools had the peculiar disadvantage of having a Higher Grade School on their doorstep. Mr. Laurie seemed to be intrigued by the small amount of damage caused because of this situation; he found no particular advantage offered for the Modern Schools' higher fees, the curriculum was much the same and the social background of the pupils similar. The Headmaster of the Boys' Modern School claimed that his School gave more attention to English than

1. Royal Commission On Secondary Education,
op.cit., Vol.7, p.134.

did the Higher Grade School, but Mr. Laurie believed that the successful survival of the Modern Schools was due in part to the rising demand for secondary education which created a supply of pupils which is

"practically inexhaustible in the large towns."¹

But also the Schools received advantages from being attached to

"a great organisation like the Mechanics' Institute, the members of which have been accustomed to use their own Schools for forty years."

Mr. Laurie felt also that the higher fees, varying from three to seven guineas, compared with three guineas at the Central Higher Grade School gave a slightly higher social status. The Modern Schools appealed to the poorer middle classes who preferred their boys to enter business or industry at about 15 or 16 years of age, Mr. Laurie stated. It seems to the writer that the greater emphasis on English might well have added to the appeal of the Modern School in the eyes of parents who sought a higher social status for the education of their children. A surprising point made in the Report is that half of the entrants came from small private preparatory schools,² and this fact would suggest that English would be regarded as important.

The course of instruction in the Boys' Modern School reflected the vocational needs of pupils and the financial needs of the School for

1. Ibid., Vol. 7, p.152.

2. Ibid., Vol. 7, p.151.

Science and Art grants. In the fourth year, 15 hours were spent on science subjects and only 11 on all the others, including English which received more emphasis than at the Higher Grade School. This 'minority' time included also history, geography, French as compulsory subjects, with Latin, German and Shorthand as alternatives. Mr. Laurie was scathing in his comments on this situation which was due to factors external to the School:

"This extraordinary choice of subjects, in which a mechanical subject like shorthand is placed on a level with Latin or German, as if it had an equally valuable part to play in a scheme of education, hardly requires comment, as it speaks for itself as to the extent to which schools of this kind are apt to become the victims of the practical necessities pressing on the boys who attend them to the destruction of educational ideals."¹

Nevertheless the School did not suffer so much as did some schools which depended upon grants from South Kensington:

"English and languages are not neglected, and the boys do not seem to be unduly pressed to earn grants on the science subjects."²

In fact the emphasis on science at this School was not so great as that on Classics at Leeds Grammar School where two-thirds of the timetable in the Upper forms was devoted to Classics, but at the end of the 19th Century the educational value of science, compared with Classics, was not

1. Ibid, Vol. 7, p.151.

2. Ibid, Vol. 7, p. 152

so well recognised. This, in part, was due to the rote-memory learning approach to science which Mr. Laurie reported in many schools, including this, though no doubt Classics teaching relied on this method also.

In general the Assistant Commissioner was well satisfied with the Modern Schools. The classrooms were of good size and well furnished and the headmaster was a man of distinct ability. The discipline was good and the tone suited Mr. Laurie's strong inclinations for briskness and efficiency.¹ The Girls' School was coupled with the Boys' School as being very successful.² The financial position was not a particularly stable one, for Mr. Laurie noted that the low income was responsible for keeping salaries at a relatively low level. The only income apart from fees and grants from the Science and Art Department was £80 from the Leeds Technical Institution Grant to the Mechanics' Institute and £80 from the West Riding County Council. There was some advantage from the School's links with the Institute in that it shared with the evening classes a good chemical laboratory and the services of an outstanding science teacher

"for whom the day school alone could hardly afford to pay."³

For some years following the Report the Modern Schools continued satisfactorily. The Boys'

1. IBL, Vol. 7, p.153.
2. IBL, Vol. 7, p.150.
3. IBL, Vol. 7, p.150.

School under the control of the Institute (renamed Leeds Institute of Science, Art and Literature in 1897,¹) especially^{so} since by 1901 it had enrolled 420 pupils, whereas the Girls' School had 249 pupils.² No doubt the growth of the latter was affected by the factors special to Girls' education identified by Miss Kennedy and referred to in the Chapter next but one, which deals with the Girls' High School. The Annual Reports of the Institute suggest the Committee's satisfaction with the progress of both schools. In 1897 attention is drawn to a special engineering course in the Boys' school stated to be ahead of others in Leeds, while the external examiner is quoted as stating that the school provided the best commercial course in the city.³ The 1901 Report refers with pride to the statement by H.M. Inspectors that the Boys' Modern School is the most important secondary school in Leeds.⁴ Much had been done to meet the criticisms of the science teaching evidently, for particular credit was given for the teaching of mathematics and science. At this time there were, in that part of the Boys' school recognised as a School of Science, 187 pupils and the grant amounted to £1,000. 16. 6d. There was now some worry about the financial state of the two schools and the Committee hoped that relief would be forthcoming under the Government's proposals for secondary education. The mortgage had not been repaid, and interest payments were a heavy burden. In this

1. Leeds Institute of Science, Art & Literature: Historical Sketch 1824-1900, 1901, p.21.
2. A. Tait, "Higher Education in Leeds" in "The Record of Technical and Secondary Education", (National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education), Vol. 9, No. 47, July 1902, p. 272.
3. Leeds Institute: Annual Report, 1897, p.5.
4. Ibid., 1901, p.11

matter, the School was in a similar position to the Leeds Church Middle Class School and in both cases the unpaid mortgages were important factors in changing the control of the Schools.

The Act of 1902 did not bring the hoped-for relief, and the Annual Report for that year made a special plea for additional aid by stressing the pioneering role of the Schools in the past and the need for improvements in the future.¹ The Modern Schools were certainly worthy of ~~the~~ pride of the parent body, for, the Boys' school had more than twice as many pupils as the Leeds Grammar School and the Girls' school had more pupils than Leeds Girls' High School.² Despite the plea for more generous local aid, however, the City Council felt unable to make awards on the scale of the Science and Art Department, and the Schools therefore suffered a fall in income. This may have been partly due to the small number of scholarships available to take public elementary school pupils to the school, but more probably was due to the close competition to the Council's own schools provided by the Modern Schools. The grant received was only £130. 0. Od. to the Boys' school and £90. 0. Od. to the Girls' school, smaller in both cases than that given by the West Riding County Council.³ The finances of the two schools were even more dependent than previously on fees as a result of the lower grant from the newly appointed Education Committee of 1904,

1. IBid, 1902, p.7

2. A.Tait, op.cit., p.272.

3. Leeds Education Committee: Annual Report, 1904/05, Appendix A.

and the Committee had to adjust to a sharp decline in income for the Science and Art Department grant had been over £1,000.

The result could only be a deterioration in the schools, and this came rapidly as the Board of Education Report, commissioned by the Education Committee in 1905, made clear,¹ The Modern Schools were understaffed, the teachers underpaid, and the buildings unsatisfactory it was reported. The Schools could continue only if the grant from the City Council was greatly increased. The Inspectors pointed out that the total grant to the Leeds Institute was many times that received by its two schools. The remainder of the grant was used for other educational activities, and the Inspectors thought that a specific grant should be earmarked for the Modern Schools by the Education Committee. In the meantime the Girls' school was housed in so unsatisfactory a building that its recognition by the Board should be temporary. Only removal to a new site would remedy the situation. However, a much more radical alternative was recommended in the Report; the schools should be closed and the pupils transferred. This would ease the congestion of schools in the central site which would result from the Pupil Teachers' Centre on the site becoming a secondary school. The names of the Modern Schools would then be preserved by the Central High School and the new school, Thoresby High. The recommendations concerning the Modern

1. Board of Education General Report.
1905, op. cit., p. 12.

Schools' grants were not acted upon by the Education Committee, and the schools were left in the same difficult situation.

In May 1906 the Committee of the Institute appealed to the City Council to take over all its educational work, and to buy the two schools.¹ The Committee set out in its Annual Report the stark details of the Institute's finances.² At the end of 1905 the total indebtedness, including mortgages, was £28,222, and this had been due to the development of education work, which, the Committee pointed out, had been urged upon them in the past. The Institute had consistently applied the profits from the Library and Lectures to its educational work but more money was needed and this could come only from the City Council. Yet its grant had been reduced for the 1905-06 session and the work could not be continued. In these circumstances the classes must either be transferred on satisfactory terms to the Council, or they must cease which would mean the cessation of much of Leeds' essential education work. The Committee suggested that the Education Committee should guarantee any deficiencies and the classes continue until full agreement on their future was reached. The Institute Committee wished to retain the Brodrick building but sell to the Committee the separate Boys' Modern School building and the School

1. Leeds City Council, Higher Education Sub-Committee: Proceedings, 30th May, 1906.

2. Leeds Institute, Annual Report, 1906, p.4.

of Art. The Girls' school was housed inadequately in the main building and required rehousing elsewhere. A temporary agreement to finance the classes and schools was accepted by the Education Committee subject to permanent agreement being reached within six months.¹ The Education Committee refused the offer to sell the two buildings and no agreement was reached within the period. The Institute asked for an extension of the guarantee, but this was granted only until March 1st 1907.²

It was at this stage that pressure began to be applied to the Institute Committee from a higher level. The Board of Education had written to the Secretary for Higher Education in Leeds drawing attention to the deficiencies of the Modern School buildings and stating that grants would not be forthcoming unless these defects were put right, and for the Girls' school recognition,

"if granted at all will be conditional upon satisfactory proposals being submitted for its early removal to adequate buildings upon a satisfactory site."³

A copy was sent to the Institute and its implications must have been plain to the Committee. The latter were not in a position to dictate terms, their only strong card was the threat to cease all

1. Leeds Education Committee, Higher Education Sub-Committee: Proceedings, 7th June 1906.
2. Leeds Institute, Annual Report, 1906, p.5
3. IBIA, Higher Education Sub-Committee, Proceedings, 26th. September 1906.

the educational work of the Institute and this, being reasonable men, they could not really contemplate doing.

There still remained the question of the terms of the transfer, and the Committee turned for help to the Board of Education. Correspondence and two deputations from the Institute followed but the Board supported the terms put forward by the City Council which involved no payment by the latter. In a lengthy but cogent letter to the President of the Institute, the Secretary of the Board of Education, Sir Robert Morant set out the reasons for this decision. This letter a copy of which is provided in the Appendices as Appendix A, was a masterly compound of tact, flattery and firmness.¹ Morant began by discussing the implications of the proposed transfer and confirmed that the Institute was a charitable trust under the Charity Commissioners. He then commented upon the fine record of the Institute whose Committee had met constantly changing demands by means of great sacrifices and risks and the incurring of heavy liabilities. Morant left little doubt that the ultimate sacrifice of its educational work was expected, though the Board hoped that the Institute would continue its literary activities. In a tone more in sorrow than in anger Sir Robert referred to the financial difficulties of the Institute as being in no way discreditable to it; the Institute had been too successful and too progressive from a financial

1. Board of Education,
Letter T2023/06, (Appendix A), See pp. 320-330.

point of view. The Committee had been driven to use part of the premises for mere money-making purposes, he reminded them, and had been obliged to adopt expedients hardly consistent with the dignity of the Institute and perhaps detrimental to it. Morant dismissed any suggestion that the schools be discontinued as retrograde and unworthy of the ideals of the Institute. The simplest and most satisfactory solution was to transfer the property and work of the Institute to the City Council who would accept financial responsibility and guarantee continuation of the literary work.

Faced with this unyielding attitude, the Committee gave way and drew up a Scheme for presentation to members, at a special meeting held on 26th July 1907.¹ The Scheme is provided in the Appendices as Appendix B. It provided for the City Council to take over the mortgages and other debts in return for all the buildings of the Institute. Certain rooms in the Brodrick building would be placed at the disposal of the Institute in perpetuity and at a peppercorn rent. The Committee proposed to furnish a Ladies' Reading Room which would be additional to the main Library and Reading Room. In addition small lecture rooms would be provided, and the Albert Hall in the main building would be available except for 25 occasions each year when it would be used by the Education Committee. Unanimous approval was given at this

1. Leeds Institute; Minutes of Meeting of Members and Subscribers to Consider the Proposed Scheme For The Future Working of the Leeds Institute, July 26th. 1907, (Appendix B), See pp. 331-338.

meeting to the proposals and the great era of the old Mechanics' Institute came to an end. The Institute retained an interest in the Modern Schools, however, for under the terms of the agreement the Schools and Classes Committee of the Institute managed the Schools as a Sub-Committee under the control of the Education Committee. The Institute continued to function as a literary society until June 1940 when the exigencies of war accelerated its closure.

For the Education Committee the taking over of the Schools was a big step towards

"the municipalisation of the Secondary Education of the City."¹

With remarkable timing, also aided by the combined pressure of Education Committee and Board of Education, new premises became immediately available for the rehousing of the Girls' Modern School, as a result of the closing of Leeds Church Middle Class Schools. After repairs and alterations to these premises in Vernon Street, the Girls' Modern School moved from the central precinct, leaving the Boys' Modern School to remain in buildings which became increasingly inadequate as the years went by. The Girls' Modern School remained under the control of Miss E. Garbutt, who had succeeded Miss Ash in 1894, until her retirement in 1921. Glimpses of school life at the time of the change in management are given in the Centenary Brochure.² One ex-pupil

1. Leeds Education Committee. Annual Report, 1907, p.4. (1854-1954):
2. Lawnswood High School, Centenary Souvenir 1954, p.3.

refers to the use of microscopes in Botany, and of a "real sheep's heart" in Biology. Swimming and hockey were introduced in 1906, but in both the boys' and the girls' schools there were no immediate far-reaching changes. Evolution came gradually, except for the removal of both schools to a new site at Lawnswood on the northern edge of the city in 1931. The Education Committee proposed¹ to rename the schools, Lawnswood High Schools, to avoid confusion with the Senior Elementary Schools which the Hadow Report had recommended should be named Central or Modern Schools. The Old Boys Associations. campaigned against this decision and eventually persuaded the full meeting of the Town Council to rescind it.² The Girls' School became Lawnswood High School but the Boys' School retained the title of Leeds Modern School, Thus was tradition preserved.

It is fitting to end this Chapter by recording that the School's early days were not forgotten and by retaining the title Modern School, the Boys' school at least commemorates the pioneering work of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute. Today the name is yet more of an anachronism, but it is still retained. It is difficult not to feel some regret at the way in which control of the two schools was wrested from the Institute, though it must be accepted that the transfer of control was both inevitable and for the better.

1. Leeds Education Committee, H.E. Sub-Comm: Minutes, 21st Jan. 1931.
2. IBIS, 2nd: March 1931.

CHAPTER 11 - LEEDS CHURCH MIDDLE CLASS SCHOOLS

The founding of this School has been described in an earlier Chapter, and it will be recalled that this school grew out of the top classes at Leeds Parish School. From 1870 to 1876 the School occupied premises in Basinghall Street but it soon outgrew these, and the girls were removed to a large house in Rockingham Street. Numbers still increased and in 1876 the entire School moved to entirely new buildings in Vernon Road,

"largely owing to the influence and energy of the then Vicar of Leeds".¹

Separate premises were provided for the girls, and the total cost of the building came to £9,898. a quarter of this sum was raised by public subscription and fund-raising activities. A mortgage was taken out for £3,500, a debt which was to hang heavily on the school in later years, and the remainder came from accumulated reserves. The running expenses of both schools came from fees and the examination grants awarded by the Science and Art Department. Science teaching became a special feature of the schools, and a demonstration lecture theatre and properly fitted laboratories were shared by both schools. Many scholarships were awarded to take boys, and some girls, to the Yorkshire College of Science, later the University of Leeds. One of the science teachers at the school in its early days was William Briggs, who later founded the well-known University Correspondence College.

1. E. Kilburn Scott, op.cit., p.7.

As the third period opens in 1895, the School was having built new laboratories and workshops which were opened shortly after the visit of the Assistant Commissioner for the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. But by this time the School's methods of science teaching had become as out of date as the old science facilities. In fact the school was not in a happy state and Mr. Laurie was very frank about the situation. The late headmaster of the boys' school received severe criticism; the poor state of the School was partly due to:

"the indifference of the headmaster who had recently resigned, and who lived six miles out of Leeds, where he had some property to which he devoted a good deal of his time."¹

This master, E. Kilburn Scott states, left in 1893 when the school was under depression following the death of a boy in

"an accident with a toy pistol."²

It seems that the discipline must have been poor for some time and this is not surprising when not only had there been an absentee headmaster but, in Mr. Laurie's words,³

"the committee of management practically ceasing to exist, the school was no longer kept in touch with the life of the town and the educational movements of the time through a strong and representative body of governors."

{ Royal Commission on Secondary Education,
1. OP. CIT., Vol. 7., p. 156.

2. OP. CIT., p. 10.

3. OP. CIT., Vol. 7, p. 156.

Royal Commission on Secondary Education,

The boys' school had fallen from 350 pupils twelve years previously, to only 110, and in recent years none had been entered for the Cambridge Locals and very few for the Science and Art Examinations and scholarships at the Yorkshire College. Though the school claimed to provide a modern and science education it did little mathematics and science of an advanced character. The fault for this sad state of affairs was clear to Mr. Laurie:

"With such a history, it is surely unnecessary to blame the establishment of any other schools for the falling-off in numbers which has taken place."¹

He was particularly critical of the teaching of science apart from its "badly equipped premises". In particular the chemistry teaching was:

"as imperfect as the equipment and illustrates the remarkable way in which many teachers still persist in regarding science as something which can be learnt like names and dates out of a book, and as having no connection with the realities of the external world."²

Apparently only as a special treat had the pupils been allowed to do a piece of laboratory work by preparing hydrogen. This, following on barren courses in each branch of science had immensely impressed the pupils. Here obviously, Laurie is riding one of his favourite hobby-horses for he admits, immediately after this criticism:

"Unfortunately, the above description is not peculiar to this school, and whenever in the course of this report, I state that the science teaching is of the ordinary kind, it is this kind that I mean."³

1. IBIA, Vol.7, p.156.
2. IBIA, Vol.7, p.157.
3. IBIA, Vol.7, p.158.

This seems to admit clearly that most science teaching was based on book learning and that experiment was rare. And this at a time when most modern secondary schools boasted of their laboratories.

Fortunately the situation of the school was not hopeless, the new headmaster, Mr. F.G. Harmer, had already done much to revive the school, Mr. Laurie felt, and already the numbers were showing indications of increasing under a re-organised committee of management.¹ But, he concluded with a warning:

"If this school is to regain its position in Leeds, the Headmaster will have to reform the teaching both in science, in art, and in manual instruction, and the Committee of the school will have to spend a considerable amount of money in proper equipment."²

Mr. Laurie's attacks seem justified in the light of the evidence he offers but at least one person sprang to the defence of the past headmaster of the school, and this was in the correspondence columns of the "Yorkshire Post".³ This defender writing under the non-de-plume A.R.W. admitted that he did not know the headmaster at all, but he did know some of the men he had taught and

"by their daily conduct, as well as by their words, they bear eloquent testimony to the tranquil solidity of the training they received."

The fact that both the main Church of England schools, the Leeds Grammar School and the Leeds

1. IBId, Vol.7, p.155.

2. IBId, Vol.7, p.158.

3. "Yorkshire Post", 16th. November 1895.

Church Middle Class Schools were heavily criticised by Mr. Laurie while the non-sectarian schools of the Mechanics' Institute were praised must have been a sore point with members of that Church. For the Middle Class School governors the criticism must have been the more painful in that the Report pointed out that at one time the school was the leading middle class secondary school in Leeds. The heavy mortgage raised when the Vernon Road premises were opened had still not been paid off and this said Mr. Laurie

"must seriously cripple the school."¹

Thus, there seem to have been a number of causes for the decline. The facilities were poor and

"in want of thorough cleaning and renovation"²

but there was no money available for this because of the mortgage commitments. The past headmaster had neglected his duties and the governors, mainly clergy in Leeds, had practically left the school to its own devices. Not surprisingly the teaching of the three assistant masters had become uninspiring and they were trying to cope with subjects in which they had little competence, as for example art. Finally there had been the growth of the Higher Grade School which seemed to be the recipient of brighter boys from the church elementary schools, though the new headmaster was

"completely sceptical as to the growth of the higher grade school being responsible for his empty benches."³

1. Royal Commission for Secondary Education. Op. Cit., Vol. 7, p. 155.
2. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 154.
3. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 156.

No doubt it was true that if the Middle Class schools had been attractive they would have secured a good share of the increasing number of pupils.

The Girls' School at Vernon Road seems to have been involved in the general malaise. The accommodation was for 260 pupils but numbers had dropped from 216 in 1888 to 106 in 1894,¹ a staggering fall in only 6 years. Fewer than twenty girls came from public elementary schools, evidently this school could not attract pupils who moved on from Church elementary schools, and had to rely upon the lower middle classes for support. This state of affairs applied also to the Boys' Middle Class School, for figures given in the Report² show that a small minority of the boys came from Church Schools, if special scholarships are excluded. Of the 23 pupils who were in the third and fourth forms, having come from elementary schools, only 13 came from Church Schools and, of these, 6 held choir scholarships. Thus it was apparent that the Church elementary schools were not supporting this school and using it as their higher grade school. Perhaps this was because the school, which was after all named the Church Middle Class School, was regarded as being mainly for middle class children. This point seems to have escaped Mr. Laurie, who mused:

"It is difficult to see, if it is not supported by the Church educational organisation, what special claim it can make upon others for support."

1. IBIA, Vol.9, p.372.

2. IBIA, Vol.7, p.155.

In fact statements made to the Commission show clearly that the school was catering for the lower middle class, small shopkeepers, commercial travellers and a few professional men.

"In reality", said Laurie,

"the school is a second grade modern and commercial middle class school."¹

The Assistant Commissioner touched upon a significant fact for the school in pointing to the lack of support from the Church elementary schools. If the latter favoured the School Board's Higher Grade School, it was solely dependent upon those lower middle class people who insisted upon a Church-based school. For those who did not give priority to religion the schools of the Mechanics' Institute were a more attractive proposition.

The basic problem facing the school at this time was finance, though this received little attention in the Report. The fees of two guineas per term in the upper school were too small to give financial security yet high enough to be out of reach of most parents. The school was receiving grants from the Science and Art Department and aid from the City Council in the form of the so-called "whiskey money" funds provided for technical instruction. This aid amounted to only £150 in 1893 - 1894, but was increased to £400 by the newly appointed Education Committee in 1904.² On a per capita basis this aid was quite useful, being

1. Ibid., Vol. 7, p.154.

2. Leeds Education Committee: Proceedings 1904/05, Appendices to the Annual Report, Appendix A.

more than £1 per head in 1894 and over £2 in 1904 when there were 118 boys and 69 girls in the twin schools. This grant was to be reduced later when the more non-conformist liberals took over majority rule in the council. The balance sheet for 1904/5 shows the dependence on fees and government grant despite aid from two local authorities.

INCOME. - 1904/05

Board of Education	£1,237. 18. 11d.
Fees	£1,044. 9. 8d.
Leeds City Council	£ 400. 0. 0d.
West Riding County Council	£ 50. 0. 0d.
TOTAL ...	£2,732. 8. 7d.

Such a financial position, and the lack of an endowment, coupled with the lack of support from the other Church schools did not augur too well for the future. But in the meantime the school had, to some extent, been re-establishing its reputation. The tone improved and "a public school spirit" was developed.¹ Out of 31 entrants at Leeds for the Cambridge Local in 1901, 26 were pupils of the Middle Class School.² Optimism about its future was high evidently for in 1902 the parent body, Leeds Church Day School Association, referred to the need for another Church Middle Class School at Armley and

"eventually a third on the south side of the river."³

1. E. Kilburn Scott, Op. Cit., p.42.
2. Ibid., p.42.
3. Leeds Church Day School Association: Annual Report for the Year Ending 31st March, 1902, p.16.

Nothing came of these suggestions, and soon the financial precariousness of the existing school was to be brought home to the Association.

In 1905 the Board of Education's Report on Higher Education in Leeds pointed out that improvements to the building were necessary, and suggested that a larger grant from the City Council was required.¹ In fact, in that year, the grant had been reduced to £175 a year following the changed representation on the Council as a result of the elections.² The Committee did not follow the advice of the Inspectors, and the School had to attempt to adjust to a fall in income of £225 at a time when money needed to be spent on the buildings. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the City Council with its Liberal majority, was not averse to the closing of the school. This might have been desired because of a laudable intention to raise the quality of secondary education in the City, and to integrate the system. On the other hand, the Church Middle Class School seems to have been selected as the first victim of this policy, and religious feeling might well account for that fact. In January 1906 the Education Committee decided that conditions were to be attached to the grant made to the Church Middle Class Schools.³ These conditions were the same as those applied to other grant-aided schools, and required inspection of the

1. Board of Education General Report 1905, op. cit., p.6.

2. Leeds Education Committee: Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, 19th January 1905.

3. Ibid. 25th January, 1906.

school, approval of the time-table and curriculum, and contained provisions relating to the qualifications and salaries of the staff.¹ The Committee must have been aware of the difficulties which this decision would create for the Church Middle Class Schools for in the same Minutes they offered to take over full responsibility for the finance of the school provided that restrictions were placed on the amount of religious teaching, so that it was taught only between 9 a.m. and 9.30 a.m., there was a conscience clause for teachers, and if a special teacher of religious knowledge was appointed he was paid out of Church funds. The governing body were to become a sub-committee of the Higher Education Committee, if the proposals were accepted. This would have effectively taken the school out of the hands of the Church, taken away its distinctive character and have brought it under local authority control without payment. While these proposals were being considered the school asked for the grant of £175 to be continued and this was agreed to on condition that 21 free places were provided.² The people who paid a small amount of the piper's fees were thus starting to call the tune quite effectively.

As in the case of the Mechanics' Institute Schools the Board of Education was the anvil on which ^{the} Education Committee forged its pattern. The Board of Education brought pressure to bear on the school when, as one way out of its difficulties, it

1. IBid., 22nd. February 1906.

2. IBid., 26th. September 1906.

applied for recognition as a Pupil Teacher Training Centre. The Education Committee were asked by the Board for their views, and they suggested that recognition be accepted only if the school carried out the Board's instructions in improving the school before the next school year.¹ The Board did not put pressure on the Committee to increase their grant which the Report of H.M. Inspectors had suggested in 1905 should be raised. Meanwhile the school was belatedly attempting to put right its financial difficulties by obtaining funds to pay off the mortgage, which was costing £200 per annum. E.K. Scott² reports that the school held a bazaar in 1905 and this raised £4,000, but it was not enough to save the school. No further assistance would be forthcoming from government sources unless the required improvements were made, and the grants from the City would not be continued unless the Education Committee had control. In these circumstances the governors capitulated, but not on the rock bottom terms suggested earlier by the Committee. The school was offered to the Council for £6,000, "a nominal figure" in Scott's opinion,³ and this offer was accepted in May 1907.

The Report of the Education Committee for that year has a tongue in cheek flavour in reporting these developments.⁴

1. Ibid., 13th December 1906.

2. Op.cit., p.60.

3. Ibid., p.62.

4. Leeds City Education Committee: Annual Report of the Sub-Committee on Higher Education, 31st July, 1907.

"For some time the Managers of the Middle Class School for Boys and the Middle Class School for Girls had found it difficult to keep pace with the increasing demands necessary to fulfil the requirements of a good modern secondary school, and at the end of the educational year the Schools were closed. The pupils were transferred to other secondary schools of the City and recently the buildings of the Middle Class Schools have been purchased by the City Council.

Under the Voluntary Board of Managers the Middle Class Schools did valuable educational work under difficult conditions, and it is fitting that in an Institution with so creditable a record educational work should continue."

The continued educational purpose for which the Vernon Road premises were to be used was the housing of the Leeds Girls' Modern School, which with its brother school, was at that moment being taken over by the Council. Thus, in the same year, four schools run by two public bodies were brought into public control. The schools of the Mechanics' Institute continued as public secondary schools but those of the Leeds Church Day School Association closed for good.

Mr. Harmer, the headmaster of the Middle Class Boys' School, became headmaster of the Cockburn High School under the Education Committee. His old school remained in memory,¹ only, until 5th, September 1927 when a Memorial Tablet was unveiled in the school buildings, still in use by the Girls Modern School. This tablet, presented by the Old

1. The remaining funds were applied to the Parish Church Choir Fund states Scott, Op. cit., p.62.

Boys' Association commemorated the school as one of the first in the country to make science an integral part of the curriculum. Today, with the Girls' Modern School rehoused on the outskirts of the City, the Vernon Road building still meets the educational needs of the City as the home of the Yorkshire College of Domestic Science.

In closing this Chapter it is interesting to note the differences in the tactics adopted by the Education Committee towards the Church Middle Class Schools and the Modern Schools. The former School received more aid from the Council than did the Modern Schools; up to 1904 the amounts were £400 and £220 per annum to the two Modern Schools. After the change in party control of the Council the grant to the former school was reduced to £175, which brought the schools more into line on a per capita basis. For both Schools the Board of Education Report of 1905 recommended increased grants, and for both the Education Committee did nothing. In the case of the Modern Schools the pressure from the Board of Education was decisive in getting the schools handed over to the Council as going concerns. In the case of the Church Middle Class Schools the Board's role was a small one, and the Council had to buy the Schools. The Modern Schools were the more heavily in debt and this partly accounts for the disparity of treatment, whereby they were handed over without payment, but the main reason is that the Institute had the satisfaction of having its schools continue,

and exercising some control in their management. Even so the Institute had to be cajoled by Sir Robert Morant. The sale of the Church Middle Class Schools, however, was a simple financial transaction whereby a building was sold and nothing more.

CHAPTER 12 - LEEDS GIRLS HIGH SCHOOL

The history of this school begins in 1876 when two societies were formed, each with the aim of providing higher education for girls. The Leeds Ladies Educational Association had on its Committee Mrs. E.M. Baines and Mrs. Gott who were the wives of prominent citizens. The Yorkshire Ladies Council of Education was supported by Mrs. Kitson whose husband James was equally well known in Leeds. In the year of their formation both societies combined to form the Leeds Girls High School Co.Ltd., and a number of gentlemen were invited to join the Joint Committee.¹ The object of the Company was

"to establish and maintain a high-class Day School for the girls of Leeds which shall be to them what the Grammar School is to their brothers."²

The new school was thus clearly conceived of as an extension to girls of the grammar school type of education. At this time the only other girls school providing higher education in Leeds was the school run by the Mechanics' Institute but its non-sectarian aims were not popular with members of the Church of England. The Vicar of Leeds was one of the Committee members of the Leeds Girls High School Co., and the school was to be associated with the Established Church. The subjects of instruction were to embrace

"all the requisites of a sound and liberal education."

and the staff was to be the best and most accomplished

1. Proctor, K.E., "Leeds Girls' High School", Part 1. 1876-1906; 1926, p.8.
2. Leeds Education Committee; "Leeds, Backward Glimpse, Present View," 1926, p.77.

that could be found, while the fees were to be moderate enough to be within reach of

"all for whom a considerable amount of knowledge and training are demanded."¹

With these high aims the school opened in the Autumn Term of 1876 in a building leased in Woodhouse Lane. The headmistress was Miss C.G. Kennedy who was only 25 years of age, the daughter of an H.M. Inspector, and a product of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham where she had also taught under Miss Beale for two years. Miss Kennedy became an outstanding educationist and later served as an Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education in which capacity she inspected girls' schools in Leeds. Her opening address is of more than passing interest therefore. In it she laid down the principles which would guide the teaching given in the school. Education for her was

"the strengthening and developing of the mental powers by such training as best conduces to accurate logical thought, quickness of observation, and the habit of mastering difficulties by steady perseverance."²

The best medium for accomplishing this, she felt, was Latin and she therefore proposed to give it priority and not French as in so many girls' schools at that time. French and German would also be taught so that the school had a considerable languages bias. In addition there was to be an emphasis on English, particularly with

"the earlier structure of our language, to enable them to read with facility such monuments of English Literature as the 'Canterbury Tales' or the 'Visions of Piers Plowman.'"

1. Proctor K.E., op.cit., p.9.

2. "Yorkshire Evening Post", 4th. September, 1876.

All of this was reported in detail in the local press and one ponders whether today a head teacher would outline to a public gathering his aims and curriculum and whether a newspaper would find the subject matter of such interest as to merit a full report.

The school opened with 42 pupils, who Price¹ records, were divided into three classes. Standards in arithmetic were low at first for few of those in the top class could

"work any arithmetic of a more advanced nature than the ordinary, simple and compound rules"

according to Price. Standards soon improved however, and the roll increased. Within a year there were 76 pupils and by 1891 there were 176.² As early as 1877 two pupils won second class honours in the Cambridge Junior Local examination.

Miss Kennedy resigned in 1891 owing to family circumstances, and a Newnham graduate Miss Helena Powell was appointed. With the change of headmistress there came a sharp fall in numbers, and Miss Powell was in the process of building up from the low level of 120 pupils³ when the school was visited by the Assistant Commissioners of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. It must have been somewhat embarrassing for Miss Powell to have the former headmistress inspecting the school on behalf of the Commission. Both Miss Kennedy and Mr. Laurie gave a detailed report on the school, but their comments were favourable. Mr. Bryce

1. Price A.C., op.cit., p.326.

2. Proctor K.E., op.cit., p.19.

3. Ibid., p.28.

described the school as a very⁷ good example of a Girls' High School Company school, and added:

"The buildings are fairly good, there is a large garden for playing at the back, the teachers are efficient and well trained and are most of them from universities, and the headmistress is a distinctly able woman!"¹

By this time there were 150 pupils, but they entered the schools at ages varying from 8 to 16 years. Mr. Laurie reported that the school suffered from being regarded as a "finishing" school (described by him as an "old superstition"!) Thus some older girls came to her for only a year, although there were others who stayed until they were 20 years of age.

This higher leaving age must have reflected the differing social patterns of boys and girls from the middle classes. While most boys, if not going to university, started work quite early many girls did not work outside the home. Similarly the widely differing ages of entry and leaving in the girls' school reflected the lower demand for a full education for girls. Mr. Laurie drew attention to an important social difference in the differing attitudes to scholarships observed in the Girls' High School and the Boys' Grammar School. He found that in the former there was

"no desire to encourage the introduction of girls from elementary schools by means of scholarships, the headmistress in most cases being unwilling that such scholarships should be created."²

1. {Royal Commission on Secondary Education,
op. cit., Vol. 7, p. 153.
2. IBID., Vol. 7, p. 154.

He contrasted this position with that of Boys' schools who felt that their future existence depended largely on taking advantage of any system developed for passing on boys of ability from every class into the secondary schools. The strength of this feeling was sufficient in Mr. Laurie's opinion to cause the whole development of girls education to take a different course from that emerging for boys:

"The class feeling which does not seem to affect the boys' schools, is very strong in the girls' schools, and the same parents, who are quite willing to allow their boys to mix with boys from all classes, are not willing to do so in the case of their girls. This is a serious question to which I shall have to refer again, and which will involve the organisers of Secondary Education in great difficulties, as, in trying to throw open girls' schools to one class of the community, they may merely empty them of another class, and the result may be an enormous increase of private schools for girls, whose only excuse for existence would be a claim to greater gentility."¹

Fortunately, the situation thus postulated did not materialise, although there have been sufficient developments along those lines to justify Mr. Laurie's comments; with the movement for women's equality the pattern of girls' education came nearer to that of boys. No doubt, too, the increasing number of co-educational Higher Grade Schools at this time helped to create a fusion between boys' education and girls' education. A similar form of class feeling was also referred to by Mr. Laurie when he pointed out² that while some

1. Ibid, Vol.7. p.154.

2. Ibid, Vol.7. p.153.

girls from the school went to Oxford and Cambridge, very few were sent to the Yorkshire College,

"as the impression seems to be that the students there are somewhat rough."

No doubt the fees paid at this school were significant in this matter of social exclusiveness, for they are stated elsewhere¹ in the Report to be among the highest in the country for a girls' school. Miss Kennedy commented that the attendance of girls from the artisan class was "a rare exception".² This is not surprising for the fees, ranging from £4 to £6 per term,³ put the school out of reach of working class families and there were only two scholarships for girls from public elementary schools, and these were not annual.⁴

Both the Assistant Commissioners discussed the place of the school in the Leeds pattern of education. Mr. Laurie did not think that there was any serious overlapping on the part of the Higher Grade school despite the headmistress's feeling that she would have more than her present total of 150 pupils but for the development of that school.⁵ Miss Kennedy thought that the small classes and personal attention in the schools other than the Higher Grade School helped them to compete with it:

"I think it is the idea that a 'home-like' school is desirable for girls, which largely helps in Leeds to maintain many cheap private schools as well as two second grade secondary schools, not to speak of a High School and private schools with a heavier fee, side by side with a Higher Grade School which is handsomely equipped in every way, and which enjoys a high reputation."⁶

1. IBIA, Vol. 9, p. 370.
2. IBIA, Vol. 7, p. 324.
3. IBIA, Vol. 7, p. 153.
4. IBIA, Vol. 7, p. 324.
5. IBIA, Vol. 7, p. 153.
6. IBIA, Vol. 7, p. 330.

The headmistress Miss Powell, thought only one of the small private schools could be recommended as being distinctly good, and she criticised the 'mechanical' teaching of the higher grade schools.¹ Her school had smaller classes to offer, and considerable attention was paid to the physical development of the girls. Miss Kennedy drew attention to

"the moral and social training which is afforded by frequent opportunities of personal intercourse with the teachers."

In order to provide as much contact with their elders as possible the school halved the fees of any "well-conducted girls" who had completed two years in the sixth form.²

The syllabus differed considerably from that outlined by Miss Kennedy almost twenty years earlier. It was now less academic and included needlework, drawing, gymnastics, and natural science. Miss Kennedy, who, in her inaugural address, had stressed the importance of languages, felt that the proliferation of subjects had led to a lack of attention to languages³. Certainly the allocation of only 4½ hours a week to languages in the middle section of the school, and of 6 hours in the upper section must have seemed inadequate to her. In general, however, both visitors seem to have been impressed with the school and Mr. Laurie described it as

"a good example of the modern type of girls' school, which in many ways is already in advance of boys' secondary schools in its educational methods and ideas."⁴

1. IBL, Vol.7, p.153.
2. IBL, Vol.7, p.330.
3. IBL, Vol.7, p.318
4. IBL, Vol.7, p.153.

Miss Kennedy referred to the schools gymnasium as the best equipped for girls in the West Riding and for which it was

"largely indebted to the exertions of one of its lady governors."¹

The school apparently placed great stress on drill which was "elaborate and scientific"² and upon outdoor games.

Within a few years the school benefited from the activities of the Charity Commissioners. Under an agreement between the Commissioners and the Governors of Leeds Grammar School the sum of £12,000 was set apart for the higher education of girls. As described in a previous Chapter,³ the Commissioners had long been putting pressure on the Grammar School trustees for provision to be made for this purpose, and as early as 1878 the latter had been willing to divert part of their funds to the Girls' High School though wishing to retain these in a joint fund. It was not until May 1901 that a final Scheme was arrived at, whereby it was agreed that the £12,000 was to be used for the buying out of the Leeds Girls' High School Co.Ltd.⁴ In addition to the capital sum the Grammar School Governors were to pay at least £250 per annum to the Girls' school which was to be renamed Leeds Girls' Grammar School. The Committee of management was to have 9 members from the Boys' Grammar School Committee and 9 (7 of whom were to be women) appointed by the former Leeds Girls' High School Council. The Committee was gradually widened

1. IBIA, Vol. 7, p.322.

2. IBIA, Vol. 7, p.153.

3. Charity Commissioners' Report 1899.
Op. Cit., p.335.

4. A.C.Price, Op. Cit., p.326.

until 1909 when under a new scheme dated 7th December 1909 the membership was to include 2 women from outside the Grammar School governing body but appointed by that body as part of their quota of 9 members.¹ In the meantime the City Council, the School Board, the Yorkshire College, the Yorkshire Ladies' Council and the High School Council had been given representation at the expense of the old committee of the school now reduced to two members on the reformed management committee.² In 1909 the old committee ceased to be represented and the West Riding obtained a place. By then the school had reverted to its old name, but with Grammar School Foundation in brackets after the name.

The dearth of scholarships to which Mr. Laurie had drawn attention continued. The only scholarships linking the school with public elementary schools were provided from the funds remaining from the Lancasterian Fund, which has been referred to in a previous Chapter, on Leeds Grammar School, which also received a share of the funds. At the girls' school two scholarships worth £40 a year to the holders were made available from 1885. Ten years later the capital sum remaining, then £944, was handed over to the Endowment Fund of the School by the sole surviving trustee of the Laneasterian Fund to found two permanent Lancasterian Scholarships.³ The School also held two small scholarships for elementary school pupils which were founded by the trustees of the late Mrs. Marshall. In 1906 one

1. A.C.Price, op.cit., p.329.

2. Proctor, op.cit., Part 2, p.24.

3. IBid., Part 1, p.26.

of the Governors, Mrs. Lacy Stables founded a scholarship to Oxford and Cambridge for £40 a year.¹ A sum of money which was left by will to provide scholarships to pay fees at the school for any girl unable to pay them was used, by an alternative provision in the endowment, to found an Endowment Fund. The Governors thus can hardly be said to have encouraged the development of a system of scholarships linking the school with the public elementary system. Of course an Endowment Fund was a necessary object also, and by 1902 when the limited company was dissolved the Fund was worth £300.² The government of the school was stable enough and not for many years was the increased expenditure to create financial problems. In this matter the links with the Grammar School were to be of considerable value.

Academically the favourable remarks which the school secured in the Report of the Royal Commission augured well for the future, and this optimism was justified by events. By 1897 there was a record total of 203 pupils, sixteen of these being in the kindergarten department which had been opened in 1895. Enrolments continued to increase and the governing body looked for extra accommodation.³ In 1899 the school opened a branch kindergarten at Chapel Allerton, a developing suburb, two or three miles from the school, and two years later in response to parents' requests a junior department was added for girls up to 13 years of age. There were then 38 pupils, accommodated in a house in

1. IBIA, Part 2. p.18.
2. IBIA, Part 1. p.26.
3. Proctor, IBIA, Part 1. p.29.

Normandy Villas and in the care of the Mistress-in-Charge, Miss Scotson Clarke, formerly headmistress of a High School in East Africa.¹ This little branch school was later to grow into a large Local Authority secondary school, which is still functioning. When it was started, however, the only aim^{was} for it to act as a feeder to the main Girls' High School. The extension of the tramway system to Chapeltown Village meant that the girls from the branch school could travel to the main school from the Chapel Allerton suburbs when they finished their junior education at the age of 13. The branch school did not prosper very well, however, and within two years its closure was proposed. This was averted when parents of the pupils formed a company to take it over and run it independently of the Girls' High School.² This separation took place in 1904.

By this time Miss Powell had left the school to take up the post of Principal of a Training College in Cambridge. She left in 1902 and was succeeded by Miss Joseph, formerly at Wycombe Abbey School. The premises in Woodhouse Lane were regarded as unsuitable for further development and in 1902 it was decided to move further out of town to Headingley. The school seems to have been well served by some of its governors, for in May 1902 a building was purchased by three committee members so that it could be secured in advance of funds being raised. This building was Morley House, some two miles from the centre of town on the Otley Road. The house was purchased from the

1. IBid., Part 1, p.31.

2. N.J.Henderson, "The Story of Allerton", 1961, p.11.

committee members at the purchase price of £7,000. Evidence of the close relationship which the school had with the Grammar School was the loan of the purchase money by the Governors of the Grammar School.¹ The purchase transactions were not completed until 1905 due to disagreements about the building line to be allowed.² The foundation stone was laid on the 10th July 1907, at a ceremony at which the Chairman of Leeds Education Committee welcomed the provision of extra secondary places. Mr. F. Kinder pointed out that their existing schools were taxed to the utmost, and there was accommodation for only 4.5 pupils per 1,000 of the population as against 8 per 1,000 in Bradford.³ In these circumstances the development of the Girls' High School was not seen as a threat to the publicly provided schools.

Miss Joseph left the school in order to marry and was succeeded by Miss Lowe who came from Blackheath High School, and took up her post in the Autumn Term, 1907. One year later the new buildings were opened with all three former headmistresses present at the official ceremony. The building was actually in use from September 19th 1906 but workmen were still in possession of much of it, Proctor⁴ states. The official Opening Day was held on September 29th 1906 when H.R.H. Princess Louise opened the building. Miss Lowe

- (Part 1)
1. Proctor, Op. Cit., p.33.
 2. Idia., Part 1, p.36.
 3. "Yorkshire Observer", 11th July, 1907,
 4. Op. Cit., Part 2. p.5.

referred in her report to the extra facilities now available, including a library, studio, science rooms and a kitchen laboratory. There was also a fine gymnasium and a playing field nearby. Miss Lowe emphasised the value of games, on recreational and character grounds. She referred to the intense loyalty of the old pupils, of whom three were on the staff. The Old Girls Association had been formed as early as 1892, Price¹ records, and it must have been very active for, according to Proctor,² after the official Opening three hundred former pupils visited Miss Kennedy's school at Darley Dale.

With the move to the new building, Domestic Science was offered as a subject. A Froebel Training Department was opened so that girls who had finished school could learn to teach young children. In fact the school curriculum developed a decided vocational bias after 1905, including a Home Arts Training which was regarded as a preparation for marriage. Secretarial training for book-keepers and librarians was introduced, and from 1915 a nursing course for the care of young children was introduced.³ Thus the school moved away considerably from its first aim of providing a liberal education based on the ancient and modern languages. No doubt this was forced upon the school by the widened role now played by women in public life. The Inspectors of the Education Department in the report on the school in 1905 had suggested that a change of emphasis

1. Op. cit., p. 338.

2. Op. cit., Part 2, p. 10.

3. Price, Op. cit., p. 335

was taking place in the school. They commented¹ that "while securing to a fair proportion of its senior girls a high standard of positive acquirement, it attaches less weight to the acquisition of mere knowledge than to the arousing and stimulating of intelligent and many-sided interests."

This report was a very favourable one; the girls were stated to be bright and full of spirit, while the tone of the school was excellent as was its discipline. The inspectors referred to the varied out of school activities and the healthy corporate life of the school. In one respect the school was unusual in its out of school activities, for Price states² that in 1892 a Guild of Charity was founded, which still existed in 1918, and which enabled pupils to do welfare work in Leeds.

The outlook continued to be a hopeful one for the school. Numbers continued to rise until by 1909 there were over 300 pupils,³ the number for which the new school had been designed. A separate building for the Preparatory Department was constructed on the site and opened in the Autumn of 1911. A boarding house was opened in Headingley in 1909; in 1912 larger property was purchased for this purpose. Throughout this period of development the £7,000 loan from the Grammar School remained unpaid. It remained unpaid for many years and because of Board of Education pressure for repayment in 1926 the Leeds Grammar School wiped out the loan.⁴ Thus the original capital sum of

1. IBLA, p.334

2. IBLA, p.338-9,

3. Proctor, Op. Cit., Part 2, p.23.

4. IBLA, Part 2, p.46.

£12,000 became one of £19,000 by default, no doubt with the consent of the governors of the Grammar School. The school had its financial problems and no doubt the increased expenditure of post-war days hindered its ability to repay the loan. Indeed in 1920 it had to seek a financial guarantee on the year's working from the Education Committee and this was given on generous conditions.¹ Academically, and in numbers of pupils, however, the school flourished. In 1918 there were 500, and by 1926 there were 600 pupils.² Ten scholarships to universities were won by pupils in the years from 1906 to 1914, Price records.³

Thus, at the close of this third period, in 1907, the school was being energetically managed by its governors and well directed by its headmistress. It was losing some of its former exclusiveness in that it had arranged to receive a Board of Education grant in return for a reduced quota of 10% of its admissions to come from public elementary schools, as the Leeds Grammar School had done.⁴ It was providing a sound classical education for the few girls wishing to go on to university, for the others it offered a choice of vocational courses, including a preparation for marriage course. It stressed physical education and gave emphasis to games. It seems at this time to have been the most successful of the secondary schools managed by public

1. Leeds Education Committee: Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, January 1921.
2. Proctor, Op. Cit., Part 2, p.38.
3. Op. Cit., p.334.
4. Leeds Education Committee: Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, September 1907.

bodies outside the local authority. Certainly its record had been one of almost continuous progress, and it was not doomed to extinction or loss of independence at this time as were a number of its competitors.

CHAPTER 13 - THE SCHOOLS OF THE LEEDS SCHOOL BOARD

Leeds was among the first of the great towns to establish a School Board, Miss M.A. Travis¹ reports. In November 1870 the first of a series of Triennial elections was held with a distinct Party cleavage. On the one hand were Liberal Dissenters pledged to introduce non-sectarian religious teaching, and on the other, Tory Churchmen more concerned with the interests of the existing voluntary schools. A complicated voting system designed to protect the interests of minority groups allowed each person 15 votes which could all be given to one candidate. Roman Catholics quite often plumped for a selected candidate in this way. The first Board in Leeds had 8 Liberal members and 7 Conservatives, and conveniently one of the Liberals, Sir Andrew Fairburn, was a Churchman, and he was elected Chairman on three successive Boards. Leeds School Board was an active one from the start and a system of elementary schools was rapidly developed. In 1877 the Board, in the only Annual Report² it issued, claimed that Leeds had a higher ratio of its child population on the school rolls than Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. The School Board had previously accepted a proportion of 10% of the child population as being likely to use schools other than elementary schools, and 15% in Headingley and Chapeltown areas. At that time, 1876, there were in Leeds 1,169 pupils in publicly provided schools,

1. M.A. Travis, "The Work of the Leeds School Boards 1870-1902" in Research and Studies. No. 8, May 1953, p. 83.
2. Leeds School Board: Annual Report, 1877.

other than elementary schools, and 1,913 in private schools. Since there were 64,619 children of school age this meant a margin of nearly 5,000 (from the 8,000 allowed for), unaccounted for, the Board stated.¹ A more useful conclusion, it could be suggested, would be that the suggested proportion was much too high considering the limited supply of alternative schools.

From the system of elementary education being developed by the School Board a form of secondary education emerged. It grew out of the higher level of elementary education which the more enterprising School Boards began to develop, but its exact origins are somewhat obscure. It is usually accepted that top classes above the elementary standards were the main progenitors of the Higher Grade Schools. Eaglesham² states that once a pupil passed the six standards, or grades of achievement, then the problem of 'higher education' arose. This scheme of elementary standards had been inherited by the School Boards, but no upper age limits were effectively prescribed and no clear definition of subject matter provided. Some School Boards began to encourage pupils to stay on at school after passing the Sixth Standard, and where these were formed into classes Higher Grade Schools were established. Eaglesham³ states that the first such school was opened in 1875 in Bradford where there was a prosperous and intelligent artisan population. A study⁴ of education in Bradford gives

1. Ibid, Triennial Report, November 1876.
2. E. Eaglesham, "From School Board to Local Authority" 1956, p.31.
3. Ibid, p.32.
4. G.W. Fenn, "The Development of Education In An Industrial Town (Bradford) 19th Century: A National System" in Research Studies, No.6, May, 1952. and

1876 as the date of the opening of this school by W.E. Forster. This school was the Feversham Street School which was designed as an advanced elementary school. By 1895 Bradford had five such schools, and there were many throughout the country. In 1879 the Board of Education officially recognised the use of rates for these higher grade schools giving an education described as "almost secondary"¹ By the time of the Bryce Commission it was clear that many of these schools were doing work more markedly secondary in nature. In effect, Eaglesham states,² it was accepted that the higher grade schools were elementary schools, and therefore eligible to receive rate aid, as long as there were elementary grades in them. But, although exclusively secondary work should not have been in their province, a number of School Boards established, after 1880, Central Higher Grade Schools which were mainly for higher elementary pupils. In Leeds the first Higher Grade School was established in 1885.

Two other channels whereby higher elementary education was provided were also open at this time, however, and each is a contributor to the development of secondary education. One of these developments was the training of teachers to staff the elementary schools. At first this was given in the schools in which the pupil teachers were serving. This system was seen to have disadvantages, and in 1882, Leeds School Board expressed dissatisfaction with it.³ Two years

1. Eaglesham, Op.cit., p.34.

2. Ibid., p.42.

3. Leeds School Board: Triennial Report, 1882. p.41.

later a number of Pupil Teachers' Centres were set up in the city, though there were not sufficient places. Part-time instruction was given in these small centres, the pupil teachers spending most of their time in the schools in which they were teaching. Miss Travis advances the opinion that the proposal to found in Leeds a Higher Grade School was

"not unconnected with the business of preparing young teachers"¹

There is no direct link between pupil teacher training and the School, However, and the training of pupil teachers was eventually concentrated into one institution which eventually was converted into a Secondary School. The group training of pupil teachers began on August 25th, 1884,² and continued for some years in twenty four centres; the Higher Grade School played no part in their education.

The third development in higher elementary education was the establishment of Science and Art classes securing grants from the Departments. In some places the organised Science classes developed into Higher Grade Schools as at Manchester, where, Eaglesham states, a school replaced such classes.³ He suggests that at Leeds the Central Higher Grade School was founded partly for the same purpose. The science classes in Leeds had 261 pupils on their roll as early as 1877, and there were 249 in art classes.⁴ These were not official classes for

1. { Travis,
Op.cit., p. 90.

2. Leeds School Board, Triennial Report, 1885, p.38

3. Op.cit., p.188.

4. Leeds School Board, Triennial Report, 1879, p.32.

the Board simply allowed the use of the rooms to the teachers who received no salaries and kept all the fees and grants. These classes were held in the evenings and were described by the Board as "private adventure classes on the part of the teachers."¹

The new school in Leeds did not at first replace organised science classes, in fact it was only after it had been functioning for a year that a specially qualified science instructor was appointed and a Chemical Laboratory provided. The Board's Triennial Report ascribed this development to the success of the new school:

"For some time special need has been felt for more definite scientific and technical instruction, both for the advanced children in the schools, and for the assistant and pupil teachers, and the success of the Central Higher Grade School has made the necessity more pressing."²

The School's higher department eventually became internationally known and much of its success was due to its work in science, which grew out of the early private adventure classes.

The Central Higher Grade School at its commencement, essentially grew out of the elementary classes, and its aim was to take children beyond the elementary grades. The School Board reported that the school

"is intended to provide suitable and higher instruction for children who have passed through the full curriculum of the ordinary school."³

There were 60 free scholarships and 25 part

1. Ibid., 1882, p.38
2. Ibid., 1885, p.34.
3. Ibid., 1885, p.33.

scholarships to take pupils from the public elementary schools, and for other pupils there was a fee of 9d per week, which applied in both departments. The School was in temporary premises but it was able to provide a broad curriculum including, in addition to the ordinary elementary subjects, Geography, History, Grammar, French, Latin, Algebra, Euclid, Chemistry, Mechanics, Magnetism, and Electricity, English Literature, Music and Domestic Economy. This was a wider curriculum than that provided in the Grammar Schools at that time. The School's early years were unfortunate in some respects: Mr. Moore, the first Headmaster was shortly discovered to be falsifying the science registers and was dismissed, and a libel case over the dismissal resulted in the Board's secretary resigning.¹ Despite new buildings after 1889 the School at first failed to earn the merit grant from the Department but by 1891 the School Board was able to claim that the School was "a brilliant success from every point of view."²

The new School was on a central site adjacent to the Leeds Institute and its schools. It had accommodation for 2,099 pupils,³ and by 1894 it had 2,036 on the roll, though only 366 were in the higher section.⁴ This section consisted of the children who had passed all the standards, and it was recognised as an organised science school by the Science and Art

1. Travis, op.cit., p.91.

2. Leeds School Board, Triennial Report, 1891. p.34.

3. Ibid., 1888, p.7.

4. Ibid., 1894, p.41.

Department. At this time the school had grants of £1.4. 0³d per head from the Education Department, and £2.3.8³d in Science and Art grants, which enabled it to have a 'credit' to the Rates of £342. 12. 7d although there were now 180 free scholarships. The School Board claimed that the Central School had

"proved itself a secondary school of a high type, in so far as some of its pupils (of the highest classes) have passed direct to the University examinations."¹

Thus, higher elementary education had in a short space of time become secondary education, although provided by a body established to provide elementary education only. The aims of the School were now wider, for the Board claimed that it gave a higher education

"for professional, commercial and technical purposes."

The success of the Central Higher Grade School led to the opening of a second school to provide higher elementary education. This school, commenced in 1891, when classes for children who had passed the elementary standards were formed in Bewerley Street School which had been the first elementary school built by the Leeds School Board.² This school was located in the industrial and working class area in the south of Leeds, and for this reason no fees were charged. The premises were not particularly well adapted to Higher Grade education, and the School's location, coupled with the good reputation of the Central Higher Grade School

1. IBLD, 1894, p.42.

2. IBLD, 1891, p.38.

handicapped it in building up its higher department. By 1894, however, there were 110 pupils in the higher department which was recognised as an organised Science School, and the Board expressed confidence in its future and prepared a scheme for the improvement of the School in the belief that it would take

"a foremost position as the Higher Grade School for the southern side of the city."¹

Such optimistic statements tended to be repeated in the years to come yet the School failed to attract a great deal of support. The School changed its name to Southern Higher Grade School and was eventually replaced by a new building and renamed Cockburn Higher Grade School in the last years of the Leeds School Board. It remained something of a problem to School Board and the succeeding Education Committee for many years.

As the third period of this study opens, then, there were two Higher Grade Schools functioning in Leeds. The Central School was housed in premises described by H.M. Senior Inspector of Schools as

"the finest elementary school building in the country,"²

it was a large school attracting pupils from all parts of Leeds although fees were charged in both departments, and it was building up a good reputation. The Southern School was accommodated in an older elementary school building, and was struggling to build up a strong higher section although no fees were charged. In addition to this

1. Ibid., 1894, p.43.

2. Ibid., 1891, p.34.

form of higher elementary education, pupil teachers were receiving education in part-time classes in various centres. Shortly, these classes were to be concentrated in the School Board offices¹ in what was really an embryonic secondary school though it was not so regarded at that time. The term, secondary, was just coming into general use with the setting up of a Royal Commission on Secondary Education. Such an enquiry had been made necessary by the setting up of higher elementary schools of doubtful legality, in competition with the secondary schools provided by other bodies or maintained by ancient endowments. The Central Higher Grade School in Leeds for example was claimed to be a Secondary School by the School Board, and as early as 1891 the Board stated that its aim was,

"the education of children to the fullest extent, from Elementary to Secondary subjects, and yet without undue pressure."²

The Chairman of Leeds School Board, E.J. Cockburn, was appointed to the Royal Commission³ and in June of 1894 he had the pleasure of visiting, with other Commissioners, including M.E. Sadler, the Central Higher Grade School in Leeds. This visit seems to have been a thorough inspection which resulted in the members, according to the School Board, expressing themselves in

"unqualified terms of praise."⁴

The Southern Higher Grade School was not reported upon by the Commission, and was described as a branch of the Central School.⁵ It is difficult

1. Ibid., 1897, p.43.

2. Ibid., 1891, p.34.

3. Ibid., 1894, p.43.

4. Ibid., 1894, p.43.

5. Royal Commission On Secondary Education, op.cit., Vol. 7, p. 135.

to escape the conclusion that the Commission was misled on the matter, or that the Assistant Commissioner particularly concerned, A.P. Laurie, chose to class the two schools together. The School Board regarded it as a separate school, but because of its slow growth must have been quite happy not to have it closely scrutinised. One reason for the slowness of Southern's development could have been the reluctance of the headmasters of other elementary schools to release pupils who had passed the elementary grades. The Chief Inspector to the School Board, S.M. Tait, recognised that headmasters did not like to lose their most promising pupils but reminded them that pupils who had passed the Sixth Standard should be transferred to Higher Grade School, and reinforced this with an appeal to the sense of duty which was expected of them:¹

"a teacher who has the welfare of his children at heart will rise superior to any personal feeling, and will point out to both children and parents the advantage of going forward to one of the Higher Grade Schools."

No doubt this reluctance on the part of headmasters affected the less fashionable Southern School to a greater extent.

The Central Higher Grade School impressed Mr. Laurie, and not only for its building, which seems to have caught the Assistant Commissioner's imagination for he commends its white bricks in the corridors, its glass partitions between classrooms, and its Chemical laboratory which accommodated 120 pupils. The school's gymnasium was "beautifully

1. Leeds School Board, Report of The Chief Inspector, 1895, p.29.

appointed", the school's ventilation so good that

"the close atmosphere which one associates with so many class-rooms, and which is so depressing mentally and physically, is unknown,"

while the headmaster's room was ^{so} well situated in the centre of the building that,

"he can glance into the classrooms on either side, so that no teacher can have an unruly class, or fall into the mistake of too much laxness, or too much severity without the headmaster's knowledge."¹

Mr. Laurie found a certain character in each room, owing to the drawings and diagrams displayed there and which included work done by the children, while the corridors had cases in them with apparatus, and specimens, many of which had been collected by the children. Clearly the Higher Grade School presented a great contrast with most secondary schools at that time. Indeed, as Mr. Laurie pointed out, many of the secondary schools were

"vastly inferior to the modern elementary schools inside in cleanliness, brightness, light and air."²

This school was completely efficient, and so well arranged, and so clean and bright, that

"it is a pleasure to wander through it."³

Mr. Laurie was also impressed with the School's headmaster, Dr. Forsyth, and his staff. The headmaster's method was to staff his school mainly with ambitious young men who were prepared to learn from him. Dr. Forsyth's organisation was such

1. Royal Commission On Secondary Education.
Op. Cit., Vol. 7, p. 159.

2. IBID., Vol. 7, p. 159.

3. IBID., Vol. 7, p. 160

that he was able to devote a good deal of his time to teaching his masters how to teach, he was one of those rare men,

"who can inspire others, so¹ that his staff are keen and hardworking."¹

He was able to attract very capable assistants, although the salaries were not large, because the posts had considerable attractions, partly because he had been able to place a number of them as headmasters in other higher grade schools. Dr. Forsyth must have impressed the Commissioners also, for he was invited to give evidence before the Commission.

Of the teaching in the school there is more detailed criticism than praise in Mr. Laurie's report but this is because there was little to be said about the school's good points, for:

"It is hardly necessary to say that the most perfect discipline reigns throughout the school, that the classes all impress one as bright, alert and intelligent, and that everywhere one sees examples of the perfection of method in teaching."²

There were, however, two grave defects. In the first place, the traditions of the elementary school associated with the school board, kept the class size much too large, so that in some classes there were 60 pupils. Mr. Laurie felt that this must lead to the teaching becoming mechanical, despite all that the trained teacher could do to overcome this defect. Language teaching was the main sufferer in this respect. The second defect was caused by

1. IBID, Vol.7, p.161.

2. IBID, Vol.7, p.161.

the undue bias given to science in order to earn grants from the Science and Art Department. It has been pointed^{out}/earlier that the School Board was proud that the school did not draw upon rates, evidently this was only made possible by too great a reliance on the grants from the Department. This stress upon science led to rote learning and too little experimental work. Also the courses in science had no integration and were devised with a view to evening class work. These evils of the

"present system of supporting organised science schools,"

and of paying grants on the results of examinations and not on inspection were, Mr. Laurie pointed out,¹ the same evils

"from which the elementary education of the country, after a long period of agitation, has escaped."

The two main defects to which Mr. Laurie draws attention were the faults of the School Board organisation and the system of grant payment, but Dr. Forsyth

"made the best of a bad system".

They could not detract from the school, of which, Laurie concluded:

"it is impossible to convey in a report the impression which ~~this~~ school makes upon one of efficiency, energy and vitality, and I think no one who has spent some time inside it can fail to realise that we are here in the presence of a new educational force which has already developed to a vigorous and lusty youth"²

1. IBIA, Vol.7, p.162.

2. IBIA, Vol.7, p.162.

The Appendices to the Report give details of the curriculum at that time.¹ The First year included Latin and French together with Maths, English, Science and Drawing, and there was a separate Commercial course which included Shorthand and Book-keeping, the Fourth was dominated by the Sciences which included Theoretical Mechanics, Inorganic chemistry, Physiography, and Botany. Another Appendix² provides information on the later occupations of pupils. Among those who left in 1894 there was a wide spread of occupations including Accountancy, Brewing, Architecture and Teaching. The largest group of occupations was clerical work which about a quarter of the leavers had taken up. Figures on the ages of boys in each class show that in many classes ages varied by five years.³ In the higher standards there were fourteen boys aged 12 years and five boys over 17 years, the largest number being aged 14 years. There were only 21 boys over sixteen years of age. It seems from these Appendices that the School was faced with the problem of early leaving, though this was not a problem for employers, a wide range of whom were able to take on pupils who had had the advantage of post-elementary schooling.

Some interesting minor points emerge from the Report. The headmaster, for instance was strongly in favour of mixed classes⁴ which he had throughout

1. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 276.
2. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 275.
3. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 275.
4. Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 323

the higher department. Also all the staff had been trained as elementary school masters, although four held degrees. Clearly this was greatly different from the rest of the secondary system, and Mr. Laurie drew attention to this in a comparison which favoured the newer schools.¹

"There are to be found among the assistant masters at this and other higher grade schools a new type of teacher, young, brilliant and enthusiastic, students of the best method of teaching, with an ardent belief in their profession, and devoting their spare hours to their own education - a type which though suffering from the absence of culture which belongs to the older universities yet replaces this by such complete knowledge of their work, and enthusiasm for their subject, that they bid fair to take the scholastic world by storm and to sweep out of the profession the man who has taken a degree at Oxford and Cambridge, and who takes to teaching with no special aptitude or training, either because he can find nothing better to do, or with a view to preferment in the Church."

It is interesting also to note that Latin was not taught throughout the upper school, but was taken only by those boys who needed it for particular examinations. Thus, the school did not emulate the old grammar schools in respect of its curriculum. The language of the upper school was French, and everyone took it, but Dr. Forsyth believed in a thorough grounding in English. For this purpose the science work was not taken to any depth until the Seventh Standard was passed. Sixteen boys were staying on over 17 years of age. Mr. Laurie reported,²

1. Ibid, Vol. 7, p.161.

2. Ibid, Vol. 7, p.160.

and most of these were going on to Yorkshire College. In effect, the Seventh Standard was devoted mainly to English, while those staying on after this did the work usual in organised science school, for which they had received some preparation in the Seventh Standard.

The school was also an elementary school, of course, but kept relatively exclusive by being entirely fee paying at that level, with a fee of 9d per week. The only free scholars were in the upper school where there were 60 free scholarships each year and 50 partial scholarships. The school's status was defined by Mr. Laurie, writing of the higher standard, as that of :

"a modern second grade secondary school, as it is keeping boys till they are quite as old as those in the ordinary grammar schools in the West Riding, is passing them through the same examinations, is carrying off in competition with them the same scholarships, and is sending them direct to Yorkshire College."¹

This praise in the Report strikes one as being somewhat fulsome in view of the limited successes so far obtained by the school. The school was still quite new and was just establishing its reputation at the time of the Royal Commission. Such a favourable report was bound to cause controversy in view of the criticism levelled at the longer established schools, and this has been referred to in earlier Chapters.

However, Leeds School Board must have been very pleased with the favourable mention received by the school despite the criticism of their policies

1. Ibid, Vol. 7, p.161.

on class size and the school's dependence upon Science and Art Department grants. The suspicion remains that the Board to a slight extent deceived the Commission by describing their Bewerley Street Higher Grade School as a branch of the Central Higher Grade School and perhaps therefore avoiding a visit to their less successful school. Mr. Laurie's report speaks only of the Leeds Higher Grade School, and does not use the terms Central and Bewerley Street. Yet the Board's Reports throughout refer to the two schools as being distinct. The Chief Inspector of the School Board stated that the Bewerley Street School in 1896 had only 62 pupils in the organised science classes, compared with 785 in the Elementary Standards.¹ The School therefore was hardly comparable with Central Higher Grade School with its 470 pupils in the higher section and 1,211 in the elementary section. Nevertheless it was a Higher Grade School in its own right and should have been treated as one by Mr. Laurie. The Chief Inspector pointed out in the same report that the new system of paying the Science and Art grants whereby average attendances were taken into consideration together with H.M. Inspectors' reports and examinations results was now in operation. This met Mr. Laurie's criticism but had the effect of reducing the grants received by £666.² More attention could now be given to literary and commercial subjects, Chief Inspector Tait stated. Mr. Laurie's criticisms of the curriculum at

- Leeds School Board, (Subsequently referred to as L.S.B.)
1. L.S.B., Chief Inspectors Report, 1896, p.29.
 2. Ibid., 1896, p.28.

Central Higher Grade School seemed to have riled the Chief Inspector for he refuted implications that organised science schools were purely concerned with the teaching of science:

"This is by no means the case. Literary and Commercial subjects have always held an important place in the curriculum."¹

By 1897 the effect of the changes in grant aid were clearer. The School Board reported that for the first time there was a deficit to the rates instead of a credit as formerly. Despite an increase of 8½d per head in the grant received, from the Science and Art Department the total grant aid of £2. 19. 0d. per head was 8/9½d less than was formerly received.² The receipt of aid from the Education Rates was not to become a regular practice, however, and the financial status of the two schools was to be of some importance in the light of the "Cockerton" judgment. Thus, in 1901 the Chief Inspector of Leeds School Board was able to claim that neither of the Leeds Higher Grade Schools would be affected by the judgment since the only local assistance which had been received came from the City Council as a Technical Instruction grant.³ The Higher Elementary Schools Minutes issued by the Board of Education on 16th April 1900 in an attempt to rectify the position of those schools was bitterly attacked by Chief Inspector Tait, however. No doubt he was expressing the views of his employers in resenting the terms upon which official recognition

1. IBLD, 1895, p.28.

2. Leeds School Board, Triennial Report, 1897, p.30.

3. L.S.B., Chief Inspector's Report, 1901, p.31.

of Higher Elementary Schools would be given. The age limit of 15 years was much criticised, and in 1900 Leeds School Board pointed out that in May 1900 there were 303 pupils in Leeds who would not have been allowed to attend under the Minute referred to¹. Other rules laid down were described as "objectionable conditions" on the right of pupils to attend a higher elementary school. In these circumstances the Board did not see their way to apply for the recognition of any school as a Higher Elementary School.²

The position of the Central Higher Grade School was somewhat anomalous for it was not a Central School in the sense in which that term was then applied. It was not a school which provided solely for pupils over Standard VI, which schools, Eaglesham states,³ could be sanctioned as schools in which the principal part of the education was elementary only by a considerable stretch of discretionary powers. The Leeds Central Higher Grade School provided the 2 or 3 years' course of above elementary standards, but it had nearly three times as many children in the elementary standards as in the higher classes. Thus, the unauthorised type of "pretence-secondary" school was not the pattern in Leeds where both Higher Grade Schools had more elementary pupils than secondary pupils. But the Leeds Central School was

1. L.S.B., Chief Inspector's Report, 1901, p.54.

2. L.S.B. Triennial Report, 1900, p.58.

3. Op. cit., p.188.

4. Op. cit., p.188.

cited by Morant as an example of the growth of School Board activities whereby there was no top limit to the education, which reached Matriculation Examination.¹ Leeds School Board complained that the new regulations would cause

"promising children to leave the schools altogether, and not to pass into Secondary Schools, which have different aims and objects."²

Arguments were still being marshalled in the following year in the Chief Inspector's Report, where emotion finds a place:³

"It is not merely that the Board of Education offers no grants for such pupils, leaving the School Board to continue their education without grants, if it so desire, but they must be turned into the street, and be refused the educational advantages enjoyed by the children attending similar schools in Scotland, where a pupil may remain up to the age of 18, with payment of grant."

Such emotional arguments were rather weakened by the fact that the schools were continuing as before since they made no claim on the rates. The nature of some of the statements would suggest perhaps that the Leeds School Board wished to enter fully into providing secondary education, perhaps in order to maintain their own existence. The 1900 Report refers to suggestions and attempts to keep Elementary and Secondary education apart, and states that it would be

"disastrous to Elementary Education to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation."⁴

1. Ibid., p.191.

2. Leeds School Board, Triennial Report, 1900, p.56.

3. Op. cit., 1901. P.31.

4. L.S.B., Triennial Report, 1900, p.56.

Thus, the outcry at the Minute of 1900 may be due to a wish to retain a hold on Elementary Education. Behind the arguments, the Leeds Higher Grade Schools continued as usual.

In 1901 the Central Higher Grade School was certainly providing education of a secondary type. The scheme of instruction embraced a four year course beyond the Seventh Standard. Pupils were equipped for technical vocations, others entered offices and banks, while some entered University examinations. This information is provided by the Chief Inspector in the pages following the complaints that pupils could be turned out into the streets by the new regulations. The school was also proving an admirable feeder for the Pupil Teachers' Classes:

"those who have been scholars at the Higher Grade Schools almost invariably take a high position on the King's Scholarship List; some of them have taken the Victoria University Preliminary Examinations"¹

The Central School had been the subject of international attention. The 1901 Chief Inspector's Report states that

"flattering references are made to the school in three recently issued foreign documents,"

which included the report of the United States Commission on Education.² In this year there^{were}/then 551 pupils in the Science section, while the Southern School, renamed from Beverley Street in 1898, there were now 167 pupils. Another school

1. L.S.B., Chief Inspector's Report, 1901, p.31.

2. IBL, 1901, p.33.

was at that time being built to replace the old buildings of the Southern School, and was to be named Cockburn School after the long serving Chairman of the School Board. The last report issued by the School Board, the Chief Inspector's Report for 1902 was thus able to announce the opening of the new school as the "swan-song" of the Board. The school was situated in Burton Road, and, like its predecessor had two sections, elementary and secondary. There were on the roll 1,047 pupils of which 290 were in the secondary section.

It seems therefore, that in Leeds the provision of higher grade, or higher elementary, education provided by the School Board was not hindered by the "Cockerton" Judgement or the subsequent Minute issued by Morant. This is in line with Eaglesham's view that it was the School Boards, not the Higher Grade Schools, which were Morant's target. In the years following the Minute of 1900 the Leeds School Board continued to supply education of a secondary type, officially higher elementary education, and indeed increased its provision. One of the last important moves made by the Leeds School Board was to negotiate an agreement with other bodies supplying post elementary education. This was the Concordat of February 1902 referred to earlier in connection with Wortley Grammar School. Its purpose was to regulate the provision of evening classes and to prevent undue competition. No restriction was to be placed upon the various day schools which were run by the parties to the agreement. It was therein agreed that the Higher Grade Schools were to be

continued without any restriction upon their work, as were the Modern, and Church Middle Class Schools. The Pupil Teachers' Classes were also specifically referred to in this agreement as being not subject to regulation. These classes had been held in a centre since 1895,¹ the pupils spending half their time in schools and half in the centre. A site for a permanent centre was acquired² next to the Central Higher Grade School thus creating an educational precinct,³ for the two Modern Schools were also in close proximity. This Centre was later to become Thoresby Secondary School, but in the meantime was named the Pupil Teachers' College. Pupil Teacher Training had had a varied life, for from being entirely school-based, it had in 1884 been based for part-time instruction on 24 centres, referred to earlier.⁴ The School Board Reports give no information as to the location of these centre, which were presumably housed in schools. In 1895 the classes were concentrated into one centre located in the School Board offices until the opening of the new building in the precinct in 1898.

1. L.S.B., Triennial Report, 1897, p.43.
2. L.S.B., Report of the Chief Inspector, 1898, p.30.
3. Map of the precinct at the front of Chapter 14.
4. See p. 231.

CHAPTER 14. - THE WORK OF LEEDS EDUCATION COMMITTEE

The transfer from School Board to Local Education Committee took place on July 1st 1903. The new authority inherited the two existing Higher Grade Schools and the Pupil Teachers' Centre which was in that year dignified, temporarily, with the name of College. The first year of City Council control saw little change in the field of secondary education. The number of scholars on the rolls of the secondary departments of the two schools was 809, and there were 616 at the Pupil Teachers' College.¹ Thus, the number of pupil teachers and probationers was not so far short of the number of secondary pupils in the Higher Grade Schools. This is a reflection on the large intake of the elementary schools/^{staff}in comparison with the demands of commerce. Allowing for the other secondary schools in the city, a quarter of the pupils receiving secondary education were preparing for the teaching profession. It is justifiable to include these scholars as secondary pupils for it was secondary education which they were receiving, and, in fact, their College was renamed Thoresby Secondary School in 1905 and treated as a secondary school. The Central Higher Grade School continued to do good work and to earn praise as an

"excellent school, as usual".²

The southern school, Cockburn, continued to be below its potential as it tried to attract pupils to it from the surrounding industrial and working

1. Leeds City Council: Report of the Education Committee for 9 Months, Ending March 1904, Higher Education Sub-Committee Report.
2. IBLD, Appendices, Reports of H.M. Inspectors, (September to December 1904).

class districts. In the meantime the Education Committee had invited the Board of Education to conduct an enquiry into the working of all the secondary schools in the City. As a result of this enquiry the Committee hoped to introduce a co-ordinated scheme of education for the City.

This enquiry began in the Autumn of 1905. By this time there had been a shake-up in the Local Authority. The 1904 elections had been won by the Liberals and they instituted reforms which disturbed some bodies in Leeds. The new scheme¹ provided for 24 members of the Education Committee, of whom at least 16 were to be members of the City Council. The Leeds Church Day School Association protested to the Board of Education that the original scheme had been operating only eighteen months, had been satisfactory, and had allowed for 14 co-opted members representing other educational interests. In effect, the Association complained,

"the whole tendency of the scheme is to make the Education Committee simply a sub-committee of the City Council."²

The complaints were all the stronger because the Council proposed to have no co-opted members on the Education Committee. The Governors of Leeds Grammar School protested at the same time to the Board of Education that they felt entitled to a place. The Education Committee whose views were invited by the Board replied that the signatory of the two letters was the same person,^{the} Rev. E.S. Gibson, Vicar of Leeds, and that therefore both

1. Education Committee, Minutes, February 1905.

2. Ibid.

protests

"emanated from the same source."

The results of the election, it was claimed, showed that the ratepayers desired the improvement of the administration of education in the city. At a subsequent council meeting¹ a new Education Committee was appointed, all the members being Councillors, with the exception of the two women allowed for in the scheme.

At its first meeting² the Committee's Higher Education Sub-Committee recommended that a new school be built at Upper Armley to provide secondary education for pupils on the west side of town and in June³ a site for the school was chosen. In July the names of the maintained secondary schools were changed:⁴ the two Higher Grade Schools were to be known as High Schools, and the Pupil Teachers' College became the Thoresby High School, commemorating the well-known local historian. Intending pupil teachers from now on would enter ordinary secondary schools and 175 Junior City Scholarships would be reserved for them. At the age of 16 years they would add some training in Elementary Schools to their studies while still attending school and at 18 they would normally enter a Training College. The fees were to be £6. 6. Od at Thoresby, £3. 3. Od at Central and Cockburn was to have a fee of £1. 1. Od.

1. IBIA, March 1905.
2. IBIA, Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, March, 1905.
3. IBIA, June 1905.
4. IBIA, July 1905, Higher Education Sub-Committee, p. 25.

The Board of Education enquiry took place in the Autumn of 1905, and produced a thorough report which was largely accepted by the Education Committee. The Report¹ drew attention to the deficiencies of some of the schools which were badly equipped and inefficiently staffed. In particular some of the schools maintained by other bodies required alterations if they were to continue receiving grant aid. The supply of secondary education, the Inspectors stated, was deficient and new schools were required in Armley and Roundhay. In addition there was a fundamental defect due to the lack of a co-ordinating agency with a general oversight of the area in the past which had resulted in an undue concentration of secondary schools in the central area. Thoresby and Central High Schools were adjacent to each other and on the same site there were the Modern Schools while the Leeds Church Middle Class School was not far away.² A redistribution of these places was necessary, yet throughout Leeds there was a deficiency of secondary school places. The present number was 6.5 per thousand of the population compared with the 10 or 12 per thousand which the Inspectors felt it should be

This Report led to the extinction of the Church Middle Class School and the acquisition by the Council of the Modern Schools, as has been described in earlier Chapters. The removal of the

1. Board of Education: General Report, 1905, op.cit.

2. Ibid., p.13.

Girls' Modern School to the premises of the Church Middle Class School improved the accommodation at the Boys' Modern School and prepared the way for further rationalisation of the central 'educational precinct'. The new school at Armley was already under construction, but a school at Roundhay was to be long delayed despite frequent pressure from the Board. Not until 1907 was another recommendation of the Board's Report implemented.¹ This was the allocation of Thoresby High School to girls only and the Central High School to boys. As the Central School was the larger of the two there would be more provision for boys than for girls, and in the interim period those girls at Central completed their course there. One recommendation was resisted and this was that Cockburn High School should become an elementary school. The School in southern Leeds had always been a problem, and fees had only been instituted at the insistence² of the Board of Education, and then at little more than a nominal rate.³

At the time of the Board's Report referred to above there were about 3,600 pupils attending the city's secondary schools, of whom 1,850 were in the Council schools.⁴ In the following year the number under Education Committee

{ Leeds Education Committee, Higher Education Sub-Committee,
1. Minutes, 31st July 1907.

2. IBLA, 24th Nov. 1904.

3. IBLA, July 1905.

4. Leeds City Council, Education Committee,
Annual Report, 1906.

administration increased by 770 as a result of the transfer of the Modern Schools from the Leeds Institute. In 1906, also, the elementary department of the Central High School was converted, at the suggestion of the Board of Education, into a Preparatory Section with a fee of 10/6d per term.¹ There were at this time a number of private schools in the city and in 1907 it was estimated² that at an "outside figure", not more than 300 children were receiving a secondary education in private schools. Probably, most of these were in girls' schools, since there was a greater class exclusiveness felt about girls' education as was shown in the Chapter on Leeds Girls' High School.

In 1907 two important reports on aspects of secondary school provision were instigated by the Higher Education Sub-Committee. These reports were prepared by James Graham, a dynamic Secretary for Higher Education since 1905. These were issued in February 1907, and thus serve as important evidence in considering the state of secondary education in Leeds as the third period closes. The Memorandum [on] Secondary School Provision³ is given in this study as Appendix C. It begins by listing the city's secondary schools, with details of accommodation. The five schools maintained by the City Council had places for 2,510 pupils, 1,200 boys in Central, and the Boys' Modern School, 1,010

1. W.E.S.E.C., Minutes, 12th July 1906.

2. IBIA, Minutes, March 1907.

3. Leeds City Council, Higher Education Sub-Committee Minutes, Feb. 1907, Appendix C. "Memorandum with reference to the Secondary School Provision of the City Area," (APPENDIX C), See pp.339-352.

girls in Thoresby, and the Girls' Modern School, with 300 places for either sex in mixed Cockburn Secondary School. Including the schools not maintained by the Council there was accommodation for 3,970 secondary pupils, equivalent to 8.5 places per thousand of population. The location of the schools is described in the Memorandum which points out that 2,820 of the 3,970 places are in the centre of the City. West Leeds was quite unprovided for as yet, but would be served by the Armley School then in course of erection. Chapeltown and Roundhay to the East had no school but statistics for the area showed that one was needed, for many of the pupils attending schools in the centre came from there. Cockburn Secondary School received special attention in the Memorandum; its position was under the consideration of the Committee, partly owing to Board of Education pressure. Having failed to convince the Committee that the school should become an elementary school, the Board kept reminding the Committee of the cost of the school and the low income from fees. Mr. Graham pointed out in his Memorandum that the school placed a very heavy burden on the rates. The total amount received in school fees did not even pay the headmaster's salary. The school, unlike the other maintained secondary schools, was almost entirely a local school; even so 108 pupils from its area were travelling to the schools in the city centre. Mr. Graham seems to imply that these pupils should be transferred to Cockburn, just as scholarship pupils from Armley should be transferred from city centre

schools to the new school when it opened. He also recommended that the school fees for Cockburn be raised.

The Memorandum shows that there were "striking differences" between areas of the city in the proportion of the population taking advantage of secondary education. These differences should not be so striking for they reflect the socio-economic conditions; thus 12.9 per thousand of the population from Headingley Ward were in secondary schools, while only 1.1 pupils per thousand population in the industrial South Ward received secondary schooling. The total proportion of 6.1 per thousand was still far below what should be expected of a city like Leeds, it was stated. It is interesting to note that the proportions of boys and girls were 3.0 and 3.1 per thousand respectively. This could be accounted for by there being more girls than boys in the population. Mr. Graham felt that even in the poorest wards there should be at least 3 pupils per thousand. Significant in this connection, he felt, was Brunswick Ward, largely inhabited by Jews, who were by no means prosperous but were evidently thoroughly alive to the advantages of secondary education for their children. Sociologists would today point to the advantages of 'aspiring' parents in this matter of secondary education. In retrospect also it is interesting to note that the Jewish people of Leeds have generally profited from their industry, and aspiration for education, so that they are no longer largely to be found in the poorest quarters of the

city. Graham pointed out that while it was hardly to be expected that there would be equal representation of each Ward, it should be the aim of the Committee to see that the benefits of higher education were shared in some degree by all the wards. The incongruity of following this up by recommending higher fees at the school in the poorer quarter of the City does not seem to be realised. In fact the fee was increased threefold to £3.3.0d immediately after the publication of the Memorandum.

This certainly justified Mr. Graham's remark that "the parents of the children in these latter wards must be made to realize the advantages which follow from a good education and the need for giving such an education to the cleverer of¹ their children even at considerable sacrifice."

Finally the Memorandum pointed out that 21.6% of the pupils in attendance at the Secondary Schools of the City, came from outside the City, and of these 783 pupils, 680 came from the West Riding. It was desirable that neighbouring Authorities should pay at least a substantial proportion of the deficit arising from these pupils, Mr. Graham concluded.²

The second enquiry was into the fees to be charged in the maintained secondary schools. One of the main points raised in this Memorandum³ is the awarding of city scholarships for children to attend secondary school although their parents had ample means to pay school fees.

"This is a case of the poor helping to support those who are able to support themselves,"

Mr. Graham claimed. Figures for Thoresby High School

1. Ibid. p.8.

2. Ibid. p.11.

3. Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, Feb 1907, Appendix B. Memorandum On The Questions of Fees to be Charged In The Maintained Secondary Schools of The City, Feb. 1907, p.1, (APPENDIX D),

showed that in that year 100 fee paying scholars had been admitted, the majority of whom had entered for Junior City Scholarships and were not successful, yet their parents were now paying the 6 guinea yearly fee.

"The indiscriminate award of Scholarships is distinctly bad educational policy," stated Mr. Graham in offering two solutions to the problem. In the first place, a means test could be applied to scholarship applicants as was done for applicants for maintenance allowances, and secondly a second Scheme of Scholarships could be introduced which provided half-fees. The latter point might be met by having a school

"in some part of the city having a fee which is less than £6. 6. Od., say a fee of £3. 3. Od",

it was suggested. Obviously, here, Mr. Graham had in mind Cockburn High School and a possible way of revitalising it by bringing in pupils from other areas.

On the matter of fees the Memorandum¹ was concerned to find the best apportionate of costs between the various interested parties:

"The Secondary School pupil will find his position and prospects of employment superior to those boys and girls who have not enjoyed similar advantages. The City and the State alike gain from the increased efficiency of the individual which results from the Secondary Education he receives. The parent, the City Rates, and the State should therefore contribute towards the cost of Secondary Education which is not compulsory."

Mr. Graham felt that the pupil got relatively the

1. Ibid., p.3

largest share of advantage; from the maintained Secondary Schools the commercial and industrial life of the City gained the next highest benefit, while the higher type of secondary school prepared pupils for the professional classes which was much more to the state's advantage. In this matter, Mr. Graham without benefit of the statistics which are today available was feeling his way into the modern field of Economics of Education, but here he had to halt:

"The exact proportion of these three different shares of advantage (Parents, City and State) cannot, of course, be precisely stated, because much depends upon variable factors and upon social conditions which differ in various districts."

The parent, however, paid the smallest contribution and the Rates paid the highest part, of the costs of maintenance which at that time were as follows :

	Cost per Pupil.	Fees Paid By Pupil.	Govt. Grant (Av. per Pupil)	Raid Aid (Av. per Pupil)
Central High	£16.0.0.	£3.3.0.	£5.10.0.	£ 7.7.0.
Thoresby High	£15.8.0.	£6.6.0.	£4. 0.0.	£ 5.2.0.
Cockburn High	£24.0.0.	£1.1.0.	£4.12.0.	£18.7.0.

These figures show clearly the problem which was posed by Cockburn High School because of its high costs per pupil and very low fees. The re-organisation of Central and Thoresby School as separate boys and girls schools meant that the difference in fees was an anomaly which was rectified in that month when the Committee fixed fees at both schools at 6 guineas.¹

1. Leeds City Council. Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, Feb. 1907.

The Memorandum on fees suggested that the correct proportion of the costs which should be met by the parents was two-fifths, while the City and the State should pay the remaining three-fifths in equal shares. A fee of 6 guineas at Central and Thoresby met this requirement of the parent, but the recommended 3 guinea fee at Cockburn would be far below this. Some economies would be sought at Cockburn but it would remain a special case because of the area which it served, it was stated. The question of the division between State and Local Authority of the remaining three-fifths was not so easily solved. At the moment the State was paying less than the City, whose ratepayers had paid

"too large a share in the cost of educating a child in the Secondary Schools".

The inference, Mr. Graham concluded is that the State's contribution is less than it should be.

These two Memoranda did not lead to major changes. The fees were brought into line with the suggestions, but the Scholarship Scheme was not changed. The position regarding the relative part to be played by Rates and Grants was changed shortly afterwards by increased Treasury Grants. Thus, in September of 1907 the Chairman of the Education Committee was able to state¹ that Government Grants met 45% of the cost of Secondary Education in Leeds and Fees accounted for 12%. Miscellaneous receipts accounted for a further 5% and the remaining 38% of the cost was

1. Ibid., September 1907, Appendix A.

met from the Rates. The position had changed considerably since February where the Memorandum on Fees shows that more than half of the cost of the three Secondary schools was paid for from the Rates.

An important decision reached in 1907 was that the leading non-maintained Secondary Schools in Leeds would have to take a quota of only 10% of the admissions as Free Places. In September¹ the Board of Education stated that they were satisfied with this quota in view of the fact that taking into account the maintained Secondary Schools of the city as a whole, the requirements of 25% Free Places was then complied with. This decision applied to the Modern Schools then in process of being transferred to the Local Authority, but it was also extended to Leeds Grammar School and Leeds Girls' High School. New Government regulations had come into force in August requiring schools receiving grant aid to have representative governors, not to have compulsory religious instruction, and for certain general subjects to have a place in the curriculum². Ordinarily the quota of 25% free places available to ex-public elementary scholars was required but it could be reduced in certain cases. Leeds Education Committee were, no doubt, quite happy to have a lower figure of 10% for outside schools, for their own schools were not filled.

1907 was the year which saw the conclusion of negotiations for the acquisition of the Modern Schools and the premises of the

1. W.E.S.C. ^{Minutes} /Sept. 1907.

2. IBIA, July 1907, Appendix B

Church Middle Class Schools, moves which have been discussed in detail in earlier Chapters. There was now a well integrated system of secondary education, albeit not a very well distributed system. In that year, however, the new school at Armley opened so that the system was now less centralised than formerly. This school was named West Leeds High School and opened on 7th September 1907 with places for 400 boys and 400 girls. The school was more than half empty in its first year, however, with only 151 boys and 161 girls, and a further 30 pupils in the Preparatory Department.¹ Unlike the other maintained secondary schools West Leeds was given a local Board of Governors, perhaps partly because it was so far from the City Centre, and perhaps also because it displaced the ancient Wortley Grammar School. The sobering experience of building this large school and having it half empty no doubt influenced the Education Committee's policy for some time. For many years the City had been wrestling with the problem of Cockburn High School, now it had another problem, that of filling West Leeds High School. The Committee resisted all the attempts made by the Board of Education to persuade it to build the school needed in Roundhay. The 1905 Board Report had drawn attention to this need, the 1907 Memorandum had pointed to the hundreds of children from this area attending city centre schools, in 1910 parents in the area campaigned for the school to be built and

1. Leeds, Education Committee, Annual Report, 1908, p.23.

in 1912 a strongly worded letter on the subject came from the Board.¹ The Committee procrastinated for many years and the school was not built until long after boundary extensions in 1912 had made it more than ever necessary. No doubt the empty places in existing schools inhibited the Committee.

The state of Secondary Education in Leeds as this third period ends was thus one of absorption and advance following recent expansion and acquisitions. The extent to which this consolidation was accomplished can be evaluated from the important Inspection made in 1910 by Inspectors of the Board of Education. The Report of this Inspection² stated that there had been since the last inspection in 1905 a tremendous advance in Secondary Education in Leeds. This advance had been achieved not only in buildings and equipment, but in the general efficiency of the schools. One improvement was in the courses offered in the schools. In the past the Leeds Secondary Schools had erred too much towards the Science side, to the detriment of literary study. The more recent system of paying grants on the work of the school as a whole had led to the education being well balanced with provision for the physical, mental and moral development of the pupils. But more highly qualified specialist teachers in the main subjects were required to undertake responsibility in these fields, the Inspectors felt, and for this purpose

1. Leeds, Education Committee, Minutes, February 1912.

2. Ibid., IBID. May 1910.

present salaries were too low. In general, the Report was a favourable one, with several possible improvements suggested, such as the ending of the Elementary School Departments at Central and Cockburn High Schools, and, of course, the provision of a school at Roundhay.

Thus, in Secondary Education in 1907 a system had been created which for some years was to be consolidated without major changes. The Leeds Education Committee had accomplished its main aim of achieving an integrated system. The Grammar and Girls' High Schools remained outside, but these were recognised as complementing the work of the Committee rather than competing with it. Three schools had been overtaken because of their inefficiency and lack of funds and had been defeated by the competition of the publicly provided schools, and the power which state and city now exerted. These schools were the two Church Middle Class Schools and Wortley Grammar School. Two other schools more efficient and larger, the Modern Schools run by the Leeds Institute of Science and Art had been taken over as going concerns on very favourable terms for the Council. In this transfer the financial pressures which city and state controlled between them had been decisive. Even the Boys' Grammar and Girls' High Schools had accepted a measure of public control and a quota of free place entrants from public elementary schools in return for financial assistance. Meanwhile the two Secondary Schools taken over from the School Board had continued in existence and the thriving Pupil Teachers' Centre run by the School Board had

become a Secondary School. Central High School had been converted entirely into a boys' school and the ex-Pupil Teachers' Centre had become Thoresby Girls' School. The Education Committee had inherited difficulties when it had taken over from the School Board the school in Leeds industrial quarter, Cockburn High School, but it had continued to develop the work of this school, despite the strain caused to the Rates. Finally a new school had been opened in West Leeds, and though the West Leeds High School now had many empty rooms its large size would in the future be regarded as the product of the far-sighted wisdom of the Committee of 1906/1907. At the moment the small number of pupils was something of an embarrassment; the meeting of the governors of West Leeds High School reported¹ that the roll in May 1908 was 398 and resolved that a half-days holiday be granted when it reaches 400. The day's holiday was not earned until 1911 when numbers reached 411 and the holiday, it is pleasant to record, was granted.² Mainly as a result of this surplus accommodation, the many secondary pupils from the eastern suburbs of Leeds in the Roundhay area, were, for many years yet, going to have to travel to city centre schools.

Oddly enough, the future Roundhay High School had already begun its existence. This well known Grammar School grew out of a private school which was established in 1903 for the education of girls' and which was later amalgamated with a nearby private school for boys. Lidgett Park School

1. Leeds, Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes of Governors of West Leeds High School, May 1908.

2. IBIA, September, 1911.

was opened in a house in North Park Avenue, Roundhay on May 7th 1903, and was run by two former governesses, the Misses Shute and Blok.¹ The school was very small for many years, having only 45 pupils in 1910. In 1917 the School acquired another small private school for girls, and used these premises to house the boys of St. George's School when it closed. By 1918 the school had 128 pupils, and was solvent, but in need of expansion which the owner, Miss M.C. Vyvyan did not have the capital to undertake. In an unusual transaction the school was transferred to the Education Committee and became Roundhay School for Girls in 1919.² Another private school amalgamated with this school in 1920 and later a separate Roundhay Boys' School was built. In this way the Board of Education pressure for secondary school accommodation was solved, though probably in 1907 no one thought that the little Lidgett Park private school would be the nucleus of the Roundhay Schools. In 1907 another private school was functioning in a minor way and was also to become the nucleus of a public secondary school. This was the Chapel Allerton High School whose early days as a branch of the Leeds Girls' High School have been described in the Chapter on that school. The school ceased to be a branch of the parent school in 1905 and was taken over by a limited company called the Chapel Allerton High School Company. The headmistress, Miss Scotson Clark remained with the school which began to cater for girls over the age of 13 as well as younger pupils.³

1. M.C. Vyvyan, Roundhay High School 1903-1933, 1933, p.5.
2. Ibid, p.13.
3. Allerton High School: Jubilee Celebrations, 1901-51, 1951, p.3.

Numbers increased rapidly and the school was offered to the Education Committee in 1914 and was continued as a secondary school for girls.¹

One other form of publicly provided education was newly established in 1907 and was eventually to contribute to secondary education. This was the embryonic secondary technical education which was being provided in the Day Trades Schools of the Leeds Education Committee. Leeds claimed to have the first school of this type in the country with the opening of the Holbeck School which was quickly followed by Woodhouse Preparatory Trades School.² These schools were referred to as Post-Elementary Schools for Technical Education.³ It was pointed out that some 5,000 children left the Elementary Schools with full-time Labour Certificates each year and many took up odd jobs while waiting to enter workshops. The new schools were intended to fill this gap between leaving school and taking up apprenticeships and were intended to be technical in character and to enable their pupils

"to develop into capable workpeople."⁴

Pupils entered at the age of 13 years and received full-time education in the special subjects applicable to the trade or industry they intended to follow and in general subjects. It was not intended that these schools would compete with the Secondary Schools for they would cater for a different class of pupil. The schools/would

1. Leeds Education Committee, Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, 21st. April 1914.
2. IBL, Annual Report 1906, p.14.
3. IBL, p.5.
4. IBL, p.13.

"correspond in nature to the best type of Technical Evening School; and it is expected that the Courses of Instruction will produce in time an improved class of apprentices."¹

The schools opened in 1906 and as the venture was an entirely new one it was

"viewed with considerable interest"

the Leeds Higher Education Sub-Committee reported². Junior Technological Scholarships to cover the cost of tuition, books and instruments were provided in 1906.³ The early years were somewhat disappointing to the Education Committee who nevertheless had faith that as the schools became more widely known they would

"fulfil an important function in the Educational Provision of the City."⁴

By 1907 there was a steady increase in the number of pupils but the schools had not yet met with

"the success anticipated by the Committee."⁵

In 1908 there were 40 pupils at Holbeck Preparatory Trade School and 50 at Woodhouse.⁶ That experience in other countries may have influenced the City in establishing the Trades Schools is suggested by the comment in the 1911 Report that in other countries such as France, Germany and the United States such schools were

"more common and more successful!"⁷

The establishing of these schools owed something to the Mechanics' Institutes out of whose

1. Ibid., p.13.

2. Ibid., p.14.

3. Leeds Higher Education Sub-Comm., Minutes, 22nd. February 1906.

4. Ibid., Annual Report, 1907, p.14.

5. Ibid., 1907, p.14.

6. Ibid., 1908, p.31.

7. Ibid., 1911, p.13.

day work they grew. The first move had been taken in June 1905 when the Committee suggested that

"a Day School of a practical type," could be connected with the Holbeck Mechanics' Institute.¹ The Holbeck Institute was to be equipped for Artisan Evening School work and it was suggested that this equipment together with the woodwork room at the nearby Czar Street Workshops could provide the necessary technical equipment. General subjects could be taught in the Little Holbeck Council School which had vacant accommodation. The schools could be established under Paragraph 42 Page 23 of the Regulations for Evening Schools, Technical Institutions etc. , which provided for grants of £3. per head for pupils taking Group C courses, Mr. Graham believed. This Appendix also suggested that Woodhouse Mechanics' Institute could be adapted for Artisan Evening School work and Day Preparatory Trade School work in Building. In July 1905 permission to run these schools under Regulation 42 of the Technological Branch was received, and the Committee prepared to establish

"the first schools of the kind in England."²

The Committee acted quickly, and the two schools opened in November, Holbeck for engineering and Woodhouse for building subjects, both with a fee of 1 guinea per annum.³ Thus the Schools were a by-product of the fitting out of two local Mechanics' Institutes for evening technical classes,

1. Leeds Higher Ed. Sub-Comm, Minutes, 29th June, 1905, (Appendix A on Minor Mechanics' Institutes)
2. IBIA, Minutes, 20th July, 1905.
3. IBIA, 5th September 1905.

and were approved under Regulations intended for evening technical classes. The schools were set up, in conjunction with the Committees of the respective Institutes, but the Higher Education Committee envisaged a scheme which would eventually cater for pupils from 12 to 15 years in three types of Preparatory Trades Schools: Artisan, Domestic and Commercial.¹ In fact a Domestic Preparatory Trades School was instituted in the Cockburn High School which had spare accommodation, and a Boys' Trades School was also commenced there.² A Commercial School was not opened until 1924 and this later developed into Leeds College of Commerce. The four preparatory Trade Schools opened in February 1906,³ but the two in Cockburn were quickly absorbed into the secondary school work there. Holbeck and Woodhouse continued their work for many years and eventually became Junior Technical Schools and provided the nucleus of Secondary Technical schools in Leeds.

The Preparatory Trades Schools did not provide a ^{complete} change of education for their pupils, but in the first year followed a general technical education with some general subjects. The schools did not in practice try to

"teach a boy any particular trade,"⁴ although at the end of the first year the pupils opted for a particular occupation for which they

1. IBIA, 29th, June 1905.
2. IBIA, 13th, December 1905.
3. IBIA, 22nd, February 1906.
4. Prospectus of The Woodhouse Day Preparatory Trades School, Held at The Woodhouse Mechanics' Institute, 1906, p.5.

received special instruction. Woodhouse School did not specialise in building as originally intended but provided metalwork and woodwork, with great attention given to Technical Drawing and Practical Mathematics. Tuition in general subjects was linked to vocational interests for lessons in Geography dealt chiefly

"with the principal materials used in the building, engineering and allied trades."¹

Here then was a new type of post-elementary education having a definite vocational bias but providing education and not just training.²

The period ending in 1907 had seen many new developments and changes. A plateau had been reached and a period of stability was to follow. Various streams of secondary education were flowing towards each other from widely differing starting points and some had already converged. The Ancient Grammar School tradition continued its independent course with Leeds Grammar School, while the modern education stream, developed by the schools of the Mechanics' Institute, had joined the School Board's higher elementary stream to form a wider secondary education in schools maintained by the Education Committee. The Church's Middle Class Schools had contributed to secondary education by developing a form of higher education which came between that given in the Grammar School and that given in the Modern Schools. Girls' High School education continued independently in Leeds, but by way of a branch school in the suburbs it was to be the origin of a publicly maintained secondary school.

1. *Ibid.* p.6.

2. Woodhouse and Holbeck Mechanics' Institutes were minor institutions not connected with Leeds Mechanics' Institute.

Private Schools functioning in Leeds in 1907 were another 'stream' of education which was to enter publicly provided secondary education. Vocational education had also contributed, and was to do so in different forms, in the future: the system of pupil teacher training had led to the setting up of one of the Education Committee's Secondary Schools, and a more lowly form of school just being developed to provide a preparatory vocational education was eventually to enter secondary education proper. Today, secondary education is often thought of as being the successor of the ancient grammar school only, in fact, as this study shows many types of schools contributed to secondary education. Leeds, in particular, owes much to the many other forms of post-elementary education which emerged through the years.

CHAPTER 15 - SOME CONCLUSIONS AND A BRIEF
REVIEW OF LATER DEVELOPMENTS
TO 1939

Today's selective Secondary Schools are frequently regarded as the direct descendants of the ancient Grammar Schools and the inheritors only of that particular tradition of education. This myth is sometimes used to support the view that education which is truly secondary can be usefully given only to a minority of the age group selected on intellectual, economic or social grounds and segregated in grammar type schools. Whatever the merits and demerits of the latter argument, this study has shown that the view that the ancient grammar school tradition is the sole, or even the major, source of today's system of selective Secondary Education is an invalid one. The main aim of this study has been the tracing of the various sources of Secondary Education in Leeds, and it has shown that, so far as that city is concerned, the ancient grammar schools had little direct influence upon the later schools which today provide the bulk of the City's selective Secondary Education. Increasingly, after the middle of the Nineteenth Century, the only effective Grammar School in Leeds became peripheral to the City's Secondary education as new schools were established by various bodies. It was these schools, rather the ancient grammar schools, which in Leeds developed modern secondary education. In part the predominant position of the ancient grammar school tradition was lost by default. Most writers

suggest that the grammar schools were handicapped by the terms of their Foundations and the legal decisions which made it difficult to vary these provisions. In this connection interest has centred upon the restrictions placed upon the widening of the curriculum, but this study has shown that so far as Leeds Grammar School is concerned it was the administrative structure created by the Foundation which was the main stumbling block. The Eldon Judgement, in fact, specifically approved some modifications in the curriculum, and invited proposals for others, provided that they led to greater advantage being taken of the Foundation subjects. Later decisions may have seized upon the negative aspects of this judgement, but in the case of Leeds Grammar School further delay in reform was caused by the need to await the Master's death. It was the Master, with his strong powers, who impeded the way to reform, and it was only when the Statutes of the Foundation were varied so as to restrict his powers that the Trustees could respond to the social and economic needs of the day. Ironically, in the second half of the Century it was the power of these self-elective Trustees which stood in the way of further progress until the turn of the Century, when, after much damage had been done to the school, they accepted the reform of the management of the Foundation. Thus, throughout the Nineteenth Century the administrative structure favoured the maintenance of the status quo:

at first it was the Master who for some time frustrated the wishes of the Trustees to reform the curriculum, later it was the Trustees who resisted administrative reform in the face of the criticisms of many townspeople and the pressure of the Charity Commissioners. In complete contrast, at the minor Wortley Grammar School in Leeds, it was the Trustees who, by insisting on keeping to the terms of the Foundation, ensured the survival of the school as a grammar school in name, but in practice lowered its standard of education to an elementary level. In Leeds, perhaps more than in other major cities, the ancient grammar school tradition, with its built-in powers designed to ensure the preservation of the Foundation, was inhibited by those powers. As a result the Grammar Schools were overtaken in importance by newer schools, and by the end of the Century, most secondary education was provided in Schools then untouched by the Grammar School tradition.

Developments in the early decades of this Century restored some of the influence of this tradition and thus provide a basis for the myth of its omnipotence and continuity in secondary education. The newer secondary schools, maintained by the City Council, tended to adopt some of the features of the grammar schools, such as the prefect and house systems, which, though of comparatively recent origin, seem to have become identified with the ancient grammar school tradition. The grant regulations devised by the Morant administration tended to reproduce in the curricula

of the newer schools some of the traditional respect for language, and the place of Latin, from the Grammar School tradition. Thirdly, the teachers in the newer schools who, as Mr. Laurie pointed out, had previously been steeped in the best principles of the elementary schools, now tended to see their role as being concerned with the inculcation of the cultural and social values of the traditional grammar school. These influences did not, however, eradicate the contributions of the other sources. In the following paragraphs the particular contribution of the various streams of secondary education is discussed and the attempt is made to show that the maintained secondary schools did not become mere appendages of the ancient grammar school tradition. Far more was gained from the other sources and was integrated into a new and cohesive secondary education which was wider and more effective than the single source from which it is so often assumed to have emerged. By 1907 eight such main sources were in existence and were beginning to merge; their contributions are summarised under the following headings:-

(i) The Ancient Grammar School Tradition.

This stream of secondary education was the sole one at the time when this study begins; at the end of the period it was one of a number of such streams. At the beginning of the study it was represented by two schools, Leeds and Wortley Grammar Schools; at the end by the former school only. These schools were so different that they

can barely be classed together, for Leeds Grammar School was, throughout the period of this study a local school of the first grade, while the school at Wortley was, for much of its existence, little more than an elementary school. Wortley's only influence upon the newer forms of secondary education came after its demise and in a very minor form when the Foundation was diverted for the provision of maintenance grants to local Scholars attending West Leeds High School. During its life Wortley Grammar School remained isolated from other schools, a barely surviving monument to the tenacity of its Trustees. Leeds Grammar School also, though an important institution in the City, was independent of other schools, if not so isolated geographically or socially. From 1907 it had a connection with the Local Authority by way of the scholarships provided for pupils from elementary schools, but the quota fixed for this purpose was only 10% of its intake. This connection came to an end following the Education Act of 1944 but was revived in 1957 when the School was granted Direct Grant status. The school did have a link with the Leeds Girls' High School, though this was mainly financial. The latter school was a beneficiary from the Foundation, at the insistence of the Charity Commissioners, when a reformed scheme of management was agreed to by the Grammar School governing body, and it later received, from the same source, a loan which was eventually written off. A mark of this assistance was the adoption by the Girls' School of the subsidiary title, Grammar School Foundation. The Girls' High School

was not, however, an offshoot of the Grammar School; it was founded independently and belonged to a different tradition of education. One reason for the continued separation of the two schools could well have been the strength of feeling which existed in the City against the Trustees of the Grammar School's Foundation. The Girls' High School in Leeds was founded and managed by a group of people who included some of Leeds' most prominent citizens, such as Mrs. Baines, wife of the proprietor of the "Leeds Mercury", and it is significant that her son, M.T. Baines, was educated not at Leeds Grammar School but at Richmond Grammar School.¹ Another prominent ~~non~~conformist family in Leeds was the Kitsons. James Kitson, who became President of the Leeds Institute, a post held earlier by the elder Baines, was educated at Wakefield Proprietary School.² Leeds Grammar School for much of the 19th and part of the 20th Century was regarded as a school for parson's sons and was shunned by ~~non~~conformists. The refusal of the Trustees to accept reforms which would weaken their position, or ~~break~~ the link with the Church, widened the gap between the Grammar School and the City. This factor, and the School's inability to develop a satisfactory non-classical curriculum lessened its influence so that the School did not attain the importance which its financial resources could have secured. In the Nineteenth Century, Leeds Grammar School

1. C.S. Spence, (reputed), 'Eminent Men of Leeds', 1868, p.68.
2. E. Kitson Clark, 'The Kitsons of Leeds', 1938, p.2.

fell between two schools. It did not attract the wealthiest citizens who sent their sons to the Great Schools or, in the case of nonconformist families, to schools not so closely tied to the Established Church. It did not attract the lower middle classes for whom, after the middle of the Century, there were alternative educational facilities. It could not offer a satisfactory modern course of studies, yet it rarely had a sufficient intake of pupils to establish a strong reputation in Classics. Today, the ancient grammar school tradition is preserved by the School which could perhaps be described as not quite a full Public School, although a member of the Headmasters' Conference, and not fully maintained. As a Direct Grant School it offers a subsidised education for the majority of its pupils, but accepts a quota of 25% of its intake as allocated by the Education Committee from a not particularly fashionable area of the City. In Leeds the ancient grammar school tradition is only one source of selective secondary education; other sources have contributed just as much to the evolution of today's structure.

(ii) The Modern Schools Founded By Leeds Mechanics' Institute.

Mechanics' Institutes played an important role in the development of both Technical and Adult Education. The Leeds Institute was certainly prominent in both these fields, but it also made a substantial contribution to the development of secondary education. The Boys' Modern School,

founded in 1845 by the Institute was the first publicly owned school to provide an education of above elementary standard in Leeds, apart from the two Grammar Schools. Its Girls' School, founded in 1854, was the first higher school for girls to be established in Leeds. Thus the Institute led the way to modern secondary education for both sexes. One factor in the founding of the boys' school was self-interest in that it was hoped to secure a supply of future members. Another, no doubt, was the desire to provide a service for existing members, whereby their children could receive a modern higher education at a reasonable fee. Members, in fact, took a special pride in their schools, and, as Mr. Laurie pointed out in 1895, ensured a supply of pupils which enabled the schools to face competition. A third factor in the founding of the schools was the demand which existed in Leeds for an education for boys more in line with their vocational needs, and for girls, a more general non-classical education. The latter demand was slower to emerge, and not so strong as the former, but from their foundation both schools prospered quite well. For a time, under Mr. Horsman, the boys' school lost sight of its main object and became in its higher forms a preparatory school for public school scholarships, and, for a few Scholars, a pre-University scholarship course was provided. During this era Latin enjoyed a prominent position in the curriculum, but later the school adopted an entirely modern curriculum. The influence of the grant system of the Science and Art Department resulted in all the modern type secondary schools having

a similar curriculum by the time of the Bryce Commission, though a little more attention was given to English in the Modern Schools.

The particular contributions of this stream to secondary education were the pioneering of modern secondary education and the demonstrating of the value of efficient and effective management. The elected Committee of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute managed the schools so well that it continued to play a large share in the management after the schools had been taken over by the Education Committee. The Modern Schppols also showed that good management could inspire the strong corporate feeling which was demonstrated by the influence of the Old Modernians' Association. The fact that schools could meet the vocational needs of the City and yet reach high academic standards was first demonstrated by the Modern Schools. But despite the connection with the Mechanics' Institute the science teaching was not particularly strong; oddly enough it was at schools associated with the Established Church that the pioneering work in the teaching of science was done in Leeds. These schools are discussed in the next paragraph.

(iii) The Church Middle Class Schools.

In the way in which they grew out of the top classes of the elementary schools of the National Society the Middle Class Schools were prototypes of the Higher Grade Schools. Increasingly, however, they tended to cater for children other than those who had attended the Church elementary schools. By 1895 Mr. Laurie was able to point out that apart from holders of scholarships few pupils passed on from the Church

elementary schools to the Middle Class Schools. The schools provided a modern education of above elementary standard with a grounding in religious knowledge in accordance with the principles of the Church of England. In this latter respect the schools differed from those organised by the Mechanics' Institute, and this/^{no}doubt gave them a distinctive 'market', in the lower middle class. With the establishing of the Higher Grade Schools a cheaper alternative was provided for those parents who did not regard a sectarian basis as essential to their children's education. Towards the end of the Century the competition of other schools and the lack of support from the Church elementary schools had weakened the Church Middle Class Schools. Ineffective management and the Headmaster's inefficiency combined to give the schools a setback from which they never recovered. The financial burden created by the carrying forward of the debt on the new buildings brought about the closure of the school. The particular contribution of this stream was the linking of modern subjects with sectarian religious knowledge and in particular the school pioneered the teaching of science. The boys' school was noted in its earlier years for the science equipment and the modern method of teaching through experiment. Sadly, by the time of the Bryce Commission the school had deteriorated in this, as in other respects, but its early achievements in the field of science teaching are commemorated by a plaque in the premises of the defunct schools. Church Middle Class School education was not perhaps an important source of today's selective secondary education, but

it did make a contribution, if only in showing that secondary schools could emerge from the top classes of elementary schools.

(iv) Higher Elementary Education Provided By The School Board.

Higher Grade Schools were themselves the product of a number of tributary sources of post-elementary education. In Leeds, as in other cities, one of these sources was the part-time science education financed by the Science and Art Department. Leeds School Board encouraged the formation of evening classes in science but did not take responsibility for them at first. Officially they were "private adventure" classes conducted by some of the Boards teachers in day schools. It has been shown in this study that science classes were not incorporated into the Central Higher Grade School until its second year. The science element quickly became important, however, and the syllabuses and methods of the evening classes began to serve full-time higher elementary education. Thus one source of secondary education in Leeds is the "private adventure", School Board-encouraged, Science and Art Department financed, evening organised science class. It has been suggested that in Leeds the Higher Grade School was established partly to undertake the teacher training work of the School Board but this study has shown that this was not so. The Board's student teachers were first taught 'on the job' in the schools to which they were attached, then part of their education was given in centres which were established for this purpose. Later still a central building was erected as a Pupil Teachers'

Centre and this eventually became Thoresby Girls' High School under the Local Authority and it remains so today. Thus the education and training of elementary school teachers was a direct source of secondary education in Leeds. Its particular contribution, perhaps, is that of showing that a balanced curriculum could be provided for secondary pupils, and that a vocational education could also be a relatively liberal one. It showed also that grant earning regulations could be more liberal than those of the Science and Art Department.

The main origin from which came the Higher Grade Schools in Leeds was the higher standards of the School Board's elementary schools. Both the Central and Southern Higher Grade Schools retained for many years the elementary standards as separate departments and therefore kept close contact with elementary education. The tone and atmosphere of these schools were more akin to that of elementary education, and Mr. Laurie drew attention to this when he referred to the new type of schoolmaster, the displays of work and the modern methods of teaching. In fact the distinctive contribution of the Higher Grade Schools was the bringing to secondary education ^{of} the better features of the elementary schools. The newer, livelier methods of teaching survived the changes in control and were later adopted in most secondary schools. The Higher Grade Schools also demonstrated that secondary education could be 'end-on' to elementary education and linked to it by a system of scholarships - a pattern which was to be the accepted one for the half-century following. They showed that

secondary schools could satisfactorily bring together fee-payers and free scholarship pupils in substantial proportions without segregation and this became an accepted pattern of secondary schools for some three decades until they became entirely free, selective, schools. The curricula of the Higher Grade Schools tended, because of grant-earning regulations, to be biased towards science but no more than the ancient grammar school tradition, even at the time of the Bryce Commission, tended to be unbalanced in its upper forms with their Classics bias. Whatever the deficiencies in their curricula the Higher Grade Schools demonstrated that many lower middle class and skilled working class parents wished to have a higher education for their children and were willing to accept financial disadvantages to secure it. The lack of success experienced by the Southern Higher Grade School sited in the poorer quarter of the City showed that in the social and economic conditions of the time the mere provision of free places was not enough to ensure that the brighter children of the lower working class would receive secondary education. Educational opportunity is inter-related with income level, health, size of family, parental aspiration and the quality of primary education, but in 1907 this was not realised. Only the exceptional child, or the child from a family background which provided high levels of aspiration, such as the immigrant Jewish community in Leeds, was able to make his way from the poorest homes to secondary schooling. The Higher Grade Schools were the first to provide a ladder for this movement. One further contribution of the Leeds

Higher Grade Schools was the demonstration that co-education was not disastrous in secondary schools; this innovation was made by Dr. Forsyth and only now is co-education becoming general practice in the newer secondary schools.

(v) Girls' High School Education.

The main stream of the Girls' High School Movement in Leeds, as elsewhere, has remained separate from the state system of maintained secondary schools. Its contact with the public sector has been by way of scholarship system whereby in return for grant aid, places were provided for pupils from the elementary schools. From 1907 Leeds Girls' High School received a grant and took in return a quota of scholarship pupils, reduced to 10% of its intake as in the other Leeds Schools. One would be justified in assuming that the motives behind this were financial, rather than social. Certainly, even as late as 1895 the school seems to have been anxious to remain aloof from the elementary system. Although a beneficiary of the Grammar School Foundation in 1901, many years after its own foundation, the Leeds Girls' High School was not a girls' grammar school, but in recognition of the benefaction this title was for a short time, adopted. When the school was founded it was felt that it would be for girls' education what the Grammar School was for boys' education, and it did include Latin in its curriculum. In fact the school had a considerable bias to languages, with English receiving much prominence. The distinctive contribution of this

school was the development of a course of studies for girls which was neither Classics dominated, nor Science dominated. In the prominence given to foreign languages and to English the school set a pattern for girls' secondary education which persists today, despite the increased importance of Mathematics and Science. While its contemporary schools seemed to aim only at a general education for girls, the Leeds Girls' High School introduced an academic course of studies. It is true that by the time of the Bryce Commission the curriculum had become less dominated by language teaching, and after 1905 a vocational bent was introduced, yet something of the early liberal pattern remained. The school suffered from being regarded by some parents as a "finishing school", as Mr. Laurie pointed out, but it spread the idea that even for upper middle class parents a school education for their daughters was practicable and desirable.

In Leeds there has been a continuous line of descent from the Girls' High School movement to the maintained system by way of the Chapel Allerton Branch which successively became independent of its parent body and adopted as a maintained secondary school. The continuation in office of the original Head Mistress ensured for many years the survival of High School traditions in Allerton High School.

(vi) Private School Education.

Private schools which cater for older pupils are usually thought of as being in complete contrast with the maintained schools. The typical private school offers improvised accommodation and

untrained teachers, but with its small classes it provides for the less able child an alternative to the secondary modern school and for the more demanding parents a means of securing special attention for their children's social or educational needs. It is one of the oddities of the history of secondary education in Leeds that what is perhaps the best known of the City's maintained secondary schools should have emerged from a school of this type. Roundhay Schools originated in fact from several such schools for both before, and after, being taken over by the City Council there were incorporations of small private schools. Lidgett Park private school was sold by its owner to the Council in 1919 and maintained by it as a secondary school with the former owner as Head teacher. Two private schools had previously been taken over, and another, St. Ronan's was acquired after the transfer of ownership of Lidgett Park School. The acquisition of the latter school had enabled the City Council to provide secondary places at a minimum cost and put an end to the pressure of the Board of Education for a secondary school in Roundhay. In 1922 the boys were separated from the school and from 1926 housed in new premises on the Gledhow Estate where the girls school was built and opened in 1931. The two Roundhay Schools remain there today, their humble origins obscured. The private 'stream' did not perhaps contribute a great deal, yet there remains the feeling that it brought to secondary education a concern for the individual. Certainly under Miss Vyvyan, that remarkable person who sold her school, and with it

herself as Head teacher, to the City Council, Roundhay had a special tone which seems to have survived.

(vii) The Leeds Education Committee. Its Contribution.

Leeds, being relatively well supplied with secondary school places as a result of the initiative of other bodies, its first Education Committee was mainly concerned with integrating existing schools rather than building new ones. In fact only one entirely new secondary school was founded in the forty years following the setting up of Leeds Education Committee, and that was opened in the Committee's early years. This was the West Leeds High School whose opening accelerated the closure of Wortley Grammar School. Other gaps in the provision of secondary schools were met by the taking over of the Allerton and Lidgett Park Schools, and later by the moving to new premises in the Northern suburbs of the Modern Schools. The early years of the Education Committee brought painful repercussions to existing schools in the interests of an integrated system. The Church Middle Class Schools, were forced out of existence, the end of Wortley Grammar School hastened, and the Modern Schools taken over. The Pupil Teachers' Centre was converted into a secondary school, and agreement reached with the Board of Education for the Grammar School and the Girls' High School to allocate a reduced quota of 10% of their places to scholarship holders from public elementary schools in return for grant aid

With the achievement of an integrated system a long period of consolidation followed in which some measure of standardisation was developed. The various schools when taken over had widely differing curricula, fees and facilities. Within a few years fees were standardised except at the Southern school, renamed Cockburn, where because of the social handicaps of the area no fees were proposed, modified to a small fee at the insistence of the Board of Education. In the years following 1907 the curricula became more standardised and balanced under the influence of the Board's regulations and, later, Matriculation requirements. A further process of integration was needed after the First World War as the result of the acquisition of two further schools and for some years the fees at Roundhay School corresponded more closely with those charged in private schools than in maintained secondary schools.

Leeds Education Committee did not particularly encourage the spread of secondary school education among the working class, but it is mis-leading to assume that the fixing of a 10% scholarship quota at most of the secondary schools was restrictive in this respect. The enterprise of other public bodies before 1902 provided Leeds with a sufficient number of secondary places so that the Board of Education accepted that a 10% quota provided a reasonable number of free places. The exception was Cockburn School, the problem child of the School Board in earlier years. Here was a school almost entirely working class in background with fees only nominal yet having difficulty in obtaining

sufficient pupils to make it an economic proposition. The empty places at Cockburn were used to justify the 10% quota, while the empty places at West Leeds High School as well as those at Cockburn High School were used to justify inaction in the face of pressure for the provision of a secondary school in the Eastern suburb. However, the main disadvantage of the structure, as inherited from the School Board and other bodies, was the over-concentration of secondary school places in the centre of the City, and this problem was not solved until after 1930 when the expansion of technical education created a use for school buildings erected, perhaps too substantially, by an earlier generation. It was then, with alternative use of the old buildings ensured, that the Modern School moved out of the centre of the City. The main contribution of the Education Committee was in the field of management; centralised control, a common policy and efficient inspection, in partnership with the Board of Education, brought about some standardisation between schools though each preserved some individuality because of differences in background, history, or the temperament of the Head teachers. In the successful implementation of this policy the Committee owed much to the labours of Dr. James Graham, the City's first Director of Education. The redoubtable Dr. Graham preserved the continuity of administration on the change-over from School Board to Education Committee. He tried to lead the Committee into a better provision of educational facilities, and he was not afraid of unorthodox

actions. It was Dr. Graham, who after a talk with Miss Vyvyan, saw the advantages of acquiring her school for use as a secondary^{school}, and it was his interpretation of a Regulation designed to permit other activities which enabled financial assistance to be received for the Day Preparatory Trades Schools which formed another source of secondary education.

(viii) Technical Trades Schools.

The Preparatory Trades Schools in Leeds were truly pioneers of their type in this country, and it is perhaps appropriate that Mechanics' Institutes should have been involved in their foundation. It was the provision of new equipment in two minor Mechanics' Institutes, where evening classes in technical subjects were provided by the Education Committee, which led to the suggestion that day schools should be provided for pupils wishing to take up apprenticeships. The two schools at Holbeck and Woodhouse were claimed to be the first of their type in this country and gave instruction in engineering and building trades. The schools came under the Elementary Education Sub-Committee, and were financed by the Board under a regulation designed for a different type of establishment. From the start the schools provided education in general subjects as well as Workshop training, but the intention was to have a vocational bias in all subjects. From 1913 the schools were financed as Junior Technical Schools,¹ but it was not until 1925 that they were given that title, and at the same time the curriculum was broadened.²

1. Leeds Education Committee, Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, 17th September, 1913.

2. IBIA, 18th November 1925.

Throughout the years the Board of Education pressed for better accommodation but this was long delayed. The removal of the Boys' Modern School from premises at the Leeds Institute, which was then used to accommodate the College of Technology, enabled the two former Trades Schools to combine as the Leeds Junior Technical School in those premises. This was in 1933 and the combined school then became an orthodox Junior Technical School, associated with the College of Technology,¹ and with entry at 13 years of age. Following the upheavals caused by the Second World War there were further changes. The Junior Technical pupils were combined with those of the old Central High School, now known as the City of Leeds High School, in the latter's premises in the central precinct. Until 1951 the school operated as a bilateral secondary school, after which it became a purely secondary technical school with an 11+ intake.² Thus, Leeds was one of the first Education Authorities to give its Junior Technical School parity of esteem as a selective secondary school following the 1944 Act. By this time the school had a technological rather than a trades bias, and on this basis it is still functioning though it also provides the full range of subjects available in secondary grammar schools. Thus, the technical trades 'stream' of higher elementary education has contributed to today's system of secondary education. Though the old emphasis on workshop skills has been modified,

1. Ibid., Annual Report, 1934, p. 22.

2. F.W.W. Whitehead, "A School And A City. The Changing Role of The Leeds Central High School" in The Journal of Education, July 1954, Vol. 86, No. 1020, p. 318

the pupils enter at an earlier age, and the future occupations of the pupils is at a higher level, something of the original tradition remains. The old Trades Schools showed that higher education could be given a technical bias, and that workshops could have a place in modern secondary education. The fact that secondary technical schools have declined in number is not evidence of a decline in influence of the technical sphere, but rather that the more conventional secondary grammar schools have widened their scope to include technical education.

The extent to which the pattern of secondary education in Leeds has followed the outline which had emerged by 1907 is shown by the fact that every one of the schools which comprised the City's system of secondary education in 1939 existed in some form at the former date. No completely new schools were founded in the years between these dates though new premises were provided for some schools. The table¹ which follows lists the entire secondary school accommodation in Leeds, except for the three Roman Catholic Schools which had by then emerged:

<u>A. Maintained Schools</u>	<u>Roll</u>
City of Leeds	594
Cockburn	568
Thoresby	434
Leeds Boys' Modern	428
Lawnswood Girls' High	384
West Leeds High	699

1. Leeds Education Committee, Higher Education Sub-Committee, Minutes, 23rd. November, 1938.

Chapel Allerton High	343
Roundhay Girls' High	547
Roundhay Boys'	636

B. Non-Maintained Schools

Leeds Grammar	737
Leeds Girls' High	612

In addition, there was the Junior Technical School, then midway between elementary and secondary education but coming under the Higher Education Sub-Committee of the Education Committee and having a roll of 323 pupils.

Every one of the sources of secondary education listed earlier is represented here, except for the Church Middle Class Schools. The City of Leeds School was the former Central School, still housed in the building adjacent to Thoresby School and the buildings of the Leeds Institute, which accommodated the Colleges of Technology, Art and Commerce. City of Leeds and Cockburn Schools were former Higher Grade Schools. Thoresby Girls' High School was the former Teacher Training Centre still housed in the premises built for that purpose. Leeds Boys' Modern and Lawnswood Girls' High were the former schools of the Leeds Institute now exiled on the northerly outskirts of the city. Chapel Allerton High School was, in 1907 the small Girls' High School, formerly a branch of the main school of that type, and later housed in new premises. The two Roundhay Schools existed in embryonic form in 1907 in the privately owned Lidgett Park High School. West Leeds High School

had only just opened in 1907, the only such school to be founded with no previously existing establishment by the Education Committee up to 1939. Leeds Grammar and Girls' High Schools were in 1907, as in 1938, independent but grant aided in return for an intake of elementary school scholarship holders. The Junior Technical School of 1938 was, in 1907, in existence as two small Day Preparatory/^{Trades}Schools located in improvised accommodation in the premises of two minor Mechanics' Institutes. Thus there was considerable continuity in secondary education in Leeds; a continuity to which many different traditions contributed. The system of selective/^{secondary}education, like many British institutions, developed rather haphazardly; it was eclectic, but not necessarily from a belief in the virtues of eclecticism. Yet something of the best of many contributory sources coalesced so that the concept of secondary education throughout the period studied, and after it, underwent considerable change but retained some unity.

One field in which this coalescence can be seen is the curriculum. In 1907 there were considerable variations between the courses offered in the different schools; in 1939 there was a similar curriculum offered in most of the Secondary Schools. This common curriculum is also attributed by some to the ancient grammar school tradition. Indeed a variant of the myth referred to earlier is that selective secondary education, being of the grammar school tradition, is liberal and cultural, while the education of the mass is, and should be, either vaguely general or specifically

vocational. In order to hold this view it is necessary to ignore the highly vocational aims of the early grammar schools, and to make highly subjective assessments of the liberal content of the various school subjects. Yet, as this study shows, throughout the Nineteenth Century all the Leeds secondary schools, with the exception perhaps of the Girls' High School where vocational courses came later, responded in some degree to the demands for courses which would meet the vocational needs of the City. Leeds Grammar School, it is true, responded half-heartedly to this demand in the second half of the Century, and the modern subjects were located in lower departments of varying status. Nevertheless by the end of the Century modern subjects, and some directly vocational subjects, were accepted as suitable for the main school, subject to the primacy of Latin. The Leeds Institute schools and the Church Middle Class Schools were more directly vocational in character and thus developed a more effective modern education. The policy of the Science and Art Department emphasised the vocational character of modern secondary education, and led to an undue emphasis on science in the newer schools. After 1904 the balance was redressed by the greater emphasis accorded to Modern Languages, English and Latin by the Board's regulations, but this policy was also a response to changing economic needs whereby an increased supply of literate white collar and professional people was required. The liberal education of the secondary schools thus became in effect a vocational one; University Matriculation

became the gateway not so much to the University as to the Town Hall. The later upgrading of science was also a response to vocational needs though it was advocated on educational grounds, as was the acceptance of secondary technical education. Thus, secondary education as a course of studies has responded to changes in social and economic conditions, just as the system of selective secondary^{schools}/has responded to the same pressures. In recent years further evolution has been taking place and, no doubt, even more radical changes will take place. These can best be examined as part of a continuous and lengthy process of development.

Finally, it is proposed to refer briefly to some of the less important conclusions which have emerged from this study. Three such points have been taken from each part of the study; they are not necessarily inter-related nor are they of equal importance. They are interesting, however, as sidelights on the history of education, and as evidence of the value of studies such as this.

(a) In Part 1.

1. The Eldon Judgement was neither as negative, nor in the case of Leeds Grammar School so effective, as is sometimes suggested. Changes could be approved provided that they brought in to the school scholars who would take the foundation subjects. Later interpretation seized on the negative aspects. In the case of Leeds Grammar School it was the Master's resistance to change which was decisive. Following his death substantial changes were made in the curriculum.

2. Attention has been drawn to the considerable advantage enjoyed by those foundations which were held in land which became urbanised. Leeds Grammar School had this advantage, Wortley did not; as time went on its value increased.

3. The National School, in some respects, served as a proving ground for the Grammar School. The fact that some Governors of the latter were also managers of the former meant that there was a route for the transfer of methods between the schools. The Grammar School seems to have adopted the Monitorial System from the Parish School, and the Master was enjoined to follow the disciplinary methods of the latter school. An interesting reflection would be to ask why the Monitorial System could be applied without harsh punishment.

(b) In Part 2

1. A recurring problem in the Grammar School was how to provide a commercial education in a school based on the Classics. Each attempt to set up a non-classical department seems to have produced an inferior form of education, rather than an alternative to Classics. The Modern and Church Middle Class Schools being free from this Classics basis were able to evolve modern curricula more effectively than Leeds Grammar School.

2. The problem of retaining Free Scholars was posed very well in Leeds whose two Grammar Schools illustrated perfectly Dr. Fitch's dictum that Free Scholars drive out fee paying pupils because

grammar is not taught, while in schools where classics is well taught Free Scholars become excluded. Wortley Grammar School Trustees insisted on having Free Scholars and thus the school for most of the Century was little more than an elementary school. Leeds Grammar School insisted on the primacy of Latin, and as fees came in for other subjects Free Scholars were excluded.

3. The lack of interest in girls' education in Mid-century has been referred to¹. Fitch drew attention to the almost total lack of girls' endowed schools. Yet where there was a girls' school above elementary level, as in the case of the Modern School, it was not much supported by the middle class. At the upper income levels there was a preference for governesses and private schools, at lower levels no great valuation on education for girls.

(c) In Part 3

1. The importance of religious feeling is highlighted in this section. The strong feeling against Leeds Grammar School in some quarters is the result of the refusal of the Governors to accept reforms which would weaken the connection with the Church of England. By the time of the Bryce Commission this feeling has been sufficiently strong as to seriously diminish the school's influence. The strength of feeling is emphasised by the reporting of the Bryce Commission's comments on education in Leeds. In this connection, this study has raised doubts concerning the impartiality of Assistant Commissioners Fitch and Laurie in conducting enquiries for their

respective Reports of 1864 and 1895. Fitch seems to have been prejudiced against Clergymen; perhaps Laurie was also for he wrote a severely critical report of Leeds Grammar School on the basis of a few minutes in the school. Certainly Laurie seems to have been impressed by 'smartness', and depressed by its absence.

2. The use to which endowments were put and the value obtained for the money spent occupied critics of the ancient grammar schools from time to time. But on the latter point the most telling evidence comes from the Governors of Leeds Grammar School in their enquiry into the Grammar Schools in a number of great cities. This enquiry which seems not to have been referred to elsewhere, emphasised the disparity between these schools on the basis of size, and proportion of population served, in relation to the value of the endowment. Leeds Grammar School emerged so badly from this comparative survey that the Sub-Committee of the Governors confess that they felt that the school should be closed, and started elsewhere as a boarding school.

3. The effects of the Cockerton Decision seem to have been slight in Leeds. Eaglesham's view that the Decision was not directed at Higher Grade Schools and did not greatly harm them is supported by experience in Leeds¹. Here the Higher Grade Schools received no rate aid and were not immediately affected despite the indignant protests of the School Board at the Board of Education's Minute on Higher Elementary Education. Certainly, the Decision had no direct long term effects.

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<u>A P P E N D I C E S</u>			<u>Page</u>
<u>PART 1.</u>	<u>APPENDIX A</u> 1	Leeds Grammar School. Rules 1815.	312.
<u>PART 3.</u>	<u>APPENDIX A</u>	Board of Education. T 2023/06.	320.
	<u>APPENDIX B</u>	Scheme for Leeds Institute.	331.
	<u>APPENDIX C</u>	Leeds Education Committee: Memorandum On Secondary School Provision.	339.
	<u>APPENDIX D</u>	Leeds Education Committee: Memorandum On Secondary School Fees.	353.

P A R T 1A P P E N D I X A₁

Rules and Regulations For The Government of The
Free Grammar School Leeds 1815.

From the "Leeds Mercury" 23/9/1815:

RULES AND ORDERS

1. The hours of attendance at the school shall be for the scholars during eight months of the year viz. from the first day of March to the first day of November, as follows : From half past six o'clock in the morning, until eight o'clock; again from nine o'clock in the morning until twelve, and from two to five o'clock in each afternoon, when there is no holyday. During the remainder of the year or from the first day of March, the scholars shall attend, from half past eight o'clock till ten, and from half past ten o'clock till half past twelve on each morning; also from two o'clock till half past four, when there is no holyday. Both the Master and Usher shall be present at the opening of the School on each day, and shall be allowed one quarter of an hour beyond the time appointed for the scholars, at each subsequent assembly of the scholars on each day.
2. The names of the boys shall be called over by appointed monitors in the upper and lower schools, at each of the times of meeting specified in the Last Rule, lists of absentees shall be made and delivered to each Master by the monitor of his own school as soon as he

comes in; such lists to be preserved for the Inspection of the Committee when called for and to be produced at the public examination of the scholars hereafter appointed.

3. The afternoons of Wednesday and Saturday in each week shall be regular holydays; one whole day in each month may be granted in addition to these by the Master, at his option. The other vacations of the school to consist of three weeks at Christmas, five weeks at Midsummer, four days including Good Friday at Easter, two days at Whitsuntide, on the 30th January, 29th May, 5th November, the King's Accession, and both the days of Leeds Fair. On Ash Wednesday and each remaining Wednesday in Lent, there shall be holyday after one lesson, the boys being expected to attend Divine Service in the Parish Church.
4. The Master or Usher shall read some part of the Common Prayer every morning, immediately after his coming into school, and again in the evening before the scholars are dismissed; no exercise shall be required of the boys on Friday evening and the whole of Friday afternoon shall be devoted to Religious Instruction.
5. The series of books taught in the school, shall be appointed by the Headmaster with the consent and approbation of the Committee; each boy when received by him from the lower school, or otherwise admitted into the upper school, shall have been completely instructed in Latin prosody, shall have read so much of Latin

poetry as to make, with facility, nonsense Latin verses, and shall have learned thoroughly and by heart the Greek grammar. Such additions only of any author shall be read in the school as are appointed by the Headmaster and neither he nor the Usher shall sell or receive any profits from books sold to the boys of the school.

6. Two public examinations of the boys shall be held in each year immediately previous to the commencement of the Midsummer and Christmas vacation; the former of these to continue for not less than two days, or less than six hours in each day, to be conducted under the superintendence of a person appointed by the Committee, when prizes may be given to such boys as are deemed to merit them, by the Headmaster and the Committee, and the progress of each class be registered in a book kept for that purpose; the fitness of any boys in the lower school to enter into the upper school shall also be determined at each public examination.
7. The control of the school shall be absolutely vested in the Headmaster when present, and in the Usher during his absence; it is recommended however to both to have monitors in their several schools, which monitors shall be deemed responsible to their respective Masters for the conduct of the boys committed to their care.
The monitors of the lower school, as well as his own monitors, may be punished by the Headmaster for any neglect or misconduct, whilst the monitors of the upper school are to be punished by him, on complaint made by the Usher, of misconduct in the absence of the Headmaster.

8. The personal correction of any boy in the school is allowed to the Headmaster, and of the boys in the lower school, to the Usher. To neither Master however is permitted the striking of the boys over the hands or head with cane, ruler or like improper instrument. It is ^{also} strongly recommended to both Masters to adopt more lenient methods of correction, except in very particular cases, the present discipline of the National Schools having clearly proved that good order is best preserved, and the literary progress and emulation of boys is best excited by deprivations and punishments of a more lenient nature.
9. Neither Master is to employ the boys of the school, immediately belonging to the other Master, in the teaching or government of his classes, and it is expected that the instruction of his own boys be principally conducted by each Master in person. No hired assistant to be admitted into either school except with the leave and consent of the Committee, and in applying for such leave, the intended term of such assistant's services as also the compensation to be made for them, are to be explicitly sanctioned by the Committee.
10. Both the Headmaster and Usher shall be bone fide resident during the school days: the Master in the house now provided for him, and the Usher in the township of Leeds, and at a convenient distance from the school, until a house be provided for him also: and if either Master or Usher shall be non-resident, or absent from the school for more than fourteen school days in any one year, without the leave of the Committee first had and obtained in writing,

(unless in case of sickness or any other inevitable accident) the place and office of such Master or Usher to be ipso facto vacant.

11. The Headmaster of the school for the time being shall deliver to the President of the Committee twice in every year, viz. at the commencement of the vacations of Midsummer and Christmas, a list of such scholars as shall then be really learning at the school in order that such lists may be offered to the inspection of the Committee.
12. The admission of boys to become scholars of the school shall be limited to the Mondays in each week immediately after the end of the vacations of Midsummer and Christmas, and to the first Mondays in the two months of April and October. Examinations shall be had of the boys requesting admission on each of the days so appointed, and no boy shall be admitted who is not able to read English fluently, to spell it correctly and to write legibly so as to be perfectly and properly capable of commencing instruction in the Latin language.
13. Neither the Master or Usher of the said school shall hereafter accept any Ecclesiastical preferment during their respective continuance in their several offices, without the consent of the major part of the Committee first had and obtained. And in case the said Master or Usher shall at any time hereafter accept such Ecclesiastical preferment, without such consent as aforesaid, the office of such Master or Usher shall, upon his induction into, or licence or other institution to such an Ecclesiastical preferment be ipso facto vacant and void.

And the said Committee shall, thereupon, proceed to elect another Master of Usher as the case may be. And if it shall be in the case of the Master, the Committee shall or may recover in ejectment or otherwise, they shall be advised, the school-house or school, or other premises which at that time may happen to be in the possession or occupation of the said Master.

14. No presents to be received by either Master or Usher for the teaching of boys whose parents or guardians are resident within the Borough of Leeds.
15. The school library shall be under the management and in the sole possession of the Headmaster, who shall be responsible for the books thus committed to his care. A catalogue of the books shall be made and printed, for the use of the Headmaster and Committee, and the books of the library shall be annually examined according to this, by the appointment of the Committee and in the presence of the Headmaster. No book shall be taken out of the library, but they may be consulted by any member of the Committee upon application made to the Master, and also by the Usher with the Master's leave. The room beneath the library is declared to belong to the Committee and to be appropriated to any uses they may direct.
16. Two small bookcases to be erected in the school, one adjoining the Master's desk and one to that of the Usher, such books are to be kept in these as are deemed necessary by the Master or Usher for the instruction of his own classes; which books may, during

school time, (with the Master's or Usher's permission) be consulted by the boys. A list of these books to be made up from time to time, by the Master and Usher, which shall be purchased by the Committee, and registered in the catalogue as belonging to the school.

17. The school-yard, both in its present and improved state, (if its extent should hereafter be increased) is to be considered as for the use of the boys only. No animal belonging to the Master or Usher is to be admitted therein. Neither are the boys to be employed by either Master or Usher otherwise than in the duties of their school instruction."

P A R T 3

A P P E N D I X A

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
WHITEHALL,
LONDON S.W.

15th March 1907.

LEEDS C.B.

LEEDS INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, ART AND
LITERATURE.

T. 2023/06.

SIR,

The Board have given their careful consideration to the previous correspondence in this case, and to the statements made by the deputations which attended at this Office on the 7th and 15th February, and to the further information obtained by Mr. Selby-Bigge, who inspected the premises of the Institute on the 23rd February, and who made himself familiar with the history of the Institute as disclosed in the Trust Deeds and the set of Annual Reports which were placed at his disposal.

The Board desire me to acknowledge the frank and unreserved spirit in which the Trustees and Committee of the Institute have discussed with them the questions now at issue. It would be very regrettable if, at such a critical period in the history of the Institute, the full discussions which have taken place should be allowed to remain fruitless, and it is in the hope of promoting a solution to the difficulties which now threaten the usefulness of the Institute and of assisting to establish it on a firm and permanent basis that the Board have directed me to write this letter.

1. It is, in the first place, desirable that the Board should define their attitude in regard to

certain legal questions which have been raised, and particularly in regard to the views advanced in Messrs. Clarke and Whittington's letter of the 14th November, 1906. On consideration of all the facts of the case, the Board are satisfied that the Leeds Institute is (in the legal sense of the term) a "charitable" Foundation, that its property is subject to a "charitable" trust, and the "Charity" is one subject to the jurisdiction created by the Charitable Trusts Acts. The trusts, however, declared by the deed of 1866 - which, together with the rules of the Institute, may be regarded as the governing instrument of the Foundation - are ill-defined; and, for the purpose of determining (under the provisions of the Board of Education Act, 1899, and the Board of Education (Powers) Orders in Council, 1900 to 1902) whether the jurisdiction over the Foundation belongs to the Charity Commissioners or the Board of Education, it may be questionable whether it is technically proper to regard the endowment as held on trust solely for educational purposes. The Board have personally consulted the Charity Commissioners and are assured that the Commissioners are in agreement with them as to the existence of a trust, subject to the jurisdiction under the Charitable Trusts Acts, and as to the essential nature of that trust and the Board, therefore, see no reason to press on the Charity Commissioners the view that the trusts of the endowment, as they stand at present, are, for the purpose of determining the jurisdiction, solely educational. Any steps, therefore, which may be taken to carry out the arrangements suggested in this letter, or any

other arrangements which may be agreed upon, must, in the first instance, and for technical reasons, be taken by the Charity Commissioners.

2. As regards the essential character and primary objects of the institution, an impartial examination of the documentary evidence, which is happily plentiful, leaves no doubt whatever that they were originally, and have become increasingly, educational in the widest sense. The whole series of Annual Reports emphasises this conception of the Institute. They constantly dwell, in terms of justifiable pride, on the services rendered by the Institute to the cause of popular education, and to the high place held by the Institute in the sphere of education, and, in claiming the support of the citizens of Leeds for its maintenance and development, they invariably base their appeal on the educational work which it is doing, and which remains for it to do. The following passage in the Report for the year 1856 is typical of many others:

"The Chief aim of our Institution is undoubtedly educational, and there are two general modes in which this end is sought to be attained. One of these modes, and the least direct of the two, is the provision of a constant and increasing supply of books and periodical literature for all classes of readers, combined with the delivery of a sessional series of lectures embracing a very wide range of literary and scientific subjects. The other and more strictly educational method is the provision of means for a systematic or orderly attainment of these elements of knowledge which are necessary to the instruction and proper discipline of the mind. These two branches of agency constitute the basis of the Institution."

In dealing with the proposals for the erection of a new building, the Report of 1862 states

"that there is an energy in your Institution which, if scope be given to it, must raise it to far higher dignity and importance, that it is destined to become a great centre of education in literature, science and art; and that it only needs room for expansion to grow into a very mighty influence, an influence which beginning with the child and ending only with the life of the adult, will form the character and develop the powers of the one and open unfailing sources of intellectual happiness to the other. It was with this confidence in the future of your society that the Committee asked the public to give them a new Institution."

Similarly in the Report for the year 1866 great stress is laid upon the necessity for meeting the growing demand for technical education, and in the Annual Report for 1869, when the Institute had been in possession of its new buildings for only one year, the necessity of further extensions for educational purposes is asserted.

The history of the Institute, is in fact, made up of a series of efforts to cope with constantly growing demands for real and systematic education. In order to meet these demands the Committee did not hesitate to make great sacrifices, to take great risks, and to incur heavy liabilities. Councils of timidity or caution, or mere conservatism, were constantly overruled. The progress of the Institution was always due to an unselfish and unreserved zeal in the cause of popular education. The Institute, indeed, possessed what has sometimes been described as a "social" side, but which may be more properly described, if it is necessary to

distinguish it from the educational side, as "literary". But this side of the Institute was always recognised as educational, and a study of the Annual Reports can only lead to the conclusion that it was regarded ancillary to the more strictly and highly organised educational side. Mention of the merely recreative element which is prominent in the history of some similar institutions, is conspicuous by its absence from the pages of these Reports, and the Board have little doubt that the members have never hesitated to sacrifice any possibilities of developing the Institute on recreative lines in order that they might be free to achieve the main educational objects of the Institution.

3. On the other hand, the Board have no doubt that the "literary side" of the Institute has both directly and indirectly rendered very valuable service to its strictly educational objects. It has done this, not merely by providing a library and reading room and lectures, from which adult members of the Institute, and teachers and students, might derive information or instruction, but also by bringing together, on terms of easy intercourse, men and women of all classes, all political parties, and all denominations. The Institute has, in fact, through its literary side, enlisted in the service and systematic education the efforts of a large number of cultivated people. It has united these efforts and secured their co-operation for a common object. The Board are fully alive to the value of this side of the Institute, and to the beneficial results which may be expected from its maintenance and development, and it would be a matter of extreme

regret to them if for any reason the energies of the members of the Institute were discouraged or dissipated or directed into other channels. The prestige which the Institute has acquired in its long and dignified history is an educational asset which it would be foolish to depreciate, and it is from the union of voluntary effort and individual interest with those elements of financial capacity and educational authority on which the organisation of modern education depends that the best results are to be hoped for.

4. At the present time it is evident that the Institute has arrived at a crisis no less important and no less inevitable than those with which it has been previously confronted. On the one hand its efforts to develop educational work on modern lines have involved it in financial difficulties, which are in no way discreditable to its members or Committee. From the point of view of financial stability, the Institute has been too successful and too progressive. The Committee have been driven to use part of the premises of the Institute for merely money-making purposes, and have been obliged to adopt expedients which are hardly consistent with the dignity of the Institution, even if they are not detrimental to its usefulness.

On the other hand, the creation of a "Local Education Authority" for the City by the Act of 1902 has introduced an entirely new element into the Situation. That authority is responsible for the organisation and co-ordination of all forms of education within its area and has the financial resources necessary for the purpose. At the same time the standard of education has risen, and voluntary effort is becoming

increasingly incapable in Leeds as in all other parts of England of satisfying the requirements of the Board, of the Local Education Authority, and of the public as regards this Institution, burdened as it is with debt and enjoying no assured income from endowment, render it inevitable that it should, if only for financial reasons, seek aid from the Local Education Authority, and agree to such a measure of control by that Authority as is naturally consequent on such assistance and appropriate to its responsibility for the education in its area.

5. A suggestion has been made that the Institute should now close down such departments of its educational work as involve a loss in working, and that a large part of the premises hitherto appropriated to educational purposes should henceforth be used for the purpose of accommodation of additional members and subscribers. How far this suggestion is based on financial considerations, and how far it is due to a genuine desire to serve the cause of education by strengthening the literary side of the Institution it is not for the Board to express an opinion. So far as the latter motive prevails, any arguments which may be advanced in favour of the suggestion merit respectful consideration, as they are in no way alien to the spirit of the Institution, no evidence has at present been submitted to the Board in favour of the view that this is the line on which the usefulness of the Institute to the citizens of Leeds could be best developed. So far, however, as the suggestion rests on merely financial considerations, and so far as those considerations are re-inforced by fear of outside interference, or by a reluctance to allow the

Institute to take its place in the system of organised education under the general control of the Local Education Authority, it fails to command the sympathy of the Board. Any step actuated by such motives would, in their opinion, be retrograde and unworthy of the high spirit which has hitherto animated the Institution. The Institution owes much of its prestige and usefulness to the readiness and courage with which it has in the past on several occasions adapted itself to new circumstances and made new departures to meet new needs.

6. It is true that a temporary arrangement has been made with the City Corporation to control and finance the various schools connected with the Institution. It is very doubtful, however, whether a continuance of this arrangement would be satisfactory either to the Corporation or to the Members of the Institute, even if it were clear that it would be conducive to the efficiency of the strictly educational work. If the Institute were worked by one body and the schools by another, whether as tenants or as purchasers of part of the property of the Institution, it appears more than probable both that the development of the educational work proper would be checked, and also that a direction would be given to the operations of the Institute which would be in a considerable degree alien to the objects which have been so steadfastly pursued in the past.

7. In view of all the circumstances of the case, the Board inclines strongly to the view that the simplest and most satisfactory solution of the present difficulty lies in the transference of the property and work of the Institute to the

City Council, who would take the place of the present Trustees, and would administer the Institute as Trustees of a "charitable" foundation. It is not anticipated that any difficulty will arise in affording ample security for the maintenance and development of the literary side of the Institute on its existing lines. The security which it would be reasonable for both parties to such an arrangement to demand can be afforded by a Scheme made under the Charitable Trust Acts. Such a scheme would naturally provide for the maintenance, and possible the extension of the reading room, library and lecture-hall, and the reservation of proper privileges to the members and subscribers of the Institute. Such an arrangement, embodied in a Scheme, could be legally enforced if the legitimate interests of either party were infringed to an extent constituting a breach of trust, and it would be the duty of the Charity Commissioners or of the Board, to insist on the fulfilment of the trusts declared by the Scheme. The Board have no doubt whatever that the Corporation will recognise and do justice to the educational possibilities inherent in the literary side of the Institute, and that they will endeavour to enlist in the future all the voluntary services which members of the Institute have been willing to render in the past in the management of the schools and classes attached to the Institution.

Moreover, it appears probable that, by obtaining relief from all financial responsibility for the schools, the members and subscribers of the Institute will derive greatly increased

advantages from their own subscriptions, and that the prestige and influence of the Institution as a whole will be greatly augmented. It is believed that the Corporation would be willing, if such an arrangement were carried out, to become responsible for all the charges on the property, and all the unsecured liabilities of the Institute.

8. The Board have been assured by the Charity Commissioners that if an arrangement on these or similar lines is agreed to by the Trustees and Committee and members of the Institute on the one hand, and by the City Council on the other, they will be prepared to give favourable consideration to an application for a Scheme to enable effect to be given to the agreement.

The Scheme might either proceed on the lines of treating and leaving the Institute as a "mixed" charity (i.e., partly for educational and partly for semi-educational purposes), in which it would be made by the Charity Commissioners alone. Or in the alternative a Scheme might be made by the Charity Commissioners constituting the foundation "an educational charity", and leaving the Board of Education to make a further Scheme transferring the Institute to the City Council and embodying the terms of transfer. The Board's Scheme could proceed concurrently with the Charity Commissioner's Scheme, and there is no reason why the double procedure should involve any serious delay. The question whether the one method of procedure or the other is more convenient depends mainly, if not entirely, on technical considerations.

I am, therefore, to suggest that you should take the earliest opportunity of laying this letter

before the Trustees and Committee of the Institute in order that they may decide without further delay whether they are prepared to recommend to the members the adoption of the principle of the proposed arrangement, and I am to request that the decision of the Trustees and Committee on the question of principle may be communicated to the Board as soon as possible. If the decision is favourable to the Board's suggestion, the Trustees and Committee should then proceed to consult the members whose consent to the "alienation" of the property of the Institution under Rule 40 it is desirable, if not legally necessary, to obtain.

A copy of this letter is being sent to the Local Education Authority.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

signed. ROBERT MORANT.

J.E. Bedford Esq.,
President of the Leeds Institute of
Science, Art and Literature, Leeds.

A P P E N D I X B

PROPOSED SCHEME

For The

FUTURE WORKING of the LEEDS INSTITUTE

(as distinct from the Schools)

on

SELF-GOVERNING AND INDEPENDENT LINES,

The Committee being elected, as hitherto, by the Members and Subscribers, and having financial responsibility and control.

As Recommended by the Trustees, General Committee, and Consultative Committee to the Members and Subscribers for adoption at the Meeting to be held on FRIDAY, JULY 26th, 1907, at 8 o'clock p.m.

- - - - -

To the Members and Subscribers of the Leeds Institute.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

You are doubtless aware that the question of the future of the Leeds Institute and its educational work has been under the serious consideration of the Committee extending over a period of 18 months. Owing to the increasing deficits caused by the rapid development of the schools and classes it became absolutely necessary for the Committee to review their position with regard to these undertakings, with the result that the Leeds City Council was approached and informed

that the time had now arrived when the educational work of the Institute could not be carried on as hitherto on account of increasing annual deficits. Proposals with regard to the disposal and use of the property, and to the continuance of the educational work without interruption were also made to the City Council by the Committee. The outcome of these negotiations was that the educational work was transferred to the City Council under a temporary agreement extending from August 1st, 1906, to July 31st, 1907, the Institute Committee acting as a Sub-Committee of the Leeds Education Committee for the management of the Schools during that period. In accordance with the terms of the temporary agreement the City Council have been responsible for the financial arrangement of the school work for the period named.

The temporary agreement also provided that a permanent settlement should be arrived at within a given period for the future carrying on of the various educational departments connected with the Institute.

A meeting of members and subscribers was held on October 11th, 1906, at which a resolution was passed appointing a Consultative Committee, consisting of six members and six subscribers, to prepare, in conjunction with the Institute Committee, a suitable scheme for the future of the Institute. These together formed a Conjoint Committee, and during the last nine months they have carefully investigated the financial condition of the Institute.

This Committee's investigations embraced a period of 17 years, and after prolonged and anxious

consideration they have come to the unanimous conclusion that it is impossible for the Institute to continue the financial responsibility of the schools for the following reasons, viz.:-

- (a) The continued losses on the Technical School and School of Art.
- (b) The effect of the Education Act of 1902 in throwing upon City Councils the responsibility of carrying on secondary Education.
- (c) The Regulations of the Board of Education in respect of staffing and equipment of secondary schools.

The Board of Education in a letter dated March 15th, 1907, commenting on the present position of the Institute states:-

"On the one hand its efforts to develop educational work on modern lines have involved it in financial difficulties, which are in no way discreditable to its members or committee. From the point of view of financial stability, the Institute has been too successful and too progressive."

The Conjoint Committee, therefore, directed their attention to the question of adapting the Institute to meet the altered circumstances, and at a meeting of the Trustees held on March 18th, 1907, the following resolution, proposed by Sir James Kitson and seconded by Mr. J.W. Oxley, was carried unanimously, viz.:-

"That this Meeting approved of the principle of the transfer of the Institute to the Educational Authorities of the City of Leeds as Trustees provided that a Scheme be promoted and adopted which shall efficiently carry forward the Literary Work of the Institute, secure the maintenance and extension of the Library and Reading Room, the provision of Scientific and Literary Lectures, and the educational work calculated to supply the wants and needs of special teaching which may meet the

commercial and literary requirements of the inhabitants of the City".

A very large number of Meetings of the Trustees and Committee have been held to prepare a Scheme to carry out the above resolution. In preparing such a scheme the objects for which the Institute was founded, as detailed in the Trust Deed, have been borne in mind, as well as how the Institute may be developed to meet the needs of the present day and become a still more potent factor in the intellectual life of the city.

The Trust Deed clearly sets out that the Institute was founded for the following objects :-

"The promotion of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts, Adult Instruction, and the diffusion of useful knowledge, and for no other purpose whatsoever, such Institution to be under the management and control of the Directors for the time being of the said Institution."

The need for expansion by the Institute proper has long been foreseen; thus in 1862, the Committee in referring to the proposals for the erection of the Brodrick Building stated :-

"That there is an energy in your institution which if scope be given to it must raise it to far higher dignity and importance; that it is destined to become a great centre of education in Literature, Science and Art; and that it only needs room for expansion to grow into a very mighty influence, which, beginning with the child and ending only with the life of the adult, will form the character and develop the powers of the one, and open unfailing sources of intellectual happiness to the other."

The Committee believe that although it is proposed to transfer the Schools and Classes to the City Council there is still an important educational work for them to carry on by means

of Societies and Special Adult Classes (as distinct from the Schools), formed amongst the members and subscribers of the Institute.

For over a quarter of a century the literary work of the Institute has been unduly handicapped owing to the paramount necessities of the Schools and Classes absorbing the accommodation which would otherwise have been available.

In the year 1882, when it was decided to erect the Boys' School Building, the Committee passed the following Minute :-

"That if the present rooms were no longer required for the Day Schools, they might be utilised for other purposes likely to advance the interests, and to promote the objects, of the Institution. For example, conversation and other similar rooms have been asked for, but it has been hitherto impossible to provide them."

The Memorial of the Proprietary Members presented to the Committee in September, 1906, also called attention to this all-important question in the following terms, viz.:-

"The present accommodation at the disposal of your members and subscribers is altogether inadequate, and unless remedied must, we fear, affect the membership."

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In presenting the following scheme the Committee have endeavoured to carry out the resolution of the Trustees as well as the needs expressed by Committee and Members during the past 40 years.

MANAGEMENT

The Institute shall be managed and controlled, as at present, by a Committee elected by the members and subscribers in manner as heretofore.

The present rules shall remain in force, subject to such modifications as the members from time to time deem expedient to make.

SUMMARY OF OBJECTS

Library and Reading Rooms (including Ladies' Reading Room).

Courses of Lectures.

Societies. The Committee desire to afford accommodation for local Scientific and other Societies, many of which formerly met at the Institute, but were compelled to go elsewhere owing to the overcrowded state of the Brodrick Building.

Special Adult Classes for Members and Subscribers.

TERMS OF TRANSFER.

The work carried on under the auspices of the School of Art, Technical School, Boys' and Girls' Modern Schools, and School of Music, together with the Schools of Art and Boys' School Buildings in their entirety, and the Brodrick Building, shall be transferred to the City Council, subject to the leasing to the Institute of the rooms mentioned in the Schedule hereto, such lease to be in perpetuity, and at a peppercorn rent.

If at any time any rooms in the Brodrick Building now or hereafter used for educational purposes cease to be used for such purposes by the City Council, then such rooms shall revert to, and be used by the Institute Committee on the same terms as the rooms leased to the Institute Committee.

If at any time any of the rooms leased as above to the Institute Committee, but not used by the Institute, then such rooms shall, by arrangement with the Institute Committee, be available for the use of the Education Committee until they are

required by the Institute Committee.

The Institute Committee shall have financial responsibility and control of the Institute.

All Library Books, Fittings, Furniture and Effects in the rooms occupied by the Institute shall be the property of the Institute Committee.

The Leeds City Council shall take over the Mortgages of £25,000 and the debt up to the date of transfer. This debt, which will approximately amount to £5,000 when the books are closed on December 31st, 1907, and the Mortgages make a total liability of some £30,000, or considerably less than one half of the original expenditure on the land, buildings, and equipment.

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SCHEDULE OF ROOMS TO BE PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF
THE LEEDS INSTITUTE

COMMITTEE AT A PEPPERCORN RENT AND IN PERPETUITY

For the Sole Use of the Institute.

Ground Floor. - Committee Room, Secretary's Office, Library and Reading Rooms B1 and B2 in Girls' School, and Albert Hall, subject to the Leeds Education Committee having the option to use the Albert Hall not exceeding 25 times per annum, at actual cost of lighting, heating and cleaning.

First Floor. - Rooms C7, C8, C9 and C10 in Girls' School.

FOR THE JOINT USE OF THE INSTITUTE AND CITY COUNCIL.

Ground Floor. - Room B3 in Girls' School, as Cloak Room when convenient.

Basement. - Crypt and Kitchen.

Second Floor. - Rooms D6 and D7, viz.:-

Photographic Dark Room and Studio.

CONCLUSION.

It is believed that the rooms mentioned in the Schedule for the sole and joint use of the Institute will meet the reasonable requirements of the members for some years. Steps will be taken as soon as the rooms are vacated to furnish a Ladies' Reading Room and other rooms for carrying on with great efficiency the work of the Institute. Two of the rooms, on the First Floor of the Vernon Street side of the Building, can easily be adapted as small lecture halls to seat about 200 people. The remaining rooms will be available for small meetings, particularly for the Societies which the Committee propose to accommodate. The additional rooms so urgently needed will thus consist of six at present used by the Girls' School, and the joint use of three others in the Girls' School.

The Trustees and Committee, are, therefore, able to recommend the adoption of this Scheme to the members and subscribers with every confidence and to assure them that this solution of a difficult problem is deserving of the approval of all those who have the welfare and development of the Institute at heart.

JAMES E. BEDFORD, President.

ARTHUR K. LEGG, Chairman of
Consultative Committee.

F. E. CLARKE } Hon.
SIDNEY D. KITSON } Secretaries.

ARTHUR TAIT, Secretary.

Leeds Institute,
July 15th, 1907.

A P P E N D I X GMEMORANDUM WITH REFERENCE TO THE SECONDARY SCHOOL
PROVISION OF THE CITY AREAPresent Secondary School Accommodation

There are in the City 12 Secondary Schools. Five of the Schools are maintained by the City Council, the remaining seven are under Boards of Governors appointed under Trust Deeds or Schemes governing Endowments.

<u>Schools Maintained by the City Council</u>	<u>Accommodation</u>	
Thoresby High School	660	
Central High School	750	
Cockburn High School	300	
Modern School (Boys)	450	
Modern School (Girls)	<u>350</u>	2,510
<u>Schools not Maintained by the City Council</u>		
Boys' Grammar School	400	
Girls' High School (Grammar School Foundation)	300	
Middle Class School (Boys)	180	
Middle Class School (Girls)	130	
Notre Dame School (Girls)	200	
St. Mary's School (Girls)	150	
Catholic College (Boys)	<u>100</u>	<u>1,460</u>
	Total	<u>3,970</u>

From the above it will be seen that there is at present in the Secondary Schools of the City accommodation for 3,970 Secondary School pupils. This is equivalent to 8.5 Secondary School places per thousand of population.

Present Distribution of Secondary School Provision
in the City

Thoresby High School	} Situated in the Centre of City and providing accommo- dation for 2,210 pupils. These Schools are easily accessible from Headingley,
Central High School	
Boys' Modern School	
Girls' Modern School	

) North-West, West, Central,) Mill Hill and Brunswick) Wards.
Middle Class (Boys) School Middle Class (Girls) School) Situated within five minutes) walk of the centre of the) City, providing accommodation) for 310 pupils, and easily) accessible from the Wards) mentioned above.
Boys' Grammar School) Situated in Moorland Road,) Headingley, providing) accommodation for 400 pupils,) and easily accessible from) Headingley, North-West and) West Wards.
Girls' High School) Situated in Headingley Lane,) with accommodation for 300) pupils, and easily accessible) from Headingley, North-West) and West Wards, and from the) centre of the City by tram.
Cockburn High School) Situated in Burton Road,) Hunslet, providing accommo-) dation for 300 pupils, and) easy of access to all pupils) residing in West Hunslet,) East Hunslet and Holbeck) Wards.
Notre Dame (Girls) School Woodhouse Lane St. Mary's Collegiate School (Girls), East Leeds. R.C. College (Boys), St. John's Road.) Catholic Secondary Schools,) providing accommodation for) 450 pupils, and drawing) pupils from the whole of the) Leeds district, and in) addition from outside areas.

It is very evident that the present Secondary School provision is most unevenly distributed in the City area. A great preponderance of the provision lies in the centre of the City, as many as 2,820 School places out of a total of 3,970 being in the Secondary Schools so situated.

West Leeds and the Roundhay and Chapeltown districts

are quite unprovided for. A glance at the accompanying map and a study of the statistics in Table D show the necessity for Secondary School provision in these parts of the City area.

The Secondary School now in course of erection at Armley will admirably serve West Leeds, but the provision of Secondary School accommodation at Roundhay and Chapeltown, two rapidly growing districts, is a matter of urgency.

Contributory Districts to the Various Secondary Schools
of the City

To enable the Committee to consider the adequacy or inadequacy of the present supply of Secondary Education for the various districts of the City area, and the question of the re-distribution and augmentation of the Secondary School provision, a Return has been prepared showing the Wards in which reside the pupils who are in attendance at the various Secondary Schools of the City, and indicating the chief districts from which the Schools draw their pupils.

For the sake of clearness, and for the convenience of the Committee in considering the various phases of the question of Secondary School provision for the City, the Return is presented in the form of five Tables, viz:-

- (i) TABLE A, which shows the districts from which the four Maintained Secondary Schools in the centre of the City draw their pupils.

N.B. The Schools referred to are the Thoresby High School, the Central High School, and the Boys and Girls Modern Schools, all of which practically occupy one site.

- (ii) TABLE B, which contains a summary of the statistics in Table A, together with corresponding statistics regarding the Cockburn High School,

which is situated in the Hunslet district and serves that particular locality.

The totals given in Table B are the totals for the five Maintained Secondary Schools.

- (iii) TABLE C, which shows the districts from which the seven Secondary Schools not maintained by the City Council draw their pupils.
- (iv) TABLE D, which gives a summary of the figures for all the Secondary Schools of the City
- (v) TABLE E, which gives a summary of the ages of the pupils in attendance at the various Secondary Schools of the City.

Notes on Tables of Statistics

TABLE A - The Maintained Secondary Schools in the centre of the City.

In Table A, the four Maintained Secondary Schools in the centre of the City have been grouped in order to show the number of pupils attending these Schools from the outlying districts of the City, and thus to indicate where the supply or demand for Secondary Education would appear to be deficient or otherwise.

It will be observed that a total of 2,270 pupils are in attendance in the Maintained Schools in the centre of the City, of whom 1,792 come from the 16 Wards of the City, and 478 from the West Riding Administrative Area.

The Three Wards which send the largest number of pupils are Headingley, 419; North (Chapelton and Roundhay District), 320; and North-West (Woodhouse and Meanwood Road district), 185; the three Wards which send the fewest pupils are South 4; East Hunslet 15; and Mill Hill 19.

East Hunslet, West Hunslet and Holbeck Wards,

which geographically belong to the Cockburn High School, send 108 pupils (39 boys and 69 girls) to the four Maintained Secondary Schools in the centre of the City.

Armley and Wortley and Bramley Wards send 231 pupils to these four Schools (89 boys and 142 girls); these Wards belong geographically to the area to be served by the West Leeds New Secondary School, now in course of erection at Armley.

No less than 320 pupils (150 boys and 170 girls) from the North Ward attend the Maintained Secondary Schools in the centre of the City. This emphasises the necessity for a Secondary School to serve the Roundhay and Chapeltown districts and to relieve the congestion in the centre of the City.

In view of the decision of the Education Committee to convert the Thoresby High School into a Secondary School for Girls only and the Central High School into a Secondary School for Boys only, it is important to note that there are at present 167 boys and 592 girls attending the Thoresby High School, and 403 boys and 348 girls attending the Central High School. If the boys of the Thoresby High School were at once drafted into the Central High School and the girls of the Central High School transferred to the Thoresby High School, the result would be that the Central School, as a School for Boys only, would have 570 pupils in attendance, and the Thoresby School as a School for Girls only, would have 940 pupils in attendance. As the accommodation for the Thoresby High School will in all probability be limited by the Board of Education to 660, it may not be practicable to effect the

proposed change immediately. The difficulty of accommodation may be overcome by arranging that the proposed change in the character of the two Schools shall take place gradually. To effect this, pupils at present in attendance at the respective Schools might be allowed to remain for the completion of their Course, but for the future no boy pupils should be admitted to the Thoresby High School, and no girl pupils should be enrolled at the Central High School.

It is desirable also that on the opening of the West Leeds Secondary School at Armley, the 67 boys and 118 girls attending the Thoresby High School and the Central High School from the Armley and Wortley and Bramley Wards should be transferred to the new School which is being erected to meet the needs of these Wards.

Further, to completely effect the proposed change as soon as possible the 167 boys in the Thoresby High School might be transferred to the Central High School at the end of the present Educational Year, and an equal number of girls might be transferred from the Central High School to the Thoresby High School.

TABLE B - The five Maintained Secondary Schools of the City.

From Table B, which is a summary of the statistics in Table A, with the addition of corresponding statistics relating to the Cockburn High School, it will be observed that there are 272 pupils in attendance at the Cockburn High School, and that most of them attend from the immediate locality, East Hunslet Ward contributin 46, West

Hunslet Ward 133, and Holbeck Ward 48. Only 45 pupils attend the Cockburn High School from districts outside these Wards, and of these pupils 34 come from nine other Wards of the City, and 11 come from the West Riding Administrative Area.

The position of the Cockburn High School in the Scheme of Education for the City is now under the consideration of the Committee. At present this School places a very heavy burden on the rates. The total amount received in school fees does not pay even the salary of the Head Master of the Secondary Department. It is essential that immediate steps should be taken to decrease the heavy call on the rates for this School, and in determining the means to be adopted for this purpose, it will be well to bear in mind that 108 pupils from the East and West Hunslet and Holbeck Wards are now in attendance at the four Maintained Secondary Schools in the centre of the City.

TABLE C - The Secondary Schools not maintained by the City Council.

There are in the City seven Secondary Schools not maintained by the City Council - three Boys' Schools, viz., the Boys' Grammar School, the Middle Class School for Boys and the new Catholic Secondary School for Boys, St. John's Road; and four Girls' Schools, viz., the Girls' High School, the Middle Class School for Girls, and the two Catholic Schools for Girls - St. Mary's and Notre Dame. The total number of pupils in attendance at these seven Schools is 1,077, or considerably less than one half the number of pupils in attendance at the five Maintained Secondary Schools in the City (2,542).

Of the Secondary Schools which are not maintained by the City Council, the Boys' Grammar School and the Girls' High School have the largest number of pupils in attendance. As might be expected the Schools draw their pupils mainly from the more residential suburbs. Only a very small number of pupils come from Wards other than the following five:- North, North West, Brunswick, West, and Headingley. It will be noticed also that a very considerable number of West Riding pupils attend both the Boys' Grammar School and the Girls' High School. The latter School has recently been removed to Headingley, where it is much more pleasantly situated than in Woodhouse Lane. Nearly as many pupils attend this School from the Headingley Ward as from all the other Wards of the City put together. The new buildings, however, are not so readily accessible for West Riding pupils coming by rail.

The Catholic Secondary Schools are not intended to serve any particular district. They are for the Catholic boys and girls of Leeds, of West Riding, and other areas. At the Girls' Catholic Secondary Schools there is a large proportion of boarders, the parents of most of whom reside in Ireland. The Mount St. Mary's School is, in fact, more a Boarding School than a Secondary Day School of the ordinary type, The Notre Dame Secondary School, on the other hand, seems to provide specially for Catholic children in the West Riding. The Catholic Secondary School for Boys, although not yet recognised by the Board of Education under the Secondary School Regulations, is already strong in numbers, no less than 96 boys attending daily at this

School from all parts of the City area.

The Church Middle Class Schools draw their pupils chiefly from the Headingley, West, North-West, North and Armley and Wortley Wards.

From a general point of view Table C shows that, of all the Wards, Headingley is by far the strongest supporter of the Secondary Schools not maintained by the City Council. Pupils are also drawn in large numbers from the North-West, West, Brunswick and North Wards.

It will be observed that there are 72 pupils now attending these Schools from the New Wortley, Armley and Wortley, and Bramley Wards - all of which are in the area to be served by the West Leeds New Secondary School.

TABLE D - Summary of Returns for all the Secondary Schools of the City.

There are at present a total of 3,619 pupils in the Secondary Schools of the City. 2,542 of the pupils are in attendance at one or other of the Secondary Schools maintained by the City Council, and 1,077 are attending the Secondary Schools of the City not maintained by the Council.

The number of pupils in the Maintained Secondary Schools is therefore more than twice that of the pupils in the Non-Maintained Secondary Schools. In other words 70 per cent of the Secondary pupils are in Secondary Schools maintained by the City Council.

No less than 783 pupils are in attendance at the Secondary Schools of the City from districts outside the Leeds area. This leaves 2,836 as the

number of Leeds pupils in the Secondary Schools of the City; in other words, there is an attendance of Leeds pupils in the Secondary Schools of 6.1 pupils per thousand of the population.

In Table D the total number of Secondary School pupils from each Ward is given side by side with the estimated population of the Ward in June 1906. In respect to the relative advantage taken of Secondary Education, the various Wards are compared in the last column of the Table which gives the number of pupils in each Ward per 1,000 of population actually receiving education in the Secondary Schools of the City.

Some striking differences will be observed by comparing the figures in this column. The proportion ranges from 12.9 pupils in Headingley Ward to 1.1 pupils in the South Ward. Over the whole City area 6.1 children for every 1,000 of population (3.0 being boys and 3.1 being girls) are receiving a Secondary School Education. This is undoubtedly a much higher proportion than at any previous time, but it is still far below what should be expected in a City like Leeds. This proportion should be at least from 12 to 14 per 1,000.

If account be taken of the Leeds children who are receiving a Secondary Education out of Leeds, or an education corresponding to Secondary at Private Schools in Leeds, the proportion would not in all probability be materially increased. Certainly it would not be raised to 7 in the 1,000.

The Wards from which it appears quite exceptional for a child to go forward to a

Secondary School are the South, East Hunslet, New Wortley and East Wards. The majority of the residents of these Wards are more or less poor, and probably in many cases the parents have a sufficiently hard struggle to keep their children at the Elementary Schools for the stipulated period. At the same time there should be at the very least three pupils per 1,000 population receiving Secondary Education in even the poorest Ward of the City.

The Wards from which the children are sent forward to a Secondary School in the greatest numbers are Headingley, Brunswick, West, North-West and North. Most significant is the presence in this group of Brunswick Ward, in which the people (largely Jews) are by no means prosperous, but where they are evidently thoroughly alive to the advantages of a good education for their children.

The West Hunslet proportion (6.6) is fairly satisfactory, but there is much leeway to be made up in all the other Wards.

The Wards with the highest proportion of Secondary pupils in every case send many more fee-paying pupils than Scholarship pupils; all the other Wards have more Scholarship holders than fee-paying pupils. One broad conclusion to be drawn from this is that if there ever is to be an ideal system of Secondary Education in Leeds the parents of the children in these latter Wards must be made to realise the advantages which follow from a good education, and the need for giving such an education to the cleverer of their children even at considerable sacrifice. While it is hardly to be

expected that Secondary School pupils will ever be drawn in exactly equal proportion from the various City Wards, still it should be the aim of the Education Committee to see that the benefits of Higher Education are shared in some even degree by all the Wards - industrial Wards as well as the more residential Wards. The expenditure out of the rates for Higher Education falls upon the whole City, and each Ward of the City should derive its proportionate share of the advantages offered. It should be mentioned that the fees charged at the Maintained Secondary Schools do not by any means cover the cost of the education of each pupil. The fees are purposely placed at a low figure in order that all classes of the community may receive a share of the benefits.

TABLE E - Ages of Pupils in Attendance at the Secondary Schools of the City.

Table E forms a useful summary of the ages of the pupils in attendance at the various Secondary Schools of the City.

It will be noted that there are 390 pupils below the age of 12, and 545 pupils above the age of 17.

The normal age for pupils of Secondary Schools of a modern type is 12 to 17. The pupils under 12 years are in attendance at the Boys' and Girls' Modern Schools, the Boys' Grammar School, the Girls' High School, the Middle Class Schools, and the Catholic College for Boys. The pupils over 17 are mainly Pupil Teachers attached to the various Secondary Schools of the City.

Summary of Conclusions

The main conclusions to be drawn from the Returns may be summarised as follows :-

1. It is necessary that interest in Secondary Education throughout the City should be greatly stimulated, but chiefly in the Wards where there is a very low proportion of children receiving any education higher than Elementary viz., South, East Hunslet, New Wortley and East Wards. The City Scholarship Scheme is intended to stimulate and supplement, not to replace, parental effort.
2. There is a distinct need for Secondary School provision in North Leeds to supply the Chapeltown and Roundhay districts. This is evidenced by the fact that 403 boys and girls are coming out of the North Ward alone for Secondary Education elsewhere.
3. There is a demand for Secondary School provision in West Leeds which is being met by the building of the New Secondary School at Armley.
4. It is advisable that the Committee should regulate as far as possible the flow of pupils to the various Secondary Schools in the City, e.g. in future, Scholarship holders from the Wards in West Leeds should in every case be attached to the New West Leeds High School, unless for some very exceptional reason it may be necessary for them to be enrolled at another Secondary School.
5. It is desirable that the conversion of the Thoresby and Central High Schools into a Girls'

and Boys' School respectively should be effected as expeditiously as possible.

6. It will be necessary to preserve a Secondary School for the Hunslet and Holbeck districts. The continuance of the Cockburn High School as a Secondary School is a matter for consideration, and in this connection the desirability of raising the fee of the Cockburn Secondary School should be considered. The cost of the education in this School is approximately £24 per pupil. Towards this the fee-paying pupils at present each contribute £1. 1. Od. per annum.
7. As no less than 783 pupils (or 21.6 per cent) of the total number of pupils in attendance at the Secondary Schools of the City, attend from districts outside the Leeds Area, and of this number 680 pupils (or 19 per cent) attend from the Administrative Area of the West Riding County Council, it is clearly evident that neighbouring Authorities from whose areas pupils attend the Secondary Schools in Leeds should pay, if not the whole, at least a substantial proportion of the deficit arising in connection with the education of such pupils.

JAMES GRAHAM
Secretary for Higher Education.

Higher Education Department,
Leeds.

February 1907.

A P P E N D I X DMEMORANDUM ON THE QUESTION OF FEES TO BE
CHARGED IN THE MAINTAINED SECONDARY SCHOOLS
OF THE CITY

It is necessary that the public should be educated to the fact that Secondary Education is costly, and that it is impossible, except in a City with large educational endowments, that Secondary Education can be provided for the children without the parents themselves contributing their proportionate share of the cost.

Though there is a certain degree of honour attached to the winning of a Scholarship, it is open to question whether a Junior City Scholarship should be given to a child of parents who can afford to pay the fees of a Secondary School. Quite a number of parents in receipt of salaries of £200 to £400 a year and upwards, enter their children as candidates for these Scholarships, and many Junior City Scholarships are held by the children of parents of this class. This is a case of the poor helping to support those who are able to support themselves. The matter is rather different in the case of Scholarships derived from endowments.

There is a growing feeling on the part of parents that it is only right that fees should be paid in cases where parents can afford to do so. Recent administration has done a great deal to bring about this change of opinion, for instance at the Thoresby High School where a fee of six guineas per annum was introduced from September,

1905, it is a remarkable and startling fact that quite 100 fee-paying pupils have been admitted, the majority of whom competed for Junior City Scholarships but were not successful. If these pupils had been given Scholarships the fees would not have been obtained; while the fact that the pupils are now in attendance as fee-paying pupils proves that their parents are able to pay the fee of £6. 6. 0d. Practical experience has already shown that a fee of £6. 6. 0d., is quite within the range of an Institution like the Thoresby High School. The number of fee-paying pupils has quadrupled this year, as compared with last year, and judging by the number of enquiries which are constantly being received, there is little doubt that next year will show a further large increase in the number of fee-paying pupils.

The Scholarship Scheme

It would be a great mistake to so restrict the Scholarship Scheme that deserving cases would be refused assistance, but the indiscriminate award of Scholarships is distinctly bad educational policy. It is customary, at present, to inquire into the means of persons who apply for Maintenance Allowances, and it is suggested that a parent who makes application for a Junior City Scholarship on behalf of his child should also be willing to submit to some investigation as to his means.

With regard to the amount of the fee to be charged in the Maintained Secondary Schools of the City, it is very doubtful whether the fee of £6. 6. 0. to £8. 8. 0. per annum suggested by the Board of Education can be obtained in every district.

It is thought that the suggestion of an £8. 8. 0. fee might well be ignored, and that the desirability of a uniform fee of £6. 6. 0. might be considered.

There may, however, be some parents who, while not capable of paying the full £6. 6. 0. fee, are yet both able and willing to contribute something towards the cost of their child's education.

Is it possible to organise a second Scheme of Scholarships which allows one-half of the Secondary School fees to be paid by the Local Education Authority out of the rates? This is a subject that needs careful thought and is only mentioned in order that it may secure consideration. The provision of a Secondary School in some part of the City having a fee which is less than £6. 6. 0., say a fee of £3. 3. 0. may be the solution to this problem.

Cost of Secondary Education

The cost of the maintenance in the Maintained Secondary Schools, apart from that entailed by the Administrative expenses of the Local Education Authority and by Inspection, falls under the heading of Annual Outlay, which includes :-

- (a) Upkeep of Building and its contents
- (b) Rates and Taxes
- (c) Cleaning, Heating, Lighting and Water
- (d) Salaries of Teachers
- (e) Cost of Examinations etc.

It cannot be too strongly urged that the efficiency of the Teaching Staff is by far the most important factor in the welfare and usefulness of any School. The Leeds Maintained Secondary Schools

are well staffed. A graduate is attached to each Form for ordinary English subjects, and in addition a staff of Special Teachers is provided for Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Foreign Languages, English, Art, Manual Instruction etc.

It is generally recognised that the annual cost of maintaining a modern Secondary School in true efficiency is £16 to £17 per head in the case of a Boys' School and about £14 to £15 per head in the case of a Girls' School. This is roughly the cost of education per pupil in the Maintained Secondary Schools belonging to the Leeds City Council, and this maintenance cost is necessary if the Schools are to continue in real efficiency and with teaching power that will fix the attention of the pupils and form their character. There is a general feeling that a great deal of the educational expenditure in England is likely to be regarded some years hence as having been thrown away through unwise economy in the provision of teaching ability. This is a danger which should at all costs be avoided.

Distribution of Cost of Secondary Education

It remains to be considered how the cost of Secondary Education should be distributed in the City of Leeds. Three interests are concerned in it. These are:-

- (1) the interest of the individual pupil and his parents;
- (2) the interest of the City;
- (3) the interest of the nation as a whole.

The Secondary School pupil will find his position and prospects of employment superior

to those boys and girls who have not enjoyed similar advantages. The City and the State alike gain from the increased efficiency of the individual which results from the Secondary Education he receives. The parent, the City Rates, and the State should therefore contribute towards the cost of Secondary Education which is not compulsory.

In present circumstances the pupil who makes good use of his opportunities at a Secondary School gains relatively the largest share of advantage. The City and the Government each derive benefit, but in somewhat different proportions according to the grade of education given. The modern Secondary Schools maintained by the Leeds City Council train, for the most part, those who will take part in the Commercial and Industrial life of the City, while the higher grade of Secondary School prepares, in the main, for professional and other services which are much more national in range. The exact proportion of these three different shares of advantage (Parents, City and State) cannot, of course, be precisely stated, because much depends upon variable factors and upon social conditions which differ in various districts.

The first essential is to make the Schools thoroughly efficient. This is so costly an undertaking that the Leeds Ratepayers will need the aid of a fee income from parents towards meeting the expense. Moreover, it is prudent to take into account the fact that many people value more highly that for which they make a real sacrifice than that which is obtained with little or no personal effort. But it must not be forgotten that parents in some cases

make a sacrifice in maintaining their children while at school, although no fee be charged for the schooling.

In respect of the Central, Thoresby and Cockburn High Schools, the proportion of the cost of maintenance at present works^{out} as follows :-

SCHOOL	Cost of Main- taining the School per Pupil	AMOUNT PAID								
		In Fees by the Pupil			Government Grant (Average Per Pupil)			From City Rates (Average Per Pupil)		
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d					
Central High School	16. 0. 0.	3. 3. 0.	5. 10. 0.	7. 7. 0.						
Thoresby High School	15. 8. 0.	6. 6. 0.	4. 0. 0.	5. 2. 0.						
Cockburn High School	24. 0. 0.	1. 1. 0.	4. 12. 0.	18. 7. 0.						

Suggested Future Basis of Division of Cost

The following basis of division might be suggested as a fair arrangement :-

- (i) A sufficient number of Free Places should be provided by means of Scholarships for pupils of promise, whose parents are of narrow means.
- (ii) The maintenance cost of the Maintained Secondary Schools should be divided as follows :-
 - (a) The individual pupil (or his parents) should pay two-fifths, and
 - (b) The City and the State should pay the remaining three-fifths in equal shares.

NOTE: (Having regard to the district in which the Cockburn High School is situated, it is not thought advisable to consider the payment of a higher fee than £3. 3. 0. The projected economies in connection with the Cockburn High School will reduce the cost considerably).

The Maintenance Cost of the Schools would then fall as follows :-

SCHOOL	Cost of Maintaining the School per Pupil.	AMOUNT TO BE PAID		
		In Fees by Pupil	Government Grant	From City Rates
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Central High School	16. 0. 0.	6. 6.0.	5. 10. 0.	4. 4. 0.
Thoresby High School	15. 8. 0.	6. 6.0.	4. 0. 0.	5. 2. 0.
Cockburn High School	22. 0. 0.	3. 3.0.	4. 12. 0.	14. 5. 0.

If it is admitted that the individual pupil derives the major part of the advantage from well used opportunities of Secondary Education, the argument for providing such education free for all comers out of the rates and taxes is greatly weakened. If on national or local grounds it should be held expedient rapidly to increase the proportion of the population receiving Secondary Education, there would be strong reasons for enlarging the share of public contribution towards the cost of maintaining the Secondary Schools and for a corresponding reduction in the pupil's fee. But in the circumstances which now usually prevail in England, the balance of argument and of practical advantage seems to turn against Free Secondary Education, and in favour of a division of financial responsibility between the parent, the City and the State.

The parent (except in the case of pupils holding Scholarships) should pay school fees at least at the rates suggested above.

So far the Leeds ratepayers have paid too

large a share, and the parents far too small a share, of the cost of educating a child in the Secondary School.

The inference which may be drawn from the figures set out above is that the State's present contribution towards the necessary expenditure on Secondary Education is less than it should be. An increase in Treasury Grants for Secondary Education has, however, been promised.

JAMES GRAHAM
Secretary for Higher Education.

Higher Education Department,
Leeds.

February, 1907.

I N D E X

Ash, Miss, 115, 117, 118, 183, 184, 196.

Baines, E., 65, 89, 97, 212, 280.

Barber, Dr., 98, 182.

Barker, A., 180, 181, 182, 183.

Barry, Rev.A., 22, 55, 56, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 149.

Bedford, F.W., 98, 99, 100.

Board of Education, 150, 151, 155, 159, 172, 174, 175, 191,
193, 194, 196, 205, 206, 207, 210, 225, 230, 245, 251,
252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 263, 264, 265, 268, 290,
291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 303, 320 - 30.

Bruce, R., 167, 169, 170, 172, 176.

Carlisle, N., 28, 38, 39, 40.

Charity Commissioners' Report, 1826., 26, 41, 44, 47, 49.

Charity Commissioners' Report, 1894., 48, 52, 53, 54, 61,
62, 75, 76, 78, 84, 85, 126, 127, 128, 141, 145, 163,
164, 165, 166, 167 - 9, 175, 219.

Clarell's Chantry, 3, 5.

Cockerton Judgement, 245, 249, 303.

Eldon Judgement, 11, 13, 26, 28, 276, 300.

Endowed Schools' Act, 1869., 20, 53, 75.

Forsyth, Dr., 238, 239, 240, 242, 288.

Graham, Sir James., 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262,
271, 293, 294, 352.

Harmer, F.G., 201, 209.

Harrison, J., 2, 8, 61.

Hastings, Lady Elizabeth, 39, 138.

Heaton, Dr. J.D., 57.

Henderson, Dr.W.G., 74, 77, 104, 126, 129.

Higher Grade Schools, 121, 166, 171, 182, 185, 216, 229,
230, 231, 249, 284, 286, 287, 288, 303.

Holbeck Mechanics' Institute, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 294.

Ison, Dr.E., 122.

Joseph, Miss., 222, 223.

Junior Technical Schools, 272, 294, 295, 297, 298.

Kennedy, Miss. C.J., 189, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219, 224, 280.
 Kitson, J., 92, 182, 212.

Lancasterian Fund, 139, 220.

Lancasterian System, 28, 30.

Leeds:

Education Committee, 172, 173, 175, 176, 191, 192, 193,
 195, 196, 204, 206, 207, 208, 223, 226, 251 - 74, 279,
 291 - 98, 339 - 60.

Mechanics' Institute, 20, 36, 54, 60, 65, 88 - 91, 93,
 94, 123, 140, 144, 176, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185,
 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 202, 204,
 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 256, 266, 273, 281, 282, 283,
 284, 297, 299, 320 - 38.

School Board, 171, 182, 204, 220, 228 - 50, 251, 266,
 267, 273, 285, 293, 303.

Schools:

Beverley St., (later Southern, then Cockburn High School),
 209, 234, 235, 236, 237, 244, 248, 249, 251, 253, 257,
 258, 260, 261, 262, 264, 266, 267, 272, 286, 287, 292,
 293, 296, 297.

Chapel Allerton, (later Allerton High School), 221, 268,
 289, 291, 297.

Church Middle Class Schools, 119 - 23, 134, 139, 167,
 190, 196, 198 - 211, 250, 254, 255, 264, 266, 273,
 283 - 86, 291, 297, 298, 301.

Day Preparatory Trades Schools, (later, Junior Technical
 School), 269, 270, 272, 273, 294, 295, 296, 298.

Girls' High School, 139, 146, 147, 184, 189, 190,
 212 - 27, 256, 263, 266, 268, 273, 279, 280, 288,
 289, 291, 297, 298, 299.

Grammar School, 2-5, 11, 12 - 42, 50 - 77, 106, 107,
 116, 122, 124 - 162, 171, 175, 182, 187, 190, 215,
 219, 220, 221, 223, 225, 226, 252, 263, 266, 273,
 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 288, 291, 295, 297,
 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 312 - 18.

Higher Grade School, (later, Central High School),
 132, 139, 140, 144, 158, 185, 186, 187, 191, 202, 204,
 217, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239 -
 46, 248, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 261, 262, 266,
 267, 285, 295, 296, 297.

Lidgett Park School, 267, 268, 290, 291, 297.

Modern Schools, 54, 65, 66, 87 - 118, 123, 124, 140,
 144, 176, 179 - 97, 202, 204, 210, 254, 255, 256,
 257, 263, 266, 273, 281, 282, 283, 291, 293, 296,
 297, 299, 301, 302.

- Modern School, Girls, (later, Lawnswood High School)
 110 - 18, 183, 184, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 196,
 197, 250, 282, 296, 297, 302.
 National School, 34, 45, 46, 80, 121, 301.
 Parish School, 122, 198.
 Pupil Teachers' Centres, 191, 208, 231, 236, 248, 250,
 251, 253, 266, 267, 274, 285, 286, 291, 297.
 Roundhay School, 254, 255, 257, 264, 266, 267, 268,
 290, 291, 292, 297.
 Thoresby High School, 191, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255,
 257, 259, 261, 267, 296, 297.
 West Leeds High School, 174, 175, 257, 264, 267, 279,
 291, 296, 297.
 Wortley Grammar School, 5, 43 - 49, 78 - 86, 126,
 163 - 78, 249, 264, 266, 276, 278, 279, 291, 301, 302.
 Liverpool Mechanics' Institute, 93 - 5, 111.
- Madras System, 34, 38.
 Matthews, Rev. J.H.D., 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 147.
 Monitorial System, 28, 32, 37, 301.
 Morant, Sir Robert, 194, 195, 211, 247, 277, 330.
- Norwood, Sir Cyril, 157, 158.
- Powell, Miss., 214, 218, 222.
- Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary
 Education, (Spens Report), 57, 58, 66.
 Richards, Rev. G.P., 31, 32, 36.
 Rowe, B., 164, 166, 169, 177.
 Royal Commission on Secondary Education, (Bryce Report), 64,
 126, 131 - 41, 158, 184 - 88, 199 - 204, 213 - 19, 221,
 230, 236 - 44, 287, 302.
- Sadler, Sir Michael, 51, 136, 236.
 Schools Inquiry Commission (Taunton Report), 47, 64, 65,
 66, 67 - 76, 79 - 84, 89, 93, 104 - 7, 110, 115 - 17,
 120, 121, 125.
 Science and Art Department, 180, 187, 188, 190, 191, 198,
 204, 231, 234, 240, 245, 282, 285, 286, 299.
 Sheffield, Wm., 2, 4, 5, 34.
 Sheepshanks, Rev. J., 12, 22 - 25, 26, 30, 37.
 Smiles, Samuel., 87, 97.
- Taylor, R.V., 36, 55.
 Technical Instruction Act, 183.
 Traice, W.H.J., 112, 113.
 Twist, S., 95, 97.

University of Leeds, 64, 198.

Vyvyan, Miss M.C., 268, 290, 294.

Wade, J., 41, 42.

Walker, Rev. G., 36.

Whiteley, Rev. J., 12, 25, 28, 31.

Woodhouse Mechanics' Institute, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 294.

Wynne-Edwards, Rev. J.R., 148, 149, 150, 155, 156.

Yorke-Radleigh, J.R., 19, 21.

Yorkshire College, 136, 137, 144, 150, 158, 182, 198,
200, 220, 243.