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**ATHLETICISM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF THE EMERGENCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF AN
EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
the Department of Education of the University of Glasgow,
October 1976.

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Acknowledgements

The debts accumulated in the writing of this thesis are many.

In the first place, without the generous permission of the headmasters of the survey schools to inspect their archives and meet staff, this study would not have been possible. I greatly appreciate, therefore, the courtesy of Mr. B.M.S. Hoban (Harrow), Mr. I. Beer (Lancing), Mr. R.B. Bruce-Lockhart (Loretto), Mr. Roger Ellis (Marlborough), Rev. M. Bossy, S.J. (Stonyhurst) and Mr. J.C. Royds (Uppingham). In addition, Mr. Ellis was instrumental in opening doors to other sources of material, notably the Headmasters' Conference, and commented on parts of the text, and Mr. Bruce-Lockhart's careful reflections on his years in the public school system were a most helpful contribution to my efforts to achieve a balanced perspective.

Thanks are due in large measure to Mr. Gerald Murray, formerly librarian and now archivist of Marlborough College, whose considerable enthusiasm for this project, remarkable energy and great kindness produced a stream of letters, papers, suggestions and contacts without abatement over five years - all of which proved invaluable. I owe a special debt to him.

The issues of this enquiry were discussed with a large number of assistant masters and housemasters who all gave freely of their time to assess the past and the present. In particular I would like to thank Mr. Raymond Venables, Mr. James Marwood and Mr. A.L. Warr of Harrow; Mr. B.W.T. Handford, Mr. R.M. Reeves and Mr. A.H.P. Beater of Lancing; Mr. Peter Wood and Mr. E.C. Barclay-Smith of Loretto; Mr. E.G.H. Kempson, Mr. Michael Preston and Mr. Michael Birley of Marlborough; Father F.J. Turner, Mr. B. Fitzgerald and Colonel A.P.F. Shaw of

Stonyhurst; Mr. T.B. Belk, Mr. B. Matthews and Mr. M. Tozer of Uppingham. Others, rather too numerous to mention here, are thanked most sincerely. From all I gained insights.

I am obliged also to the retired headmasters, staff and old boys who wrote to me, often at great length, of their school experiences. My use of their material in text and footnote is, I hope, a satisfactory tribute to its value. Sadly it is not possible to thank in person the late G.A.N. Lowndes, author of that model of educational scholarship, The Silent Social Revolution. I will remember with great pleasure his skill in recalling his Marlborough schooldays and in setting them in the wider context of a changing society, one June morning in his delightful house overlooking The Green in Marlborough.

Professor P.C. McIntosh's Physical Education in England Since 1860 was the initial stimulus for this study and I would like to pay him special tribute. Although in the following pages I am occasionally at variance with his interpretation of events, without his pioneering work I might never have set out on my own journey of investigation. In our discussion of the public school system before he left for a university post in New Zealand in 1974, he demonstrated once again the relish for ideas, including those contrary to his own, which has made him such a notable contributor to British physical education. I have gained much from his trail-blazing explorations.

Several distinguished scholars of various aspects of the English public school - Dr. T.W. Bamford, Professor Geoffrey Best, Professor J. de S. Honey, Professor Brian Simon and Mr. Patrick Scott - most generously read in manuscript that part of the thesis which has now been published in The Victorian Public School, and also offered general advice and encouragement. Their kindness is gratefully recorded.

I must also express my gratitude to those librarians in the schools, colleges, universities and public libraries who have so efficiently located and procured even the most obscure sermon. I am more than grateful to Mrs. Jean Robertson and Miss A. Wilson of Glasgow University Library for their interested and skilful assistance, to Mrs. A.M. Dobbin of the library of Elizabeth Gaskell College of Education for her invitation to examine its unique collection of Victorian and Edwardian books on the diet and health of an imperial race, to Mr. Stanley Gillam of the London Library for his permission to read the manuscript autobiography of John Addington Symonds, to Dr. C.J. Wright of the British Museum Department of Manuscripts for a stimulating discussion on the literature of athleticism as well as for more orthodox assistance in locating material. I should like to thank also the staffs of the library of the Department of Education and Science, the National Library of Scotland, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Hamilton Public Library, the Lanarkshire Reference Library and the library of Jordanhill College of Education for help at various times.

The archivists of the Record Offices of many of the English counties obligingly investigated their archives for material on the public schools and several notified me of interesting and useful items in their possession. The school papers and correspondence discovered by Miss A. Green of Berkshire, Mr. Brian Smith of Gloucestershire and Mr. B.C. Jones of Cumbria have been especially useful. In addition the archives of the Headmasters' Conference and the Society of Jesus were opened to me by Mr. R. St.J. Pitts-Tucker and Rev. F. Edwards, S.J. respectively. Mr. Stephen Green, the Curator of the M.C.C. supplied valuable statistics on public school cricket. I am indebted to them all for their courteous attention.

When teaching commitments clashed exhaustingly with the demands of research Dr. T. Bone, the Principal, and the Governors of Jordanhill granted me a period of study leave. It was an act of considerable kindness and I owe them much. Two colleagues and friends at Jordanhill, a historian and a sociologist respectively, Mr. W. Marker and Mr. D. Morrow, have argued the case for their disciplines with lucidity and good humour, and have commented perceptively on parts of the thesis. Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Piper of the College typing pool have shown great patience in the face of my demands and met deadlines with aplomb. My appreciative thanks are extended to them all.

Finally, Dr. H. Hutchison has proved the most thorough and constructive of tutors. Throughout his supervision he has evaluated with rigour and sustained with enthusiasm. He could not have been a more helpful advisor.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations occur in the footnotes:

Magazines

L.C.M.	Lancing College Magazine
U.S.M.	Uppingham School Magazine
S.C.M.	Stonyhurst College Magazine

Archives

H.S.A.	Harrow School Archives
L.C.A.	Lancing College Archives
L.S.A.	Loretto School Archives
M.C.A.	Marlborough College Archives
S.C.A.	Stonyhurst College Archives
U.S.A.	Uppingham School Archives

Reports

P.S.C.	Report of Public Schools Commission (Clarendon Commission) 1864
S.I.C.	Report of Schools Inquiry Commission (Taunton Commission) 1868

Other

D.N.B.	The Dictionary of National Biography
P.S.M.	The Public School Magazine

Note: The term headmaster has been used throughout the thesis in place of alternatives such as Master, High Master, etc., and school captain has been used similarly in place of Head of School, Senior Prefect and such like synonyms.

ABSTRACT

This study involves an analysis of the nature and evolution of ideological power in an educational setting. The ideology chosen for investigation is Athleticism, the preoccupation for whatever reason with physical exercise, seemingly dominant in that unique phenomenon of the English social system, the public school, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Part I consists of the key definitions of public school, ideology and athleticism, together with a discussion of the research methodology adopted. As regards the approach taken, it is, of course, a truism that generalisations limit understanding as well as promote it. For this reason statements at the level of the particular, allowing refinement, qualification and sometimes correction, serve a useful purpose. This study of the English public school, in contrast to earlier extensive surveys, is deliberately intensive. As such it is intended to be complementary. Its scale, it is suggested, permits a more detailed investigation of variation in belief and action than the general study, but precludes confident extrapolation. In addition, it is hoped, its structure furthers the construction of generalisations based on substantial evidence rather than fragmentary selection.

This thesis, therefore, examines the emergence and development of athleticism in six public schools of quite distinct origin and status: Harrow (Great School), Lancing (Woodard School), Loretto (Private Venture School), Marlborough (Proprietary School), Stonyhurst (Sectarian School) and Uppingham (Elevated Grammar School).

Social scientists have defined 'ideology' variously, and the contention here is that several definitions used conjointly are helpful

in promoting an understanding of the nature of athleticism in the late Victorian and Edwardian public school. In the first place it was a set of beliefs intended to influence behaviour; but it was much more - a complex of beliefs, arguments, actions, feelings and symbols existing in conjunction with, and created out of, a purposefully constructed system of organisation, control and manipulation. It constituted also, a cluster of value-judgements posing as facts in the interests of ensuring its pre-eminence. It was, on occasion, a pseudo-rationale, to use an ungainly Marxist expression, ostensibly an argument for one thing but in reality a device for achieving something else; specifically, those who used it affected to develop character when they were often preoccupied with order. It is of the greatest importance to stress that throughout its existence, athleticism was most or all of these things depending on the moment surveyed and the school scrutinised. It was a complex manifestation.

Certain scholars, unhappily, either fail to define athleticism while discussing its shortcomings at length, or define it so narrowly as to overlook certain essential elements. It should be made clear, therefore, that it was not exclusively vicious but harboured virtuousness. While its vices are fully acknowledged, the case is made in the following pages for a more scrupulous and balanced appraisal of its nature.

Part II is devoted to tracing the development of athleticism from disparate origins to considerable uniformity. Reference has already been made to the scope the survey offers for an analysis of variation. In the six schools of the study investigation reveals that the ideology arose variously out of pragmatism, emulation and idealism; but also that powerful counter-ideological pressures ensured its virtual

suppression in one school. Observation of the erratic but definite progress to conformity which occurred in five of the six survey schools between 1860 and 1900, has produced evidence hitherto overlooked, which has resulted in an interpretation of events running counter to some established views. For example, it has been suggested that the introduction of compulsory games in the public schools may be attributed to enthusiastic pupils. The schools of the survey offer little evidence off this. Indeed it is argued in the following pages, that headmasters had a far from insignificant part to play. Again in some of the survey schools, there was considerable opposition to compulsion, games reorganisation brought depression rather than euphoria and systematisation was far from complete by 1880. Yet this is the year chosen by one widely read commentator to mark the end of a period which, in his view, had brought games compulsion, euphoria and organisation to the leading public schools. In this study which includes Harrow, without question a leading public school and where compulsory school games were actually abandoned in 1885, the year 1900 has been chosen to replace 1880. By then compulsion, organisation and euphoria were indeed much in evidence.

While Part II is concerned with tracing the main features off an evolutionary progression, Part III is an attempt to isolate and identify the forces and techniques of consolidation. Many factors inside and outside the schools produced the reign of athleticism: adult and adolescent anti-intellectualism; escapism from a dull curriculum, drab classrooms and brutal pedagogy; limited extra-curricular activities; the romantic pursuit of an anachronistic ideal - the English gentleman; the creation after 1850 of a new type of assistant master - scholar, Christian and games player (sometimes transmuted into the more

publicised Christian athlete, the celebrated games master); the preponderance at Oxford and Cambridge of public schoolboys and as a consequence, the establishment of a games ethos at the universities and a process of circular causality by which the successful schoolboy athlete became 'varsity blue and then schoolmaster enthusiast, in turn coaching more schoolboys to their blue and schoolmastering; parental indulgence, status seeking, calculation, nostalgia, complacency, moral romanticism and puritanical anxiety; the psychological and physiological requirements of British imperialism; and above all, the economic security of the wealthiest upper class in the world, which resulted in the 'conspicuous consumption' of 'conspicuous leisure'.

Within the schools the ideology was instilled, sustained and propagated by means of an intricate and extensive symbolism - both verbal and non-verbal. In the past this fascinating and important element has received only passing reference. In this study considerable attention has been focused on ritual and symbol as mechanisms of ideological support. Without such attention, it is argued, a complete understanding of the power and longevity of athleticism is not possible. School archives are particularly rich in the literary symbolism of the games movement and despite liberal quotation in Chapter Seven in an attempt to indicate the extensiveness of the phenomenon, only a fraction of the material gathered is to be found there. The remainder is currently being prepared for publication in another volume.

It is not the intention of this study to analyse the demise of athleticism in any detail. Its recent decline means that memoirs, obituaries, biographies and autobiographies are not yet written and archival records not yet compiled. Such an analysis is not possible, therefore, even if it is desirable. However it is possible to locate

some of the major reasons for its replacement - the rise of state education in conjunction with the development of a national examination system which resulted in increased competition from the less privileged for university places and professional careers; the emergence of physical education as a school subject; a twentieth century emphasis on individualism, and as a consequence of the rejection of procrustean conformity the appearance of a more disaffected, free-thinking public schoolboy with little allegiance to past values. In the interest of presenting a rounded picture of ideological evolution, the instruments of decline are sketched in lightly in the Epilogue.

PART I

DEFINITIONS AND APPROACH

CHAPTER ONE

IDEOLOGY, ATHLETICISM AND PUBLIC SCHOOL

In 1923 an obscure public school headmaster, J.H. Simpson,⁽¹⁾ wrote an aggressive pamphlet entitled The Public Schools and Athleticism.⁽²⁾ It was a condemnation of the excessive interest in games in the schools; it struck an unpleasantly discordant note amid applause that had begun some sixty years earlier and which, in an atmosphere of post-war nostalgic conservatism, had risen to a crescendo.

Simpson, however, was more than a critic: he was both historian and sociologist. He desired analysis as well as reform. He argued that the playing of games was "both for good and bad, one of the most choice products off the public school system"⁽³⁾ and that the study of athleticism was necessary in order to understand the structure of the system as a whole.⁽⁴⁾ Despite these observations there has been to date no major study of public school athleticism per se.⁽⁵⁾ This, it is argued here, is a sizable omission. The ideology strongly influenced most public schools between approximately 1860 and 1940: its widespread adoption had extensive educational and social repercussions. Without exaggeration it can be stated

(11) Simpson (1883-1959) was subsequently to achieve some small measure of distinction in English education. After experience as an assistant master at Gresham's and Rugby, and as a Junior Inspector at the Board of Education, he had become the first headmaster of Rendcombe College, Cirencester in 1920. He remained there twelve years. From 1932 to 1944 he was Principal of the College of St. Mark and St. John, Chelsea. He wrote several books dealing with his liberal educational ideas and his educational experiences: An Adventure in Schooling (1917), Howson of Holt (1925), Sane Schooling (1936) and Schoolmaster's Harvest (1954).

(22) J.H. Simpson, Public Schools and Athleticism The Educational Times Booklets No.1, 1923.

(33) Ibid., p.3.

(44) Ibid., p.4.

(55) It has been considered, but only briefly and in very general terms, in histories of the public school system, histories of education and histories of physical education.

that no history of the English public school and no record of British educational ideologies can be complete without a consideration of this controversial movement.

What follows, therefore, is an attempt to rectify a longstanding omission. The intention is to trace the emergence and consolidation of this once powerful ideology and to investigate the mechanisms by which it was created and sustained.

But first three problems must be considered: the nature of the concept 'ideology' in the context of the English public school, the precise meaning of the term 'athleticism', and the method of selection of the schools investigated.

The construction of ideologies, it has been argued, is essentially the outcome of man's need for imposing intellectual order on the world.⁽⁶⁾ Whatever its origin a plethora of definitions of the term⁽⁷⁾ exists. At the crudest level it may be defined as a set of beliefs held by an individual or social group. For the purposes of this study it would be preferable to expand this brief definition by the inclusion of elements from Oakshott's famous definition of a political ideology,⁽⁸⁾ and declare that an ideology is a set of systematic beliefs held by a group which determines action by providing a means of distinguishing between desirable and undesirable behaviour. Other definitions are also useful. For Karl Mannheim there were two meanings of ideology: the 'particular' and the 'total'. The former was

(6) For a discussion of the emergence of ideologies in social groups see 'Ideology' in David L. Sills (ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1968, pp.66 ff.

(7) The term 'ideology' was coined by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy, at the end of the 18th century. For an outline of its creation see Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology 1961, pp.394-5.

(8) "A political ideology purports to be an abstract principle or set of related abstract principles, which has been independently premeditated. It supplies in advance of the activity of attending to the arrangements of a society a formulated end to be pursued, and in so doing, it provides a means of distinguishing those ideas which ought to be encouraged and those which ought to be suppressed or redirected" quoted in Julius Gould and William C. Kolb (eds.), A Dictionary of the Social Sciences 1964, p.316.

concerned with the individual - his thought processes and personal interests. The latter was concerned with the 'mind' of a historico-social group.⁽⁹⁾ Mannheim's own preference was for the 'total' conception. Analysis at the level of the 'particular' did not allow, in his view, "the full comprehension of the structure of the intellectual world belonging to a social group in a given historical situation".⁽¹⁰⁾

Mannheim further maintained that while the genesis of the 'total' conception was dependent on individuals, its essence was not the sum total of their fragmentary experiences but an integrated thought system characteristic of the group as a whole. A group's 'world vision' or ideological perspective, however, is not simply the consequence of assumptions and beliefs which leads to the establishment of a nominative thought system⁽¹¹⁾ as Mannheim suggests; more expansively it is the whole complex of ideas, aspirations and feelings linking together the members of other social groups⁽¹²⁾ together with the means whereby these things are established.⁽¹³⁾ Ideology in the following chapters follows this suggestion and embraces both a group's 'Weltanschauung' and its perceptual system; it includes not only what is believed but the means by which it is believed.

In point of fact, Mannheim's expression 'total ideology' is unsatisfactory not only as an analytical but as a generic term. It might be said to carry connotations of rigid conformity and an absence of deviance or shading. The simpler phrase 'group ideology'⁽¹⁴⁾ perhaps more satisfactorily depicts the nature of those widely, but seldom unanimously, held beliefs, values and feelings which represent a group's corporate construction of

(9) Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia 1936, p.49.

(10) Ibid., p.52.

(11) Gordon Leff, History and Social Theory 1969, p.225.

(12) J. Goldmann, The Tragic Vision 1964, p.17.

(13) For a discussion of this wider definition, and for a subtle and seminal consideration of the term 'ideology', see J.M. Burns, 'Political Ideology' in N. Mackenzie (ed.), A Guide to the Social Sciences 1966, pp.205-223.

(14) A. Schweitzer, 'Ideological Groups', American Sociological Review Vol.9, No.4, 1944, p.416.

reality. Mannheim's importance lies in his separation of the concept of ideology into 'particular' and 'total'; a schema that underlines the fact that the ideology of the group is not that of the individual. His is the ideology of the group mediated through his own perceptions - the outcome of a complex fusion of physiological, psychological and sociological elements. The concern throughout this study is with the former rather than the latter.

Marx and Engel's held that ideology was "a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously but with a false consciousness. The real motive compelling him remains unknown to him. Otherwise it would not be an ideology process at all".⁽¹⁵⁾ In their view, ideologies were types of false consciousness or 'pseudo-reason' obscuring the real reasons underlying action. This concept of ideology and Pareto's 'derivatives' i.e. the way men dissimulate in the explanation of their actions, are interestingly cognate. As one writer has remarked "Pareto's 'derivations' correspond closely to what students prefer to describe as ideologies. They are pseudo-reasons for conduct".⁽¹⁶⁾ The real reasons for men's actions Pareto termed 'residues'. His 'derivations' such as affirmation - for example, statements of imaginary facts - are simply mechanisms for ensuring the successful survival of the 'residues'. A good example of the use of affirmation in this way is presented by Bergmann in his masterly consideration of the term 'ideology'. "The motive power of a value judgement is often greatly increased," he argues, "when it appears...not under its proper logical flag as a value judgement but in the disguise of a statement of fact." He illustrates this claim by pointing to the difference of impact occasioned by the re-writing of that famous statement in the United States Constitution...

(15) Quoted in K. Fletcher, The Making of Sociology 1971, p.406. The definition of Marx and Engels has been extended to incorporate the Paretonian perspective so as to introduce the important element of conscious dissimulation.

(16) Don Martindale, The Nature and Type of Sociological Theory 1961, p.104.

"These truths we hold to be self-evident" as "These truths we hold to be self-evident value judgements".⁽¹⁷⁾ In short, Bergmann considers value-judgements become ideological statements when they are either disguised as, or mistaken for, statements of fact. An ideology is any rationale which contains such value-judgements in 'logically crucial places'.

This brief excursion into social philosophy to consider these various definitions has been undertaken because they are all useful conceptual tools with which to analyse the ideology of athleticism.⁽¹⁸⁾ One purpose of this study is to demonstrate that the ideology comprised a set of systematic beliefs which determined action; that it embraced a complex of ideas, aspirations and feelings together with a carefully constructed perceptual system; that it existed separately, at the level of the group and the individual; that it was, on occasion, a form of 'pseudo-reasoning', a rationalization for group requirements especially social control; and that it constituted value-judgements disguised as facts to reinforce commitment. There is no one simple meaning of ideology in the context of public school athleticism. It is a conceptual alembic. To reinforce this critical point by means of the employment of a different metaphor - the meanings resemble the layers of an onion: one hides within another. A fact that must be consistently borne in mind in the ensuing chapters.

Not only the term 'ideology' but also the concept 'athleticism' of course, may be differently interpreted.⁽¹⁹⁾ Athleticism is merely a conceptualization of historic happenings, statements and behaviour. As such it involves the selection, ordering and interpretation of details of every-

(17) Gustav Bergmann, 'Ideology' in May Brodbeck (ed.), Readings on the Philosophy of the Social Sciences 1968, p.127.

(18) Notice has been taken of the advice of Asa Briggs, namely that history students should seek the assistance of specialists in the social sciences when the insights are relevant. See Asa Briggs, 'History and Society' in Mackenzie, op.cit., pp.39-40.

(19) While widely used as a descriptive and analytical term it is not always defined. In particular, Peter McIntosh in his Physical Education in England since 1800 (2nd ed.) 1968, devotes three chapters to it but fails to provide a definition!

day life as they have survived. The comment to the effect that the patterns of historians and the models of the social scientist are only approximations to reality and both involve the hazardous pursuit of the search for significance, ⁽²⁰⁾ aptly describes the exercise of analysing athleticism, defined in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary in neutral and unsubtle terms as "the practice of, and devotion to, athletic exercises". In contrast two scholars, in the similarity of their interpretation, form a small, but distinct, comminatory chorus that has gained a wide audience. In their view athleticism was a malign fashion. The most distinguished historian of the English public school saw athleticism in simple pathological terms: "the late Victorian schools nurtured vices of their own. Probably the most important was the worship of the athlete with its attendant deification of success, and the mere physical virtue of courage", ⁽²¹⁾ and the most recent historian of British physical education has been no less harsh in his judgement: "By athleticism is meant the exaltation and disproportionate regard for games which often resulted in the denigration of academic work and in anti-intellectualism"! ⁽²²⁾

An observer of the ideology in action in the 19th century

Edward Lyttleton ⁽²³⁾ took a more balanced view of its nature. ⁽²⁴⁾ It had

-
- (20) J. Ryder & H. Silver, Modern English Society 1970, pp.4-5.
- (21) E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860 1941, p.126.
- (22) W.D. Smith, Stretching Their Bodies 1975, p.18. Circular causality in fact, existed. It is more appropriate to recognise that middle class anti-intellectualism and contempt for the classical curriculum prevailing in the schools were major causes of athleticism as well as consequences. For a discussion of this point, see Chapter 5 below.
- (23) Edward Lyttleton (1855-1942) was typical of the later 19th century 'genre' of public school headmasters - "schoolmaster. Divine and cricketer" (D.N.B. 1941-50). He was educated at Eton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. From 1882 to 1890 he was an assistant master at Eton. After serving as Headmaster of Haileybury (1890-1905), he returned to Eton as headmaster (1905-1916). In his youth he was a famous cricketer, captain of Eton XI (1874) and captain of Cambridge (1878). His Cambridge eleven defeated the Australians in 1874, and he was the only man in England to score a century against them. But with regard to athleticism, he wore no rose-tinted spectacles. He took an objective view of it in his writings: Schoolboys and Schoolwork (1909) and Memories and Hopes (1925).
- (24) Edward Lyttleton, 'Athletics in Public Schools', Nineteenth Century Vol.VII, No.35, January 1880, pp.43 ff.

dangers: distraction from intellectual pursuits and the possibility of conflict between official and unofficial power-groups in school. It possessed advantages: the stimulation of health and happiness and good moral training (the lessons of obedience and usefulness). Lyttleton readily admitted athleticism was "a training shackled by many an antiquated abuse and sadly marred by countless stupidities which attended its operation!"⁽²⁵⁾ but he felt it had played a valuable part in the education of the higher classes.

Cyril Norwood,⁽²⁶⁾ early in the 20th century, likewise attempted to distinguish between 'over-athleticism' - the attachment of wrong values to games, and athleticism - 'part of the ideal of the English tradition' (of education).⁽²⁷⁾ The latter he saw as the attempt to implant consciously certain ideals of character and conduct through games.⁽²⁸⁾ He listed them: "a game is to be played for the game's sake...no unfair advantage of any sort can ever be taken, (yet)...within their rules no mercy is to be

(25) Ibid., p.57.

(26) Cyril Norwood (1875-1956) represented the new public school headmaster of the twentieth century - layman, academic and games player. He had a distinguished academic career at school and university and headed the list of entries to the Civil Service in 1899. In 1907 he abandoned his civil service post at the Admiralty and became an assistant master at Leeds Grammar School. He subsequently became one of the most distinguished educationists of the first half of the twentieth century. In 1906 he became headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, revived its fortunes and became known as 'its second founder'. Despite a lack of experience of public boarding schools he became headmaster of Marlborough in 1916. Ten years later on the urging of the Archbishop of Canterbury he took up the headmastership of Harrow with a mandate 'to raise the standard of work and discipline' (D.N.B. 1957-1960). From 1934 to 1946 he was President of St. John's College, Oxford. He was also chairman of a special committee on education set up by the President of the Board of Education in 1941. It reported in 1943 and several of its recommendations were incorporated in the 1944 Education Act. Norwood was a staunch supporter of the English public school, and a forceful advocate of team games. He wrote a number of books on education in which a discriminating admiration of the English public school is apparent. See in particular The Higher Education of Boys in England 1909, (written in conjunction with A.H. Hope) and The English Tradition of Education 1929.

(27) Cyril Norwood, The English Tradition of Education 1929, p.143.

(28) Ibid., p.109.

expected, or accepted or shown by either side; the lesson to be learnt by each individual is the subordination of self in order that he may render his best service as the member of a team in which he relies upon all the rest; and all the rest rely upon him: ...finally, never on any occasion must he show the white feather." He concluded: "If games can be played in this spirit, they are a magnificent preparation for life." (29)

Lyttleton and Norwood both remind us of a period truth.

Athleticism was all the first two commentators claim of it; yet it was more. The clichés of modern conventional judgement must be resisted: the substantive validity of contemporary generalisations must be challenged. They owe much to fashion, less to impartiality. If athleticism often degenerated into the self-absorption of Caliban, it frequently aimed to effect the selflessness of Ariel. Apparently it was sometimes successful. According to Philip Mason for example, the games-trained officers from the public school, "hardy as the Spartans and as disciplined as the Romans", yet able to lead with affection, warmth and boyishness, (30) won an engaging fidelity from the Indian soldier, for their selfless leadership. (31)

Mason borrowed a description from the philosopher George Santayana to depict this imperial élite at its best: "Never since the heroic days of Greece has the world had such a sweet, just, boyish master." (32) The reason, it appears, lay in a simple fact. These masters..."carried on the processes to which they had been subject at school, learning from their seniors what they passed on to their juniors. The company took the place of the house, the regiment of the school. They went on with cricket and hockey and football just as they had when they were prefects

(29) Idem.

(30) Philip Mason, A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army, its Officers and Men 1974, p.327.

(31) Ibid., p.391.

(32) Idem.

in their last year at school." (33)

Reality is occasionally attractive! The 'athleticism' described by T.C. Worsley in Flannelled Fool by virtue of its obscenity does not have to be the entirety of the truth for all public schools and public school-boys. Mason may have access to an equally valid reality. Or again, Ray in Tell England might have had just as much substance in the flesh as Cayley in The Harrovians. (34) In a passage totally contradictory of his later outspoken attack on public school games cited above, even E.C. Mack discovered virtue in their imperial consequences. He argued that the training largely acquired on the games field, was the basis of courage and group loyalty that created "responsible, honourable boys, willing to give their lives unquestionably to the preservation and expansion of Empire", (35) and considered that if world conditions had remained as they were in 1870, there was much of substance in the argument that public schools were worthy institutions, admirably serving the interests of the upper classes. (36) The Empire and the public schoolboy's contribution to it, lasted beyond 1870! Mason's valedictory embraced the Indian Army of the twentieth century!

The purpose of this brief partial defence of athleticism is not to gloss over deficiencies but to strike unaccustomed balance; it is an

(33) Ibid., p.386. The sentiment recalls E.W. Hornung's poem about his son, an old Etonian, entitled 'Last Post' in his Notes of a Camp Follower on the Western Front (p.2.).

"Still finding war of games the cream
And his platoon a priceless team
Still running it by sportsman's rule
Just as he ran his house at school"

(34) Ernest Raymond's, Tell England: A Study in a Generation first published in 1922, was a novel of the public schoolboy at war; its heroes such as Ray, were decent, uncomplicated games-playing men and boys. Arnold Lunn's The Harrovians first published in 1913 was a deliberate attack on the philistine 'aristocracy of muscle' at Harrow before the Great War. Cayley was a brutal and courageous member of this aristocracy.

(35) Mack, op.cit., p.108.

(36) Idem.

attempt to break a lance in the interests of accuracy. The public schools' considerable concern with games was not wholly vicious. It had seraphic content; it did reflect a risen ethic "of love of the open air, of sport and pluck and fair play". (37)

To borrow (and slightly adapt) Robert Nisbet's striking phrase, athleticism was 'a neologism born of moral passion' (38) as well as a Simpsonian term of justifiable disparagement. Physical exercise was indulged in, considerably and compulsorily, in the sincere belief of many, however romantic, misplaced or myopic, that it was a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and impressive educational goals - physical and moral courage, loyalty and cooperation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to both command and obey. These were the famous ingredients of character training which the public schools considered their pride and their prerogative. (39)

The extracts that follow, supply a period flavour of this once widespread educational certainty surrounding games playing in the public schools. They have been selected so as to represent shades of opinion from various points on a continuum with polarities - uncritical and critical.

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- (37) D.M. Stuart, The Boy Through the Ages 1926, p.281.
 - (38) R.A. Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (paperback ed.), 1970, p.23.
 - (39) This is clear from many sources including headmasters, assistant masters, ex-pupils and mere admirers. For restrained examples see S.A. Pears (assistant master at Harrow 1847-54, and subsequently headmaster of Repton 1854-74), Sermons at School: Short Sermons Preached at Repton School Chapel 1870, p.10; J.E.C. Welldon (headmaster of Harrow 1884-95), Recollections and Reflections 1915, p.138; Cyril Norwood (headmaster of Marlborough 1916-25 and subsequently, Harrow 1926-34), 'The Boys Boarding Schools' in J. Dover Wilson (ed.), The Schools of England: A Study in Renaissance 1928, p.16; Stephen Foot (Bursar and Assistant Master at Eastbourne College, 1920-34), 'Public Schools' in Nineteenth Century Vol.XCIX No.587, February 1926, p.1961; Archibald Fox (Harrow pupil 1892-97), Public School Life: Harrow 1911, p.58; Sir Ernest Barker (ed.), The Character of England 1947, pp.447-8. For particularly committed examples see Oxonian-Harrovia, letter to The Times September 30th. 1889, p.3; Eustace Miles, 'Games which the Nation Needs', Humane Review 1901, pp.211-22; E.B.H. Jones, 'The Moral Aspect of Athletics', Journal of Education June 1900, pp.352-4.

Two famous 19th century novelists of boyhood are located at the poles - the sanguine Charles Kingsley at one end and the grudging Frederick Farrar at the other.

First Charles Kingsley, clerical paladin and Christian hedonist, furnishes an illustration of the commitment of an unsubtle Victorian apologist:

"Masters and boys alike know that games do not, in the long run, interfere with a boy's work - that the same boy will very often excel himself in both; that games keep him in health for his work; and the spirit with which he takes to his games in the lower school, is a fair test of the spirit with which he will take to his work when he rises into the higher school; and that nothing is worse for a boy than to fall into that loathing, tuck-shop-haunting set, who neither play hard nor work hard, and are usually extravagant, and often vicious. Moreover, they know well that games conduce, not merely daring and endurance but better still, temper, self-restraint, fairness, honour, unenvious approbation of another's success, and all that 'give and take' of life which stands a man in such good stead when he goes forth into the world, and without which, indeed, his success is always maimed and partial." (40)

J.E.C. Welldon⁽⁴¹⁾ provides an equally partisan Edwardian viewpoint:

"It is because unselfishness is so great a virtue in human nature that games are not less valuable than lessons as elements in the discipline which school life affords. The boy or girl who works for a prize is actuated by a motive wholly or mainly self-regarding. There may be something of self-denial, but there can be little of unselfishness in the effort to gain a personal distinction. It is often upon the playing field at cricket or football that the lessons of self-command and self-control, nay of actual unselfishness are effectively taught. (I do not deny or forget that English boys, in public schools especially, attach an extravagant importance to athletic prowess) but it is impossible to ignore the value of courage, the modesty, the spirit of cooperation, the merging of self-interest in the welfare of the Eleven or Thirteen which are implied in the familiar phrases of school boy life, 'Play up', 'Play the game'." (42)

(40) Charles Kingsley, Health and Education 1887, p.86.

(41) J.E.C. Welldon (1854-1937) will appear frequently in the following pages. He was a prolific writer and noted games apologist. After a brilliant academic career at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, he became headmaster of Dulwich College at the early age of 29. Two years later he was appointed headmaster at Harrow. He remained there thirteen years. Subsequently he held a number of relatively minor positions in the Anglican Church, and never realised the pre-eminence his early success had seemed to foreshadow.

(42) J.E.C. Welldon, "The Effect of School Training on Mental Discipline and Control in Adolescence", Transactions of the Second International Congress of School Hygiene Vol.I, 1908, pp.15-16.

A less uncritical but essentially euphoric period description of games as moral and educational exercises is that of the Reverend T.L.

Papillon:

"Many a lad who leaves an English public school disgracefully ignorant of the rudiments of useful knowledge, who can speak no language but his own, and writes that imperfectly, to whom the noble literature of his country and the stirring history of his forefathers are almost a sealed book, and who has devoted a great part of his time and nearly all his thoughts to athletic sports, yet brings away with him something beyond all price, a manly straightforward character, a scorn of lying and meanness, habits of obedience and command, and fearless courage. Thus equipped, he goes out into the world, and bears a man's part in subduing the earth, ruling its wild folk, and building up the Empire; doing many things so well that it seems a thousand pities that he was not trained to do them better, and to face the problems of race, creed and government in distant corners of the Empire with a more instructed mind. This type of citizen, however, with all his defects, has done yeoman's service to the Empire; and for much that is best in him our public schools may fairly take credit."⁽⁴³⁾

Finally, here is a statement by Frederick Farrar, novelist, theologian and headmaster of Marlborough from 1871 to 1876 for whom, to paraphrase his own words, the playing of games was not even of tenth-rate importance compared to things of the mind and soul:

"Even from your games, you may learn some of those true qualities which will help you to do your duty bravely and happily in life. No one can be a good cricketer who does not practise - who does not take trouble - who is not glad to amend faulty ways of playing - who does not attend to rules. And in a yet better and higher sense, no one can make a first-rate cricketer if he is not ready, and steady, and quick, and bold; if he is not trained to bear a reverse with a perfectly good-humoured smile; if he is not free from the self-consciousness which is usually called being nervous; or he has not the pluck, and the patience and the good humour and the self-control to play out tenaciously to the very last a losing game, ready to accept defeat, but trying to the end to turn it into victory. Well believe me, you want the very same good gratuities in the great cricket field of life."⁽⁴⁴⁾

((43)) Quoted in Bernard Darwin, The English Public School 1931, p.21. Papillon was a distinguished Marlburian (1857-1860) winning the school's first Balliol Scholarship in 1860.

((44)) F.W. Farrar, In The Days of thy Youth: Sermons on practical subjects preached at Marlborough College from 1871 to 1876 1889, p.373.

The situation is clear from such pronouncements. Games in the public schools became 'the wheel round which the moral values turned'.⁽⁴⁵⁾ It was a genuinely and extensively held belief they formed character; they revealed nobility; they inspired virtue. At the same time there were certainly casuists who used moral argument as a cover for simple pleasure. There were also opportunists, especially housemasters, who saw the value of games in terms of public relations and social control. There was the ideal and its antithesis.

Lyttleton concluded his article in 1880 on public school athleticism with these careful and hopeful words:

"Since, then, our school training is thought to be the cause of something we prize, the more we investigate the matter, the clearer we shall see that one of the principal ingredients of that training, the athletic spirit, exists as a beneficial force, a characteristic of which we are the fortunate inheritors. Its dignity may be yet more recognised, but the recognition of it will be more solid and discriminating than at present, and if we arrive at a juster sense of what its use has been, we may avoid the unpardonable folly of suffering it to be abused."⁽⁴⁶⁾

To exercise both discrimination and justice is to regard athleticism as a preoccupation with physical activities as a consequence of permitted licence, managerial pragmatism - but also moral commitment. It was an absorption that embraced casuistry, organisational acumen and idealism. It was a complex manifestation.

Today it is fashionable and to a degree wise, to look askance at such a naive and frequently abused faith in the educational virtues of the playing fields as demonstrated by Kingsley and his ilk; but at the same time it is as well to remember that we are reacting, possibly predictably, with extremism to extremism. It is perhaps salutary to recall that English education has embraced the belief in the efficacy of sport inter alia for character-building since Tudor times.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The fault of the late Victorian

(45) T.C. Worsley, Barbarians and Philistines 1940, p.107.

(46) Lyttleton, op.cit., p.57.

(47) Dennis Brailsford, Sport & Society 1969, p.25.

and Edwardian public schools, it might be argued, was that of excessive and procrustian emphasis⁽⁴⁸⁾ - the paradoxical outcome of indulgence, expedience and virtuousness.

III

The distinguished social scientist Robert Merton has written of two species of academic investigator - the 'European and the American'.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The 'European' is preoccupied with interaction that should logically occur: the 'American' is concerned with relations that empirically exist.

'Europeans' interpret grandly from a short supply of empirical material:

'Americans' interpret scantily from a mass of evidence. The result:

"The empirical rigor of the American persuasion involves a self-denying ordinance in which significant long-term movements of ideas in relation to changes in social structure are pretty much abandoned as a feasible subject for study; the speculative proclivity of the European persuasion involves plenary self-indulgence in which impressions of mass developments are taken for facts, and in which few violate the established convention of avoiding embarrassing questions about the evidence ultimately supporting these alleged facts of mass behaviour or belief... Thus it is that the European variant comes to talk about important matters in an empirically questionable fashion whereas the American talks about possibly more trivial matters in an empirically rigorous fashion. The European imagines and the American looks; the American investigates the short-run; the European speculates on the long run."⁽⁵⁰⁾

It is the possible weakness of the 'European' approach that especially concerns us here. A paucity of material, claims Merton, is no

(48) "The modern bed of Procrustes," wrote J.E.C. Welldon perceptively in his novel of Harrow life, Gerald Eversley's Friendship published in 1895, "is or was a public school." (see 3rd.ed., 1898, p.73). This procrustian imbalance is well illustrated in Frederic Harrison's Autobiographic Memoirs in which he quotes actual cases of serious disability due to enforced games playing.

(49) Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (3rd.ed.) 1968, pp.493-509. He makes it clear that the labels should not be taken too literally. They merely reflect trends.

(50) Ibid., pp.449-50.

obstacle to the 'European' in his confident interpretation of documents as indicators of extensively held views. Further, the more often and the more emphatically a generalisation is aired, the greater the likelihood of its adopting the guise of a fact.

All this is most relevant not only to the consideration of the concept of athleticism but to historical studies of the English public school. Some recent works have been of the general-interpretative variety.⁽⁵¹⁾ In Professor Honey's study of the public school as a community, for example, the 'sampling universe' is all the public schools. The evidence is unavoidably fragmentary. All historical studies, of course, face the problem of incomplete records - the result of material lost through accident, indifference or calculation. Optimistically, all that can be done is to echo the words of one scrupulous social historian:

"We are dealing with intangible, unmeasurable evidence which is very difficult to assess. Nevertheless, it is suggested that something of value has been gained from the sifting of the evidence, and that the accumulation of general impressions does add up to something worth while."⁽⁵²⁾

Yet after this qualification has been made, the question remains as to the representativeness of such evidence. Can it be effectively claimed, for example, that it was the adoption of the pastoral role of the assistant master which changed the master-pupil relationship in the public schools and to produce as evidence an original model for Mr. Chips, an extract from the death speech of Potts of Fettes, an old boy's autobiography, Stalky and Co. and details of the emergence of a small and esoteric society of pious assistant masters?⁽⁵³⁾ There is a strong temptation to ask: what of happenings in the other several score of schools?

(51) T.W. Bamford, The Rise of the Public Schools 1967; J.R. de S. Honey, The Victorian Public School 1828-1902: The School as a Community unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1969; Brian Gardner, The Public Schools 1973.

(52) J.J. Tobias, Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century 1967, p.11.

(53) Honey, op.cit., p.307.

These comments should not be taken as an attack on a distinguished historian of the public schools. The debt owed to him by subsequent researchers is considerable. But there are real methodological problems to be confronted here. In the study of athleticism in the public schools what is the 'universe' to be? If it is to be 'total universe' and all the public schools are to be investigated the problems are formidable.

The quality of the sources for each school varies greatly. At the same time a detailed study of scores of schools would take many years. One possible remedy from the social sciences - a random sample - might leave out schools which played a leading role in the development of the ideology and this could result in vital historical omissions. It must be rejected as unsuitable.

An attempt to find a suitable methodological approach entails enquiry into the exact nature of the English public school. As recently as 1969 a student of independent education in England declared, "There has never emerged a precise and universally acceptable definition of the public school."⁽⁵⁴⁾ This is not for want of trying. A wide variety of writers have struggled with the problem.⁽⁵⁵⁾

The definition adopted in this study is that of Ogilvie since it combines clarity, comprehensiveness and qualification, and would meet with widespread understanding and acceptance. Ogilvie assures us that the principal characteristics of a public school are: it is a class school for the well-to-do, expensive, predominantly boarding, independent of the State and local authorities but neither privately owned nor profit making.

(54) J. Wakeford, The Cloistered Elite 1969, p.9.

(55) For example, Alicia Percival, Very Superior Men 1973, pp.3-10; J. Graves, Policy and Progress in Secondary Education 1902-1942 1945, pp.178-9; Ian Weinberg, The English Public Schools: the Sociology of an Elite Education 1967, pp.IX-XIII; G. Kendall, A Headmaster Reflects 1937, p.22; G. Kalton, The Public Schools: A Factual Survey 1966, pp.4 ff; The Public School and the General Education System (The Fleming Report) 1944, Appendix A, pp.106 ff.

He points out however, that "there are unquestionable and even illustrious Public Schools that fall out of line in one or other particular";⁽⁵⁶⁾ these constitute "exceptions within the general rule". The rule (in its full blown form) "is an independent, non-local, predominantly boarding school for the upper and middle classes".⁽⁵⁷⁾

The public schools so defined are diverse in origin, history and type. At least six important nineteenth century groupings may be discerned. The most famous group was the "Great Public Schools", the subject of a royal commission set up in 1861, the Public Schools Commission or Clarendon Commission (after the Chairman, Lord Clarendon).⁽⁵⁸⁾ The schools investigated were Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Shrewsbury, Charterhouse, Westminster, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Throughout the 19th century, the period of the great expansion of public school education, other groupings emerged or were consolidated. The most amorphous was the large group of Denominational Schools - Roman Catholic, such as Stonyhurst (1793), Ampleforth (1802), Ratcliffe (1847) and Beaumont (1861); Quaker such as Sidcot (1808) and Bootham (1823); Methodist such as Kingswood (1848), Leys (1875) and Ashville (1877) and other Protestant Non-conformist such as Mill Hill (1808), Caterham (1811) and Bishop's Stortford (1868). All were formed to provide an alternative

(56) V. Ogilvie, The English Public School 1957, p.8.

(57) Idem.

(58) Its task may be understood from the full title of the published findings: Report of Her Majesty's Commissioner Appointed to Enquire into the Reserves and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, and the Studies Pursued and Instruction Given therein: with an Appendix and Evidence 1864.

(59) The last two of these schools were day-schools. This study of athleticism is confined to public boarding schools - space forbids a wider sample. An interesting discussion of the evolution of games in two public day schools (Dulwich and Manchester Grammar School) is to be found in J. Mallea, The Boys' Endowed Grammar Schools in Victorian England: The Educational Use of Sport unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, U.S.A., 1971. The Report of the Bryce Commission on Education (1895) referred to the seven boarding schools of the Clarendon Report as the 'Great Public Schools'.

education to that provided by the schools of the Established Church following the Reform of the Penal Laws in the late 18th Century.

A further grouping was the Proprietary Schools. These were financed initially by shareholders who purchased the right in consequence, to nominate pupils. Cheltenham was the first: "There were 650 shares, each share entitling the holder to nominate one pupil (usually, of course, held by the parent). If the proprietors should fail to nominate pupils, then the governors could do so."⁽⁶⁰⁾ Schools of this type, in addition to Cheltenham, include Marlborough (1843), Rossall (1844), Malvern (1865) and Dover College (1871).

In 1853 Edward Thring was appointed headmaster of Uppingham Grammar School. He transformed this small, unprepossessing local grammar school into an expensive national boarding school for the upper classes. A similar process of transformation occurred at several other institutions, including Sherborne, Tonbridge, Repton, Giggleswick, St. Bees and Sedbergh. These schools became known on this account as "Elevated Grammar Schools".

A little before Thring in Rutland, raised Uppingham to the ranks of a school for the wealthy, Nathaniel Woodard in Sussex had embarked on a more ambitious project - a network of Anglican middle class schools, throughout England. Originally only one, Lancing College (1848), was intended as a school for the better-off, but ultimately this was to be the fate of them all. By the time of his death in 1891 there were six Woodard boys public schools - Lancing (1848), Hurstpierpoint (1849), Ardingly (1858), Denstone (1868), King's College, Taunton (1880) and Ellesmere (1884).

Finally, there were a number of schools financed and owned by a single individual, usually the headmaster - the Private Venture Schools. One such school was Loretto, a small boarding school outside Edinburgh,

(60) Gardner, op.cit., p.164.

founded in 1827 by the Rev. Dr. Langhorne, an English curate of the Scottish Episcopal Church. In 1862 Loretto was purchased by Hely Hutchinson Almond who modelled it on the lines of an English public school. By the end of the century it had become a small but famous public school in his hands. Other schools of this type include Merchiston (1833), Radley (1847), Bradfield (1850), Bloxham (1860), Monkton Coombe (1868), Wrekin (1879), Wycliffe (1882) and Abbotsholme (1889).

An investigation of one school from each of the various groupings discussed above - Great Public Schools, Proprietary Schools, Elevated Grammar Schools, Woodard Schools, Denominational Schools and Private Venture Schools - it is suggested, would provide a systematic analysis of the growth and domination of athleticism in a cross section of the public school system that would avoid the excesses of Merton's 'European' academic.

This mode of analysis has been labelled appropriately an intensive-comparative study.⁽⁶¹⁾ Such an approach, here placed within an evolutionary framework, precludes of course, confident generalisations about the entire public school system. However, the technique permits the building up of systematic knowledge of a cumulative character; weaknesses in earlier general studies may be discovered; amended hypotheses may be tentatively offered on the basis of fresh material; and the 'limited' knowledge gathered could provide the basis for future generalisation which relied on substantial empiricism rather than arbitrary abstraction.⁽⁶²⁾

But perhaps most important of all, the approach permits studies in depth of individual schools allowing a more detailed investigation of

(61) The term is that used by N.P. Mouzelis in Organisation and Bureaucracy 1967, p.69. In his book Mouzelis devotes space to a consideration of the relative virtues of one-case, intensive-comparative and global investigations. See especially pp.66-70.

(62) It would be a step towards the ideal set out recently by an educational historian, namely a history of British education on 'the basis of individual schools combined with an understanding of national developments', see P.J. Wallis, 'Histories of Old Schools: A preliminary list for England and Wales', B.J.E.S. Vol.XIV, No.1, Nov.1965, p.48.

variation in interpretation of ideological fashion which general commentators are careful to suggest occurred but understandably, to which they can devote little space themselves. (63) A diversity neatly

expressed by Bernard Darwin: "What are truisms at Rugby, are paradoxes at Harrow, and an Eton custom would prove a revelation at Marlborough." (64)

No methodological approach possesses all the advantages or escapes all the shortcomings. Any analytical scheme is partial. 'Slicing the cake of reality' involves explaining some things and leaving others unexplained. (65) The intensive-comparative approach, however, is usefully complementary to the general survey. It serves the general survey in a monitoring role; and provides it with source material. This study of athleticism will be 'intensive-comparative'. The 'total universe' will be the public school system and British upper class society between approximately 1850 and 1950 - the relevant years. The 'sampling frame' will consist of all the schools in existence in this period. The actual case-studies will be made up of a sample of schools from the several major groupings discussed earlier.

In 1905, about the time that athleticism was at its height and school athletic success was a noted asset in the scramble for status and pupils, the Harmsworth Encyclopedia published a list of the names of 'the most famous' public schools of the period. They were:

Bedford, King Edward's School (Birmingham), Brighton, Charterhouse, Cheltenham, Christ's Hospital, City of London, Clifton, Dulwich, Eton, Haileybury, Harrow, Lancing, the Leys, Malvern, Manchester Grammar School, Marlborough, Merchant Taylors, Mill Hill, Repton,

(63) For a specific comment about differing responses to athleticism see Honey, op.cit., p.137 and McIntosh, op.cit., p.57.

(64) Darwin, op.cit., p.XII.

(65) Mouzelis, op.cit., pp.113-4.

Rossall, Rugby, St. Paul's, Sherborne, Shrewsbury,
Stonyhurst, Tonbridge, Uppingham, Wellington,
Westminster and Winchester, together with the
Scottish schools Fettes, Glenalmond and Loretto. (66)

This catalogue of the most prestigious contains examples from the six groupings discussed above, Great Public Schools, Proprietary Schools, Elevated Grammar Schools, Denominational Schools, Woodard Schools and Private Venture Schools, and will be the source of the samples used in this study. The following schools will comprise the case-studies: Harrow (Great Public School), Marlborough (Proprietary School), Uppingham (Elevated Grammar School), Stonyhurst (Denominational School), Lancing (Woodard School) and Loretto (Private Venture School). (67) These particular schools have been selected because of the richness of archive and secondary source material associated with them and because of the importance of certain of them (for example, Marlborough and Loretto) in the evolution of athleticism. In addition, they have been chosen because they are widely scattered throughout the United Kingdom and so offer the possibility of interesting evidence of variation in regional response to ideological diffusion, and quite independent ideological patterns in response to local factors.

(66) Quoted in Ogilvie, op.cit., p.180. Ogilvie states that no reasons were offered for such a categorical list but insists that public opinion had a fairly precise idea as to which schools were the best.

(67) These schools also figured in the smaller list of indisputable public schools in the first Public School Year Book published in 1889. See Gardner, op. cit., p.202.

PART II

THE GROWTH AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE IDEOLOGY

LICENCE, ANTIDOTE AND EMULATION

Tranquillity, reform, renewal: these are appropriate terms describing the condition of mid-nineteenth century Britain. After the repeal of the Corn Laws Act in 1846 "the storm of controversy dies rapidly down into a pleasantly exciting breeze before which the country drives 'sails filled and streamers waving' past the dangerous reefs of India and the Crimea into the halcyon weather of Palmerston's old age".⁽¹⁾ Legislation had brought peace; the Chartists were subdued; fears of revolution were allayed. At the same time there was to be no return to aristocratic paternalism, to wealth based predominantly on land, to nicely ordered relationships of feudal landed society. It was a time of change.

Despite the fears of the defeated Protectionists, the economy moved firmly towards a free trade policy. There was a steady growth in prosperity.⁽²⁾ The nation experienced a shift in moral emphasis from a belief that the common good was best served by the self-interested action of the entrepreneur to a realisation of the need for collective responsibility.⁽³⁾ State provision for the poor, Factory Acts for the new proletariat and the consumer, symbolised the stirring of a collective conscience.⁽⁴⁾ But the end of a simple-minded adherence to the Entrepreneurial Ideal was further indicated by the various Companies Acts between 1856 and 1862. The subsequent creation of joint stock companies gave rise to a wealthy industrial plutocracy of directors and managers.

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- (1) G.M.Young, Victorian Essays 1962, p.135.
 - (2) W.L.Burn, The Age of Equipoise: A Study of the Mid-Victorian Generation (1968 ed.) p.60.
 - (3) H.Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1969, p.439.
 - (4) *Ibid.*, pp.438-40.

The business aristocracy was born.⁽⁵⁾

It was an era too, when the middle classes themselves, growing in size and prosperity,⁽⁶⁾ were losing patience with restricted educational and occupational opportunities and the demonstrable incompetence of an unskilled administration.⁽⁷⁾ The Roebuck Report on Army Maladministration during the Crimean War (1856) resulted in army reforms that lasted for the next twenty years. By the Universities Acts of 1854 and 1856 restriction of entry to Oxford and Cambridge on religious grounds was abolished. The formation of the Administrative Reform Association in 1855 reflected the intense agitation at the time for an end to patronage and the adoption of competition for positions in the administrative machinery of the State. Pressure for reform had already in 1853 achieved adoption of the principle of competitive entry to the Indian Civil Service; the following year came the Northcote-Trevelyan 'Report on the Organisation of the Permanent Civil Service'; and 1855 saw the setting up of a Commission to examine civil service candidates - "Great Britain by imperceptible degrees acquired a Bureaucracy".⁽⁸⁾

It was also the 'key period' for the growth of the leading professions.⁽⁹⁾ While the Institute of Civil Engineers had been founded in 1818, the Law Society in 1831 and the Royal Society of Architects in 1834, it was not until the Medical Act of 1858 that the 'registered medical practitioners' appeared. By the mid-fifties accountants were organising societies and institutes; others quickly followed suit.⁽¹⁰⁾

Then too, the interest of the British people was increasingly directed overseas; from now on "the soldier, the emigrant and the explorer ... take and fill the imagination".⁽¹¹⁾

(5) Ibid., p.431.

(6) G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875 1971, pp.81-91.

(7) W.J. Reader, Professional Men 1966, p.84.

(8) Sir George T. Clarke, English History: a survey 1971, p.447.

(9) Perkin, op.cit., p.428; R. Lewis and A. Maude, The English Middle Classes 1950, pp.19ff.; Reader, op.cit., pp.163-6.

(10) For example mechanical engineers and naval architects.

(11) G.M. Young, Victorian England: Portrait of an Age 1936, p.81.

These developments, a new prosperity, the rise of the industrial aristocracy, the growth of the professional middle class and the growing preoccupation with 'Britain Overseas' against a backcloth of industrial, commercial and imperial expansion, led directly to the rebirth⁽¹²⁾ of that unique phenomenon of British society - the public school. They supplied the clientele, the finance and a training rationale.

There remains a fourth and major contribution to the successful palingenesis of the public school - moral reformation. The savage conditions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century aristocratic schools are recorded soberly in various histories of English education. Generations of scholars have attributed their transformation into places of order, some learning and improved piety in large measure to Thomas Arnold.⁽¹³⁾ Yet the extent of Arnold's influence on public school education is the subject of contemporary reappraisal. T.W. Bamford has written, "he is said to have reformed the public schools whereas in fact there is precious little evidence of it".⁽¹⁴⁾ Whatever the limitations of his educational reforms, it was his success in projecting a personal moral image that was of considerable importance to the successful growth of the public school system. He had the facility, declares Bamford, to capture the headlines on religious, social and political matters.⁽¹⁵⁾ And he was well served, as another writer has put it, by an early adulatory press.⁽¹⁶⁾ In consequence, he became for many mid-Victorians a symbol of the desire for moral reform that sprang out of an earlier era and owed much to Edmund Burke, Hannah More, John Wesley and the Clapham Sect.⁽¹⁷⁾

(12) Best, op.cit., pp.245; G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian Britain 1962, p.270.

(13) See for example R.L. Archer, Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century 1921, p.23; J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902 1930, pp.66-7; S.J. Curtis History of Education in Great Britain 1948, (7th ed.1967), pp.144-7.

(14) T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold on Education 1970, p.5.

(15) Bamford (1967), op.cit., p.53.

(16) H.C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education 1760-1944 1947, p.79.

(17) Gertrude Himmelfarb, Victorian Minds 1968, p.280-2.

He was in accord with the mood of his time - a reformation of manners which characterised mid-Victorian middle class society.⁽¹⁸⁾ To a middle class starved of idealism⁽¹⁹⁾ and frightened of reality, he represented a noble educational ideal: "to advance the Kingdom of God and his righteousness" through his pupils. His ambition, as he proclaimed it, was the creation of Christian gentlemen, and he pursued it with obsessional intensity. To this end the older boys at Rugby were encouraged to see themselves as "the champions of righteousness especially selected to combat the ever watchful forces of evil".⁽²⁰⁾

Arnold's adult life was a passionate crusade against this abstraction.⁽²¹⁾ He made it almost tangible in its reality. Bamford states, "Evil was something positive that Arnold could almost see and feel. When faced with it he would rise in anger, and would, indeed, on occasion completely lose his self-control."⁽²²⁾ In this crusade he was ruthless and sometimes frenetic. He flogged, expelled and harangued in its interest. To the middle class public he seemed to 'cleanse the temple'. He appeared to be everything the god-fearing parent wanted in a schoolmaster - moral, strong, caring and clever. He restored the soiled and tattered reputation of the public school by means of powerful and effective impression management.⁽²³⁾ He reassured the new middle class clientele that their sons would be safe in his bosom. Conviction, idealism and reassurance were his great interlinked contributions to the revitalisation of the English public school.

(18) Ibid., pp.275-85.

(19) D. Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning 1961, p.4.

(20) A. Whitridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby 1928, p.133.

(21) "His lifetime was spent in warfare". J.J. Findlay, Arnold of Rugby 1897, p.VIII.

(22) Bamford, op.cit., p.8 See also T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold 1960, pp.53,108.

(23) This has been summed up rather well by Ogilvie. "His supreme contribution was his own personality" (op.cit., p.144).

In time Vaughan at Harrow, Cotton at Marlborough and Thring at Uppingham among others, played their part in curricular, organisational and disciplinary reform. As a result the Hogarthian conditions of vice, squalor and brutality of earlier decades were at least mitigated, morality was powerfully preached if less widely practised and a new system of control was devised that curbed the worst excesses. The growing middle class were mollified and eventually became enthusiastic. If they disliked the former licence and savagery of the 'Great' public schools, they appreciated the exclusiveness and contacts they provided. With the worst elements of these schools now repressed, those who could afford to, joined, and those who could not, imitated. The results are as familiar as the earnestness of Arnold: the expansion of existing schools and the creation by a variety of means of literally scores of others. (24)

II

By the end of the sixth decade of the century the terms tranquillity, reform, renewal, used earlier to describe mid-nineteenth century Britain, would serve adequately to describe the public school system. Stability had been established out of recurring disorder; popularity had swollen numbers; a more adequate organisational framework was being developed; the formal curriculum was undergoing reform. This latter development was not so much associated with the classroom however, as with something else - the newly enlarged or created playing fields.

(24) For an annotated chronology of the schools see B. Gardner, The Public Schools: An Historical Survey 1973.

From 1850 onwards, games were purposefully and deliberately assimilated into the formal curriculum of the public schools: suitable facilities were constructed; headmasters insisted on pupil involvement; staff participation was increasingly expected and the creation of a legitimating rhetoric began. The individual response of each school to the general trend, as has been noted already,⁽²⁵⁾ has been remarked upon by historians but not investigated in any detail. To trace the origins of this movement in the six schools of his study and to locate significant differences in early interpretation is the main purpose of this and the following chapter.

The emergence of a games ethos - the most influential public school development in the second half of the nineteenth century - despite such claims as those of Pierre de Coubertin, owed nothing to Arnold.⁽²⁶⁾ This conviction that Arnold was responsible for the rise of such an ethos is, in the words of Alicia Percival, a "specific erroneous belief"⁽²⁷⁾ that fails to accord with the evidence and should be rightly dismissed. It was in no way the outcome of his idealism, organisational perspicacity, concern with the dangers of idleness or simple enthusiasm. Arnold appears to have been insensitive to the possibilities of team games as an instrument of moral conditioning, as a mechanism of control, as a desirable antidote to vandalism and even as a means of personal enjoyment.

As a Winchester schoolboy, games had no strong attraction for him. An afternoon on the downs overlooking the school devoted to the attack or defence of an imaginary fort provided "the summit of schoolboy happiness".⁽²⁸⁾

(25) See Chapter 1 above.

(26) Pierre de Coubertin, "From the moral and social point of view, no system if so it can be called, stands higher than the English athletic sports system as understood and explained by the greatest of modern teachers, Thomas Arnold of Rugby " quoted in Eustace Miles, Let's Play the Game 1904, p.29. For similar comments see Barker, National Character 1948, p.262; R.J. Mackenzie, Almond of Loretto 1905, p.88.

(27) Percival, op.cit., p.115.

(28) Whitridge, op.cit., p.9.

At his own small school at Laleham on the Thames, which he established in 1819 at the age of twenty-four, he organised, encouraged and participated in a number of physical activities, but team games were not among them; spearing, walking, swimming and gymnastics were the common activities.⁽²⁹⁾

He went from Laleham to Rugby as headmaster in 1828 and there his most positive action was to watch benignly the games on Big Side.⁽³⁰⁾ In Stanley's full description of Arnold's work at Rugby there is no mention of concern for the value of games.⁽³¹⁾ There are scattered references to physical exercise but only in connection with Arnold or his children and not as part of a wider educational philosophy. Arnold retained an interest in physical exercise but it was both individualistic and totally without moral association. The reader searches his sermons in vain for the exhortations and apologies that are to be found in the sermons of later headmasters. For all his obsession with sin, Arnold was blind to the moral possibilities of involvement in team games that later public schoolmasters saw with such clarity and preached with such certainty. A recent biographer suggests, "Arnold's belief in a form of exercise has been made the excuse for an over-emphasis on athletics which he would never have tolerated"; and continues with a telling sentence: "There is no comment in the journals or in any of the letters that have come to light that would suggest that Arnold considered games as an essential part of a boy's education."⁽³²⁾

Further, in Arnold's own contributions to educational theory, for example, in the Quarterly Journal of Education there is not a single reference to physical activities. In 'On the Discipline of Public Schools' he offered a narrow interpretation of the term discipline and was concerned to mount a defence of corporal punishment rather than to consider the

(29) W.H.G. Armytage, 'Thomas Arnold's Views on Physical Education', Journal of Physical Education Vol.47, March 1955, pp.27-8.

(30) Idem.

(31) Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold (3rd ed.), 1890, p.180.

(32) Whitridge, op.cit., p.109.

possibilities for both corporate and self discipline that the games field might offer - a commonplace association of ideas in later decades. Even more significantly in his article on Rugby School ⁽³³⁾ in the same journal a year earlier, he had described the content and organisation of the curriculum of the school in detail without a mention of games. Yet within a decade of his death they were part of the pedagogical equipment of staff and the formal curriculum of several public schools. There are other pointers to Arnold's attitude to games. Charles Lake became one of the earliest Arnoldian neophytes; on his own admission a devotee of games while at Rugby, he was converted to a love of Arnold by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, whereupon he abandoned games "almost as a matter of course" and spent his time in the more mature business of walking and discoursing in an attempt to be an Arnoldian man, not "a fine muscular specimen who could outfight and outplay all his foreign foes and rivals" but "an adult in mind and ideals."⁽³⁴⁾ In striking contrast to the athletic assistant master of the 1890s Arnold's ideal assistant master was characterised only by the behaviour and standards of a Christian gentleman, a clerical garb, first class mental ability and desire to travel to broaden the mind.⁽³⁵⁾ The truth of the matter has been succinctly stated by David Newsome: Arnold's ideal of Christian man did not attach great importance to the physical.⁽³⁶⁾ From the pulpit Arnold plainly described his own moral order: "In the true scale of excellence moral perfection is most highly valued, then comes excellence of understanding, and last of all, strength of activity of body."⁽³⁷⁾

(33) Thomas Arnold, 'Rugby School', Quarterly Journal of Education Vol.VII, No.XIV, 1834, pp.234-9.

(34) W.C. Lake, 'Rugby and Oxford 1830-1850', Good Words Oct.1895, p.666.

(35) Bamford (1960), op.cit., p.177.

(36) Newsome, op.cit., p.91. Newsome's opinion is strongly supported by the fact that T.W. Bamford, the most distinguished of Arnold's recent biographers, omits games from his index (1960) such was their relative insignificance in Arnold's life and his latest review of Arnold's educational writing (1970) contains no discussion of his attitude to games, apparently for the same reason.

(37) Thomas Arnold, Christian Life in School 1832 (1878 ed.), Vol.2, pp.104-5.

The responsibility for the early stimulus that led in time to a fully matured ideology of athleticism with a well developed rhetoric, theology and structure, lies with others. C.J. Vaughan became headmaster of Harrow in 1845, G.E.C. Cotton, of Marlborough in 1852, Edward Thring, of Uppingham in 1853, Henry Walford, of Lancing in 1859 and Hely Hutchinson Almond, of Loretto in 1862. It was such headmasters as these rather than Thomas Arnold who took the then novel step of encouraging pupils and staff to be involved with games as part of the formal curriculum, and so began a trend which was to become a notable feature of the public school system as a whole by the last quarter of the century.

III

Until the advent of Vaughan, Cotton, Thring, Walford and Almond boys' leisure activities at Harrow, Marlborough, Uppingham, Lancing and Loretto were broadly similar. In the first instance staff were not responsible for the boys outside the classroom. The situation at Marlborough, described by one pupil in his diary, applied equally at the other schools: "For the strictness with which they conducted their actual teaching, masters atoned by an almost total indifference to the way in which a boy employed his leisure."⁽³⁸⁾ The staff were scholars. They had no official part in the control or organisation of the boys' free time and most certainly none in their games.

(38) Diary of R.A.L. Nunns for 1852, Supplement to the Marlburian August 1931. (M.C.A.)

Nor were games the main part of the boys' extra-curricular activities. The location of the schools in rural surroundings and the absence of school bounds meant that a large part of the boys' free time was spent exploring the countryside, fishing, hunting small animals and nesting.

At Marlborough, although for the most part the sons of clergymen, (39) the boys were far from angelic in action or personality. (40) From the rural vicarages of the western counties, they developed naturally into poachers, rat-catchers and even raiders of poultry yards. (41) The squaler was as much the unremarkable sporting equipment of early Marlburians as the cricket bat was to be in later days. (42) The diary of a Marlborough schoolboy (43) provides a detailed picture of the common activities of the time. (See facing page).

And the more intellectual enjoyed the liberty to pursue their esoteric pleasures. William Morris, at Marlborough from 1848 to 1851 "never played cricket or football" but explored the pre-celtic long barrows above Pewsey Vale, the stone circles of Avebury and the Roman villas at Vennel. (44)

At Lancing, the official historian records: "There were, in fact, no organised games for some considerable time and small boys amused themselves with marbles or 'chiving' or climbing trees; the older boys passed the hours of leisure in a haphazard way, sometimes with a book,

(39) The College was established mainly for the sons of west country clergymen.

(40) On the opening day of the College, 20th August 1843, the boys indulged in a brutal frog hunt in the school grounds, beat the creatures to death and 'piled the bodies high'. This activity was representative of the boys' recreational habits for a decade. See E. Lockwood, Early Days at Marlborough College 1893, p.106.

(41) A.C. Bradley et al., A History of Marlborough College 1923, p.106.

(42) Ibid., p.126. The squaler was a piece of cane about eighteen inches in length topped with a piece of lead. It was a hunting weapon and thrown with great efficiency at rabbits and squirrels.

(43) Diary of Boscawen Somerset Feb.-Dec.1857 (M.C.A.). R.A. Nunns' diary for 1852, although less detailed draws a similar picture of unsupervised and unregulated leisure before Cotton's headmastership.

(44) J.W. Mackail, The Life of William Morris 1899, Vol.I, p.15.

34
THE DIARY OF BOSCAWEN SOMERSET

(25th February to June 24th 1851)

Content Analysis of Somerset's daytime leisure entries.

Countryside Excursions	Visits to Marlborough	Bathing	Games	Ill- ness	Confined to School Grounds	Miscell- aneous*	No details or entry not clear	Total Leisure entries
42	14	5	4 (Including two occa- sions when he was con- fined to school grounds and played cricket, and a third occasion - a whole holiday - when he played cricket, was out first ball and went off nesting)	10	6	12	16	109

* Miscellaneous includes study (1), chess (2), Music practice and egg blowing (1), watching bathing (1), high jumping (2), kickabout (2), 'laid up in field' (1), packing eggs (1) and general packing (1).

In the autumn and winter months Somerset apparently felt free to devote more time to games. During the period September 19th to December 18th, 1851 he shared his time more equally between football and rural forays. In late November the weather was particularly cold and there were several skating afternoons on local ponds.

September 19th to December 18th 1851

Countryside Excursions	Games (football)	Visits to Marlborough	Skating	Miscell- aneous*	No details or entry not clear	Total Leisure entries
28	23	13	7	5	12	88

* Miscellaneous includes bathing in September (2), walking in school fields (1) 'made out proportions for boat' (1) and backgammon (1).

sometimes with a pretence at cricket, sometimes with a saunter over the Downs or a saunter in 'the Swiss Gardens',"⁽⁴⁵⁾ and Thomas Pellatt wrote joyfully of his Lancing schooldays in the middle of the century: "what could we do with our freedom then, except range over the glorious unspoilt countryside."⁽⁴⁶⁾

Pre-Almond Loretto in the fifties in the hands of the Langhorne brothers "had no adequate separate playground ... within the school precincts and none at all without".⁽⁴⁷⁾ The boys fled to the local golf course and took as much possession of it as the players themselves.⁽⁴⁸⁾

At Uppingham under Holden, the headmaster before Thring, some played hockey, cricket, fives and swam, but "a larger proportion of the boys rambled". T.G. Bonney, the famous naturalist, remembered Holden's liberality with affection and gratitude, and attributed his interest in natural history to this freedom.⁽⁴⁹⁾ He collected birds eggs, dug for fossils and sketched the stone coffins of Liddington churchyard.⁽⁵⁰⁾

At Harrow, amusements before the era of athleticism included bird-shooting, nesting, duck-hunting and even for a while, beagling, in addition to cricket, football, racquets and hares and hounds,⁽⁵¹⁾ but the most popular entertainment was Toozling or chasing and killing birds in the hedgerows. A pupil recorded in his diary in the late thirties:

"Went out shooting, over Hedstone fields and having no sport, put down the gun and found a Joe Bent in Hedge adjoining private road, which was killed after a splendid run by M. Tufnell. Found a robin in same hedge, which, after an exceedingly brilliant run, was killed by M. Torre. Had an animated run with a Joe Bent. Home by Church fields. N.B. Game plentiful, but blackbirds wild. First eggs taken, Missile Thrushes."⁽⁵²⁾

- (45) B.W.T. Handford, Lancing: A History of SS. Mary and Nicolas College 1848-1930 1933, p.60.
- (46) T. Pellatt, Boys in the Making 1936, p.48.
- (47) Loretto's Hundred Years (Supplement to The Lorettonian) 1927, p.23.
- (48) Ibid., p.24.
- (49) T.G. Bonney, Memories of a Long Life 1921, p.12.
- (50) Idem.
- (51) H.J. Torre, Harrow Notebook 1832-37 (H.S.A.) Torre was a pupil at Harrow from 1831-38, Head of School 1838, in Cricket XI 1836-38, Captain of XI 1838.
- (52) Idem. Tufnell was a fellow pupil. For a further description of 'Toozling' see Harrow Association Record 1907-12, p.29.(H.S.A.)

Only Stonyhurst proves an exception to the rule of freedom existing in the other five schools - an idiosyncrasy that will become commonplace in this study. The Jesuits were Continental in their educational philosophy and practice. They faithfully transplanted Continental habits in English soil. They brought with them to Stonyhurst their traditional 'surveillant' or 'Hofmeister' whose function was to exercise unflagging supervision of the pupils "to establish and maintain order, to prevent evil and repress abuse". (53)

The rules of surveillance were meticulous and laid down century after century in Jesuit publications such as Ordre de Jour pour le Collège des Pensionnaires de la Flèche, Observations Relatives à la bonne Tenue d'un pensionnat and Practical Manual of the Prefect. Thus, "From the school-room, the dinner room and the playground the superintendents of the establishment ... were never absent". (54)

The liberty of the pupil to do as he pleased in his own free time was not an acceptable principle or practice. Exploration of the countryside was tightly circumscribed and consisted of formal walks in escorted crocodiles. For their games the boys were restricted to a large playground on the south side of the school, which three prefects (members of the Jesuit staff) patrolled constantly. In the early days the playground was not fenced but breaking bounds was not easy. The distinguished naturalist, Charles Waterton, an early Stonyhurst pupil, recorded:

"At Stonyhurst there are boundaries marked out to the students, which they are not allowed to pass, and there are prefects always pacing to and fro within the lines, to prevent any unlucky boys from straying on either side of them. Not withstanding the vigilance of these lynx-eyed guardians, I would now and then manage to escape and would bolt into a very extensive labyrinth of yew and holly trees, close at hand." (55)

(53) W.J. McGucken, The Jesuits and Education 1932, p.225.

(54) T.Sheil, 'Recollections of the Jesuits', The New Monthly Magazine Vol.XXVI, No.CVI, Oct. 1829, p.361.

(55) Charles Waterton, Essays on Natural History: with a biography by the Author 1838, p.XXIV.

Boundaries not only set the limits of the total play area but separated the younger and older boys (Lower and Higher Lines) from one another. Between the two groups of boys was the Prefects' Walk patrolled by Waterton's 'lynx-eyed guardians'. This arrangement illustrates the realism of the Jesuits in their preoccupation with the purity of their charges. As Waterton further records, "Their watchfulness over the morals of their pupils was ... intense"⁽⁵⁶⁾ and the Dublin Review stated bluntly, "No one can doubt that the preservation of purity is the pre-dominant purpose aimed at in Catholic colleges by their supervisional system."⁽⁵⁷⁾ This mouthpiece of Catholicism was greatly concerned with the relationship between the system of supervision and the 'unspeakable' precious virtue of purity". In a series of articles in 1878⁽⁵⁸⁾ it staunchly defended the system against attacks in The Tablet⁽⁵⁹⁾ and from the criticisms of the Rev. W. Petrie in his book Catholic Systems of School Discipline,⁽⁶⁰⁾ favourably comparing Catholic children of the light who were distinguished by "angelic purity of thought and imagination"⁽⁶¹⁾ with "the slaves to the Devil" of the protestant schools. This unremitting supervision which, in the words of the Schools Inquiry Commission was "the most peculiar feature of the discipline"⁽⁶²⁾ at Stonyhurst, as we shall discover in due course, was to block the thrust of athleticism there.⁽⁶³⁾

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- (56) Ibid., p.XXIII; For pupils' recollections of the close supervision at Stonyhurst see A. Austen, The Autobiography of Alfred Austen Poet Laureate 1835-1910 1911, p.35; Sir Arthur Conan-Doyle, Memories and Adventures 1924, p.15; O. St.John Gogarty, It isn't This Time of Year at All 1954, p.27. For a general description of the system as applied to English Jesuit schools see C. Hollis, A History of the Jesuits 1968, p.225; a resolute defence when the system was being reduced in response to demands to conform more closely with protestant public schools is that of 'S.J.', 'School Ideals', Oxford and Cambridge Revue 1912, Nov.1st. 1912, pp.64-9.
- (57) The Dublin Review Vol.XXXI, No.LXI, July 1878, p.88.
- (58) Ibid., Vol.XXX, No.LX, March 1878, pp.327-8; Vol.XXXI, No.LXI, July 1878, pp.86-9; Vol.XXXI, No.LXII, Oct.1878, pp.278-87.
- (59) The Tablet - see correspondence for April 1878.
- (60) Rev. W. Petrie, Catholic System of School Discipline 1878.
- (61) The Dublin Review Vol.XXXI, No.LXII, Oct.1878, p.386.
- (62) S.I.C. Vol.1, p.321.
- (63) See Chap. 4 below.

With the single exception of Stonyhurst therefore, the schools of this study before 1845 were characterised by the pupils' substantial liberty to roam over the local countryside and the restriction of staff responsibility to the classroom. In all the schools compulsory games were as yet unknown!

IV

By the end of the nineteenth century athleticism was to marshal a standard and coherent set of educational arguments for its existence and become the hallmark of an adequate public school. By a process of observation, borrowing and assimilation it was to become a remarkably uniform manifestation. Then, a further process of reappraisal, ideological and organisational reconstruction commenced. And its decline began. Its evolution is analagous with the formation of an ancient river; its sources are minor tributaries; its main force is a broad and powerful stream; its mouth is a silted and sluggish delta. However uniform its main confluence, its origins, at least in the schools of this study, were markedly diverse. A diversity that can be seen clearly from the separate investigation of each of the six schools which follows in two parts in the remainder of this chapter and in the whole of the next.

In an attempt to explain the rise of progressive education as a popular ideology in the United States, David Swift⁽⁶⁴⁾ has suggested its emergence was due not so much to the uplifting visions of profound thinkers or to a common interpretation of reality linking individuals and groups with fashionable ideas, but to the programme it offered to teachers seeking solutions to the practical problems they faced. His theory has a wider

(64) David W. Swift, Ideology and Change in the Public Schools: latent functions of Progressive Education 1971, pp.187- 99.

application. As the young master in Thomas Hughes' Tom Brown's Schooldays ⁽⁶⁵⁾ G.E.L. Cotton may have preached the virtues of games for developing cooperation, unselfishness and sound character, but his principle motive in introducing games at Marlborough is to be found in the practical disciplinary problems that faced him on his arrival there in 1852 - poaching, trespassing and general lawlessness. He joined "a large, disorganised ... turbulent community". ⁽⁶⁶⁾

These problems had been compounded by a dramatic rise in school numbers. In 1843 there were 200 pupils; by 1848 the number had risen to over 500. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ Consequently "the bully had become more ferocious, the poacher more audacious and the breaker of bounds more regardless of the law". ⁽⁶⁸⁾ The situation had become so serious that immediately prior to Cotton's arrival his predecessor, M. Wilkinson, had been faced with an insurrection which led to his resignation and which the College's historians have described as a 'great rebellion'. ⁽⁶⁹⁾ To control a large number of

(65) Sophia A. Cotton, Memoir of George Edward Lynch Cotton 1871, p.13.

(66) G.G. Bradley, The Parting at Miletus (Sermon in memory of G.E.L. Cotton) 1866, p.18.

(67) Bradley et al., op.cit., pp.143-4.

(68) Ibid., pp.156 ff.

(69) There is uncertainty about the precise extent of the discontent under Wilkinson in 1851 and how far it contributed to his resignation early in 1852. Bradley and his colleagues, the college historians, paint a picture of grave insubordination leading to revolt (pp.156-162). Mr. L. Warwick-James, an old Marlburian, who has closely studied the Wilkinson era, has suggested to the present writer that Bradley and his colleagues exaggerate the extent of the troubles and that Wilkinson's resignation had nothing to do with pupil discipline but was the consequence of his unpopular religious views (High Church Anglican). However, Mr. Warwick-James has stated that he has no proof of this. Mr. G. Murray, the College librarian and archivist, in a recent brief paper, also considers the trouble exaggerated, but admits there was a problem due to overcrowding and inexperience. If the indiscipline under Wilkinson has been exaggerated it nevertheless seems to have been serious. Boscawen Somerset, for example, in his diary which covers this period, refers to two pupils 'sent away', windows smashed, the desks of assistant masters broken into and Wilkinson's chairs broken up. The timing of Wilkinson's resignation is certainly interesting. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that it could have been outcome of three factors - religious bigotry reinforced by troublesome pupils and the unhappy financial position of the school at the time. As regards this latter point, there is general agreement that in Wilkinson's last years and Cotton's early years, the college was in serious financial difficulties due to unrealistic appreciation of the cost of maintaining the establishment coupled with a desire to charge small fees so as to enable the sons of the relatively poor clergy to become 'gentlemen and scholars'.

fractious, independent-minded pupils who had antagonised the neighbourhood and bullied the staff, was Cotton's priority. This is made explicit in the opening passage of his important Circular to Parents of June 1953⁽⁷⁰⁾ outlining his plans for organised games, improved cultural amenities and a reformed syllabus: "In the course of my first year as Master of this College, I have naturally thought over plans by which the general welfare and discipline of the boys might be promoted and wish at the end of it to lay before you my views on one or two subjects."⁽⁷¹⁾ In a later passage he outlines the specific nature of the problem: "Many do not spend their half holidays in the playground, but in wandering about the country, some in birds' nesting, or in damaging the property of neighbours, or in other undesirable occupations."⁽⁷²⁾

Cotton's solution was to try to gradually introduce the feeling that the pupils "should keep as much as possible together in one body in the college itself and in the playground". He made it clear what he had in mind for them by expressing regret that "the mass of the school" were not "trained-up to cricket and football at all, which, as healthy and manly games, are certainly deserving of general encouragement".⁽⁷³⁾

How he proposed to 'encourage' the playing of games was carefully detailed. He argued that both subscription (to games) and games were very imperfectly organised. Boys' money should be spent on "constant and wholesome recreation" but was more often spent on other amusement often questionable or liable to considerable abuse. He concluded that there must be some contributions for "public objects and amusements" and recommended direct subscription to sports clubs in order to provide improved facilities.

Games were not the exclusive subject of the circular nor the only recreational 'amusements' he wished to promote. House libraries, carpentry and scientific occupations were further ambitions. He also ventured to suggest a 'modern side' which eventually became a reality in 1958, but

(70) See Appendix I below for a copy of the Circular to Parents.
(71) Ibid., p.1.
(72) Idem.
(73) Idem.

regarding the future of athleticism the circular is of special importance for it constitutes a statement of intent to institutionalise games as part of the formal curriculum of the school - which marks a turning point in the development of public school education. His Circular to Parents may be said to be the epitaph for unsupervised leisure.

In seeking to restrict the boys to the College Cotton was faced with a dilemma. If vandalism was to be curbed, if good relations with the community were to be fostered, if a respectable image was to be successfully cultivated, there had to be some form of supervision and control. At the time the common distinction between a private and public school was the freedom from supervision the boys enjoyed in the latter.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Cotton was quite clear in his own mind about this distinction. In his Circular he referred to "the liberty which is necessary if Marlborough is also to confer the advantages, and be conducted on the principles of English Public Schools, under which any system of entire and compulsory restriction to College premises is quite impossible".⁽⁷⁵⁾

His solution was to introduce a policy of staff involvement in school games in order to entice boys away from the Wiltshire countryside and to permit indirect supervision. He began to recruit young athletic masters who won pupil affection through bat and ball and who drew the boys onto the playing fields. It was a strategy that revealed a wise recognition of the fact that successful social relationships are often the most effective mechanisms by which new ideas become legitimated.

Foremost among these new men were E.A.Scott, C.H.Bull and Charles Bere.⁽⁷⁶⁾

(74) See Bamford (1960), op.cit., p.25, for an interesting discussion of this point, the burden of much of the soul searching in the Dublin Review in 1878.

(75) Circular to Parents p.2.

(76) Edward Ashley Scott, Charles Musgrove Bull and Charles Sandford Bere. Scott was at Marlborough from 1853 to 1858, Bull from 1853 to 1894 and Bere from 1853 to 1854.

Bere was responsible for introducing rugby football at Marlborough. (77)

Scott had accompanied Cotton from Rugby and was a major figure in the development of rugby football, rackets and fives. It was in his time that colours and house matches were initiated. Bull was an even younger protégé of Cotton who had been in his house at Rugby and in the words of a pupil "at football made us work. Every fellow played for all he was worth. So did Bull". (78)

Other notable sporting masters under Cotton were George Branson, something of a sporting eccentric who hurled himself into the rugby 'squashes' of the time in a tall hat (games at that time were played in ordinary clothes), Henry Richard Tomkinson, educated at Rugby in Cotton's house and a fine all-rounder who became Cotton's brother-in-law, and John Bowerby who, as assistant master under Wilkinson collected the reluctant, the enthusiastic and common room volunteers for cricket games on half-holidays.

Such men were responsible for the claim in 1869: "Marlborough's great reformation was accomplished in her games. These brave masters came amongst us and reformed our cricket in a slight degree; they altogether reformed our football turning it from a private farce into a great school institution." (79) These masters 'who became boys out of doors' were the 'stormtroopers' of Cotton's new principle of social order. Through their efforts "a civilised out of door life in the form of cricket, football and wholesome sports took the place of poaching, rat hunting and poultry stealing". (80)

(77) The boys' appreciation of Bere's contribution to their recreation is revealed in the diary of Henry Palmer, a pupil at Marlborough from 1846 to 1854. The entry for March 10th. 1854 reads "... had a splendid game of football ... Bere was heartily cheered as this was his last game with us, he probably leaves tomorrow." (M.C.A.)

(78) Marlburian Vol. XLI, No. 624, May 22nd. 1906, p. 59.

(79) 'Recollections of Marlborough by an old boy' in G. Routledge's Every Boy's Annual 1869 p. 246.

(80) Cotton (1871), op.cit., p. 17. There were, of course, other reasons why Cotton preferred young staff. Young bachelors were inexpensive. See F.B. Malim, Almae Matres 1948, p. 110.

A feature of public school literature in the nineteenth century is the published sermons of headmasters. They were the repository not only of moral cliché and high-minded exhortation, but also of personal idealism and educational philosophy. They, therefore, prove a fertile source of 'ideologies of legitimation', but they were also a form of public testimony intended to demonstrate the pastoral concern and intellectual power of the preacher. Through school sermons the public judged the tone of the school and the Church estimated the headmaster's suitability for preferment. Publication was an exercise in publicity no headmaster, ambitious for himself and for his school, could ignore. All the great headmasters and many obscure ones published their sermons.

In his published sermons Cotton established a sublimatory educational rationale for his innovatory instrument of control - it was hardly educationally desirable that team games should be publicised as instruments of seduction and appeasement! From the chapel pulpit he expounded a Christian version of the Graeco-Renaissance concept of 'the whole man':

"God, who gave us our immortal spirits, is the Creator also of our bodies, and our minds. All our powers and faculties, the limbs which are so strong and healthy, the understanding which is strengthened and developed by our daily studies, are equally the workmanship of Him who has also reunited us to Himself in Jesus Christ. And, therefore, in gaining wisdom and knowledge and bodily strength, we are carrying out his purposes no less surely, though more indirectly than when we are reading the Bible or kneeling before Him in prayer."⁽⁸¹⁾

According to his system of values, games became a vehicle for the creation and reflection of Christian excellence:

"Of one thing there is no doubt; that both intellectual and bodily excellence are only really blessed when they are a reflection of moral and religious goodness, when they teach us unselfishness, right principles, and justice."⁽⁸²⁾

(81) G.E.L. Cotton Sermons and Addresses Delivered in the Chapel of Marlborough College 1858 1858, p.406.

(82) Ibid., p.43.

And he made more moderate claims for the practical values of games as a producer of manly vigour and as an aid to mental application. With such arguments he drew games into the school curriculum and pedagogy. In this modest way the process of indoctrination and proselytism was begun.

It has been suggested that if Hughes was the first in literature to glorify athletics as a moral discipline, Cotton was the first to do so in practice. (83) The claim is far too dogmatic. Cotton cannot be said to have glorified athletics. He was too much a realist and too aware of the problems where boys were concerned. The schoolboy world, he once remarked, was one of "low morality, of neglect of holy things, of discouragement of earnest goodness". (84) On another occasion he took it to task for its childish thoughtlessness and frivolity, its "private jests" and insularity. (85) Not surprisingly therefore, he early anticipated an over-enthusiasm for the "pleasures of the playing field" and solemnly warned against the dangers of such indulgence:

"Undoubtedly there is a danger lest the due proportion of work and relaxation should be inverted, lest your interests should be so absorbed in this particular excitement (games) that you forget the main business for which you have been sent to this place. Such an inversion, such an engrossing occupation of the mind, by an employment, which however salutary, is after all, a mere amusement, cannot take place without great injury to yourselves. Perhaps its least evil is, that it retards the course of that education which is to fit you for doing your duty to God and man. It must also engender a certain amount of self-will, a feeling of self-importance, a desire for self-indulgence. The applause here bestowed upon success in games is apt to blind a person to his own ignorance, to make him indifferent to the faults of his character, to prevent him from realizing the fact that he will be judged very differently when he passes from boyhood to manhood. Above all this immoderate interest in mere amusement is inconsistent with the sober spirit of watching unto prayer. It intrudes not only into time of study, but into times intended for holier occupations. Thus by a strange perversity we employ God's gifts for our own injury." (86)

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- (83) E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion 1780-1860 1938, p.336.
(84) Cotton (1858), op.cit., p.478.
(85) Ibid., p.155.
(86) Ibid., pp.220-1; Henry Palmer wrote in his diary, "Cotton told me I was going the way of all cricketers because I failed in my repetition." Entry for May 20th, 1854.

Despite these cumbrous pieties, it is true to say that through Cotton's influence, from the middle of the nineteenth century the Marlborough boys' local variations on traditional English field sports gradually became things of the past. A new set of recreational ideas directed that their physical energies be channelled onto games fields under the supervision of young assistant masters.

Evidence of the impact of the new ideas is available in the diary of Henry Palmer for the year 1854. It provides an interesting contrast with the diary of Boscawen Somerset. Whereas Somerset roamed the Downs, Palmer journeyed between stumps or goalposts, a practice very familiar to later generations of Marlborough boys. His outings were restricted to sedate Sunday walks among the beeches of Savernake.

The Diary of Henry Palmer (6th February - 27th June 1854)

Content Analysis of Palmer's
daytime leisure entries.

Countryside Excursions	Visits to Marl- borough	Bathing	Games	Illness	Confined to School Grounds	Misc- ella- neous	No details or entry not clear	Total Leisure Entries
13	-	5	63	10	-	2	47	140

* Miscellaneous includes walking in the college grounds and a visit to a local village.

Cotton left Marlborough in 1858 to become Bishop of Calcutta. He ensured the perpetuation of his reform by influencing the governors to appoint G.G. Bradley (1858-70) as his successor.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The latter's enthusiasm and support for games guaranteed their place in school life.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Cotton achieved his ends at Marlborough, institutional survival and pupil compliance, but his strategic capitulation to the 'boy culture' through his open support for games together with his policy of recruiting

(87) F.D. How, Six Great Schoolmasters 1904, p.259.

(88) See his obituary in the Marlburian Vol.XXXVIII, No.581, April 3rd, 1903, pp.48-51.

muscular assistants in an attempt to reduce the 'generation gap' were to have dramatic and unintended consequences. The piper played his tune and the response was an eventual stampede. He ushered in a movement for which the public school system would pay a high price in bitter criticism, savage contempt and ridiculed stereotypes. Cotton may be likened to the godfather who was happy to take part in the baptismal ceremonies but who would have been dismayed, if he had lived, to find himself responsible for a not particularly congenial set of god-children. (89)

Be that as it may, the important point is that one of the origins of athleticism lay in the utilisation of games as a form of social control. Cotton's educational rationale disguised the nature of the enterprise and legitimated the action. An ideology was born, not because of the nobility that supposedly arose from the action, but because an argument made an action acceptable. As Cyril Norwood, a later headmaster of Marlborough wrote: "Cotton went to Marlborough ... to create a school out of mutineers, and he consciously developed organised games as one of the methods by which the school should be brought into order." (90)

V

On Tuesday, 22nd. February 1853, certain members of the Vth and VIth forms at Harrow School held a meeting at which, "It was decided that a Club should be established at Harrow, to be called the Harrow Philathletic Club, with the view of promoting among the members of the

(89) See Himmelfarb, op.cit., p.314. Her delightful description of Charles Darwin's probable reaction to variations on his theory seems equally appropriate to Cotton.

(90) Norwood, op.cit., p.100.

school an increased interest in games and other manly exercises." (91) A prospectus was subsequently printed and circulated.

It is an enthusiastic and constructive document which in some respects bears a close resemblance to Cotton's Circular to Parents, a similarity which could be more than fortuitous as will be seen in due course. It laid stress, for example, on the fact that, "the encouragement of innocent amusements and recreation must tend greatly to the maintenance of order and discipline throughout the School". (92) Plenty of amusements during recreation was considered the certain way to keep boys out of mischief. It agreed further, that the members would be considered pledged to the promotion and encouragement of a variety of games "both by pecuniary contributions and by all other means in their power". (93) It advocated the collection of subscriptions for games prizes, the encouragement of house matches and the foundation of a gymnasium. It asserted somewhat optimistically that "Those who play well, will be generally found to work well". (94) A premise that was to be subsequently disproved.

Finally, it showed concern about the general apathy and want of spirit then conspicuous at Harrow (95) and the considerable decline in interest in games. As a consequence the main benefit of such an institution would be to "cause an ambition of excelling at games, while it will necessarily disseminate generally throughout the school a stronger feeling of interest in manly exercises and amusements than now exists". (96) This was an accurate reading of the future. In later decades the Philathletic Club was to be a body of enormous influence, prestige and power. The other schools eventually developed powerful games committees

(91) See Appendix I Harrow Philathletic Club: Prospectus of the Objects of the Institution, p.1.

(92) Idem.

(93) Idem.

(94) Ibid., p.2.

(95) Idem.

(96) Idem.

either exclusively of boys or a mixture of boys and staff, but Harrow Philathletic Club is unique in its early conception, and its size. In this latter respect its membership comprised thirty pupils elected from the Sixth and Fifth forms. This membership was to be a 'corps d'élite' which ultimately organised, coerced and flattered the bulk of the school into a complicated system of regimented games playing. It was a significant instrument of both innovation and maintenance in the history of athleticism at Harrow.

It is a curious fact that the role of the Club in the evolution of games in the wider context of English education has been inexcusably neglected. Much has been made of the contributions of Cotton and Thring to this development. It has been stated that Marlborough and Uppingham were the matrix from which public school organised games sprung. McIntosh has written in this connection: "The lead was taken not by the older schools but by such newly established schools as Marlborough and Uppingham";⁽⁹⁷⁾ and again: "It was in two Philistine schools, Marlborough and Uppingham, that athleticism made its most significant advances in the eighteen-fifties."⁽⁹⁸⁾

Resolution of conflicting claims is, of course, partly a problem of definition and the ability to make an accurate assessment of both intention and implementation. But the fact remains that the Harrow Philathletic Club literature predates Cotton's Circular to Parents and Thring's first day inspirational efforts on the Uppingham school cricket field when he joined the boys in a game of cricket.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The Prospectus, the Rules and the Circular to Old Boys⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ represent a carefully planned attempt to systemize and extend physical exercise throughout the school. The scheme is at once as ambitious, revolutionary and extensive as that of Cotton and it was committed to paper two months earlier than Cotton's letter after a considerably earlier conception.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

(97) McIntosh, op.cit., p.35.

(98) Ibid., p.38; Mack ignores Uppingham but suggests Marlborough as the source. See Mack (1938), op.cit., p.336.

(99) See Chapter 3 below.

(100) See Appendix I for complete copies.

(101) E.D. Laborde, Harrow School: Yesterday and Today 1948, p.191.

This closeness in time of the appearance of the two circulars from Harrow and Marlborough excites both interest and conjecture in the absence of conclusive evidence. Of particular interest is the part played by C.J. Vaughan in the emergence of both of these documents, and in the creation of the Philathletic Club itself.

Vaughan took up the headship of Harrow in 1845 at the age of 28.

Like Cotton he was no athlete, rather a distinguished scholar. According to J.E.C.Welldon, who questioned Vaughan's contemporaries, he hated games. (102)

At Rugby he had been greatly influenced by Arnold's ideas and with Arthur Penrhyn Stanley and William Charles Lake formed the most famous group of Arnoldian disciples who disseminated Arnold's doctrines throughout the school. (103)

He preferred the more elevating and mature practice of discussing religious and philosophical matters during walks in the midland countryside to playing games. At Cambridge his interests remained spiritual and intellectual.

Subsequently at Harrow he expressed constant anxiety over his pupils "sowing to the flesh" rather than "sowing to the spirit". (104) There is no evidence

to show that he desired to lead by example and usher boys onto the playing fields as in the case of Thring or that he had evolved a considered educational philosophy which embraced those fields as in the case of Almond.

His sermons, in contrast to those of Cotton, are notably free of any rationale for the introduction of physical activities. On the contrary, with pure Arnoldian didacticism, when he piously reminded his boys that spirit, mind and body in that order was the concern of the school, he reflected mournfully that "at a place like this you are constantly tempted to invert that natural order" (105) and regretted that with the passing years "school games occupy more and more of your real thoughts and energies". (106)

(102) Welldon (1915), op.cit., p.108.

(103) Mack (1938), op.cit., p.302.

(104) C.J. Vaughan, Sermons Preached in the chapel of Harrow School (second series) 1853, p.352.

(105) C.J. Vaughan, Memorials of Harrow Sundays 1859, p.189.

(106) Idem.

'Habits', 'Unselfishness', 'Excitements', were typical themes around which to exhort his pupils to think of the soul rather than the body and to put away bodily excess, to preach that spiritual tranquillity would not be realised until the body had been laid aside. He could deliver a sermon on the formation of character and ignore the games field completely. On the single occasion when he conceded virtue in what he considered the obsessional interest of Harrow boys in games, it was to find spiritual satisfaction "in the manner in which they act in merging the individual in the community" (107) thus developing an awareness of membership of the body of Christ!

Yet Vaughan is something of an enigma. While some commentators judged him indifferent to games and while he maintained a low profile in connection with them, it should not be overlooked that the strenuous Charles Kingsley was a friend who regularly preached and dined at Harrow (108), that Vaughan himself was extremely enthusiastic about the success of his own house in school games (109) and that in the Philathletic Club circular it is noted that the plans for the Club had met "with the entire approbation of the Head Master" (110)

There is a certain logic in the argument that the reign of the previous headmaster, C. Wordsworth, rather than that of Vaughan should have seen the inception of the Philathletic Club. In him we find that blend of intellectualism, piety and physical talent so common to nineteenth century muscular Christians. (111) As a boy at Winchester (1820-25) he was a brilliant academic and "the best cricketer, footballer, fives (bat and hand) player and runner in the school, and on account of this was known as 'The Great Christopher'" (112) He played in the first match against Harrow in

(107) Ibid., p.357.

(108) E. Graham, The Harrow Life of Henry Montagu Butler 1920, p.360.

(109) Harrovian Vol.X, No.8, Nov.20th,1897, p.102.

(110) Circular To Old Boys.

(111) J.H. Overton and E. Wordsworth, Christopher Wordsworth Bishop of Lincoln 1807-85 1888, pp.22-3.

(112) Ibid., p.52.

1825 (his brother Charles was captain of the Harrow XI)⁽¹¹³⁾ and at Cambridge remained an enthusiast, playing tennis, cricket and billiards as well as rowing and shooting. Gradually, however, intellectual interests became uppermost and by the time he was appointed to Harrow he was in the traditional mould of the headmasters of the time - theologian and classicist. Not a whisper for or against games came from his chapel pulpit⁽¹¹⁴⁾ and there is no record of him taking an interest in the boys' games. He represented the old orthodoxy, his physical skills subordinated to his professional image. His conventionality, which defied logic, emphasizes the radicalism of Cotton, Thring and Almond, and more subtly that of Vaughan.

The irony is that Wordsworth might usefully have retained and used his great games ability at Harrow, for under him indiscipline flourished, and in consequence numbers fell off. In 1845 Vaughan came to repair the damage and paradoxically, in view of his own unathletic inclinations, it was in his time that organised games became established. The time was ripe. The same practical circumstances, that dictated Cotton's actions at Marlborough also shaped the behaviour of Vaughan whatever his personal inclinations or spiritual reservations. He was faced with difficulties remarkably similar to those which were to face Cotton eight years later at Marlborough - a failing school, indisciplined pupils, and the hostility of the local community.

(113) Charles Wordsworth was a particularly influential figure in the development of games in English education. His somewhat boastful and immodest Annals of My Early Life 1806-1846 1891, contains details of his athletic career. He claimed responsibility for the introduction of the Oxford versus Cambridge cricket and rowing (with others) fixtures in 1825; later as Second Master at Winchester he played a major role in the development of games there; then as Principal of Glenalmond he took the public school games tradition to Scotland.

(114) Not at least on the evidence of his published sermons. See his Sermons Preached at Harrow School 1841.

The wildness, brutality and irresponsibility of Harrow boys is extensively recorded. (115) Torre recalled that in the years before Vaughan many boys kept a dog and cats, the one to kill the others. He mentioned another popular activity - stone throwing - and described fights between the Harrow boys and the navvies building the London and North-Western Railway. (116) Another Harrovian, William Oxendon Hammond referred to stone-throwing as 'the prevailing vice of Harrow' and described how boys used to exchange fire with the school's professional bowler and ground keeper who never moved about without a pocketful of stones. (117) Summarising the period before Vaughan's headmastership, Canon R.R. Williams has written, "Stone-throwing was the principal leisure occupation of the boys and they performed with deadly accuracy. No dog could live on Harrow Hill. Ponies frequently lost their eyes if they had to pull their owners' carts near the school." (118)

One episode recorded in a brief extract from a letter in a London newspaper lodged in the Harrow Archives provides stark evidence of both the restricted responsibility of the masters and the consequent licence permitted to the boys. In 1831 the Morning Chronicle carried a letter which alleged that the school was a complete nuisance to the residents of Harrow and described "a disgraceful outrage" perpetrated on two innocent gentlemen in a gig, who for no apparent reason, had earned the disapproval of the boys. A pupil mob attacked and beat them up, while one of the masters

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- (115) See for example J.C. Cotton Minchin, Old Harrow Days 1898, pp.87-99; letter of H.T. Powell dated 4th.Nov.1816 describing the boys' treatment of Dr. George Butler (H.S.A.); Harrow Gazette and General Advertiser Jan.4th.1864, p.3 (Croxley House File, H.S.A.); Charles Stretton, Memoirs of a Chequered Life 1862, pp.87-99.
- (116) H.J. Torre, Recollections 1890, p.29. (H.S.A.)
- (117) W.O. Hammond, 'Reminiscences of Harrow'. These were written in about 1888 but never printed. Extracts were included in the Harrovian in November and December 1950. For details of stone throwing, see Harrovian Vol.LXIV, No.9, Dec.6th.1950, p.38.
- (118) R.R. Williams, Christianity and Sound Learning: the educational work of C.J. Vaughan 1854, p.4.

merely stood and watched.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Considerable ill-feeling also resulted from the carelessness of the boys on their runs through the countryside.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Such actions as these led to the advice offered privately to Vaughan on his appointment as headmaster, to sack the 69 boys remaining after Wordsworth had left and start afresh.⁽¹²¹⁾

Vaughan ignored this advice. He won the confidence of parents and numbers rose to 283 by 1847.⁽¹²²⁾ His school was no longer in danger of extinction but he then faced a further problem equally familiar to Cotton - large number of boys with unregulated and unsupervised leisure, precisely the situation that had brought the school to its knees under Wordsworth.

Vaughan reacted to this problem by introducing Arnoldian practice.⁽¹²³⁾ In particular he greatly extended the power of the prefects (referred to as monitors at Harrow) in an attempt to curb indiscipline. During The Platt/Stewart Affair of 1854⁽¹²⁴⁾ Vaughan wrote his famous apologia⁽¹²⁵⁾ to Lord Palmerston, himself a distinguished Old Harrovian, who was incensed by the tyranny of boys over boys he considered implicit in the monitorial reforms.

(119) Extract from the Morning Chronicle 1831, (no details of exact date), (H.S.A.)

(120) An Old Harrovian, Harrow Recollections 1867, p.83.

(121) How, op.cit., p.143.

(122) How, op.cit., p.142; Percy M. Thornton gives the figure as 273, see Harrow School and its Surroundings 1885, p.289.

(123) See 'The Headmaster's address at the Charles John Vaughan Centenary Ceremonies', Supplement to the Harrovian Vol.VVIII, No.13, Jan.31st. 1945.

(124) During a game of football on Tuesday, 22nd. November 1853, Platt, a monitor apparently in charge of the game, rebuked Randolph Stewart, one of the players, for playing badly. Stewart answered back and was subsequently beaten. The beating was severe and Platt was dismissed from his monitorship. His father wrote a letter of protest to Vaughan and receiving no redress, published the exchange of correspondence. The outcome was a public controversy 'The Platt/Stewart Affair' which led to the production of a series of pamphlets and letters by the interested parties and others, now in the H.S.A. (File I).

(125) A letter to Viscount Palmerston, M.P., on the Monitorial System of Harrow School 1854 (printed copy) p.1. (H.S.A.)

In it, Vaughan's arguments closely resemble those of Cotton regarding the advantages of the prefectorial system. The task of the monitor was "the enforcement of internal discipline, the object of which is good order, the honourable conduct, the gentlemanlike tone of the houses and of the school". The alternative, he argued, was "the unceasing espionage of an increased staff of subordinate masters" - a system which, as already discussed, (126) was repugnant to a true public school.

Like Cotton, Vaughan saw the possibilities in games for expending boys' energy and keeping them within bounds, but while Cotton relied on masters to persuade boys onto the playing fields, he put his faith in his monitors. The link between his monitorial system and organised games is made clear from a number of sources. In a circular sent by 'an Assistant Master' of the school to parents in April, 1854, it was stated that the prefectorial reforms had been devised expressly for the organisation of games - "such is the intention, such is the tendency and such is the main effect of the Monitorial System at Harrow". (127) It is no surprise therefore to find that the monitors were ex-officio members of the Philathletic Club, an arrangement that clearly suggests the influence of the school authorities. The Platt/Stewart controversy referred to earlier arose out of the newly introduced monitorial supervision on the football pitch which gave Platt the right to punish Stewart, a point which The Times completely failed to appreciate. (128) The Clarendon Commission, meeting shortly after Vaughan's retirement was informed that "the entire administration of the compulsory football" and the financial arrangements for games were entirely in the hands of the head of school (the chief monitor). (129)

(126) See above p.38.

(127) Circular to Parents by an Assistant Master (H.S.A.)

(128) The Times April 13th. 1854, p.9. It was argued in an editorial that a boy on the playing field was free from monitorial supervision.

(129) P.S.C. Vol.III, p.220, Q.1511.

In addition he had to be present at compulsory games himself and was obliged to see that everyone else was there.⁽¹³⁰⁾ E.C. Mack noted the close relationship between the monitorial and games systems and maintained that "with the better organisation of prefect system (under Vaughan) games became a regular means to perfect the more manly moral ideals".⁽¹³¹⁾ And he asserted elsewhere that "while Vaughan did not further athleticism as did Cotton, his (monitorial) system readily served it".⁽¹³²⁾ Vaughan did further athleticism of course, precisely by means of his monitors just as Cotton did by means of his masters. Both did so largely unintentionally, but both did so for exactly the same reasons - as a means of controlling and supervising unruly pupils.

In any discussion of the innovational similarities of Cotton and Vaughan it is important to recall that they were close friends as well as professional colleagues. They had been at Cambridge together and Vaughan was responsible for Cotton going to Rugby.⁽¹³³⁾ During their respective headships they maintained continual contact. Vaughan delivered sermons at Marlborough on several occasions⁽¹³⁴⁾ and it was he who gave the sermon at Cotton's consecration as Bishop of Calcutta in 1858.⁽¹³⁵⁾ As headmasters it would be most unlikely that they failed to discuss their mutual problems or mull over possible solutions. It is entirely reasonable to suggest that they attempted broadly the same solutions to the same problems - some form of 'police force' and the introduction of organised games - as a result of such discussion and reflection. It is further possible that since Vaughan was the senior and more experienced headmaster (he had been headmaster for seven years before Cotton obtained his appointment), and since the idea of the Philathletic Club had been mooted as early as 1852, a year earlier than

(130) Idem.

(131) Mack (1938), op.cit., p.346.

(132) Idem.

(133) Cotton (1871), op.cit., p.61.

(134) Howson and Warner, op.cit., p.112; Diary of Henry Palmer entry for 25th. Sept. 1885.

(135) Idem.

Cotton's circular appeared and even before Cotton became headmaster of Marlborough, the idea of organised games as an antidote to vandalism, trespassing and indiscipline at both Marlborough and Harrow owed as much, if not more, to Vaughan as to Cotton. (136)

A somewhat sophisticated approach on the part of Vaughan to the introduction of organised games, namely permitting the initiative to be seen to come from the boys through their apparent creation of the Philathletic Club, would be entirely in keeping with his technique for handling relationships with his pupils. A large part of his success at Harrow lay in his careful diplomacy in dealings with the boys. (137) His was the iron fist tucked well into the velvet glove. In all his major reforms he moved gently, first sensibly winning the boys over to his side. He had, apparently, an intuitive understanding of boys and was well aware of their conservatism. (138) It would not be surprising, therefore, that he set up a monitorial system inter alia to supervise games, and that he waited several years before the introduction of further games reform by means of the Philathletic Club. He waited, in fact, until the improvement of facilities would make reforms viable, and in 1849 games facilities were extended by six acres. (139) Another reason for the specific timing of the creation of the Club is suggested in the Prospectus - as a remedy for a recent considerable decline in the school's interest in games. (140) This was a state of affairs too dangerous to tolerate. To do so would be to risk a return to the bad practice of former days.

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- (136) Reasonable conjecture is necessary since Vaughan left instructions that on his death no one was to write his biography and that all his papers should be burnt. These instructions were no doubt prompted by his desire to keep his homosexual activities at Harrow from becoming public knowledge.
- (137) Thornton, op.cit., p.291.
- (138) Ibid., p.298.
- (139) Laborde, op.cit., p.54.
- (140) Philathletic Club Prospectus p.1.

Whether Vaughan was the 'éminence grise' behind Cotton's reforms and the conception of the Philathletic Club or merely, in the case of the latter, a sensible opportunist gratefully endorsing a useful disciplinary tool or a realist bowing to popular demand, or all these things is not absolutely clear. But there are grounds for postulating that he might have had a more active role in the promulgation of organised games at both Marlborough and Harrow than has been hitherto appreciated.

Despite Vaughan's deliberate utilisation of games as an instrument of social control, he appears to have been less concerned than Cotton to provide an underpinning educational rationale for public consumption. With the onus of responsibility on the boys rather than on the masters there was perhaps less need to justify the action. While at Marlborough ideological support and organisational implementation occurred simultaneously, at Harrow, from the evidence available, ideological argument for a games system followed implementation. It was not until the sixties and seventies that pupils, staff and old boys began to put forward a respectable set of ideological arguments.

Lack of early rhetorical support and uncertainty over the precise extent of Vaughan's contribution, however, should not distract attention from the fact that Harrow possessed and implemented a set of plans for the organisation of games before both Marlborough and Uppingham. Despite what has been asserted in some quarters, as we have seen above, at least one of the older schools played as important a part as the newer schools in the evolution of athleticism. Nor should the fact be overlooked that systematized games at Harrow as at Marlborough arose primarily out of organisational expediency.

VI

In 1857 Lancing College was established on a spur of the Sussex Downs overlooking the Adur estuary,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ a year before Cotton left Marlborough for Calcutta and two years before Vaughan mysteriously withdrew from Harrow into obscurity.

It was the conception of Nathaniel Woodard. Woodard was the son of an Essex country gentleman and one of a large family so that his father was unable to give him a public school and university education. He was a religious boy and wished early to become a clergyman but his lack of degree made this impossible. In 1834, however, due to the kind support of relatives he took up residence as a rather elderly undergraduate at Magdalen Hall (now Hertford College), Oxford. His academic ability was only moderate; he took six years to graduate but in 1841 he achieved his childhood ambition. He was ordained by the Bishop of London and appointed curate in the Parish of St. Bartholomew, Bethnal Green.

There, he became greatly interested in the education of his parishioners. He won a considerable reputation for energy, initiative and concern, and managed to provide them with a school. 'Romish' views on confession, however, resulted in a controversy with his bishop which led to his dismissal. The controversy even attracted the attention of The Times, a fact that was not without advantage as it brought him to the notice of several deeply Christian, wealthy and influential members of society, Sir John Patterson, Judge on the Queen's Bench, A.J. Beresford-Hope, Member of Parliament, Henry Tritton, a partner in Barclay's Bank and William Cottin, a director of the Bank of England.⁽¹⁴²⁾ These men were to be his valuable colleagues in his educational ventures in later years.

(141) The Upper School moved in in the autumn of 1857 and the Lower School joined them in March 1858 (Handford, op.cit., p.83).

(142) Ibid., p.11.

Immediately after the Bethnal Green dispute, and as a consequence of it, Woodard was offered and accepted the curacy of New Shoreham in Sussex by the incumbent William Wheeler, himself of High Church leanings. The population of Shoreham, a small south coast port, were mostly lower middle class tradesmen and sea captains. Woodard found them irreligious, illiterate and dangerously impractical. The captains were so ignorant of the science of navigation as to be unable to use a quadrant.⁽¹⁴³⁾ As a result, on 11th. January 1847 he opened a day school for the middle classes in the drawing room of the New Shoreham Vicarage. One intention was to offer them useful training in navigation and general educational skills, but a more profound purpose was to draw them off "from the bad influence of their present principles";⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ in short, to wean them away from their godless, ignorant way of life. This goal was clear from the curriculum of the new school: it was to be "a Religious and good sound Commercial Education with the elements of Latin and French".⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ The religious element was pronounced. The day began with attendance at matins; religious habits were noted in the mark book; "good religious habits" won prizes - "useful and Religious books"!

In 1848 Woodard extended his Shoreham scheme to include boarding facilities for "young gentlemen, sons of clergy and others" on payment of forty or fifty guineas depending on age.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ It was an action stimulated less by idealism than by pragmatism. He wished to cater for the upper range of middle class clientele in order to create a reserve fund for times of crisis and a reproduction fund for new foundations.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

(143) Ibid., p.13.

(144) Subscription Request, New Shoreham Vicarage, Feb.1847 (The Woodard Papers, Lancing College, Drawer 9).

(145) Handford, op.cit., p.14.

(146) Ibid., p.15.

(147) Ibid., p.27.

By the following year there were two schools - St.Mary's Grammar School, Shoreham (a day school for the lower middle class) and St.Nicolas' Grammar School, Shoreham (a boarding school for the professional class). They were soon to merge and within a few years to become SS. Mary and Nicolas School, Lancing, eventually to be known as Lancing College. (148) The main elements of Woodard's future educational scheme, which in time spanned a large area of England, were now apparent - an education for the middle class with a strong religious emphasis within a boarding system.

It is necessary to understand something of Woodard's ideals and ambitions in order to distinguish between his motives in setting up the athletic facilities representative of public school education, and those of Cotton and Vaughan, as well as Thring and Almond to be discussed in the next chapter.

Woodard's scheme arose out of his conservative religious and political convictions: "In the strongest terms he and his associates asserted the historic responsibility of the Church (of England) for the education of the English people." (149) It was a responsibility going back to the tenth century and a monopoly until 1779 when Protestant Dissenters were allowed to teach in their own schools; a responsibility which, in the nineteenth century, in Woodard's opinion, was no longer adequately accepted or fulfilled. He thought the ignorance of the majority of English men and women, who were still baptised in the Church, was a disgrace to the Church. (150) But, in particular, he was obsessed with the Church's failure to educate the middle classes. They grew more numerous and politically powerful, and yet were "without religion and without knowledge" (151) - the prerequisites of liberty and order. Only with the

(148) Ibid., p.51.

(149) Brian Heeney, Mission to the Middle Classes 1969, p.87.

(150) Nathaniel Woodard, A Plea for the Middle Classes 1848.

(151) Nathaniel Woodard, Schools for the Middle Classes: a Letter 1852, p.5.

Church as guide would they develop the conscientiousness that would allow "the honest discharge of the privilege of the franchise".⁽¹⁵²⁾ To save the English constitution their education was imperative:⁽¹⁵³⁾ "every man who has a vote, and every man who has the power to do good, and the power to do evil ... surely ought to have means afforded him of forming a rational opinion".⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

In addition, the education of the poor was dependent upon the education of the middle class. In his view the masters must value education in order to supports its extension to the lower orders.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Woodard saw the middle class not only as ill-educated and atheistic but also as selfish, hard, class conscious and tyrannical towards their work people.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Their materialistic, individualistic and despotic attitudes embittered class relations. Education within the framework of the Church would teach them social responsibility.

While he despised their vices, Woodard exonerated the middle classes from responsibility for them. In his opinion, their failings were the direct consequence of the destruction of the 'compact' system of pre-Reformation education. Priced out of the public schools (old grammar schools appropriated by the wealthy), they were left with only a corrupt and inefficient system of local grammar schools and common commercial day schools, both inadequate in the transmission of Christian ideals. As a consequence Woodard "applied himself to the rescue of the middle classes from educational starvation".⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ In this role he saw himself as the creator of a "national agency of middle class education", filling the vacuum

(152) Ibid., p.5.

(153) "The public events of the year 1848 when the peace of Europe was destroyed by revolution and violence, made a deep impression on Woodard's mind. To him the cause of this dangerous instability was irreligion." Sir John Otter, Nathaniel Woodard: A Memoir of His Life 1925, p.37.

(154) Woodard (1852), op.cit., p.16.

(155) Ibid., p.17.

(156) B.W.T. Handford, Lancing College 1848-1948 1948, p.6.

(157) Heeney, op.cit., p.183.

left by the Reformation. But while at first it was to be offered to the middle class - the key group in society, later it was to be available to all: "the greatest possible good that a nation can enjoy is unity among the several classes of society" and this would be promoted most effectively by "all classes being brought up together, learning from their childhood the same religion and the same rudiments of secular learning". (158)

It was Woodard's strong belief that ultimately his schools must be public boarding schools. (159) Only in these schools, away from the "noxious influence of the home", could habits of "honour, integrity and self-restraint" be cultivated and religious zeal transmitted through "close and intimate connection with the clergy". (160) He aimed at nothing short of a social revolution by means of this system: "One system of Large Public Schools will quite alter the tone of the middle classes, and give them no doubt as is the moral effect of the public school system, more liberal and generous view of humanity. It will do away too, with that intense vulgarism which now holds in fetters the middle classes." (161)

To this end he evolved an ambitious plan to create public schools for the middle classes throughout England. Since these classes covered a wide spectrum of social types, from the smaller landed gentry to skilled artisans, he decided on three grades of schools: "the upper one for the sons of gentlemen and Clergymen of limited means, the middle school for farmers, tradesmen and clerks, the lowest school for mechanics, small shopkeepers, gentlemen's servants and the like". (162)

His plan was briefly sketched in his Public Schools for the Middle Classes: A Letter to the clergy of the Diocese of Chichester published in 1851 but more fully described in The Scheme for the Education of St.Nicolas College: A Letter to the Marquis of Salisbury published in 1869.

(158) Ibid., p.185.

(159) Woodard (1852), op.cit., p.17.

(160) Idem.

(161) Nathaniel Woodard, Public Schools for the Middle Classes: a Letter to the clergy of the Diocese of Chichester 1851, p.20.

(162) Woodard (1852), op.cit., pp.17-18.

In the later pamphlet he proposed the establishment of 'large Centres of education' in five 'Divisions of the country' - east, west, north, south and midlands. Each centre was to be endowed with sufficient funds to support a number of full-time members of the society (normally a provost and twelve senior fellows) who were to be engaged in the work of education. Associated with them would be non-resident senior fellows drawn from gentlemen of the community, the number (normally twelve) to be determined by the work of the district. On this group of resident and non-resident fellows would devolve "the guardianship of Church education within a given district". There were also to be other grades of members, for example, fellows and probationary fellows to be engaged directly in educational work, exhibitioners supported at university by the Society, probationary associates (pupil teachers) and scholars nominated by the provost without examination.

The main work of the district would be the establishment of public boarding schools. But, in addition, there were to be teacher training colleges attached to the schools for the less wealthy, and every large town was to have a day school. A system of scholarships would exist, permitting movement from school to school up to the highest and to the universities. In short, there was to be the provision of an 'educational ladder' for the most able. To this end the teaching was to be the same in all the schools, "a public school education not training". The whole scheme was to be supported by subscription.

The ideal was never realised. Funds, though substantial, were insufficient for adequate endowments,⁽¹⁶³⁾ but one year before Woodard's death the scheme comprised "eleven schools, representing an investment of hundreds of thousands of pounds ... In the South were SS.Mary and Nicolas, Lancing; St.John's, Hurstpierpoint; St.Saviour's, Ardingley; and St.Michael's, Bognor; St.Chad's, Denstone; St.Oswald's, Ellesmere, and St.Anne's and St.Mary's, Abbots Bromley; St.Winifred's Bangor, and the day

(163) Handford (1933), op.cit., p.10.

school at Dewsbury all functioned in the Midlands. King's College, Taunton, was established in the West. In these institutions dozens of teachers (many of them qualified through the Society's own training scheme) had about 1,350 pupils under instruction".⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Today the Woodard system constitutes the largest body dealing with secondary education outside the State.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ In the past the boys schools, in their urgent desire for public school status, as we shall see shortly, comprised a solid corpus of schools committed to athleticism as a movement representative of the upper classes.

Of the schools created by Woodard, Lancing College, which had its origins in his first boarding school, St.Nicolas' Grammar School founded in 1848, was socially superior. Its clientele were lesser gentry and the professions. Woodard, from its inception, claimed for it the status of a public school.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ At Shoreham before its move, however, it was small and shabby and was hard pressed to claim the position to which it aspired. Handford has written, "... there was a certain pathos in the condition of the school at this time."⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Indeed, it was originally advertised realistically as a "public school for the sons of gentlemen of restricted means". In Handford's opinion, it was only on taking up residence on Lancing Hill that the College became recognisable as a genuine public school. Instrumental in this social elevation, he has asserted - significantly - were the provision of reasonable game facilities, the rapid development of organised games and a house system.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ With these essentials the school could be, and was, advertised confidently as "a public school for the sons of gentlemen and persons in affluent circumstances"⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ and the fees were considerably increased. The

(164) Heeney, op.cit., p.39.

(165) Handford (1948), op.cit., p.10. This statement originally made in 1948 remains true in 1976.

(166) "It is clear from countless references that the Founder intended Lancing to take its place among the ordinary public schools." Handford (1933), op.cit., p.86.

(167) Ibid., p.70.

(168) Ibid., p.88.

(169) Handford (1948), op.cit., p.14.

importance of adequate playing fields in the quest for an unassailable image was again demonstrated some years later by the drive to improve these facilities at Lancing in the 1880s, when numbers remained disappointingly static. The relatively makeshift character of the games facilities and other accessories in comparison with better schools was held to be responsible. Men of wealth, it was argued, would scarcely consider it a leading public school. (170)

Woodard does not appear to have been greatly interested in his boys' games. When he set up his first school, St. Mary's Grammar School, in 1848, he showed greater interest in its organisation than in that of the subsequent schools he founded. (171) It is interesting to note, therefore, that he revealed no apparent concern for games as an element of the curriculum. (172)

One biographer has argued that respect for the public school system had taught Woodard that true education was an indivisible whole, affecting body, mind and soul together "operative no less on the playing field than in the classroom" (173) and maintains that this was the reason he later provided his schools with playing space. (174) If this is so, it must be said there is no direct evidence of his appreciation of the holistic argument for games. Unlike Thring and Almond he never articulated a philosophy of physical education. In his surviving sermons and educational

(170) Otter, op.cit., p.123.

(171) Handford (1933), op.cit., p.14.

(172) The Lancing historian, B.W.T. Handford, in a letter to the present writer dated 11.8.75, has pointed out that Woodard provided gym poles in his garden for the boys, and that a design for a school in Shoreham included a gymnasium and a fives court. All of which however, tends to emphasise Woodard's conservatism. Like Arnold he appeared to find little of educational merit in team games - increasingly the hallmark of the public school. But as Handford writes 'assumed the necessity of physical exercise and provided for it' - according to his lights!

(173) K.E. Kirk, The Story of the Woodard Schools 1937, In fact, while the grounds were extensive, playing fields were in short supply at Lancing for many years.

(174) Ibid., p.83.

pamphlets there is no record of any reflection on physical education provision in his schools or an awareness of the possibilities of moral learning inherent in team games.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Equally he does not appear to have joined in the games of his boys. Although he had certain affinities with Kingsley in his social conscience, he was certainly not a muscular Christian.

And in general he made no radical contributions to the public school curriculum.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ His aim was to extend the provision of a past age⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ rather than pioneer change in the manner of Sanderson of Oundle, Ready of Abbotsholme or Almond of Loretto. The Schools Inquiry Commission highlighted this conservatism by revealing the complete absence of science teaching at Lancing, and the existence of a solidly classical curriculum.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ On the evidence available, the provision of playing fields, such as they were, certainly in the case of Lancing, can be more reasonably attributed to Woodard's great concern to provide it with the image of a public school,⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ rather than to a personal philosophy of education or physical education. Woodard had autocratic power in the appointment of masters, including head masters.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ And it would appear that to further a definite public school image at Lancing he appointed games enthusiasts to the staff. On the eve of Lancing's move to its new home, for example, William Sterne Raymond⁽¹⁸¹⁾ joined the school. It was a revealing appointment. He was a good scholar and an all round athlete - swimmer, jumper, footballer, runner, cricketer.⁽¹⁸²⁾

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- (175) These are housed at Lancing College in two collections - the Woodard Papers and the Lancing Archive Collection.
- (176) Heeney, op.cit., pp.105-6.
- (177) Ibid., pp.71-7.
- (178) S.I.C. Vol.V, p.102. Evidence of the headmaster, R.E. Sanderson. As a result of the Commission's findings, science was begun in 1872.
- (179) K.E. Kirk, op.cit., p.52. Kirk considered that Upper, Middle, Lower Schools was a naive consideration. All (parents and headmasters) aspired to single status with the result that "every ... school now claims the right to label itself a 'public school'."
- (180) See Handford (1933), op.cit., p.61, for details of his dismissal of C.E. Moberly (headmaster 1849-51).
- (181) Handford (1933), op.cit., p.114. Raymond was a master at Lancing from 1855 to 1863.
- (182) He was a Cambridge cricket blue.

To these sporting talents incidentally, he added a passionate nature, a simple character, a vivacious manner and a sincere Christianity; yet another mid-century Kingsleian muscular Christian.

His appointment was a logical outcome of Woodard's deliberations, for it was to Raymond that the status-conscious Lancing owed its organised games and early games facilities. Shortly after his arrival Lancing Cricket Club was systematised and house matches started. He constructed the first cricket ground on the Dyke Field, and in conjunction with two local professionals coached and played in the school eleven.⁽¹⁸³⁾ He also founded Lancing football. As a direct consequence of all this, Raymond was, in Handford's telling phrase, "perhaps the first to begin the work of changing St.Nicolas' School, Shoreham, into a public school".⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ This was certainly the most important historical outcome of his actions, but whether it was a personal motive is unclear. One important reason for his enthusiasm for games that is clear, however, was the release they offered "from sins of the grosser kind", the "inward conflict with the demon lust" and the "enormous evil of unchastity".⁽¹⁸⁵⁾

Raymond was not a public schoolboy but the product of Bury St.Edmund's Grammar School, Suffolk. It was mid-century Cambridge that provided him with the opportunity to develop his games playing ability, and the changing climate of opinion as to the useful contributions of assistant masters about this time, allowed him the opportunity to teach boys outdoors as well as indoors. He died prematurely in 1863, but by then he had laid at Lancing the foundations of organised games and given to the school the first layer of a public school patina.

(183) Handford (1933), op.cit., p.89.

(184) Ibid., p.114.

(185) See W.S. Raymond, A Sermon preached in the chapel of St.Nicolas College, Lancing 1859. (L.C.A.)

While Raymond's contribution was restricted to Lancing, the general change in the climate of opinion regarding the role of games and the role of staff in relation to them within the Woodard school system as a whole, was considerably facilitated and accelerated by E.C. Lowe who joined the Society in 1849.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ Lowe was assistant master at St.Nicolas' School, Shoreham, for a term before taking up the headship of St.John's, Hurstpierpoint, a 'middle school' opened in the same year as he joined the Society. He remained there as headmaster until 1872. From 1873 to 1891 he was Provost of Denstone College. He then returned to Lancing in 1891 as Provost⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ and was reappointed in 1896⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ for two years. He was, therefore, throughout his career a distinguished and influential member of the Woodard system. His significance for this study lies in the fact that he preached both the virtues of "bodily education" and the desirability of a public school life style for all the Woodard institutions with passionate conviction. In 1856, for example, in a sermon entitled "The Image of God" he argued that physical education was important to ensure a manly presence, in turn important because external appearance was a "sure index of the man within".⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Thirteen years later he took up cudgels with Sir John Coleridge and in an open letter on the virtues of the liberal system of education offered by the Society at St.Nicolas' College, he wrote of games and playground exercises that he found them highly important and connected with many beneficial moral results;⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ a point made with similar conviction in his evidence to the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1865. The members of the Commission could scarcely have doubted his sincerity; the inspector who visited Hurstpierpoint reported that muscle was as much admired there as at any other public school.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

(186) Handford (1933), op.cit., p.59.

(187) The title of the head of each of the five regional societies of the Corporation of St.Nicolas.

(188) Lancing College Register 1933 (3rd ed.) p.V.

(189) E.C.Lowe, The Image of God: A Sermon for Schoolmasters and Schoolboys.

(190) E.C.Lowe, St. Nicolas' College and its Schools: A Letter to Rt.Hon. Sir J.J.Coleridge 1867, p.30.

(191) S.I.C. Vol.V., p.50, Q.9367.

Finally, in 1878 in a pamphlet in which he looked back over thirty years in Woodard schools, he made an ideological statement of commitment which was quite unexceptional in public school annals for its stereotypic catch-phrases:

"An important element of public school training must always be looked for not in the mere excellence of games and athletic sports but in the organisation by boys of a system which calls out their individual powers, gives reasonable self-reliance, teaches forbearance and fair play, and prepares boys for that knowledge of men and manners which in practical utility may dispute the palm with book knowledge itself." (192)

Lowe is an important figure in the history of the Woodard schools. His influential position in the Society ensured the development of the right social image not only for Lancing but for other schools of the system.

In 1859 Henry Walford became headmaster of Lancing. This was a startling appointment. Walford was out of sympathy with "the austerity and mysticism implied in the Oxford Movement"⁽¹⁹³⁾ while Woodard, for his part, was a confirmed disciple of Pusey, Newman and Keble, and believed it was his mission to apply Tractarian Theology to the education of the middle classes.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ This very divergence of theological views had caused Walford's resignation from the post of assistant master at Lancing which he had held from 1852 to 1855. Yet he was appointed to the headship of Lancing four years later! The truth of the matter was that Woodard badly needed a headmaster of demonstrably rugged Christianity.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾

The Woodard system had suffered during the early fifties from a series of accusations of 'Popish practices' especially sacramental confession. This had given the schools an undesirable image as places of womanish piety and effeminate Puseyism.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Largely because of this the

(192) E.C.Lowe, A Record of Thirty Years Work in the Effort of Endowing the Church of England with a system of self-supporting public boarding schools for the upper, middle and lower classes 1878.

(193) Handford (1933), op. cit., p.96.

(194) Heeney, op. cit., p.59.

(195) Handford (1933), op. cit., p.96.

(196) Heeney, op. cit., p.76; Handford (1933), op.cit., pp.33-9, pp.57-8 and pp.63-4.

then headmaster of Lancing, John Braithwaite, had committed the cardinal sin of public school headmasters; by 1858 after seven years in his charge the school's numbers had not increased.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Braithwaite was a mild and nervous man. Walford's forceful masculinity was in strong contrast. So despite his reservations about Tractarianism he was chosen to replace his opposite in appearance and conviction, and retrieve the fortunes of the school. A decision on the part of Woodard that underlines both his practicality and as a corollary, underlines his strong desire to see Lancing a successful public school.

In terms of image Woodard chose well. Walford was a tall, heavily built extrovert, who had been at Rugby under Arnold and encouraged the Lancing boys to think he was the original 'slogger' Williams in the celebrated fight in Tom Brown's Schooldays.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ He radiated a 'manly ethical Christianity' that was to prove a valuable asset to the school. He, in fact, had certain similarities in appearance and function with the symbolic Rev. Bernard Colquhoun in Keddy: A Story of Oxford by the obscure Edwardian novelist H.N. Dickinson. Colquhoun

"stood six foot two in his thick woolly socks ... he reminded one of the Village Blacksmith, and the muscles of his brawny arm were considered very taking by admirers. His appearance made plain black cloth look like the roughest tweed; his surplice was a suit of mail. In modern days it is surely hard to exaggerate the value of a man like this. For if anyone were found to say or hint or fear that Christianity is the religion of weaklings and cowards, Mr. Colquhoun would give a contrary argument that would not be soon forgotten. It would not be the first time that orthodoxy has resulted from muscular force".⁽¹⁹⁹⁾

Walford not only looked the part, he performed the role of muscular Christian quite adequately. He played cricket with the boys, introduced compulsory games and supported this step with standard ideological arguments from the pulpit.⁽²⁰⁰⁾

(197) Handford (1933), op.cit., pp.92-4.

(198) Ibid., p.96.

(199) H.N.Dickinson, Keddy: A Story of Oxford 1907, p.46.

(200) Sam Brooke's Journal : The Diary of a Lancing Schoolboy 1860-1865
See, for example, entries for May 15th., Oct. 20th. and 28th. 1860.

He was one of a new generation of public school headmasters who were not simply scholars, but also games players. Temple, Butler, Thring and Almond, to name but a few, typified the new man. In appointing Walford, Woodard was calling attention to the normality of Lancing as a public school; and, in addition, selecting a man with the type of virile image attractive to parents and pupils. His stratagem worked. Puseyism was slowly forgotten, masculinity was emphasised and numbers increased steadily. (201)

As significant as Walford's appointment are his senior staff, W.S. Raymond, the games playing cleric already discussed, and A.C. Wilson. (202) Wilson was also a committed supporter of games. He specialised in producing unbeaten teams. (203) Included in his personal notebook and press cuttings for his own and others edification and stimulation, was the following homily: "The great value of a school is that it is, or ought to be, a place of moral discipline, and this discipline is taught as much in the playground or cricket field as in the classroom." (204) Walford, Raymond and Wilson were the first housemasters of the new Lancing on the Hill. On this site therefore, it had three masters (205) in the most powerful positions in the school who welcomed and promoted the new games system so indispensable to a genuine public school. With these enthusiasts in authority games facilities and a games ethos quickly developed, a state of affairs that reflected events in the more firmly established public schools up and down the country such as Marlborough and Harrow.

(201) In 1858 there were 97 pupils; by 1871 there were 121 (Heeney, op.cit., p.197).

(202) A.C.Wilson, educated Westminster and Christchurch, Oxford; second master at Lancing 1851-1869; later headmaster of Basingstoke Grammar School.

(203) His house cricket team was unbeaten for ten years and several times beat the rest of the school.

(204) Extract from The Woodford Times Sat.31st.July 1869 in his Notebook and Press Cuttings (L.C.A.).

(205) There were at least two other notable Christian athletes at the school about this time, Rev.E.H.Morgan(1862-5) later, with Leslie Stephen, a famous athletic don at Cambridge and Rev.E.Field, member of the Society from 1853 and Chaplain at Lancing from 1860.

It was neither profound ideological conviction nor disciplinary necessity⁽²⁰⁶⁾ that provided the major impetus for the development of games at Lancing. Lowe, Walford, Wilson and Raymond were ideologically committed to a greater or lesser degree, but Woodard, the central figure who recruited them all, sought first and foremost the security of an upper class identity for Lancing predominantly for reasons of insurance. It was a case of emulation for acceptance and survival.

VII

Cotton's encouragement of games is considered by Honey as significant for the development of the Victorian public school; but he finds it difficult to understand how the message spread - Cotton's masters gained few headships and he himself left little in the way of propaganda.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ This chapter throws some light on the problem. It is neither exclusively nor predominantly a matter of seeking evidence of cultural diffusion from a single influential source. Within even the narrow context of the three schools considered above, there is evidence of parallel innovation as a product of similar organisational problems; equally the extant records suggest that imitation of the greater by the lesser played its part in the diffusion process.

(206) There is no evidence in the records of serious indiscipline or vandalism. Numbers were small, an important factor: 1851-79, 1852-66, 1857-77, 1858-97 (Heeney, op.cit., p.197.)

(207) Honey, op.cit., pp.138ff. Honey states however that Cotton's role is not to be exaggerated and points to the contribution of the Universities. They were, as he suggests, important agents of diffusion. They inspired Almond and Thring and lesser men such as William Sterne Raymond. For a discussion of the role of the Universities see Chap. 5 below.

Indeed the contribution of Cotton himself, it is suggested, needs to be looked at more closely than hitherto. There are grounds for believing that Vaughan played a more positive part in the introduction of organised games and in the stimulation of athleticism at both Harrow and Marlborough than has been recognized to date. He faced the same school problems as Cotton, earlier than Cotton, and his school produced a blue print of solutions earlier than Marlborough. It is a distinct possibility that Cotton's reforms owed something to him.

If Vaughan's role in the development of the games cult is not wholly clear but may well have been underestimated, that of the Harrow Philathletic Club certainly has been underestimated. Its system of organised games predates developments at both Marlborough and Uppingham. It is difficult to see how the newer nineteenth century public schools can continue to be regarded as the exclusively fertile seed beds of the athleticism movement!

CHAPTER THREE

IDEALISM, IDEOPRAXISTS AND REJECTION

Edward Thring (1821-1887) inherited a love of the open air. ⁽¹⁾

His father, John Gale Thring, was an energetic squarson, rector of the parish of Alford in Somerset and squire of the estate of Alford Manor. It was written of him: "He had the fondness of the English country gentleman for outdoor life, and was known as the best and boldest rider in the county of Somerset." ⁽²⁾ Boldness and pleasure in physical action were qualities Thring himself displayed in time. Denied the extensive acres of Alford (he was a younger son) and the leisure of the wealthy rural churchman, and possessed of a teaching vocation, Thring transformed indulgence into virtue and riding to hounds into the educational pursuit of leather balls on games fields.

"From 1853 to 1887 Thring's life and Uppingham's rebirth are one story." ⁽³⁾ This is undoubtedly true; yet it is equally true that the school's rebirth was as much the consequence of the formative years of his life as of the years of his headship. In a sense Thring's life and Uppingham's palingenesis are the same story. Thring himself stressed that the schoolboy was father to the schoolmaster. ⁽⁴⁾ And the schoolboy participated successfully and enthusiastically in a variety of physical activities. At Eton he played cricket, football and fives, raced all-comers and played 'at the Wall'. A contemporary recorded that "his pluck and muscle were peerless". ⁽⁵⁾ Pleasures, habits and enthusiasms that

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- (1) See C. Rigby, The Life and Influence of Edward Thring unpublished D.Phil.Thesis, University of Oxford, 1968, p.6.
 - (2) G.R. Parkin, Life of Edward Thring 1898, Vol.I, p.5.
 - (3) M. Tozer, The Development and Role of Physical Education at Uppingham School 1850-1914, M.Ed. Thesis, University of Leicester, 1974, p.39.
 - (4) Rigby, op.cit., p.i.
 - (5) Parkin, op.cit., p.27.

lasted his lifetime, were established and consolidated in the shadow of Windsor.

At the age of eight Thring was sent to a private school at Ilminster, fifteen miles from his home, where he lived a terrorised existence at the brutal hands of its owner, Rev. John Allen. Afterwards he was Eton, as mentioned above, towards the end of the pre-Clarendon era. He later described the cruelty, the squalor, the official indifference and lack of privacy in a graphic sketch of life in the rat-infested Long Chamber which housed fifty-two boys:

"Rough and ready was the life they led: cruel, at times, the suffering and the wrong; wild the profligacy. For after eight o'clock at night no prying eye came near till the following morning; no one lived in the same building; cries of joy and pain were equally unheard; and excepting a code of laws of their own, there was no help or redress for anyone".⁽⁶⁾

These experiences were to lead to fortunate consequences - for others.

When he became a schoolmaster he was moved, in his own words, "to try to see if I could not make the life of small boys at school happier and brighter".⁽⁷⁾

In the manner of the nineteenth century clerical headmaster Cotton eventually left Marlborough for a bishopric.⁽⁸⁾ Vaughan was ambitious for similar promotion from Harrow, but was foolishly indiscreet.⁽⁹⁾ In contrast, Thring was a professional schoolteacher.

His eyes were not fastened upon prestigious bishoprics, restful canonries or wealthy colleges. His ambition was to teach children, and arose from his experience in the national schools in Gloucester where he took up a curacy in 1847 after leaving Cambridge.⁽¹⁰⁾ It was there that his concern for the less capable child, a feature that was to characterise his

(6) Ibid., p.23.

(7) Ibid., p.13.

(8) For a description of the regular ecclesiastical preferment of Victorian headmasters to bishoprics see Honey, op.cit., pp.314-16.

(9) He wrote love letters to his pupils. See Phyllis Grosskurth, John Addington Symonds 1964. pp.33 ff.

(10) Parkin, op.cit., p.48.

career at Uppingham was aroused. Desire to stimulate comprehension in the unorganised heads of his working class boys so distant from the "brain world of the Cambridge Honours man" obsessed him.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1886 in his address to the Education Society on his election as president, he reflected on the influence the Gloucester period had had for his subsequent career, declaring that everything he most valued of teaching thought and teaching practice and teaching experience stemmed from it.⁽¹²⁾

The strain of his Gloucester work resulted in a crisis of health in 1848, but while he recuperated he did not lose sight of his destiny and acquired further educational experience as a classical examiner at Eton, Rugby and King's College, Cambridge, from teaching private pupils at Great Marlow and from work in the parish school of Stubbings outside Maidenhead. In 1853 he applied for, and obtained the headship of Uppingham Grammar School in Rutland. He was thirty-two.

Thring was a sensualist. He had a Wordsworthian passion for nature,⁽¹³⁾ a Kingsleian delight in bodily exercise and a seldom revealed, but honest pleasure in sex.⁽¹⁴⁾ J.H. Skrine, his Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, considered that he was concerned with the "antithesis of life to intellect",⁽¹⁵⁾ worshipped life and identified life with feeling rather than mental effort, and spent too much time doing to talk much about books. In sum, he was the "eager man of action".⁽¹⁶⁾ His temperament, Skrine added, was rude and practical. It was an impression he made on the less admiring. When he preached at Harrow the boys nicknamed him 'Old sheep folds' on account of his thumping, antiphonic, colloquial delivery.⁽¹⁷⁾

Those commentators who were close to him during his life,

(11) Edward Thring, Addresses (1887), p.5.

(12) Quoted in Parkin, op.cit., p.48.

(13) J.H. Skrine, A Memory of Edward Thring 1889, p.125,

(14) See E. Thring, 'The Charter of Life' in The School of Life: Addresses to Public School Men by Public School Masters 1885, pp.86-7 ff.

(15) Skrine, op.cit., p.248.

(16) Ibid., p.127.

(17) George W.E. Russell, Fifteen Chapters of Autobiography 1913, p.63.

J.H. Skrine and W.E. Rawnsley, leave an impression of an energetic, intense, opinionated, deeply religious man,⁽¹⁸⁾ but not an intellectual - a man of senses rather than intellect,⁽¹⁹⁾ distrustful of intellectual subtlety, delighting in robust directness. It is not surprising therefore, that his favourite contemporary writers were novelists and poets such as Scott, Tennyson and Kingsley rather than scientists and philosophers such as Darwin, Mills and Bentham, nor that he was contemptuous of agnostics and aesthetes however accomplished. To Thring, Herbert Spencer was "a most consummate donkey" and Charles Swinburne "the greatest blackguard in Europe".⁽²⁰⁾

These characteristics and predilections make him a candidate for inclusion in the school of muscular Christians and indeed his sympathy towards, and affinity with Charles Kingsley has been described at length.⁽²¹⁾ It has been observed that his ideal of manliness - while chivalric in the manner of his favourite authors, Scott and Tennyson, moral in the manner of Farrar and Arnold, Christian in the manner of the children's writers, Mrs. Galty and Mrs. Ewing - "owed most to Kingsley's ideal of healthy manliness".⁽²²⁾ And while Thring held the view that education included the imparting of knowledge as well as the implanting of Kingsleian Christian manliness, in his view the latter was the supreme aim!⁽²³⁾ Character is a common synonym for manliness in the language of the period and Thring "valued character far more highly than brains ... For success he cared little, save in so far as it was proof of character".⁽²⁴⁾

(18) Alicia Percival has written that he possessed a "special Miltonic feeling" of his place as a servant of God (op.cit., p.186).

(19) Thring had a distinguished classical career at Eton and Cambridge and in the words of Cormac Rigby, "He was not an anti-intellectual, very far from it", but was a man delighting in his emotions rather than in intellectual ideas.

(20) W.P. James, Thring and Uppingham p.28. (U.S.A.)

(21) See Tozer, op.cit., pp.198 ff. Sympathy was reciprocated. Thring entered in his diary for 18th. June 1886 that both the Kingsleys had "a strong feeling for Uppingham and the work here".

(22) Ibid., p.211.

(23) Ibid., p.213.

(24) James, op.cit., p.14.

The experiences of his own schooldays and early manhood at Gloucester, his wholesome sensuality, his religious fervour and Kingsleian values determined the shape of Uppingham. It was to be different. (25)

In the first place it was to provide an education relevant to the needs of each boy. To this end he expanded the traditional curriculum to include music, drawing, languages and games. Since assessment of individual need required sound assessment of the individual he aimed inter alia at a pupil teacher ratio of thirty to one and a permanent staff who knew the boys well. Secondly, pupils at his school were to have privacy and dignity; to this end he established private studies and dormitory cubicles for each boy, (26) and while giving great power to his prefects ensured by a system of careful checks that their power was sensibly restricted. Thirdly, it was Thring who was to define the educational needs of his pupils. His concern to provide a training of 'true men' was paramount. Learning was not to be dictated by eventual occupation or educational tradition but by the educational ideals of Edward Thring.

His concept of education was in essence the Graeco-Renaissance ideal of the whole man - character, intellect and body in harmony. (27) He preached, "all...go on at once and, in a good system, mutually support each other in their appointed places", and again, "Life is one piece...health of body, health of intellect, health of heart all uniting to form the true man". (28) In his view there could be no separation in sound educational practice wherever the whole training of the heart, mind and

(25) Details are to be found in The Statement of the Rev.E. Thring, Headmaster, concerning the reorganisation of the school and the Great School Decree of the Governors in October 1859 1860.

(26) Peter Stansky, "Lyttelton and Thring: A Study in Nineteenth Century Education", Victorian Studies Vol.V, March 1962, p.217: "Thring revolutionised the physical 'plant' of the British public school."

(27) As a student at Cambridge Thring was much influenced by Greek thought: "Plato's ideals as set down in the Republic were the foundations of Thring's school" (Tozer, op.cit., p.77).

(28) E. Thring, Education and School 1864, (1867 ed.), pp.22, 33.

body was undertaken, ⁽²⁹⁾ and this ambition was the real object of education. ⁽³⁰⁾

A clear idea of the official ideology of Uppingham under Thring is provided by a group of his pupil-neophytes, who, for reasons of conviction or

diplomacy, echoed his taught philosophy in School Delusions: Essays by the Sixth Form a pamphlet published in 1860. A delusion to be carefully

avoided, which recurs throughout this set of essays, was the belief that education comprised the single-minded pursuit of academic success when in reality "the hard worker and hard player is almost certainly the best man". ⁽³¹⁾

In practical terms, at Thring's Uppingham the choice was not between games and learning. Education embraced both. ⁽³²⁾

For Thring was a period rarity. He possessed a philosophy of physical education - with physiological, aesthetic and psychological components: "The life builds the body. A bad life builds an ugly, unhealthy body; a good life builds a good and healthy body, and in a short time prints the character on the body, as much as if a label was put round a man's neck, to ticket him as a scamp or able man." ⁽³³⁾ Cotton made a passing reference in his sermons to the philosophy of the whole man.

Thring devoted his educational life to its theory and practice. To his system of physical education Athens contributed the theory, Eton the games, Germany the gymnastics, ⁽³⁴⁾ Alford the rural pursuits. ⁽³⁵⁾

It was not all dogmatism translated into action. Expedience played some part. Thring fully understood the value of the games field for breaking down antagonism between masters and boys and sought to reverse "a principle of opposition". He maintained that relationships would prosper if masters showed themselves "capable of understanding and

(29) Ibid., p.196.

(30) Ibid., p.22.

(31) School Delusions; Essays by the Sixth Form, 1860, p.76. See also pp.10, 35, 48, 64.

(32) Thring (1867), op.cit., p.34.

(33) Thring (1887), op.cit., p.119-21.

(34) See pages 88-9.

(35) Tozer, op.cit., pp.37, 72.

advancing all manly pleasures", and so he sought a "unity of purpose" between master and boy in all good things including those refreshing activities of the playing field.⁽³⁶⁾ And while there was no pressing need at Uppingham on Thring's arrival to develop games as an instrument of social control, in time, as the school grew in size,⁽³⁷⁾ good relations with the local farmers did become a necessary concern. Thring's diary contains a record of the complaints and fears of the local yeomanry.⁽³⁸⁾

Harrow and Marlborough, as has been seen, produced early blue-prints for organised games playing: the Philathletic Club Prospectus of April, 1853, and Cotton's Circular to Parents of June, 1853. At Uppingham, Thring's earliest inspirational influence was one of example: "On the tenth of September, 1853, I entered on my Headmastership with the very appropriate initiation of a whole holiday and a cricket match in which I recall I got 15 by some good swinging hits to the great delight of my pupils."⁽³⁹⁾ This participation was to become a habit, proudly maintained. He reported to the Schools Inquiry Commission that he played cricket and football with the boys "very much indeed".⁽⁴⁰⁾ He played fives until his 49th year; a longevity that was the admiration of his boys.⁽⁴¹⁾

Despite a common belief to the contrary, Thring had no blueprint for a school when he arrived at Uppingham.⁽⁴²⁾ As the school developed so his ideas developed. But he organised as well as reflected, and played. During the first fifteen years he searched tirelessly for games fields;⁽⁴³⁾ built fives courts, a bathing pool, a pavilion and the first gymnasium in an

(36) Thring (1867), op.cit., pp.31-3, 269.

(37) Numbers at Uppingham: 1853 - 28, 1854 - 46, 1861 - 175, 1865 - 282, 1869 - 355. See Parkin, op.cit., pp.82, 113, 145, 163.

(38) Edward Thring, MS. Diarv, Entries for 25th.Feb. and 8th.March 1860.

(39) Ibid., Entry for 20th.December 1858.

(40) S.I.C. Vol.V, p.97, Q.9920.

(41) Skrine, op.cit., p.17.

(42) Rigby, op.cit., pp.90-3.

(43) Mallea's 'entry by entry analysis' of the first volume of Thring's diary reveals over seventy references to physical activities, many concerned with the acquisition of facilities (op.cit., p.125).

English public school - offering tempting if esoteric prizes for the exercises;⁽⁴⁴⁾ introduced athletic sports and systematised cricket and football; probably inaugurated a Committee of Games⁽⁴⁵⁾ and certainly offered a Champion's Cup for the best athletic all-rounder. To achieve all this he spent his own money gladly, and pressed masters for theirs.⁽⁴⁶⁾ By 1867 he had created physical education facilities for some 300 boys - "aiming at as perfect equipment as possible".⁽⁴⁷⁾

Thring's "triumphalist admirers"⁽⁴⁸⁾ portrayed a simple man of exuberant physicality, a then fashionable muscular Christian. The image has persisted.⁽⁴⁹⁾ However the last decade has seen an attempt to present a more rounded, dignified portrait of the man in an age less addicted to traditional public school mores.⁽⁵⁰⁾ A simple-minded enthusiasm for athletes and athletics is not, of course, the entirety of Thring's personality. As his recent apologists argue, he struggled against narrow muscularity; he was far more than a games zealot. Yet at the same time he lent his considerable support to games. His appearance on the cricket and football field and on the fives court,⁽⁵¹⁾ his energetic pursuit of playing areas for his school, his songs of devotion,⁽⁵²⁾ his speeches of exhortation⁽⁵³⁾

(44) A goose, a pork pie and a pot of jam: U.S.M., Vol.9, No.70, Dec.1871, p.401. W.E. Rawnsley, Early Days at Uppingham School under Edward Thring 1904, p.110.

(45) Tozer, op.cit., p.53.

(46) It was often freely given. For details of the expense of these innovations and the contributions of staff see the section in Chapter 5 below dealing with the economics of athleticism.

(47) Parkin, op.cit., p.76.

(48) His "triumphalist admirers" include W.E. Rawnsley, H.D. Rawnsley and W.S. Patterson - "all fanatical athletes" (Rigby, op.cit., p.282).

(49) Newsome, op.cit., p.220.

(50) This is a major concern of the recent theses of Cormac Rigby, John Mallea and Malcolm Tozer. See in particular Rigby, op.cit., pp.282-300; Mallea, op.cit., pp.129, 137-142; Tozer, op.cit., pp.212-14.

(51) J.H. Skrine has drawn a splendid picture of Thring as a fives player (op.cit., pp.16-17).

(52) These are considered in more detail in Chapter 7 below in the sections dealing with vocabularies of cohesion and identity.

(53) See for example his speech at the 1864 School Athletics Meeting (U.S.M. Vol.II, No.12, May 1864, p.194). Tozer suggests that the regular once a year editorials on the virtues of athletic events were probably the texts of his annual sports day speech (op.cit., p.98).

and his works of educational philosophy, counted for more in the long run than anxious comment in his private diary,⁽⁵⁴⁾ infrequent admonishments in the school chapel,⁽⁵⁵⁾ his resistance to the appointment of a cricket professional and his reluctance to champion rugby union football.⁽⁵⁶⁾

His ideal of the educated man was noble, its lineage ancient, his promulgation sincere. But there remains standing at the shoulder of the thoughtful educational figure, a charismatic reformed squarson exuding the odour of exuberant clean-living, a sheaf of sermons for boys in one hand and a cricket bat in the other. An inspiration to action. And the public school world was only too willing to be inspired to play; but was far less moved by his idealism.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The concern here, of course, is less with the man than with his role in the rise of athleticism. In this context he must be considered as a willing and influential contributor to the popularisation of physical activities in school, but an unintentional contributor to their glorification. Like Cotton he was a piper whose tunes provoked a frenzy he failed to contain. He created a force that took control of his school after his death and distorted his educational ideals.⁽⁵⁸⁾ He strove for the aurea mediocritas: in fact he began a movement eventually characterised by enthusiastic excess. But for the purposes of this study he demonstrates one thing in particular, together with Almond as we shall see, namely that athleticism did not arise simply out of sensible expedience or calculating imitation, but also out of considered and applied educational theory.

(54) See, for example, the entry for May 28th, 1872 in Parkin, op.cit., p.235.

(55) W.S. Patterson, Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket 1909, p.50.

(56) For details of his attitude to the professional and to rugby union see Mallea, op.cit., pp.131 and 117; Rigby, op.cit., pp.290-3 & 299.

(57) His educational ideas 'fell flat' in the public school system and even his own school abandoned many that he cherished. See Rigby, op.cit., p.372 for a frank assessment.

(58) Tozer, op.cit., pp.215 ff.

II

Nine years after Edward Thring arrived at Uppingham, Hely

Hutchinson Almond (1832-1903) bought a small private school called Loretto at Musselburgh outside Edinburgh. Almond was twenty-nine. He had drifted into teaching.⁽⁵⁹⁾ His first choice of a career had been the Indian Civil Service but he was an unsuccessful applicant and in 1857 he was offered a teaching post at Loretto through the good offices of a distant relative and Oxford contemporary, Charles Langhorne. Charles and his two brothers, Thomas and Alexander, ran the school between them. Almond remained a year, moving in 1858 to the post of second master at Merchiston Castle School before purchasing Loretto in 1862, and returning as headmaster.

One of Almond's first actions as a new headmaster was to rent a games field - Pinkie Mains⁽⁶⁰⁾ - for the first time in the history of the school. He quickly added a gymnasium. These radical innovations were in part the result of contrasting experiences of his own education, first in Glasgow and then at Oxford. The Scottish education of his own youth was severely scholastic; he had little to do with his afternoons "but roam aimlessly about the streets and road".⁽⁶¹⁾ The antidote to this boredom he subsequently discovered at Oxford.

In 1850 he went to Balliol, the recipient of a Snell exhibition. He was a successful scholar but it was the Isis that "opened his mind to the existence of a new set of values. His love of the open air, his passion for health, his appreciation of manly endurance, his reverence for loyalty and public spirit were ... the gifts of the river".⁽⁶²⁾ In old age Almond clung to the belief that the Balliol eight did him more good than all the academic prizes he had won. It was, in fact, the whole

(59) H.B. Tristram, Loretto School: Past and Present 1911, p.66.

(60) R.J. Mackenzie, *op.cit.*, pp.13, 305-8.

(61) *Ibid.*, p.13.

(62) *Ibid.*, p.16.

ambiance of the English university that excited him - the unexceptional co-existence of physical exercise and academic learning.

Almond always maintained that his indigenous educational experiences reflected the unsound values associated with health of the wider Scottish society. This conviction was so important to the development of Loretto that his official biographer, R.J. Mackenzie, devoted a chapter to Almond's condemnation of Scottish opinion and practice regarding matters of physical well-being. It demonstrates the full extent of Almond's alienation from the Scottish educational and social systems; he castigated the 'bookish' Scot and applauded the manly Englishman. With romantic indulgence he portrayed the English squire and country parson jointly as the harmonious embodiment of a tradition "of bodily vigour and manly life". In his flattering opinion their beneficial influence impregnated the English public schools and universities - those "champions of the physical virtues". The result, he maintained, was a virile and influential upper class and a sane educational system. Scottish lairds, Almond conceded, stood for manliness, but reneging on nationalism, and with younger sons who were not to be found in the religion of the people as in England, they had little influence.

Scottish universities for their part, were peopled with professors whose opinions on matters of physical health stood "in glaring contrast with the attitude of the Oxford or Cambridge don. The river and the cricket field were educational agencies to the latter. To the former they were too often mischievous distractions or, at best, childish amusements". (63)

To add to the distressing burden of an uninfluential gentry and an anti-athletic intelligentsia there was the Scottish bourgeoisie, swept along on a wave of unrelenting commercialism and mawkish religion. They were Almond's real foes. They shuddered at the thought of open bedroom windows;

(63) Ibid., p.91.

they prophesied rheumatism for the youth in his cold morning tub and bronchitis for the cross country runner; they were scandalised by the coatless and shocked by the capless and in the main, they thought games an immature occupation for adults and a frivolous one for boys. (64)

It was their conventions that Almond challenged, ridiculed and rejected. The harness of irrational convention cut deeply into his reasoned individualism. He pledged himself to the overthrow of 'Mrs. Grundy' and to the elevation of the Goddess of Reason. (65) To this end "he spent much of his time and energy demonstrating the absurdity and even wickedness of the regulations which Society ordains ... nor did he confine himself to demonstrations and denials. He conceived the idea ... of an organised attack upon the presiding genius of conventional society". (66) In his aggressive individualism he gained much strength from the ideas of John Stuart Mill propounded in his famous Essay on Liberty. (67) In particular, as a deliberate and ostentatious eccentric in the interests of good health, Almond was reassured by this appropriate passage:

"Precisely because the tyranny of opinion is such as to make eccentricity a reproach, it is desirable, in order to break through that tyranny, that people should be eccentric. Eccentricity has always abounded when and where strength of character has abounded; and the amount of eccentricity in a society has generally been proportional to the amount of genius, mental vigour, and moral courage, which it contained." (68)

In summary, on matters of health Almond had experienced something akin to a Pauline conversion on an English river. A suitable stream was not a feature of Musselburgh but meadows were plentiful. He populated them with his own pupils engaging in healthy English educational practices.

(64) Ibid., p.96.

(65) Ibid., passim.

(66) Ibid., pp.256-7.

(67) Tristram, op.cit., pp.69-70.

(68) Quoted in Ian Thomson, Almond of Loretto and the Development of Physical Education in Scotland during the Nineteenth Century unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969, p.80.

But he went further. It was his ambition to apply all the rules of health to school life - so he set about establishing a regimen of sound living that embraced diet, dress and exercise! In this way he hoped to nurture "a group of evangelical schoolboys" who would spread his gospel throughout society. (69)

In creating his system of physical education he drew inspiration not only from his personal experiences, but also from the writings of Herbert Spencer, John Ruskin and Archibald MacLaren. In 1861 Spencer published his Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical. In it he asserted that the first requisite for success in life was to be a good animal and a nation of good animals was the first condition of national prosperity. (70) Consequently, he argued, children must be trained to bear the physical wear and tear of life's struggle. Attention should be paid to their diet, clothing and exercise. Some of his caveats and imperatives are wholly Almondian: in particular, "The physical education of children... errs in deficient feeding, in deficient clothing; in deficient exercise ... and in excessive mental application", (71) and "Growth is the dominant requirement to which all others must be subordinated." (72)

Spencer furnished Almond with both a supportive rationale - lucidly presented from a distinguished pen - for his own physiological Darwinism, and a personal challenge. As Almond conceded in a letter to Spencer written in 1900:

"... I owe so much to you that I feel myself bound to make an acknowledgement... Some twenty-five years ago I, for the first time, read your Essays on Education. The sentence in which you say that while so many try to rear the finest bullocks or horses, no one ever tries to rear the finest men, took hold of me as no other sentence I have ever read has done. My eyes were opened by it to what seemed to me a mass of prejudice and folly on which our descendants will look back as we look on the customs of savages; and I made a solemn vow that there should be at least one exception to your well deserved taunt." (73)

(69) Tristram, op.cit., p.67.

(70) Herbert Spencer, Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical 1861, p.146.

(71) Ibid., p.188.

(72) Ibid., p.189.

(73) Quoted in Mackenzie, op.cit., p.291.

How far Spencer's proposals for children actually stimulated

Almond's own innovations is not absolutely clear. Almond wrote that he first read Spencer in about 1875, and Mackenzie states that he had developed his system before he stumbled upon Spencer's Essays. It is curious, however, that Almond makes such a complete acknowledgement of his debt to Spencer in the letter of 1900. One explanation might be that he read Spencer earlier than he remembered, or that in old age he confused the first edition of Spencer's book published in 1861 with the second edition published in 1874. (74) If Spencer's contribution to Loretto cannot be precisely determined, at the very least his powerful intellect provided welcome support for Almond's 'eccentricity', and confirmation of the soundness of his 'bizarre' practices.

It is inevitable that Almond be labelled a muscular Christian. (75) He matched the archetype Kingsley in personality and practice. Like Kingsley he preached the period virtues of developing the broad chest, the tireless stride and the strong body for Christ. Like Kingsley, he abhorred ascetics. (76) He urged his boys to consecrate their healthy bodies as a "living sacrifice to God". He appealed to them for a vigorous and manly religion. Was "an ailing emaciated body...more pleasing to God than the powerful frame, and the ruddy glow and the buoyant energies of health" he rhetorically demanded of them? (77) Pious, compassionate, volatile, nervously intense, physically exuberant, he had all the hallmarks of that odd breed of religious, introverted extroverts epitomised by Kingsley. He shared their pantheistic inclinations. Kingsley wept over the death of a

(74) H.B. Tristram, Almond's brother-in-law, who was certainly closer to him than his biographer, is inclined to doubt Mackenzie on this point, noting that if he was right "Almond was more original in his ideas than he gave him credit for" (op.cit., p.109).

(75) Ian Thomson has described him as "the most articulate Muscular Christian in Scotland" (op.cit., p.12).

(76) H.H. Almond, 'The Consecration of the Body' in Sermons of a Lay Headmaster 1886, p.170.

(77) Ibid., p.152.

tree.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Thring sought consolation in "the rush of life in the tree and the grass".⁽⁷⁹⁾ Almond for his part would abandon his school for long periods in later life and seek the pleasures and consolations of nature in his highland cottage at Loch Inver.⁽⁸⁰⁾

With his passion for nature, it is not surprising that he was strongly influenced by Ruskin's writings on education.⁽⁸¹⁾ Ruskin's opinion that "a chalk stream does more for education than a hundred national schools with all their doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration into the bargain"⁽⁸²⁾ struck in him a responsive cord, and he attempted to combine physical and aesthetic education by introducing 'Long Grinds' for the whole school in the Border countryside in spring and autumn, a "break" during the summer term, provided the pupils kept out of towns and in the country air, and from 1870 periods in the Highlands for selected groups of boys of weak constitution, under examination pressure or whom he merely wanted to know better.

Uppingham's proud boast is that it was the first English public school to have a gymnasium. Thring's admiration for German education⁽⁸³⁾ resulted in his appointing a German, Georg Beisiegel,⁽⁸⁴⁾ as the first gymnastics instructor. He took up his post on 17th. January 1860.

(78) Guy Kendall, Charles Kingsley and His Ideas London, n.d., p.41.

(79) Skrine, op.cit., p.126.

(80) Mackenzie, op.cit., pp.136 ff.

(81) Tristram, op.cit., pp.110-1.

(82) Quoted in Joan Evans, John Ruskin 1952, p.314.

(83) The work of men like J.B. Basedow (1724-1790), J.C. GutsMuths (1759-1839) and J.F.C.L. Jahn (1778-1852) had led to the widespread introduction of gymnastics in Germany by 1850. See P.C. McIntosh (ed.), Landmarks in the History of Physical Education 1957, pp.109 ff.

(84) G. Beisiegel was a loyal servant of Uppingham until his retirement in 1902 and a distinguished physical educationalist. He was an acquaintance of Archibald MacLaren, founder member and president on three occasions of the National Society of Physical Education, President of the National Physical Recreational Society and member of the British College of Physical Education; see Tozer, op.cit., p.65.

Almond shared Thring's conviction concerning the value of gymnastics in school. A gymnasium was built at Loretto in the 1860s and a visiting instructor appointed, a Mr. Roland, who had a gymnasium in Edinburgh. (85)

Thring looked to Germany for a system of exercises; Almond found his in the works of Archibald MacLaren (86) whose ideas were published in three volumes: A Military System of Gymnastic Exercises for the use of Instructors (1862), Training in Theory and Practice (1866), A System of Physical Education Theoretical and Practical (1869). From McLaren, however, he took much more than exercises for biceps and pectorals. MacLaren's second book was devoted largely to diet, sleep, hygiene and dress, which were to become "the main feature of life at Loretto". (87) The third book included details of the influence of systematic exercise on the physical growth and development of boys including tables of physical measurements. Almond measured his pupils at least three times a year (88) and acknowledged his debt to MacLaren regarding this practice in the Lorettonian in January 1886. MacLaren had also published six articles on physical education in Macmillans Magazine between 1860 and 1864, and it is likely that, because of their earlier timing which corresponded with Almond's purchase of Loretto, they had an even greater seminal influence on him. (89)

Almond drew freely on the ideas of his inspirationalists. The nature of his own originality lay in synthesis, application and persistence.

(85) Tristram, op.cit., p.210. In the 1870s a full time resident instructor, Sergeant-Major Robinson, was appointed.

(86) Archibald MacLaren (1820-1884) was a Scot, born in Alloa and educated at Dollar Academy. After a period on the continent he opened a gymnasium at Oxford in 1858 which was well patronised by the students. His work resulted in the introduction of physical education in the British army.

(87) Thomson, op.cit., p.91.

(88) Ibid., p.90. See Tristram, op.cit., p.210, for details of measuring. Some of the records survive in the Loretto Archives. Measuring became common in schools and Marlborough College records are to be found in the British Museum.

(89) Thomson has drawn attention to the similarity of ideas in these articles, in his Training and in Almond's writings (op.cit., p.92).

He blended the ideas of Ruskin and MacLaren, and possibly Spencer, into a conceptual and practical whole which went under the name of Lorettonianism,⁽⁹⁰⁾ as Almond called his gospel of good health, and over forty years he never compromised in its application. The physical care of his boys was the main work of his life⁽⁹¹⁾ and Lorettonianism was "the informing principle of the community".⁽⁹²⁾ It meant attempting to "carry out Bacon's principle of applying science to the good of man in a new direction"⁽⁹³⁾ and involved an elaborate and systematic programme of health education covering food, clothes, physical exercise, sleep, fresh air and cold baths. As Thring was wedded to the concept of creating a new kind of school, so Almond was wedded to the idea of establishing a great new educational ideal.

Yet to a degree Loretto resembled a remedial health centre with its wholesome and plentiful food, daily cold baths, open windows in dormitory and classroom, regular physical activity throughout the day (morning and afternoon), and clothes and footwear designed for sensible living. This emphasis on "the scientific training of the young human animal" did result, in fact, in Loretto becoming a place for the special care of boys of poor physique and weak constitution, an eventuality well described in one of Almond's own letters:

"... A narrow-chested poorly-nourished boy came here in 1844. He improved greatly in the next two years, chest from 29½ inches to 35, weight from 6 st. 11 to 8 st. 4, and I was quite happy about him. He was also tall for his age growing from 5 ft. 1½ to 5 ft. 7 in the time. He never appeared in our medical books except for a weak knee till November 3rd., 1887, and there was no other ostensible cause for his doing so ..."⁽⁹⁴⁾

Paradoxically Almond regretted his success in attracting feeble boys to his school, considering it a distortion of his educational ideals.⁽⁹⁵⁾

(90) It was also referred to as Rationality.

(91) Tristram, op.cit., p.71.

(92) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.261.

(93) Ibid., p.310; Letter to J.E. Skrine, Nov.1st. 1898.

(94) Ibid., p.239; Letter to R.W. Phillip, M.D., Dec.17th. 1898.

(95) Ibid., p.246.

In his later years the pioneer turned penman in order to propagate these ideals; and the physiological bias of his physical education programme is made abundantly clear in a series of articles which he contributed to the Lorettonian in 1886:

"Gymnastics - The man living in the city who rises in the morning, has five minutes with the dumbbells, tubs, rubs down with a good hair towel and after breakfast walks and does not drive to his place of business is gaining a great deal." (96)

"Football - Rugby football is more health giving (than soccer) in that it exercises by means of holding and shoving, the upper and more important half of the body almost equally with the lower." (97)

"Fives - Fives brings into play 'the neglected left hand' that side of the body which few exercises affect." (98)

Equally demonstrative of his acute concern for the body is a Loretto school rule for 1881 that read, "There should be Dumbbells and Indian clubs in all classrooms, and boys who are unable to go out in short intervals, must use them." (99)

Almond has been described as the Wesley of the public school system. (100) It is an apt simile. He desired reformation rather than revolution and wished his school to exist within a traditional framework. (101) Despite reservations about the English public school system, (102) he consistently claimed public school status for Loretto. (103) He stated explicitly that it was only in that form that he cared for the school's perpetuation, (104) but wrote regretfully of Loretto as "the only public school which at present, is fighting the battle of rationality". (105)

(96) Lorettonian Vol.VIII, No.7, Jan.30th. 1886, p.27.

(97) Ibid., Vol.VIII, No.8, Feb.3rd. 1886, p.31.

(98) Ibid., Vol.VIII, No.9, Feb.24th. 1886, p.235.

(99) Ibid., Vol.CXXXIII, No.6, Oct.13th. 1881, p.7.

(100) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.261.

(101) R.L. Archer implies the reverse was true but a careful reading of Almond's writings shows him to be quite wrong in his assumption. See Archer, op.cit., p.228. Cf. references in footnotes (101), (102), (103) and (104) below.

(102) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.328, Almond's letter to J. Dohemal dated Nov.15th. 1900.

(103) Ibid., p.188, Almond's letter to James Anman dated Jan.9th. 1902: "It has been an uphill pull, building up a public school from nothing."

(104) Ibid., p.228, Almond's letter to C.J.G. Paterson dated July 7th. 1902.

(105) Ibid., p.313, Almond's letter to H.B. Tristram (undated).

While he had reservations about the wider system, he cherished those educational ideals associated with the games field which came to distinguish the more normal public schools. He endorsed, preached and publicised the simple creed - I believe in games for the training of a boy's character. Tristram wrote of him that he regarded the development of character as far more important than the inculcation of knowledge,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and reported his anger at the publication of Kipling's "The Islanders"; for "Almond himself had always looked on athletic games so entirely as a means of training character".⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

It must not be overlooked that Almond balanced a 'science of health' with a 'scheme of ethics'. His adoption of the latter element meant that the educational emphasis at Loretto was in some respects quite orthodox: "First - character. Second - Physique. Third - Intelligence. Fourth - Manners. Fifth - Information."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ And within this scheme of ethics the standard order of moral worth was delineated:

"Games in which success depends on the united efforts of many, and which also foster courage and endurance, are the very life blood of the public school system. And all the more self-indulgent games or pursuits contain within themselves an element of danger to school patriotism and might, if they permanently injured the patriotic games, cause public schools to fail in their main object, which we take to be the production of a grand breed of men for the service of the British nation."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

In short, Almond believed that while some games and intra-athletic sports⁽¹¹⁰⁾ promoted selfishness and were therefore inferior, cricket and football promoted unselfishness and were consequently superior. Of course, rugby football was the finest moral exercise. It developed "courage, dash and decision". The lazy and effete became energetic and manly.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Almond was prepared to spell out its virtues more

(106) Tristram, op.cit., p.72.

(107) Ibid., p.266. The poem contained, of course, the now famous expression, "the flannelled fools at the wicket and the muddled oafs at the goal".

(108) Loretto Register 1825-1925 1927, p.XVI.

(109) Lorettonian Vol.IV, No.15, June 17th.1882, p.57.

(110) Inter-athletic sports were permissible: they represented corporate effort.

(111) Lorettonian Vol.V, No.6., June 20th. 1883, p.21.

precisely than many might, to the Royal Commission on Physical Education
(Scotland);

"Of all our games the most important is football. It obviously cultivates courage, dash and alertness of movement. But its even more valuable points are not so obvious to those who are not behind the scenes. Quickness of decision between a multitude of conflicting alternatives is one of the most valuable qualities in life: and it is eminently fostered by football. The issue of a game may depend on whether a player kicks up or dribbles or punts or drop kicks or passes. A mistake may be fatal and hesitation even worse. Those who talk platitudes about 'muscle and brains' forget or are ignorant of what complex brain processes take place in such cases and how much a great player at football owes to his brains." (112)

In the possession of a fundamental anti-intellectualism Almond also reflected certain primary public school values. His "intense practicality of temper" caused him to disparage "impractical erudition", while a "racy ... vigour" produced in him a positive dislike of fine scholarship. (113) He loathed the examination system. (114) He was opposed to school scholarships for fear of harm done to children "pale with learning". He believed "an exaggerated value" was assigned to the "seedy professor" and dwelt with pleasure upon the rude superiorities of a more muscular generation. (115) He sought a suitable religious hero in support of his own views, and was in no doubt as to the choice St. Paul might have made between "vigorous manhood, full of courage" and "the languid, lisping babbler about art and culture". (116) The outcome at Loretto was the subordination of scholarship to fitness. (117)

R.J. Mackenzie, for the most part appreciative of his former headmaster, was gently critical of Almond's intellectual stance. He considered that while Almond was often stimulating, the systematic working through of a syllabus did not suit his butterfly approach. (118) Furthermore,

(112) Royal Commission on Physical Education (Scotland) p.407, Q.9727.

(113) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.273.

(114) Ibid., pp.272-4.

(115) Ibid., p.274.

(116) Almond (1836), op.cit., p.168.

(117) Archer, op.cit., p.228.

(118) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.274.

he found Almond's defence of a classical curriculum for boys mystifying, commenting that Almond completely failed to perceive that "a scientific system of intellectual education was a necessary counterpart of his physical and social propaganda".⁽¹¹⁹⁾ His approach to learning, Mackenzie concluded, was not a fortunate one for the encouragement of school study.⁽¹²⁰⁾ Significantly, when Tristram became headmaster on Almond's death he felt obliged to improve academic standards!⁽¹²¹⁾

Loretto's combination of the conventional and the unconventional is nicely brought together in a little known fictional tale of Loretto life, Steady and Strong written by R.M. Freeman, an old boy, and published in 1891. The real hero is Almond, and the book is a work of unrelenting propaganda in which idiosyncratic 'Lorettonianism' and mainstream public school morality-training are smoothly blended. Two hortations from the Head illustrate the point:

"... don't suppose that the physical welfare of you boys is cared for at the expense of your mental and moral training. On the contrary, the longer I live, the more I grow convinced that sound mental and sound moral training are largely bound up with sound physical training, - that, speaking generally, to be a good man it is necessary to be a good animal. Recollect that the force of the brain hangs upon the health of the body, - and what is of greater importance, than a robust, healthy frame, strengthened by constant air and exercise, and tempered by the wholesome toils of an athletic life, is the best safeguard against that most deadly form of moral degradation, which has wrecked so many thousands of our English boys and young men.

For these reasons I set the greatest store by the laws of health and exercise."⁽¹²²⁾

and, "Chudleians, I'm bound to say, play for the school, not for yourselves, - if you have a clear chance of running in yourself, but you see someone else that has a better, "pass" to him without hesitation. I wouldn't have a selfish player in the School team - not if he was the best man in England!"⁽¹²³⁾

(119) Ibid., pp.276-7.

(120) Ibid., p.274.

(121) Supplement to the Lorettonian May 1947, p.8.

(122) R.M. Freeman, Steady and Strong 1891, pp.33-4.

(123) Ibid., p.89. Chudleigh was Loretto's fictional name in the novel.

The conventional schoolboy hero is Reginald Owen, a delicate boy, who under the Head's scientific regime grows into a powerful, if exhibitionist, youth:

"... He had acquired more accomplishments, especially of a physical kind, in his one term at Chudleigh than in his whole time with worthy Doctor Hyde... He scarcely ever passed a five-barred gate without vaulting it, or saw a convenient rail or branch without performing upon it 'circles', and 'back-shoots', and 'upstarts', and 'rises', and various other exercises; he 'swarmed' all the flag-staffs and telegraph posts in the neighbourhood; ... Even indoors, his athletic exhibitions were not laid aside; he was constantly practising lying with his head on one chair and his heels on another - raising himself from the ground by a poker laid over the top of a door - doing the 'balance' on the arms of the armchairs."⁽¹²⁴⁾

The spirit of Almond pervades the book as that of Arnold in Tom Brown's Schooldays. Freeman's novel however, is an act of homage that faithfully reproduces the Almondian regime.

Almond is still regarded as a unique zealot.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Yet his ideas on exercise now diluted into truisms would find much sympathy among modern, cardiologists.⁽¹²⁶⁾ And there is more to Almond than the period unconventionality of his rigorous concern with the physiological, and his efforts to tumble the card castles of the Scottish bourgeoisie. He was a stereotypic muscular Christian, quite conventional in his robust religious beliefs. Many of his educational objectives were indistinguishable from those of the more staid English public schools. Almond supplies images of contrast and similarity; he embodied normal as well as deviant elements of the matter of athleticism. His importance to the history of the ideology lies in his influence in propagating its standard values, by both precept and example. His writings were widely published⁽¹²⁷⁾ and his pupils

(124) Ibid., p.177.

(125) See for example Ogilvie op.cit., p.190.

(126) For a discussion of the role of physical education in the prevention of cardio-vascular disease see J.A. Mangan (ed.), Physical Education and Sport: Sociological and Cultural Perspectives 1973.

(127) He devoted his later years to publicising his 'gospel' in many journals and newspapers including Field, Health, Journal of Education, New Review, Nineteenth Century, Scotsman, Spectator, Tatler, Times.

achieved considerable success on the fields of Oxford and Cambridge. (128)

Both these contributions brought Loretto extensive publicity, and served to advance the cause of the games movement and to establish its educational soundness!

At the same time, it remains true that Almond's special contribution was his preoccupation with physical health rather than social control, or even morality. He supplied a component to the movement that leaned heavily on physiological argument and a belief in educational and social reform. His was a new sacerdocy (129) whose systematic theology was constructed out of a profound study of the principles of sensible living. He represents a distinctive stand in the spreading web of athleticism in the nineteenth century public school.

III

In terms of their contribution to nineteenth century English education there is more than a superficial resemblance in the respective roles of the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola and the Society of

(128) In 1880 Loretto had five rugby blues and one cricket blue at Oxford; in 1881 eight out of nine Lorettonian undergraduates there played rugby for Oxford and of the eight, one was captain of the cricket eleven and another president of the University Boat Club. In 1884 Loretto had eleven full blues at Oxford and seven played in the University Match. Between 1884 and 1891 four Lorettonians held the captaincy of the University Rugby XV and in 1900 the captains of both university rugby football teams were from Loretto. Consistent, if less spectacular representation was a feature of the last three decades of the nineteenth century (Mackenzie, op.cit., pp.122-3).

(129) Others of the priesthood were Clement Dukes, Health at School 1905 and C.C. Cotterill, Suggested Reforms in the Public Schools 1883.

St. Nicolas founded by Nicolas Woodard. (130) They had, in particular, one broadly similar objective - the re-establishment of a truly Christian way of life through the provision of an educational system for the ignorant and the ignored of the middle classes. It is true that the Jesuits were, in theory and practice, socially, if not intellectually, more egalitarian. The Ignatian ideal was to serve an aristocracy of talent, not of birth. (131) And so the Jesuits catered for a wider spread of the population than the Woodard Corporation, and in time possessed public, grammar and elementary schools. (132) But the middle class were not to be neglected - their wealth and influence would be valuable assets for the survival of the faith. Day schools were set up in cities with large Roman Catholic populations - to cater specifically for middle class catholic boys. (133) This account of the Jesuits in Glasgow in 1859 is a description of a general aspiration:

"At the moment there was not in all Glasgow a single Catholic school of higher class than the ordinary poor schools and yet there was a Catholic population of more than 100,000, being one fourth of the whole population... Only twenty-five boys presented themselves and several months elapsed before their number increased to fifty. It was at once apparent that the demand had to be created after the supply had been provided; there was much talk among the people of their wish for education but it was speedily discovered that it was accompanied by little real desire of instruction and training of their children...that the ambition of the majority did not aspire to more than the ordinary elements taught in a Poor School... If we can inspire the parents with a little higher ambition and lead these to secure for their children the goods of education as well as those of fortune, they will be well able to take rank as Gentlemen in Glasgow and the Church will no longer be in the extraordinary condition in which it now finds itself, when almost the entire Catholic population belongs to the lower and uneducated ranks of life." (134)

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- (130) There are also marked similarities of attitude, ability and ambition between Woodard and Loyola. Both were men of moderate academic ability, both superb organisers adept at obtaining financial support, and though renowned for establishing educational systems both were more concerned with saving the irreligious.
- (131) McGucken, op.cit., p.34.
- (132) G. Scott, The RCs 1967, p.141.
- (133) Hollis, op.cit., p.227. There were unsuccessful attempts at Edinburgh, Doncaster and St.Helens.
- (134) From Letters and Notices, Vol.2, pp.17, 18, quoted in Bernard Basset, The English Jesuits 1967, p.400.

In this cultivation of the more socially effective, the practice of of the Society of Jesus was considerably in advance of the Society of St.Nicolas. Some three hundred years before Woodard, Ignatius had felt the need to woo the richer sections of the community both in order to subsidise the whole system, and to win the support of the influential and powerful. Aristocratic schools thus became a feature of the Jesuit educational system. This tradition accounted for the establishment of boarding schools for wealthy English catholics in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the Jesuits returned on the easing of the Penal Laws - Stonyhurst in 1793, Mount St.Mary's in 1842 and Beaumont in 1861. (135)

Stonyhurst differed in one important respect from its sister colleges. Its ancestry went back to Elizabethan England. It had its origins in the seminary for English catholic boys at St.Omer founded in 1592 by the Society of Jesus - following its expulsion from England after a series of anti-catholic Acts culminating in the 1585 Act against the Jesuits. (136) By this Act catholics were not only forbidden to celebrate or be present at mass; they were "forbidden to found new schools or to teach their children at home under penalty of £10 for each month, if a schoolmaster was kept who did not conform". (137)

The outcome was the establishment of several schools on the mainland of catholic Europe - among them St.Omer. The seminary was forced to move twice in the two hundred years before the Jesuits returned to English soil, on each occasion following further troubles for the Order. In 1762, the Parliament of France having set its face against the Society of Jesus, (138) the masters and pupils moved secretly to Bruges in Belgium. There the school was given sanctuary for some eleven years until the suppression of the

(135) Beaumont was amalgamated with Stonyhurst in the 1960s.

(136) David Mathew, Catholicism in England 1936 (2nd ed.1948), p.50.

(137) A.S. Barnes, The Catholic Schools of England 1916, p.35.

(138) Frederic Whyte, 'Stonyhurst', Pall Mall Magazine Vol.III, No.15, July 1884, p.414.

Jesuits by Pope Clement XIV at the instigation of the Bourbon sovereigns, forced a removal to Liège into the beneficial care of a powerful and tolerant Prince Bishop, Charles, Count Welbruck. In 1793 the school's existence was threatened by the revolutionary armies of France and the whole school fled again, ⁽¹³⁹⁾ this time to England via the Meuse and Rotterdam.

An English sanctuary was made possible by the relaxation of the anti-catholic laws following the first of the Catholic Relief Acts in 1778. As a result of this Act catholics could once more legally purchase and inherit land, and the persecution of the clergy by common informers was abolished. Both these improvements were of obvious importance to the foundation of an English catholic school run by clerics. Thirteen years later the second Catholic Relief Act gave further freedom and security to church members: churches, chapels and mass were legalised and in the words of David Mathew, the historian of English Catholicism "with the passing of the Relief Act of 1791 the acute difficulties within the Catholic body diminished". ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ And it may be added, Catholic institutions such as Stonyhurst now seemed possible once more.

Among the scholars at the English seminary of the Bruges period was Thomas Weld, who owned several estates, including the mansion and lands of Stonyhurst in the Ribble Valley in North Lancashire. ⁽¹⁴¹⁾ He offered Stonyhurst to the homeless seminarians from Belgium as a refuge. They took up residence on 29th August 1794. The Order was still proscribed by the Catholic Church, and the new occupants were known as "the Gentlemen from Liège". ⁽¹⁴²⁾ There were about two dozen in all.

From the first moments and for the best part of eighty years Stonyhurst was characterised by a considerable cultural, geographical,

(139) Both the colleges of Douai and St.Omer were confiscated by the revolutionaries.

(140) Mathew, op.cit., p.110. The Catholic Relief Act of 1829 improved the position still further; it gave catholics the right to vote, sit in parliament and hold most offices of state.

(141) Weld was said to be the second largest landowner in Britain. See Mathew, op.cit., p.161.

(142) Hollis, op.cit., p.222.

religious and educational distance from mainstream public school life. This fact requires special emphasis in the following pages because it was the major reason for the idiosyncratic nature of the school and for its rejection of both the animus and emblems of athleticism.

During the famous nineteenth century trial of the Tichborne Claimant it was disclosed that the group of Stonyhurst students known as "The Philosophers" was an institution, which confused and puzzled English judges and barristers. (143) There was much else to bewilder those of an orthodox English education, for Stonyhurst pupils were excluded from protestant culture and protestant public schools by virtue of a long exile, (144) continued legal discrimination and virulent anti-catholicism. As Christopher Hollis has written:

"In 1840 when Catholics were still excluded from the ancient universities, Stonyhurst became 'affiliated' to the new non-denominational London University and its pupils thenceforward and for half a century took the London matriculation examination and indeed had a high record of success. They excelled perhaps to some extent because it was only the very undistinguished among non-Catholic schools who sent their pupils in for it rather than sending them to Oxford or Cambridge. Yet taking the London matriculation did not of course bring the student into personal contact with non-Catholics, as would have happened had he gone to Oxford or Cambridge, and the Stonyhurst boy at that time lived of necessity a life of extraordinary isolation from his fellow citizens, so many of whom would have thought it a disgrace seen speaking to a Catholic. The isolation broke down very slowly. It was by no means a matter of merely passing Acts of Emancipation." (145)

It was an isolation bred out of centuries of suspicion, and as Hollis remarks above, slow to dissipate. When in 1874 Stonyhurst played its first cricket match against a non-Catholic school, Rossall, a protestant newspaper expostulated:

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- (143) Douglas Woodruff, The Tichborne Claimant 1957, p.8. "The Philosophers" were young catholic gentlemen who pursued their "undergraduate studies" at Stonyhurst as the Universities were closed to them.
- (144) Their games, for instance, were Elizabethan English. See J. Gerard, Stonyhurst College 1894, pp.179-80.
- (145) Hollis, op.cit., p.225.

"How the Rossall pupils could have desired, or the Rossall masters could have sanctioned any match of the kind we are entirely at a loss to conceive. However it is some comfort to know that the Protestant youths were thoroughly well beaten, as they richly deserved to be. But have the Rossall masters never read the Bible? or have they forgotten the consequence - as recorded in its pages - of allowing Israelites to mingle in the Moabite games and dances? All these comminglings with Papists act as so many enticements to idolatry, and the masters who do not see this are unfit to manage a Protestant school. We would advise parents who have sons at Rossall to keep a sharp look-out." (146)

At the same time insularity was deliberately sought by some

catholics. Discussion by catholic educationists in the second half of the nineteenth century on the nature of the higher education of educated catholic youth, for example, was full of fears of contamination by the protestant world. (147)

In particular, the idea of the creation of an Oxford or Cambridge Hall or College as distinct from a catholic university, caused much anxiety and had to be vigorously defended by the Jesuit

E.I. Purbrick. (148) It is interesting to note that one cause for concern was the fear of over-indulgence in games! In a statement that sheds

light on attitudes and standards at Stonyhurst, (149) Purbrick, with the orthodox Jesuit concern for intellectual rigour, suggested this might be avoided quite simply by a searching terminal examination, power 'to weed the College', a fairly stiff entrance examination, scholarships and other means to be devised as experience might suggest. (150)

The Jesuits themselves, as distinct from the catholic community, were further cut off because of the peculiar antipathy they generated.

(146) Quoted in Hollis, op.cit., p.225; see also G. Gruggen and J. Keating, Stonyhurst: Its Past History and Life in the Present 1901, pp.158-9.

(147) Bassett, op.cit., pp.408-9. The university ban was the action of the catholic bishops. It was lifted in 1895 by Cardinal Vaughan, an alumnus of Stonyhurst.

(148) Collection of Papers on Higher Catholic Education 1871-1895 made by Father I.E. Purbrick, p.10. (Jesuit Society Archives).

(149) Purbrick taught and administered at Stonyhurst for over fifteen years, and his comments would seem to reflect both a general Jesuit attitude to learning prevalent at the time, and corresponding Stonyhurst values (Obituary, Letters and Notices Vol.XV;Dec.1914, p.565).

(150) Purbrick, op.cit., p.46.

David Mathew has bluntly exclaimed:

"In any discussion of Catholicism in England it is essential not to shirk the question of the profound unpopularity of the Jesuits. It is very difficult to explain it completely. The governmental propaganda, the mass of hostile legend, the false charges of equivocation, the efficiency of the Jesuit organisation, the perjury of such witnesses as Titus Oates, the effect of Pascal's writings in educated circles, all these are admitted." (151)

It was a profound unpopularity held as much by English catholics as by English protestants. The Jesuits with their unsavoury reputation, whether justified or unjustified, caused other English catholics to fear an arousal of protestant hostility against all catholics. (152) And the independent attitude of the Jesuits sometimes angered the catholic Establishment. Their nineteenth century support of a moderate definition of papal infallibility, for example, aroused the hostility of Cardinal Manning who considered them disloyal to the Pope. (153) Manning typifies the jealousy, resentment and irritation the Jesuits engendered among English catholics. He "criticised them historically as an English Archbishop and his hand lay heavy on them as an administrator". (154)

At Stonyhurst cultural segregation was reinforced by geographical location. John Gerard, writing at the turn of the last century, opened his chapter on 'Stonyhurst Life' with the remark that North Lancashire in 1894 was considered by many as remote and inaccessible, yet a hundred years earlier it had been, in fact, vastly more isolated. He points out that in consequence "the College had of necessity to work out its own history in

(151) Mathew, op.cit., p.73.

(152) Hollis, op.cit., pp.222, 224.

(153) H.E. Manning (1808-1892), educated at Harrow and Balliol, a catholic convert in 1851; Catholic Archbishop of Westminster 1865; Cardinal, 1875. It is an interesting aside that Manning played in the Harrow XI of 1825 against Eton. Subsequently he was a man 'of ascetic temper'. "He disliked the ideal of muscular Christianity and of a heaven where cherubs played curates at cricket indefinitely." Of athletic priests he asked, "How would you like to appear in the next world with a cricket bat in one hand and a chalice in the other?" Leslie Shane, Henry Edward Manning: His Life and Labours 1921, p.13.

(154) E.S. Purcell, Life of Cardinal Manning 1896, p.756.

its own way, with no other influences to affect its course than the tradition of the past which it had imported itself". (155)

During the early years, in the face of widespread hostility it was clearly an advantage to be a hermitical community in the depths of rural Lancashire. But later when the Jesuits' position in English society was easier, and recognition as a public school desired, its long established traditions made assimilation more difficult and integrity more complete than, for example, at Beaumont, its sister school in the South opened in 1861, and deliberately run on more obviously protestant public school lines. (156)

Stonyhurst's considerable isolation was exacerbated by the introversion of the institution: "most of the masters...had there spent their whole life. It must not be forgotten that Stonyhurst had no sources from which to draw its teaching staff except itself." (157) Being the premier Jesuit school it could look to no better place than itself. The opportunities for cultural diffusion were thus considerably reduced.

There was yet another even more potent reason for separateness however - the long established Jesuit pattern of educational training. It has been wisely written that in order to understand the Jesuit system of education "in any country at any period, there is need of studying its great educational document, the Ratio Studiorum ... The kernel, the core, the soul of Jesuit pedagogy is found in that sixteenth century document". (158) This statement may be less valid in the second part of the twentieth century but was wholly applicable for the entire period of the nineteenth. Further regarding athleticism, the substance of ideological dismissal lay in this sourcebook of the Jesuit educational process. For this reason it requires scrutiny.

(155) Gerard, op.cit., p.167.

(156) See Peter Levi S.J., Beaumont 1861-1961 1961, pp.16-7, 18, 29, 30-7.

(157) Gerard, op.cit., p.167.

(158) McGucken, op.cit., p.19.

On deciding that education was to be the concern of the Society,

Loyola wrote what has been called an educational tract, the fourth part of the Constitutions of the Society - the ferment of the Jesuit pedagogy. (159)

A great deal of effort, consultation and refinement was to take place before a complete educational system was devised however. The Monumenta

Paedagogica of the Society contains records of various differing schemes

devised by members of the Order which were collated and investigated for

their value and which supplied "the pedagogic atmosphere that preceded the definitive Ratio". (160)

In 1586 the first Ratio appeared. Extensive analysis by the best scholars and ablest teachers of the Provinces followed.

The result was an amended edition in 1591. More criticism followed, and

in 1599 a shorter, less prolix Ratio was issued. This had "the force of law for all Jesuit Colleges until the suppression of the Society in 1773".

Its influence did not end there. "It has served," stated the Jesuit

historian McGucken in 1932, "to perpetuate the Jesuit tradition...to hand

on to the modern Jesuit school the same spirit that animated the Jesuit

College of the seventeenth century". (161)

After the restoration of the Society a revised edition of the

Ratio was issued in 1832. The changes were comparatively small but the

Provinces were allowed to adapt the curriculum to the needs of the countries

in which they were located. Stonyhurst did adapt its curriculum to suit

the requirements of London University Matriculation (more science and

mathematics); but when in 1895 access was permitted to Oxford and Cambridge

the Jesuits returned with relief to a traditional predominantly classical

curriculum. (162) J.M. Jeffries for example, a Stonyhurst pupil who experienced

the post-1900 curriculum, wrote tersely in his autobiography: "My education

was extremely classical!" (163)

(159) Ibid., p.20.

(160) Idem.

(161) Ibid., p.22.

(162) Hollis, op.cit., p.226.

(163) J.M. Jeffries, Front Everywhere 1935, p.13.

The definitive Ratio Studiorum of 1599 was not only the product of consultation among Jesuits. As a consequence of the Renaissance cult of antiquity, it drew on the writers of the classical world notably Quintilian,⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ the Roman rhetorician, on educators of the Renaissance universities of the period, the Spanish pedagogue Vives, the German protestant Johan Sturm and the Brethren of the Common Life, a religious order. In short, "the traditional conservatism of Spain, the cosmopolitan experimentation of France...and the literary and artistic flowering of the Italian Renaissance all have their traces in the Ratio which was admittedly a synthesis of contemporary education".⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ The outcome of synthesis, reflection and careful selection was a uniform and distinctive type of education - the Jesuit type. The Ratio symbolised the uniformity of the Order, a unity animated by identical principles, objectives and methodology. It constituted "a standard instruction in standard thoughts".⁽¹⁶⁶⁾

What the Ratio serves to illustrate in the context of athleticism is Jesuit autonomy and conservatism. Pride in a well thought out and strongly established educational system of their own resulted in a reaction to the educational fashions of the English upper class school which was diffident, cautious and even patronizing. As Hollis has explained, "In their teaching the conservative loyalty of the Jesuits to old traditions and to the Ratio Studiorum made them slow to change."⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Fealty also produced a serious minded, scrupulous approach to academic learning that would not permit idleness nor allow staff to look indulgently on the intellectually lazy no matter how well they played games!

Despite all the careful attention to detail in drawing up a system of classical education for its colleges, the teaching of the academic

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- (164) His influence was particularly pervasive as 'Eloquentia', the ability to write and speak Latin according to the Ciceronian form as interpreted by Quintilian, became the main objective of all secondary education.
- (165) F.P. Donnelly, Principles of Jesuit Education in Practice 1934, pp.9-10.
- (166) M. Foss, The Founding of the Jesuits 1969, p.167.
- (167) Hollis, op.cit., p.224.

syllabus was not the primary work of the Order. "The phenomenon of a body of men giving their whole lives without stint and without remuneration in the work of education naturally suggests the question, 'Why does the Society of Jesus engage in the work of teaching youth?'" wrote McGucken.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ He spends some twenty pages heaping quotation upon quotation from Jesuit sources in an attempt to answer his own question. The gist of the quotations can be encapsulated in the syllogism: The Jesuit prepares his charge for Christian citizenship; intellectual training is subordinate to the transmission of an understanding that the pupil is "a citizen of the larger commonwealth of the Kingdom of God";⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ intellectual education therefore must be surrounded and impregnated with catholic principles and practice. To this end Jesuit teachers were urged: "Speak of God, in class, every chance you get; there will be no lack of opportunities if only you seize hold of them."⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ In essence, education in the faith was the main object of the Jesuit school "at every time, in every country, under every condition".⁽¹⁷¹⁾

Over and above this, however, to educate in leadership was the special aim of the upper class Jesuit school. This stress on leadership was similar to that of the protestant public school:

"St. Ignatius...emphasized the development of Christian manhood rather than the formation of scientists and scholars. Jesuit education is intended to leave a definite impression on the youth; to give him a definite philosophy of life, to prepare him as far as is possible to be a forceful leader of Catholic thought and action."⁽¹⁷²⁾

Accordingly the aim of the English Jesuit boarding school was not simply the making of good catholics. Such a process could be achieved by missionary work: it did not require schools. The purpose was "the formation of educated Catholic gentlemen, able to take their proper place in the world".⁽¹⁷³⁾

(168) McGucken, op.cit., p.148.

(169) Ibid., p.150.

(170) Ibid., p.151.

(171) Ibid., p.153.

(172) Ibid., p.165.

(173) McGucken, op.cit., p.34.

But however close in ambition to the protestant public schools the objective might seem, the means of realisation remained distinct. Educated catholic gentlemen were formed by an endless process of direct and indirect moral indoctrination, but the games field was never in theory or in practice, a major site for this.

In a lengthy paper entitled 'Moral Training and Instruction in the Catholic schools connected by the Jesuit Order in Great Britain and Ireland' written for an international inquiry into moral education in 1907, for example, the Rev. Michael Maher, Jesuit Director of Studies of the Seminary of Stonyhurst, dismissed the moral role of games fields in a single sentence, mentioning only that subordination and cooperation were qualities associated with those places. ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ The machinery of religion was the most important instrument in the development of ethical habits: "The essential character of the moral teaching and training in our system lies in the manner in which the direct and indirect religious and moral instruction, the Sunday work and the weekday work, the lessons and the religious exercises, together with the general tone of the school arising out of community of belief and aspirations, a view of life and principles of action among masters and boys, all form one whole, the several parts acting and reacting on each other throughout the whole of the boy's school life." ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

The exclusive nature of the sturdy, moralistic tone struck by Jesuit mentors in their English public schools is beautifully exemplified in the following extract:

(174) Michael Maher S.J., 'Moral Training and Instruction in the Catholic Schools connected by the Jesuit Order in Great Britain and Ireland' in M. Sadler (ed.), International Inquiry into Moral Training and Instruction in Schools 1907, p.170.

(175) Ibid., pp.174, 175. This is a passage of considerable importance. The strength of the emphasis was reiterated to the present writer by Rev. Father Holt, S.J. formerly pupil, then master at Stonyhurst and now Archivist at the Society's headquarters in Farm Street. Peter Levi, in his history of Beaumont expressed a consciousness "of betraying in these slight pages the religious strength and motive force of Beaumont by understating it in principle and neglecting it in detail" (op.cit., p.10).

"Be men of grit, men of enthusiasm, without which life is but a poor limp affair. Be men of loyalty - men of Catholic loyalty - for your religion will but serve to stiffen your loyalty, and I have seen more loyalty....in the Catholic than in the Protestant schools. It could scarcely be otherwise, for patriotism is the rare rich bloom of religion and the finer the soil, the more vigourous the bloom." (176)

It must not be thought, of course, that the Jesuits undervalued or ignored physical exercise. In his Stonyhurst Memories Percy Fitzgerald, describing the school in the mid-eighteen-fifties before the advent of orthodox football and cricket, recalled that "games were a great and notable feature of our...life" and that only "a few recluses" opted out. (177) The high point of the games season was the Stonyhurst football 'Grand Matches' at Shrovetide, which lasted three days, but there was also handball and Second Bounce - both types of Fives, Bandy - a kind of hockey, Stonyhurst football (178) and cricket (179) and twenty mile walks to Pendle, a local mountain. Nor did these exhaust the list. Once again a schoolboy diary, that of B.E. James, furnishes clear evidence of a wide range of activities. (180)

Stonyhurst Diary: B.E. James (Sept.19th. 1866 to May 15th. 1867)

Walks	Football	Runs on fells	Ambulacrum
37	9	1	9
Rounders	Shot-Putting	Cricket/Stonyhurst Cricket	Skating
1	2	70	10

Note: The ambulacrum, a large sports hall, was built in 1851. It still exists.

- (176) Speech of Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J. to the boys of Beaumont on Empire Sunday, 1914, reported in The Tablet June 13th. 1914, p.11.
- (177) P. Fitzgerald, Stonyhurst Memories 1895, p.141; Gerard, op.cit., p.141.
- (178) Several descriptions of Stonyhurst football are available: Gruggen and Keating, op.cit., pp.147-51; Gerard, op.cit., pp.189-91; S.C.M. Vol.II, No.64, Nov.1836, p.195. Fitzgerald has a vivid description of the 'Grand Matches' in Saxonhurst 1907, pp.62-7.
- (179) Descriptions of Stonyhurst cricket appear in Gruggen and Keating, op.cit., pp.151-8; Gerard, op.cit., pp.180-2.
- (180) Diary of B.E. James 1866-1867 (S.C.A.).

It is unquestionably true that throughout the nineteenth century and after, physical activities were as important to the Stonyhurst pupils as to most schoolboys, and were actively encouraged by the staff - but only in order to develop healthy bodies. While the Benedictine writer, Bede Jarret, in Living Temples might find moral virtue in games,⁽¹⁸¹⁾ the Jesuit author, William Lockington, in his Bodily Health and Spiritual Vigour was concerned only with the production of physical stamina to sustain the priest in the saving of souls!⁽¹⁸²⁾ A more than symbolic contrast.

An interesting fact of Stonyhurst life which has attracted little attention among students of athleticism is the common practice some sixty years before Cotton recruited his young muscular masters, of staff participation in the boys' games. Fitzgerald wrote of the 'Grand Matches' that "the masters - strong athletic men - caught the prevailing fury and fought on different sides".⁽¹⁸³⁾ Some of the masters he remembered were great games players "and had their specialities".⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Another, who recalled with affection the masters' games enthusiasm, was a 'Catholic Barrister': "In the playground they were the unconstrained sharers in our sport."⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ And in 1903 His Majesty's Inspectors were favourably impressed by the staff involvement "in the playground and the cricket field"⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ and suggested that it helped promote excellent relations despite "the considerable supervision and restraint to which the boys are subjected". They failed, to note, however, its unique longevity as a tradition.

(181) B. Jarret, Living Temples 1919, pp.33-4.

(182) W.J. Lockington, Bodily Health and Spiritual Vigour 1913. Lockington devoted a section of his book to physical exercise using study room furniture. A typical extract reads: "an ounce of sanctity with exceptional good health...does more for the saving of souls than striking sanctity with an ounce of health" (p.4).

(183) Fitzgerald, op.cit., p.63. See also 'J.W.', 'Stonyhurst Life', The Month Vol.III, No.CXVII, March 1874, pp.331-2.

(184) Ibid., p.162.

(185) Quoted in 'Catholic College Education in England', Dublin Review Vol.XXX, No.LX, April 1878, p.358.

(186) Report of H.M. Inspectorate of Schools (Stonyhurst) 1903, Education 109/2667, p.15 (Public Record Office).

Stonyhurst gradually adopted the games, developed the facilities and to a small extent the sporting rituals and symbols of the protestant public schools. (187) But encouragement and involvement at no time represented ideological commitment of a moralistic nature or lapsed into smiling compliance with brown-cheeked hedonism. As at Lancing the motivation above all, was for the sake of acceptance and integration into the public school system. (188) But for the first sixty years of the nineteenth century Stonyhurst remained indifferently aloof from its non-catholic peers. Its masters played with the boys as they had always done; it played its own games, even its own cricket; later still it found no overt attraction in the ideological pronouncements that were beginning to characterize other schools from the fifties onwards; and it permitted little freedom to the pupils to control and organize their leisure activities. Those who talk of athleticism as a phenomenon of the public schools must exclude the Jesuit institution of Stonyhurst from the generalisation. Both athletic idealism and indulgence were firmly repressed. There, religion was, and was to remain, the source of moral soundness and the adversary of moral corruption!

IV

An examination of the early stages of the evolution of athleticism in the six schools of this study is now complete.

Events at Harrow, Marlborough, Lancing, Uppingham and Loretto - Stonyhurst clearly stands apart - in the middle of the nineteenth century demonstrate unmistakably that the well-heads of athleticism were strikingly

(187) Details are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

(188) For an amplification of this point regarding Stonyhurst see Chapter 4 below.

diverse in nature - the strategic and tactical responses to disciplinary problems of pragmatists, the different experiences, philosophies and paradigms of ideopraxists and the desire for acceptance of humble emulators. Cotton, Woodard and, in all probability, Vaughan supplied the practical dynamic; Thring and Almond supplied the ideological.

Public school historians have been rebuked for their preoccupation with the nineteenth century headmaster,⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ but four of these men were headmasters and illustrate his importance as an agent of change and innovation. Butler's words concerning the nineteenth century headmaster of Harrow - that his power was autocratic, masters his nominees and the tone his direct responsibility - have relevance in a wider context.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

The growth of athleticism was characterised by diffusion and parallel innovation. There was interchange of ideas and individual conclusion. Vaughan and Cotton appear to have set up a dialogue; Almond and Thring worked literally in splendid isolation.

Isolation elsewhere brought about a complication which must be acknowledged in any attempt to refine generalities concerning the widespread influence of the movement. Stonyhurst's aloofness from many developments associated with athleticism, particularly the school's continuing disdain for the rhetoric of ideological commitment, amount to substantial rejection. This fact and the anticipation at Stonyhurst, by several decades, of one significant manifestation of the games movement - namely the involvement of the masters in the boys' games - without any of the institutional pressures that produced Cotton's machinations, together add fresh subtlety to the history of public school athleticism and the development of games in English education.

(189) Brian Jackson, review of The Victorian Public School in the Guardian Dec. 11th. 1975, p.14.

(190) J.R.M. Butler, Henry Montagu Butler, Master of Trinity College Cambridge 1886-1918 1925, p.13.

In conjunction with the re-emergence from the historical depths of the Harrow Philathletic Club, such facts muddy the placid waters of settled opinion.

CHAPTER FOUR

PROGRESS TO CONFORMITY

I

It was written of Eton in 1898:

"There are fifty fives courts where before there was one; twenty games or thereabouts of cricket as against three; compulsory football for every house four or five times a week; to say nothing of beagles and athletic sports in the Easter Term, and rowing and bathing daily through the summer. There are house colours for football and school colours for football, cricket, rowing, racquets; there are challenge cups, senior and junior...." (1)

and the writer continued,

"What is true of Eton is, I believe, true, mutatis mutandis, of the other great public schools; the comprehensive net of athletics has closed around them all, sweeping in our boys by shoals, and few are the puny minnows that swim through its meshes. And yet the whole system is entirely modern; most of it a development of the last forty years." (2)

This picturesque metaphor contains the essence of an educational revolution. Between approximately 1860 and 1900 from diverse origins and parallel with continued variation in interpretation and emphasis, there developed a broad measure of conformity with regards to the major features of athleticism - supportive ideological statements appeared, a considerable investment in the machinery of games-playing was made, compulsion to play games was introduced and an intense enthusiasm on the part of many pupils became evident. These various features did not display a steady, uniform growth - at least, not in the six schools of this survey.

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- (1) Lionel Ford, 'Public School Athletics' in C. Cookson (ed.), Essays on Secondary Education 1898, p.289.
 (2) Ibid., p.289.

Progress towards conformity was uneven; dependent inter alia on the philosophy, inclinations and power of individual headmasters and their staff, on the wealth and goodwill of parents, old boys, masters and well-wishers, on the rapidity with which facilities could be developed, and, as we shall see, on the strong-minded independence of some boys and on the enthusiasm and organizational ability of others.

The impression is sometimes given of a change of ethos producing a relatively uncomplicated pupil acquiescence on an ever increasing scale.⁽³⁾ In fact, conformity was resisted, delayed, even in part thwarted by some pupils. Yet despite these obstacles, seldom considered by educational historians, it is certainly true that by 1900 all the schools of this study showed marked similarities in the provision of facilities and in the compulsion to use them, and five out of six schools - the exception, already noted, was Stonyhurst⁽⁴⁾ - subscribed loudly and consistently to the moral ethic allegedly inherent in athleticism and had produced in most of their pupils a fascination with team games.

The opening quotations of this chapter overlook one significant development - the ideological underpinning of a considerable investment in school games facilities. Investment in games 'plant' in the nineteenth century public school on such a scale required a persuasive rationale. A wholesome set of educational arguments to justify the creation of such resources, had to be marshalled and spread among the influential, the wealthy and the clientele. The pursuit of allegedly sound educational

(3) One example is T.W. Bamford, The Rise of the Public Schools p.83. Bamford is scrupulously careful to emphasise our lack of precise knowledge of the timing of events, the variation in timing between schools and the order of 'seminal elements' but implies an ordered progression to uniformity due to 'a subtle but organized drive by authority' and omits any reference to pupil resistance and rejection.

(4) Open allegiance to the belief in games for character training is extremely rare in Stonyhurst literature. For an example, a discussion of unselfishness as the chief merit of soccer, see S.C.M. Vol.III, No.34, Nov.1837, p.42.

objectives through the medium of the games field had to be expounded and persistently re-emphasized to sustain the believer, placate the critical, win over the naive and effect a cover for the self-indulgent. In this fact is to be found yet another reason for the literature of allegiance over and above those already discussed in the previous chapters.

There was, however, another dimension to the process of indoctrination. Within the schools themselves, since all the boys were ultimately required to use the costly games facilities, then it was desirable in the interests of morale and discipline to use every means possible to win the goodwill of the uncommitted and to reinforce and maintain the enthusiasm of the partial. One important means of doing this was the reiteration of the virtuous qualities of the games player in the school magazine. This approach constituted a simple and persistent attempt to 'sell' a desirable image to the school community; to link cause and effect; to produce mass identification with an 'ideal type'.

The Pall Mall Gazette of 16th. July 1866, reporting the annual match at Lord's between Eton and Harrow, adopted a highly moralising tone to the detriment of the Eton team:

"Cricket is a game which reflects the character - a game of correct habits, of patient and well-considered practice - the very last game in the world in which any youth without the power of concentrativeness - nine tenths of education but voted a bore at Eton - is ever likely to excel. To any lover of education the play of Harrow was a treat, and that of Eton a disappointment. In Harrow we saw care and discipline, and patient labour; in Eton a wild erratic performance, no sign of training or mental effort ..."(5)

This was an interpretation of personal virtue that was to gain wide currency in the public school system and which in style and content was reproduced in the Marlburian, the Lancing College Magazine, the Harrowian, the Uppingham School Magazine and the Lorettonian.

(5) Press Cutting in the Harrow scrapbook (MSD/DU/681/1) of Sir Frederick Green (Harrow 1860-1863) included in his papers in the Essex County Record Office.

The cumulative impact of the extensive literature of athleticism is dealt with fully in Chapter Seven but attention is briefly focused here on the systematic support lent to the ideology and to that concrete manifestations of ideological commitment, the athlete hero, by the school magazine. Frequent opportunity was taken in this main vehicle of institutional propaganda to indoctrinate the reader. As playing fields were expanded and boys forced on to them, the magazines kept up a steady stream of messages, stressing the value of these new manifestations for the development of a noble type of boy.

Intensity of proselytism ranged from the modest, rather impersonal assertion of an Uppingham correspondent, "Now cricket...would seem to have little in common with grammar, either Latin or Greek. Yet they have a common meeting ground. For it is in our games as well as in our classrooms that character is moulded",⁽⁶⁾ through the obsequious pronouncement of a Harrow editorial in defence of the power of the Captains of the XI, "Look at the uniform judiciousness of their conduct, their high moral influence and above all their bodily strength. Is it not here that we must look for the very essence of what is a Harrow boy's idea of what is a gentleman?"⁽⁷⁾ to the obsessional passion of Marlborough's 'Trebla'. Through his green fingers the tiny ideological seeds sown by Cotton in his sermons had germinated sufficiently by 1867 to produce an encomium in the school magazine entitled 'A Ruskinian Study', in which extravagant claims were made for the qualities of the athletecrat:

(6) U.S.M. Vol.XXIX, No.229, July 1891, p.167.

(7) The Pen Vyper July 23rd.1870, p.4.

"...football is his first work. Into that he has put as much of human patience, common sense, forethought, experimental philosophy, self control, habits of order and obedience, careless courage, careful patriotism, unity of purpose and harmony of aim as can well be put into a space of six inches (8) in diameter and eighteen in circumference."

With exact logic equally grandiose attributes were alleged for athleticism: it fostered courage, active and passive; it developed the quality of self-abnegation (since it offered the opportunity to deny oneself rich foods); it generated patriotism, for while excellent Latin and faultless Greek did nothing to promote esprit de corps, a house team was united by indissoluble ties of common hopes, sympathies and aspirations; it encouraged a love of a life of action and those ambitious for immortality were reminded that the Temple of Fame was gained through activity not mere speculation. Above all, it fanned "that noblest and purest and highest of all earthly worships - hero worship: that worship that has lain at the root of half the greatness that ever existed in the world's history, which overcame the frivolity and scepticism of Alcibiades, which stirred the fiery emulation of Alexander, which led the high-born gentlemen of England to pour out their blood on the fields of Naseby and Marston Moor". (9)

When attacked in the correspondence columns by an unimpressed pupil realist who deprecated the hero worship of mere brute force, and of the least deserving who frequently abused the influence their prowess at games allowed, (10) Trebla stood firm - and missed the point. It was not his intention, he retorted, to glorify mere physical ability. He sought only to praise the pre-eminent moral qualities of the athlete - courage, patriotism and self-denial! (11)

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- (8) Marlburian Vol.VIII, No.136, Oct.22nd,1873, p.155.
E.C. Kempson, a former assistant master at Marlborough has tentatively suggested that 'Trebla' was John Albert Babington, Housemaster of C3 1869-1875. If 'Trebla's' statement appears far-fetched it is as well to recall Arnold Lunn's more sober description of the 'Oaks' at Harrow some thirty years later - "Footer was the real work of the place." (The Harrovians, p.54).
- (9) Ibid., Vol.II, No.17, Oct.4th.1867, p.202.
- (10) Ibid., Vol.II, No.18, Dec.18th.1867, p.210.
- (11) Ibid., Vol.III, No.3, April 1st.1868, p.37.

Trebla's purple patch eminently qualifies for inclusion in Bergmann's definition of an ideology as a value-judgement disguised as a fact, but it also reveals, as early as the mid-sixties, the assumption of a simple linear relationship between physical and moral worth. The athlete as moral symbol had taken up residence in the English public school.

On such carefully laid rhetorical foundations a solid super-structure of facilities was gradually erected. At all the schools a large acreage of land was accumulated over several decades to provide playing fields, rackets, fives and squash courts, gymnasias and swimming pools. "Machinery, machinery, machinery should be the motto of any good school... as little as possible ought to be left to personal merit in the teachers, as much as possible ought to rest on the system and the appliances," wrote Edward Thring.⁽¹²⁾ The general realisation of the soundness of this organisational principle as applied to games, for producing smooth discipline, acquiescent pupils and contented parents is demonstrated by the following Table below:

TABLE I
APPROXIMATE GAMES ACREAGE OWNED OR LEASED AND
USED FOR MAJOR GAMES IN 1845 AND 1900

	<u>1845</u>	<u>1900</u>
HARROW	8	146
MARLBOROUGH	2	68
UPPINGHAM	2	49
LANCING	0 (1848)	14½
STONYHURST	2	30
LORETTO	0	22

Note: The amount of land obtained, of course, was dependent on such factors as the wealth of benefactors and the number of pupils to be accommodated. For example at Lancing numbers rose to some 200 in the 1880s but fell to less than 120 by 1900. Being a small school like Loretto, therefore, the games fields were naturally fewer than elsewhere. What the table above clearly demonstrates is that between 1845 and 1900 games became an integral part of school life, and facilities were purchased and developed so as to ensure the compulsory participation of most pupils.

Sources: Harrow: E.D. Laborde, Harrow School: Yesterday and Today; Lancing: Mr. E.W.T. Handford; Loretto: School Register 1908; Marlborough: Mr. G. Murray and Mr. J. Warwick James; Stonyhurst: Rev.J.F. Turner; Uppingham: School Prospectus (1974).

(12) Edward Thring, Introductory notes to Diary quoted in Parkin, op.cit., p.92.

Large sums of money were obtained from governors, masters, old boys, parents and well wishers for the purchase of land and the construction of amenities. The situation at Harrow was typical, not perhaps in the amount contributed - Harrow had especially wealthy benefactors - but in the source and type of contribution. Table II on the facing page contains a list of contributions between 1850 and 1900.

By the end of the century the facilities created from these funds were maintained by a well organised system of games subscriptions. A typical statement of accounts for the Summer Term of 1893 from the Marlborough Games Committee shows how the subscriptions raised,⁽¹³⁾ were used to pay for cricket professionals, ground staff, maintenance and the not ungenerous obligations of the host team.

TABLE III (14)

GAMES			
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR SUMMER TERM, 1893			
RECEIVED		PAID	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
By Cash in hand from Lent Term	2. 16. 2	To Hide 2 quarters' salary to Michaelmas	48. 0. 0
Deposits at the Bank	120. 0. 0	" " Hockey Term's Bill	2. 14. 0
Interest on Deposits	1. 5. 3	" " Cricket Term's Bill	41. 17. 7
Donation to Cricket from the Common Room	8. 0. 0	Parasenter	41. 5. 0
Annual subscription from the Council, through the Bursar	26. 0. 0	Smith	41. 0. 0
Subscriptions from:-		Palser	21. 13. 4
A House	£ s. d.	Smart	16. 5. 0
Mr. Champneys House	19. 11. 3	Gregory	8. 12. 0
Cotton	11. 17. 9	Smallbones	4. 19. 6
Mr. Eve's	12. 13. 3	Boys for getting up plantains	1. 1. 9
Mr. Galpin's	12. 11. 6	Stabling and keep of the horses	3. 2. 10
Mr. Gould's	15. 4. 0	Leather boots and repair to harness	3. 14. 2
Littlefield	12. 4. 6	Repairs to Club Property	10. 19. 11
Mr. Macdonald's	3. 6. 0	M. Foster (for luncheons)	7. 6. 6
Mr. Madden's	10. 4. 3	R. Long (for 67 gallons of beer)	3. 7. 6
Mr. Mansell's	3. 6. 0	Stagg (for 99 dozen of ginger beer)	4. 19. 0
Dr. Penny's	0. 17. 6	M. Drace (towards dinners at extra match)	1. 6. 0
Mr. Pollock's	12. 17. 6	" (captain's telegrams and postage)	1. 2. 2
Presnate	13. 9. 3	The Treasurer (for postage)	2. 3 1/2
Summerfield	3. 7. 3	Policeman (on Cheltenham match days)	6. 0. 0
Mr. Upcott's	3. 13. 6	J.W. Brooke (for watering-carts)	1. 7. 0
	147. 5. 9	Dale and Co. (for watering-cans)	0. 13. 0
		Dock (for Brakes for Cheltenham XI)	3. 10. 6
		Steel (for omnibus fares for Football team in February)	15. 0. 0
		Gale (for printing)	13. 3. 0
		Wells (for rolling ground)	2. 15. 0
		Sutton and Sons (for grass seed)	7. 2. 0
		Morrison (for tent, and Box to keep it in)	25. 7. 0
		Total	£301. 15. 0
		Balance to Michaelmas Term	£3. 12. 2
			£305. 7. 2

Signed,
R. ALFORD, Treasurer.
J.S. THOMAS, Bursar.

(13) Subscriptions were raised by house. See Chapter 5 which deals with the economics of athleticism.

(14) Taken from the Marlburian, Vol.XXVIII, No.446, Oct.21st. 1893, p.140.

TABLE II

HARROW SCHOOL: APPROXIMATE SUMS COLLECTED FOR THE PURCHASE AND DEVELOPMENT
OF GAMES FACILITIES 1850-1900

<u>DATE</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>	<u>PURPOSE</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
1851	£ 1,000	Improvement to School Bathing Place.	C. Vaughan, Headmaster.
1864	£ 2,300	New racquets and fives courts.	General subscription.
1866	£ 7,000	For purchase of 9 acres of Philathletic Field.	General subscription.
1873	£ 4,000	For a gymnasium.	General subscription; part of the Lyon Memorial Fund.
1884	£ 3,000	For additional 5 acres of Philathletic Field.	General subscription; Grimston Memorial Fund.
1885	£18,500	For purchase of the Football Field.	General subscription. (£10,000 from a single anonymous Old Harrovian); Montagu Butler Memorial Fund.
1891	£ 800	For new fives courts.	Parent in memory of his son.
	£ 1,000	For Harrow Cricket.	Bequest of T.K. Tapling, Old Harrovian.
1893	£ 1,000	For addition to lower Cricket Field.	E. Bowen, Assistant Master.
1894	£ 1,000	For Harrow Cricket	Bequest of A.A. Hadow, Old Harrovian.
1895	£ 200	For Harrow Cricket	Bequest of Earl of Bessborough, Old Harrovian.
	£ 5,500	Improvement of Cricket Fields.	General Subscription; Bessborough Memorial Fund.
	£19,000	Purchase of additional football fields.	General Subscription.
	£ 500	For Harrow Cricket.	Bequest of I.D. Walker, Old Harrovian.

Note: The above list does not include items such as additions to the bathing place by former scholars and others in 1881, the 1883 new pavilion on the Old Cricket Ground - a gift from old boys, masters (E. Bowen made a substantial contribution) and friends of the school, the purchase of the Nicholson Field by a former pupil, William Nicholson, for the use of the school and laid out at the expense of old boys and others, and the 1893 new pavilions on the cricket fields in memory of Old Harrovians, William Law and Cyril Buxton. In all these instances the exact amounts involved are not known.

Sources: P.B.M. Bryant, Harrow; E.W. Howson and G.T. Warner, Harrow School; E.D. Laborde, Harrow: Yesterday and Today; Tyro; Harrovian (1st, 2nd and 3rd series); Harrow Notes; Harrow School Tercentenary Appeal 1871.

Hand in hand with these manifestations came the systematisation of games playing. The school registers, school histories and club record books supply between them evidence of this, which is reproduced in diagram form in Table IV below.

The Table illustrates a developmental trend. It does not necessarily include the earliest 'foreign' matches, school teams or athletics meetings, but indicates when the recording of teams, fixtures and events became regularised. There were, for example, spasmodically arranged matches with local clubs, groups of old boys and sometimes university or college teams prior to the dates given in the table in several of the schools. The discrepancy in some cases between the date of the regular recording of school teams and 'foreign' matches means simply that for many years school teams played internal fixtures against various combinations of the remainder of the school.

TABLE IV

COMMENCEMENT OF REGULAR RECORDING OF MATCHES, CHAMPIONSHIPS AND TEAMS

	SCHOOL CRICKET XI	SCHOOL FOOTBALL TEAMS	ATHLETIC SPORTS OR CHAMPIONSHIPS	'FOREIGN' CRICKET MATCHES	'FOREIGN' FOOTBALL MATCHES
HARROW	1818	1850s	1850s	1818	1927
MARLBOROUGH	1849	1859	1867	1855	1887
UPPINGHAM	1860	1864	1860	1865	1899
LANCING	1855	1863	1861	1869	1865
LORETTO	(See Loretto below)			1863	1867
STONYHURST	1861	1884	1866	1861	1884

Points associated with individual schools

Harrow: Harrow is unique in the above company. 'Foreign' cricket matches were regularised early in the nineteenth century with the establishment of the annual 'Lord's Match' against Eton and Winchester. The retention until 1927 of Harrow Football meant that until this time school football matches against external opposition were limited to the annual Old Boys' Match.

Uppingham: Uppingham retained its own type of football until 1899 when it adopted rugby union and as at Harrow, external matches were therefore restricted to those with Old Boys until that date.

Lancing: The earliest Lancing games records have not survived. The above dates are taken from the extant records. But by 1860 it would seem there were regular football and cricket fixtures with Brighton College.

Loretto: As with Lancing, details of early school teams are lost. The extant records date from 1877. Due to Almond's strong principles Loretto did not have internal athletic sports meetings, only standards. Almond maintained that intra-school sports encouraged selfishness.

The history of the forty years after 1860 is one of expansion and improvement. Intra-school games usually in the form of house matches, leagues (or their equivalent at Stonyhurst) gradually took up more and more time as they were discovered to be the most satisfactory way of stimulating enthusiasm for what eventually became almost daily visits to the playing fields. Hockey, swimming, gymnastics, rackets, fives, squash and fencing, some or all were added to the major games of football and cricket. The athletic championships, or in the case of Loretto athletic standards, became a regular institution.

A huge games playing machine was ultimately constructed, efficiently serviced and periodically improved; oiled by the wealth of governors, staff, boys, parents and old boys; driven by an elitist group of masters and pupils who protected and promoted their principles and their pleasures with elaborate rituals and symbols of status and power; put to general use by constant reiteration of an educational ideal and ultimately, by the crude technique of coercion.

II

It has been stated that the compulsion associated with games in the public schools came from the boys themselves.⁽¹⁵⁾ But the histories of the six schools of this study suggest the need for a more flexible interpretation of its evolution.

(15) McIntosh, op.cit., p.41.

At Marlborough there is evidence to suggest that the observation has some substance - although an over-simplification of events. In a sermon preached at Marlborough in 1897, J.S. Thomas, the long-serving College bursar, ⁽¹⁶⁾ in his youth and early manhood a distinguished and enthusiastic games player, recalled that, "Games are spoken of as compulsory, but it is a historical fact that the compulsion was never imposed from above..." ⁽¹⁷⁾ This is a puzzling comment ⁽¹⁸⁾ in the light of Cotton's Circular to Parents of 1853 and an early entry (1857) for which he was responsible, in the Marlborough College Cricket Book: "The Club will consist of all boys belonging to the College in the capacity of pupils ...All will be forced to pay the regular subscription." ⁽¹⁹⁾ Such a mandate, of course, does not get boys onto the playing fields and it appears that a distinction must be made between compulsory financial support and compulsory physical involvement. But since Cotton made subscription, if not participation, compulsory it is clear that at Marlborough compulsion in the area of the boys' games was not wholly the product of pupil pressure. Further, Cotton's desire to have the mass of the boys play games is set out without ambiguity in his Circular. ⁽²⁰⁾ In view of the enormous influence of the headmaster in school affairs, even those ostensibly the responsibility of the pupils, (well exemplified by Thring in the specific case of compulsory games as will be seen shortly), it may be reasonably hypothesized that Cotton strongly 'encouraged' compulsory participation as well as compulsory subscription.

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- (16) John Stearne Thomas, Marlborough 1848-1855, assistant master 1859-1897.
- (17) Extract from a sermon preached in Marlborough College Chapel, 28th.Feb.1897 (M.C.A.)
- (18) It was, of course, the reflection of an old man looking back on his youth and this may account for his partial accuracy.
- (19) Entry dated September 1857 in the Marlborough College Cricket Book at present in the possession of Mr. L. Warwick James. I owe this point to him.
- (20) See Appendix I.

Cotton's introduction of subscription was a relatively innocuous and unprovocative act of enforcement - a declaration of intent which also helped create facilities; he possibly thought it unwise to force compulsory games on some 500 boys of notoriously unruly disposition well used to their liberty. Sensibly therefore, he appear to have led from the rear. He encouraged participation from the chapel pulpit and from the writing desk. And most important of all, he recruited athletic housemasters who drew boys onto the football and cricket fields by their own enthusiastic example.⁽²¹⁾ Through these men he created a climate in which compulsion to play games came about peacefully. Thomas, in fact, indicates as much. His statement quoted earlier, continues, "...it (compulsion) sprang up spontaneously in the various Houses; the leading boys in co-operation with their masters (emphasis added) resolving that it had become a necessity... Nothing could have been more mischievous than purposeless idleness which characterized many, for whom games had no special attraction."⁽²²⁾ This argument concerning the need for an antidote to purposeless idleness has a Cottonian ring.⁽²³⁾ And the phrase "leading boys in co-operation with their masters" scarcely places the onus of responsibility for compulsion exclusively on the pupils. It should also be noted in this context that the spirit which led to fierce games rivalry demanding total support from the members of the house⁽²⁴⁾ only developed fully after Cotton's reconstruction of the house system in 1852⁽²⁵⁾ - a point surely not without significance!

(21) See Chapter 2 above.

(22) Extract from sermon of 1897, op.cit.

(23) Cf. Circular to Parents.

(24) At this time all members of the house played in house matches.

(25) For details of the reform see the Marlborough College Register 1843-52 (9th ed.) 1952, p.XXVII.

The truth of the matter is, clearly, that Cotton and his staff had a large part to play in the introduction of compulsory games at Marlborough - a part that was all the more effective for being both direct and indirect. Cotton and his young masters were to a considerable degree, responsible for the eventual state of affairs in the 1870s deprecated by correspondents to The Times and the Marlburian, namely that boys were subject "to direct tyranny...and were all, with few exceptions, compelled to play all school games". (26)

Henry Montagu Butler, who succeeded Vaughan as headmaster of Harrow, informed the Public Schools Commission that "compulsory attendance at football is part of the internal government which was, so far as we know, originally established by the boys themselves, and is now certainly administered by them alone". (27) Compulsory games fagging had a long history at Harrow before 1864, and was certainly initiated by the boys. Compulsory games playing on the other hand appears to have been introduced in Vaughan's time, a by-product of the systemization of games following the creation of the Philathletic Club. In Harrow Recollections Sydney Daryl, remembering the period shortly before Vaughan's retirement, made what appears to be the first reference to compulsory games at Harrow by a former pupil: "I wish it to be clearly understood that every boy is compelled to go down to 'footer', as it is called, twice a week." (28) Elsewhere he commented on an apparently new and much resented system: "A great many people complain that football is made compulsory but far from coinciding in their views, I believe it to be one of the very best things that could possibly happen. Loiterers are kept out of mischief, health and appetite are promoted." (29) Support for the claim that compulsory

(26) Letter to The Times from 'Oxonian-Marlburian', Wed.Oct.2nd. 1889, p.4; Letter from 'Liliput' in the Marlburian Vol.XIII, No.217, Oct.23rd.1878, p.161.

(27) P.S.C. Vol.I, p.281, Questions 27-30.

(28) An Old Harrovian (Sydney Daryl), op.cit., p.49.

(29) Ibid., p.60.

games existed under Vaughan is also to be found elsewhere. (30)

Vaughan's role in the introduction of games at Harrow has already been discussed in an earlier chapter (31) and it was suggested that his contribution had been neglected hitherto. It was argued that there are some grounds for believing him responsible through his monitors for the systematisation of games, including compulsion. But it was also stated that the exact situation is far from clear. In which case any unqualified assertion is ill-advised!

The situation at Uppingham illustrates the need for care in interpreting even the apparently obvious. In 1857 the first Uppingham Games Committee was formed. It had five members - all pupils. One of the first rules it drew up was that "at least one game of football should be played each week and that non-attendance on field days should be punished by a fine". (32) Primâ facie, it would seem that the introduction of compulsory games at Uppingham was the boys' doing. But the Uppingham historian of the evolution of the school's games suggests that in all probability the Committee was formed on Thring's initiative (33) and during the formative years "was an extension of Thring's own authority: trusted praeceptors effected his policies". (34) Thring's belief in the principle of indirect rule is made clear in both his diary and his published works. In February 1860 he wrote in his diary: "Went this afternoon with Mr. Earle, Althorpe and Clay to choose the steeplechase ground. Could not help contrasting it to my own school life... Surely this leading (emphasis added) the school without destroying their freedom at all must have great effects". (35)

(30) H. Merivale, Bar, Stage and Platform 1902, pp.180, 189; (Harrow 1851-1856), also B. Russell and P. Russell (eds.), The Amberley Papers 1937, p.165. This includes the letters of John Russell, later Lord Amberley (Harrow 1857-1859).

(31) See Chapter 2 above.

(32) R.C. Rome, Uppingham: The Story of a School 1584-1948 1948, Appendix, p.1. (U.S.A.)

(33) Tozer, op.cit., p.53.

(34) Idem.

(35) Edward Thring, MS Diary Entry for 23th.Feb.1860.

And in a book of essays on education some six years later, he states that he took his place in school games adhering strictly to two rules, that he played only at the request of the boys unless experience proved it unnecessary, and that he left the control and management in their hands. (36)

Yet it must be clearly understood that control was pupil centred provided that the boys complied with Thring's intentions. "Thring always kept and often used a headmasterly veto," states Tozer. (37) He did not wish "to meddle authoritatively" with the boys' games; but he did. (38) He was the ultimate authority. As we have seen already, when, for example, the boys wished to adopt the rugby union code in place of Uppingham football, his authority ensured the survival of the traditional school game - at least until his death. (39) A knowledge of Thring's methods of implementing his policies brings to light the fact that he, not the boys, was the main force behind the introduction of compulsory games!

If the validity of the theory that games compulsion was the innovation of the boys is weakened by the Marlborough and Uppingham evidence, it is substantially weakened by that of Loretto, Stonyhurst and Lancing.

The introduction of compulsory participation in physical activities at Loretto was wholly Almond's decision. (40) It was part of a programme of good health habits which, as already mentioned, included such

(36) Edward Thring, Three Letters and Axioms on Education 1866, p.11.

(37) Tozer, op.cit., p.90.

(38) Ibid., p.194; Mallea also stresses his well-meaning despotism in this context (op.cit., p.117). The historian of Uppingham cricket, W.S. Patterson in his Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket is equally assertive on this point in the narrower context of the development of cricket at the school (pp.15, 138).

(39) Tozer, op.cit., p.194.

(40) The clearest, most succinct outline of Almond's philosophy and practice of good health is A.R. Smith's 'The Making of Healthy Men: Dr. Almond's work at Loretto' in Maloine (ed.), Délibérations du Troisième Congrès International d'Hygiène Scolaire 1910; A.R. Smith (Loretto 1889-1894) was headmaster of Loretto 1908-1926.

things as open dormitory windows, abstinence between meals, open-necked shirts, the abolition of waistcoats, sensibly designed boots and not least, cold baths.⁽⁴¹⁾ From Loretto's inception, Almond saw to it that "a programme of physical activity went on irrespective of weather or season. The activity catered for every boy...it was considered too important to be left to the will of the boys (emphasis added) and occupied a central part of the daily timetable."⁽⁴²⁾

Almond's pedagogical ambition was to develop a 'balance' between intellectual effort and physical activity. When he set his system before the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) in 1901 he declared that his ideal daily timetable was: "6 hours study, 10 hours sleep, 1½ hours at meals, 1 hour free after meals, 1 hour drawing or singing, ½ hour prayers or assembly, ½ hour in the gymnasium, 2½ hours at games, 1 hour leisure."⁽⁴³⁾ By 1870 this timetable was in operation at Loretto.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The physical education component was compulsory, an arrangement which was at loggerheads with Almond's self-proclaimed aim of education for individuality. Perhaps it was this obvious contradiction that caused one member of the Royal Commission to remark to him drily, concerning his much polished physical education programme: "It does not appear you have spared compulsion!"⁽⁴⁵⁾

Almond in fact, had written a fuller description of the Loretto system for a wider audience than the Royal Commission some time earlier. It had appeared in an article entitled 'The Public School Product:A Rejoinder' in New Review January 1897, in which he defended the principle of

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- (41) "It required some courage to sit down among the ice, and sponge ourselves on frosty mornings!" wrote R.J. Mackenzie (op.cit., p.69).
 (42) Thomson, op.cit., p.72.
 (43) Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1901, Vol.II, p.414, Q.9774.
 (44) Thomson, op.cit., p.70.
 (45) Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1901, Vol.II, p.416, Q.9834.

compulsory games against criticism in an earlier article in the same journal. Here duty and conscience were paraded, twin guardians of Lorettonianism:

" ...every boy at Loretto has a walk or run of nearly half a mile before breakfast. At some time of every day, interspersed among the lesson hours, he spends half an hour in the gymnasium. He has also at some time between 8.30 A.M. and 1 P.M., varying with different forms, about three-quarters of an hour's interval, during half an hour of which he must be in the open air on fine days, taking any form of exercise he selects. On all days there are compulsory games, or sometimes a choice of various exercises, such as fives, or golf when a side is off, or runs, from about 3 to 4.10 P.M.; school resuming at 4.45 P.M. On Tuesdays and Thursdays a boy is free from dinner-time to 3 P.M. On Saturdays he is free till 7.45 P.M., when singing and substitutes for singing take place. There are usually three or four matches on Saturdays, but if a boy has been watching a match he must take some active exercise afterwards in winter, in the shape of a three-mile "run" or quick walk, and in summer, in that of various small games after tea. If not watching a match, he must be out for some definite purpose during the afternoon. On Saturdays when there are no matches, the whole school commonly go on some compulsory "grinds" of from nine to twelve miles. On wet days, a "run" of three and a half to five miles is arranged by the head boy. No boy may lose his afternoon exercise for any cause whatever, except doctor's orders. Our Army Class, I regret to say, loses some of the outdoor exercise: never the compulsory games. ... is this amount of open air and circulation of the blood excessive? I can only say, that as a matter of duty and conscience, no power on earth could make me lessen it." (46)

There can be no argument about the source of compulsory games at Loretto. Their introduction can be attributed without fear of refutation to the school's philosopher and headmaster for forty-one years.

At Stonyhurst, the boys' role in the introduction of compulsory games can be swiftly dealt with. Jesuit pupils had far less freedom than in the protestant schools to innovate or organise. The modern games of cricket and football, for example, were introduced and run

(46) H.H. Almond, 'The Public School: A Rejoinder', New Review Vol.XVI, No.92, Jan.1897, p.86.

by members of staff. Father Clough and Father Welby introduced cricket,⁽⁴⁷⁾ Father Baldwin introduced football,⁽⁴⁸⁾ Father Robinson, who also introduced hockey, adapted the public school house games system to Stonyhurst⁽⁴⁹⁾ and the famed Prefects controlled and supervised daily play.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In 1890 the 'Football Notes' in the college magazine contained the brief information that a new rule had been introduced to the effect that instead of football being voluntary, all were obliged to play once a week.⁽⁵¹⁾ While responsibility for the rule is not stated, the pattern of games control leaves little likelihood of it being the independent action of the boys.

As regards Lancing, the diary of a Lancing schoolboy, Samuel Roebuck Brooke,⁽⁵²⁾ for the years 1860-62, by great good fortune contains a record of the introduction of compulsory games at this Woodard school. It is a record that further exposes the extent of the role and power of the headmaster as an agent of change.

Brooke was a clever, shy, rather priggish boy, poorly coordinated and continually prone to colds and stomach ailments. Games, to him, were a source of misery and humiliation. This fact ensured his meticulous chronicling of the introduction of compulsion at Lancing. His diary served as a catharsis; his torment was released through the nib of his pen and the result is a unique first hand account of the growth of compulsory games in one public school.

(47) Gruggen and Keating, op.cit., p.159.

(48) Stonyhurst Association Football Journal p.1. (S.C.A.)

(49) Gruggen and Keating, op.cit., p.163.

(50) The Month Vol.III, No.CXVII, March 1874, p.332.

(51) S.C.M. Vol.IV, No.52, Nov.1890, p.563. In 1887 football had been made compulsory once a week for the boys chosen to play for the Higher and Lower Line sets by a selected committee of five boys for each line. See S.C.M. Vol.III, No.34, Nov.1887, p.34.

(52) Sam Brooke's Journal: The Diary of a Lancing Schoolboy 1860-1865 1953. Brooke was at Lancing from 1855 to 1862.

The first school entry in the diary is dated Wednesday, 1st.Feb.1860. On Monday, 12th.March, Brooke played one of his infrequent games of football. The season was almost over and the extent of his relief is seen in the comment, "I am glad and thankful to say that it will be the last of the kind for some time to come."⁽⁵³⁾ The following day he avoided games "and loitered about". Within a few days the season closed and for the remainder of the school year little of moment occurred. At the start of the next school year Brooke wrote in his diary on October 9th, "'The Football Season'. Today the first game of football was played in the afternoon, and in the common cricket field. I was not present, but I heard there was a considerable quantity of 'compulsion', which augurs ill certainly, and I must say that things do look very badly."⁽⁵⁴⁾

The threat of compulsion weighed lightly upon him, however, and for the rest of the week he spent his afternoons blackberrying in the valley below the school. His tranquillity was greatly disturbed when in the middle of the month the Captain of Football, R.W. Papineau,⁽⁵⁵⁾ announced that the game was now compulsory both on Tuesdays and Saturdays on the authorisation of the headmaster (emphasis added).

The timing of this edict is intriguing. There were 96 boys in the school at the time.⁽⁵⁶⁾ There were no serious problems of vandalism, no difficulties in keeping boys amused in the spacious acres of Lancing estate and the freedom of the Downs. On the other hand Welford had been headmaster for a year. It was the logical time for him to institute reform, after a period of settling in, and at the beginning of a new season. Perhaps he considered he was creating a manly public school image, the apparent purpose of his selection as headmaster.⁽⁵⁷⁾

(53) Ibid., p.10.

(54) Ibid., p.39.

(55) Lancing 1851-1861.

(56) L.C.M. Vol.II, No.29, October 1897, p.504.

(57) See Chapter 2 above.

Whatever the reasons for the introduction of compulsion Brooke's disgust was considerable, especially regarding the headmaster's involvement; a fact that suggests complete freedom from staff interference in earlier years! Despite "the odious rule of 20th.inst.," Brooke "skipped football" for the next five compulsory sessions, was subsequently interviewed by Papineau and, although a Sixth Former, was threatened with a beating. Compulsion was to be taken seriously.

The headmaster's desire to see the new ruling implemented was made clear the very next day (Sunday, 28th.October) when he used the chapel pulpit to set in place an ideological cornerstone for the subsequent edifice of compulsion, claiming that it was the duty of boys to join in "the unity of sports" and urging them to submit with good grace to the reformation.⁽⁵⁸⁾ And within twenty-four hours of this exhortation Welford had taken the opportunity of exerting further pressure on Brooke by way of "a few unusually kind words" on the subject. The combined forces of the headmaster and the Captain of the Eleven pushed Brooke onto the football field. For the rest of the term the struggle was abandoned; brief resistance had been overcome by a mixture of coercion and persuasion. While Brooke continued his diatribe against compulsory games in his diary, rejoicing over "injuries, visits and wet days", he submitted to the system.

After Christmas at home⁽⁵⁹⁾ he returned with a stiffened resolve to resume the conflict. He immediately absented himself from football; his dereliction of duty was noticed and resulted in a 'jaw' from Papineau on the importance of setting an example. Papineau's assault on his freedom was again followed by official reinforcement: the headmaster

(58) Brooke, for his part, expressed doubt about the 'unity of games' claim. He considered football was the source of continual disturbance and conflict! (op.cit., p.42).

(59) It is interesting to note that although Brooke expected support from home, he found his father sympathetic to the official school position.

declared to the school shortly afterwards that football on Tuesdays and Thursdays was "utterly and thoroughly compulsory".⁽⁶⁰⁾ Brooke's reaction was predictable. "Our playtime is our playtime," he protested⁽⁶¹⁾ - in his diary, and once more capitulated.

By the following year compulsory football was firmly established. A brief revolution among many of the boys over the twice weekly compulsory game did occur in February 1862. Brooke thought this "a very gratifying performance";⁽⁶²⁾ but as a consequence of it R.E. Sanderson,⁽⁶³⁾ the new headmaster, assembled the school, and declared football to be compulsory on Tuesday and Saturday afternoons and from 12 to 1.10 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Brooke's only consolation was that one zealot's proposal for a fine of sixpence for non-attendance was not taken up. Brooke left at Easter, 1862; his considerable torment was over.

There are important gaps in his record of the introduction of compulsory games at Lancing. It is impossible, for example, to be precise about Walford's motivation, but we do have a detailed picture of progressive innovation, spasmodic resistance and, ultimately, institutionalised compulsion which illustrates the formidable influence of the headmaster, a reliance on ideological underpinning and interestingly - since it is seldom considered - considerable reluctance on the part of a great many boys.

It is important for an accurate understanding of the development of games in the public school system to recognise that at Uppingham, Loretto and Lancing the headmaster was a major influence in the introduction of compulsion; that at Stonyhurst the pattern of authority suggests

(60) Brooke, op.cit., p.66.

(61) Idem.

(62) Ibid., p.114.

(63) Robert Edward Sanderson, headmaster 1862-1889.

that the Order rather than the boys was responsible; that at Marlborough the contribution of the headmaster and his staff was considerable. All this would suggest that an uncritical acceptance of the exclusive role of the pupils in the introduction of compulsory games must be avoided, and the contribution of the headmaster reappraised. As we have seen already in the wider context of the introduction of games, the nineteenth century public school headmaster was more often than not, an educational entrepreneur of energy and will: as H.D. Rawnsley wrote of Thring, "he was the very pulse of the machine".⁽⁶⁴⁾

III

Neatness of conceptualisation in conjunction with brevity of exposition run the special risk of overlooking loose ends, squeezing out essential contradictions, distorting reality. The assertion that, "Between 1860 and 1880 games became compulsory, organised and eulogised in all the leading public schools"⁽⁶⁵⁾ is one example. It applies too rapid, smooth and complete a transition from haphazardness to regimentation, liberty to compulsion, coolness to euphoria. It does not adequately fit the facts at Harrow - indisputably a leading school; and the spread of compulsion, organisation and eulogy at the other schools of this study was erratic, more gradual and in some cases far from complete by 1880.

Nothing more firmly gives the lie to the commonly drawn image of the relentless, all-subsuming appetite of 'the tin God of Athleticism' which by 1880 had swallowed its victims, than the development

(64) Rawnsley, op.cit., p.92.

(65) Newsome (1961), op.cit., p.222.

of athletic sports. The Stonyhurst athletic championships faithfully reflect the situation at the other schools. Before they became permanently established they passed through a period of uncertainty and vicissitude.

Inaugurated in 1866, they were held continuously until 1872; then held erratically until 1897; only from that date on did they occur regularly.

Compulsion provides an equally striking mirror image. At Stonyhurst, as we have seen above, it was introduced as late as 1891 - once a week. At Uppingham for many years it was minimal: between 1857, when it was first introduced, and 1870 it was also restricted to a single day in the week.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Only in the 1870s did games become compulsory twice weekly, and only after Thring's death in 1887 was that commitment further increased.⁽⁶⁷⁾ At Harrow, although games had become compulsory during Vaughan's headship (1845-1859), throughout the 'sixties', 'seventies' and 'eighties' the compulsory system of school games as distinct from house games,⁽⁶⁸⁾ was disorganised rather than organised, compulsory only for a minority and extremely unpopular with the mass of the boys.

Bland assertions regarding the triumphant onward march of compulsion take little note of protest, incompetent implementation and partial rejection.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Harrow is a valuable case study in consequence: it serves notice to the complacent that intention is not always translated into reality, and official policy does not necessarily result in desired action.

(66) Tozer, op.cit., p.91.

(67) Ibid., p.219; also E.F. Rawnsley, Canon Rawnsley: An Account of his Life 1923, p.12. At Uppingham in the mid-sixties Rawnsley still spent much of his leisure in the Rutland countryside.

(68) The situation is not wholly clear but it seems that house games themselves were relatively disorganised until the 1880s (Laborde, op.cit., pp.192 and 196).

(69) Not only Newsome discussed above but also Ogilvie, op.cit., p.181.

Unpalatable home truths about the compulsory system of games surfaced in the Harrovian late in 1869.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Through the correspondence columns of the magazine 'A Tyro' complained that there was scarcely a boy who did not detest compulsory football and called for a removal of the incubus.⁽⁷¹⁾ The editors lamely admitted that he represented a large and increasing portion of the community; but advanced the argument that inadequate organisation was as much the cause of ill-feeling as compulsion, and laid the blame on the fact that school 'pick-up' football games were lacking in the esprit de corps of house cricket games.

In reality, the situation was more chaotic than the careful half-truth of the editorial suggested, and only one head of Cerebus was silenced by this feeble retort. The issue was reopened in the magazine in October of the following year. This time a more enthusiastic correspondent urged a tightening up of the compulsory system.⁽⁷²⁾ Attendance, he hinted, required more careful supervision. An article on compulsory football in the same number spelled out the facts behind his mild admonition. It demonstrated clearly that compulsory football was not, in truth, compulsory, since on any half-day only between 150 and 200 boys out of 500 could be found on the playing fields!⁽⁷³⁾

(70) Harrovian, Vol.1, No.1, Oct.16th.1869, p.8., and Vol.1, No.4, Nov.1869, pp.42-3.

(71) Idem.(Oct.1869); It was disclosed in Harrow Notes in 1885 that there had been several other methods of avoiding compulsory games in the past - by obtaining exemption from the Head of School who had the right to 'let off' as many as he thought fit, by pleading 'Extra School' or 'Lines', by claiming the right to exemption after three winter attendances and by attending or playing in a house match. In addition, each monitor who 'went down' was able to release four others from attendance (Vol.VI, No.46, Dec.1885, p.141).

(72) Ibid., Vol.1, No.18, Oct.18th.1870, pp.16-7.

(73) Ibid., p.18. The same situation existed at Uppingham. On the single compulsory day of the week only part of the school played games (Mallea, op.cit., p.135). At Lancing the problem was even more acute than elsewhere. There was one field for 215 boys and the principle of compulsory games was especially difficult to put into practice (L.C.M., Vol.1, No.XXIV, November 1883, p.305.).

The outcome of the publicity given to dissatisfaction with the system was quite the reverse of what the majority desired. New regulations designed to improve supervision were quickly introduced and official 'pick-up' games were increased from four to nine in order to involve more pupils. The Harrovian greeted the reforms with the pious wish that compulsory football might now be established on a firmer basis,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and the editorial view was expressed that avoidance of compulsory games would now be reduced to a minimum. Further, the editors, as befitted disseminators of official attitudes and policy, unashamedly expressed the hope that the day was far distant when compulsory games might be given up 'considering it one of the grandest and most useful institutions of the school'.⁽⁷⁵⁾ They were eventually to be disillusioned; but protest had still some years to run.

The next year, 1871, attention in the magazine shifted to compulsory cricket. It now transpired that only about 90 boys were involved in cricket matches on half-days and that consequently over four hundred boys were quite free to do as they pleased.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Autumn brought more unhappy statistics. 'Compulsion' collated the attendance figures at compulsory football on a typical half-day. Of 532 boys, 115 were exempted due to their position in the school, 17 were excused on a plea of three years involvement and 63 had obtained medical certificates of exemption!⁽⁷⁷⁾ Eight years later the situation remained much the same. Most boys, the editors of the Harrovian stated early in 1879, regarded compulsory football "as an invention to prevent their life here becoming more pleasant"; and for the majority it was compulsory in name only.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Later in the year a writer on 'Loafers' noted a common but serious evil in the summer term: over 300 boys played no games!⁽⁷⁹⁾

(74) Ibid., Vol.1, No.19, Oct.22nd.1870, p.27.

(75) Ibid., Vol.1, No.20, Nov.5th.1870, pp.37-9.

(76) Ibid., Vol.III, No.27, April 1st.1871, p.121.

(77) Ibid., Vol.III, No.34, Oct.7th.1871, p.16.

(78) Ibid., Vol.IV, No.4, March 6th.1878, p.32.

(79) Ibid., Vol.IV, No.6, May 29th.1879, p.61.

Complaints from the righteous about the attitude towards compulsion continued to appear in the correspondence columns.⁽⁸⁰⁾ In 1883 'A well-wisher to Harrow' wrote that the system of compulsory games was "an absolute failure", badly organised, inadequately supervised and universally detested.⁽⁸¹⁾ Another attempt to reform the system resulted from this latest complaint⁽⁸²⁾ to no avail. Two years later in 1885 the school's compulsory games system was abandoned!⁽⁸³⁾ School games became voluntary; the logical outcome of events. Reality had long been a simulacrum of the ideal. Compulsion was still possible in house games at the discretion of the house captain. This had always been the most efficient method of compulsion - one Old Harrovian recalled a game of 'footer' under a particularly zealous house captain every day in the previous decade.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The houses retained compulsory games playing but the system of compulsory attendance at school games was now completely jettisoned, and the system in its more successful form settled down to a relatively frictionless existence.

While compulsion, organisation and eulogy did eventually characterise the public school games system, at least for schools of this study, the time scale must be expanded from twenty to forty years, and the suggestion of a smooth metamorphosis accomplished between 1860 and 1880 must be regarded with some scepticism.⁽⁸⁵⁾

(80) Ibid., Vol.IV, No.10, Sept.27th.1879, p.114; Ibid., Vol.IV, No.11, Dec.11th.1879, p.126.

(81) Harrow Notes, Vol.I, No.9, Oct.11th.1883, pp.115, 116.

(82) Ibid., Vol.I, No.10, Nov.3rd.1883, p.122.

(83) Ibid., Vol.IV, No.46, Dec.16th.1885, pp.141, 142.

(84) P.E. Matheson, The Life of Hastings Rashdall 1928, p.14. (Harrow 1871-1877).

(85) As late as 1901 Almond who was in contact with many of the English public schools reported to the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) that he had had "most deploring letters from Doctors of English schools stating that boys get far too many exemptions, that there is too little compulsory exercise and too many means of getting free of it" (Vol.II, p.416).

C.C. Cotterill was an assistant master at Fettes from 1870 to 1890, and a keen admirer of Almond and his physical education system in nearby Musselburgh. In Suggested Reforms in Public Schools Cotterill reflected upon "the general principle of compulsion in games" and decided it was synonymous with "the principle that bodily exercise should be taken in hand by the school authorities in exactly the same way as they take in hand mental exercise".⁽⁸⁶⁾ The Spartan urge to exercise was not characteristic of boys, he maintained, especially those who needed it most - 'intellectuals' and 'loafers'; therefore the school must take the responsibility for their physical well-being.⁽⁸⁷⁾ This meant, in his view, the introduction of daily physical activity. It is impossible to estimate with any accuracy the effect of his study of educational principles on the public schools of the time. In all probability he was in part inspiration, and in part symptom of an educational trend;⁽⁸⁸⁾ but it is a fact that within fifteen years of his urging, a fully fledged system of daily compulsory games which came close to his ideal was in operation at Harrow, Marlborough, Lancing, Uppingham and Loretto.

In 1900 The Times, a propos of the call of the militaristic Eton headmaster Warre for an act of parliament to make boys of fifteen and upwards liable to compulsory military training at school, commented sardonically: "There is no Act of Parliament to compel boys to play cricket yet there is no want of stability in the ordinance that they shall play cricket."⁽⁸⁹⁾ It was an exact appraisal of the state of compulsory games at the time. Teething troubles which had gone on for an inordinately long time in some schools, were over. A system had evolved that

(86) Cotterill, op.cit., p.39.

(87) Ibid., p.41.

(88) A reviewer of Cotterill's book in The Spectator was, for example, quite unsurprised and most sympathetic towards the recommendation of daily physical exercise. See The Spectator April 1886, p.457.

(89) The Times Friday, 29th.June 1900, p.11.

was stable, reasonably well organised, and tolerated where it was not enthusiastically embraced.

The various school systems were not all as meticulously structured as Charterhouse which was seemingly an extreme example of brutal efficiency:

"All boys in the Lower School had to score eighteen points known as pricks (and play two runabouts during the football season) every week. A game of cricket or football counted four points, fives counted three, squash two, swimming one. Any boy who failed to play the requisite number of games was beaten with a toasting fork."⁽⁹⁰⁾

But Gurner's description of Marlborough before the Great War was commonly applicable. At Marlborough, he observed, there were now ample playing fields, generous timetable provision, especially in summer, and the old boy games master saw to it that facilities were not wasted.⁽⁹¹⁾ As a consequence, "Every boy who was not suffering from some specific defect took part in the various turn-outs, trials, pick-ups, house practices and nets which took place on every afternoon".⁽⁹²⁾ Generations of boys were now growing up for whom compulsory games were a commonplace institutional tradition rather than a revolutionary, ill-organised innovation. The games system had become, as Gurner explained, a "hearty, healthy system which raised no problems because it never occurred to anybody that under it a decent, well-conditioned boy could do anything else but thrive".⁽⁹³⁾ Eventually no other reality could be conceived. To play games almost every day became the norm. Protestors, instead of voicing demotic objections as formerly, became deviants in the eyes of the majority and "obliged to votary under pain of severe physical torture", namely a beating.⁽⁹⁴⁾

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- (90) Charles Graves, The Bad Old Days 1961, p.28.
 (91) R. Gurner, I Chose Teaching 1937, p.184. (Assistant master Marlborough 1913-1920).
 (92) Ibid., pp.184-5.
 (93) Ibid., pp.185-6.
 (94) E.F. Benson, Sketches from Marlborough 1905, p.55. (Marlborough 1881-1887).

In 1889, prompted by the great compulsory games controversy in the daily press, the Lancing College Magazine editorial staff analysed the results of school debates on the subject from forty school magazines and found that only one, Westminster School, which had a large day boy intake, supported the abolition of compulsory games.⁽⁹⁵⁾ The senior boys of the College gave their support for the system in a debate some years later, by 31 votes to 8.⁽⁹⁶⁾

In a stanza written at Marlborough, the poet, Charles Sorley, celebrated the new conformity with these caustic lines:

"O come and see, it's such a sight,
So many boys all doing right:
To see them underneath the yoke
Blindfolded by the older folk."⁽⁹⁷⁾

The system now evolved and mocked by Sorley, continued in broadly the same form until the Second World War.

Conditions at Uppingham, Harrow, Lancing and Loretto as the nineteenth century drew to a close, show the schools to be loyal exemplars of a new tradition.⁽⁹⁸⁾

At Uppingham games became compulsory three times a week in 1889; subsequently the system was overhauled and reformed yet again to promote further development of 'wholesome rivalry' - apart from the introduction of a scheme for individual promotion and demotion from the matches to stimulate the keenest participation, a house league was created, substantially increasing the number of house matches.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The result was that boys generally played five games of rugby football a week.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

(95) L.C.M. Vol.I, No.LXXI, Dec.1889, p.303.

(96) Ibid., Vol.IV, No.42, March 1909, p.544; see also Vol.V, No.9, Dec.1912, p.27; Vol.VI, No.8, Nov.1913, p.16.

(97) Charles Sorley, Marlborough and Other Poems 1916, p.9.
(Marlborough 1908-1913)

(98) Stonyhurst, still untypical, had minimum compulsion and the situation at Marlborough has been described above.

(99) Tozer, op.cit., p.219.

(100) U.S.M. Vol.XXVIII, No.248, Oct.1893, p.273.

As for cricket, Roe, in his review of public school cricket of the time, wrote admiringly of the sight at Uppingham on a typical summer's day of "eighteen simultaneous games on one ground".⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Harrow, as we have seen, had now resolved its problems, and a complicated system of house and school matches and games operated like clockwork. Arnold Lunn, describing house 'footer' during the period of Welldon's headmastership (1884-1895)⁽¹⁰²⁾ declared, "... a vigorous House played every weekday through the term."⁽¹⁰³⁾ "When I was at Harrow", wrote another former pupil, remembering his schooldays between 1901 and 1906, "every boy had to play football every day of every week."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Summer terms at Harrow witnessed an elaborate system of cricket games that promised little rest from the games field for the majority. Compulsory cricket eventually included sixth form matches, fifth form matches, colts matches, Philathletic games, house leagues, house games, house matches and Torpid (junior) house matches, leaving only "a small body of unemployables ... interested...in natural history and lawn tennis".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Lancing too, went the way of public school flesh. In the late seventies all games were compulsory three times a week.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ By 1888 it appears that football was compulsory every day and cricket three times a week.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ When, in 1901, some relief was provided from six days a week winter 'clubs',⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ by making attendance compulsory only three times weekly, an editorial in the magazine expressed considerable concern

(101) W.W. Roe (ed.), Public Schools Cricket 1901-1950 1951, p.189.

(102) The historian, George Macaulay Trevelyan, (Harrow 1889-1893) inveigled against "the homage paid...to athletics" during Welldon's headship, and considered Welldon's liking for 'excellent Philistines' the cause. See Victoria de Bunsen, Charles Roden Buxton 1948, p.20. Buxton, a schoolboy contemporary of Trevelyan, was at Harrow 1889-1894.

(103) Lunn, op.cit., p.34.

(104) R. Meinertzhagen, Diary of a Black Sheep 1954, p.189. (Harrow 1891-1895)

(105) Sir Home Gordon (ed.), Eton v. Harrow at Lord's 1926, p.62.

(106) Pellatt, op.cit., p.50.

(107) L.C.M. Vol.I, No.LVI, April 1888, p.327.

(108) The term used for games sessions.

lest this departure from established habits, might produce "degenerate boys imbued with the spirit of loafing".⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Resented innovation had become respected tradition!

At Loretto, Almond had early perfected the organisation of the games;⁽¹¹⁰⁾ not as a paper exercise as occurred elsewhere, but in practice. In the autumn and early spring this meant "big sides two or three days weekly lasting 40 or 50 minutes, and small sides three or four days. On the other days...Association football or shinty...Boys not able to play football, play fives, or take walks or runs, and sometimes play golf, if fit for nothing more vigorous...on Fridays, the three Fifteens practise dropping, dribbling and chucking, at the field; and on wet days there is either 'a Wallyford run', ... or 'a long Wallyford', ... or 'a Falside', and occasionally 'a Three Trees and Falside'."⁽¹¹¹⁾ In summer, according to Norman MacLachlan (pupil 1872-1878, vice-gerant 1885-1892) it was "cricket et toujours cricket; sides twice a week and matches most Saturdays, with nets on the other days; the juniors in cricket having sides every day except Saturdays..."⁽¹¹²⁾ In addition, there was athletics in the late spring, which between 1866 and 1878, due to the Inter-Scholastic Games (an athletics meeting between several Edinburgh schools in which Loretto competed) was "the most important activity in the school".⁽¹¹³⁾

This glimpse of life at Loretto alerts us to the fact that an integral part of 'compulsory games' at all the schools, while technically not a game at all, was the compulsory run or 'grind' or 'sweat'. It is an interesting phenomenon because it was essentially an instrument of social control, rather than moral improvement. It was predominantly a

(109) L.C.M. Vol.2. No.72, March 1901, p.869.

(110) See Chapter 2 above.

(111) Lorettonian Vol.VII, No.6, Jan.24th.1885, p.24, and Vol.VII, No.7, Feb.7th.1885, p.29.

(112) N. MacLachlan, Loretto's Hundred Years 1827-1927 (Supplement to the Lorettonian) 1927, p.51.

(113) Thomson, op.cit., p.74.

device for occupying the poorer games player when no game was available, or a means of occupying all boys in impossible playing conditions. The following extract from the Lorettonian illustrates its bad weather role:

"Monday, Dec.4 Pouring rain ; Wallyford run
 Tuesday, Dec.5 Snow - Fa'side run
 Wednesday, Dec.6 Snowballing sides in Park and Orchard
 Thursday, Dec.7 Snowballing sides on field and Linkfield
 Friday, Dec.8 Partial thaw - long walks
 Saturday, Dec.9 Heavy showers of snow, then rapid thaw.
 About thirty fellows did "Three Trees" and Fa'side run
 (snow often knee deep); about as many went by train to
 Longniddry and waded home; while the small boys went by
 train to Prestonpans and walked home by Tranent." (114)

Loretto's runs were tough and idiosyncratic. H.B. Tristram recorded: "Boys were taught to face the wildest day that our climate gives us...the north-easterly gales that made the waves break right over the road beneath Drummorie, or the driving snowstorms that blocked the railways, never stopped them. On the day of the great snowstorm in January, 1881, they went a 'Fa'side and Three Trees'. The roads were filled hedge-high with snow, and a way could only be found through the fields by the side, while even there every now and then they would fall into a drift." (115)

In addition to 'short Wallyfords', 'long Wallyfords', 'Falside' and 'Three Trees and Falside' in March and October there were 'Big Grinds' and 'Small Grinds' which affected the whole school. These were excursions in the Borders - whole day trips for older boys - Selkirk to Peebles, Selkirk to Innerleithen, Penicuik to Midcalder and Pomathorn to Innerleithen, and less ambitious half-day hikes for the younger pupils.

At most of the other schools runs were only a little less arduous, and no less consistent. Marlborough 'sweats' have been celebrated in verse by Charles Sorley in his 'Song of the Ungirt Runners' (116)

(114) Lorettonian, Vol.V, No.5, Dec.9th.1882, p.19. The 'Three Trees' was seven, the 'Falside' five miles long. The 'short Wallyford' was three and a half, the 'long Wallyford' four and a half miles long.

(115) Tristram, op.cit., p.89.

(116) Charles Sorley, 'Song of the Ungirt Runners' in G.C.F. Mead and R.C. Clift (eds.), English Verse: Old and New (1st ed. 1922) 1947, p.113.

who ran "because they must, through the great wide air" of the Marlborough Downs, and their purpose has been simply described by Geoffrey Chilton:

"If there wasn't a game on any afternoon we went for a 'sweat', sometimes one especially ordered and sometimes one to First Post, or Old Eagle or Training Stables." (117) Another Marlburian has described a typical week-day sight any winter between 1890 and 1945: "It is 3 o'clock, and all the favourite tracks are covered: red, white and blue, Preshute is going to Old Eagle; black and blue and blue and white, B₁ and B₂ to Rockley Warren or Rockley Copse; magenta and white, C3's objective is Trainer's; red and blue, A House is content with First Post." (118)

Uppingham boys were accompanied on house runs by praeposters on bicycles with whips "lashing out at any fellow with a stitch or a cramp" (119) or were sent on timed runs to local villages with the penalty of a beating if overdue. One Uppinghamian recalled grimly in adulthood, "many a long run to Oakham and to Manton." (120) Another sang despairingly in the Uppingham School Magazine at the start of a new term: "And soon, in regulated checks we'll go - a run to Manton." (121) Pupils of Lancing were apparently treated more kindly and given the choice of a run, a fine or the gym. The victim of an unavoidable run, admitted one of the persecuted, proceeded "to walk deliberately to his destination". (122)

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- (117) Letter to the present writer dated 29.9.73. Mr. Chilton was at Marlborough 1910-1915 and assistant master there 1920-1958.
- (118) J.P.T. Bury in Marlborough College 1843-1943 1943, p.75 (Marlborough 1922-1927). First Post was about two, Old Eagle four, Training Stables five and Rockley Warren six and a half miles long. There are still Marlborough 'sweats'. I owe this information to Mr. Gerald Murray and Mr. Bruce Tulloch of Marlborough College.
- (119) C.R.W. Nevinson, Paint and Prejudice 1937, p.77.
- (120) Reminiscences of Harold Gibson Hewitt 1901-1904 1966, p.8. (U.S.A.). Oakham is fifteen, Manton three and a half miles from Uppingham.
- (121) U.S.M. Vol.XL, No.312, March 1902, p.8.
- (122) L.C.M. Vol.7, No.9, Dec.1914, p.115. The same point was made to the present writer by the Lancing historian, B.W.T. Handford.

It should not be thought, even when the system was at its peak, that all avenues of escape for the unenthusiastic were blocked; and that all but the sick trooped religiously out to the fields or ran to distant mileposts or villages. Sympathetic housemasters such as Oliver Hall at Uppingham and B.W.T. Handford at Lancing fought a rear-guard action in the interests of individuality and freedom of choice. And there were others. A fact that permitted John Betjeman, for example, under the tutelage of C.W. Hughes, his Marlborough art master, to paint "skies of cobalt and ultramarine" instead of chasing cricket balls,⁽¹²³⁾ C.R.W. Nevinson to escape "grim afternoons" on the games field and draw the "lovely architecture of Rutland"⁽¹²⁴⁾ and the Meinertzhagen brothers at Harrow, due to the liberality with passes of their housemaster, R. Bosworth-Smith, to go wandering over the countryside to Ruislip reservoir, instead of fielding on the Sixth Form Ground.⁽¹²⁵⁾ Archeology and Natural History societies also offered a means of avoidance to the seriously profane. Professor D. Savory remembered a flourishing Natural History Society at Marlborough. By a fortunate rule members were permitted to miss one afternoon's compulsory cricket per week in order to study local flora and fauna.⁽¹²⁶⁾ In a pastiche à la Goldsmith one iconoclast spoke for all:

"Oh, who can wonder if the Forest wields
A spell more potent than the playing fields
Where sullen fielders blinded by the sun,
Hold the rare catch, and mourn the frequent run."⁽¹²⁷⁾

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- (123) J. Betjeman, Ghastly Good Taste 1933 (2nd ed. 1971), pp. XIV ff. (Marlborough 1920-1925).
- (124) Nevinson, op.cit., p. 8.
- (125) Meinertzhagen, op.cit., p. 180. Ironically, Bosworth-Smith's son Nigel played for the school at cricket, football and squash. See B. Hollender, Before I Forget 1935.
- (126) D. Savory, 'Marlborough Sixty Years Ago', Contemporary Review Vol. CLXXX, Oct. 1956, p. 212.
- (127) Marlburian Vol. XXXVIII, No. 583, June 11th. 1903, p. 87.

Be that as it may, by 1900 a new era of games regimentation had arrived. Many pupils did spend much of their daytime 'leisure' in supervised activities on the games fields. The innovations of Cotton, Almond, Welford and Thring, extended and perfected, were now 'taken for granted' institutions.

IV

Early antipathy towards compulsory games as demonstrated with particular vehemence at Lancing and Harrow, should never be interpreted as antipathy to games. Once resentment over the curtailment of liberty was no longer an issue because those who had known the old ways had gone, and once radical reform had become conservative tradition and inadequate organisation more efficient, the enthusiasm of most pupils for the games field was expressed more strongly than ever.

Games had long been worshipped in the older public schools. Early cricket enthusiasts as Harrow were virtually professional in their involvement and commitment. A former captain of the eleven informed the Public Schools Commission that while fifteen hours was about the average time spent on cricket per week, those of extreme devotion, "who certainly did next to no school work", played twenty hours of cricket weekly.⁽¹²⁸⁾ "There were," he also told the Commission, "three half-holidays (a week) and cricket went on certainly from two till six...and every evening most boys went down till locking up time."⁽¹²⁹⁾ In the winter, he continued, the cricketers became footballers and "it took up almost all the time they could give to it".⁽¹³⁰⁾ His picture of Harrow zeal was corroborated by M.W. Ridley, a Harrow master.⁽¹³¹⁾

(128) P.S.C. Vol.IV, p.231, Q.2013.

(129) Idem. (Q.2011)

(130) Idem. (Q.2027)

(131) Ibid., p.228, Q.1869.

Early as it was at this time in the development of athleticism, the athlete 'ideal-type' was already delineated and hugely admired. George Russell has left an unflattering but not uncharitable description of the Harrovian hero of this period in his recollection of 'Biceps Max', captain of the cricket eleven and house autocrat.⁽¹³²⁾ His academic standing was low but little was thought of intellectual distinction in those days, remarked Russell; the concern was much more with his capability to make the highest score at Lord's!

Games then in the 1860s had a considerable hold on Harrow boys and were not without support from the masters. Most masters watched the boys' cricket, many of them frequently. Even Butler, headmaster at the time of the Public Schools Commission "could talk cricket shop, ancient or modern, like Lilleywhite or R.H. Lyttleton".⁽¹³³⁾ No doubt Tyro had both masters and pupils in mind when in 1886, following a year without defeat on football or cricket field, it began its editorial with this acidic sentence: "For the far too great number of our body who place athletic before intellectual results, the past year must have been one continual source of enjoyment and triumph."⁽¹³⁴⁾ By the time of the Lord's match later in the year it had regained its proper sense of perspective and could proclaim: "If there is one thing that LIVES more than another at Harrow it is cricket"; at the noble game Harrow is indeed a king among schools".⁽¹³⁵⁾ This would seem to be an immodest, but accurate reflection of the attitude and values of the majority of Harrovians of the period.

(132) "He beat us into mummies if we evaded cricket fagging," Russell recalled, and wondered even in maturity if Biceps Max would beat him with a tray if he met him in the club and "contradicted him in conversation or confuted him in argument or capped his best story". See George W.E. Russell, Collections and Recollections, 1898 (New Ed.1899), pp.412-3. (Harrow 1867-1872).

(133) Russell (1913) op.cit., p.39.

(134) Tyro Vol.III, No.XIII, Feb.1st.1866, p.89.

(135) Ibid., Vol.III, No.XXVII, July 31st.1866, pp.210-11.

Only at Loretto, due to Almond's fanaticism, was there similar intensity of involvement in the early sixties. Elsewhere enthusiasm grew steadily but was less pronounced. Lancing was handicapped by slowly developing facilities. Stonyhurst boys were never permitted the indulgence allowed in other schools. For some years after Cotton's reform Marlborough boys still hankered after access to the neighbouring countryside.⁽¹³⁶⁾ At Uppingham it was Thring's policy to permit them this access.⁽¹³⁷⁾

By the mid-seventies, however, leisure horizons in all the schools were becoming restricted to the playing fields and a passion which grew into an obsession was being assiduously cultivated by the keen. Roland Prothero, when attempting in the 1930s to define the distinction between the youth of that time and his own, concluded:

"Contemporary fiction represents the school-boys and undergraduates of today as more absorbed in the problems of adult life than in the puerile pursuit of athletics. But in the 'sixties and 'seventies their interests, if they were physically fit, raced in exactly the opposite direction. No picture of them would be true if it did not emphasize their passion for games, and therefore my own enthusiasms are not so much personal as typical of the period."⁽¹³⁸⁾
(emphasis added)

The reasons for this situation will be examined at length in later chapters.⁽¹³⁹⁾ The purpose here is to determine a sequence of events and to trace the evolution of an ethos, and any student of the school literature of the period must agree with Prothero's analysis and extend it into subsequent decades.

(136) Bradley et al., op.cit., pp.170, 181.

(137) Tozer, op.cit., p.82.

(138) Rowland Prothero, Whippingham to Westminster 1938, p.42.
(Marlborough 1864-1871)

(139) See Chapters 5, 6 and 7 below.

It is interesting to concentrate on the Marlborough evidence because in all probability Marlborough was the most intellectual, and contained the most academically able boys, of the schools under consideration;⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ yet here the new passion for the games field was very evident. While at Marlborough Cyril Alington, in his own words, "went through a period of disgust with a world which appreciated athletic prowess more than intelligence"⁽¹⁴¹⁾ and wrote - anonymously - a bitter couplet for the school magazine, describing a place,

"Where Weight precedence gives, Worth seeks in vain,⁽¹⁴²⁾
And heavy limbs can balance heavy brain."

Anonymity was imperative: most of his friends were athletes! In terror of detection for some time, he eventually realised that they would hardly read "the poetical parts of the paper". A later Marlburian neatly summed up commonplace institutional values with a liberal use of assonance: "The one kind of work that it's wicked to shirk, is the labour of willow and wicket."⁽¹⁴³⁾

It was an accurate as well as euphonious comment. The new passion is reflected not only in the statement of Prothero and Alington but also in the contents of the school magazine presented in Table V on the facing page.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

Perhaps the central preoccupations of the boys are caught more graphically by listing merely a few of the themes of the many letters about games in the correspondence columns: the iniquity of running

(140) Marlborough's ability acquire university awards has already been discussed in Chapter 2 above.

(141) Cyril Alington, Things Ancient and Modern 1936, p.34. (Marlborough 1886-1891)

(142) Ibid., p.34.

(143) Marlburian Vol.XXVIII, No.585, July 15th.1903, p.102.

(144) See Appendix III for the analysis of the contents of the magazines of the other schools. The technique of panel analysis is described in M.W. Riley Sociological Research 1963, Vol.I, pp.556-9.

TABLE VA Panel Analysis of the Pages and Correspondencein the Marlburian 1866-1966PAGES

	1866	1876	1886	1896	1906	1926	1936	1946	1966	1966
Sport	68 (37.4%)	72 (40.0%)	60½ (30.8%)	66 (32.8%)	69½ (35.9%)	54 (31.0%)	60½ (30.6%)	30 (31.6%)	11 (11.7%)	32 (18.2%)
All others	114 (62.6%)	108½ (60.0%)	135½ (69.2%)	135 (67.2%)	123½ (64.1%)	120 (69.0%)	136½ (69.4%)	65 (68.4%)	83 (88.3%)	144 (81.8%)

CORRESPONDENCE

	1866	1876	1886	1896	1906	1926	1936	1946	1956	1966
Sport	26 (53.1%)	19 (67.9%)	59 (46.5%)	33 (50.8%)	12 (32.4%)	3 (8.6%)	6 (40.0%)	1 (7.1%)	3 (8.6%)	2 (18.2%)
All other	23 (46.9%)	9 (32.1%)	68 (53.5%)	32 (49.2%)	25 (67.6%)	32 (91.4%)	9 (60.0%)	13 (92.7%)	32 (91.4%)	9 (81.8%)

N.B. 1916 is omitted. The Great War resulted in traditional team games being replaced in importance by military manoeuvres.

back at rugger, the unsuitability of tennis as a school game, the necessity of compulsory house gymnastics, the ungentlemanly habit of lying on the ball in rugby matches, the desirability of house grounds for football, Indian clubs versus dumbbells, the attractions of lawn tennis house competitions, the over use of cricket nets, the need for a pole-vaulting event in the school sports, correct behaviour at school matches, the head-gear of the Marlborough XI at Lord's, the value of a housemaster's race for sports day and biased representation on the football committee. Fierce controversies raged - about the relative merits of rugger and association football, the desirability of hockey, the debilitating effects of casual suburban cricket on the Eleven.

Infrequent but brave protests from the non-athletic revealed the onward march of a new ethos. 'Sloper', a young correspondent who had no skill at football, which in his own words was "the sole passport to a happy life", wrote baldly that a mind as rich in learning as Croesus in gold was small value in a school ruled co-equally by football and cricket. (145) One number of the Marlburian contained extracts from a 'manuscript' of a mythical lunar creature, a student of man and his institutions. From him we learn that the culmination of English folly at this time was the public school system with its concentration on outdated knowledge and with games the great desideratum and sole conversational nourishment. Such was the grip of this system, however, that the manuscript ended abruptly as though the author had been discovered and beaten by the malignant "after the manner of the place". (146) Superannuated athletocrats permitted extra terms, and who in consequence held back the able in the lower forms incurred the wrath of an indignant young academic but it was made quite

(145) Marlburian Vol.XXV, No.393, Feb.10th.1890, p.50.

(146) Ibid., Vol.XXV, No.394, June 24th.1890, pp.94-5.

clear to him by a subsequent correspondent that his was a minority view, and that he had failed to appreciate the contributions these gentlemen made to the school. (147)

The apologists for athleticism became increasingly sophisticated in argument, constructing an intricate value scale for games, but the central dogma remained constant. Thus, when a contributor to the Marlburian in 1873 discussed the relative worth of football and cricket as vehicles of moral education in an essay on comparative athletics, he came to the conclusion that although football was morally superior to cricket, both games encouraged patience, endurance, enthusiasm, fidelity to one's side and watchfulness.

It is scarcely surprising that in 1875 the editors of the Marlburian lamented the hundreds of fellows who passed through the college without a thought for anything but games, and possibly work. (148) An impenetrable curtain of Philistinism, they complained, reduced the sound of political life to the faintest echo and literature, history and social questions were smothered. Did these chroniclers exaggerate? In the light of comments of Prothero and Alington already considered, it is

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- (147) Ibid., Vol. XXVI, No. 419, Oct. 1891, p. 156. For the response see Ibid., Vol. XXVI, No. 420, Nov. 4th. 1891, p. 161. The report of the P.S.C. included a recommendation that boys who failed to make reasonable progress in their studies should be asked to leave. It was suggested that a standard should be agreed for each form. In 1868 the Superannuation Rules were introduced at Harrow: the innovation aroused considerable resentment especially when Harrow lost at Lord's! (E. Graham, The Harrow Life of Henry Montagu Butler, 1920, pp. 181, 182;). In time most schools made exceptions for their favoured athletes, see especially A. Hope, Memories and Notes, 1927, p. 38, for details of the retention of Allan Steel, the famous Marlborough cricketer. Lesser figures like Siegfried Sassoon were ignominiously dismissed (Siegfried Sassoon, The Old Century 1938, p. 22). For a general comment on the Superannuation Rule and its application to games players see G.G. Coulton, Public Schools and Public Needs 1901, pp. 139-40.
- (148) Marlburian Vol. X, No. 171, Dec. 1st. 1875, p. 190.

reasonable to suppose not. Further, debating society topics, lecture attendances and correspondence in the Marlburian during this time suggest that the comments of J.W.D. Harrison to the effect that earlier boys were parochial and insular in their interests, the Marlburian and the Marlborough Times faithfully reflecting their tastes, was still broadly speaking true; and it remained valid until well into the twentieth century. (149) Of course it would be fanciful to suppose that the Marlburian's 'hundreds of fellows' played games for their moral attributes. Their interest in the main was undoubtedly apolaustic but the newly consecrated ideology of athleticism allowed, excused and explained their devotion.

Comments from other quarters confirm the grip of the games ideology. On the feast of St. Michael and All Angels in 1874, the theologian J. Llewellyn Davies was sufficiently moved by the phenomenon to remark optimistically in the college pulpit "that educational good sense was beginning to protest against a predominance of bodily exercise that had to be checked". (150)

Throughout those long years of the Gladstone-Disraeli struggle for political supremacy and the Salisbury succession, at Marlborough Cicero and Virgil continued to be translated; the Modern Class beckoned the less able and the obviously vocational; Oxford and Cambridge scholarships were consistently won; the Natural History Society and the Debating Society attracted devotees; but the evidence incomplete though it must be, clearly reveals that games playing, ostensibly for character development, in the forty-eight years between Cotton's innovatory headship and the turn of the century, had acquired formalised rituals of involvement and a considerable

(149) J.W.D. Harrison, Marlborough in the Sixties undated MS. (M.C.A.)

(150) J. Llewellyn Davies, Sermon in Marlborough Chapel, Feast of St. Michael and All Angels 1874, p.5. (M.C.A.)

importance beside which, for many boys at least, rival ideologies paled into insignificance. This is not to say, of course, that there were not steady and sound academic successes. To put the situation in some sort of perspective the Marlborough College Register records 474 Oxford and Cambridge Scholars and Exhibitioners between 1880 and 1920.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ These boys, however, "who really brought credit to the school...were those...perhaps...least thought of by their comrades. The heroes were the members of the cricket Eleven or the football Fifteen".⁽¹⁵²⁾

The energy of the majority was determinedly given to games and discussion about games above all else. In an imaginary meeting between a Marlburian and another public schoolboy recorded in the school magazine in 1888, the Marlborough youth declared, "I need scarcely say that I first inquired as to games..."⁽¹⁵³⁾ By the turn of the century euphoria had overwhelmed protest and a jejune Marlburian poet could write:

" ... one athletic rage
Has seized Marlburians of every age,
Now, filled with frenzy, cricket all will play,
Now, all-absorbing football rules the day,
Where'er you go, the topic is the same,
And all our talk at table is 'the game'
I, who-so-oft renounce athletics, lie
Not 'B-v-g' self e'er tells more lies than I
When sick of football, tired, bruised and sore,
We swear to our best friends we'll play no more,
We wake next day, prepared for what you will,
And long for games again, to show our skill."⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

(151) Marlborough College Register (9th ed.) 1952, pp.966-75.

(152) Savory op.cit., p.215. J.D. Penny (Marlborough 1899-1905), commenting on Savory's article in The Contemporary Review writes: "What one could not help seeing was the hero worship of athletes...I agree with Savory that it was the athletes rather than the prefects who exercised real power." (Letter of recollections to Gerald Murray dated 13.11.75 written for this study.)

(153) Marlburian Vol.XXIII, No.365, March 10th.1888, p.78.

(154) Ibid., Vol.XXXI, No.493, Dec.3rd.1896, p.180. An Uppingham verse reveals a similar situation there; but less enthusiastically. Thring was missed!

"At games we played those days
When games were recreation
When there was no athletic craze
And all was moderation."

'An Echo of the Past', U.S.M. Vol.XLVII, No.371, July 1909, p.121.

Fittingly, in the Marlborough centenary celebration pageant - The Centenary Cavalcade - the year 1894 was chosen to symbolise the zenith of the games movement, and the chorus sang the whole era with absolute veracity,

"Rugger, hockey, cricket, fives,
Racquets - the centre of our lives." (155)

As regards this claim, however credible, three cautionary statements need to be made. Firstly, how far it accurately captures the actual lives of individual boys at Marlborough must remain guesswork. Such personal pictures cannot be painted - Proustian records of the necessary detail naturally do not exist. Secondly, it would be naive to assume that the rhetoric of athleticism typified by the writing of Trebla, or the young Marlburian poet or the Centenary Chorus invariably and totally represented collective or individual reality. At the same time an ideology is a critical determinant of reality. What is defined by the ideology as real tends to become real, particularly when, as in the case of athleticism, pressure to interpret the situation in terms of the dominant group, was intense. Thirdly, it is important to recognize that athleticism was not an exclusive ideology. Other ideologies existed - central and peripheral, overt and covert. Some have been recorded; others perhaps have not. Other educational ideologies of the English Gentleman, the Virtuous Christian and Intellectual Endeavour, ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ at one and the same time existed, openly competed and overlapped with athleticism. It is not always easy to discern where one begins and another ends. A statement in 1885 by a keen advocate of public school life organised on the lines of Kingsleian muscular Christianity offers a good illustration of this:

"And is there nothing to be said about the relation between a healthy and hardy life and religion?... We should not forget that flesh does help soul, and that the life of a man should be a simple and a healthy one, if he undertakes to instruct mankind upon what is or what is not a religious truth." ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

(155) The Centenary Cavalcade, p.22. (M.C.A.)

(156) For a brief discussion of other public school ideologies see Chapter 5 below.

(157) Cotterill, op.cit., p.170.

Marlborough is a study in emphasis not exclusiveness. The evidence surviving leaves little doubt that, in the decades immediately before and after the turn of the century, games fanaticism there was pronounced, heavily involved the majority, and was underpinned and legitimated by a powerful and explicitly formulated educational rationale. And Marlborough was a mirror in which all the other schools except Stonyhurst would have speedily recognized themselves.

This general state of affairs in the schools is indicated by such factors as the occasional and unsuccessful attempts of enterprising editors to direct the emphasis in the school magazines away from the interminable descriptions of, and arguments about school games. One disillusioned set of editors of the Harrovian announced in 1872, "The Philistine part of our population has indeed grumbled and abused in its own peculiarly forcible and persistent manner, when it has been pleased to think that sufficient space has not been allotted to the glorification of muscle."⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ When, a year later, the editors of the Uppingham School Magazine, while careful to praise an earnestness in the school about "outdoor work", raised the possibility of the danger of overestimating and over-emphasizing such subordinate matters and proposed a mild reform - the reduction of space devoted to these topics - they admitted this would be distasteful to many.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ It was. The next number brought complaints about the inclusion of a boring list of local flora by way of substitution.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ The editors persisted with their new policy for some considerable time, insisting that all aspects of school life must find a place in the school journal. At one point a humble editorial was submitted to the effect that all they desired was "to see that the gameselement shall not become a tyrant".⁽¹⁶¹⁾

(158) Harrovian Vol.IV, No.47, July 27th.1872, p.169.

(159) U.S.M. Vol.XI, No.79, March 1873, p.415.

(160) Ibid., Vol.XI, No.80, April 1873, pp.61-2.

(161) Ibid., Vol.XVI, No.124, Oct.1878, pp.178-9.

Their idealism was unavailing. Ultimately they apologised weakly for the predominance of cricket again. They had learned that the magazine only sold when it gave a substantial games coverage. (162)

Shortage of copy for the school magazines also illustrates the force of the wave of games adulation. "At the best of times material is sparse," complained the editor of the Harrovian in 1872. "What hope is there for the summer quarter, when every mind and head and hand in Harrow will be consecrated to the great Moloch Cricket?" (163) In 1884 in the Marlburian it was regretted that there was a waste of so much time in the comparatively worthless pursuits of "athletics, brewing and novel reading", and a lack of energy that resulted in only four literary contributions in the course of an entire term. (164) "Nothing from the school for a whole year but accounts of matches and an odd letter or two," grumbled the Lorettonian editorial staff in 1895. (165)

Biographies and autobiographies dealing with the schools of the period between approximately 1880 and 1930 also provide a glimpse of the common reality. As it was at Harrow, so it was in large measure at Marlborough, Loretto, Uppingham and Lancing. In his biography of the Jesuit, C.C. Martindale, Peter Caraman remarks of Harrow in the eighteen-nineties, "Days...were then spent in the minimum of necessary work and the maximum of congenial games" (166) and Richard Meinertzhagen thought, "Too much was made of games...Boys became heroes because they were 'games' prodigies." (167) Of Harrow a few years later, Sir Stephen Tallents wrote that it was "not only Spartan but Philistine....All its emphasis was on athletics; brains and artistic gifts found few outlets and counted for next to nothing". (168) Later still, looking back over twenty years as

(162) Ibid., Vol.XVI, No.132, Oct.1879, p.255.

(163) Harrovian Vol.IV, No.41, March 23rd.1872, p.98.

(164) Marlburian Vol.XX, No.318, Feb.4th. 1864, p.8.

(165) Lorettonian Vol.XVII, No.8, Feb.1895, p.33.

(166) P. Caraman, C.C. Martindale 1967, p.41. Martindale was at Harrow 1893-1896 .

(167) Meinertzhagen, op.cit., p.189.

(168) Stephen Tallents, Man and Boy 1947, p.13. (Harrow 1897-1903)

master and chaplain between 1917 and 1942, E.M. Venables reflected sadly, "The evidence that the school took work at all seriously was far to seek... While nobody would wish to see pale-faced students displace the carefree, robust, vital 'lads in coats of blue' with all their gaiety and laughter on the Hill...this is not incompatible with serious study and hard work." (169) But Harrovians did not consider that hard work was quite the thing! The truth was, as Venables knew only too well: "Games and everything connected with games came very much first in the mind of too many people." (170) So much so that Francis Yeats Brown looked back in adulthood to his Harrow schooldays with an acquired equanimity that still did not quite hide the sense of failure: "...it was discovered that I was short-sighted and that I was no good at cricket. Naturally enough, I became a person of no account." (171)

It is interesting and illuminating to contrast briefly the school careers of a scholar and an athletic scholar. Arthur Burroughs (Harrow 1896-1900) possessed notable academic gifts - in July 1900 he won no fewer than nine academic prizes including the Uno Tenore Prize awarded to the boy who headed his form list every Term of his school career - but he was a poor games player. And in consequence, he was an unhappy misfit, as Welldon, his headmaster, wrote - "a boy apart". (172) Ernest Firth (Marlborough 1877-1884) on the other hand, was a successful athlete and scholar, a boy of quiet popularity and contentment. He wrote on leaving: "If all the rest of my life is as happy as the last seven years I shall indeed be a happy man. I think that to be in the XI for two years, to get some prizes, a scholarship at the varsity and an exhibition from the school

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- (169) E.M. Venables, Bases Attempted: Twenty Five Years at Harrow 1947, p.23. (H.S.A.)
- (170) Idem.
- (171) Evelyn Wrench, Francis Yeats Brown 1948, p.8. (Harrow 1900-1903) The obituary of an Uppingham boy who died at school read: "Not widely known in the school for his feeble health precluded any participation in games" (J.S.M. Vol.XIII, No.205, Feb.6th.1878. p.10).
- (172) H.G. Mulliner, Arthur Burroughs: A Memoir 1936, p.12.

is a reasonably successful school career." (173) In their different ways both are crude but not insignificant symbols of institutional values.

By the turn of the century without too much exaggeration, The Public School Magazine was prepared to define 'modern learning' thus:

"If you want an education
Of the highest exaltation,
You've only got to follow out this code.
You must be quick in spurning
Every single form of learning,
To get the education à la mode.
You must give up Greek and Latin
For of course there's more than that in
This plan of education up to date:
You must give up mathematics;
All your conics and your statics
Are needless for the athletic state." (174)

Care must be taken to avoid the gins and pitfalls of exaggeration but staff, pupils, observers and even humorists of the era present a stark, unsubtle image of the reality of life in the schools after 1880. Comment is too frequent, references too numerous, examples too widespread for the 'Zeitgeist' to be rejected. There were, of course, rebels, protestors and reformers and they will be considered in due course. There were as already mentioned, other ideologies such as the English Gentleman, the Virtuous Christian and Intellectual Endeavour. There were, as has been seen, narrow avenues of escape, guarded by sympathetic masters. Yet the evidence available leaves little doubt that in all the schools except Stonyhurst, many were now in the embrace of an ideology which had developed a standardized, clearly formulated vocabulary of commitment, created an enthusiastic body of supporters through the liberal provision of facilities, and won a captive clientele through the introduction of compulsory games. By the evening of Victoria's reign there was considerable conformity of allegiance to the now dominant athleticism.

(173) Diary of E.C.C. Firth 1883-1885, entry for Tuesday, July 29th. 1884. (M.C.A.)

(174) P.S.M. April 1898, p.36. Chapter 5 below has a discussion of public school anti-intellectualism.

In 1875, Punch with some prescience, anticipated a typical

'school report' twenty years on: (175)

SCHOOL REPORTS OF THE FUTURE.		
<p>DEAR MR. PUNCH, My experience of to-day justifies me, I think, in anticipating for my Son's son, when he goes to a Public School, some such School Report as the enclosed. Your obedient Servant, PETER PATERFAMILIAS.</p>		
<p>ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE, EASTMINSTER. <i>Report for First Term of 1895.</i></p>		
NAME—"PATERFAMILIAS SECUNDUS."		SET II.
Subject.	Place in Set.	Remarks.
1. FOOTBALL.	Back.	Is not wanting in pluck—should allow more for the wind in his drop-kicks.
2. BOATING.	No. 7.	Has overcome his "screwing" propensity—hangs a little on the feather.
3. RACQUETS.		Is getting to place his balls lower, but has not yet broken himself of shutting his eyes on the stroke.
4. BOXING.		Striking out better from the shoulder, but still will anticipate his parry.
5. CRICKET.	Point.	A sure catch. Fair change bowler, and is improving. Might bat squarer, and wants confidence.
6. GYMNASIUM.		Parallel bars, good. Will do the "back circle" next Term. Vaulting moderate.
7. ATHLETIC SPORTS.	First in Milo under 16.	Time in long races good, but trusts too much to his spurt. Does better at long jumping than high. Putting the weight, weak.
CONDUCT { <i>Coach's Report</i> <i>House-Master's Report</i>		Painstaking—seems to have ambition. Obedient, except that he <i>will</i> practise fives in his bed-room.
HEAD-MASTER'S REMARKS ON FORM-WORK.		No observations; the weather having been so fine this Term that every day has been devoted to games.
<p>ARNOLD BUSBY BROWN, <i>(Formerly Stroke of the Lady Margaret Eight, and Captain of the Cambridge Eleven.)</i> HEAD MASTER.</p>		

If things didn't quite come to this, Cyril Heber-Percy's housemaster at Harrow certainly showed willing, and an absolute clear-headedness about education priorities, when with deprecatory gentleness, he wrote to Heber-Percy's father in an end of term report:

"I don't think too much attention need be given to the very bad report he has received from Mr. Roebuck his classics master. He has played exceptional hard, and for the second year running we won the cock-house match." (176)

The next three chapters will be concerned with the internal and external forces that produced and nurtured this blithe, absolute self-confidence.

(175) Punch May 15th. 1875, p.211.

(176) Cyril Heber-Percy, Us Four 1963, p.74. (Harrow 1919-1922)

PART III

THE NATURE OF IDEOLOGICAL DOMINATION

CHAPTER FIVE

ELEMENTS OF STABILITY AND CHANGE: ESCAPISM, ANTI- INTELLECTUALISM, SPORTING PEDAGOGUES, IMPERIALISM AND THE ENTHUSIASTIC PROVISION OF 'CONSPICUOUS' RESOURCES!

I

The theory that games 'got out of hand' in the public schools because headmasters and their staff failed to introduce alternative ways for pupils to spend their free time⁽¹⁾ is, unhappily, a considerable oversimplification. The causes of athleticism were several, intricately entangled, and involved factors both inside and outside the schools.

Yet a mass retreat from schoolroom to playing field was made all the more certain by the limited number of extra-curricular activities available for many years. For much of the nineteenth century these were restricted to a debating society for senior boys, possibly a natural history society or an archaeological society and some form of concert club.⁽²⁾ The one notable exception was Stonyhurst where the Jesuit tradition of play-acting took up a considerable amount of time and effort.⁽³⁾ No doubt, a larger variety of clubs and societies would have reduced to some extent the

(1) Weinberg, op.cit., p.45.

(2) By the second half of the twentieth century the situation had changed greatly. At Marlborough, for example, by 1963 there were forty-six entirely voluntary extra-curricular clubs in addition to six musical, twenty athletic and fifteen house societies. Details may be found in Marlborough: An Open Examination written by the Boys 1963, p.43. This was a quite typical expansion. The other schools experienced the same phenomenon.

(3) Gruggen and Keating, op.cit., pp.173-81. Play-acting was a tool of the Jesuit educational system fulfilling the need for drama, ritual symbolism and colour which boys elsewhere found in the ceremonies and trappings of athleticism. See Chapter 6 below for a discussion of this point.

strong interest in games. At the same time since a number of agents produced the reign of athleticism, the removal of any single one would not have been sufficient in itself to lessen substantially the influence of the ideology. Furthermore, despite the conscientious support of staff those activities which were available, had a precarious existence at times.

It is worth noting also that the proliferation of clubs and societies, when it came, was the result of changes in pupil attitudes, parental expectations, intellectual standards and social values as much as the radicalism, liberality or perceptiveness of schoolmasters. In the interim there was much truth in the observation of Rufus, the Captain of the Eleven, in Prelude, Beverley Nichols' novel of Marlborough life:

"You know an awful lot of rot's talked about games at a public school. My pater seemed to think that it was the tradition of games that made me a dunce. He didn't see that it is because there are so many dunces like me that games sprang up at all."⁽⁴⁾

Of course, dunces among the upper classes were not invariably born so; they were certainly made so by a process of intense conditioning by parents, peers and pedagogues. They were caught up, in fact, in the standards of their time. Discomfort in the presence of the intellectual of questionable masculinity and preference for a 'manly' image led to the general adoption of the ideal of the English male expounded to Harold Nicolson's uncle during his Rugby schooldays:

"It was taught on all sides that manliness and self-control were the highest aims of English boyhood: he was taught that all but the most material forms of intelligence were slightly effeminate: he learnt, as they all learnt, to rely on action rather than ideas."⁽⁵⁾

As a result a lack of respect for learning, a contempt for 'bookworms' and an admiration for active muscle have been a constant feature

(4) Beverley Nichols, Prelude 1920, (4th ed.1929), p.173.

(5) Harold Nicolson, Sir Arthur Nicolson, Bart.: A Study in the Old Diplomacy 1930, p.7.

of many public schoolboys throughout much of the schools' history.

Precedent was firmly established by the 'Great Schools' as Nicolson indicates above. The Public Schools Commission reported in 1864 that their intellectual standards were distinctly unsatisfactory.⁽⁶⁾ The Times offered a bald interpretation of the Commission's more gently worded accusations. It commented that, on the evidence of the Commission's findings, the public school system was a failure! And a failure even when represented by its better specimens - university entrants. Most had nothing to show for their schooling other than some Latin and Greek, a little English and a little arithmetic! Sadly "their knowledge of the former is most inaccurate and their knowledge of the latter contemptible".⁽⁷⁾ The newspaper attributed this academic ineptitude and a general intellectual malaise partly to the "formidable competition of games and social life, and partly to overcrowded classrooms and poor equipment".⁽⁸⁾

The situation improved little, if at all, during the next forty years. Criticism of intellectual standards, while it could scarcely be more harsh, grew in volume. There were, of course, variations in academic performance - Stonyhurst achievements received praise from the Schools Inquiry Commission⁽⁹⁾ and Marlborough's prowess in gaining university scholarships was shown by the same commission to be justly famous⁽¹⁰⁾ - but the general position has been neatly summarised by Ogilvie:

"The emphasis on "character", to the disparagement of "brains", was altogether too dominant in the Public Schools during the latter part of the nineteenth century and up to the First World War. A handful of boys were crammed to win scholarships. The rest might learn nothing that was of any use to them, but, thanks to strenuous physical exercise, the cultivation of the "school spirit" and a conservative curriculum, they would be sound men of their class."⁽¹¹⁾

(6) P.S.C. Vol.I, p.55.

(7) The Times March 28th. 1864, p.9.

(8) Idem.

(9) S.I.C. Vol.V, p.330, Q.12226 ff.

(10) Ibid., Vol.I, Appendix III, p.162. The winning of scholarships at Marlborough was due in large part to its high percentage of clergymen's sons without money or contacts. See Alington (1936), op.cit., pp.78,79, and Bertram Pollock, A Twentieth Century Bishop 1944, p.21.

(11) Ogilvie, op.cit., p.188.

The disparagement of brains reflected nothing short of a general and virulent anti-intellectualism on the part of most boys and some masters. "The 'Highbrow'," wrote Ian Hay in a book inappropriately entitled in this context, The Lighter Side of School Life, "is a fish out of water with a vengeance but he does exist at school - somehow."⁽¹²⁾

John Addington Symonds at Harrow, James Elroy Flecker at Uppingham, John Betjeman at Marlborough, Evelyn Waugh at Lancing, are some of the distinguished writers who bear witness from one generation to the next to the accuracy of Hay's testimony.⁽¹³⁾ Such Philistinism greatly offended Matthew Arnold and convinced him that the intellectual life and general culture of the upper classes had "somewhat flagged since the last century".⁽¹⁴⁾ He pointed an accusing finger at the 'Great Schools' and considered that intellectual vitality had passed from their classrooms to those of the second grade.⁽¹⁵⁾ It was a naive view. Perhaps he was too easily impressed by Marlborough's knack of winning Oxford and Cambridge awards. In reality there was little to choose between the old and the new.⁽¹⁶⁾

The attitude to learning prevalent in the schools caused anxiety among the discerning in society at large. Periodically letters and articles of attack and defence would appear in national newspapers and journals. Protagonists and antagonists fought out a bitter conflict, for

(12) Ian Hay, The Lighter Side of School Life 1914, (2nd.ed.1921), p.102.

(13) John Addington Symonds was at Harrow from 1854 to 1858, see Grosskurth, op.cit., pp.22-41; James Elroy Flecker was at Uppingham from 1901 to 1902, see Geraldine Hodgson, The Life of James Elroy Flecker 1925, pp.36-61; John Betjeman was at Marlborough from 1920 to 1925, see his verse autobiography Summoned by Bells 1960, pp.65-75; Evelyn Waugh was at Lancing from 1917 to 1925, see his autobiography A Little Learning 1964, pp.85-140; Dudley Carew, A Fragment of Friendship 1974, pp.13 ff.

(14) Matthew Arnold, A French Eton (1892 ed.), p.110.

(15) Ibid., p.111.

(16) For an interesting description of nineteenth century anti-intellectual boys at Marlborough for example, see E.F. Benson, Our Family Affairs 1920, pp.150-2. Benson was at Marlborough 1881-1887.

example, in the great athleticism controversy in the correspondence columns of The Times in 1889.⁽¹⁷⁾ There was a short but sharp exchange between A.W. Ready and H.H. Almond in the New Review in the mid-nineties.⁽¹⁸⁾ Sir Oliver Lodge resumed the struggle on behalf of the protestants in the Nineteenth Century in 1902.⁽¹⁹⁾ Contributors to the Times Educational Supplement joined in battle in 1918⁽²⁰⁾ and the English Review in 1923⁽²¹⁾ was the arena in which one of the last sustained attacks on public school anti-intellectualism was mounted.

Some critics found insufficient space in newspapers and journals for condemnation and published complete books. One of the most knowledgeable of antagonists was S.P.B. Mais.⁽²²⁾ He had the advantage of first hand experience of several schools as boy and master. With considerable authority, therefore, he could write that public school products:

"...know nothing. What is worse, only a very few of them want to know anything. They exhaust all their energies and keenness on games; they have none left for work. It is looked upon as a gross breach of good form to take anything but the most perfunctory interest in class."⁽²³⁾

Accusations of limited cultural and intellectual horizons, ignorance of political, social and economic matters were frequently levelled at the schools - from within. Even at Marlborough, despised by true gentlemen for its talent for getting boys "to acquire a power of interminable quotation",⁽²⁴⁾ discontent about the low quality of intellectual life was

(17) The Times 20th. Sept. - 10th. Oct. 1889.

(18) See Chapter 4 above.

(19) Sir Oliver Lodge, 'Our Public Schools as a Public Peril', Nineteenth Century Vol.LII, No.310, Nov.1902, pp.941-50.

(20) Times Educational Supplement March to October 1918.

(21) The English Review, Vol.XXXVI, June 1923. For earlier harsh criticism see Vol.XII, Sept. and Oct. 1912, Vol.XXVI, April 1918 and Vol.XXVIII, March 1919.

(22) Mais was a pupil at Denstone at the turn of the century. He taught at Rossall (1909-1913), Sherborne (1913-1917) and Tonbridge (1917-1920) and wrote frankly of his experiences in A Public School in Wartime (1916), A Schoolmaster's Diary (1919) and in his autobiography All the Days of my Life (1937). Other severe critics over the years included A.B. Badger, The Public Schools and the Nation 1944, H.B. Gray, Public Schools and the Empire 1913, and L.P. Pekin, Public Schools: Their Future and Reform 1932.

(23) Mais (1916), op.cit., p.24.

(24) 'Public School Types', London Society, Vol.XVI, 1869, pp.37-8.

voiced from time to time. 'Adam House' in David Blaize was sufficient of a sore thumb to attract attention because "even the juniors took an interest in all sorts of queer things like reading books...and knowing the difference between Liberals and Conservatives". (25) At this bizarre establishment the daily paper was considered something more than the source of century makers in county matches! (26) Paul Trevelyan, the hero of Prelude, pushing aside momentarily memories of London dinners and theatres, crates of liqueurs, rose-tipped abdullahs and twenty pound notes from his mother, reflected bitterly on the fact that he and his fellow pupils - the future governing class - "were being taught not a thing about the conditions of the country" and argued "instead of writing Latin elegiacs...we ought to be learning what the socialists are saying. What Henderson and MacDonald are thinking..." (27)

Essentially the same question can be asked of the whole species of public schoolboy of the late Victorian and Edwardian era as Corelli Barnett asks of the public school writers of the Great War, namely, who would guess from their cloistered introversion that Britain in the anti-bellum years was a nation of searing social inequality and gross injustice? (28) Most Marlburians and their contemporaries in other schools looked inward within school walls or into the far distance - to tropical rain-forests or undulating savannah, never to the industrial deserts of the English north and midlands. They hardened their muscles, took their knocks and developed their 'pluck' for England across the seas, or less altruistically because this was how aspiring and actual gentlemen behaved. (29)

(25) E.F. Benson, David Blaize 1916, p.154.

(26) Idem.

(27) Nichols, op.cit., p.266.

(28) Corelli Barnett, 'A Military Historian's views of the Great War', Essays by divers hands Vol.XXXVI, 1969, p.7.

(29) In a letter to the present writer dated 14.1.73, Michael Birley considered this state of affairs to be "horrifically true" of Marlborough in the 1930s.

Symptomatic of intellectual apathy were the constant editorials in the school magazines down the decades, bewailing the lack of material of sufficient literary quality.⁽³⁰⁾ On one occasion the editors of the Lorettonian were reduced to begging for a letter, having given up hope of any literary articles,⁽³¹⁾ and on another aired the general truth that "when there is no football there is nothing with which to fill up the paper".⁽³²⁾ The two inter-related problems of a poor literary standard and a heavy sporting imbalance sufficiently concerned J.R.H. O'Regan, a Marlborough master, for him to make them the subject of a frank essay in a book published at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁽³³⁾ Poor quality material in the Marlburian was nothing new, however. As early as 1866, pleas from the editors for literary work fell upon deaf ears, while a request from a correspondent for the insertion of "Charades, Conundrums and Compositions" - for the benefit of "many members of the school...who feel, and not unnaturally, unequal to the task of perusing the undeniably clever but to them perhaps too clever literary articles" - met with immediate gratification.⁽³⁴⁾

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- (30) Happily there were moments of relief. The Marlburian, for example, contained literary contributions of a high quality in the first quarter of the twentieth century when the contributors included Charles Sorley, John Betjeman and Louis McNeice, and with the demise of anti-intellectual muscular ethos after the Second World War magazines of a purely literary nature emerged - Kennet, Stroke and Head. Interestingly the very first school magazine entitled The Marlborough Magazine which appeared infrequently between 1848 and 1862 was exclusively a literary magazine. (I owe the above point to Mr. Gerald Murray, Marlborough College Archivist). At Stonyhurst, the magazine was strongly supported by the staff and the literary standard was consistently high.
- (31) Lorettonian Vol.XXIII, No.8, 23rd Feb.1901, p.28.
- (32) Ibid., Vol.XXI, No.7, 30th Jan.1892, p.25.
- (33) J.R.H. O'Regan, 'The School Magazine' in Public Schools from Within: A Collection of Essays on Public School Education Written Chiefly by Masters 1906, pp.165-7. O'Regan was assistant master at Marlborough 1894-1922.
- (34) Marlburian Vol.1, No.18, Sept.26th.1866, p.134.

While the general picture in the schools is of low intellectual interest and effort, it is all too easy to commit the sin of omission. Care must be taken to avoid this. It is as well, therefore, to remember Arnold Lunn's words about Harrow to the effect that while academic standards were generally poor, the few motivated boys used never to lack for stimulation from able masters. (35) Motivated boys and clever staff existed in all the schools.

Headmasters were well aware of, and often deprecated the anti-intellectualism of their pupils. Even Welldon, for all his enthusiasm for games, did not entirely lack a sense of proportion. In Gerald Eversley's Friendship he wrote these almost frank words:

"Of the achievements of the intellect, if they stand alone, public school opinion is still as it has always been, slightly contemptuous. But strength, speed, athletic skill, quickness of eye and hand... command universal applause among schoolboys as among savages." (36)

Some headmasters were noted antagonists of the athletocrat, F.W. Farrar in particular. He continually deprecated the poor intellectual efforts of the majority of Marlburians. "Do not think that I disparage the physical vigour at which I daily look with interest," he told them in a sermon, "but it is impossible to repress a sigh when one thinks that the same vigour infused also into intellectual studies which are far higher and nobler, would carry all success and prosperity in life irresistibly before you." (37)

Yet the attitude of others was ambivalent and must have been confusing to immature schoolboys. If headmasters frequently admired, and held up for admiration, the coolness of the talented athlete, too often they warned against the self-possession of the able scholar. Cotterill, in his

(35) Arnold Lunn, Come What May 1940, p.27; also G.M. Trevelyan, An Autobiography and Other Essays 1949, pp.10-11.

(36) Welldon (1895), op.cit., pp.75-6.

(37) Farrar (1889), op.cit., pp.112-3.

Suggested Reforms in Public Schools exhibited the clearest symptoms of a general mal de siècle:

"...cleverness - what an aim! Good God, what an aim! Cleverness neither makes nor keeps man or nation. Let it not be thought that it ever can. For a while it may succeed, but only for a while. But self-sacrifice, - this it is that makes and preserves men and nations, yes, and fills them with joy - only this. Big brains, and big biceps - yes, both are well enough. But courage and kindness, gentle manliness, and self-sacrifice - this is what we want."⁽³⁸⁾

This deep-rooted Anglo-Saxon suspicion of brilliance was constantly revealed by headmasters. Cotton, for example, while anxious to jolt his pupils out of their narrow, parochial world and keen to raise the academic tone of the school, took pains to reassure the less intellectual about their qualities, and warn the clever of their perilous position. While those of ordinary talent, he insisted, were often blessed by strength of character, steadiness, calmness and clear judgement, the brilliant were often unsettled, dissatisfied, self-conscious, vain and morbid. In his view, ordinary ability harnessed to a dutiful nature and spirit of self-improvement were attributes most beneficial to a school.⁽³⁹⁾ While this type of comment is a good example of compensatory rationalisation, it was not calculated to ensure the school intellectual a secure status. No doubt such an attitude served in part to produce the Marlborough boy who when asked to write an essay on the most useful citizen - political economist or professional cricketer - chose the latter on the grounds that he gave pleasure, while the other "few understood and was dull".⁽⁴⁰⁾

At a time in the life of his school when, considering the quality of the intake there was little danger of the prospect, Thring

(38) Cotterill, op.cit., p.177.

(39) Cotton, op.cit., p.122.

(40) Recounted in Autobiographical Musings from the Shades of Marlborough College 1881-1886 by a Doctor of Medicine, p.32. (M.C.A.)

warned his boys against the vanity of intellectualism.⁽⁴¹⁾ Ford, at Harrow, wished above all, to turn out boys of character, and considered it wise not to train too highly the intellect of those of doubtful morality.⁽⁴²⁾ It is a truism that excellence can produce exaggerated self-esteem, but the athlete was more susceptible to this condition in the climate of the time than the intellectual. Explanations for the distaste with which headmasters viewed intellectually self-confident pupils, may lie in the nature of the power structure of schools of the period, and in the emphasis on conformity that was so noticeable a feature. Non-conformist free-thinkers were troublesome. There was an indisputable attractiveness for many of these authoritarian headmasters in compliant, uncomplicated, not-too-well-read boys who would challenge neither the intellectual nor the moral authority of older men - at least openly. The difficulty of dealing with the clever is that too often they have the confidence to think for themselves, the audacity to question established views and the fluency with which to defend their heresies!

While it cannot be the whole truth, A.H. Gilkes' description of Binnings at Stratton fits the personalities of several headmasters of the schools of this survey comfortably; J.E.C. Welldon, especially, but also others such as Lionel Ford and E.C. Selwyn:

"So long as there was plenty of what he called public school spirit at Stratton, a warm interest in the sports and pursuits of the school...and a confident and courteous bearing among the boys; so long as the prefects were masterful and respected Binnings was satisfied."⁽⁴³⁾

Such an attitude undoubtedly helped to create what was for many, a most attractive boy product - nicely mannered, straight-backed, clear skinned. For all his defects so visible to the modern eye, for many of the period,

(41) E. Thring, Sermons delivered at Uppingham School 1858, p.113.

(42) Cyril Alington, Lionel Ford 1934, p.102. Ford was headmaster of Harrow 1910-1925.

(43) A.H. Gilkes, The Thing that Hath Been or a Young Man's Mistakes 1894, p.165.

the unintellectual public schoolboy was, in the words of Leslie Stephen,
 "an animal of whom one finds it difficult not to be rather proud".⁽⁴⁴⁾

II

Inside the nineteenth century public school classroom there was a blind belief in the classical prescription for all boys,⁽⁴⁵⁾ most of whom found it irrelevant. It did nothing to train them for life; in consequence they had little use for school work. It was for this reason as much as any other that they became "Philistines, but conscious Philistines".⁽⁴⁶⁾ It was said of these Philistines that "they toil at games and play with books".⁽⁴⁷⁾ As Stephen Marcus has observed of the relationship between Victorian prudery and pornography, it was a case of negative analogue - the greater the repression, the more intense was the desire to break free.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In short, the aridity and narrowness of the academic syllabus exaggerated the attractiveness of first, the countryside, then, the games field.

The Marlborough schoolboy, Edward Lockwood, is perhaps suitably representative of many nineteenth and early twentieth century schoolboys. With no pretensions to scholarship, he sought to escape from the monotonous existence of the classroom on the banks of the Kennet and in the glades of Savernake Forest. He early pointed to the curriculum as a powerful factor in the rise of athleticism, once country pursuits were proscribed:

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- (44) Leslie Stephen, 'Thoughts of an Outsider: Public Schools', Cornhill Magazine Vol. XXVII, No. 159, March 1873, p. 290.
 (45) Simpson (1954), *op.cit.*, p. 52.
 (46) *Idem.*
 (47) William Cory, 'A Queen's Visit' quoted in Faith Compton Mackenzie, William Cory 1950.
 (48) Stephen Marcus, The Other Victorians 1966, p. 283.

"I had not the faintest idea what Latin grammar was all about, and as no one made the faintest attempt to explain anything, I gave up all hope of understanding it, and passed my time during school hours in other ways than acquiring classical knowledge." (49)

Nearly thirty years later when athleticism was more strongly established, Leslie Stephen explained the extreme interest in games at Oxford in the same terms. (50)

Compensatory actions of this kind have been called 'removal activities' and described as small islands of vivid enrapturing activity in a kind of dead sea with the function of building up the individual's resistance against the psychological stress of assaults upon the self. (51)

It is a description which admirably fits not only Lockwood's reaction to his circumstances, but also those of generations of later public school boys.

And if the majority were bored and brutalised, it was no different for the clever boy with little interest in semantic studies. The Harrovian,

Augustus Hare, for example, in the decade following Lockwood's Marlburian ordeal "never learnt anything useful...Hours and hours were wasted daily on useless Latin verses, with sickening monotony". (52)

Similar criticisms span the generations. In 1900 an uncharitable reviewer in The Spectator, noted of Howson and Warner's Harrow School that there were thirty-one pages devoted to cricket, eight to bathing, five to football, three to racquets and six to the intellectual life of the school. (53)

He remarked acidly that this was about the right proportion in terms of the school's priorities - the allowance of intellect to athletics being rather like Falstaff's bread and sack - and concluded that "if Latin and Greek had not been strained too far then the rebound in the direction of athletics would not have been so violent". (54)

(49) Edward Lockwood, op.cit., p.57.

(50) Leslie Stephen, 'Athletic Sports and University Studies', Fraser's Magazine Vol.II, Dec.1870, p.695.

(51) Erving Goffman, Asylums 1971, p.68.

(52) Augustus Hare, The Story of My Life 1896, p.242. (Harrow 1847-1848).

(53) The Spectator 29th.Oct.1898, p.606.

(54) Idem.

Jack Hood's Heart of a Schoolboy published in 1919 was a study of public school life intended to refute the accusations of excessive devotion to games, immorality and idleness contained in Alec Waugh's The Loom of Youth. In fact it merely reinforced Waugh's point about the games obsession but presented the manifestation in a kindlier light. Hood admitted that games came first with most of his contemporaries but considered that "athletics will probably keep a boy straighter than too much book-worming". (55) In case this standard argument might be wearing thin he added the honest rider that if some lived for athletics, it was simply because work was so dull! (56) His fiercest castigations were reserved for classics! Punch, always a close, if irreverent, observer of the public school scene, saw the bored public schoolboy as good-natured but quite unequivocal in his reaction to the curriculum of the time:

"By Jove and Jingo, old fellow, I say (57)
Don't I hate Latin and Greek!"

Edward Lyttleton, as befitted a distinguished educationist considered the matter more seriously. He recognised that an interminable time was spent on abstract language work, and came to the sober conclusion that "by making all brain exercise for boys bookish we have rendered athleticism a necessity (emphasis added)". (58) In his view the belief that bodily pleasure was a brainless pleasure, was stamped deeply into boys' minds as the direct consequence of hours of confrontation with meaningless textbooks. (59) Lyttleton was greatly exercised by the problem and returned to it in his biography Memories and Hopes in which he looked back at Eton in the 1880s and he recalled that the teaching was "tragic ... the dullest boys still, and for years later being besotted with the rudiments of ancient grammars, without a hint of who the Greeks and Romans were,

(55) Jack Hood, Heart of a Schoolboy 1919, p.22.

(56) Ibid., p.27.

(57) Punch 19th, Dec. 1874, p.265.

(58) Lyttleton (1909), op.cit., p.12.

(59) Ibid., p.10.

what they did, and hardly where they lived".⁽⁶⁰⁾ He echoed Hare's complaint that not only the less intelligent but others "were made to groan and sweat at rudiments, utterly meaningless except as stepping stones to a literature which they never got to read".⁽⁶¹⁾

Reform did come slowly; stimulated by men like T.H. Huxley, F.W. Farrar, Sir John Coleridge, H.F. Armstrong and L.C. Miall; promoted by official investigations such as the Public Schools and Schools Inquiry Commissions and the British Association committees of inquiry.⁽⁶²⁾ 'Modern Sides' were instituted, science teaching was gradually introduced, the curriculum slowly widened; but classics remained the dominant classroom subject until well into the twentieth century as these Eton statistics indicate:

YEAR	NUMBER OF BOYS	NUMBER OF MASTERS	BOYS PER MASTER	Orders	NUMBER OF MASTERS IN:					
					Clas- sics	Mathe- matics	Med- icines	Sci- ence	His- tory	Draw- ing
1866	866	31	27.9	18	24	6	0	0	1	0
1884	894	44	20.3	15	28	9	3	4	0	0
1905	1021	61	16.7	15	32	14	9	4	1	1
1936	1158	84	13.7	12	39	16	14	9	4	2

(63)

Conservative staff and the matriculation demands of Oxford and Cambridge were the major reasons. The effects of both are well illustrated by events at the Headmasters' Conference of 1890. J.E.C. Welldon informed those present that it was painful to read the biographies of distinguished men, who, while they loved their school, found their years there intellectually wasteful "because their attention was forcibly directed to subjects for which they had no aptitude".⁽⁶⁴⁾ To reduce the amount of

(60) Lyttleton (1925), op.cit., p.31.

(61) Ibid., p.131.

(62) A general description of curricular reform, especially the rise of science may be read in Bamford (1967), op.cit., pp.86-115 and 167-8. For a good summary of the subject see Science Teaching in the Public Schools Association of Public School Science Masters, Educational Pamphlets No.17, 1909.

(63) Quoted in Mack (1941), op.cit., p.366. For details of the qualifications and relative salaries of Harrow staff in the later part of the nineteenth century see Appendix IX.

(64) Report of the Headmasters' Conference 1890, p.15.

classics teaching he proposed recommending the abolition of Greek and Latin as compulsory subjects at Oxford and Cambridge. M.C. Glazebrook, the headmaster of Monmouth Grammar School, rallied to his support with the assertion that by the time the ordinary public schoolboy had journeyed towards a pass degree in Greek he had spent 3,000 hours on the subject at school and university. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ They failed to win over a conference composed overwhelmingly of classicists. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

Consideration of a period analogy, providing an effect not unlike time-lapse photography, offers a remarkably clear insight into the role of games as an escape mechanism in the public schools. The analagous experience is that of the inmates of a German Internment Camp for the British at Ruhleben during the Great War. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ At Ruhleben there occurred in a short space of time what was at the public schools a more lengthy and gradual process. Within the camp men from all walks of life sought for their psychological well-being a substitute world available to them all that would release them from the boredom and limiting experiences of captivity. They found it in organised games. These became:

"the 'salvation' of the prisoners, mentally as well as physically. It was not running about on a field, however, that kept them unscathed. It was rather the fact that they were playing their roles in a social world that had become as real and absorbing as that outside. It was a substitute world, admittedly, but not a pathological one, for it was a shared world, similarly perceived by all. And that is our only criterion of reality or sanity." ⁽⁶⁸⁾

(65) Idem.

(66) In 1914 of the 114 schools of the Headmasters' Conference
 92 had headmasters with degrees in classics
 10 had headmasters with degrees in mathematics
 7 had headmasters with degrees in mathematics and science
 4 had headmasters with degrees in science
 1 had a headmaster with a degree in history.
 V.Seymour Bryant, The Public School System in Relation to the Coming Conflict for National Supremacy 1917, p.5.
 This fairly reflected the inbalance among assistant masters.
 See Appendix IX.

(67) J. Davidson Ketchum, Ruhleben 1965.

(68) Ibid., p.229.

The result was the construction of a complex system of athletic tournaments and competitions, which permitted the athlete, the spectator, the organiser, to share common interests and excitements. Influence and respect became dependent on proficiency at games. And these became so important that they were ultimately dignified with impressive rituals and symbols. The evolution of the rise to prominence of sport at Ruhleben is a microstudy on a collapsed time scale, of alternative striving for a meaningful existence based on common values within a 'total institution', which holds up a mirror to the strait-jacket public school system of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

III

Before 1850, as noted earlier, the public schoolmaster was a distant figure to his boys and for the most part indifferent to their extra-curricular pastimes.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Cotton, Thring and Almond, in particular, created for him a new semblance. In their confident hands he changed from 'dry pedant' to 'perpetual schoolboy' - terms admittedly describing 'ideal-types'⁽⁷⁰⁾ but containing a large element of truth.

It was not so much that a generation of schoolmasters simultaneously rediscovered the fascination of games or miraculously retained the physical exuberance, power and elasticity of youth into middle age.

(69) See Chapter 2 above.

(70) A term first used by the sociologist Max Weber in his historical-comparative studies, and now part of the terminology of the discipline of sociology. It represents exaggerated distinction for the purpose of conceptual comparison and analysis.

Masters in earlier times had remained boys at heart albeit with stiffening joints and deteriorating muscles. The Jesuits at Stonyhurst, as already mentioned, ⁽⁷¹⁾ had for generations played the games of the school informally. It was the introduction of games into the formal curriculum by the headmasters of Uppingham, Marlborough, Loretto and elsewhere that largely produced the change. Games playing now became a common aspect of the schoolmaster's role. Equally important, however, was the self-assurance of Almond and Thring in throwing off patrician dignity and running, hitting and tackling on playing fields with their pupils. This, coupled with their power to select staff in their own image meant that they could speedily establish a fresh identity for the public schoolmaster. ⁽⁷²⁾

Once games were an integral part of the curriculum and headmasters had set the example of playing themselves and required imitators and apostles, masters with new educational talents were sought, and were forthcoming. There was an influx of men of broadly three types - the talented all-rounder, the moderate all-rounder, who often sought in the obscure post of assistant master the security of the past, and the outstanding games player of moderate or mediocre intellectual ability, who cast an appraising eye over the games facilities and found they offered the opportunity of an attractive way of life.

The laurels - the headships - now often went to those with both academic and athletic talent. ⁽⁷³⁾ But so important did athletic

(71) See Chapter 3 above.

(72) The importance of the Victorian headmaster's freedom to select his staff in promoting internal change has been strongly emphasised by Mr. R. Ellis, the present headmaster of Marlborough (letter to the present writer dated 6.x.73.).

(73) Of course an impressive public personality (not least in the pulpit) was a further requirement. For an excellent description of the evolution of the Victorian headmaster see Honey, op.cit., pp.290-317. He fails, however, to give adequate consideration to the part athletic ability playing in selection for headships. For a brief consideration of this point see Smith, op.cit., pp.43-4.

distinction become that some even considered that skill at games rather than brilliance at classics counted for more when headships became available.

Joseph Wood, appointed to Harrow in 1898, was greeted with the following

'Appreciation':

"Our headmaster's marked love for athletics has undoubtedly contributed to his success. To use a homely but expressive phrase, he is a sportsman."⁽⁷⁴⁾

And the possibility of Edmond Warre becoming headmaster of Eton provoked an exchange of correspondence in The Times in 1884 because it was felt he owed his eligibility to the fact that he was 'the best rowing coach in England'.

His intellectual capacity was considered quite unequal to that of his nearest rival, J.E.C. Welldon.⁽⁷⁵⁾ But it did not escape the notice of the observant that both were athletes - an attribute grudgingly admitted by this time, to be indispensable!⁽⁷⁶⁾

The second group of new recruits to public school masterships included an interesting body of 'faithful retainers'. These were men of reasonable wealth who might have led pleasant lives of leisure, but chose to teach.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Evelyn Waugh, pondering on the impulse that took them into public school teaching, came close to the heart of the matter:

"Much of the strength and virtue of the public school system was drawn from unambitious men of the kind celebrated in the dedicatory verses to Stalky & Co.; 'men of little showing'; men of moderate learning, often with private means, who found refreshment in the company of the young and were content to settle for a lifetime in the scene of their youth, preserving its continuity (emphasis added)."⁽⁷⁸⁾

(74) P.S.M. Vol.2, 1898, p.503.

(75) This was not quite fair to Warre. He had published less but his academic pedigree was highly respectable. At Oxford (1855-1859) he gained a First Class in Moderations and 'Greats' and became a fellow of All Souls. Although he was eventually President of the Oxford University Boat Club and won rowing blues in 1857 and 1858, he refused to row in 1856 because of pressure of academic work. His application, incidentally, was successful and he was headmaster of Eton from 1884 to 1905.

(76) The Times 26th.July 1884, p.10.

(77) For typical examples of such men see Graves (1961), op.cit., p.30; Worsley (1967), op.cit., p.135; James, op.cit., p.54.

(78) Evelyn Waugh, op.cit., p.156.

Many were ingenuous idealists who like Percival in The Twymans caught "a glimpse behind the mere beauty of the young white figures shining so coolly in the slant evening sunshine, of the finely planned order and long-descended discipline they symbolised".⁽⁷⁹⁾ Wealth, loyalty and idealism made these men indispensable adducts of the system, and notable contributors to the athletic life of the school.

The third group became necessary because they brought prestige through the favourable publicity that attended them, because they could control the lower forms and because they were popular house-masters attracting a constant supply of boys from admiring parents and name-dropping preparatory school headmasters. From their ranks came the games master, in time an instantly recognisable type in public school mythology. Ronald Gurner has supplied his standard curriculum vitae - college to university, back to college with a blue, junior form teaching and control of games.⁽⁸⁰⁾ And Alec Waugh has drawn an unforgettable portrait of the Games Master as hero in his depiction of Buller of Fernhurst:

"...He was indeed a splendid person. He wore a double-breasted coat, that on anyone else would have looked ridiculous, and even so was strikingly original. He had the strong face of one who had fought every inch of the way. It was a great sight to see "the Bull", as he was called, take a game; he rushed up and down the field cursing and swearing. His voice thundered over the ground. It was the first game after the summer holidays, and everyone felt rather flabby. At half-time the great man burst out: "I have played football for twenty-five years, I coached Oxford teams and Gloucestershire teams, led an English scrum, and for fifteen years I have taught footer here, but never saw I such a display! Shirking, the whole lot of you! Get your shoulders down and shove. Never saw anything like it. Awful!" The Bull said this to every team at least three times every season, but he was every bit as generous with his praise as with his blame when things went well, and he was a great man, a personality.

(79) Henry Newbolt, The Twymans: A Tale of Youth 1911 (2nd.ed.), p.32.

(80) Ronald Gurner, For the Sons of Gentlemen 1926, p.88.

Even a desultory Pick-Up woke into excitement when the shrill, piping voice of a full-back came in with, 'The Bull's' coming."⁽⁸¹⁾

Although popular with boys and parents, the unadulterated egotism of some of these men, however, could arouse resentment:

"Some of the games-playing types used their school positions, their generous leisure and the free amenities of nets, courts and fields, plus the continual stream of partners or opponents available (boy or beak) to provide them with the satisfaction of constant competition...their whole school life was so organised to provide them with continuous personal pleasure."⁽⁸²⁾

For this they attracted open condemnation:

"There are those who join the staffs of public schools because for them it is the line of least resistance, because the holidays are long, there is ample opportunity for playing games, and the company is congenial... Games remain with them, what they always have been, their chief interest. Such are not typical of the public school masters as a whole, but they are to be found - too commonly."⁽⁸³⁾

Nevertheless, the public school world in the late nineteenth century looked so favourably on games playing staff that many undergraduates developed these skills with the express purpose of getting employment. Correspondents to The Times in both the public school controversies of 1889 and 1903 laboured this point⁽⁸⁴⁾ and E.H. Culley, in his famous condemnation of games worship in the public schools at the

(81) Alec Waugh The Loom of Youth 1917, p.27. The 'Bull' is believed to be modelled on G.M. Carey, a master at Sherborne for many years. S.P.B. Mais, in his autobiography, described Carey in his prime (op.cit.(1937), pp.163-5).

(82) Gerald Murray, 'The Games Master in the Public Schools' (unpublished paper compiled for the present writer dated 20.10.73).

(83) Norwood, op.cit., pp.135-6; also Gray, op.cit., pp.188-9; A.C. Benson, The Upton Letters 1905, pp.163-4. An explicit attack of remarkable ferocity was H.J. Spencer's 'The Athletics Master in Public Schools', Contemporary Review Vol.LXXVIII, July 1900, pp.114-7.

(84) The Times - for example 'A Former Head of The School at Harrow', 23th.Sept.1889, p.8; 'Another Old Etonian', 30th.Sept.1889, p.4; 'A College Tutor', 3rd.Jan.1903, p.6; 'A Schoolmaster', 7th.Jan.1903, p.13.

Headmasters' Conference of 1897, rebuked headmasters for attaching too much importance to athletic qualifications in the appointment of general staff! He claimed that of the one hundred and fifty names on the School Agency list at Cambridge in a recent year, one hundred and thirty had offered 'athletics' as an interest, and that 'athletics' had become such an important professional credential that the mere scholar was treated with contempt.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The Athenaeum found his case against the schools 'miserably strong'⁽⁸⁶⁾ and in corroboration of his argument, the very next year the Public School Magazine included an article by the philathlete, Eustace Miles, - 'Practical Hints on Varsity Life' - which urged boys to keep up their games as good masterships went to good games players. Although technically they might find themselves appointed to teach academic subjects, Miles suggested euphemistically, they would discover that "football was something of importance!"⁽⁸⁷⁾ S.P.B. Mais discovered the truth of this claim when, on coming down from Oxford in 1909, he sought a public school post:

"On the strength of my Double Blue, and in despite of my failure to snatch a higher class⁽⁸⁸⁾ than a third...I was in immediate demand."

The 'Games Master' is a phenomenon that has attracted considerable attention in general studies of public school games.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The point is seldom emphasised sufficiently, however, that the games-playing master as much as the games master was the outcome of ideological fashion. Athleticism produced both. And it was the former who represented the ideal personified, for example, by Arnold Hepburn described in the Lancing College Magazine as the perfect master - "scholar, athlete and Christian".⁽⁹⁰⁾ Christian all-rounders became commonplace - the

(85) Report of the Headmasters' Conference 1897, pp.79-80.

(86) Athenaeum 23rd.July 1898, p.131.

(87) P.S.M. Vol.5, Jan.1900, p.15.

(88) Mais (1937), op.cit., p.37.

(89) See for example McIntosh, op.cit., p.60.

(90) L.C.M. Vol.10, No.313, March 1917, p.17. Hepburn was assistant master at Lancing 1916-1917.

Marlborough staff could turn out seven rackets pairs against the school in 1880!⁽⁹¹⁾ The eventual extent of the involvement of very ordinary staff in their pupils' games is touchingly recorded in the diary of the wife of S.A. Haslam, a loyal and undistinguished Uppingham housemaster:

"Sam played hand fives from 12.15 till 1.15. After dinner he played football. I took Morre and Flora up the Ayston Road and then to the football field. Sam very tired."⁽⁹²⁾

The diary is filled with details of house and school matches which pre-occupied her husband. By the twentieth century Paul Ford could proudly assert: "The pedagogue with academic mind and furrowed brow is not the schoolmaster of today, he is a warm creature of flesh and blood who loves exercise."⁽⁹³⁾ Boyishness, Ford suggested, was an important new quality. A more sardonic view was expressed by G.G. Coulton. His Felsted masters "were little more than grown up schoolboys to the end".⁽⁹⁴⁾

Valetes and obituaries leave the reader in no doubt as to the widespread existence and general popularity of the late Victorian and Edwardian schoolmaster ideal - the boylike pedagogue who loved games. At Uppingham valetes for departing staff frequently included the phrase "will be greatly missed by us in our games".⁽⁹⁵⁾ More personal tributes can be found: "Of childlike simplicity of heart" and "No housemaster ever took more interest in the cricket of his house" were the compliments paid to Uppingham's F.W. Weldon on his departure.⁽⁹⁶⁾ And the Marlburian recorded admiringly of Charles Henry Thursfield Wood, keen scholar and fine athlete, that "he never ceased to be a boy".⁽⁹⁷⁾

(91) Marlborough 1847-1943 1943, p.87.

(92) Diary of S.L.E. Haslam 1870-1873 entry for Oct.24th.1871. S.A. Haslam was assistant master at Uppingham 1871-1908 and housemaster of Brooklands 1892-1908.

(93) Paul Ford in Cookson, op.cit., p.303.

(94) G.G. Coulton, Fourscore Years:An Autobiography 1943, p.73.

(95) Tozer, op.cit., p.23.

(96) U.S.M. Vol.LVIII, No.95, March 1920, pp.39, 36.

(97) Marlburian Vol.XLIV, No.667. 17th.June 1909, p.73. Wood was assistant master at Marlborough 1893-1908.

The contrasting tributes to E.C. Hawkins and E.A. Scott in the same number of the Marlburian in 1906 mark the change in masters' life-style and role which had gradually taken place during the previous half-century. (98) Hawkins was at Marlborough at its birth and left in 1845. His obituarist wrote, "He was a stimulating teacher of wide sympathy and intellectual culture, and the boys' regard for him was heightened by the knowledge that in his holidays he was a keen sportsman." E.A. Scott, on the other hand, brought to Marlborough by Cotton in 1853, is remembered by his obituarist as one of the first masters to have taken a lead in starting rugby football, rackets and fives, in introducing colours and house matches and for being the greatest innovating master who took part in the games of the school! Scott had many subsequent imitators. As Montagu Butler declared in his Presidential Address to the Education Society in 1884, by then it was wise for the schoolmaster to have the look about him "of open air, blue sky, north-easters, mountain and heather and cricket ground". (99)

As games became the major constituent of public school life, the master who did not play something could find himself quite isolated. (100) Even more seriously to stand aloof from games was to court failure in the classroom. The pressure to conform and be acceptable was therefore considerable. Even anchorite academics such as Harrow's Brooke Foss Westcott contended with the most active "amid winter wind and rain", (101) and the gentle Father Hunter at Stonyhurst found it desirable to run up and down the pitch in imitation of the more capable staff. (102) Involvement had become necessary for both selection and promotion, as a badge of normality and as a form of practical insurance; but it should not be forgotten that it also reflected devotion to a belief that to lead by

(98) Ibid., Vol.XLI, No.621, 28th.Feb.1906, pp.17-18.

(99) Quoted in Graham, op.cit., p.265.

(100) G. Kendall, A Headmaster Remembers 1933, p.193.

(101) Arthur Westcott, Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott 1903, p.193.

(102) S.C.M. Vol.VI, No.87, July 1896, p.246.

example in these areas of school life was to properly emphasise their importance and value. (103)

Seeking to explain the spread of support for athleticism among public school masters, David Newsome favoured the thesis that pandering to popular demand and creating out of it virtuous precepts worth the teaching is a common temptation of the schoolmaster. (104) Not without truth, this is nevertheless another over-simplification. An adequate analysis of staff adherence would certainly include the realism of the popularist but also the opportunism of the indulgent, the idealism of the moralistic - and the enthusiasm of the escapist. As regards this last point, games were as much a cultural surrogate for some masters as for most boys. Academic staff, disillusioned by disillusioned boys found mornings teaching classics onerous and afternoons heaving in mauls or taking guard at the wicket refreshing. (105) Guy Kendall wrote feelingly that nothing could touch a man engaged in a good game of fives, "not even the prospect of dragging recalcitrant forms of thirty through a sentence of Caesar's half a page long, the beginning of which is quite forgotten by the time we have got to the end!" (106)

In short, once the new model of the games-playing 'beak' was launched by Cotton and the other headmasters, commonsense pragmatism, selfish inclination, simple idealism, thankful escapism - all these elements combined to ensure that athleticism received considerable participatory, organisational and financial support from staff. To a large extent it was masters in the schools, who, for these various reasons, found

(103) For an excellent example of one who held strongly to this view, see the tribute to Badger Hale 'An Eton Master', Blackwood's Magazine Vol. CLVI, No. 845, 1894, pp. 693-699.

(104) Newsome, op.cit., p. 227. For a fictional example of the growth of athleticism as a result of pandering to popular demand see A.H. Gilkes, Boys and Masters. A Study of School Life 1887.

(105) R.G. Collingwood, An Autobiography 1939, p. 9; Ogilvie, op.cit., p. 186.

(106) Kendall (1933), op.cit., p. 193.

funds for facilities, coached teams, judged, refereed, acted as treasurers of games accounts and secretaries of appeal funds as well as played, exhorted and supported. (107) And the extent of their participation in the machinery of games could not fail to impress the boys with the 'sacredness' of an institution to which such effort was allotted. (108)

The new master ideal cannot be better exemplified than in the person of Henry Hart - fine classicist, courageous footballer and intense Christian. Hart spent the greater part of his life in the public school system as schoolboy, assistant master and headmaster. (109) His teaching career spanned thirty-four years from 1866 to 1900. He was educated at Rugby under Temple, a zealous athlete who was reputed to be able to sprint, climb a tree or jump a brook with the best of his boys and who had a reputation for never stopping a scrummage 'short of manslaughter'. (110) Temple was an inspirational model for Hart. His interests became Hart's interests. In their correspondence, we are told, "the interest of master and boy in football comes out in every part". (111) This love of football remained with Hart all his life, and although slight of build his 'force and fury, vigour and pluck' won him warm admiration at Haileybury where he went as assistant master in 1866. He moved to Harrow in 1873. No details of his Harrovian football exploits appear to exist, but his enthusiasm would have been well received in Bowen's world of manly gentlemen. When his talents were sufficiently widely known he sought and gained a headship. In 1880 he was appointed to a remote and unsuccessful grammar school at Sedbergh in rural Yorkshire. It provided a marvellous opportunity

(107) An outstanding example was Rev. A.J. Tuck at Uppingham, who did, and was all these things (Malleu, op.cit., p.117).

(108) Ford, op.cit., p.290.

(109) G.G. Ceulton, A Victorian Schoolmaster: Henry Hart of Sedbergh 1923. Hart was a pupil at Rugby 1858-1862, assistant master at Haileybury 1866-1873, at Harrow 1873-1880, headmaster of Sedbergh 1880-1900.

(110) Ibid., pp.19-21.

(111) Ibid., p.23.

for proselytism. Before his arrival no rugby was played, only occasional cricket, and there was no running. Hart transformed this lethargic Arcadian school into an energetic Spartan public school. He introduced rugby (like Thring seeking and procuring the pitches himself), systematised cricket and organised runs over the hills. In the best tradition of the new school-master he inspired by example and played and ran with his boys until his fiftieth year. And always in his philathleticism he passionately pursued virility and simplicity, rebuking effeminacy and ostentation in the interest of the inculcation of Christian manliness. (112)

Hart is doubly interesting as one inspired and inspiring.

Rugby was the birthplace of his enthusiasms; Haileybury, Harrow but especially Sedbergh provided him with the opportunity for their diffusion; Loretto transmuted them finally into moral passion. (113) He was the embodiment of a new school morality; the epitome of a pedagogic ideal; the model of an energetic agent of ideological innovation and diffusion. (114)

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- (112) B.H. Tower, 'In Memoriam' in Coulton, op.cit., Appendix. Tower was assistant master at Sedbergh 1882-1902; then headmaster of Lancing (1902-1909) where, as a schoolboy he had been a distinguished scholar and athlete. Thus the process of diffusion was carried on!
- (113) Hart was profoundly influenced by Almond's Loretto, adopting several Loretto customs and the school motto. Coulton, op.cit., pp.213-4.
- (114) H.W. Mackenzie is another excellent example of a headmaster who greatly assisted the spread of athleticism throughout the public schools including three of this study, Loretto, Lancing and Uppingham. In particular, he illustrates the considerable power of the 19th century headmaster to both select men with similar inclinations and to raise the pupil athlete to positions of power in the school. In 1889 Mackenzie became headmaster of Lancing. He was himself of 'resolute, sure muscular Christianity' (Obituary, L.C.M. Vol.35, No.461, Lent Term, 1942, p.52) and proceeded to recruit a band of notable muscular Christians to the staff, rather it appears for the same reasons as Cotton at Marlborough, to subdue the indisciplined pupils - discipline had deteriorated in the last years of Sanderson's headship (1862-1899). Mackenzie's recruits included R.D. Budworth, E.B. Brutton and E.H. North (all rugby internationals), H.C. Stewart (county cricketer), F. Yardley (athletics blue), R.A. Ingram (soccer blue, international and county cricketer) and L.T. Thring (soccer blue). In 1907, he became headmaster of Uppingham. His reign saw the 'First Golden Age of Uppingham Athleticism' (I owe this point to T.B. Belk, the Uppingham School archivist). He raised non-sixth form athletes to pre-eminence by making them prefects. Some remembered him chiefly for this action (See Graham (1933) op.cit., pp.121-2).

IV

Until the Second World War public school masters, it appears, were recruited almost exclusively from Oxford and Cambridge.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ For most of the preceding hundred years, these universities had been, in the words of Noel Annan, "little more than finishing schools for public school-boys".⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Firmly implanted habits and the security of personal wealth⁽¹¹⁷⁾ meant that the enthusiasms and practices of schooldays were extended into student days, with the result that at the universities during this period games were uppermost in the minds of many.

In the wake of the introduction of organised games in the public schools - and as a direct consequence - the traditional university recreations of gambling, drinking and horses declined in popularity. A "love of exercising their muscles and training their bodies to physical endurance" became a feature of the students' life.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ The 'Greek worship of muscle' now took place. Dons noted the transformation. A university witness declared to the Public Schools Commission of 1864, that a notable improvement in the moral character of the average undergraduate had recently occurred because of "the introduction (chiefly due to the public schools) of new athletic amusements".⁽¹¹⁹⁾ He went on, "Cricket has much increased. Fives and racquets courts have been established, and

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- (115) This was certainly the case at the schools of this survey as the biographies of masters in the school registers show.
- (116) Annan, op.cit., p.30. For an interesting statistical breakdown of entry to a university college in the nineteenth century which supports Annan's assertion see A. Gray and F. Brittain, A History of Jesus College, Cambridge 1960, p.176.
- (117) H.H. Halsey, 'Education and Social Mobility in Britain since World War II', paper presented to O.E.C.D. seminar 'Education, Equality and Life Chances', Jan.1975, p.12.
- (118) The Times 30th.Dec.1859, p.9.
- (119) P.S.C. Vol.2, Appendix to Report, p.18.

"athletic sports" have been introduced! An excellent gymnasium is largely supported. Hunting is much rarer, mere idle driving and riding have very much decreased. The result has been to discourage expensive habits and to remove temptation to immorality of various shades."⁽¹²⁰⁾ Others delighted in the new morality. In 1866 an anonymous contributor to Blackwood's Magazine thought 'the new gospel of athletics' at the universities a splendid thing:

"..better to go to bed early tired out by cricket than to sit up drinking; better hours of relaxation on rivers than galloping a wretched hack along turnpikes or over fences for a bet."⁽¹²¹⁾

This sanguine journalist rejoiced in the availability of a new earthly paradise in which the talented might wander through England with the Zingari or win silver challenge cups in perpetual regattas.⁽¹²²⁾

Hippolyte Taine⁽¹²³⁾ found much to please him in the healthy tone of the English universities of the time - the students exemplifying an extreme decency in their "almost universal taste for bodily exercise".⁽¹²⁴⁾ In this respect the universities, in his view, were merely an extension of the public schools. Low intellectual standards as well as plentiful exercise support this contention. Yet for all his admiration of the students Taine could not withhold the remark that English "varsity life proved the soundness of the Platonic reflection that the lives of thinker and athlete were incompatible; much used muscle and large appetites precluded subtle philology and elevated philosophical speculation".⁽¹²⁵⁾

Those closer to university life came to the same conclusion. Mark Patterson, in particular, savaged the new 'barbarized athlete' at Oxford and yearned for the presence of learned and scientific men.⁽¹²⁶⁾

(120) Idem.

(121) Blackwood's Magazine Vol.C, No.612, Oct.1866, p.448.

(122) Ibid., p.450.

(123) Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893) French philosopher, historian and literary critic.

(124) See Taine's Notes on England 1958, p.120.

(125) Ibid., pp.120-1.

(126) V.H.H. Green, Oxford Common Room: A Study of Lincoln College and Mark Patterson 1957, pp.240-1, 316-7.

D.A. Winstanley has written pithily that the Cambridge of this period witnessed "the domestication of gross ignorance in a home of learning". (127)

A statistic and an anecdote jointly provide a glimpse of late nineteenth century academic standards at the universities. At Cambridge, according to Winstanley, one hundred and one out of two hundred students in a single year failed the Previous Examination taken in the Michaelmas Term of their second year in residence, (128) while at Oxford in the 1870s the former Lancing schoolboy, Thomas Pellatt, found that the most effective way to avoid idle friends was to purchase a library ticket for the Bodleian. There he was as safe from discovery as if Queen Victoria had given him a room at Frogmore! (129)

Other similarities to the public school existed. Loyalty to the college, for example, was often demanded as rigorously as once loyalty to the house had been. The belief has been expressed that at the universities, in contrast to the public schools, there was "no compulsion or undue pressure put upon students by their fellows to play games". (130)

In fact, this was not so. Able performers were often obliged to support their college on field and river. Lord Ernle wrote of his student days at Balliol, "It was the duty of all who had the necessary physique...to do service." (131)

Another ex-Marlburian, E.C.C. Firth spent the afternoons of his first week at Oxford on the river "learning the science of rowing" at the 'request' of senior members of Pembroke. He was relieved to find himself a feeble exponent; ability resulted in virtual compulsion. (132)

His was a common experience. (133)

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- (127) D.A. Winstanley, Late Victorian Cambridge 1947, p.147.
 (128) Ibid., p.146.
 (129) T. Pellatt, op.cit., p.67.
 (130) McIntosh, op.cit., p.62.
 (131) Ernle, op.cit., p.45.
 (132) Diary of E.C.C. Firth entries for 11th-19th Oct.1885. (M.C.A.)
 (133) T. Thornley, Cambridge Memories 1936, p.17; T. Humphrey, Criminal Days 1946, p.16; T. Collins, School and Sport. Recollections of a Busy Life 1905, p.16; Green, op.cit., p.286; Mais (1937) op.cit., p.26.

It was not only fellow students who demanded 'service'.

Certain tutors were indistinguishable from housemasters in their energetic quest for institutional athletic fame and their enthusiasm for the muscular life. The most enthusiastic included Leslie Stephen, E.H. Morgan and

H.A. Morgan at Cambridge and Charles Cloverly Price and William Ince at

Oxford. (134) Culley's anonymous tutor, on whom he relied heavily for his

picture of university life in his general attack upon athleticism at the

Headmasters' Conference in 1897, claimed that in the atmosphere of an

"absolute supremacy of athlete interests" in the eighteen-nineties, it was

hinted that both masterships and scholarships were given for athletic

prominence. (135) That this assertion had substance is indicated by the

fact that another observer found the Oxford heads of colleges of the

eighteen-nineties substantially different in personality to those of thirty

years before. The new men were men of physical activity and vitality -

one was even a member of Vincent's! (136)

Memories of Oxford and Cambridge throughout the second half of

Victoria's reign are predominantly those of "idle years of cricket, fives,

racquets and billiards", (137) when work weighed lightly on the conscience

and the river and the games field engrossed many students. One disillusioned

Uppingham scholar found Cambridge minds of the time "not in reality much

occupied with...lofty themes" and eyes of the time "if open at all, were more

likely to be fixed on some vision of Cam or Thames than on the deep flowing

river of Thought". (138) Lewis Farnell, a 'sympathetic watcher' of the early

(134) E.H. Morgan (Red Morgan) and H.A. Morgan (Black Morgan) were two notable sporting dons of Jesus College, Cambridge, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Jesus had its own club for leading athletes, The Rhadegunds, and an impressive athletic record. It was Head of the River continuously from 1875-1885. The university rugby fifteen of 1889 included six Jesus men, and in some years there were as many as eighteen blues in the College. For a description of its sporting ethos and success see Arthur Gray, Jesus College 1902, Appendix on Jesus Sport.

(135) Report of the Headmasters' Conference 1897, pp.79-80.

(136) Blackwood's Magazine Vol. CLVIII, No.959, Sept.1895, p.424.

(137) Collins, op.cit., p.19.

(138) Thornley, op.cit., p.25.

stages of athleticism at Oxford between 1874 and 1885 and conversant with its 'extravagances and absurdities', summed up its impact as follows:

"The ceaseless exigence of the athletic claim expressed itself in various ways - by inroads in the proper time of study claimed by home and foreign matches; by the withdrawal of scholars and exhibitioners from intellectual work...; by attempts of headmasters to influence our scholarship elections by athletic testimonials; by the attempt to influence even elections to tutorial fellowships by athletic considerations." (139)

"The Reign of Athletics is at hand" an astonished undergraduate reported back to Stonyhurst in 1896. (140) Small wonder that in the same year The Spectator took the universities to task over the comparative insignificance of nominalism, idealism, realism and materialism in contrast to athleticism! (141) Contemporary university values were fairly expressed in an advertisement for Isis in the Public School Magazine for June 1900. It announced "Up-to-date Notes on Oxford Rowing, Oxford Football, Oxford Cricket, Oxford Sports, Golf and Hockey" in large type; less delectable items such as reports of university debates, music and drama merited a much smaller print. The difference in emphasis reflected an upsurge in organised physical activities demonstrated in the following table:

TABLE VI
FIRST SPORTS MEETINGS BETWEEN OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE
1825-1925

1825-1850	1851-1875	1876-1900	1901-1925
Cricket 1827	Racquets	Golf 1878	Gymnastics 1908
Boat Race 1829	Doubles 1855	Polo 1878	Epee 1913
	Singles 1858	Cross Country 1880	Winter Sports 1922
	Tennis 1859	Lawn Tennis 1881	Table Tennis 1923
	Steeple-Chasing 1863	Hockey 1890	Squash 1925
	Athletics 1864	Water Polo 1891	Fives 1925
	Rugby 1872	Bandy 1875	
	Soccer 1874	Skating 1895	
	Bicycling 1874	Boxing 1897	
		Fencing 1897	
		Swimming 1892	
		Ice Hockey 1900	
		Lacrosse 1900	

Source: H.M. Abrahams and K. Bruce, Oxford versus Cambridge 1931.

(139) L.R.Farnell An Oxonian Looks Back 1934, pp.141-2; W. Tuckwell Reminiscences of Oxford 1900, p.124; G.B.Grundy, Fifty Years at Oxford 1945, p.59.

(140) S.C.M. Vol.VI, No.89, Dec.1896, p.279.

(141) The Spectator Vol.76, 30th.May 1896, pp.767-8.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century Punch systematically monitored the evolution of muscularity at the Universities, and consistently shot small, sharp, verbal barbs in the direction of philathletic staff and students. An early volley in 1873 contained the suggestion that Corpus, a college with an old name, might acquire a new meaning in the light of recent Cambridge developments! ⁽¹⁴²⁾ On occasion verse replaced prose as the satirical weapon:

"Carfax College was plunged in gloom,
And a cloud hung over the Common room,
For alas, the College no longer held
The place that she did in the days of old.
There had been a time when she used to shiver
Unless she remained at the head of the river,
And Carfax men were wont to yield
To none in the cricket or football field.
But now the glory was all departed,
What wonder the College was broken-hearted?
Twas years since she'd boasted a bat of note
Or a single man in the Varsity boat.
Why, worse - well might the dons turn pale!
Last year - I shudder to tell the tale -
There happened that which appeared to portend
The fatal beginning that marked the end.
Last year - they did their best, no doubt,
To hush up the horror, but truth will out -
Last year, by some curious freak of the fates,
A Carfax man took a first in Greats."

This opening passage of "Getting the Blues: A Story founded on Fact" ⁽¹⁴³⁾ is followed by a description of how Carfax due to the superb initiative of its Master in rushing to meet the Sydney boat, obtained the services of the great Australian oarsman, 'Tom Brown', and thus transformed college defeat upon the river into success. Another sardonic jingle lamented the prevalent state of affairs in which the athlete proved to be a more efficacious college advertisement than the Senior Wrangler. ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ In prose and more sober vein, in 1908 the magazine even went so far as to call for the 'de-athletising' of the Universities and the elimination from them of blues and 'bloods'. ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

(142) Punch 8th.Nov.1973, p.184.

(143) Ibid., 24th.Oct.1906, p.293.

(144) Ibid., 20th.Feb.1907, p.128.

(145) Ibid., 18th.Nov.1908, p.368.

Oversimplification must, of course, be resisted. Student pursuit of the intellect did exist. The distinguished historian, G.M. Trevelyan for one, has left a delightful picture of earnest, idealistic students, among them George Moore, Bertrand Russell and Alfred Whitehead, in serious discourse at Cambridge at the turn of the century.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Some studied; others studied and played; many simply played.

The significance for the spread of athleticism of the similarity of life style that enveloped public school and 'Oxbridge' was that a process of circular causality was set up. The successful games player at school flourished in the same capacity at the university and then returned to school as lauded assistant master to set up another generation of devotees along the same route. Thus as W.D. Smith writes, "The cycle of schoolboy sportsman, university sportsman and schoolmaster sportsman was created."⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ The universities were the matrix from which athletic young men spread through the public school system, carrying back into it an unadulterated enthusiasm for, and an often untainted belief in, games for physical and moral well-being. Certainty of conviction was safeguarded by insularity⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ within a self-confident, high status, social structure comprising the schools and universities. There was, to quote Smelser's useful expression, a situation of 'structural conduciveness' which aided ideological dominance and facilitated a closed ideological circle.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

A coterie of Cambridge zealots - C.C. Cotterill, S.A. Haslam and Henry Hart - perfectly exemplifies the relationship between matrix, structure and ideology. All were muscular Christians

(146) Trevelyan, op.cit., pp.14-5.

(147) Smith, op.cit., p.45.

(148) Worsley (1940), op.cit., p.100.

(149) N. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour 1962, pp.319-38.

together at St. John's College, Cambridge, in the 1860s where they fed on each other's enthusiasm. They all became public school masters, and remained in the protective cocoon of the public school system all their professional lives diffusing their athletic values throughout it, with certainty, energy and efficiency by both precept and example.

V

Those who opposed the excesses of the athleticism movement, J.H. Simpson observed, struggled not only with pupils but also with adults - inside and outside the schools. ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Outsiders who sent the public schools their offspring, were cruelly flagellated - in a metaphorical sense - by the great Hellenist of nineteenth century England, Matthew Arnold, for either licentious hedonism or an unreflective fixation with commerce and religiosity. On the one hand Arnold was contemptuous of the intellectual poverty of the aristocracy corrupted by "those mighty and external seducers - pleasure, power, security and worldly splendour"; ⁽¹⁵¹⁾ on the other he was equally disdainful of the middle classes "drugged with business" and "a narrow, unintelligent repulsive religion". ⁽¹⁵²⁾ Modern sociologists and psychologists are at pains to emphasise the marginal influence of the school, and the central role of the home in determining attitudes, values and behaviour. ⁽¹⁵³⁾ If Arnold's strictures are correct, it should cause little surprise to present day educationists that the products of such backgrounds were, in the main, pronounced anti-intellectuals.

(150) Simpson (1923), op.cit., pp.3-4.

(151) Quoted in P. Smith and G. Summerfield, Matthew Arnold and the Education of the New Order 1969, p.8.

(152) Ibid., p.15.

(153) Numerous contemporary studies make this point. For a recent influential analysis see C. Jencks Inequality 1973.

Arnold's opinions concerning the nineteenth century aristocracy are upheld by the historian, E. Wingfield-Stratton. In his view after the Georgian era the British nobility experienced a 'cultural slump':

"The bumpkin or booby squire was no longer, as in the days of Fielding, pilloried as an awful example; he was accorded a halo of romantic adoration as the finest type of old-fashioned Englishman, and all the finer for being half-educated....and a barely literate simpleton."⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

The symbol of the new squirarchy was the shotgun rather than the book. In the words of John Betjeman the library was now "dusty and generally locked. A set of Lever, a set of Surtees, a set of Thackeray and one of Dickens were placed on the few empty shelves that remained, and thereafter the master's activities were confined to the gunroom".⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

The sporting tradition of the English aristocracy has deep historical roots⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ however, which Georgian 'savants' failed to dig out, sever or cauterize. This tradition in fact coexisted with a literate eighteenth century squirarchy and survived to bloom strongly in Victorian times. Its flower did not fade with the onset of Wesleyan revivalism or Victorian urbanisation. It enjoyed the advantageous climate of an Indian summer in the second half of the nineteenth century through the new wealth brought into the countryside by the industrial plutocracy as they took up residence in their newly acquired country seats.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ It was twentieth century wars, successful economic rivalries and changing political and social ideals which eventually impoverished the sporting squires and scattered their packs of hounds and cheap rural labour force of beaters, gamekeepers and gardener-cricketers.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

(154) E. Wingfield-Stratton, The Squire and His Relations 1956, p.354.

(155) J. Betjeman, Ghastly Good Taste 1933, p.11.

(156) John Ford, A Social History of Cricket 1971; E.W. Bovill, English Country Life 1790-1830 1967.

(157) Perkin, op.cit., p.348.

(158) Ford, op.cit., p.58.

While the old squirarchy mingled with the new on the grouse moors and in the hunt balls, on the outskirts of the spreading Victorian cities suburbs arose, which housed a growing middle class of lesser but reasonable income. Its members earned their living in expanding industrial and commercial operations and could now afford a public school education for their sons. (159)

The public schools drew them as filings to a magnet. For the aristocracy a public school education was merely a continuation of a tradition which reinforced its social separateness and emphasised its subcultural homogeneity; for the 'nouveaux riches' it was a means of providing access to this subculture and of ensuring status for their children by the provision of a caste mark. (160) The proud parent of Etonian brothers perfectly expressed the feelings of the socially ambitious, when he wrote of the ultimate realisation of their aspirations - an Eton schooling - in these terms:

"To be brought up amid those historic fields, upon the banks of that famous and poetic river, under the shadow of the old seat of English royalty, appeared such a privileged fate as one would wish for every English boy." (161)

It was membership that was desired; the education provided was of secondary importance. Parents looked with benevolent contempt on the clerical masters with their esoteric degrees in Classics; (162) but they fully perceived the value of inclusion. The Schools Inquiry Commission reported that at Eton, Rugby and Marlborough no matter what the drawbacks, the education "has...received whatever stamp of public approval can be considered given by overflowing numbers". It added that the

(159) Best, op.cit., pp.81-91; F. Musgrove, 'Middle Class Families and Schools 1780-1880', Sociological Review Vol.7, Dec.1959, pp.169-78.

(160) Musgrove, op.cit., p.175.

(161) Fraser's Magazine Vol.XX, No.600, Dec.1879, p.832.

(162) T. Pellatt, Public Schools and Public Opinion 1904, pp.33-5.

attraction was the training provided by school life rather than what was taught! (163)

The fact that his son might spend a large part of his time playing games at his expensive school was probably not too shocking to the country magnate. Such a schooling after all, was not all that far removed from the life of the rural estate. (164) But the meek acceptance of this state of affairs by the businessman is less easy to understand. Perhaps it really was as W.B. Gallie has suggested - that life was more than economic struggle and business plans for the self-made Victorian industrialist; that it did embrace disinterested sentiment, social myth and the pursuit of a heroic ideal. (165) The new urban rich, argued Gallie, drawing upon memories of his own childhood, held to the Wordsworthian belief that exercise in the open air was 'the best of all moral tonics'; displayed a simple-minded belief in the value of the games field for the production of 'Captains of Industry' as well as 'Leaders of Empire'; and being seldom heroes to themselves, their wives or their children sought a heroic ideal if not for themselves, for their sons. For this latter reason above all, he alleged, these sons went to public schools. There they learned the appurtenances of social, political and imperial leadership. If these were dependent on the games field - so be it! (166)

Explanations such as those offered by W.B. Gallie and 'the proud parent' above, fail to exhaust the possibilities. It was not merely complacency at securing a public school education for their sons and indifference to what went on in the classroom; nor an unsophisticated belief

(163) S.I.C. Vol.I, p.47.

(164) Some fathers would recruit cricket professionals on the estate to coach their sons. See for example, S.A. Heywood, *Fifty Years with Harrow Cricket 1957*, (H.S.A.). Heywood was professional cricketer to Harrow School 1907-1957.

(165) W.B. Gallie, An English School 1949, pp.24-5.

(166) Ibid., p.25.

in the value of clear eyes, ruddy cheeks and strong limbs coupled with suspicion of the havoc books would wreak on these engaging physical attributes. Parents knew full well that there were direct occupational returns to be had from skill with bat, racket and ball. For the upper class boy of the time, success at games was often a passport to worldly success. (167) Witness the person of Bill Furse, William Cory's nephew, with "fine looks, high spirits, sociability...athletic, a crack tennis player and...a sportsman. Bound for a career..." who became in time Lieutenant-General Sir Williams Furse, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.! (168) Calculation as well as enthusiasm, ensured that parents preferred a school career to end as Captain of Games rather than Head of School. (169)

A wider public than the English upper classes applauded the stress on games in public school education. English schooling was the admiration of Continental idealists. Frenchmen such as Demogeot and Montucci in a survey of English and Scottish education in 1868, while critical even at that time of athletic excess, expressed respect for the games, freedom and independence of public schoolboys. (170) In 1876 the German, Ludwig Wiese, considered the conduct of English upper class youth "a pedagogic virtue" and praised the way in which "the germ of manliness" was nurtured. (171) Edward Demolins asked A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons (1897) and was quite certain the answer lay inter alia in the emphasis on ample physical exercise in their schools. The 'confirmed Anglomaniac', (172) Pierre de Coubertin, inspired by an Arnold who existed

(167) See, for example, McIntosh, op.cit., p.177; Annan, op.cit., p.121.

(168) Mackenzie (1950), op.cit., p.121.

(169) Barker (1947), op.cit., p.447; Vachell, op.cit., p.29.

(170) J. Demogeot et H. Montucci, De l'Enseignement Secondaire en Angleterre et en Ecosse 1868, pp.522 ff.

(171) L. Wiese, German Letters on English Education 1877, p.10.

(172) The title conferred on him by Professor Eugen Weber in 'Pierre de Coubertin and the Introduction of organised sport into France', Journal of Contemporary History Vol.5, No.2, 1970, p.6.

only in the imagination of Thomas Hughes, in L'Education en Angleterre (1888) testified to an absolute belief in the English boarding school system in which, "L'éducation physique et l'éducation morale sont étroitement liées: l'une ne saurait marcher sans l'autre". (173)

Demogeot and Montucci were reviewed in the English journals, (174) Wiese and Demolins were translated into English; - Demolins ran to ten reprints in translation in the first year of publication! Coubertin wrote eulogistically for the English press. (175) Furthermore, even the praise of obscure foreign schoolboys and teachers was thought worthy of publication. (176) Continental accolades could even be found in school magazines. The Marlburian for example, selected complimentary titbits for its readers, from Max O'Reilly's John Bull et son Ile:Moeurs anglaises contemporaines. (177) And the Harrovian in 1899 modestly reported on a new French venture, Le Collège Normand, which proposed "de former comme Harrow School des jeunes gens ayant développé toutes leurs aptitudes physiques, assoupli leurs membres à tous les exercices, conquis toute la vigueur dont le corps est capable pour le bien-être même de l'esprit". (178)

Such carefully publicised foreign admiration helped confirm the wealthy John Bull in his belief in the soundness of his son's schooling.

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- (173) Pierre de Coubertin, L'Education en Angleterre 1888, p.43.
 (174) The Quarterly Review Vol.125, July 1868, pp.473-90, contains a particularly smug evaluation of the English public schools using their Report as a basis for comment.
 (175) Pierre de Coubertin, 'Are the Public Schools a Failure', Fortnightly Review Vol.LXXII, No.432, pp.979-86.
 (176) For example The English Schooldays of a French Boy: Letters from Maurice de Pange 1928; The Times 16th.Jan.1903, p.4.
 (177) Marlburian Vol.XIX, No.304, March 5th.1884, pp.24-5.
 (178) Harrovian Vol.XII, No.7, 21st.Oct.1899, p.23. The Harrow School archives contain a fascinating letter from a Monsieur Pierre Janelle which includes a French translation of Bowen's 'Forty Years On'. In the early years of the twentieth century Janelle's English teacher at his lycée used to make the pupils sing Bowen's song 'avec un élan d'idéalisme bien anglais'. (H.S.A.)

In late Victorian and Edwardian England both the national and local press, denied the modern range of professional sporting 'superstars' glamourised instead the athletic public schoolboy. It was written of a typical Harrow game for example:

"How the papers seized the Tidings
Heard by telegraph dispatch
'Land and Water', 'Field' and 'Bell's Life'
'Sporting Times' describe the match." (179)

Paterfamilias frequently basked in the reflected glory of his sons and old school. As it was stated at the Headmasters' Conference of 1873:

"So long as the telegraph wire is laid down, that the result of some match may be instantly flashed through the kingdom, and so long as fashionable London resorts to witness these things and does not reward those who are the gainers of prizes for literary work at School, so long as the boy who gets fifty runs at Lord's is regarded as a hero, whilst the sixth form boy has little more than the approval of his own conscience for his work at school, so long I am afraid, games will be thought more important than the really serious work of life." (180)

A nostalgic romanticism also generated support. F.W. Farrar once suggested to his pupils:

"...perhaps as you faint on the arid plains of India, perhaps as you toil in the dingy back streets of great cities, amid haunts of poverty and crime - may come the memory of sunny cricket grounds where once you played. Like a draught of clear water in the desert - like that sparkling cup which his warriors brought to David from the well which he had loved in boyhood - you will drink of the innocent delights of these schooldays." (181)

In many instances Paterfamilias was haunted by an unfading vision of slim white figures in an emerald lotus land where the 'sweet music' was that of bat striking ball; a land he had once inhabited and to which he longed to return. Like Kendall's 'typical father' when Speech Day came

(179) Harrovian Vol.III, No.42, May 4th. 1872, p.119.

(180) Report of the Headmasters' Conference 1873, p.59.

(181) Farrar (1889), op.cit., p.372.

around, he paid a morning visit to the housemaster to learn of classroom misdemeanors but straightforward, alert integrity in the house; walked with his son for the required delivery of insincere clichés about the importance of working hard; lunched in town, and afterwards strolled "to that prettiest and most inspiring of sights, a school match on the big ground, with everywhere white flannels, bright sun and shady trees; the enthusiastic cheers of boys, the happy chatter, the friendships, the lady visitors in summer gowns - everything impressing the idea of how happy and healthy is public school life and how lucky the fellow is, who is privileged to enjoy it"; evening brought the intense desire to have his time over again. (182)

The power of evocation must be acknowledged. City offices, mess halls, country seats and housemasters' studies were populated by 'nostalgiciens' (183) seeking a lost boyhood in an ideal landscape. They lived a schoolboy idyll which lasted a lifetime. Vachell's Mark in Brothers who remembered of his schooldays only that he swam "in Ducker... was taught to play cricket with a straight bat...lay upon the green slopes of the Sixth Form Ground and ate ices...spent his exeats at Randolph House in Belgrave Square, and witnessed the Lord's Match from the top of Lord Randolph's coach" was ubiquitous. (184) For many the past was the present; the words of the most famous of boating songs were prophetic:

"Nothing in life shall sever
The chains that surround us now" (185)

There was also a familiar moral romanticism. Stimulated by the ideologues Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, parents wished their

(182) Kendall (1933), op.cit., pp.240-1.

(183) The term is Robert Gibson's for the French writer of childhood Henri-Alain Fournier. See his The Land without a Name: Alain-Fournier and his World 1975.

(184) H.A. Vachell, Brothers 1904, p.16.

(185) Second Stanza of the 'Eton Boating Song'.

sons to be brought up in the now well-explored image of Tom Brown. (186)

As much as masters they subscribed to the ethical value of games as the source of good sense, noble traits, manly feelings, generous disposition, gentlemanly deportment, comradely loyalty. (187) It was all of a whole for, as one critic of athleticism remarked, upper class parents, characterised by decent extroversion and a distaste for bookworming, mouthed moral formulas mostly in foreign tongues and were convinced that if little was learnt in schoolrooms, solid virtue was inculcated on games fields "where the Honour of the School shines as a beacon in the sight of the humblest". (188)

In ironic contrast to the moral romanticism of the fanciful there also existed the puritannical pragmatism of the realists who saw games "as the greatest antidote to immorality". Such parents smugly contrasted English and French boyhood, pitying French youth, sapped of its strength and France, robbed of its leaders, because of an educational system which allowed opportunity for "idle thoughts to take the form of vicious desire". (189) English boys on English fields were safe from such depravity! (190)

Whatever the reasons for approval and support there is no lack of comment concerning the constancy of middle and upper class parents to the games of the public schools and their indifference to the classical curriculum. The Public Schools Commission found parents "the greatest obstacle to progress". (191) And Darwin has insisted that for the next sixty years, most parents were blind worshippers of the system, thought

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- (186) Of the many discussions of the role of Kingsley and Hughes in the rise of the games ideology, the most elegant and atmospheric is undoubtedly David Newsome's (op.cit., pp.195-239).
- (187) The essence of In Memoriam: Ernest Henry Blyth By his affectionate Father 1886, p.19. (U.S.A.).
- (188) R.F. Cholmondesley 'A Complaint of Public Schools', The Independent Review August 1904, p.350.
- (189) The Times 3rd.Oct.1889, p.8.
- (190) Ibid., 7th.Oct. 1889, p.4.
- (191) P.S.C. Vol.I, p.40.

little of things of the intellect and were firm opponents of change. (192)

Parental priorities noted by the Public Schools Commission - the making of gentlemen and the forming of great acquaintances - remained in vogue until well into the twentieth century. He who pays the piper calls the tune: what the parent wanted, he generally got. In consequence, by 1900, criticism of parents by reformers was unrestrained. Edward Lyttelton, for example, apportioned the blame for widespread laziness at school wholly to attitudes in the home. He set out the causal sequence for his readers: popularity meant useful friendships while a reputation for 'swotting' guaranteed unpopularity; parents therefore warned their offspring against getting over fond of books; in consequence boys went to school "with a disposition framed for frivolity", and this frivolity led directly to the "unruly growth" of an excessive interest in games. (193)

His final comment is yet another analytical oversimplification but it does bring into prominence the fact that parents played a far from insignificant part in athleticism's rise to pre-eminence.

A.H. Gilkes, when headmaster of Dulwich, was equally outspoken. During the controversy in The Times in January 1903, concerning the advantages and disadvantages of a classical schooling, he switched the direction of the debate from classics to idleness. First he attacked the unsatisfactory attitude to study which permeated the public schools and blamed values in the boys' homes. (194) Later he was more specific: parental assistance in outwitting the academic demands of the schoolmaster and over-indulgence vis-à-vis games and social life were too common. (195) Gilkes had suffered patiently. He had made the same accusations in one of his novels of public school life published in 1894. (196)

(192) Darwin, op.cit., pp.24-25.

(193) Lyttelton (1880), op.cit., pp.54-6.

(194) The Times 4th.Jan.1903, p.8. After serving as assistant master at Shrewsbury from 1873 to 1885, Gilkes was a distinguished headmaster of Dulwich from 1885 to 1914.

(195) Ibid., 11th.Jan.1903, p.10.

(196) Gilkes (1894), op.cit., p.2.

The triangular relationship between anti-intellectualism, athleticism and parental attitudes was at the centre of yet another debate, this time in the Times Educational Supplement in October 1918. (197)

Parents again bore the brunt of the attack: "They had the English love of sport...were bitten by the prevailing mania for athletics and they impressed their ideals on their own boys...and so insensibly on the authorities." These were the fiery words of a 'Veteran Assistant Master' who considered parental support for games had brought about the obvious decline in the intellectual standards of public schools over the years. In a subsequent letter he warned against 'writing him off' as an oddity; the great majority of public schoolmasters, he asserted, would support his contentions!

Dailies, weeklies and quarterlies gave considerable space for the airing of opinion - much of it hostile - on the elevation of athleticism to pride of place among the various ideologies which struggled for supremacy in the public schools between the Franco-Prussian and Second World wars. A most consistent critic of the parental role in the dominance of athleticism was The Spectator which only ceased its campaign, begun in 1900, in 1934. (198)

Lyttelton, Gilkes and the 'Veteran Assistant Master' were more plain spoken than most school staff about parents and games, but several who served at the schools of this study did not hesitate to voice their opinions on the subject: C.A. Alington, in his memoirs, remarked tersely that athleticism and anti-intellectualism would only be understood if it were realised that schools reflected the average home; (199)

(197) Times Educational Supplement 3rd.Oct.1918, p.46.

(198) See in particular, The Spectator 10th.Nov.1917, p.256; 17th.March 1928, p.409; 24th.Aug.1934, p.256.

(199) C.A. Alington, A Schoolmaster's Diary 1914, p.78.

Cyril Norwood wrote that "fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, cousins and aunts" were the source of boys' single-minded ambition to get a place in the XI or XV; ⁽²⁰⁰⁾ Frank Fletcher, scourge of 'hearties' during his years at Marlborough, asked plaintively of the Headmasters' Conference at the end of the Great War, "What can be done to remedy the exaltation of the athlete, to which all boys, many parents and some masters subscribe?"; ⁽²⁰¹⁾ Lionel Ford, an enthusiastic lover of games himself, complained that the parents of his Harrovians were more obsessed with games than their sons. ⁽²⁰²⁾ The fictional Lord Verniker, possessed of "the athletic, unliterary air of the English gentleman", was culled from J.E.C. Welldon's Harrow experiences. His advice to his son on his first day at school nicely underlines Ford's point:

"You've not got to earn your living, you know, so you need not work your eyes out; I'd much rather you got into the eleven." ⁽²⁰³⁾

Alec Waugh was of the opinion that parents were the victims of a masters' conspiracy of silence, and so they failed to realise that schools "made a god of games". ⁽²⁰⁴⁾ A different impression is gained from the sources quoted above. These cover a greater span of years, places and experiences and would seem therefore to provide more representative evidence. Contrary to Waugh's suggestion, parents appear to have been significant contributors to the rise, stability and dominance of athleticism.

(200) Cyril Norwood in Dover Wilson, op.cit., pp.140-1.

(201) Report of the Headmasters' Conference 1919, p.119.

(202) Venables, op.cit., p.27.

(203) Welldon (1895), op.cit., p.5.

(204) Alec Waugh, 'The Public Schools:Difficulties of Reform', The English Review Vol.XXVIII, March 1919, p.221.

VI

A curious educational paradox in the nineteenth and early twentieth century public schools was the coexistence of two apparently irreconcilable systems of belief - Christian Gentility⁽²⁰⁵⁾ and Social Darwinism:⁽²⁰⁶⁾ uncomfortable but actual ideological bedfellows!

As a result, while the 'ideal boy' might be seen as possessing the virtues of a young Christian gentleman - honesty, modesty, unselfishness, honour and a foundation of true religion, the Dublin Review could express dismay at a too common reality - an irreligious, oaken-headed, oaken-hearted Englishman, and accurately ascribe the cause to a system in which the 'battle went to the strong'.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ Public school life was frequently unchristian and ungentelemanly. The much applauded esprit de corps masked an unrelenting individual struggle, stimulated by the games system,⁽²⁰⁸⁾ which was fully in accord with the cryptic and misleading Darwinian apothegm 'the survival of the fittest'. After 1850 this condition was not simply the consequence of adult indifference. On the contrary many adults saw it as necessary and laudable.

The following statement of principle in defence of the rigours of public school life came appropriately close on the heels of the publication of the Origin of the Species:

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- (205) An ideal typically depicted by, for example, G.G.T. Heywood in 'Boys at Public Schools' in E.H. Pitcairn (ed.), Unwritten Laws and Ideals of Active Service 1889, pp.293 ff. This ideal is harshly compared with the alleged reality in J.H. Whitehouse (ed.), The English Public School. A Symposium 1919, pp.21-5.
- (206) For a discussion of Social Darwinism and Victorian Social Darwinism see Martindale, op.cit., pp.168-74 and Himmelfarb, op.cit., pp.314-32 respectively.
- (207) Dublin Review Vol.LVII, July 1865, p.18.
- (208) W. Armytage, Four Hundred Years of English Education 1970, pp.132-5.

"To the boy or to the community alike, the constant reliance upon another for aid in difficulties, guidance in perplexities, shelter from temptations, fatally weakens the fibre of the character. Boys, like nations, can only attain to the genuine stout self-reliance which is true manliness by battling for themselves against their difficulties, and forming their own characters by the light of their own blunders and their own troubles. It is the great benefit of our public schools that they help characters to grow, instead of trying to construct them - a benefit that would be wholly lost if their system were not based on a salutary neglect. The object of the public school is to introduce a boy early to the world, that he may be trained in due time for the struggle that lies before him." (209)

'Manliness', a substantive widely favoured by prelates on speech days and headmasters on Sundays, embraced antithetical values - success, aggression and ruthlessness, yet victory within the rules, courtesy in triumph, compassion for the defeated. The concept contained the substance not only of Spencerian functionalism but also the chivalric romanticism of an English Bayard: egotism coexisted uneasily with altruism.

This altruism owed as much to the Elizabethan, Richard Braithwaite, as to the Victorian, Thomas Arnold. Modesty, compassion, piety and an active life as a reflection of moral virtue were the qualities of Braithwaite's 'Christian gentleman'. (210) The Arnoldian ideal was the resuscitation of an Elizabethan aspiration rather than an Evangelical innovation. Arnold's 'Christian gentleman', however, was idiosyncratically guilt-ridden and sombre, and most unpalatable to Squire Brown. The Public School Commission publicised and sanctioned the ideal of the Gentleman, but translated it into a more acceptable image:

(209) Saturday Review 8th Dec. 1860, p. 727.

(210) Harold Nicolson, Good Behaviour 1955.

"It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most - for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respects for public opinion, their love of healthy sport and exercise. These schools have been the chief nurseries of our statesmen; in them and in schools modelled after them, men of all the various classes that make up English society, destined for every profession and career, have been brought up on a footing of social equality, and have contracted the most enduring friendships, and some of the ruling habits of their lives; and they have had perhaps the largest share in the moulding of character of 'The English Gentleman'." (211)

'Love of healthy sport and exercise' and 'vigour and manliness of character' were substituted for religious fervour. The image, as Harold Perkins has remarked, now came closer to the feudal aristocratic tradition in which the Gentleman's code had about as much to do with gentleness as serfdom as such had to do with villainy. (212)

In the years following the Public Schools Commission whatever lip-service was paid to the importance of the chapel in public school life, the character of the future Gentleman was largely shaped by the allegedly moral lessons learnt on the games field; and that character represented not so much Christian virtuousness as a capacity for successful leadership. (213)

It was the New Imperialism of late-Victorian Britain which produced the precarious fusion of Christian Gentility and Social Darwinism. Three sets of values became enmeshed: Imperial Darwinism - the God-granted right of the white man to rule, civilize and baptise the inferior coloured races; Institutional Darwinism - the cultivation of physical and psychological stamina at school in preparation for the rigours of imperial duty;

(211) Quoted in Kitson Clark, op.cit., p.271.

(212) Perkins, op.cit., p.274.

(213) David Newsome, 'Public Schools and Christian Ideals', Theology Vol.LXIV, No.448, Dec.1961, p.489.

the Gentleman's Education - the nurture of leadership qualities for military conquest and political dominance at home and abroad. In this amalgam Christianity came out second best! The triad resulted in "Darwinism misinterpreted as the survival of the most belligerent rather than the most adaptable". (214)

Bertrand Russell believed, with some justification, that he could discern the precise relationship between Imperialism, Darwinism and the English Gentleman. In the public schools, he declared, physical fitness, stoicism and a sense of mission were carefully nurtured, kindness sacrificed for toughness, imagination for firmness, intellect for certainty; and sympathy was rejected because it might interfere with the governing of inferior races. (215)

If Russell's assertion was in general terms more polemical than exact, it was wholly correct in one thing. The need to prepare for imperial service was incessantly preached in the late nineteenth century public schools. In upper class society and its schools, traditional social, intellectual and spiritual certainties may have been weakened (216) in the wake of Clarendon, Darwin, Temple and Colenso. But fresh certainties sprang up to replace them. One was the imperial duty of the public schoolboy. Empire oblige. The Uppingham master, Charles Byles wrote:

"Hark the Empire calls, and what we answer give?
How to prove us worthy of the splendid trust?
Lo! we serve the Empire by the lives we live;
True in all our dealings, honest, brave and just,
Training mind and body for the Empire's need." (217)

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- (214) John Bowles, The Imperial Achievement 1974, p.290.
 (215) Bertrand Russell, Education and the Good Life 1929, p.54.
 (216) Bamford (1967), op.cit., p.38.
 (217) Charles E. Byles, Rupert Brooke's Grave and Other Poems 1919, p.43.

And others alerted the upper class youth to his new destiny:

"Strive to be ready when the call shall come to whatever duty, at whatever sacrifice, in whatever part of Her Majesty's dominions... You should conquer and rule others...you shall do your duty... Go forth and show yourselves worthy of this high mission." (218)

Headmasters were intoxicated with the grandeur and nobility of the gubernatorial exercise. Wellدون gloried in the solemnity of the responsibility of the British Empire to elevate inferior races, and sedulously attempted to bring the imperial festivals before his Harrovians. (219)

Thring considered the creation of a great empire a marvellous ambition, maintaining that the British flag should fly over "every unoccupied land essential to our colonies". (220) His history texts were Mommsen's Rome, Moltney's Netherlands and Kay's Indian Officers; a wholly logical selection, for, as one pupil recalled, "The Great Romans, the Great Dutchmen, the type of Englishman that built our Indian Empire...were the types to mould our young Britons." (221)

The enthusiasm and convictions of such men ensured that the exciting world of Empire was systematically and frequently publicised in the school magazines by means of contributions from former pupils with titles such as "With the Frontier Light Horse in Zululand", "On Life in Melanesia", "A Kangaroo Drive", "Pig-Sticking in Bombay", "Elk Hunting in Ceylon", "A Week among the Maoris", "My First Shot at a Tiger", "An Old Boy in the Bush" and "On the Warpath in Manipur". (222)

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- (218) G. Drage, Eton and the Empire 1892, p.40. See also Worsley (1940), op.cit., p.200; Mack (1941), op.cit., p.179.
- (219) J.E.C. Wellدون, Forty Years On 1935, p.119.
- (220) Early Days at Uppingham by an Old Boy Appendix IV, p.163.
- (221) James, op.cit., p.22.
- (222) At Marlborough, for example, between 1870 and 1914 there were over forty articles and letters containing details of life in Afghanistan, Australia, Bengal, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Egypt, Gibraltar, Natal, New Zealand, Punjab, West Africa and the West Indies. After the Great War they ended abruptly.

To a considerable extent it was the games fields that prepared boys for these imperial adventures. (223) "The rise of Imperialism", as E.C. Mack acknowledged, "put a new premium on authority, discipline and team spirit" allegedly learnt in these arenas. (224) To the moral argument was added the physical. In a book entitled The Making of Character, a professor of philosophy articulated the imperialist physiological rationale for the time spent on sunlit cricket square and muddy football field:

"If we are apt to have misgivings about the long hours and days given in boyhood to games, we must not think too exclusively of the immediate results. We must think of the heavy drafts which arduous vocations make in after years on bodily vigour and endurance, and not least of that sense of insurance against whatever the future can bring which comes of the consciousness of calculable physical fitness." (225)

It mattered little whether or not hours so spent had a beneficial effect.

What was important was that those of the time believed they did. A belief some held with unshakable tenacity:

"If asked what our muscular Christianity has done, we point to the British Empire. Our Empire would never have been built up by a nation of idealists and logicians. Physical vigour is as necessary for the maintenance of our Empire as mental vigour." (226)

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- (223) A bizarre use of games in imperial service occurred at the siege of Lucknow. A certain Captain Brick and a Captain Wilson were each determined to be the last to leave the Residency. Brick won. Wilson "could not stand the trick of a shoulder to shoulder, learnt on the Harrow football fields". (M. Edwards, A Season in Hell: The defence of the Lucknow Residency 1973, p.293).
- (224) Mack (1941), op.cit., p.108.
- (225) J. McCunn, The Making of Character 1912, p.76.
- (226) J.G. Cotton Minchin Our Public Schools 1901, p.113.

and,

"The university and public school men who hold positions in every quarter of the globe have learnt to do their duty as much from the lessons of clean sport as from examination papers... It is not the men who have worn themselves out by securing the label of a 'First Class' in the Honours Schools who go furthest in the school of life. It is the men whose characters and hearts have flourished in the sunshine of fair play they are always ready to extend to others; the men who have grown as charitable as they are strong in the defeats and victories of first-rate sport." (227)

For many Victorians and Edwardians there was a logical connection between the development of sound wind and limb, stamina and physical courage on English playing fields, and pioneering in Australia, preaching in Melanesia and soldiering in Burma. (228) And though the association between playing field and battle field may have been too tightly made, it did have a basic soundness, as Rupert Wilkinson has remarked in his comparative survey of the training of two imperial élites:

"In Public School England, the traits of the educational community, with its monastic barrack-room living, were also those of the military regiment. The same resemblance between education and military service did not exist in Confucian China. There virtue was sought through scholarship rather than athleticism: and moral elevation was preferred to muscular evangelism. Not surprisingly the Chinese held professional soldiering in low regard, and Imperial defence suffered accordingly." (229)

Britain's vast empire offered, as James Morris has observed, "a more or less perpetual battlefield" (230) to which the public schools with superogatory zeal, supplied a constant flow of athletic, young warriors.

(227) T. Cook, Character and Sportsmanship 1927, pp.73-4.

(228) When A.C. Mann, an Old Uppinghamian, was killed on active service, in a clash with Burmese dacoits, the U.S.M. proudly recorded that "in the path of duty, running as he used to run on our football fields, he fell dead". (Vol.X, No.76, Oct.1872, p.267).

(229) Rupert Wilkinson, 'The Gentleman Ideal and the Maintenance of a Political Elite', Sociology of Education Vol.37, Fall 1963, p.21.

(230) James Morris, Heaven's Command 1973, p.86.

And by the end of the nineteenth century English playing fields were recognised training grounds for the imperial battlefields. (231) These lines from 'Carmen Marlborough', a Marlborough song, bear local witness to this general phenomenon:

"Be strong, Elevens, to bowl and shoot,
Be strong, O Regiment of the foot,
With ball of skin or lead or leather,
Stand for the Commonwealth together."

Imperialism, militarism and athleticism became in time the schools' secular trinity.

Newbolt was the poet of Victorian imperial wars. And his schoolboy world of 'hazardous pitch', 'distant tape' and 'immortal games' was simply preparation for the eventual desert square. In his various descriptions of the public schoolboy at war from Afghanistan to Matabeleland, the ethnocentric, unashamed Social Darwinist stands defiant; but nowhere more fiercely than in these ringing phrases from 'Clifton Chapel' - "to count the life of battle good"; "to honour as you strike him down the foe that comes with fearless eye". (232)

The cultivation of the physical as an educational aim has been termed 'the public school, colonial ethic'. It has been argued that "the colonizing tradition centred round the code of the frontiersman: of its ideals the most outstanding were courage and endurance, the vital frontiersman virtues". (233) This additional dimension of athleticism was fully understood by those of the time. Inspired by Ruskin, Tennyson, Dilke, Parkin, Seeley and a host of minor figures on speech days, many public schoolboys of limited academic ability whose compensatory delight, it was claimed, was muscle, (234) became colonial farmers, ranchers and

(231) McIntosh, op.cit., p.70.

(232) See Worsley (1940), op.cit., pp.89-93, for a brief consideration of Newbolt as Darwinian Imperialist.

(233) J. Wellens, 'The Anti-Intellectual Tradition in the West' in P.W. Musgrove (ed.), Sociology, History and Education 1970, pp.93-6.

(234) 'Gentleman Emigrants', Macmillan's Magazine Vol.LVII, Jan.1888, pp.32-40.

planters. Service's "stalwart younger sons" went in their thousands direct from school to build "Britain's greatness o'er the foam".⁽²³⁵⁾ In imitation of Punch's schoolboy dunce, they took their ample brawn to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and more exotic places.⁽²³⁶⁾ The Empire was in fact as well as in phrase 'a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes'. Doubtless few could match a certain Richard Burton (Eton, Sandhurst and College of Agriculture, Cheltenham), a colonial wanderer with the soundest credentials: "a crack shot, a fine boxer...afraid of nothing that either walked, flew or swam";⁽²³⁷⁾ but letters and articles from old boys in the school magazines constantly warned of the need for physical skills and toughness. "There are a lot of young Englishmen representative of most of the public schools who are farming," wrote a Lancing old boy from Manitoba, adding, "The life is one of hard work...out of doors."⁽²³⁸⁾ A Lorettonian in Australia stated the general position when he described physical work as the essence of colonial life.⁽²³⁹⁾

Missionary work also could be severely arduous in demanding climates and harsh landscapes with few roads and inadequate transport 'up country'. A state of affairs well described in the diary of Bishop Selwyn:

"My last pair of shoes being worn out, and my feet much blistered with walking...I borrowed a horse from the native teacher, and started out at four a.m. to go twelve miles to Mr. Hamilton's Mission station at Manukar.harbour...in time for his family breakfast. I sailed in Mr. Hamilton's boat ten miles across Manukar Bay... The suit I wore was kept sufficiently decent, by much care, to enable me to enter Auckland by daylight; and my last remaining pair of shoes...were strong enough for the light and sandy walk of six miles ...to Auckland."⁽²⁴⁰⁾

(235) R.W. Service, Songs of a Sourdough (60th ed.) 1947, pp.93-6.

(236) Punch 6th.Sept.1873, p.99.

(237) Described by C.A.W. Monckton in his Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate undated, p.111. Monckton himself was deposited in Cooketown, Queensland, with £100, a particularly unsuitable suit, and a letter of introduction to the Lieutenant Governor of British New Guinea.

(238) L.C.M. Vol.5, No.LXIII, Feb.1889, p.706.

(239) Lorettonian Vol.XV, No.12, 20th.May 1893, pp.52-3.

(240) Quoted in Tucker, op.cit., pp.130-1.

Where missionary life was more settled, the imported values of Christian manliness ensured that public school habits became valuable as part of an education geared to producing African, Indian and Antipodian copies of the English public schoolboy. (241)

In short, the various obligations and opportunities of Empire served the games field well!

VII

The English public school is invariably an island of mellowed buildings, in a sea of well-kept playing fields. Nothing more strikingly illustrates the part that games have played in English upper class education than the view down Music Hill, through Butler Gate and across the sweeping acres of Harrow 'footer' fields with the thirty-four pitches stretching to the Sheepcote Road.

These spatial symbols of commitment, indulgence and privilege bear witness to the power of an ideology, the wealth of an institution and the devotion of its pupils, staff, old boys and parents. These latter were the financial source of the impressive facilities on which the public schoolboy ostensibly developed his character. It was the wealth of the upper classes that translated a value system into a set of actions; that ensured the purchase and maintenance of sufficient fields so that each member of a large school could find space to kick, chase and strike a ball. (242)

(241) A typical example of this process at work is to be found in Charles Harford - Battersby Pilkington of Uganda 1898, p.320. G.L. Pilkington (Uppingham 1878-1884) was a missionary killed in Uganda during an uprising in 1897, who brought the games of Uppingham to his missionary school.

(242) Thring catered for the upper classes because they alone could afford the machinery he thought necessary (Rigby, op.cit., p.101).

Geoffrey Best has written:

"The economic substructure must always be there, but it often lies so deep that one may do better to concentrate on the demonstrably proximate causes of phenomena one is certain about. Yet whether the ultimate economic explanation lies close or distant, the limiting terms of mid-Victorian British Society were prescribed by economic forces. Its 'economic miracle', such as it was, alone made possible that unprecedented degree and diffusion of wealth that allowed its citizens, as consumers, to reveal their characters in the choices they actually made out of such an unparalleled variety of goods."⁽²⁴³⁾

The Victorian economic substructure determined in the first place the rule of athleticism. All other causes were subservient to it. Wealth released the potential of character.

Much of this wealth was accumulated between 1850 and 1873; a time of "unchallenged British ascendancy over the family of nations in commerce and manufacture".⁽²⁴⁴⁾ Riches disproportionately held in the hands of the upper classes raised public school chapels, built the houses, purchased the playing fields and provided the security which permitted the occupation of these fields for several hours each day.

The term 'security' has been called the verbal master key to the interpretation of English education.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ It undoubtedly opens the door to an understanding of events in the nineteenth century public school. Economic security made possible a 'conspicuous consumption' of time in 'conspicuous leisure'. The terms are Veblen's. He saw these two phenomena as ostentatious symbols of upper class status denoting freedom from the preoccupation of earning a living. Leisure, however, as Veblen was quick to point out, did not connote passivity, but the 'non-productive consumption of time' in playing games.⁽²⁴⁶⁾ He further suggested that both ostentatious consumption and leisure were invariably underpinned by a

(243) Best, op.cit., p.2.

(244) Ibid., p.1.

(245) F. Clarke, Education and Social Change 1940, pp.10-1.

(246) Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class 1899, (Mod.Lib.Ed.1934), p.45.

pseudo-rationale (in his pleasing expression 'a coloured make-belief of purpose') in an attempt to provide them with dignity.⁽²⁴⁷⁾ Veblen's theorising has substantial relevance for this study, yet he might have added a third element - conspicuous resources. Playing fields were themselves significant symbols of security and élitism. An analysis of the growth of games facilities in the schools is basic to an understanding of the means whereby athleticism grew powerful; it allows the study of a system of financial support without which ideological conviction and casuistic manipulation could not have prospered.

Of the schools of this study Uppingham possesses the most complete records of the evolution of games facilities, and is broadly representative of the other schools. It will serve, therefore, as a case-study.

Thring, his staff, old boys and eventually, the trustees gave their money generously to build up the school's amenities. Thring, in particular, borrowed heavily from his father to pay for his school expenses and was often in considerable debt. His diary frequently reveals how much of an anxiety this was, but it was one from which he did not shrink. When Thring went to Uppingham in 1853 he inherited the Upper Cricket ground and two fives courts. Among his early actions were the negotiation of a new bathing pool, the creation of a gymnasium, the extension of the Upper cricket ground, the renting of football fields and the search for a suitable meadow on which to hold athletic championships. He showed, in short, a constant preoccupation with the need to develop adequate physical education facilities.⁽²⁴⁸⁾ In the first twenty years of his headship there was no corpus of nostalgic old boys ready to contribute their wealth to the school. The responsibility for the purchase

(247) Ibid., p.259.

(248) Diary entries for 30th.March 1860, 16th.April 1860, 31st.Jan.1861, 29th.Aug.1861, for example, were all concerned with finding additional cricket fields for the school.

of land and the development of amenities fell squarely on the headmaster and his staff. Some of these, fortunately, were men of substantial private means. (249) Thring was able, therefore, to institute a 'Domus Fund' to which the masters contributed, and which was in effect a system of corporate taxation for funding the expansion of the school. (250) The first fruit of this was the gymnasium opened in 1859. In the same year a football field was hired. In 1860 the new bathing place was opened, in 1864 a pavilion was built on the Upper and in 1867, the numbers of the school having risen to 300, eleven acres of pasture, known as the Rector's Field, on the south-west side of the Town, were acquired. (251)

Some indication of the masters financial part in all this is to be found in the following extract from A Statement of Capital Invested and Comparative Annual Expenditure of Trust and Masters 1853-1872 (252) presented to the Trustees of the school in 1872:

(i) Presented by Present Masters to the Trust since 1853:

	£
The Gymnasium	300
Two Fives Courts in Yard	100

(ii) Belonging to the Masters Conjointly:

	£
Two bathing places	250
Two Cricket Fields	300
Pavilion in Cricket Field	360

Furthermore, under an item entitled 'Comparative Annual Expenditure of the Trust and the Masters in carrying out the work of the school' it is revealed that masters were also responsible for the maintenance of the gymnasium, and those cricket fields and bathing places which they had purchased or leased for the school. In addition they paid £100 rent annually on several of these amenities.

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- (249) For example, P.J. Hodgkinson: 'his wealth saved the school' (Rigby, op.cit., p.133).
 (250) Rome, op.cit., p.54. (U.S.A.)
 (251) Lower Cricket Club Accounts for the year 1866-1867. (U.S.A.)
 (252) For a copy of the complete document see Appendix II below.

The purpose of Thring's Statement was to emphasize to the Trustees, with whom Thring had been involved in a long and bitter conflict over the development of the school, ⁽²⁵³⁾ just how little they had done. It serves also to demonstrate the extent to which staff had supported not only facilities upon which athleticism was to flourish, but the whole physical structure of the school. In the nineteen years of Uppingham's existence under Thring, of the total capital invested in 'plant' was £81,196. Of this the staff had contributed £74,103 (91½%) and the Trust £7,093 (8½%). ⁽²⁵⁴⁾

Masters continued to play a substantial part in the creation of games facilities after 1872. Soon after the famous Borth migration, ⁽²⁵⁵⁾ for example, a field on the north-west side of the town belonging to a Mr. Fowler was offered for sale. Unable to purchase it himself from lack of funds, Thring wrote to a wealthy assistant master, Howard Candler, urging him to buy it. ⁽²⁵⁶⁾ The letter is a good example both of Thring's ability to drum up financial support for his ventures and of the loyalty of his staff. Thring wrote, "It is in my opinion very important that Mr. Forster's field should be in school hands; and much to the interest of the school that you should purchase it at this juncture." ⁽²⁵⁷⁾ Attached to the letter was an agreement to rent the field direct from Candler for twenty-one years, already arranged between Thring and other members of staff. Twenty-three masters had signed the document, pledging annual payments of several pounds each to the School Cricket Fund. ⁽²⁵⁸⁾ Candler obediently bought the field for £1220. His generosity did not end there.

(253) Parkin, op.cit., pp.82-92.

(254) Statement p.2.

(255) Between March 1876 and April 1877 the school took up residence in Borth, a small resort on the Cardiganshire coast, to escape an outbreak of typhoid in Uppingham.

(256) Letter dated 20th July 1877. (U.S.A.)

(257) Idem.

(258) Masters' Agreement (U.S.A.)

In safer times, the Trustees, who at the time of the flight to Borth were unwilling to risk funds on uncertain investments, bought the field from Candler for £1,280. (259) Candler promptly handed the sixty pounds profit to the Games Committee to be used for turfing the arable field. And then donated a screen of trees along the side overlooking the London Road!

"The great nineteenth century schools in England," wrote F.B. Malim, "were enlarged, developed and equipped partly by subscription from their old boys..." (260) By the end of the nineteenth century the financial burden of enlarging, developing and equipping Uppingham had passed from the shoulders of devoted staff to those of wealthy old boys and the Trustees, who now had considerably more confidence in the school than in earlier times. The last great item of expenditure between 1853 and the Second World War was the Trustees' purchase between 1919 and 1922, of the Middle Ground and an adjoining tract of land which together added up to some thirty-five acres. An old boy, C.C. Brooke, immediately donated £5,000 for levelling and preparation; just two years earlier C.E. Green, an illustrious Uppingham cricketer, had paid for a new pavilion on the Upper. The contributions of parents could also be substantial on occasion. In the same year as C.E. Green built his pavilion on the Upper, Sir Harry McGowan, who had two sons at the school, paid for a pavilion on the Leicester (formerly Fowler's) Field.

Money from old boys was forthcoming too, not only for 'plant' but also for items considered important in maintaining standards. In 1902, for example, when Uppingham cricket was in the doldrums, two Old Uppinghamians anonymously donated a cheque for £100 to go towards extra cricket coaching. (261) It was typical of the era that the school magazine should transform investment for status into educational wisdom:

(259) U.S.M. Vol.XXXVIII, No.268, March 1900, p.59.

(260) Malim, op.cit., p.109.

(261) U.S.M. Vol.XI, No.314, June 1902, p.106.

"The donors could surely have given us no plainer lesson of the spirit in which games should be played, and we are sure that they wish for no better recompense than to learn that cricket is being played still on all our grounds in the same active, self-effacing, patriotic spirit in which their gift has been made, the spirit that alone gives our games the important rank they hold in our English training." (262)

Day to day maintenance of the games equipment and facilities of the public schools, as has been seen earlier, (263) was paid for in the main by regular annual subscriptions from boys and staff. School subscriptions were generally collected by House. The Guide Book of T.B. Rowe's House for 1869 supplies a standard Uppingham example:

Schools Subs.
(Christmas to Midsummer)

	Middle Fourth and Above	Lower Fourth
Games, Cricket and Football	4-6	3-6
Athletic sports	2-6	2-6
Library	2-0	1-0

(Midsummer to Christmas)

Games, Cricket and Football	5-6	4-6	
Library	2-0	1-0	
Agricultural prize to Rutland Society	1-6	1-6	(264)

There were, in addition, house subscriptions - also predominantly for the upkeep of games equipment and facilities. Rowe's Guide Book unfortunately contains no details but the School Rules circa 1880 states that new boys at that time paid an entrance fee of 5/-, younger house members paid 14/- yearly and older boys 18/- yearly. (265) Each year the School Games

Account was published in the school magazine: subscribers could thus see how their money was spent. The two contrasting examples on the facing page (Table VII) show clearly the increased complexity and sophistication of amenities of the post-Thring era. This progression led to the subscription system being abandoned; eventually a lump sum was added annually

(262) Idem.
 (263) See Chapter 3 above.
 (264) T.B. Rowe, Guide Book 1869. (U.S.A.)
 (265) School Rules (U.S.A.)

TABLE VII

1883		1908	
Expenditure.		Expenditure.	
H. H. Stephenson—Salary	£ 75 0 0	Salaries—Baldwin	£ 55 0 0
Cricket and Football Accounts	30 3 0	Bird	31 12 6
Travelling—Wages	52 0 0	Thorpe	57 4 0
Sawdust, etc.	1 10 6	Cobb	19 3 5
Travelling—Wages	14 0 0	Boys	27 7 0
Travelling—Bowling	16 10 0	Extra Labour	192 6 11
Water Works	5 0 0	Water Rate (three quarters)	2 4 0
Archie's Prizes and Expenses	32 14 10	Water for Jump	3 15 0
Black-hire	26 5 0	Rent—Leicester Rd. Ground	39 0 0
Blacksmith	3 6 5	Garden	1 0 0
Painting, Repairing, Fives Court, etc.	30 10 0	Belgrave	4 0 0
Printing	16 2 2	New Ground	5 0 0
Foot of Grounds	1 17 3	Whitening	1 7 6
Ticket	39 0 0	Umpires—Haileybury	10 0 0
	2 13 0	Scott	1 5 8
	£347 3 11	Dalby	17 5 6
		Mrs. W. Dean	24 5 9
		Mrs. L. Dean	0 5 0
		Rutland Agricultural Society	5 0 0
		Fat Stock Show	5 0 0
		Baldwin's Accounts—	
From the School—1st Term	£ 104 10 4	Hockey	5 17 8
" 2nd Term	122 6 8	Cricket	21 1 9
" 3rd Term	86 15 6	Football	5 13 5
Teachers' Subscriptions	23 10 0	Sports Prizes	4 9 6
Captain of Games (Fines, Entries, etc.)	3 3 0	Colman	37 11 6
Feet for Grazing	18 10 0	Woodcock	1 13 6
Surplus of Oakham Show Subscription	1 10 6		5 2 0
From the Masters	32 0 0		
Interest	0 14 2		
	£393 0 2		
		Receipts.	
		Subscriptions—	
		First Term	£ 121 15 8
		Second "	147 5 8
		Third "	135 13 4
		Masters' Subscriptions	404 14 8
		Fives' Entrance Fees	35 3 0
		Raven Testimonial Surplus	12 13 0
		Contributions to Sports Prizes	4 4 0
		Scott—For Grazing Leicester	8 0 0
		Road Ground	1 10 0
		Sale of Nets	1 10 0
		From Cadet Corps for use of	5 0 0
		Leicester Road Ground	5 0 0
		From House Masters for	
		Cricket Lunches	10 2 6
		From Thorpe—Part Rent of	
		Garden	0 10 0
		M.R. Dividend	3 1 3
		Interest	1 0 0
		Sale of Committee of Games	
		Rules	1 14 2
		Balance in Bank, Dec. 31st,	
		1907	39 4 11
		Cash in hand, Jan. 1st, 1908	4 15 2
			£537 2 8

to school fees and the bursar took charge of the accounts. (266)

The various Uppingham records discussed above provide an outline of a neatly interlocking system of facility provision and maintenance typical of the nineteenth century public school. It depended to a considerable extent on the freely given wealth of individuals. In general staff, old boys and governors (Trustees at Uppingham) provided the capital necessary for the construction of 'plant'; staff and boys contributed through the subscription system money to meet 'running costs'; parents, old boys and staff covered any additional luxuries by donation.

"An English Public School," remarked a Guardian editorial on public school costs in 1892, "like an English Ironclad, is an elaborate affair." (267) It observed that funds had to be found to cover the cost not only of staff, board and lodging and sanatorium but also of "decent playing fields". These were now indispensable. "The value of physical training is felt - some say it is overfelt," it added by way of explanation. This assessment was not exaggerated. Schools of the time stood or fell in public esteem by the quality of their wickets and the extensiveness of their games acres. Paul Ford admitted that the organisation of games at public schools was extremely expensive, but added realistically, "Any school that would recommend itself to the British public must concern itself to see that its athletic appliances do not fall behind its neighbours'." (268)

Parents, old boys, staff, governors in the various guises of idealist, pleasure-lover and status-seeker found the cause of splendid

(266) Formerly the audit was the responsibility of the treasurer of the Games Committee.

(267) Cutting from The Guardian 27th. April 1892, in the papers of E.C. Fields. (L.C.A.)

(268) Paul Ford in Cookson, op.cit., p.283.

wickets a desirable one. They were keen to embrace the responsibility of financial commitment. In educational matters few things demonstrate the wealth or the interests of the nineteenth century upper classes as well as the expense lavished on the games fields of the public schools. Dingy classrooms and neglected audio-visual technology contrast strongly with superbly kept cricket squares and spacious football acres - symbols of the dominant values of the system and the wealth of Victorian society.

VII

Walter Houghton has ascribed to the Victorian upper classes the idolatrous worship of physical strength.⁽²⁶⁹⁾ Theirs was a curious doctrinal concoction of harsh Darwinism blended with pious Christianity, which in general, effectively promoted comfortable complacency and successfully checked subversive reflections in favoured households on such disharmonious topics as social exploitation, injustice and inequality. In addition, a decaying feudalism⁽²⁷⁰⁾ made the late-Victorian and Edwardian upper class youth frenetic, perhaps unconsciously, in his muscular interests. For in fact, his was a last fling of buttressed privilege more widely extended than ever before by the freely-given wealth of self-made magnates and entrepreneurs, as well as by the accommodating landowners of a prosperous industrial Britain, which was to be steadily eroded by the acid of proletarian anger translated into political action and increasingly usurped by growing numbers of ambitious and talented state-educated.

(269) Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870 1951, pp.201-2.

(270) Ibid., p.319.

This last fling was cheered by Paterfamilias flattered by the admiring noises of foreigners and journalists; insulated by sufficient wealth or influence from much anxiety over filial careers, or calculatedly realistic about the relative occupational value of colours and classics, frequently intoxicated by an addictive nostalgia for times passed, sometimes obsessed with the licence that supposedly tempted the idle and enfeebled the manly.

Think little, read less and do the instinctual things, Kingsley urged his wife. Squirarchical habits or pretensions, factory or office preoccupations, disturbing social, intellectual and spiritual radicalism ensured that many upper class parents did just that. (271)

Their schoolboy sons, created in the same restricted image had the further incentives of an indigestible academic fare unappetisingly served up well into their early manhood, daily proximity to pedagogic heroes who epitomised the attractive masculinity of the playing fields and a scarcity of alternative enthusiasms. And to tip the balance towards athleticism irredeemably, there were the demands of Imperial Destiny which allegedly only the hardy and the strong could adequately meet.

Nor was this all. Within the schools the worship of muscle became steadily encrusted with symbols and rituals of prostration and power which exalted the athletic, excited the devout and stigmatised the heretical. The next two chapters examine the nature and extent of this protective, sustaining and crushing symbolism.

CHAPTER SIX

FEZ, 'BLOOD' AND HUNTING CROP : THE SYMBOLS AND

RITUALS OF A SPARTAN CULTURE

In John Bunyan's lesser allegory The Holy War the fortified city of Mansoul had five gates - Eyegate, Eargate, Mouthgate, Nosegate and Feelgate. The captains of Immanuel in their efforts to overwhelm the occupier Diabolus, marshalled their forces against first the Eargate, then the Eyegate. ⁽¹⁾ It was a strategy public school symbolists of the past would have readily appreciated:

"When the miscreant arrives - the tradition is that he should be called up by the captain of the school shouting 'Underschool' from the window, and sending for him - he must knock..., come in and stand immediately in front of the door. These particulars must be insisted upon (emphasis added). The captain of the school says, 'come in' and corrects errors in behaviour. The official having the fellow up says, 'you are going to be licked for...'" ⁽²⁾

This heavily ritualised preliminary to a beating at Lancing is a forceful attack upon the auditory and visual senses as well as a skilful exercise in impression management, creating, as it undoubtedly did, and was intended to do, anticipatory fear, a sense of public shame, personal insignificance on the part of the culprit and an impression of awesome power in the hands of the prefectorial authorities. It reveals a sensitive awareness of the social and psychological power of symbolism on

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- (1) John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress and the Holy War (Cassell's illustrated edition) 1900, p.421, pp.523-4.
 (2) Lancing College Common Room Minute Book (Prefects' Book) 1907-41, p.1.

the part of the Lancing monitors. These monitors and others - Bryant's description of Harrow beatings has certain similarities⁽³⁾ - clearly understood the role of ritualistic activities and symbolic objects in the lives of public schoolboys. Through a single punishment ritual they defined social position, emphasised the location of power and moulded group behaviour.

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines symbolism as "the practice of representing things by symbols or giving a symbolic character to objects and acts". In this chapter on the symbolism of athleticism we consider first the acts, and then the objects.

Symbolic acts are generally described as rituals. Rituals, of course, exemplify cultural values which also find expression in statements about the world, society and man.⁽⁴⁾ And a helpful reminder has been issued to the effect that although students of society too often discuss ritual having in mind behaviour of a non-verbal kind, speech is often a form of ritual and non-verbal ritual "simply a signal system of a different less specialised kind".⁽⁵⁾ The point is taken here and the verbal liturgy of athleticism will receive close attention in Chapter Seven. Our concern below is with symbolism of a non-verbal nature.

To define ritual is not a simple task. Social scientists have many definitions and diverse opinions.⁽⁶⁾ "Unfortunately although ritual is a concept which is very prominent in anthropological discourses," comments the anthropologist Edmund Leach, "there is no consensus on its precise meaning."⁽⁷⁾ Rituals have been briefly defined as formal

(3) Bryant, op.cit., p.108.

(4) J. La Fontaine, The Interpretation of Ritual 1972, p.XVII.

(5) E.R. Leach, 'Ritualization in Man in relation to conceptual and social development' in Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London Vol.257 (Series B), 1966, p.404.

(6) See J.H.M. Beattie, 'On Understanding Ritual' in Bryan R. Wilson (ed.), Rationality 1970, pp.240-71.

(7) E.R. Leach, op.cit., p.404.

behaviour patterns necessary for the establishment of ordered social relations.⁽⁸⁾ This definition adequately explains in nuce the purpose of traditional public school rites and ceremonies but that purpose has been described elsewhere more fully and particularly well: "the symbolic function of ritual is to relate the individual through ritualistic acts to a social order, to heighten respect for that order...and, in particular, to deepen acceptance of the procedures used to maintain continuity, order and boundary".⁽⁹⁾

In the public schools the functions of symbolism, as the above quotation suggests, were several. It acted as an instrument of social segregation, of community power, of social control and as a transmitter of cultural heritage. There was nothing original in this. These are basic contributions to social order observed in other cultural contexts: "Among the various qualities and values...shown to be symbolised in ritual, are differences in social status...the need to keep separate things which there is a danger of confusing, such as different lineages, generations and sexes..., tribal values...political power and authority...as well as the social order itself. The ritual can provide a means to the expression of many different cultural values..."⁽¹⁰⁾ This expression of cultural values has been singled out as the defining characteristic of ritual in education.⁽¹¹⁾ But this is to put the cart before the horse. Ritual as the means of this expression, has the even more fundamental role of creating and sustaining group cohesion: it is the idiom of

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- (8) This is a condensed version of the definition by T. Paterson, "Rituals are formalised behaviour patterns, methods of communication, verbal and non-verbal, necessary for the establishment of relations among members of a group or between groups" in 'Emotive rituals in industrial organisms' in Philosophical Transactions, p.437.
- (9) B. Bernstein, H.L. Elwin and R.S. Peters, 'Ritual in Education' in Philosophical Transactions, p.429.
- (10) J. Beattie, 'Ritual and Social Change', Man Vol.1, No.1, 1966, p.66.
- (11) D. Godwin, 'Ritual in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Education', Education Economy and Politics Open University E.352, Block 2, p.35.

conformity.⁽¹²⁾ And the public schools of this study evolved an elaborate symbolic system both to promote this conformity and to express unifying cultural values and the consequent relationships between objects and those things they symbolised. Games, games players and games fields held a central position in this system. If this fact has attracted little analytical attention until now it is possibly because of our continued tendency to equate ritual with preliterate cultures, and because of a selective interpretation of games as a 'trivial' aspect of social life in general and the social system in particular.⁽¹³⁾ In promoting conformity symbolism had at least three specific roles: as a focusing mechanism creating a frame for experience which assisted concentration and minimised distractions; as a mnemonic agent reinforcing memory by making vivid what was dim and recalling what was forgotten; as a filter of social experience determining the nature of social reality by surrounding certain relationships with powerful emotional feelings.⁽¹⁴⁾

The argument has been put forward that whatever the historical or ideological creative impulse, survival became the eventual goal of the public school and unquestioning loyalty the mechanism by which that goal was realised. The institution became more revered than its purpose and the moral imperative to be loyal took on a greater importance than any evaluation of the object of loyalty however sincere.⁽¹⁵⁾ There is considerable truth in this observation.⁽¹⁶⁾ Powerful rites of intensification were fostered to this end. These consensual rituals bound together the whole group "as a moral community, as a distinct collectivity".⁽¹⁷⁾

(12) M. Douglas, Purity and Danger 1966, p.63.

(13) E. Pinedon and B. Sutton, The Study of Games 1971, p.228.

(14) M. Douglas, op.cit., pp.63 ff.

(15) R. Wilkinson, The Prefects 1964, p.46.

(16) Witness the reaction of the public schools to A. Waugh's The Loom of Youth.

(17) Bernstein et al., op.cit., p.430.

They were cohesive agents and as such operated at two levels. There were those concerned with the school as a whole, and those concerned with sections of the school. The latter were by far the more important and paradoxically, since they were also 'differentiating' rituals segregating bodies of pupils, the most effective means of ensuring allegiance, affection and cohesion, as will be seen shortly. The former however, were not without power!

Harrow provides probably the finest example in the form of the annual Lord's Match against Eton - a focusing mechanism, mnemonic agent and value filter par excellence. It was, as one Harrovian described it, "The supreme rite when one identified oneself with every member of the side, suffered in their failures, exalted in their triumphs". (18)

Another recalled, "Any Harrow boy who absented himself from it was a traitor and sterner spirits among us thought it base to be out of one's seat during even a moment of play". (19) The pressure on deviants to support this solidarity ritual is well depicted by the experience of C.C. Martindale, a religious introvert, whose real but secret love at Harrow was for objets de piété and High Anglican rites. On confessing to his housemaster his traitorous desire to absent himself from the annual conflict, he was curtly informed that he would 'lose caste' if he failed to attend. He was miserable as well as bored - his top hat gave him a headache and his buttonhole made him sick - but he watched! (20)

The support this annual confrontation generated was remarkable. As early as 1866 the Pall Mall Gazette recorded 10,000 spectators (21) and a writer in Blackwood's Magazine could state that of the M.C.C.'s income for 1866 totalling about £17,000, £2778 were the proceeds of the

(18) L.P. Hartley, 'The Conformer' in G. Green (ed.), The Old School 1932, p.92.

(19) Tallents, op.cit., p.104.

(20) Caraman, op.cit., p.42,

(21) Pall Mall Gazette 16th.July 1886.

University and Eton v. Harrow matches, and this despite elections for Parliament in the same week.⁽²²⁾ In 1910 there were 15,000 present.⁽²³⁾ This was the year of a great Eton victory. An Eton pen recorded the exuberance of the winners: "...a Cabinet Minister weeping, laughing and dancing on a Harrovian flag; portly citizens in Bond Street yelling the news to strangers with the light blue ribbon on them who had quitted the ground in despair an hour before. Such were the English just before the Great War".⁽²⁴⁾ While distinguished politicians in middle age occasionally performed exuberant dances on the standard of the defeated, waving elegant symbols of devotion - large silk handkerchiefs of dark and light blue respectively - the younger supporters would clash regularly in front of the pavilion at the end of the match in a free-for-all that in a modern football ground would attract the opprobrium of a scandalised public. In those more robust times this exhibition of upper class virility was tolerated as a manly gesture of loyalty.⁽²⁵⁾

Support for the Lord's Match is a useful barometer of the climate of opinion surrounding athleticism. This is illustrated by the figures for attendance between 1871 and 1886 and between 1936 and 1972 in Table VIII on the facing page.

(22) Blackwood's Magazine Vol.CXL., No.DCCCIV, Dec.1886, p.76.

(23) Lyttleton (1925), op.cit., p.76.

(24) Ibid., pp.76-7.

(25) Ibid., p.43.

TABLE VIIIPUBLIC ATTENDANCE AT THE ETON V. HARROW MATCHESAT LORD'S 1871-1972 AT THREE YEAR INTERVALS1871-1886 (Total for two days)

1871	24,626	1880	15,047
1874	15,364	1883	12,289
1877	13,416	1886	11,744

Source: Wisden 1887.

1936-1972

1936	20,489	1960	8,577
1939	19,174	1963	5,836
1948	18,806	1966	7,219
1951	17,864	1969	3,247
1954	14,845	1972	2,466
1957	12,025		

Source: M.C.C. Archives.

Note: These figures cover gate entries only and do not include members of the Marylebone Cricket Club. 1871 was the first year records were kept of turnstile entrants. Figures are given at three year intervals to indicate a trend. Details between 1887 and 1936 are unfortunately not available. The writer acknowledges his debt to Mr. Stephen Green, Curator of the M.C.C. for help in computing these figures.

"St. Andrew's Day sums it all up," Eric Parker declared of the Eton Wall Game, "and sums up more than mere football. Those who have watched the College team leave the field after winning on St. Andrew's Day know that they have watched more than the winning of a game... It belongs to more days than that one day, and to more than that one match; to more than any playing of games...they have stood in the old ways. Floreat Etona et gens togata et hic noster inclus muralis esto perpetuus". (26)

What was true of the Wall Game was equally true of the Lord's Match. And Lancing, Marlborough, Uppingham, Stonyhurst and Loretto had their equivalent athletic rituals of solidarity and permanence, although of unquestionably lesser status: Marlborough v. Rugby also at Lord's, Lancing v. Brighton at the Sussex County Ground, Uppingham v. Rugby on the Upper, Stonyhurst v. Beaumont on the Higher Line Oval and Loretto v. Fettes on Pinkie.

In addition the schools had their old boys' matches and sports clubs. If, as has been claimed, a main objective of the old boys' clubs was "to enjoy the pleasure and pathos of retrospect", (27) then memories of matches lost and won in boyhood would figure prominently in conversation in a world where games counted for so much. For the young and energetic the logical step was the actual continuation of these past experiences through the creation of teams of former schoolfellows. Thus a common feature of the schools was the old boys' cricket and football teams, providing "permanence amidst change...unity amidst succession". (28)

(26) "Let Eton flourish and the togaed people, and this our wall game, let it be everlasting." Quoted in B. Darwin, The Game's Afoot: An Anthology of Sport 1926, pp.150-1.

(27) H.W. Serpell, 'Old Boys' Societies' in Norwood and Hope, op.cit., p.472.

(28) Ibid., p.473.

Of the nineteenth century public schoolboy it is alleged that once his capacity for loyalty had been developed by the school he was expected to transfer that loyalty to his adult group - the regiment, the trading company, the Foreign Office or whatever. (29) More to the point, what the public schoolboy did, was to take his school world and its symbolic actions and trappings with him into the outside world. The Uppingham archives contain an excellent example of this process at work. In 1910 enterprising and nostalgic Uppinghamians in India formed an Old Boys' Club. In a booklet entitled Old Uppingham in India (30) they described its objectives. They aimed simply to ensure that Uppinghamians on the sub-continent kept in touch with their old school. To this end they played their former games and replicated the entire sporting outfit of their alma mater. A blazer of dark blue cloth with blue buttons and the school crest on the pocket was designed, and it was arranged that C. Baldwin of Uppingham, the school outfitter, would supply long knitted silk (motor) scarves, silk scarves (waist), silk diagonal tie, cricket cap and hat ribbons of varying width in the school colours. Ritual activities and symbolic garments provided these former pupils with a familiar identity. They maintained an expressive link with their old school across the seas, which was projected into the past and into the future. A projection well expressed by a modern public schoolboy: "Belonging to X, I feel I belong to something great and which will always help me if I need help. You never really leave (emphasis added)." (31) As it has been written, "...being...a community which could exercise an emotional hold not only during schooldays but for after life, the public school became an alternative to the Victorian family as a reference group." (32)

(29) Wilkinson (1964), op.cit., p.46.

(30) File 55, Hawley Bequest. (U.S.A.)

(31) Royston Lambert, The Hothouse Society 1968, p.364.

(32) Honey, op.cit., p.181.

The rival matches at Lord's and elsewhere, the old boy reunions and the old boy club games helped effect this transfer as well as helping to promote solidarity and permanence of identity. At the same time, while it is important to emphasise the expressive value of public school symbolism, its instrumental functions should not be overlooked; old boys might have sported the old school tie less readily had it not been a means of identifying that high status phenomenon of the period - the ex-public schoolboy.

II

While some athletic rituals of unity and identity embraced the whole body of the school, curiously internal solidarity was achieved by deliberately structured internal diversity so that opposing groups of pupils met frequently on playing fields throughout the year. The instrument of this calculated segregation was the house system with its repetitious, fiercely contested house matches.

House matches were first played at Harrow in the 1830s and at Marlborough, Lancing and Uppingham in the 1850s, but an organised system of inter-house competitions generating intense chauvinism took a while to develop. By 1870 the system was generally established. Stonyhurst and Loretto, however, prove interesting exceptions.

Stonyhurst never possessed a house system. Pupils were organised on the principle of competition both in physical and academic activities, but there were important differences in approach from the

protestant public schools, which helped ensure that the symbolism of athleticism which flourished elsewhere, was there still-born. There were two main reasons for this: the centralisation of authority discussed earlier in this study, which in practical terms meant constant control and supervision by a small official body of staff so that the boys had less freedom than elsewhere to generate the hysteria and devise the insignia that were associated with houses at other schools; and also horizontal segregation of pupils by age, which was an effective bar to domination by senior boys, and the establishment of the hierarchical boy culture based on games ability that was so often a feature where the house system flourished.

The Stonyhurst system rejected outright the famous public school belief in the virtues of 'pupil power' that caused one headmaster zealot to declare, "A boy who, at nineteen, can rule a house at a public school, at fifty can rule a nation. The two tasks are equally easy, equally difficult. They demand the same gifts and the same qualities";⁽³³⁾ and a Woodard headmaster to argue: "Discipline is upheld on the principle of leaving boys out of school to their own self-government, relying on the sense of duty, responsibility and feeling of honour rather than on the surveillance of masters to support virtue and repression."⁽³⁴⁾ Such comments were typical of the period under review.

We have already briefly considered Cotton's views on this subject.⁽³⁵⁾ His famous apologia stands both as a definition of the late-Victorian and Edwardian public school and as a clear description of the extent of the power granted to select senior boys:

(33) R.C. Taylor, A Housemaster's Letters 1912, p.37.

(34) Lowe (1878), op.cit., p.18.

(35) See Chapter 2 above.

"The Council informed me on my appointment that the school was in a bad state of discipline, and they hoped I would allow no boys to go out except in pairs with a master. I told them I could not accept office on such terms, that the school I hoped to govern was a public school not a private one, and I would try and make it govern itself by means of prefects. The School knows now how matters stand. They must either submit to the prefects, or be reduced to the level of a private school. The prefects are, and shall be, so long as I am head, the governors of this School. As soon as I see this impracticable I will resign."⁽³⁶⁾

The wisdom of Cotton's and others' firm belief in the principle of delegation of widespread powers to pupils is certainly questionable. The 'boy culture' in which, in general, the oldest and biggest had considerable power, was not always dutiful, responsible or honourable.⁽³⁷⁾ The ideal of self-government in actuality offered the possibility of considerable abuse and the offer was certainly accepted.⁽³⁸⁾ It made possible, inter alia, an excessive veneration of games. How widespread the abuse was at any moment in time is impossible to say. Whenever there was public complaint, the excuse was 'a bad lot, in a bad house, at a bad time'. Stoicism was the admired practice and silence the norm.⁽³⁹⁾

Self-government, however, was excellent in two practical ways. It meant that the housemaster, if he cared to, could remain securely behind 'the traditional green baize door'⁽⁴⁰⁾ in undisturbed tranquillity and leave his prefects to maintain control in their own way. It was said, for example, of Thomas Henry Steel,⁽⁴¹⁾ housemaster at the Grove,

(36) Bradley et al., op.cit., p.168.

(37) This is made particularly clear, for instance, in J.A. Symonds' unusually honest account of homosexuality at Harrow under Vaughan described in Grosskurth, op.cit., pp.30-4.

(38) An especially good example is Uppingham at the end of the nineteenth century. See Nevinson, op.cit., p.8.

(39) Witness Symonds' torment in trying to keep quiet (Grosskurth, op.cit.,

(40) The door that separated the housemaster's private apartments p.35). from the boys'.

(41) Russell, op.cit., p.48. Another Harrow master who seemed quite indifferent to the management of his house was F. Rendall - housemaster, 1854-1881. (Grosskurth, op.cit., p.27). For discussions of the distance between boys and housemasters of the Victorian period see Rigby, op.cit., p.122 and N. Annan, Roxburgh of Stowe 1965, p.6.

Harrow, from 1855 to 1881, that he had never been seen on the boys' side of it. The practice of delegating authority to prefects made the house-master's task so much easier, an important consideration in the recruitment and retention of staff. It is interesting to read Fitzgerald's description of the 'toilsome life' of the three Prefects in charge of the boys' leisure at Stonyhurst, ⁽⁴²⁾ who had little or no support from the rest of staff and no boy helpers. It is tempting to believe that only the celibate vocationalist married to the institution with few external interests could have coped. Self-government also meant, as already touched upon above, that the prefectorial system with its associated privileges divided the boys and lured the most powerful to the side of the masters. The truth of the matter would seem to be that self-government was as much an instrument of staff convenience and pupil control, as a means of training character.

Whatever the theoretical definition of a public school the Jesuits kept power firmly in their own hands. ⁽⁴³⁾ Character training by delegation of responsibility was not their method. They were conscious of the propensity for evil of the young if left to itself, especially in idle moments. For leisure activities the pupils were highly organized and divided into horizontal groupings by means of a 'playroom' system within the framework of a bilateral segregation into Higher and Lower Lines. The first 'playroom' comprised the Higher Line made up of the upper forms, Rhetoric, Poetry and Syntax: the second and third playrooms comprised the Lower Line made up of the remaining forms, Grammar, Rudiments, Figures and Elements. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ Each 'playroom' had its

(42) Fitzgerald (1895), op.cit., pp.81-2.

(43) It did not apparently affect their status as a public school. The College was admitted to the Headmasters' Conference in 1900 and in the Harmsworth Encyclopedia of 1905 as we have seen in Chapter I, was listed as one of the more famous public schools.

(44) In 1917 a fourth 'playroom' was added due to an increase in school numbers.

own games areas and indoor facilities for wet weather activities and a Prefect continually in charge, who supervised, organised and played with the boys. Overlooking Higher and Lower Lines at play, "Three black-robed figures walked up and down the Prefects' Walk...keeping a strict and wary eye on the proceedings," wrote Percy Fitzgerald on his arrival at Stonyhurst as a new boy in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁽⁴⁵⁾ These were, of course, the Prefects responsible for the boys' leisure whom we have already met several times in this study. There was to be no change in this pattern of close supervision by staff for some sixty-five years.

Eventually there were reforms which brought Stonyhurst nearer in some respects to the public school house system. In 1915, for example, each 'playroom' was permitted a Committee of Boys which organised activities and acted as a disciplinary body, but still under a Prefect. In 1938 - after athleticism had virtually ceased to be the dominant ideology in the public school system - the Prefects were abolished and their duties shared by 'playroom' Masters (laymen), the Committee and Monitors. A via media had been constructed which avoided the excesses of the protestant model of self-government and yet gave greater responsibility to the pupils. By this time of course, the protestant schools had restricted the powers of the senior boys (particularly with regards to beating) and so the Jesuit system and the mainstream public school system moved closer together.

But the organisational principles of centralisation of authority and horizontal, as distinct from vertical, grouping in the decades in which athleticism had a powerful influence elsewhere, ensured at Stonyhurst minimum preoccupation with games and their associated rituals and symbols.

At Loretto Almond tolerated no house system. His biographer observed, "There were in the Head's time no fixed houses at Loretto, boys being shifted from the school house to the Barracks, the Garrison or the

(45) Fitzgerald (1895), op.cit., p.6. The 'Prefects' Walk' was a raised path that ran down the middle of the playground,

Linkfield houses, or from any one of the houses to any other, according to convenience."⁽⁴⁶⁾ Almond desired too strongly that his pupils be moulded in his own image for it to be otherwise. He would not tolerate the rejection or even the modification of his own ideals through independent, strong-minded housemasters pursuing their own educational or non-educational ends, and demanding loyalty to house at the expense of loyalty to Almond.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The totalitarianism of Almond's eccentric beliefs are expressed in this declamatory passage unquestionably from his own pen:

"I shall create a school...which shall present a picture of a community to the utmost limits of its power conceding nothing to the spirit of mere usage."⁽⁴⁸⁾

And an editorial in the Lorettonian in 1883, by nature of its tone and content in all likelihood written by Almond, argued that the government of a school must be an absolute monarchy and went on to support censorship in the school magazine on the grounds that it was not for the pupils to discuss in print "the actions and judgements of the supreme authority".⁽⁴⁹⁾

He had, therefore, no house system and no rituals and symbols of house allegiance and games status but their absence failed to have the same significance as at Stonyhurst. The plain fact is that during Almond's headship the school was in effect little more than a large 'house'⁽⁵⁰⁾ with one dominant paternalistic 'housemaster' in the person of Almond himself, and with its own idiosyncratic symbols of athleticism - a point which will be dealt with more fully later in this chapter.

The part played by the house system in the successful survival of the public school system and in the development of athleticism,

(46) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.170.

(47) Tristram wrote of Almond, "He was a thorough going autocrat" (op.cit., p.104).

(48) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.264.

(49) Lorettonian Vol.XVI, No.4, 2nd,Dec.1893, p.13.

(50) This was made possible by the small numbers of boys at the school: about 12 in 1862 rising gradually to about 60 by 1864, down to 38 in 1866, up to 100 by 1878 and then climbing steadily until Almond's death in 1903 when the numbers stood at 126.

underlined by the significant exceptions of Stonyhurst and Loretto, was considerable. As we have seen, because it allowed delegation, it was a valuable means of recruiting staff. But a considerably more potent factor was that until the twentieth century houses were owned and run for profit by the housemasters. The Moral Rearmament campaigner, Stephen Foot, was one of the first to advocate and introduce school control of the financial aspect of the houses. He lectured widely throughout the public school system in the nineteen-twenties recommending the adoption of his ideas because he believed that the "old House System was thoroughly bad" and that boys' interests were neglected by avaricious housemasters seeking high profits. ⁽⁵¹⁾ By the Second World War the principle of the house as a speculation in which the housemaster invested his money was ended.

Until then, however, the possession of a successful house in a popular school could mean substantial monetary reward and headmasters were well aware of the need for the availability of this source of revenue when seeking desirable recruits. In 1897, A.J. Wilson, for example, headmaster of Lancing, wrote a report to the Provost ⁽⁵²⁾ in which he expressed concern that, due to a marked decline in numbers, the house system would fail to provide sufficient inducement to attract able staff. Thring, while he played down and tried to limit the financial value to housemasters of their own residences, showed a keen awareness of their importance in his euphemistic argument that staff should possess their own houses since "it secures for the school the largest proportion of masters who are not birds of passage but having homes in the school are permanently interested in its success". ⁽⁵³⁾ It was, of course, as much the possession of a remunerative 'hotel' in the school as a home in

(51) Stephen Foot, Three Lives: an autobiography 1934, pp.279-82.

(52) Bundle 17, College Papers (L.C.A.).

(53) Parkin (Vol.1), op.cit., p.71.

the school, that stimulated interest. In evidence to the Public Schools Commission Montagu Butler observed that the profits of most of the masters depended very considerably upon their boarding houses.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Mistakes at Marlborough underline the drawing power of the possession of a house. The College founders took a calculated risk in launching their enterprise without a house system. It was their intention to save parents the profits that went to housemasters. They foundered on the rocks of self interest. According to the official history they had to reverse their decision because "they overlooked...the fact that a large income of a projective boarding house was one of the chief financial inducements to men of first-rate ability".⁽⁵⁵⁾ In time, the definition of first-rate ability came to mean in many cases games ability or at least enthusiasm. This, coupled with the fact that the financially independent housemaster was virtually autonomous in all matters regarding his house, had important consequences for athleticism which will be explored shortly.

Yet a further reason why the house system was important for the growth of athleticism was simply that its main structural feature - a relatively small number of pupils under the control of a housemaster, house tutor and the older boys - enabled the public schoolboy to be supervised, controlled and manipulated more efficiently than previously. In this way the small social unit of the house was a powerful means of conditioning the inmates. It provided an intensive ritualistic 'frame' inside which the boys learnt to respond correctly to the stimuli of conventional values. Through constant repetition of activities associated with the house, especially games, a value-system was assimilated,

(54) P.S.C. Vol.IV, p.164, Q.284. See also the evidence of B.E. Westcott, Vol.IV, p.209, Q.1202, Q.1205.

(55) Bradley et al., op.cit., p.85.

emotions were stimulated and, for many, pleasant experiences accumulated.

The house system, therefore, was a method of 'system maintenance' stressing dominant values, reducing discontent, promoting acceptance of school life and providing delightful reminiscences in adulthood, which guaranteed a steady supply of recruits to the public school system.

"You were at Harrow were you?" wrote E.M. Venables of a typical chance meeting of old boys in after life. "Which House? Behind this question...lies a little world of loyalties stored with memories",⁽⁵⁶⁾ a world in which success in games was the Everest of achievement, a world inhabited by many former pupils for a lifetime. J.E.C. Welldon once wrote, "It would need the pen of a Thucydides to convey the emotions and involvement of partisans at House Matches. There are elderly gentlemen leading quiet, respectable lives in remote parts of the country who cannot now meet after fifty years without exchanging words like these: 'You remember that catch, My dear fellow, why did you let that ball go through your legs?'"⁽⁵⁷⁾

The house system was, in fact, a brilliantly successful piece of social engineering whereby large numbers of boys could be herded together away from home and its comforts and be adequately controlled and emotionally sustained, while at the same time the life of the virtually autonomous supervisor was tolerable and even attractive. At another level of analysis, from the point of view of ideological indoctrination, the house system was a memoria technica providing both an instrumental and expressive frame inside which individuals enacted continually, and in this way learnt, licensed group responses to the demands of the institution and their social class.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The house was a crucible in which individuality was melted down into conformity.

(56) Venables, op.cit., p.190.

(57) Welldon (1915), op.cit., p.163; see also P.M. Thornton, Some Things We Have Remembered 1912, p.147.

(58) J.A. Mangan, 'Physical Education as a Ritual Process' in Mangan, op.cit., p.97.

The evolution of the house system varied in detail among the four schools but in one important aspect Laborde's next summary of developments at Harrow is relevant to them all: "Between 1820 and 1850 the character of the boarding-houses underwent considerable modification. The houses ceased to be merely places where the 'foreigners' boarded and became integral parts of the organisation of the school. Each house developed into a community with its place in the wider community of the school. As games became organised, the houses...became the basis of their organisation." (59)

The point to note is the close association between games and the house system. In the history of the public school after 1850 these two are as inseparable as Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The Lancing historian, B.W.T. Handford, has attributed the rise of Lancing as a public school to the simultaneous construction of houses and a games field. In 1857 after the College moved from Shoreham, in Handford's words, "(it) began to turn into a public school. The boys were divided into Houses, the Headmaster's, the Second Master's and the School House. A playing field was made on the only piece of flat land on the College estate - the Dyke Field." (60)

These twin factors more than any other ensured the success and popularity of the public school system with the boys. In harness they seduced the clientele. They were anoetic focuses for emotional attachment, the one reinforcing the other. Together they were responsible for a wall of emotion that shielded the loyal from the attacks of the cynical and disillusioned. They were hugely successful filters of experience. Homeric deeds in house matches remained vivid in the memory. "In truth I was an indifferent athlete and more at home with books than with games," declared a Harrovian in old age, but yet he recalled with "telescopic

(59) Laborde, op.cit., p.175.

(60) Handford (1933), op.cit., p.14.

accuracy" the fierce battle between Druries and Stogdons which stood between Druries and the Cock House award for the third successive year, and in which, to the accompaniment of wild cheering, in front of the greater part of the school, he scored the winning base. (61)

One Marlburian wrote in his autobiography: "I have made speeches before Royal personages, in the Guildhall, in International Congresses; made fifty against Yorkshire on a broken wicket, discovered interesting things in medicine, written books, had typhoid fever, and endured an anaesthetic for over an hour. Yet the greatest thrill I have had was when with beating heart I heard I was in the A house XXII. With shame I write the honour of election to the Marlborough Council in 1909 did not exceed that thrill." (62)

Professor Honey has argued that the private insular world of the nineteenth century public school possessed in athleticism and communal songs, powerful means of generating ideals, attitudes and emotions and above all, loyalty to the school. (63) He might have gone further and drawn attention to the fact that the relationship between communal songs and athleticism was itself very close. More often than not the school songs glorified and mythologised athletic deeds and doers. Events on the playing field were often the inspiration of the songs in the concert room. Songs and games were instruments of solidarity which were inseparably linked. The one inspired the other: the one reinforced the other.

(61) Tallents, op.cit., p.105. A 'base' is the Harrow equivalent of a goal.

(62) Autobiographical Musings op.cit., p.18. The XXII was the house second XV.

(63) Honey, op.cit., p.161.

This common role and frequent juxtaposition is demonstrated by the Harrow Founder's Day order of events before the Great War:

ORDER OF DAY

1. Two football matches in the afternoon between the first and second Harrow elevens, and two elevens of Old Harrovians.
2. Service in chapel.
3. Dinner in the Head's House followed by reception in the Vaughan Library.
4. Old Harrovian singing of school songs. (64)

But while loyalty to the school was undoubtedly generated on the school playing fields and through communal singing of the school songs, as Honey claims, where the house system was well developed it was loyalty largely, but not exclusively, refracted through house playing fields. What J.M. Broughton claimed for Harrow, namely that no boy could leave without being inspired, "with a true spirit of loyalty, while taking part in or even while watching the ebbs and flows of a Football House match" (65) would go undisputed by old boys of the other schools of the study with a similar house system. For the most part it was the house match not the school match which produced exhilaration in victory, dejection in defeat, (66) a fact clearly recognised by the anonymous author of an article on 'Unity' in the Harrovian in 1870 who decried the rise of the house spirit in games to the detriment of the school spirit. (67)

(64) Fischer-Williams, op.cit., p.204.

(65) Harrovian Vol.XVI, No.2, Dec.14th.1878, p.13.

(66) Vachell (1904), op.cit., contains a chapter 'Billy versus Poodles' which is a realistic description of a footer house match at Harrow in the 1870s.

(67) Harrovian Vol.I, No.19, Oct.22nd.1870, p.34.

The student of ritual has been warned against an over-optimistic belief in the efficacy of consensual rituals of 'total institutions'. Goffman has remarked that it is a nice question if any solidarity is achieved by them. ⁽⁶⁸⁾ Sensible if over cautious words. Apart from the matches against notable rivals, even in the heyday of athleticism school matches were often less than enthusiastically watched. A correspondent in the Uppingham School Magazine in 1883 regretted an over-indulgence in ices and strawberries in preference to supporting the team. ⁽⁶⁹⁾ In 1890 the editors of the Lancing College Magazine noted with disgust the apathetic perusal with which the Old Boys' Match was followed. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ In 1896 the Marlburian included a letter from a 'Sorrowing Patriot' who noted with some surprise and grief an absence of school patriotism revealed in two ways - through scanty attendance at school rugby matches and through little enthusiasm shown by those present. ⁽⁷¹⁾ Protest in school magazines was supplemented by direct action. At Lancing in 1928 the headmaster had to appeal to all the boys to watch the annual cricket match against Brighton College "as much as possible" and covered his bets by arranging for a special Call-Over for the day for 12.30, 2.30 and 4.30 at the ground! ⁽⁷²⁾ Selwyn of Uppingham - a revered exponent of the simple philosophy of 'fear God, speak the truth and shoot straight' ⁽⁷³⁾ used to walk up and down the side lines of the Leicester ground "using his gold-headed stick on any part of their (the boys') lower anatomies and exhorting them to shout". As he did so he would drive the boys over the touch line to be driven back by the hunting crops of the praepostors.

(68) Goffman (1968), op.cit., p.103.

(69) Quoted in Paterson, op.cit., p.124.

(70) L.C.M. Vol.5, No.72, Feb. 1890, p.817.

(71) Marlburian Vol.XXXI, No.492, Dec.3rd.1896, p.181. See also correspondence in the Harrovian Vol.I, No.19, Oct.22nd.1870, p.44 for similar arguments.

(72) Lancing College Headmasters' Notices 1925-29 July 5th.1928. (L.C.A.).

(73) Rome, op.cit., p.98.

The latter also exerted their influence. In his autobiography one former pupil recalled being 'tanned' by a praepostor for not shouting loudly enough at a rugger match and added, "I can still remember the sounds the whips made on the overcoats of the spectators." (74)

Desmond Coke's description of Shrewsbury will serve admirably to represent a general discrepancy between 'foreign' matches and the internecine matches for the Cock House Cup. At "the school footer matches," he wrote, excepting those against "beastly rural schools" such as Malvern or Repton:

"you stood and shivered, even on a warm day along one side of the field, and every now and then a long drawn 'Play up-schoo-oo-ools' went calmly along the row, like some wave breaking down a rocky coast.... the real thing was the House matches...you kept pushing forward to the linesman's anger so as to miss nothing, shouting and jumping, drowning the cries of the other Houses and even running up and down the line, behind. Cheering and excitement kept you warm. And when your House was in the final - Yes, the House was certainly the thing!"

A series of Marlborough vignettes down the decades provides linked images of the continuous power of the house match to stir emotions and generate loyalty. A Marlburian editorial of 1863 stated, "On the day of a House Match the greatest possible excitement is created in the Houses. The elevens are put on their best mettle. The school flocks to witness the exhibition of play and to watch the result of the battle. (76) In 1889 a Marlborough versifier wrote:

"Our hearts are throbbing - as Homer would say
They are kicking our bosoms, 'tis House match today,
And an icy fear is ingested in our hearts
For such are the tremors that the House match imparts." (77)

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- (74) J.C. Gibson, Reminiscences of a Railwayman 1968, p.8.
 (75) Desmond Coke, The Bending of a Twig 1906 (2nd ed.), p.155.
 (76) Marlburian Vol.III, No.XX, Oct.2nd.1865, p.1.
 (77) Ibid., Vol.XXIV, No.388, Oct.14th.1889, p.139.

E.F. Benson, in the opening years of the twentieth century, described in David Blaize the tensions that produced these tremors: "Everybody was utterly absorbed in what was going on at the wickets. The whole school and the whole staff were there watching to the end of the final tie in house matches in absolute tense silence." (78) And Gerald Murray has written of Marlborough before the Second World War, "The housemaster, maybe his wife, matron, house tutor and boys would crowd the line, the junior boys to cheer the 'House Heroes' in their resplendent jerseys. While the headmaster attended the lot." (79)

The present headmaster of Marlborough, Mr. Roger Ellis, writing of public school house games has stated that the comparatively small size of the houses meant that almost everyone had to play in house matches at various levels with the result that the good performer was exalted and the bad one abased day after day in the main community faction of the place in which he lived. As a consequence, Mr. Ellis argues, it was above all through the house, that athleticism grew and flourished. (80) This is a point of the utmost significance. House games were unavoidable participatory rituals. All members were involved in these internal battles: they were either spectators or players depending on the occasion. All were in their different ways symbols of compulsory institutional patriotism which brought frequent exposure, and the chance of personal glory or disgrace in those things that for the majority mattered most. The extent to which athleticism went, and how far it dominated the public schoolboy view of life, could not be gauged without reckoning the rivalry of the houses with regard to football, declared Edward Lyttleton. In

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- (78) Benson, op.cit., p.231. Benson also gives vivid descriptions of house matches in his Sketches from Marlborough pp.50-3, and his autobiography Our Family Affairs pp.145, 207.
- (79) Letter to the present writer dated 6.X.73.
- (80) Letter to the present writer dated 24.VIII.73.

his experience house spirit fostered violent partisanship and even those of broad and tolerant disposition were swept away by it. (81) In this atmosphere heroes were easily made and scapegoats chosen. But more importantly in this way unity was effected out of diversity and retrospective affection out of immediate hostility.

III

Athletic glory or disgrace could be accentuated or mitigated by a more permanent symbolic representative of the house - the house master. This pillar of the public school system was for many a father figure whose influence could be considerable long after the celebration tea in his drawing room or the exhortations on the touchline were past:

"Just as the sun never sets on the British Empire, so it never sets upon all the Old Boys of a great public school at once. They are gone out into all lands: they are upholding the honour of the School all the world over. And wherever they are - London, Simla, Johannesburg, Nairobi or Little Pedlington Vicarage - they never lose touch with their old Housemaster. His correspondence is enormous; it weighs him down; but he would not relinquish a single picture postcard of it. He knows that whenever two or three of his Old Boys are gathered together, be it in Bangalore or Bulawayo, the talk will always drift round in time to the old School and the Old House." (82)

Such was the claim of the writer Ian Hay in a purple passage which would seem, for all that, a remarkably accurate observation.

(81) Lyttleton (1925), op.cit., p.42.

(82) Hay, op.cit., p.48. Three real life examples might be quoted. According to James Bryce (Studies in Contemporary Biography 1920, p.353) Edward Bowen kept up correspondence with many of his pupils after they left Harrow and advised them as the occasion arose. And a Harrow housemaster has informed the present writer that not only does he correspond with former members of his house but he is often sought out for advice by their parents. At Marlborough, by the time of his death, T.C.G. Sandford had several trunks full of correspondence from former members of his house. I owe this point to E.G.H. Kempson.

Housemasters could be, and sometimes were, a thorn in the flesh of the headmaster. Chowdler in The Lanchester Tradition had his equivalents in reality. The power to stand up to the headmaster, a power notably denied to the more professionally emasculated colleague, the assistant master, came from the substantial independence of owning his own house. The situation at Harrow was, to a considerable extent, general:

"Once a master had assumed charge of a house...he was in complete control of it and did not recognise the right of the Headmaster to intervene in his domestic affairs. In fact during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first twenty-five years of the twentieth, the School was governed by a kind of federal system in which the several houses were the states of the union, while the housemasters exercised an influence so great as to make the Headmaster's position one of 'primus inter pares' among his senior colleagues."⁽⁸³⁾

And it was virtually impossible to remove them. Loyalty, gratitude for past services, reluctance to cause embarrassment kept men in positions of responsibility which mentally and physically they were unfit to administer. The novelist, H.A. Vachell once wrote, "It is almost as difficult to turn an Eton or Harrow master out of his house, as to turn a parson of the Church of England out of his pulpit."⁽⁸⁴⁾ In the nineteenth century public school the house in fact constituted 'a State within a State'.

Thring's bitter conflicts with several of his housemasters recorded both in his diary and by his biographer, J.P. Parkin, illustrate this point nicely. The source of the trouble was Thring's desire to be an absolute monarch. He was strongly resisted. In turn, he was adamant; "You spoke to me of your claims because you built," he wrote to one housemaster. "You have no claims...To bring this to a clear issue, I utterly deny any claims."⁽⁸⁵⁾ To another he wrote, "I am not a

(83) Laborde, op.cit., p.175.

(84) H.A. Vachell, The Hill 1905 (39th ed. 1947), p.34.

(85) Parkin (Vol.I), op.cit., p.328.

constitutional monarch...You cannot share the main responsibility of the school...My position is far more that of a military commander who must act on his own responsibility, however much he may listen to advice."⁽⁸⁶⁾

Parkin includes an extract from Thring's diary to the effect that a headmaster would put up with almost anything rather than risk a clash with a housemaster,⁽⁸⁷⁾ which reveals that while Thring attempted to lay down the manner in which the houses should be run,⁽⁸⁸⁾ he fully appreciated the power of the master in charge. Although Parkin attributes Thring's failure to carry out his principles of control and dismissal of staff as vigorously as he expressed them in theory⁽⁸⁹⁾ to his kindheartedness, there is at least one other explanation - that the resistance of housemasters was up to a point successful even against his strong-minded opposition.

The ruler of the little sovereignty of the house, therefore, could determine the life-style of its members. The headmaster might stand before the curtain, but the housemaster issued stage directions to the cast from the wings. Punch understood his covert power:

"He served three Heads with equal zeal
And equal absence of ambition;
He knew his power, and did not feel
The least desire for recognition;
But shrewd observers, who could trace
Back to their source results far-reaching,
Saw the true Genius of the Place
Embodied in his life and teaching."⁽⁹⁰⁾

This power often ensured that the passions of his life and teaching were personified in his boys - animated marionettes responding to his touch, mostly enthusiastically; for his passions themselves were often predominantly youthful.

(86) Ibid., p.330.

(87) Ibid., pp.333-4.

(88) Ibid., p.331.

(89) Ibid., p.335.

(90) Punch 30th.May 1917, p.357.

Support for a review in The Spectator in 1913 of R.C.T.'s

A Housemaster's Letters, which was concerned to justify the freely admitted preoccupation with games in the house system of the public schools, (91) suggests the truth of this assertion. A 'Long-Serving Housemaster' wrote that housemasters were honest men; they would readily admit if the point was put fairly and squarely to them that the promotion of athletic distinction took deliberate precedence over the encouragement of active-minded boys, and it was a matter of comparative unimportance to them if a boy's mind was not being trained at this time of life. (92) It was written of one Harrow housemaster of the time, that what he desired most and what he got was "a set of good, clean fellows playing the game". (93) This ambition was clearly widely shared. (94)

Harrow, Marlborough, Uppingham and Lancing all have factual records and supportive myths of housemasters who were legendary lovers of games and whose houses, in consequence, reflected their enthusiasms. These actors were human value filters, focusing mechanisms and mnemonic agents. In the history of athleticism such men are archtypal symbols of ideological purity. Edward Bowen is probably the most famous.

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- (91) R.C.T. made an analysis of 167 men who made up his school cricket and football teams between 1890 and 1900 and who in their final school years devoted themselves largely to games, and discovered that all but three were successful in later life.
- (92) The Spectator Feb. 15th. 1913, p. 272.
- (93) Description of A.G. Watson, housemaster of Large House 1868-1891 in the Marlburian Vol. XXIX, No. 5, July 29th. 1916, p. 94.
- (94) In this context Geoffrey Chilton (Marlborough 1910-1915, assistant master 1920-1958) has informed the present writer that in the period immediately prior to the Great War, virtually all the housemasters at the school were enthusiastic advocates of games. One excellent indication of their enthusiasm at an even later period is to be found in the school Red Book which contains headmasters' notices to staff. During Turner's headship there was a ruling that superannuated pupils permitted extra terms at school were not allowed to play in inter-house games. Turner wrote that he considered the rule 'unhealthy' but appreciated it existed because housemasters could not trust one another not to make a special allowance for their athletes to remain at school once superannuated, in the interest of house games success (p. 227).

Bowen was assistant master at Harrow from 1859 to 1901. He was himself "an untiring athlete and admirer of feats of endurance".⁽⁹⁵⁾ His own feats of endurance have become legends. As an undergraduate "he thought little of walking from Cambridge to London"⁽⁹⁶⁾ and once he walked from London to Oxford in twenty-six consecutive hours. On another occasion at Harrow he ran the ten miles to London to a 'Drill' for volunteers. In later life he was reputed to have walked round the whole coastline of England and Wales. "His influence on athleticism at Harrow," declared his nephew, "though not supreme, was at any rate considerable."⁽⁹⁷⁾ An odd comment, perhaps dictated by modesty, possibly by a diplomatic desire to spare the feelings of the friends of Robert Grimston and the Earl of Bessborough, the two devoted amateur coaches of generations of Harrow cricketers. The fact is he has no close rival in this sphere. So extensive was his influence over such a long period of time that the Harrovian rightly asserted on his death, that "few things would be more difficult to convey to a stranger than an idea of Bowen's influence upon athletics".⁽⁹⁸⁾ He was unique as performer, organiser and inspirationalist. Literally "the playmate of youth to the last" he played football at the age of sixty-five within weeks of his death.⁽⁹⁹⁾ He contributed hugely to the systematic organisation of Harrow games. He was responsible for the 'Cricket Ground Bill' which shifted the traditional afternoon roll-call from the 'Bill Yard' to the cricket fields and so saved the players considerable time as well as the effort of trudging up the hill. He created the 'Torpids' (junior house matches), the 'Ones' (house ties between single football

(95) 'Quid', 'Memoirs of a Famous Schoolmaster', Baily's Magazine Jan. 1903, p.11.

(96) Idem.

(97) W. Bowen, op.cit., p.146.

(98) Harrovian Vol.XIV, No.3, May 13th.1901, p.31.

(99) W. Bowen, op.cit., p.231. He played in friendly home matches for his house until his late fifties and "was a dangerous man to be near" (Harrovian Vol.LXII, No.23, March 30th.1949, p.92).

players), the 'Infants' cricket match for junior boys and the ritual of the 'Tree Planting Ceremony' on the Philathletic Field for cricketers who scored fifty runs excluding boundaries in a school match. The potency of his school and house songs which "cast the mantle of poetry round daily struggle with bat and ball"⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ has been recorded by many Old Harrovians. Even his discipline was imbued with physical concern. To him lines meant 'fugging' indoors and so instead he would hide objects several miles from school and send defaulters to find them, or send them on a run to Pinner or another neighbouring village to count the palings around a whitewashed cottage.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

In the wider world his contribution to physical activity was also considerable. He was one of the founders of Association Football and played for the famous 'Wanderers F.C.' which won the Football Association Challenge Cup outright. He organised cricket tours and football matches for Harrovians including the 'office hours' match each Christmas in London, played continuously from ten o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. While others stole short rests, Bowen "normally contrived to stay through the six hours game without any cessation of activity".⁽¹⁰²⁾ In 1877 he recommended to the Civil Service Commission investigating the examination system for the Army and the Indian Civil Service an examination of speed, strength and endurance which was accepted in modified form.

His interest in the match at Lord's "was unsurpassed by boy or colleague"⁽¹⁰³⁾ and his verses celebrating famous matches - 'A Gentleman A-Bowling', 'Lord's 1873', 'Lord's 1878' and 'Lord's 1900' - are major contributions to Harrow folklore and to the mythology of athleticism.

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- (100) J. Burrow (ed.), Kings and Commoners: Studies in British Idealism 1936, p.39.
 (101) H.A. Vachell, Fellow Travellers 1923, pp.25-6.
 (102) 'Quid', op.cit., p.12.
 (103) W. Bowen, op.cit., p.143.

It was in one of these verses celebrating a tense moment in the annual meeting that he revealed much of his philosophy and that of many pupils of his era:

"What is it? forty, thirty more?
You in the trousers white,
What did you come to Harrow for
If we lose the match tonight?" (104)

A more expansive outline of his philosophy is to be found in the essay entitled simply 'Games' which he wrote for the small coterie of public school masters called 'The United Ushers' who met regularly in London to discuss educational matters. A typical extract reads:

"I offer as my deliberate opinion, that the best boys are on the whole the players of games. I had rather regenerate England with the football elevens than the average Member of Parliament...When I reflect on the vices to which games are a permanent corrective - laziness, foppery, man-of-the-worldness - I am not surprised at being led to the verdict which I have just delivered." (105)

Of this paper Bowen's nephew wrote, "Beneath all the levity there runs a steady purpose - the advocacy of athleticism as the most important and valuable of all factors making up our educational system." (106)

In 1882 Bowen became housemaster of one of the large Harrow houses, the 'Grove', and, wrote his biographer, "It need not be said that Edward Bowen's interest in athletics showed itself very strongly in connection with his House." (107) He was now at the apogee of his power and encouraged con fuenco all activities that strengthened a healthy, manly, unselfish, corporate life. He enthusiastically embraced the Coubertin aphorism 'to strengthen the mind you must harden the muscles', maintaining that he would 'a hundred times cut two schools rather than one house match'. (108) He had no time, therefore, for the individualistic

(104) Fourth stanza of 'Lord's 1878' quoted in W. Bowen, op.cit., p.410.

(105) E. Bowen, 'Games', The Journal of Education Feb.1st.1884, p.70.

(106) W. Bowen, op.cit., p.222.

(107) Ibid., p.197.

(108) Harrovian Vol.II, No.2, March 7th,1889, p.145.

activities such as rackets, fives and gymnastics. In addition he was an apostle of simple vigorous, hardy living. He would tolerate no armchairs, warm baths, daintily furnished rooms or early fires. In his chilly, bleakly-furnished house the boys were expected to endure without complaint.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The only permitted luxury was his 'glorification' or 'consolation' cake (depending on the result) for house football teams eaten in his unpretentious drawing-room.

In Bowen an ethos and a society are splendidly epitomised in a single man. But there were other less famous figures, singled out by obituarists, historians and biographers, who were equally committed.

At Marlborough T.C.G. Sandford⁽¹¹⁰⁾ was renowned as "a prodigy of physical energy". He was an Old Marlburian who in his youth had been a noted schoolboy athlete, had "learned early how to train others...(and) became a very successful and rather terrific Captain of House and School".⁽¹¹¹⁾ After a successful athletic career at Oxford, he returned to Marlborough, where, according to his obituarist, his contribution lay in a career of athletic service unequalled in the school's history.⁽¹¹²⁾ In due course he became a housemaster of simple values and dominant personality. It was in this capacity that he displayed his "fullest power and will". He coached, beat and cared for his house with devotion and the products were "tough but never hooligans".⁽¹¹³⁾ Athletically 'Sandy's' house dominated the school. Within the house, according to ex-pupil, Ulric Nisbet, writing of Marlborough before the First World War athletics dominated the boys:

(109) Bryce, op.cit., p.350.

(110) T.C.G. Sandford, Marlborough 1892-1896 (Hockey XI - 1899-96, Cricket XI - 1894-96, Rugby XV - 1893-95). He captained both hockey and cricket elevens, won a hockey blue at Oxford, returned to Marlborough in 1902 and remained until 1937. He was in turn housemaster of C₂, Priory and Preshute.

(111) Marlburian Vol.LXXVII, No.1001, Feb. 1943, p.7. . .

(112) Idem.

(113) Idem.

"The Spartan discipline that he inflicted upon himself was reflected in our customs and doings. There were two pairs of hanging rings in our long dormitory, and upon these each Saturday night new boys, and sometimes those not so new, were made to carry out an excruciating exercise called "pull-through". Failure was punishable with three strokes - in pyjamas. Panic always produced failure; otherwise it was a knack rather than muscle that accomplished the feat. I was once tapped in dormitory possibly for failing on the rings, but more of my contemporaries suffered regularly (notably poor C, too tall for his years) till their seniority or a compassionate prefect saved them from further disgrace."⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Only in the worst conditions did members of T.C.G.S's house wear overcoats. When occasionally released from their own games to watch a school match, they could always be recognised, shivering in football kit. The conditioning was apparently successful. "Those with an ambition for glory," wrote Nisbet, "could conceive of nothing more illustrious in those days than a place in the eleven."⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Perhaps the most famous games master at Uppingham was A.M. Smallwood (1926-1952) who, on his arrival at the school in 1926, "resuscitated Uppingham games".⁽¹¹⁶⁾ For thirty-one seasons he coached the Uppingham XV demonstrating considerable physical endurance. During his period as games master the school won more blues than at any other. Among his responsibilities was physical training and he introduced the practice of 'breathers' whereby the whole school did physical exercises at morning break. As housemaster of the Lodge (1926-1946) he demanded a high standard of physical well-being from the boys and together they did P.T. before breakfast every day. It is recorded that when he retired,

(114) Marlburian Vol.XCIX, Lent Term 1964, p.30. Rings remained a physical feature of house dormitories until 1955 when they were removed for reasons of structural safety. I owe this point to Mr. G. Murray, the Archivist of Marlborough College. For a further description of the 'turnover' exercise see Beverley Nichols, Father Figure 1967, p.123.

(115) Geoffrey Chilton, who was in Sandford's house, has described him to the present writer as a "Christian gentleman who was always considerate and fair to those who tried". "He was", said Chilton, "besieged by applicants for house places."

(116) U.S.M. Vol.XCIII, No.656, March 1955, p.31.

on the morning following the arrival of his successor at the Lodge, one of the maids, awaking to an unfamiliar silence, rushed out of her room crying out in alarm, "Mr. D. (Smallwood's successor) has forgotten the P.T." (117) The truth was, however, that Mr. D's day "began less vigorously"!

Lancing had Rev. J.S.M. Walker (1875-1887) who, like Sandford at Marlborough, was a noted and influential schoolboy athlete. As a pupil at Lancing he was responsible for the school adopting association football and in 1877 he became games master. Walker was never a housemaster but it might be argued that his influence was all the more pervasive for that. Soccer was his major interest and his energy, his inventiveness and his enthusiasm produced the Golden Age of Lancing football. In the 1870s and 1880s Lancing was predominantly a football school due to his influence. (118) His philosophy and intensity of commitment can be assessed from two extracts from the Lancing College Magazine, widely dispersed in time but similar in outlook. The first is an editorial in 1877 which owed much to his inspiration:

"The clear breezes of the South Coast may make the place a hot-bed of muscular development but there is something beyond muscle and much better than muscle required to make a Football player. We must have in the place the masculine honesty of the Rugby of Arnold, if we are to be, as we claim, like the Rugby of Arnold, a school with a character of its own in the game." (119)

Thirty years later he wrote a letter to the magazine regretting the deterioration of Lancing football, which gives an even clearer insight in to the single-mindedness that produced a glorious decade of success for Lancing:

(117) Ibid., Vol.XCIII, No.657, June 1955, p.66.

(118) Handford (1933), op.cit., pp.144-5. "Lancing and J.S.M. Walker taught England how to play soccer."

(119) L.C.M., Vol.I, No. 2, Nov.1877, p.13.

"It is said that a nation always gets the Government it deserves,...the Government reflects the mood of the nation. In the same way the school gets the XI it deserves...Twenty years ago we lived, breathed, ate, drank, slept and dreamt in relation to football...No doubt we were uncouth vandals but we were keen on football, so we had an XI which reflected our attitude to the game." (120)

Others merit a definite, if less ostentatious place in the Pantheon of athleticism. At Harrow, M.C. Kemp⁽¹²¹⁾ (housemaster of Moreton's 1904-1921) was "before all else a games-player". (122) He established a strong games playing tradition at Moreton's and "games always came first". (123) This tradition lived on long after his retirement. "For many years," the Harrovian recorded, "until the pressure of modern examinations and rising standards, Moreton's was exclusively a games-playing house where 'grouse' was a violent reproach." (124) At Elmfield Cyril Browne (1933-1948), "a great House Master of the old school", carefully built up the character of his boys through the playing of games! (125)

At Marlborough there was, of course, John Babington (C₃ 1869-1875) who under his pseudonym 'Trebla' wrote the euphuistic pieces in the Marlburian in support of the moral qualities of games. (126) Also at Marlborough was W.J. Ford (C₁ 1877-1886) who went to be principal of Nelson College, New Zealand. He displayed "extraordinary prowess at

(120) Ibid., Vol.3, No.33, Jan.1907.

(121) Kemp was an Old Harrovian (1874-1880). At school he was captain of cricket (1880) and Public Schools Rackets Champion. At Oxford he represented the University at association football, rackets and cricket and captained the Oxford XI that beat the Australians. On his appointment to Harrow as assistant master he was referred to in the press as the 'master of games' (Harrow Association Records (1920-24)). He took charge of Harrow cricket in 1888 and continued in charge until 1921. It is claimed he was instrumental in raising £10,000 for Harrow cricket over the years (Harrovian Vol.LXIV, No.29, July 11th. 1957, p.124).

(122) Harrovian Vol.XXIV, No.14, Feb.16th. 1961, p.65.

(123) Ibid., p.66.

(124) Idem.

(125) Ibid., Vol.LXI, No.25, May 19th. 1948, p.100.

(126) See Chapter 2 above.

games" and was a noted cricket writer whose work included histories of Middlesex C.C. and Cambridge University C.C. and a biography of W.G. Grace.

"Of boy-like zest in games of strength and skill
Of keen-felt joy of life in open air." (127)

wrote the Marlborough poet 'R.B.' of A.H. Beesly (C₂ 1865-1875, Summerfield 1875-1885), another games enthusiast who gave considerable encouragement to his house teams, so much so that he was "sometimes considered to be too deeply absorbed in athletics, to make too much of the school games, and to lead boys to attach undue importance to them by the pressure which as a housemaster he brought to bear in this direction, perhaps because of a conviction of their highest value for school and house". (128) Beesly wrote poems of schoolboy nostalgia typical of the period. It was in one of them, 'The Old School Gate', that he visualised the Old Marlburian out in the Empire recalling wistfully,

"The caps and vestures of infinite hue
That gleam in the strife of the Red and the Blue." (129)

Uppingham housemasters who have won a minor place in posterity for their games enthusiasm include W.J. Earle (Brooklands 1861-1880), A.C. Taylor (West Deyne 1899-1927) and F.W. Weldon (Lorne 1895-1919). Earle, in his time as master, played for his house, the school and Uppingham Rovers. And in his later years in retirement in his Essex rectory "would delight in welcoming his old boys and talking over with them, the good old days when his boys were captains of the School Eleven, and when his house held the champion cup". Taylor rebuilt the sporting tradition of West Deyne after it had lapsed for some years, and due to his encouragement the school year 1905-6 saw his house win seven 1st XV colours and four 1st XI colours. (131) The historians of Lorne House

(127) Marlburian Vol. XLIV, No. 671, Oct. 5th 1909, p. 133.

(128) Ibid., p. 127.

(129) A.H. Beesly, Ballads and Other Verses 1895, p. 21.

(130) Patterson, op.cit., p. 35.

(131) David Tate, West Deyne 1859-1959 p. 8. (U.S.A.)

have written of Weldon that he "was not one to miss the chance of a game, and in his time the House entered upon an era of athletic success especially cricket".⁽¹³²⁾ The peak was reached in the decade 1897-1907 when Lorne House recorded an unprecedented run of five consecutive victories in the 'Overs'.⁽¹³³⁾

In the Bowen mould at Lancing was T.D. Cook (Seconds House 1895-1911) an old boy of the school who continued to play football into his fifties.⁽¹³⁴⁾ Cook was yet another orthodox muscular Christian of the period. On one occasion he recorded in his diary, "Rode to Thakenham Rectory for our clerical meeting. Briscoe, our host, is quite a good chap and read a high-toned paper on The Clergy and Sports and Games..."⁽¹³⁵⁾ Another celebrated housemaster at Lancing was A.C. Wilson (Seconds House 1859-1870), who, as we have seen,⁽¹³⁶⁾ was dedicated to making his house successful at games; between 1858 and 1868 it's cricket team remained unbeaten.⁽¹³⁷⁾ W.B. Harris (Head's House tutor 1916-1919, Gibbs House-master 1919-1926), one time captain of England's amateur football team, was another who strongly influenced Lancing house games. He is reputed to have lived for football and among his contributions to school games was the creation of house leagues.⁽¹³⁸⁾

Some of these men, while inspirational on the games field, were 'muscular' by propensity, borne by virtue of their early conditioning and their successes, but it would be naive to press them all into the same mould. For example, Edward Bowen was in the view of one admirer "the most brilliant, original and liberal-minded of teachers" and a thoughtful

(132) Jonathan and Michael Lewis, Lorne House 1856-1956 p.10. (U.S.A.). The 'Overs' was the house cricket competition.

(133) Idem.

(134) L.C.M. Vol.4, No.4, May 1911, p.46.

(135) Diary of T.D. Cook, entry for Oct.15th 1908. (L.C.A.).

(136) See Chapter 2 above.

(137) L.C.M. Vol.2, No.30, Nov.1884, p.36; Handford (1933), op.cit., p.97.

(138) Handford(1933), op.cit., p.248; also L.C.M. Vol.19, No.372, Nov. 1926, pp.118-9, for an appreciation of W.B. Harris.

religious, political and educational radical in a highly conservative school.⁽¹³⁹⁾ A.H. Beesly was a write of repute and author of several books of poetry and history⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ and A.C. Taylor 'a scholar, athlete and cricketer' in that order.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ What they all shared, however, was a belief, firmly held and energetically put into practice, of the central role of team games in school life.

"Their conception of duty was to sacrifice themselves in all their available time to coaching, and to expect the boys to do the same... They far outdid the juveniles in their worship of the game and the influence of these magnificent exponents of the art of hitting and kicking balls...actualising a boyish ideal of life, was, of course, boundlessly potent."⁽¹⁴²⁾

This passage refers to the Eton masters, Mitchell and Depuis, but the extract is essentially a description of all the sporting housemasters of the English public school. They personified 'the boyish ideal of life': their passion inspired passion: their effort stimulated effort. As 'magnificent exponents' and in consequence as inspirational symbols, buttressed by the independence of their position and supported by upper class society in general, they were able to act out their philosophy of education, indulge in their physical obsessions and insist that their way was the way of those under their tutelage and roof. Secure in their autonomy and popularity they played a large part in ensuring the dominance of athleticism.

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- (139) Bryant, op.cit., p.145. For a brief but excellent sketch of Bowen the stimulating educational radical see Archer, op.cit., p.227. At Cambridge he was "one of the most distinguished and brilliant of our graduates" (W. Bowen, op.cit., p.45) and was a member of the select group of intellectuals, the 'Apostles'. He contributed to Farrar's Essays on Liberal Education (1867).
- (140) For a sympathetic description of Beesly see E.F. Benson (1920), op.cit., pp.157-65. Benson considered him "by far the most gifted I ever came under either at school or the University".
- (141) I owe this point to Mr. T.B. Belk, the Uppingham School archivist.
- (142) Lyttleton (1925), op.cit., p.22.

IV

Rupert Wilkinson has argued that public school inculcation of loyalty amounted to education by symbol.⁽¹⁴³⁾ His statement constitutes half the truth. There was symbolic inculcation not only of loyalty but of obeisance. Participants in the sporting rituals of the public schools created for themselves dazzling symbolic trappings of both identity and dominance: caps, badges, ties, belts, hatbands, blazers, buttons, stockings, scarves, tassels and shirts all acted as vivid mnemonic agents. In classroom and chapel, to and from games fields, the warring factions were labelled and the famous were garlanded. In the Golden Age of the public schools and athleticism between approximately 1860 and 1914, when economies were virtually unknown and indulgence accepted, these sporting symbols of identity and success were numerous and gorgeous. The good games player was the proud owner of a colourful athletic wardrobe that made him "a cynosure of the vulgar and an object of complacent admiration to himself".⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Schoolboy imaginations were not squandered on textbook images of Homeric heroes voyaging through the Aegean but were exercised in the creation of emblems of local patriotism.

Of Harrow in the 1860s it was written:

(143) Wilkinson (1964), op.cit., p.45.

(144) Malim, op.cit., p.163.

"No sight could have been more picturesque than that of the boys going down to 'footer'. The Middlemites wore their dark blue coats and blue stockings, the Tommyites (Steele's not Bowen's) their scarlet coats and red stockings, the 'Monkeyites' their carnation striped coats, the Bradbyites their purple striped coats, while we Butlerites were content to play in our pink and white shirts. It was not considered good form in a Butlerite to wear a coat 'down to footer' and then you might swathe in magenta.

I will not attempt to describe the gorgeous plumage of the 'Billyites', the 'Harrisites' and the young 'Vaughanites'." (145)

Some years later Marlborough house colours were tabulated thus:

Colours	Badge
B1. Mr. Madden's - Lake and white	Mitre
B2. Mr. Cummins' - Red and white	Maltese Cross
B3. Mr. Taylor's - Red and black	Fleur-de-lys
C1. Mr. Abbot's - Blue and black	Crossed Arrows
C2. Mr. Champneys' - Indigo and white	Crescent
C3. Mr. Wood's - Blue and white	Star
Preshute - Red, white and blue	Crescent and star
Cotton House - Orange and black	Sword and key
Littlefield - Red, black and white	Scallop shell (146)

Lancing in the 1870s was distinguished by an ingenious idea whereby the school colours of blue and white were also used as house colours. Different patterns indicated the various houses - spots or 'blobs' for the Headmaster's, zig-zags for the Second Master's and lines for School House. (147)

(145) Minchin (1901), op.cit., p.159.

(146) L.W. Bryce, 'Marlborough College', P.S.M. July, 1898, p.10.

(147) Handford (1933), op.cit., p.128.

Among the resolutions passed by the Uppingham Games Committee as early as 1864 were the following: elevens of the Upper Club should wear white flannel caps with distinguishing ribands and elevens of the Lower Club should wear blue flannel caps with no riband, while Lower Club second elevens should wear red flannel caps.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Representatives of the school could scarcely be less flamboyant. And the Uppingham XV eventually went to their home matches on the Leicester Field dressed in blue silk sashes and ornamental caps of black velvet with the school crest embroidered in silver thread, bindings of silver braid and silk tassels. Their regalia included hunting crops which were handed to the 'Pollies' (praeposters) who used them for keeping order during the game.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

The hierarchical significance of these symbols of differentiation is illustrated by an imaginary description of a visit to Marlborough in the last quarter of the nineteenth century written by a Marlborough master of the time: "The boys we meet in blue caps striped with white belong to the cricket eleven who fight the battles of the school against all opponents and immediately below them come the cricket twenty-two - these may be recognized by their blue caps striped with red. The football twenty are held in equal honour, and have also the distinction of a special cap - a black one with white stripes."⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Emblems of success were designed for other heroes than representatives of school and house. At Uppingham, for example, all the school was divided into 'games' for rugby, hockey and cricket. The skilful were promoted from one 'game' to the next and so on. This distinction was known as "getting one's 'land'" and was signified by a star. Each 'game' had its own distinctive star and thus the successful proudly

(148) U.S.M. Vol.II, No.14, June 13th 1864, p.214.

(149) Arthur G. Penny, The Shirt-Sleeved Generation 1953, p.113.

(150) F.Edward Hulme, The Town, College and Neighbourhood of Marlborough 1881, p.75.

displayed an impressive row of stars on their chests.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ A bizarre and melancholy occurrence concerning one Harrovian provides some insight into the great importance attached to 'colours'. In 1871 G.C. Cottrell was tragically killed on the Sixth Form ground a short time before the Lord's Match in which he was certain to have played. The 'cap' he would have won was sent to his mother by the captain of the eleven and solemnly buried with him.⁽¹⁵²⁾

Such extreme reverence inevitably produced its Sadducee - G.W.S. Howson. Howson took up the headship of Gresham's School, at that time an insignificant grammar school in Norfolk, in 1900. Prior to this he had been an assistant master at Uppingham for fourteen years (1886-1900) and there he had become completely disillusioned with the whole business of the adulation of the athlete. He was a double misfit - a scientist in a classical school and a non-athlete "in a school where athletics counted for so much".⁽¹⁵³⁾ At Gresham's in consequence, he had "the most salutary contempt for the athletic grandee" and was "the bitter foe of athleticism".⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ He expressed his opposition strongly, frequently and calculatedly in words and actions. One one occasion even his loyal biographer, J.H. Simpson, a master at Gresham's between 1908 and 1910, was somewhat shocked when Howson called a boy off the pitch to his study during an important house match.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ There were no cups or athletic trophies, no matches against other schools and colours were reduced to a minimum - he had "no taste for the usual athletic millinery".⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

(151) Penny, op.cit., p.112.

(152) This story is recounted in several places. For example, J.E.C. Welldon, Strand Magazine Vol.IV, July-Dec. 1892, p.246 and Laborde, op.cit., p.107.

(153) Simpson (1925), op.cit., p.60.

(154) Simpson (1954), op.cit., p.83.

(155) Ibid., p.92.

(156) Simpson (1925), op.cit., pp.63-4.

Almond shared Howson's dislike of the sartorial trappings of athletic success.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ In taking this attitude, as in his rejection of the house system, he again emphasized the individual nature of his own ideals and the position of his school outside the mainstream culture of the public school system. However, while it is possible because of Almond's many sensible ideas to agree with the conclusion of a recent commentator that Almond was an educator of considerable stature,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ it is not easy to see how the same writer could conclude that throughout his forty years at Loretto "he attempted to nullify any tendency to conformity, which was a feature of English public schools of the period".⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Certainly Almond neither admired nor emulated some of the excesses of athleticism, including dress, that characterised the upper class boarding schools of the South. He opposed vehemently the award of colours, blazers or caps for games because of the individualism they underlined.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ And as there was no house system at Loretto there were no house symbols of identity and prestige. It is true that he was "a Protestant of Protestants against all foolish and irrational conventions: an apostle of fresh air and healthy body: his gospel - the gospel of physical and mental sanity" as the Lorettonian claimed on his death.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Certainly he was the plain Methodist of the games field when set alongside to High Anglican of the Philathletic, the Upper or the Dyke Field; but Loretto had its own corporate symbols of being - the open neck, the flannel shorts, the boots, the bare heads, the coatless backs. These were Almond's symbols of institutional conformity, of Lorettonianism or Rationality - an extreme, if in some ways more sensible, manifestation of the games movement.

(157) Mackenzie, op.cit., p.248; Lorettonian Vol.XXVI, No.4, Nov.28th 1903, p.13.

(158) Thomson, op.cit., p.122.

(159) Idem.

(160) F.W.M. Kitto, 'Loretto School', P.S.M. Dec.1900.

(161) Lorettonian Vol.XXV, No.10, March 18th 1903, p.37.

In fact, both Lorettonianism and mainstream conformity were hostages of athleticism. Both elevated the athletic in their different ways. Ironically, Howson and Almond, while sharing some antipathies, did not exert the same influence!

The Jesuits did not escape pressure to conform to the general public school image. Masters and boys observed their protestant contemporaries and found some of their ways attractive. The Stonyhurst Football Journal records that in 1890 Father James Robinson set up an inter-class football league on the lines of a cock-house competition after reading an account of house matches in the Rossallian and presented ten pounds for the purchase of a trophy.⁽¹⁶²⁾ Ultimately it was considered that while the introduction of association football was a reasonably successful innovation, "some of the community and many of the boys were too keen about it, talking of professionals, getting telegrams, etc." Staff were consequently banned from playing in the school team, and a senior member of staff was put in overall control to curb over-enthusiasm.⁽¹⁶³⁾

At about this time the geographical and social isolation of Stonyhurst was being somewhat reduced. Access to Oxford and Cambridge was now possible. Contact with other schools for both football and cricket matches had been established for several years and the boys were becoming more conscious of their social similarities to other public schoolboys and less conscious of their religious dissimilarity which had meant a traditional ostracism. The editors of the school magazine considered this progressive breakdown was nowhere more pronounced than in

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- (162) Stonyhurst Association Football Journal p.63 (S.C.A.).
 Father Robinson was the Stonyhurst Bowen. He was a sportsman who did a great deal to encourage football, cricket and hockey while an ordinary member of staff (1877-1884) and as First Prefect (1888-1907). Obituary in S.C.M. Vol.XV, No.226, Feb.1920, p.94.
- (163) Rector's Book for Matters connected with the interests of the College 1869-1893 entry in the year 1888. (S.C.A.)

organised games. It is not surprising therefore to find in 1894 a letter in the magazine requesting college colours,⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ and by 1896 we learn that it had become the fashion of the Cricket XI to wear white blazers trimmed with blue.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ One correspondent even wrote of the need for a realisation that the status of the college in the public school system was dependent on its cricket.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Another complained about apathetic attitudes and poor attendance at school matches and proposed that consideration be given to several reforms to ensure that members of the XI felt it to be a distinction to be chosen for the school team. Among the necessary reforms listed were a colours presentation "with solemnity" (emphasis added), privileges for "old blues" and a greater number of regular matches.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ These proposals show yet again just how far from the norm Stonyhurst stood and just how carelessly (or deliberately!) officialdom treated the athletic hero.

But Stonyhurst was a school for upper class boys proud of its public school status and could carry its individualism only so far. If the symbols and rituals of athleticism were an integral part of public school life, then to ignore them completely was to emphasise difference, perpetuate suspicion and prolong the school's long history of social insecurity, which deliberate effort over the decades had tended to lessen. The emulators had their way; the indigenous Stonyhurst football and cricket were played less and 'London' cricket became firmly institutionalised; a set of permanent cups were awarded for athletics⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ and in 1907 colours for school teams were introduced - a green and white blazer, hatband, tie, cap and sash.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ This conscious move towards integration

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- (164) S.C.M. Vol.V, No.74, June 1894, p.326.
 (165) Ibid., Vol.VI, No.87, July 1896, p.198.
 (166) Ibid., Vol.VI, No.86, June 1896, p.168.
 (167) Ibid., Vol.VI, No.84, Feb.1896, p.122.
 (168) Ibid., Vol.VI, No.92, June 1897, p.368.
 (169) Ibid., Vol.X, No.153, July 1907, p.326.

grew in strength over the subsequent decades. In the context of games it is symbolised by the request in the magazine in 1917 for the introduction of rugby football - the public school game par excellence in the view of its protagonist.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

But the continued absence of a house system, school discipline firmly in the hands of the priests and the Jesuit tradition of strenuous intellectual endeavour ensured that the values of the athletocrat remained subserviant to those of the Order. Philip Bell, an articulate Stonyhurst pupil, reflecting on The Loom of Youth in a book of essays, Idols and Idylls published in 1917, thought that Stonyhurst provided a better education, achieved better academic results and turned out better men than Fernhurst - because of religion. But he considered the College was not without faults. More authority should be in the boys' hands. In particular they were not given enough say in the control of games!⁽¹⁷¹⁾

There can be little doubt that the bitterness of Howson, the independence of Almond, the constraints of the Jesuits, were justified. One indication of eventual over-enthusiasm for games is that house colours ultimately preoccupied many masters and boys to a ridiculous degree.

At Harrow, by 1891 the house fez (football cap) was in general use in all houses and most houses had three! At Druries, for example, there was an 'ordinary fez' of red and black stripes with a black tassel, the 'Cap fez' with no tassel and the 'Match fez' of black velvet with a red tassel. The latter was to be worn only for house matches while the distinction between the other two has been lost in history.⁽¹⁷²⁾ Butler's in the previous decade provided even more exotic headgear. There were

(170) Ibid., Vol.XIII, No.211, June 1917, p.1926.

(171) Philip Bell, Idols and Idylls:Essays by a Public Schoolboy 1917, p.78. When Father Robinson's 'house' games system was reformed in 1922 the reorganisation was the work of a Father Wilson. A fact that further reveals the boys' subservient role in the control of games.

(172) Harrovian Vol.LXII, No.23, March 30th 1949, p.92.

three fezzes: all pink - the house match fez, pink sides and tassel, white top ('the wedding cake'), pink and white check with a pink and white tassel. (173)

In 1896 a correspondent of the Uppingham magazine with a predilection for both symmetry and the aesthetic urged the extension of the house 'colour' system of caps, ribands and belts to ordinary cricket matches on the Upper, Middle and Lower ground pitches, so that "each ground would have it characteristic cap and belt". (174)

An inspection of the 1921 Report Book (175) of the Lancing College Games Committee, which consisted of both staff and pupils, reveals that they spent much of their time, even at this late date, discussing the problem of house and school 'colour' awards, patterns and designs. Among the issues debated - sometimes sharply - were the right to 'colours' of boxers, athletes, rugby, fives and tennis players, the possibility of replacing college caps with college stockings and the design of blazer badges for the school elevens. For the prominent house athlete, the Report Book further reveals, a house cap, tie, square and scarf were the commonplace adornments of success. There were, in addition, house sweaters for soccer and cricket. If this was not sufficient by way of decoration, one of the early meetings dealt with a complaint about brass buttons on blazers, irregular hat bands and spurious colours of all kinds worn by envious and less successful members of the school.

Watchdogs of the system who kept guard over the raiment of the athletocracy fell into two categories. There were the jealous guardians of privileges and respectors of tradition, such as the Lancing Games Committee above, the Harrow Philathletic Club, the Uppingham Committee of

(173) Harrow Verses written in 1873-4 by three members of Mr. Hutton's House p.52. (H.S.A.)

(174) U.S.M. Vol.XXXIV, No.268, June 1896, pp.185-6.

(175) Lancing College Games Committee Report Book 1921. See especially the committee meeting for July 5th.1921. (L.C.A.)

Five and the Marlborough Dress Committee. They were responsible for drawing up rules and regulations concerning games apparel. A Harrovian 'ukase' for 1914, for example, read:

"Scarves: No coloured scarves or mufflers should be worn by any boy who is not a member of the School Elevens or Eights. If scarves are worn at all, they must be either plain white ones or the recognised sashes of the School Cricket Eleven, the School Football Eleven, the Gymnastics Eight, the School Shooting Eight or Each House.

Football: Fez or Fez Cap and fez belt and stockings with authentic pattern of House tops are to be the only distinctions between House Elevens and the rest - not House garters." (176)

The second category of watchdogs were those headmasters and assistant masters who were not at all happy with the lavish expenditure on games dress and trophies. Montagu Butler attracted a most irreverent set of verses for his attempts to reduce the athletics finery at Harrow by abolishing games 'blazers' and house stockings in 1874. Two stanzas run as follows:

"By each useless harmful rule,
That o'erhangs this ancient school,
By each antiquated law,
That should burden us no more,
Why should I at footer wear
No blue coat or stockings fair?

By the numerous matches lost
Since thy form this threshold crossed,
By the myriad parents bated,
By the superannuated
Oh! thou interfering scum
Wherefore didst thou ever come?" (177)

A circular in 1883 at Harrow disclosed that some housemasters intended to limit the amount of money spent on sports meetings and would only accept up to three cups a year, which should be of moderate value and presented by former house members, thus excluding contemporary members. (178)
Harrow staff also attempted to limit clothing excesses. One issue of

(176) Harrow School Rules and Regulations 1914.

(177) J.G.L. 'To a Certain Friend' in Harrow Verses op.cit., pp.51-3.

(173) Handwritten Circular for Staff Meeting Jan.31st.1883. (H.S.A.)

the Harrow handbook Existing Customs contained the following rules of dress:

"The Fez or Fez Cap (at the Housemaster's discretion) is to be the only distinction between the Eleven and the rest of the House. No distinctive coats, belts, comforters are allowed except in the case of the School Eleven...No badges for games may be instituted without the Headmaster's sanction. House racquets badges are not allowed." (179)

These endeavours do not appear to have met with much success.

The problem of games clothing eventually became serious enough to concern the members of the Headmasters' Conference. "I think there has been a great deal of unnecessary expenditure on athletics in the schools...An enormous amount of money has been spent of late years, and is still being spent, by the school, on the upkeep of grounds and upon athletics generally and by parents, on what I may call athletic drapery...When I was a boy at Rugby there was quite enough spent; but since then there has been a change for the worse in every way," declared W. Vaughan, headmaster of Rugby school, to the assembled members in 1914. (180)

Vaughan used the excuse of desirable war economies to curtail expenditure and in 1916 the War Economies Sub-committee reported that at schools associated with the Conference team caps, blazers, jerseys, scarves, flannels, zephyr knickers, running shoes and vests, cricket boots and shoes were being discontinued.

The Great War was seen by some as a watershed in the history of public school games. "Gone was the old world of security, stability and order," wrote J.P. Graham, the Uppingham master. (181) He noted that virtually no foreign matches and competitions took place after a while and the abolition of the periodic days of festivity and reunion, hallowed by long established custom inevitably broke cherished traditions. If the

(179) Existing Customs (undated), p.30. (H.S.A.)

(180) Report of the Headmasters' Conference for 1914 p.21.

(181) Graham, op.cit., p.132.

old certainties were gone, and old traditions lost, the war economies were not permanent, and while it would seem that the eventual austerities of the 1930s, ⁽¹⁸²⁾ the ever widening choice of activity in schools and the increasing academic emphasis together ensured that the lavish spectacles of pre-war years were no longer the norm, the house system and the school teams remained and the symbols associated with them, although muted and perhaps increasingly less symbolic of loyalty and status, remained also; so we read in the Harrovian at the start of the Second World War that "the Philathletic Club has proposed and the Headmaster agreed to, some alterations in dress and colour regulations to take effect next term, and for the duration of the war," and the following list was printed:

School Colours

To be kept

Blazer for Rugby and Rugby Stockings.
Harrow Football Blazer
Cap and hat for Cricket
(remainder optional)
Vest for Rugby XV
Blue shorts for Harrow Football
and Rugby
Sixth Form Coat
Philathletic Cap
White 3 year cap

To be abolished

Shirt for Harrow football
Rugby Caps
Harrow Football Fezzes
All scarves (except 3 years)
Fives and Racquets flannels
All School Rugby vests except
1st XV
Running Vests
Gym vests and belts
Boxing vests and belts

House Colours

House stockings and Rugby stockings
for football
House rugby vests
House cap for Cricket
Harrow football fez

Rugby Caps
Running Caps
House football shirts
House scarves

(183)

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- (182) At Lancing, for example, in 1934 standard house caps were introduced - all for 4/6. Previously prices had ranged from 18/6 to 4/6. At Harrow about this time, when the cost of material became exorbitant, one Old Harrovian had the cloth for sports clothing woven, another bought the cloth for the school, yet another had it tailored and the clothing was loaned to teams (Harrovian Vol.LXX, No.12, June 30th 1957, p.60).
- (183) Harrovian Vol.LIII, No.33, July 1940, p.130.

It was only after the Second World War that the status of the Harrow athlete declined and the associated symbols declined in number and importance. Yet as late as 1950 it was recorded: "Those who have won distinction at school sport wear, different coloured scarves, blue for cricket, blue and grey for rugger, blue and white for footer...and many others which make up a dazzling array of colours together. Anyone who knows the significance of every scarf has learnt a lot." (184)

The daily acts of worship which were once a feature of the education of Christian gentlemen at the English public school were one effective means of emphasising and identifying hierarchical levels in the school - through difference in dress, seating, order of arrival and departure, duties and responsibilities. (185) The systematic reiteration of social position involved in daily chapel attendances are a fascinating aspect of ordered status differentiation to the student of the social role of symbolism. Yet there exists a detailed record at Harrow of an even more elaborate and intensive system of segregation by symbolism (which in less sophisticated form existed in all the schools) associated particularly with the house, and means by which, the pre-eminent status of the athlete received due emphasis. Arnold Lunn has asserted that Edwardian Harrow "was a society intensely occupied with trivial interests to the entire exclusion of all intellectual appeals, and all absurdly serious about their own rights of precedence over each other. The various claims of time in the school athletic prowess and even official school rank were graded with meticulous accuracy". (186) Lunn's house was The Knoll and the house Rule Books for the period 1909-1942, (187) still happily extant,

(184) W.R.I. Crewdson, 'Harrow School', The Pennant (House Magazine of Benskin's Brewery) Vol.7, Oct.1950, pp.200-1. (H.S.A.)

(185) Wakeford, op.cit., p.124.

(186) Lunn(1913), op.cit., p.45. Lunn was at Harrow 1902-1907.

(187) The first Rule Book opens: "The purpose of this book is to provide a permanent record of the various new rules made by successive Heads of House, and to ensure that they shall not merely exist in the memory of the 'privs'." These books are no longer used.

reveal that things changed little after his departure.

All the large Harrow houses evolved similar rules governing the dress and behaviour of their members and those of The Knoll are typical statements about relationships between pupils and the nature of the boy society. What these books - "instruments of semi-legalised tyranny"⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ symbolised, was a caste society in which position was precisely defined and the athletes were the Brahmins.

In his English Saga 1840-1940 the historian, Sir Arthur Bryant, wrote: "The ritual...of a great public school was as intricate and finely woven as a Beethoven sonata."⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ He drew his experience first hand from The Knoll where he resided after Arnold Lunn. He did not exaggerate. An incredible array of regulations associated with hierarchical positions are set out in the Rule Books, dealing with such activities as dressing, fagging, praying and cooking; and with areas such as the garden, the library and the house steps. The principle of organisation was simple. It involved what Stephen Foot labelled "keeping under", and what is more colloquially referred to as a pecking order! House members were stratified by age, by prefectorial responsibilities and by athletic accomplishment.

As with vocabularies of motive, identity, cohesion and patriotism to be considered in Chapter Seven these symbols of status call for detailed examination. Only in this way can the elaborate nature of the system be fully appreciated. Bluer⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ buttons may be used to illustrate the principle of "keeping under". The Knoll Rule Book states: "It is a one year priv. (privilege) to have the bottom button of one's bluer undone

(188) Fischer-Williams, op.cit., p.152.

(189) Arthur Bryant, English Saga 1840-1940 (Reprint Society) 1942, p.286. Bryant was at Harrow 1912-1917.

(190) Blue jacket worn daily.

...a three summer priv. to have all the buttons of one's bluer undone."

It was in such small but significant ways that the caste system was regulated. Obeisance to the fashions of dominance and subserviance were enforced by beatings.

The privileges at the apex of the hierarchy, where the athlete resided, may be divided into two broad groupings: ostentatious display of status and comfort privileges. The first category includes such ruling as "it is a fez priv. to wear an anklet showing for football; to wear a white scarf, to wear a white lacer for footer". In the second category there occurs: "It is a fez priv. to wear brown shoes for 'exercise changed', not to wear garters of some sort for games, to wear a sweater for footer". Of course there was overlap of function. This was often more apparent in other privileges. For example, it was a fez privilege to leave books on, or sit on the fez bench outside the house or to have one's hands in pockets when in footer clothes. The house member of the Philathletic Club took precedence over the house fez, his position isolated by further rights. He was permitted, for example, to wear the collar of his bluer up when going up to school or in school, except in the case of rain or when wearing a scarf, to wear a white shirt at 'exercise changed' and to carry a sweater up from footer or cricket house games. The most elevated status of all was given to the house member of the school cricket eleven. Instantly recognisable in his speckled straw hat, and "manifestly a person of very considerable importance", ⁽¹⁹¹⁾ a boy who had won his 'flannels', ⁽¹⁹²⁾ at Harrow, it has been reliably suggested, probably never possessed such power again. ⁽¹⁹³⁾

(191) A.C.M. Croome (ed.), Fifty Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge and the Great Public Schools 1913, p.127.

(192) 'Flannels' was the general term for membership of the cricket or football elevens.

(193) Croome, op.cit., p.127.

V

All the athletocrats of the period were, in fact, persons of considerable importance and possessed not only official privileges but also unofficial ones of their own making. "In my house," Lunn recalled, "the Homeric heroes who led our cohorts into battle on the playing fields of Harrow disported themselves at ease during the hours set aside for homework, while the local intelligentsia did their homework for them."⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ One of these heroes, Cadby, used to raffle his preparation for the week every Saturday evening.

Lunn's Cadby in the idiom of the time was a 'blood' a member of the games aristocracy. Such were "the lords of creation".⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ It was written of the Uppingham Captain of Games:

"Groundsmen will tremble at your slightest nod;
Masters you'll treat with kind but lofty scorn;
Fags will wish, writhing neath your iron rod,
They'd never been born."⁽¹⁹⁶⁾

With its usual sharp eye for the absurdities of life in 1887 Punch published a cartoon depicting a small public schoolboy urgently imploring his grandfather, "General Sir George G.C.B., G.S.I., V.C., etc. etc. etc." to put his hat a little straighter at the approach of a supercilious youth - Captain of the Eleven - complete with boater, cigarette and walking stick.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ 'Jerry' in the famous Harrow song was, according to S.W. Gore, more than an aristocrat; he was a monarch by

(194) Lunn (1940), op.cit., p.29.

(195) Ogilvie, op.cit., p.181.

(196) U.S.M. Vol.XXXIII, No.261, No.1895, p.190.

(197) See Appendix VII.

virtue of his skill at racquets, cricket and football. (198) In the photographs of the members of the Philathletic Club between 1885 and 1922 (199) bow-tied, boatered, often moustached 'monarchs' sprawl about, arrogant and insolent; laurel branches dangle from limp hands or are draped around strong necks and boaters are tilted in self-conscious affectation.

These complacent adolescents, the artless verse of Gore, the pointed humour of Punch and the envious quatrain from Uppingham stand historical guardians of a simple truth. After the fashion of the Calvinists there was a clear division in the public schools between the elect and the world. The distinction in this instance lay between 'bloods' and non-bloods.

"Before his face of haughty grace
The ordinary mortal cowers
A 'forty cap' (200) has put the chap (201)
Into another world from ours."

As suggested in these lines by Sorley on the Marlborough 'blood', it was a division between arrogance and deference, power and powerlessness, fame and insignificance. Those who possessed the virtues of physical courage and athletic talent were often themselves above the law and de facto if not de jure the instruments of that law. (202) "Great were

- (198) "Champion at rackets and fives -
Cricketers youthful and old
Watching his 'cuts' and his 'drives'
Football associates vow
Jerry is worthy of praise -
Verily Jerry is now
Monarch of all he surveys."

S.W. Gore, 'Jerry' in Ewart, op.cit., (unnumbered page). Gore was at Harrow 1863-1869 and had himself an illustrious athletic career - Cricket XI 1867-1869, captain 1869, Football XI 1866-1868, school rackets player 1869.

- (199) Philathletic Club Photo Book 1885-1922 (H.S.A.).

- (200) A 'forty cap' was the equivalent of a Second Fifteen place at Marlborough.

- (201) Third stanza of 'A Tale of Two Careers' in Sorley, op.cit., p.95.

- (202) M. Arlen, Piracy 1922, p.91; "The difference between a College Prefect and a House Prefect is that a College Prefect can do what he likes everywhere and a House Prefect can do what he likes in his House."

the ranks and privileges" in Marlborough's Upper School, recalled

Betjeman in his verse biography Summoned by Bells:

"Four captains ruled, selected for their bravery
And skill at games, and how we revered them!
Twelve friends they chose as brave as themselves
Big Fire we called them; lording it as they sat (203)
In huge armchairs beside the warming flames."

And another poetic description goes:

Reflections Entering Upper School

Alas for them, that wrapped in swaddling clothes
Are A House's special tender care,
Who dread the 'bloods' that turn their collars up,
Wear coloured socks and paste their hair.

Alas for them, I say, when plunged from thence
To pan barbaric Upper School,
Whose aspect grim within is not denied (204)
Where hardy, stubborn athletes rule.

The discussion in The Loom of Youth concerning the
respective merits of Meredith, the 'blood', and Daneham, the intellectual,
throws light on the reasons for this latitude. Meredith was indispens-
able to the house by virtue of his splendid athletic gifts exemplified in
his saving tackle on Freeman in Two Cock, and so "a great deal must be
allowed to a 'blood' like him". (205) Daneham, on the other hand, poor
at games and enthusiastic only about fossils, was "absolutely useless to
the House" (206) and merited no indulgence. For Freeman and his fellow
'bloods' in other schools it was often the case that 'laws ceased to exist'.
Fox ingenuously commented of Harrow in Public School Life that "a cap or
fez guaranteed more freedom in movement, action and dress". (207) An
indication of the extent of this freedom of action is given by Arnold Lunn:
"A head of house, if he was not himself a member of the athleticocracy, was
expected to content himself with the appearance of power and the control of
the house." (208) Like his autobiographical hero Peter O'Connell in

(203) Betjeman (1960), op.cit., p.155.

(204) Marlburian Vol.IX, No.865, Dec.21st 1925, p.155.

(205) A. Waugh, op.cit., p.21.

(206) Idem.

(207) Fox, op.cit., p.75. Fox was at Harrow 1892-1897.

(208) Lunn (1940), op.cit., p.42.

The Harrovians, Lunn was the exception to the rule and successfully defied tradition. (209) One of Howson's cheerful songs, however, told of the more common inspirational fantasy and for the few, the ultimate reality:

"And as fury grows prophetic
I anticipate the hour
When I soar by feats athletic
To the shining ranks of power." (210)

The intellectual and unimportant Danehams, lacking a muscular, right arm and general support, had a thin time of it. "That the athlete is a school hero and the scholar is not is most certainly true of the public schools generally," declared F.B. Malim. (211) T.C. Worsley, in his reminiscences of Marlborough and Wellington full corroborated this claim. (212) A Harrovian sufferer pleading for time of his own free from compulsory games and a change in school values in which, compared to 'the triple blood', the scholar's name 'was simply mud' succinctly summed up the source of the anguish and the exaltation of generations:

"In corpore sano seems to us
The essence of the syllabus." (213)

The power of the 'blood' was revealed on occasion in unusual ways. It was alleged, for example, that he could even overcome class barriers. In 1912 in an article entitled 'Snobbishness in Schools', The Spectator claimed that the snobbery in the public schools was one of athletic prowess not social rank and pointed to the acceptable image of Hornung's 'Jan' in Father of Men as a working class boy who "won his place in the sun because he turned out to be a natural left-handed bowler". (214) Unfortunately a living as distinct from a fictional example was not cited!

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- (209) Idem.
 (210) E.W. Howson, 'Boy', Harrow Notes Vol.1, No.4, May 12th 1883, p.46.
 (211) Malim, op.cit., p.152.
 (212) Worsley (1967), op.cit., pp.16-47.
 (213) Harrovian Vol.LXXX, No.9, Dec.1966, p.40.
 (214) The Spectator 1st June 1912, pp.865-6.

Again, the 'blood's' approval it seems, could guarantee the success of unpopular innovations. C.H.P. Mayo, the Harrow master, has recounted how the school Cadet Corps languished on its introduction until the 'bloods' joined "and the Corps came into its own".⁽²¹⁵⁾ Then his support could also ensure smooth classroom discipline. The First World War saw the unusual phenomenon of a lady teacher at Harrow, who, in later years, confessed that in class the chivalrous members of the Eleven were the custodians of her authority. Not until their absence for matches did she note their dominance.⁽²¹⁶⁾

The 'bloods' authority was underlined by the occasional success of his inferiors. The writer, Walter Sichel, was astonished when, having succeeded in the Balliol Scholarship examination in 1872, he found himself clapped down the steps at Harrow. He could recall no other occasion when the school had accorded such an honour except for success in games and athletics.⁽²¹⁷⁾ And on the premature death of the Captain of the School at Uppingham in 1902 a friend commented, "It was he who raised the tone of the school so wonderfully...it seemed marvellous, for he was no cricketer."⁽²¹⁸⁾

Finally, for the 'blood' academic ineptitude need be no obstacle to entry to the universities. At Lancing, a rather clever pupil wrote that it was with the greatest surprise that he found himself, a new boy, sitting in the Fifth Form next to the Captain of the Eleven who had passed for Oxford, and added drily, "I realised that no more exertion was called for from me for the next few years."⁽²¹⁹⁾

(215) C. Mayo, 'Reminiscences of a Harrow Master', Cornhill Magazine Vol.LXIV, No.380, Feb.1928, p.196.

(216) 'A woman's invasion of a Famous Public School and How Men Endured It' by P.P.H., Cornhill Magazine Vol.LLXXII, No.436, Oct.1932, p.404.

(217) W. Sichel, The Sands of Time: Recollections and Reflections 1923, p.99

(218) U.S.M. Vol.XL, No.317, Oct. 1902, p.181.

(219) L.C.M. Vol.35, No.461, Lent Term 1942, p.52.

In two ostentatious ways - dress and walk - the 'bloods' publicised and symbolised their authority. At Harrow it was a 'blood's priv.' to sport fancy waistcoats, to display more than eight inches of shirt front and to walk in the middle of the high street. Such was his standing that "even the head of school would never have dared to appear in a fancy waistcoat or walk down the middle of the road, reserved for 'Bloods' unless he had achieved some distinction as an athlete". (220)

This predilection for coloured waistcoats and other things besides was also in evidence at Marlborough:

"If I were a school blood, sir,
And you a wretched worm
I'd strut by you, my fellow
With boots of blazing yellow,
With waistcoat, diamond stud, sir
While you with awe would squirm." (221)

At Uppingham the 'bloods' were distinguished by their "colourful clothing, rolling haughty gait, scarf of red and blue, flannel trousers and walking arm in arm in fours and fives down the street". (222)

A 'rolling haughty gait' was a distinctive feature of display; it was described by a cynical Marlburian as symptomatic of a disease contracted by the early winning of a XL or XXII cap. (223) However the conventional and successful took such mannerisms most seriously. The arrogant demeanour, the distinctive clothes, the affected walk were part of a general behaviour pattern referred to as 'swagger' or 'roll' and were established symbols of differentiation which allegedly created a sense of tradition and hierarchy. (224) "Swagger," pontificated a Harrovian editorial, "is a blessing when used by bigger fellows to strengthen their position. Gradation is a good thing. Small boys should be taught their place." (225) To 'swagger' or 'roll' was a closely

(220) Bryant, op.cit., p.111.

(221) Marlburian Vol.XL, No.611, June 17th 1905, p.68.

(222) U.S.M. Vol.XIV, No.355, July 1907, p.136.

(223) Marlburian Vol.XX, No.324, June 3rd 1875, p.78.

(224) Caraman, op.cit., p.46.

(225) Harrovian Vol.I, No.5, June 7th 1888, p.53.

protected privilege. "Those who ape the manners of the athletic champions," wrote an Old Uppinghamian "are guilty of 'roll'". He recalled that in his time a junior who put on 'roll' was "merely chastised and suppressed", but for an older pupil who assumed the privileges of the 'blood' without due warrant "real sanguinaries" lay in wait. (226) These involved the punishment known as 'Over the Railings'. The railings in question were on the east side of a steep rise on the way to the Hill houses above the main school. The procedure as carried out for one such 'execution' has been described by Rome:

"Shortly before the luncheon hour some two hundred boys...waited in a silent throng...close to the place of punishment. Slightly apart from them stood a small knot of praeposters and 'bloods'. Every eye of the crowd was fixed on an empty Scale Hill. Suddenly a single boy appeared walking slowly towards the waiting crowd. As he reached the spot, a small group of executioners moved forward in complete silence, lifted him unresistingly by his shoulders and legs and dropped him over the railings onto the steep slope below. Without a word the onlookers dispersed to their various houses leaving the victim to look after himself. He had been guilty of a degree of roll which his peers considered unbecoming on his part." (227)

The isolation, humiliation and helplessness of the offender in the face of the school heroes and their camp followers is well depicted in Rome's description. The ritual must have been a singularly effective means of social control.

The ostentatiously vaunted status of the athlete was balanced by the public stigma of the notoriously unathletic. (228) One brave group of pupils in this unenviable position of the stigmatised, inverted the symbol system of athleticism in a pitiful attempt to lay the spirit of Sparta. Insulated by their irreversable alienation they became

(226) Penny, op.cit., p.111.

(227) Rome, op.cit., p.132.

(228) The role of the stigmatised in institutions is interestingly discussed by Erving Goffman in Stigma 1963. passim.

reckless exhibitionists flaunting stigma symbols to the exasperation of the conventional. These were the famous Marlborough aesthetes,⁽²²⁹⁾ who dangled colourful silk handkerchiefs as they walked down the aisle in chapel and played 'catch' with bright coloured balls through the traditional games of their well adjusted and fully assimilated colleagues. They suffered, but at least made a small gesture of defiance.⁽²³⁰⁾

A major reason why the 'blood' achieved such pre-eminence and was permitted to create and adopt such a wide range of symbolic trappings of high status was that he himself was a symbol. He personified, as Swanson has written, "consummate values defining the social goals which have precedence".⁽²³¹⁾ In this symbolic role he became one of Mead's "significant others" who provided lesser schoolboys with the means of perceiving and defining the world. They took their standards from him. He was aided by the twin forces of idealism and romanticism. The bombardment of symbolic imagery to which the public schoolboy was subjected left no doubt that while some types of behaviour revealed moral adequacy - the clean break for the line, the chanceless century - others displayed for all to see, moral inadequacy - the funky tackle and the consistent duck. "It is a mistake to think that boys worship the athletic hero because of his athletics; it is because of those qualities that go into the making of a good athlete," claimed the Dean of Bristol in a hortatory speech on the virtues of the public schoolboy to the Marlborough boys during the Great War.⁽²³²⁾ Many examples have been quoted in this

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- (229) These included Anthony Blunt (1921-1926), John Betjeman (1920-1925) and Louis MacNeice (1921-1926). See MacNeice, The Strings are False 1945, pp.94-9 and 241-5 for a description of the Marlborough aesthetes.
- (230) A. Blunt, 'Conversation Piece', The Centenary Edition of the Marlburian 1943, p.32, and 'From Bloomsbury to Marxism', Studio International Nov.1973, pp.164-5.
- (231) G.E. Swanson, Religion and Regime: a Sociological Account of the Reformation 1967, p.viii.
- (232) Marlburian Vol.LII, No.772, March 19th 1917, p.32.

study of the alleged qualities believed inherent in the athlete, reiterated time and again by bishops, headmasters, field marshals and similar establishment figures.

The simple-minded, well-meaning romanticism of the boys' literature of the time was also a potent means of image dissemination. Union Jack, Chums, Boys' Own, The Rover, each depicted the 'blood' as the apotheosis of manly virtue. One typical example suffices for them all: Albert Mayne in the Union Jack tale of Rawdon School. (233) Here physical power and moral soundness are inseparable. Albert was strong, athletic, broad-shouldered, "with honest brown eyes and fine open forehead". Throughout the story he displays "coolness, science and dash" in his defeats of other schools, but also moral courage in adversity, compassion in supremacy and modesty in success. Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re (234) was the standard motto of such heroes.

Yet in the schools harassed lilliputians of the lower forms often saw the 'blood' in a less noble light:

Der Scheinkönig

Hush'd, all is hush'd. No solemn trump resounds
To mete the footfalls of his proud advance.
Stately he struts; his grandeur knows no bounds
As on some worshipper he casts his glance.

Ye gods and little fishes, bow your heads!
For here comes one far mightier than a god.
Observe his waistcoat flashing blues and reds:
Notice his azure cuff exposed to view.

"Why walks he thus?" I really cannot tell.
"Why is he haughty?" Ask me no such thing.
I know not: only this I know full well. (235)
I'd rather die, than ape a pseudo-king.

(233) Union Jack Jan.1883, pp.147-8.

(234) Gentle in manner but vigorous in deed.

(235) Marlburian Vol.XXXIV, No.527, June 7th 1899, p.75. Another more skittish Marlborough verse goes:

"I wish I was a colour
I wish I was blue
I would wear a XV jersey
And a tie of pretty hue"

(Marlburian Vol.XXXVIII, No.590, Dec.23th 1903, p.170).

An injection of reality is also provided by a statement of considerable frankness by an American physical educationalist who toured English schools in the nineteen-twenties. He suggested that perhaps the nearest equivalent for 'blood' in American slang was 'bully'. He thought that certainly the 'blood's' aim at school was "to dominate, if not domineer", an objective he achieved by a mixture of brute force, physical power and a reputation for dissipation. He concluded that he was not a pleasant type of schoolboy to contemplate! (236)

VI

Foreign matches, old boys' teams and the Cock House Cup, model housemasters, colours and 'bloods' add up to an elaborate, extensive and dominant symbol system in support of ideological fashion, which demonstrated success, moulded aspirations and inspired imitation. By means of this system the public schoolboy focused on and remembered essential values, filtering out the inessential.

Self-government within the house system was a fertile source of symbolism. For the definition of reality was tightly controlled by those whose values were athletic. Power was given to the boys for realistic and idealistic reasons - it was sanctioned by a political acumen which appreciated the need to divide to rule, by a very human desire to enjoy the reduced labour ensuing from delegation and by a

(236) Howard T. Swage, Games and Sports in British Schools and Universities 1926, p.44.

sometimes sincere belief that externals mirror inner virtue. And where power was not given it was often taken. In the hands of the boys, aided and abetted by sympathetic or indifferent masters, sporting symbols and ceremonial proliferated. In this way a favoured ideology was sustained by an incredible assortment of concrete actions and objects, animate and inanimate.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PLAY UP AND PLAY THE GAME:

VOCABULARIES OF

MORALITY, COHESION, IDENTITY AND PATRIOTISM

At the Harrow Speech Day of 1907, Dr. Wood, the headmaster, ended a eulogy on the virtues of the public school system with the statement that its motto was 'Run straight and play the game'.⁽¹⁾ This and similar expressions, 'Keep a straight bat' and 'It's not cricket', were common catch phrases of the public school sub-culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The 'speech' of a culture, it has been suggested, orders the experience of its members and shapes their construction of reality.⁽²⁾

Edward Sapir, the distinguished American anthropologist, some fifty years ago, drew our attention to this possibility:

"The real world is to a large extent built upon the language habits of the group..... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community pre-dispose certain choices of interpretation."⁽³⁾

Benjamin Lee Whorf, Sapir's disciple, likewise emphasised the relativity of thought as an outcome of sub-cultural language experience in his analysis of the difference of perception reflected in the speech patterns of Standard American English and Hopi.⁽⁴⁾ "The statement," he

(1) Harrowian Vol.XX, No.6, July 27th. 1907, p.64.

(2) The term 'speech' is used here in the same sense that Dell Hymes uses it, namely as a 'surrogate' (I would prefer 'generic') for all forms of language including poetry, song and prose. See Dell Hymes, 'Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life' in J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), Directions in Socio-Linguistics 1972.

(3) Quoted in John B. Carroll, Language, Thought and Reality: selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf 1959, p.134.

(4) Ibid., pp.134-59.

remarked, "that thinking is a matter of 'LANGUAGE' is an incorrect generalisation of the more nearly correct idea that 'thinking is a matter of different tongues'." (5)

More recently the sociologist, Basil Bernstein, has written that language is a major process in the transmission of social genes and in this way determines and reflects collective values, ways of acting and the social structure itself. (6) All three analysts of language make the point therefore, that individual experience is determined in part by sub-cultural speech patterns, and that social identity and psychological reality are to a degree the products of language acting as "a complex coding system actively controlling both the creation and organisation of specific meanings". (7)

Such an insight, of course, is not restricted to the social scientist. It is a truth equally well appreciated by the man of letters. "Words have power," wrote Aldous Huxley, "to mould men's thinking, to canalise their feelings, to direct their willing and acting." (8) The nineteenth century poet William Cory urged his readers to doubt whether in human experience an idea becomes complete until it has found words in which to embody itself, adding the useful caveat that not to appreciate this fact is to indulge in a "peculiarly idle form of intellectual self-deceit". (9)

It may be said to follow logically from the several statements considered above, that an analysis of the vocabulary of the group should bring to light its normative values.

(5) Ibid., p.159.

(6) B. Bernstein, 'A socio-linguistic approach to social learning' in Class, Codes and Control (Vol.I), 1971, p.119.

(7) Ibid., p.25.

(8) Quoted in S.I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action 1959, p.164.

(9) Quoted in John Drinkwater, Patriotism in Literature 1924, p.125. The inclusion above of both these men of letters, Huxley and Cory, is particularly apposite as both were public school masters at some time in their careers and Cory (assistant master at Eton 1845-72) saw the blossoming of the athleticism movement there. The famous 'Eton Boating Song' was one of his compositions.

"Language, socially built and maintained, embodies implicit exhortations and social evaluations... Our behaviour and perception, our logic and thought, come within the control of a system of language. Along with the language, we acquire a set of social norms and values. A vocabulary is not merely a string of words; immanent within it are social textures - institutional and political co-ordinates. Back of a vocabulary lie sets of collective action." (10)

The statement above is in line with Sapir's belief in a fundamental relationship between the vocabulary and the Weltanschauung of a society. Sapir has argued that such a vocabulary may be viewed "as a complex inventory of the ideas, interests and occupations that take up the attention of the community" and that from such a thesaurus "we might infer the culture of the people". (11)

This concept of the power of vocabulary "to mould thought as well as express it" has been specifically related to educational groupings and their ideologies by Pierre Bourdieu. (12) Among academics, he has written, the organisation of symbolic expression into a system of linguistic tracts highlights certain aspects of reality while ignoring others; specific products of an intellectual school, usually designated by concepts ending in 'ism', are in this way given prominence and so the 'ism' comes to determine reality. 'Ism' as used by Bourdieu, is of course merely a synonym for ideology. The desired outcome of ideological dominance is security in the form of the ordering of reality. Creators and neophytes sustain their 'reality' until new knowledge challenges old assumptions, or new needs or power groups arise or indeed simply until

(10) C. Wright Mills, 'Language Logic and Culture', in I.L. Horowitz (ed.), Power, Politics and People: The Collected Papers of C. Wright Mills 1973, p.43.

(11) David C. Mandelbaum (ed.), Selected Writings of Edward Sapir 1948, pp.90-1.

(12) Pierre Bourdieu, 'Systems of Education and Systems of Thought' in Michael Young (ed.), Knowledge and Control 1971, p.195.

boredom with the familiar stimulates the search for new orders of meaning and fresh linguistic symbols.

To sum up then, the vocabulary of an educational ideology, it is suggested, is important for its transmission and survival; it constitutes a symbolic code which articulates a value-system, aids commitment, produces security and defines boundaries of action.

In literate societies, one writer has recently argued,⁽¹³⁾ it is literature that is assigned a major role in the task of creating and sustaining the communal symbolism necessary for the maintenance of an ideology or belief-system. In the case of athleticism there would appear to be considerable truth in this observation. The parochial literature of athleticism (much of it verse) is replete with assertions, hortations and paeans which served to propagate and sustain the movement. Sporting prosody was a noticeable feature of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain, so much so, that P.G. Wodehouse claimed the distinction of being the only literate male in the United Kingdom who had never written a song about football, rhyming 'leather' with 'weather',⁽¹⁴⁾ and Siegfried Sassoon's first published poem, while a schoolboy at Marlborough, was a cricketing poem, 'The Extra Inch' in the magazine Cricket.⁽¹⁵⁾ Typical examples of the genre are Allan R. Haig-Brown's (Lancing master 1899-1912) Sporting Sonnets and Other Verses (1903), Norman Gale's Cricket Songs (1894) and More Cricket Songs (1905) and Hedley Peek's The Poetry of Sport (1902). Punch too, at this time, was fond of sporting doggerel, albeit of a whimsical nature. In a single month, September 1894 for example, it included such verses as 'Wet Willow', 'On a Clumsy Cricketer', 'A Song for a Slogger' and 'Bowl Me No More'.

(13) Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Language and Literature in our Society 1961, p.5: See Monica Wilson, Religion and the Transformation of a Society p.54, for a discussion of the relative emphasis of symbolism in literate and non-literate societies.

(14) P.S.M. Vol.VIII, No.46, Oct. 1903, p.318.

(15) Sassoon, op.cit., p.228.

Most of this verse the literary critic would consider execrable. G.F. Bradby's 'Song of Chiltern' in The Lanchester Tradition, which without "lapsing into poetry" maintained "a fair rhythm and a high level of imbecility" is a marvellous caricature that cruelly exposes the frailties of many a sincere creation:

"John Buss was a farrier bold,
And he turned his sweat into drops of gold;
He fought hard battles, and when he died
He left a school for his country's pride,
The best of schools, that has won renown
From Chiltern chimes to the frontier town.
Chorus: John Buss, John of Us,
Played good cricket and made no fuss." (16)

The banality of the 'poetry' of the Victorian and Edwardian public school stimulated E.C. Mack to remark:

"If there was a good deal of poetry about schools, it can hardly be said that much of it was first or even second-rate. It was...for the most part...uninspired. The reason for this is probably anyone's guess, but a few facts seem incontrovertible. The better English poets have not typically been of that social class that patronized the public schools; those who did go to them have usually disliked their schools intensely. For by and large the true poetic temperament is too sensitive and too individualistic to be capable of happiness in such an environment as that offered by the athlete-ridden late nineteenth century public school." (17)

However the literary quality of such verse is not relevant to an analysis of 'poetic' vocabularies of motive, identity, cohesion and patriotism as the embodiment of a conscious or unconscious means of socialization. And this was clearly a primary function of the sporting verse of the period. J.E.C. Welldon once wrote:

"Harrow has not, I think, been altogether fortunate in the books which have been lately written about it...If anyone who was a stranger to Harrow, would fain learn what is the essential character of that famous school, it is not to the stories of Harrow, but to the school songs (emphasis added) that I would refer him. There he will learn the charm, the interest, the elevation of the school..." (18)

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- (16) G.F. Bradby, The Lanchester Tradition 1914, (1954 ed.), p.41.
 (17) Mack (1941), op.cit., p.146.
 (18) Welldon (1915), op.cit., p.131.

Most of the famous Harrow songs were written by Edward Bowen as we have seen already, and many were devoted to physical exercise. Of forty-one songs in Bowen's biography by his nephew⁽¹⁹⁾ twenty-six were devoted wholly or largely to games. Welldon saw Bowen's verse, which reflected, in Julian Amery's words "a simple, straightforward philosophy of the strenuous life", as representative of the best side of school life. One of his early actions as headmaster, for example, was to give Bowen "three days special leave" to compose a memorial to F.S. Jackson, the Harrovian, who in the Lord's Match of 1888 took eleven wickets and scored twenty-one and fifty-nine. The result was 'A Gentleman's-a-Bowling'.⁽²⁰⁾

Winston Churchill, Arthur Bryant, H.A. Vachell and other Harrovians have written in the same vein as Welldon, of the school songs.⁽²¹⁾ "Harrow songs," Vachell asserted, "make for something greater than entertainment. They are redolent with the public school spirit, a clarion call to strenuous endeavour, an injunction to work and play with faith and courage, to fight against the odds...to sacrifice self, if need be, to the common end."⁽²²⁾

Such support indicates that Bowen was, in fact, a mouthpiece for an era. His passions and values are representative not only of himself but of a sub-culture. As Lucien Goldmann has observed, "the mode of behaviour which enables us to understand a particular work is often not that of the author himself, but that of a whole social group".⁽²³⁾

Most of the literature of athleticism which symbolised this mode of behaviour lies unsifted and forgotten in school magazines.

(19) W. Bowen, op.cit.

(20) C.E.S. Webb, 'Sports and Sportsmen at Harrow', Sports and Sportsmen Vol.1, No.2, Dec. 1920, pp.81-92. Appendix VI contains a selection of Bowen's Harrow verses.

(21) For Churchill's comments see Harrovian Vol.LXVI, No.7, Nov.12th. 1952, p.22; Vol.LXIX, No.10, Nov.30th. 1955, p.39; Vol.LXXII, No.10, Dec.4th. 1958, p.39; also Arthur Bryant, London Illustrated News Jan.1st. 1949, p.2.

(22) Vachell (1937), op.cit., p.30.

(23) Goldmann, op.cit., p.7.

Pages, often discoloured with age, contain a strangely touching dogmatism and moral fervour associated with games quite alien to most educationists of the second half of the twentieth century. A consideration of the rhetoric of this certainty and zeal is indispensable if we wish to understand that unique mixture of emotionalism and innocence, myopia and inflexibility that once characterised a now ridiculed and despised ideology, and if we wish to "articulate the values embedded within particular works",⁽²⁴⁾ in pursuit of what Raymond Williams has called 'the structure of feeling'. More importantly however, this rhetoric was an instrument of propaganda, and illustrates the close relationship between systems of actions and vocabularies of motive.

What is attempted then in the following pages is a portrayal of the rhetoric of a specific but now defunct ideology,⁽²⁵⁾ together with an analysis of its focusing, integrating and controlling functions.⁽²⁶⁾

For approximately seventy years between 1860 and 1930 at Harrow, Lancing, Loretto, Marlborough, Stonyhurst and Uppingham, an assortment of headmasters, masters, old boys and pupils wove around their games and playing fields a sometimes attractive, frequently naive, and occasionally ridiculous web of romance and chivalry through published

(24) Alan Swingewood, The Sociology of Literature 1971, p.16.

(25) A brief but excellent example of this type of study may be found in E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class 1963, Chapter XI 'The Transforming power of the Cross', in which he analyses the rhetoric of 19th. Century Methodism.

(26) This is also an attempt to meet the request of C. Wright Mills, to locate vocabularies of motive in actual historical eras and specific situations since "motives are of no value apart from the delimited societal situations for which they are the appropriate vocabularies". See 'Situating Actions and Vocabularies of Motive', American Sociological Review Vol.5, No.6, 1940, p.651.

prose and verse, school songs and verse, and, to a lesser extent, prose in school magazines. (27)

The literature associated with athleticism is common then to all six schools of the survey. The schools vary however, in the amount of effort devoted to the subject. As in other matters they display individuality. Stonyhurst provides very little 'literary' material on athleticism, particularly of a 'poetic' nature. This is, in itself, a revealing aspect of alternative ideological commitment - for the unique feature of Stonyhurst verse is its religious theme. Instead of such topics as 'Dropped from the Team', 'He did his Best' and 'Roundel on Tackling', we find 'Pentacost', 'The Garments of God' and 'The Ballad of Our Lady's Mantle', while at the other end of the continuum Loretto is particularly rich in sporting verse.

These verbal symbols of ideological commitment to be found in the various sources, fall into four major categories: vocabularies of morality, sexual identification and legitimate sensuality, cohesion and patriotism. Messages of right living, masculinity, group loyalty and chauvinism occur and recur. They constitute an unmistakable and unequivocal blue-print for action.

Reproduction of the actual verse and prose of the period would seem to be the perfect way in which the unique nature of these messages can be captured and thrust before the perhaps startled and incredulous inhabitants of an age so far removed in preoccupation. For this reason illustrative lines and passages are liberally presented below.

(27) This includes material in autobiographies, biographies, educational treatises, sermons, school histories and articles (and published letters) in literary and educational journals and daily and weekly newspapers.

II

Off-Side

"I know what 'off-side' means, to this very day
 When a trick upon me has been tried,
 I put the man down as a sneak, and I say
 'He's been playing a bit of off-side'.
 If you notice a chap always up to that game
 You may safely be sure that in life
 He'll funk all the hacks, and the knocks and the dirt,
 And will sneak around the edge of the strife.
 But you - no, not you! You go into the thick,
 And enjoy all the fun of the maul;
 For sooner or later you know there's a chance
 Of getting a feel of the ball.
 And if you act up to your old football rule
 When you're launched on the world's busy tide,
 You'll find a much greater honour to lose, (28)
 Than to win by the game of 'off-side'."

'Off-side' may lack the balance, regular metre and comprehensiveness of moral precept of Kipling's 'If', (29) but it was equally serious in intention and spelt out an elementary moral code and collective orthodoxy with simple clarity.

Football metaphors ingenuously proclaimed desirable and undesirable personal attributes to the Celtic and Northern English Tom Browns lodged at Loretto, the Musselburgh annexe of the English public school system. The poem locates ungentlemanly vices; in contrast, qualities of the unflawed character can be discovered in this fragment of a Loretto poem entitled 'Stick To':

(28) This extract from the poem appeared in the Lorettonian Vol.V, No.10, March 17th. 1883, p.37. The entire poem of three verses, written by Frank Able, was first published in the Union Jack (eds. G.A. Henty and Bernard Heldmann) Jan.23rd. 1883, p.263.

(29) The Lorettonian some forty years later included a poem closer in metre to 'If' but which somewhat distorts Kipling's message:

"If you can keep to all the rules of rugger
 And though you're beaten always play the game
 Yours is the rugger field and all that's on it
 And what is more, you'll tread the field of fame."

(Vol.XLV, No.7, Feb.10th. 1923, p.30)

"When you're last man in, and your side isn't winning,
 When you get bowled and come out for a duck
 Sad in your heart, though you still keep on grinning,
 Nobody claps; but some murmur "hard luck".
 Still don't give up; don't get sulky or vexed.
 This time has failed you; there is always the next." (30)

'Off-side' bears witness to an honest if naive belief in a positive correlation between physical courage and moral integrity. It was a relationship widely assumed by the philathletic and enunciated, for example, by 'Trebla' when he stated in an early issue of the Marlburian that "a truly chivalrous football player...was never yet guilty of lying, or deceit, or meanness whether of word or action"; (31) by J.G. Cotton Minchin, in his comment that a good athlete is rarely in-subordinate for his leanings are all in the direction of law and order; (32) and by Charles Prodggers when he wrote that a really good sportsman can never be a bad man. (33)

Robustness equals moral rectitude - hearty pushing in 'squash' or 'maul' bulks not only muscle but moral fibre. Edward Bowen's Tom, valiant sportsman and the housemaster's beau idéal personifies the credo and demonstrates the validity of the equation:

"Rules that you make you obey;
 Courage to Honour is true;
 Who is the fairest in play
 Best and good temperedest, ^{who?}
 Tom!" (34)

Those acquainted with public school verse and stories will recognise familiar values clustering around this concrete symbol who was created as a model for his peers. Tom is the hero of a Harrow romance of nineteenth century knighthood, a youthful public school Arthur, Lancelot and Galahad rolled into one. The 'Harrow grass' is his Chapel Perilous and Fair-Play

(30) Lorettonian Vol.XLV, No.14, July 7th. 1923, p.64.

(31) Marlburian Vol.II, No.17, October 4th. 1867, p.202.

(32) Minchin (1901) op.cit., p.157.

(33) Sports and Sportsmen Vol.I, No.2, Dec. 1920, p.148.

(34) Second verse of 'Tom' by Edward Bowen in W. Bowen, op.cit., p.405.

Tom is described in Edward Graham's Some Notes on the Harrow School Songs as "the ideal of a school hero of the football field and his House". The complete poem can be found in Appendix VI.

his Holy Grail. And other schools also have their heroes and romances of the sporting ethic. There is Jan Rutter in E.W. Hornung's novel of Uppingham, Fathers of Men, and Reginald Owen in R.M. Freeman's novel of Loretto, Steady and Strong. To a lesser extent there is David Blaize in the Marlborough novel of that name by E.F. Benson. By way of contrast, Peter O'Neill in Arnold Lunn's, The Harrovians was a cool antagonist of the "school tradition of muscle worship" and opposed and defeated the athletocrats.

'Tom' embodies a mythology of physical heroism delineated in verse and prose and "woven into the culture...dictating belief, defining ritual, acting as the chart of social order and the 'pattern' of moral behaviour". (35) The mythology depicts the essence of moral conduct; in turn the moral conduct is the essence of communality; and linguistic symbolism is one important means by which the institution possesses it. For reader and writer the symbolism is unitive.

Those who castigate the Victorian and Edwardian public school for its lack of relevance and impracticality miss the point of the educational exercise. As we have seen already, the formation of Christian character was the self-declared role of the institution, but the development of this character had a quite explicit physical dimension. On the death of John Patterson, a brave Christian of the muscular school who met martyrdom in the South Seas, the Uppingham School Magazine gave space to Bishop Selwyn's Oxford Memorial Lecture in which the relationship between Christian morality and public school and university sport is made abundantly clear: "The physical exercises in which young men at their seats of learning indulge are not all idleness," he asserted. "They are a training of the future man for higher purposes than mere playing at cricket, or pulling a boat. It is part of that moral training, through

(35) Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Symbols in Society 1968, p.168.

physical processes, which is necessary that a man might be finished for good works." (36)

To draw a parallel between the playing-field and life was a popular activity of magazine moralists. A delightful, but somewhat untypical example, was this gentle and elegant Stonyhurst sonnet:

Meditation on a Cricket Field

The warm green grass lies open to the sun,
And cool white figures move about its face
Time has stood still, and in this golden space
Slowly my fancies gather one by one.
Backward and forward slender figures run:
A pause: a bowler springs with sinuous grace,
Then hurls his bolt: the batsman moves a pace
Forward...Fate cuts the thread that he has spun.

Not otherwise the pattern of our life
Is woven, all of loveliness and strength,
Struggle and pride and laughter and defeat,
The skill that counters skill, courage to meet,
The blows and runs of Fortune - till at length
Darkness and death shall close our little strife. (37)

More typically, this jaunty Loretto song called attention to the preparation for adulthood that took place on the public school turf:

"On cricket or on football fields,
Begins our schoolboy life,
We fill our years with health and strength,
For life's long earnest strife.
Oh time to teach - oh time to prove,
Each lesson stern and true,
And come down hard on the fastest ball,
Time's changing hand shall bowl to you." (38)

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- (36) U.S.M. Vol.X, No.72, April 1872, p.82. George Selwyn incidentally practised what he preached. He was himself a notable Muscular Christian. His official biographer, R.H. Tucker, records that early in his boyhood he revealed a contempt for softness and luxury which enabled him to endure later the discomforts of missionary life, and that at Eton he was the founder president of The Psychrolutic Society whose members were distinguished by having bathed five days in every week for a year. At Cambridge he continued his enthusiasm for swimming and formed "a little society for athletes who bathed every day, whatever the weather or state of the river and who did many wonderful feats". Among the latter was a walk to London in thirteen hours without stopping. Finally he was in the first Cambridge crew to row against Oxford in 1829 (see R.H. Tucker, Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn 1879, pp.7 ff).
- (37) S.C.M. Vol.VIII, No.120, Feb. 1902, p.31.
- (38) Second verse of 'Farewell to Loretto' by H.F.C., Loretto School Songs undated, p.6.

It is a refrain that had echoed across Pinkie Mains over the decades:

"Play hard for the goal
Take your kicks with good grace
And you'll find it will pay
When the world you're to face." (39)

It could also be heard drifting across Harrow fields:

"They tell us the world is a scrimmage,
And life is a difficult run,
Where often a brother shall finish
A victory that we have begun.
What matter, we learnt it at Harrow
And that was the way that we won." (40)

Even busy headmasters found time to pen 'poetic' messages of moral exhortation in a sporting idiom. Cyril Norwood when headmaster of Marlborough (1916-1926) was responsible for a 'Song of Rugger', the last verse of which was:

"Not only for the wise recommend
Going hard at the start, going hard to the end.
If you've made yourself fit, and you've studied the game,
In life, as in footer, you'll find it the same,
It's the last twenty minutes that tell." (41)

Later when headmaster of Harrow (1926-1934) he wrote the 'Song of the Forwards', the chorus of which went:

"On, On, On, On
Take strength and good-temper and courage and speed
On, On, On, On
They're not a bad outfit for life and its need." (42)

On this subject even Punch, the nineteenth century literary voyeur of the social manners of the upper middle classes, could be momentarily serious and admonish its readers for paying too much attention to the sulks of 'Paterfamilias' and the sneers of Wilkie Collins - both severe critics of the English public school. It was in May 1860 that the Cornhill Magazine published a harsh criticism of Eton in the form of a letter to the Editor from 'Paterfamilias' (an old Etonian, Mathew James Higgins).

(39) Lorettonian Vol.XI, No.5, Dec.12th. 1888, p.20. Pinkie Mains was one of the Loretto playing fields. It is now built over.

(40) Third verse of 'Three Yards' written in 1895 by E.W. Howson (assistant master at Harrow School 1881-1905) in Ewart, op.cit., p.95.

(41) Ibid., p.179.

(42) Ibid., p.109.

Two more letters in similar vein were published in December 1860 and March 1861 respectively. Higgins complained of inefficiency, neglect and irresponsibility. He did not in fact attack athleticism. Ironically, he did complain bitterly about the lack of out-of-school supervision and so contributed to the development of a climate in which organised games and the related ideology could develop. Wilkie Collins, on the other hand, launched an hysterical attack on athleticism in his novel Man and Wife published in 1873. The villain of the book was the grotesquely overdrawn Geoffrey Delamayn, aristocratic and Oxbridge blue, "deep in chest, thin in the flanks - in other words a magnificent human animal". Of Anglo-Saxon beauty, his looks were as perfectly regular but alas, "as perfectly unintelligent as human features can be". To complete the profile, no-one had seen him read anything but a newspaper or known him to be backward in settling a debt. By the end of the novel he was revealed as a brutal, manic egotist. Collins, through the mouth of a crusty old Scottish lawyer Sir Patrick Lundie, protested about "the model of the young Briton of the present time" and his mere muscular qualities. (43)

Punch itself showed scant sympathy for the sober complaints of Higgins and Collins' furious riding of his hobby-horse. "All is well with John Bull" was its reassuring message after the 1871 Boat Race, "when pluck and gameness are so well exhibited", and it added that if the universities provided the opportunity for their exhibition it was in the good public school that such important virtues necessary for the game of life were "inculcate". These virtues were then listed in the fashionable literary mode of the period:

(43) In mordant vein Collins returned to this theme continually through the book (see pp.54-5, 140-2, 147-8, 150-1, 184 and 426).

"Play the Game! Play the Game!
Boys of Harrow, Men of Harrow,
Play the Game.
End the Match as just beginning,
Bowl and field as sure of winning!
Meet your Fate, but meet it grinning
Play the Game." (49)

In the literature associated with the public schools, the exhortation 'play the game' is taken up again and again. Montagu Butler, at a dinner given in his retirement by Old Harrovians to celebrate his eightieth birthday, beseeched his listeners:

"Whether it be a matter of cricket, or in matters connected with the church, or in matters connected with politics or in matters connected with our professional engagements, there is hardly any motto which I would more confidently commend...than Play the Game! Remember your school and 'Play the Game'." (50)

At best, this meant to act with simple decency, modesty and dignity.

J.E.C. Welldon once defined it in the following way:

"Everybody knows that there are certain actions which an honourable English gentleman will not commit. He will hate whatever is mean, fraudulent or disingenuous. According to a well-known phrase, which in itself may be taken as symbolical of English life, he will always and everywhere 'play the game'." (51)

At worst it represented unreflective conformity to a code of behaviour in which "imagination was discouraged: to be different required courage, to be colourful was to attract unfavourable attention and the individual was supposed to keep his emotions firmly under control - though group emotion, of course, was meritorious". (52)

Learning to 'play the game' on green and pleasant playing fields would appear to have been a universal feature of the English public school

(49) Harrovian Vol.XXV, No.6, July 27th. 1912, p.76.

(50) Harrovian Vol.XXVI, No.5, July 26th. 1913, p.86.

(51) Welldon (1935), cp.cit., p.112.

(52) Extract from a letter dated 14.1.74 to the author from Michael Birley (Marlborough 1934-1939), and at present a Marlborough housemaster.

up to the Second World War. With some perspicacity, and not a little idealism, Frank Ellis wrote in the Boys' Own Annual just before the Great War:

"The playing fields of England
All up and down the land,
Where English boys play English games,
How bright and fair they stand!
Tis there in friendly rivalry
School meets with neighbouring school
And English boys all 'play the game'
And learn to keep the rule.
There each one plays for side, not self,
And strength and skill employs,
On the playing-fields of England
The Pride of English Boys." (53)

And, in 1899, a Lancing College reviewer of Newbolt's Collected Poems self-confidently asserted that "the one great lesson of the English public school life, the one lesson that cannot be learnt, or at any rate well-learnt anywhere else in the world, is splendidly summed up in the verse..." (54) Then followed inevitably the last verse of 'Vital Lampada' (55) with its ringing ultimate line which every latter-day admirer of Lytton Strachey, bored with the onerous virtuousness of such aspirations, now booms with gleeful malice, "Play up! play up! and play the game".

Lancing boys of the period may have been less cynical, for the local derby between the school and Brighton College three years later inspired a sublimated war-chant which ended:

"Now they pluck up their courage
And passions within them flame,
As they answer their Captain's watchword
'Play up! and play the game.'" (56)

(53) Boys' Own Annual Christmas 1913, p.406.

(54) L.C.M. Vol.II, No.53, Feb.1899, p.638.

(55) "This is the word that year by year,
While in her place the School is set,
Everyone of her sons must hear,
And none that hear it dare forget.
This they all with a joyful mind
Bear through life like a torch in flame,
And falling fling to the host behind -
'Play up! play up! and play the game!"
(Collected Poems 1897-1907 Nelson, no date, pp.132-3)

(56) L.C.M. Vol.2, No.80, Feb.1902, p.23.

At Loretto a similar battle cry went:

"Up then, and gird yourself to face the foe
And that they're mighty foemen let them know.
Nay, rather, let them see and feel your might
But always play the game sincere and right." (57)

It was a morality to be carried into adulthood:

"Loretto, when we leave
Though we grieve
We'll always play the game
Just the same
One and all." (58)

Ultimately it would serve as a noble epitaph:

"And when the last Great Scorer comes
To write against your name,
He'll ask not if you won or lost,
But how you played the game." (59)

It was not only an aphorism translated into action which assisted in the development of honourable behaviour on the playing field and in life, but equally an antidote for depression and boredom. As E.W. Howson firmly asserted:

"Better a toilsome game, say I,
Play up, you fellows, play up!
Than moon about in a coat and tie,
Play up, you fellows, play up.
And nothing will drive the dumps away
Like Harrow footer on Harrow Clay." (60)

In the adult world this public school admonition to 'play the game' reverberated through the pages of noted journals in which secular and clerical missionaries either sought to set the world to right, or strove to maintain its rightness, through the simple expedient of propagating the 'play the game' moral ethic.

In 1914 for example, S.P. Grundy, General Secretary of the

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- (57) Lorettonian Vol.VI, No.1, Oct.24th. 1882, p.4. However for a later cynical schoolboy view of 'playing the game' see Arnold Lunn, The Harrovians 1913, pp.66-7; P.G. Wodehouse, Enter P. Smith 1935, pp.10 ff.
- (58) Lorettonian Vol.XXV, No.5, Nov.4th. 1902, p.12.
- (59) Quoted in W.R.M. Leake, Gilkes and Dulwich 1835-1914 1938, p.254, as a fitting summary of the influence of A.H. Gilkes contribution as a public school teacher.
- (60) Fourth verse of 'Play Up' in Ewart, op.cit., p.99.

Manchester League of Help, used the pages of Hibbert's Journal to call on the public schoolboy to bring his famed spirit into the industrial chaos that reigned outside "the charmed educational area" and 'play the game' in city slums. (61) The boy who had learnt to 'play the game' at school, he claimed, must fight against the evils of our civilisation if he wished to do the same as a man. If he did this he would soon find that the same ideals which applied to his games and social intercourse might be applied to wider fields of life. (62)

It had its part to play in national and local government. In 1927 J.E.C. Welldon, who will be recognised by now as a noted apologist of games as an instrument of character formation, lectured the Labour Party on the virtues in political life of the public school spirit of pulling together for the good of the whole not merely the part. His article was, in fact, a diatribe against strikes as a political weapon, in which he hectored the uninitiated into his own image - "it might well be wished that all persons who take part in public life would learn the lesson of 'playing the game'. It is a lesson which has been regularly taught upon the playing fields of our public schools." (63) The following year C.H.P. Mayo produced a similar cri de coeur in the Quarterly Review: "'Play the Game' above everything else is the teaching of the great Public Schools," he preached, "and those leaders of the strike (1926 General Strike) could not have acted in the way they did if they had learnt this lesson from their education!" (64) A disillusioned headmaster at the 1923 Headmasters' Conference drew attention to the difference in quality between

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- (61) S.P. Grundy, "What Public School Men Can Do", Hibbert's Journal Vol.X, 1911-12, pp.687-8.
 (62) Ibid., p.688.
 (63) J.E.C. Welldon, 'The Public School Spirit in Public Life', Contemporary Review Vol.CXXXII, No.313, Oct.1927, p.620.
 (64) C.H.P. Mayo, 'The Public School Spirit', Quarterly Review Vol.251, No.498, Oct.1928, p.212.

"our own enlightened, civilised Boards of Governors and people in charge of public Education Authorities" and regretted that more public schoolboys trained 'to play the game' did not take a greater part in local government affairs. (65)

In industry and commerce its value was appreciated. "We find," said an industrialist at the same Conference, "that working class children are quite as good if not better in mental capacity...(but) they have not got the same sense of playing the game and working for the need of all instead of for themselves only." (66) Welldon was in no doubt about its relevance for the export trade:

"It is my earnest desire that athletic games should be kept pure of all that may lower the spirit of the game. For the lesson of fair play in sport is the lesson of honesty in business; and, as I have travelled over the world, I have been scarcely less struck than pleased by finding that foreigners, though they do not always give English merchants credit as the equals of Germans, or even of Japanese, in industry or ingenuity, or in the persistency of advertising their goods, yet acknowledge the good faith of British merchants as delivering goods which, whether they are entirely up-to-date or not, are always trustworthy alike in their material and in their manufacture." (67)

The practical virtue of 'playing the game' may be extended beyond national and local politics and economic matters to imperial government which owed its integrity, according to Sir Geoffrey Lagden in the Nineteenth Century, to those from Britain to whom 'It isn't cricket; it isn't playing the game' was a moral axiom that dictated colonial action. (68) His article is, in fact, a eulogy to the secular trinity - Games, Corps and Empire, and ends appropriately with the second verse of

(65) Headmasters' Conference Report 1923, p.53.

(66) Ibid., p.16.

(67) Welldon (1915), p.144.

(68) Sir Geoffrey Lagden, 'On Public Schools and Their Influence', Nineteenth Century Vol.LXXI, No.421, March 1912, p.574.

Newbolt's Clifton Chapel. (69) A eulogy of another kind - to imperial manhood is this piece of breezy manliness from the hero of Mafeking, Baden-Powell:

"Don't be disgraced like the young Romans, who lost the Empire of their forefathers by being wishy-washy slackers without any go or patriotism in them. Play up. Each man in his place and play the game (emphasis added). Your forefathers worked hard, fought hard and died hard to make the Empire for you. Don't let them look down from heaven and see you loafing about with your hands in your pockets, doing nothing to keep it up." (70)

A prolific writer on matters of moral and physical well-being at the turn of the century was the physical fitness enthusiast and dietician Eustace Miles. (71) In 1904 he published Let's Play the Game: Or the Anglo-Saxon Sportsmanlike Spirit. It was replete with the fashionable sporting platitudes of the time. Moral admonition was by means of cricketing analogy. Human weaknesses were "the balls that bowl most of us in daily life", (72) an inability to remain free from sin was because

(69) "To set the cause above renown,
To love the game beyond the prize,
To honour, while you strike him down,
The foe that comes with fearless eyes;
To count the life of battle good,
And dear the land that gave you birth,
And dearer yet the brotherhood
That binds the brave of all the earth."
(Newbolt, op.cit., pp.128-9)

(70) Quoted in Lord Cromer, 'The Teaching of Patriotism', Nineteenth Century Vol.LXXVIII, No.465, Nov.1915, pp.1012-3.

(71) Miles was editor of Cassell's 'Physical Education' and Routledge's 'Fitness' series, and co-editor of Hurst and Blackett's 'Imperial Athletic Library'. He wrote a number of books on health diet and exercise, and established a string of health restaurants. Miles was a talented all-rounder - obtaining a First Class (Classical Tripos) at Cambridge - and at various times amateur tennis and racquets champion of the world. Between 1882 and 1887 he was a pupil at Marlborough and later in his career Cambridge Don and public school master. A delightful reminiscence of his frugal existence on biscuits is to be found in the autobiography of Sir E. Dennison Ross, the distinguished Oriental linguist, Both ends of the Candle 1963, p.27. Ross was at Marlborough from 1883 to 1888.

(72) Miles, op.cit., p.59.

"we have taken our eye off the ball".⁽⁷³⁾ 'Playing the game' was, in his view, a source of justifiable pride to the Englishman. It was his exclusive heritage. "You are lucky to be Anglo-Saxon," he told his readers, "where two or three are gathered together...there is the sportsmanlike spirit in the midst. It is called 'playing the game'."⁽⁷⁴⁾ Like Sir Geoffrey Lagden, Miles reserved his strongest expressions of self-satisfaction for imperial rule because, "we try to 'play the game' with the natives...Generally it should be a handicap game for we are bound to win if we play level; and we generally do play level; but anyhow we do play them and that is something!"⁽⁷⁵⁾

Sir Theodore Cook⁽⁷⁶⁾ was cast in the same sporting ethnocentric mould as Miles. In Character and Sportsmanship published in 1927, he attempted an analysis of Anglo-Saxon superiority as a consequence of games enthusiasm, and listed his recreation in Who's Who as 'writing about sport'. In Cook's treatise, all the familiar hallmarks of the sterling public schoolboy are recorded and applauded; games, fair play, loyalty and courage are inseparably enmeshed. "...We must be worthy of our heritage. We shall keep it by that sense of fair-play which is bred in our bones and courses through our blood, which makes a boy play the game..."⁽⁷⁷⁾ is typical of the many statements of patriotic self-pride and noble muscularity which permeate the pages.

The next year saw the publication of an equally effusive work on English games entitled Fair Play by a German Anglophile, Rudolph Kircher.⁽⁷⁸⁾

(73) Idem.

(74) Ibid., p.94.

(75) Ibid., p.63.

(76) Sir Theodore Cook (1867-1927) was educated at Radley, where he was Captain of Football and Boats and Head of School, and at Oxford where he won his rowing blue in 1899. In later life he was twice Captain of the English Fencing Team at international competitions.

(77) Sir Theodore Cook, Character and Sportsmanship 1927, p.XIV.

(78) Rudolph Kircher, Fair Play (trans. by R.N. Bradley), 1928.

It was his ambition to place the sporting terminology of the English public school in a comparative moralistic perspective and measure its influence. He generalised extravagantly about the English people, but his comments have greatest validity for the class whose sons spent their adolescence in the public schools. His pen was adulatory and unqualified. Only for the English, he wrote, the censorious imperative 'that's not cricket', the classic postulate 'fair play' and the vague phrase 'playing the game' had profound moral significance.⁽⁷⁹⁾ The simple expressions of the playing field were to be found "engraved upon the Englishman's table of commandments with a chisel of steel".⁽⁸⁰⁾ For the Anglo-Saxon, 'playing the game', he advised the literal Teuton, did not mean what it seemed to mean, but stood for playing with "honour, dignity and according to all the rules".⁽⁸¹⁾

Finally, the use of the language of games to transmit simple moral messages to the English public schoolboy is nowhere more perfectly illustrated than in the delightful, anonymous allegory Baxter's Second Innings.⁽⁸²⁾ If 'Tom' was a minor Arthurian romance of the nineteenth century, then Baxter's Second Innings is the equivalent of the public schoolboy's Pilgrim's Progress. The story opens with Baxter, our timid hero, reclining on a couch after the unfortunate experience of being knocked out in his very first innings by a demon fast bowler. Baxter's Captain enters, sits down beside him and advises the boy on how to play the cause of his injury in the future:

(79) Ibid., p.16.

(80) Ibid., p.18.

(81) Ibid., p.17.

(82) Baxter's Second Innings 1892. The allegory was written by Henry Drummond, the Free Church evolutionist, and was a Victorian best seller. I am grateful to Mr. Patrick Scott, lecturer in English Literature, Edinburgh University, for this information.

"I shall begin by telling you his name," said the Captain. "It is Temptation."

"Tim who?" said the boy.

"Temptation," repeated the Captain.

"Oh," said the boy. "I hope you are not going to be religious. I thought we were talking about games."

"So we are," replied the Captain cheerily.

"We are talking about the game of life...life is simply a cricket match - with Temptation as the Bowler." (83)

After this stimulating introduction, his Captain warns Baxter that every boy has three wickets to defend - Truth, Honour and Purity. To attack these wickets, the Demon Bowler uses three techniques - swifts, slows and screws. In short, temptation may come swiftly, slowly or screwed as a cricket ball. Baxter, quick to take the point offered in these graphic terms, remarks innocently that if he defends his three wickets, then all will be well! There comes a speedy rejoinder:

"Baxter, you have forgotten something.
There are more than wickets!"

What Baxter had overlooked, were the bails. His Captain had been out several times with his wickets standing but "one miserable inch of bail off!" He exhorts the boy to "play the whole game", for sometimes Temptation does nothing but bowl at bails! For good measure, he adds the rider that the bowler employs further variations of delivery, including 'sneaks' and 'mixtures'. In view of the bowler's caddishness, Baxter asks sensibly why he is allowed to play. The reply is devastating in its logical simplicity - "How could you score if there was no bowler?" With Baxter - depression creeping swiftly upon him - confesses that he is often bowled in private but, of course, no one knows, his self-delusion is ruthlessly exposed. He is informed curtly that all this is written down in the score-sheet - his character. Depression now overtakes him at this news and he cries out that he can never win. But his Captain is formidably persuasive. Baxter takes guard in his second innings, and despite all the wiles of the bowler, plays "most carefully and brilliantly".

'Offside', 'Stick To', 'The Eve of the Brighton Match', Bishop Selwyn's lecture, Trebla's assertion, Bowen's archetype, the simplistic claims of Grundy, Welldon, Lagden, Miles and Cook reinforced by Newbolt's widely known 'Vital Lampada' and 'Clifton Chapel' together with Kircher's less well known obeisance Fair Play and the sweetly ingenuous Baxter's Second Innings provide period illustrations of a naive, narrow and muscular but not ignoble vocabulary of moral motive. It may now be time to reassess its qualities rather than to continue to mock its shortcomings.

The widespread impression today is that athleticism crushed the weak and inoffensive, elevated the strong and the callous, placed the aesthete and intellectual beneath the studded heel of the hearty's football and cricket boot. There is much truth in this; but the danger is that it is seen as the whole truth. The reality is, of course, more subtle. Many adherents of the ideology were certainly too simpliste in their devotion, foolish in their claims for 'transfer', insufficiently critical in their passion, exaggerated in their symbolism. But there was virtue as well as vice in the ideology and its verbal symbolism. There was, at times, nobility, sense and soundness in the enunciation and practice of educational principle. There was effective idealism as well as myopic naivety in the exhortations of the committed, the aspirations of the innocent and the preaching of millenarians such as Almond. As an experienced public school master has written:

"The general citizen of the pre-war public schools had an ideal of himself which he tended to live up to...we couldn't in these days stand up and sing some of the songs of the past seriously - but they did, and they did it without their tongue in their cheek, as I think a lot of modern people suspect." (84)

(84) Extract from a letter from Mr. R.B. Bruce-Lockhart, headmaster of Loretto, to the present writer dated 25.10.72.

III

Creators of the famous quality of esprit de corps , allegedly instilled by the public school system in its Golden Age, developed an extensive battery of literary symbols of an athletic nature emphasising unity.

At Uppingham, Loretto and Harrow, there occurred the phenomenon of headmasters and assistant masters putting pen to paper to catch the spirit of those intense feelings of group solidarity generated by energetic or skilful happenings on the Upper, Pinkie or the Upper Sixth. (85)

In the early years of Uppingham school, Edward Thring produced five school songs: 'The Cricket Song', 'The Fives Song', 'The Rockingham Match', 'The Uppingham Chorus', and 'Echoes of Uppingham'. (86) The first three of these joyfully describe the pleasures of bodily exercise, and all five were designed in part to create for the school a corporate identity. In his 'Rockingham Match', for example, which celebrated an annual cricket fixture with a local team attended by the whole school, Thring embraced his pupils-players and spectators metaphorically with a proud paternal gesture of ownership:

"Blue caps, where are my blue caps?
They marshall fair
On yon green hill."

Thring, in fact, noted in his diary: "I trust very much to our literature in days to come keeping the school true to high principles and giving them esprit de corps" (87) and, in an edition of the School Songs published

(85) Famous playing-fields respectively at Uppingham, Loretto and Harrow.

(86) These were first published in 1858, four years after Thring arrived at Uppingham. Later were added 'The Old Boys' Match' (1862) and 'The Football Song' (1866).

(87) Quoted in Tozer, op.cit., p.119.

in 1858, he praised the songs as being a "genial solvent" breaking down barriers and promoting integration. (88)

At Loretto, an enthusiastic articulator of esprit de corps was the rugby blue and international, H.B. Tristram, initially assistant master, later vice-gerant (acting head) and eventually headmaster on Almond's death. The traditional school song, 'The Old Red Coat', (89) 'Going Strong' and 'Go Like Blazes' are typical products of his desire to propagate the virtues of loyalty and fellowship through the medium of the sporting lyric. In 'The Old Red Coat' he attempted to rouse institutional patriotism with the familiar technique of the symbolic reiteration of symbolism:

"There are plenty of colours for others to wear
But never a one with the Red can compare,
Whether faded or fresh it gladdens the sight
For we all give our hearts for the Old Red and White." (90)

and the chorus reinforced both unity and uniqueness:

"To the Old Red Coat, and the open throat
And the School where we can wear it,
And we always shall bless the free jolly dress
And be glad that we still can share it."

Tristram attempted to fuse the emotions of pupils at school. But in his famous 'Forty Years On' Edward Bowen caught a dimension of public school solidarity which was far from exclusive to Harrow - the fusion of past and present. A fusion developed through the games field more than anywhere else:

"Routs and discomfitures, rushes and rallies,
Bases attempted, and rescued and won,
Strife without anger, and art without malice,
How will it seem to you, forty years on?
Then, you will say, not a feverish minute
Strained the weak heart and the wavering knee,
Never the battle raged hottest, but in it,
Neither the last nor the faintest were we!

(88) Ibid., p.118.

(89) Red and white are the Loretto school colours. Apparently Almond chose red out of admiration for Sparta where the young warriors wore red cloaks. I owe this point to Mr. R.B. Bruce-Lockhart, Headmaster of Loretto.

(90) Loretto School Songs p.6.

Chorus;

Follow up! Follow up! Follow up! Follow up!
 Till the field ring again and again,
 With the tramp of the twenty-two men,
 Follow up! Follow up! (91)

'Echoes of dreamland' and 'visions of boyhood' linked many old alumni with their school. Through their nostalgic verses they perpetuated the strenuous activities of a former generation, and legitimatised those of the new by their reiteration of a belief in the delight and soundness of their own adolescent experiences. As Horton has argued, for the 'traditional' the passage of time is unwanted and its attempted annulment results in the symbolism of renewal and recreation: (92)

"Oh give me back that golden time again
 When youth ran riot through the heart and brain.
 Even now I seem to hear the rival cheers
 That tell our House match days of hopes and fears.
 The gathering tramp of forwards sweeping on,
 The net's exultant hiss which shows our goal is won." (93)

and

"When we see the Lorettonian, we are boys and young once more,
 And our thoughts fly back to Scotland from some far Pacific shore,
 From the neighbouring green island
 Or some distant frontier highland
 And we long to see again the red jersey once we wore." (94)

and

"Forgotten cheers are in our ears,
 Again we play our matches,
 And memory swells with wizard spells
 Our bygone scores and catches;
 Again we rush across the slush -
 A pack of breathless faces -
 And charge and fall, and see the ball
 Fly whizzing through the bases." (95)

(91) Quoted in W. Bowen, op.cit., p.377.

(92) For a discussion of Horton's argument see J.H.M. Beattie, 'On Understanding Ritual' in Wilson, op.cit., pp.266-7.

(93) Marlburian Vol.XLI, No.620, Feb.7th. 1906, p.3. E.W. Howson in his 'Five Hundred Faces' anticipated just such a reaction:

"The time may come, as the years go by,
 When your heart will thrill,
 At the thought of the Hill,
 And the slippery fields and the raining sky."

(94) Lorettonian Vol.XX, No.8, March 1898, p.38.

(95) Third verse of the Harrow song 'Stet Fortuna Domus'.

Simple sensuality was insufficient however, and moral precepts, learnt in one's own schooldays, were transmitted for good measure:

"And we trust you, never fear, and we know you do your best,
That Merchiston were frightened, and Fettes sorely pressed
But there's one thing that we pray
That in every match you play
You'll play the game like sportsmen and to fortune leave the rest." (96)

Former pupils, in fact, proved to be zealous guardians of tradition and fierce, if, on occasion, unsuccessful upholders of hallowed manliness and masculinity. The introduction of rugby football at Stonyhurst inspired one old boy to write 'The Game of our Fathers: Old Stonyhurst Football' (97) - a poem extolling the virtues of a hardy and idiosyncratic form of football. The poem was a passionate attempt to sustain a memory of traditions and to continue the past into the future in the face of a desire in the school to ape the southern schools and the protestant élite. Ejaculations of dismay are mixed with impassioned appeals for a change of heart:

"Your hands are in your pockets boys,
Your legs are lazy now.
(The weeds have gripped the pasture
And the rust is in the plough)
.....
Avaunt your soccer's mincing grace
Your rugger's rigid commonplace
Line out my splendid Stonyhurst,
Line out there for the game." (98)

In other cases intense memories and the resigned acceptance of the passing of time are to be found, in conjunction with a desire to return to the womb of Alma Mater:

"In city streets
In desert heat
Or beneath the Aurora's flame
Quite an ordinary game
On Rutland fields, lying cold and wet
Some there shall be who will never forget
Never forget - Never forget." (99)

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- (96) Lcettonian Vol.XX, No.8, March 1898, p.38.
(97) S.C.M. Vol.X, No.148, Oct.1906, pp.149-50.
(98) Idem.
(99) U.S.M. Vol.LX, No.467, March 1922, p.25.

This same Old Uppinghamian remembered even his 'grinds' with nostalgic affection.

"Out along the London road
Muddy shorts our only load
Running in the wind and rain:
Oh to do it once again." (100)

While a Marlborough master guessed at the reason for the enthusiasm of Old Marlburians for the annual reunion:

"What is it brings you back so keen?
Sons from afar.
One more game with the House Fifteen?
Sons from afar." (101)

Summer days appear to have had an especially evocative quality and stimulated attempts through 'womb-regressive imagery' to close the widening gap of the years and to recapture the sweetness of the crack of the cricket bat:

"Or even the month of June has passed
Old Boys think of the days that have been.
Summer by summer their thoughts are cast
Over the years and the miles between.
Back to the Upper and scented limes
To matches lost and matches won,
Boundaries hit in far off times,
To carefree days in the summer sun." (102)

Thring, in his song, 'The Old Boys' Match', composed in his later years, portrays a carefully selected idyll of adolescence sanctified by the Old Boy in maturity. It is always sunshine 'for the match of matches' and the days are splendid with 'sunny hits and sunny catches' through the 'sunny hours' of the 'sunny game'. The repetition might be tedious but it is not insignificant, nor perhaps ineffectual, in creating simple images of legitimate delight for unsophisticated boys of all ages.

(100) Idem.

(101) Quoted in Ewart, op.cit., p.187. The master was J. O'Regan (1894-1922).

(102) U.S.M. Vol.LIX, No.463, June 1921, p.92. See also 'Going Strong' by H.B. Tristram in Loretto School Songs the last verse of which goes:

"Long hence when you look with a quivering eye
On the little white tassel you value so high;
You will think of the matches you've played in and won
And you'll long for the days that are over and done."

In 1863 the Uppingham Rovers Cricket Club was established.

Membership was restricted to those chosen from the School Eleven and from Old Boys of outstanding cricketing ability. Its Annual Dinner in June or July each year was an opportunity for a ritualistic indulgence in topical sporting lyrics composed for the occasion, celebrating Uppingham heroes and heroic incidents of the playing-field. It lies with the Uppingham Rovers to sum up the cohesive role of the verbal symbolism associated with the games of these schools in a short verse entitled 'The Same Old Game' in which projection of present into future is well depicted:

"The same old game
The same old game
To forget or forgo it were a shame.
When we are past and gone
The young ones coming on
Will carry on the same old game." (103)

IV

As a schoolboy at Winchester, the poet Lionel Johnson played the role of an aesthete to perfection; he was reputed to have read all the books in the school library, embraced Buddhism and drunk eau de cologne for his amusement. (104) In later years, his schooldays conjured up pre-Raphaelite visions of "cloisters touched with white moonlight". For those more prosaic but in their own way, equally intense, schooldays were often associated with a less exotic hedonism which carried the added

(103) 'The Same Old Game' was presented at the Annual Dinner of 1887. (U.S.A.)

(104) Iain Fletcher (ed.), The Complete Poems of Lionel Johnson 1953, p.XX.

attraction of an acceptable and secure sexual role, closely identified with enthusiasm for games and defined in the imagery of 'manliness' used assertively by juvenile versifiers, schoolmaster songsters and headmaster preachers.

Sexual identification and legitimate sensuality - these two themes revolve around a worship of games during the period under discussion. (105) To be manly was a condition that included a large element of the physical, but, at the same time, it was a pre-pubic, asexual 'physicality' extended into early manhood, in which sexual knowledge and experience were taboo. The rationale for this is provided in this statement by a public schoolmaster:

"I believe that in England we have groped our way unconsciously to a great truth in man's development; it is that 'slow growth is the best growth', and the splendid products of our Public Schools and Universities in the past have been due, I suggest, primarily to the fact that the period of boyhood with boyish pastimes has been prolonged for as long as possible. If this is true, and I know I am not alone in my opinion, then aping the man is a tendency which in a schoolboy should be sternly checked." (106)

The Old Harrovian Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, delighted in this simple tenet and extended it to embrace intellectual development. "Thanks be to Heaven," he declared at the 1923 annual dinner of the Harrow Association, "there is in every English boy an unconscious but impregnable resistance to every form of pressure made by any schoolmaster

(105) Hely Hutchinson Almond wrote in an article entitled 'Football as a Moral Agent' (Nineteenth Century Dec.1893) "I have never yet known a genuine rugby forward who was not distinctively a man".

(106) A Housemaster and His Boys by One of Them 1929, p.64. 'A Housemaster' was apparently Stephen Foot. He developed his argument further in two articles entitled 'The Future of the Public Schools' in Nineteenth Century Vol.CI, No.DXCIX, Jan. 1927, pp.86-96, and Vol.CVIII, No.DCXXXV, Jan.1930, pp.17-25. In essence, he argued for 'games instead of girls' so that the public schools turn out as fine material physically, mentally and spiritually as in the past.

who works him too hard or tries to put too much inside him...It is to this that Englishmen owe so largely the careful cultivation of their physical growth. They let the body grow, undisturbed by mental storm until they get into their early twenties, and then they go into the world able to graft the sane mind on to the sane body."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ It is certainly an interesting theory, but perhaps an obscure critic of the public school system came closer to the truth when he suggested that, "The chief weakness...is that it does not so much help as retard growth: it relates social prestige to physique,"⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and while the theory encapsulated a puritanical ideal, the reality could be quite different.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Ironically sensuality was not only permitted, it was demanded; but it was a sensuality in which physical contact was channelled into football mauls, and emotional feelings into hero worship of the athletic 'blood'.

No one better than Edward Thring, muscular Christian par excellence, caught the ethos of Circumscribed Christian Hedonism that was the expected life-style of the cloistered young man of the English public school. He also added the interesting ingredients of pain and sublimation. The three motifs, masculinity, sensuality and pain, are found in the first verse of his 'Fives Song' in which the vitality and the exuberance of the muscular Christian are beautifully portrayed:

"Oh the spirit in the ball
Dancing round about the wall
In your eye and out again
Ere there's time to feel the pain
Hands and fingers all alive
Doing duty each for five."⁽¹¹⁰⁾

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- (107) Martin Crusoe, 'The Development of the Public School', Scrutiny May 1932, p.57.
- (108) From 'Harrow' in On England and Other Addresses 1926, p.265.
- (109) See for example Graves, op.cit., pp.21-2; Worsley (1967), pp.74-77; Caraman, op.cit., p.46; Keble-Martin, op.cit., p.23. For a general discussion of homosexuality in public schools, see 'Our Gentlemen's Schools' by ex-Monitor, English Review March 1923, pp.155-60 and June 1923, pp.256-7; Bamford (1967), op.cit., pp.279-81 and Honey, op.cit., pp.192-221.
- (110) E. Thring, Uppingham School Songs 1881, p.17.

Thring returned to the theme of pain and masculinity in his published sermons, ⁽¹¹¹⁾ But the interest was not idiosyncratic. Almond too, thought pain a necessary initiation into manhood; ⁽¹¹²⁾ Edward Lyttelton bemoaned the removal of the element of pain in cricket, due to the development of smooth pitches which made the game "comparatively worthless". ⁽¹¹³⁾ F.B. Malim considered golf and lawn tennis undesirable school games because they were insufficiently painful. ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ And in the second verse of Thring's Fives Song occur the curious lines which suggest a powerful sublimatory urge quite in keeping with the Pauline ambivalence to the flesh of the intense Victorian Christian:

"Bodies, bodies are no more
All is hit and spring and score." ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

The various themes recur in Thring's 'Football Song' in which the heavy, daily load of sobriety and responsibility are lost in an amnesia of physical effort:

"See the madness surge and rise,
Tries twice sixty hit the skies
Shrieks of triumph, shrieks of woe
Heads like nuts together go.
Cowards staring, cracking shins,
Rubbing hands and no-one wins;
Heels are flying into air
Head and shoulders anywhere
Now the charm is working free
Brad-awl paint, and mad ball glee." ⁽¹¹⁶⁾

The song contains an important clue to the sexual identity of the Victorian and Edwardian schoolboy, namely, cowards merely stare, heroes act. That such corybantic activity as Thring describes might cause the imaginative and less robust to stare in amazement and sensibly refrain, is a quite unacceptable viewpoint, and we are back again to that simple

(111) Thring (1858), op.cit., p.205.

(112) Thomson, op.cit., p.71.

(113) Sports and Sportsmen op.cit., p.145.

(114) Malim in Benson (1917), op.cit., p.153.

(115) Thring (1881), op.cit., p.17.

(116) Ibid., p.28.

linear relationship between physical courage and moral worth - a relationship that represented essential masculinity to the initiated.

Bowen's 'Tom' contains an illuminating set of images that reveal the upper class Englishman's equivalent of Latin American 'machismo':

"Base is the player who stops
Fight, till the fighting is o'er,
Who follows up till he drops
Panting and limping and sore?
Tom!" (117)

On the field, Tom, uncomplicated in action and aspiration, crashes through the opposition with force and fury, and off the field his noblest ambition is to develop an "eleven of Toms" to win glory for his house.

Investigators of the literature of public school life will look in vain for the hero as intellectual, dilettante or cosmopolitan. The heroes of the time were, in Kipling's words, 'Gentlemen of England, cleanly bred'. Their pleasures were wonderfully stoical, their virtues grounded in the physical:

"And here's to the team with the old fashioned pluck
Not wild in good fortune, nor beat by ill luck
Three cheers for Lancing that turns out such men
They've done it before and they'll do it again!" (118)

"Thank God for sport," carolled the public schoolmaster R.C. Taylor in

A Housemaster's Letters, "when you see the average public school boy leave the University with his fine physique, clear skin and eyes and a sense of discipline," which is not "such a bad outfit for a life voyage". (119)

Such a boy had his limitations, he acknowledged, but demanded that contempt be reserved for those who spent their days "in a maze of fancy waistcoats, sporting papers, coloured socks, actresses' photographs, theatre programmes, action bridge, billiards, motor cars, race meetings, visits to town, stern notes from College deans, general vacuity - and an occasional lecture". (120)

(117) Quoted in W. Bowen, op.cit., p.405.

(118) L.C.M. Vol.5, No.LXXX, Dec.1890, p.915.

(119) Taylor, op.cit., p.181.

(120) Idem.

In the Dark Blue, in 1872, W. Turley, urging support for the new muscularity, argued that "a nation of effeminate, enfeebled bookworms scarcely forms the most effective bulwark of a nation's liberties"⁽¹²¹⁾ and some years later Norman Gale inquired:

"What in the world is the use of a creature
All flabbily bent on avoiding the Pitch,
Who wanders about, with a sob in each feature
Devising a headache, inventing a stitch,
These surely would be a quick end to my joy
If possessed of that monster - a feminine boy."⁽¹²²⁾

Punch, refreshingly, took a characteristically sly poke at the simple, muscular idealism exemplified by Taylor, Turley and Gale, while acknowledging its existence at the 'Varsities among both students and dons:

"Who cares a hang for first in Greats
And Academic glory,
Dull bookworm, come and see the sights
And shut de Oratore!
Learn what a thing a man might be
And think to win a pewter
More splendid than a first, like me your Tutor."⁽¹²³⁾

No sterner a defence of the games-field as a creator of that curious paradox, asexual masculinity, could be found than that of the Clifton headmaster J.M. Wilson in his much publicised essay Morality in Public Schools and its Relation to Religion.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Parents who kept their boys off the playing field, he asserted, would ask themselves in regret and wonder why they had become "the poor mannish, strutting creatures they are". "Cooperate heartily with the schoolmaster in enforcing school games," he

(121) W. Turley, 'Modern Athleticism', Dark Blue Vol.IV, Sept.1872-Feb.1873, p.297.

(122) Norman Gale, 'The Female Boy' in More Cricket Songs 1905, p.15.

(123) Punch Feb.27th. 1901, p.165. An Uppingham refrain in a similar vein goes:

"A pound of weight
With an empty pate
Is far more gain
Than a pound of brain
It tells in scrum
And makes things hum:
Can heel and screw
Which Greek can't do." (U.S.M. Vol.XLIV, No.348, Aug.1906, p.11)

(124) J.M. Wilson, Morality in Public Schools and its Relation to Religion 1882, pp.18-19. James Maurice Wilson (1836-1931) was assistant master at Rugby (1859-1879) and headmaster of Clifton (1879-1890).

pleaded. If parents did not give such support, they would be exposing their sons "to risks a thousand times worse than taking colds or getting their shins kicked". He followed up this advice with an unconsciously amusing, but, considering the frenetic prudery of the period, entirely logical defence of the conversational shortcomings of public school clientele:

"Did you ever think what a priceless boon is the innocence of school games as a subject of conversation? You are perhaps bored by the incessant talk about matches and runs, and place kicks, and scrummages; you think games occupy a disproportionate share of the boy's mind. You may be thankful, this is so. What do French boys talk about?" (125)

He knew his clientele however. In his obituary it was stated that the boys admired his enthusiasm for games, and parents felt secure in "his moral earnestness"! (126)

Loretto verse is replete with the imagery of sexual identification and circumscribed hedonism. 'J.M.', for example, in 1880, in a verse entitled 'Floreat Loretto', celebrating the school's success at producing University blues with adequate degrees, specified that it was done 'without unwholesome cram'. At Loretto, he emphasised, there was one type that would not be tolerated, namely:

"The scholar without chest or limbs
Who can do nought but read." (127)

The same point was reiterated in the Lorettonian in the following year:

"Puny students burn the oil of midnight lamps and strain
Their addled senses till they swim, and every thought is pain,
But give to me the healthy frame, the brain from cobwebs free,
The struggles of the playing field, the drive from off the tee;
The sano mens without the rest must be a rope of sand
For Health and Education must still go hand in hand." (128)

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- (125) Ibid., p.19. A large extract of Wilson's essay, including the above passage, was printed in the Lorettonian Vol.IV, No.4, Nov.26th. 1881, pp.14-15. No doubt it was considered an uplifting passage for pupils and parents.
- (126) The Times Educational Supplement Dec.5th. 1918, p.527.
- (127) Lorettonian Vol.I, No.5, March 13th. 1880, p.15.
- (128) Lorettonian Vol.III, No.10, March 17th. 1881, p.32.

Boys at Loretto were reminded that to 'Go Like Blazes' was suitably representative of the manly breed, that 'to be always on the ball', 'to carry every maul' and always 'go strong from first to last' was the expected behaviour of Lorettonians down Pinkie Hill and in life. The ongoing nature of the proud tradition was stipulated in the last verse of Tristram's hortation:

"Here's to the gallant souls, who've worn the jersey red,
Here's to all the captains who the School Fifteen have led,
Here's to all who've got their pluck, and in their footsteps tread!"⁽¹²⁹⁾

In short, the perfect representative of public school masculinity during the period of the domination of athleticism was physically tough, pure in thought and deed, simple-living and intellectually unostentatious. The ideal emulated by pupils and admired by many staff was Bowen's 'Jack' who:

"Dines in pads for practice sake
Goes with a bat to bed."⁽¹³⁰⁾

This is certainly an unsubtle stereotype. But the above couplet is scarcely hyperbolic. The image is depicted time and again over the decades. The dogmatism of the language is total: the morality is equally rigid. In time, this extremism guaranteed reaction and revulsion, but it would scarcely be over-audacious to suggest that it structured the reality of the simple-minded, the unreflective and the conformist to a considerable degree. 'The Man to Look For' typifying the public school ideal of manhood of the time has been well described in this verse by W.E. Remisol:

"He mayn't be good at Latin, he mayn't be good at Greek
But he's every bit a sportsman, and not a bit a sneak,
For he's the man of Scotland, and England, Ireland, Wales;
He's the man who weighs the weight in the Empire's mighty scales.
He'll play a game of rugger in the spirit all should have;
He'll make a duck at cricket, and come smiling to the pav.,
Now he's the man to look for, he's sturdy through and through;
He'll come to call of country and he'll come the first man too."⁽¹³¹⁾

(129) Lorettonian Vol.XVIII, No.4, Nov.30th. 1895, p.15.

(130) Quoted in W. Bowen, *op.cit.*, p.395.

(131) Lorettonian Vol.XLIV, No.9, March 18th. 1922, p.40.

V

Throughout the years of imperial expansion, dominance and defence, the Lacedaemonians of the public schools were reminded of their patriotic martial duty, of their military leadership role and of the close relationship between games and war:

"If you should ask me why 'tis that in England
Schoolboys are taught the king of games to play,
As well as learning French and mathematics
("A beastly waste of time" perchance you'll say).

Not so, not so, my gentle reader, Listen!
Turn for a time, and give it sober thought;
That war out of which we came victorious
Was largely won upon the fields of sport.

Could our young men have turned out so quickly,
Well trained for all the hardships of the front,
Had they not become quite well accustomed
Of hard and nasty knocks to bear the brunt?

No, they could not, gentle, thoughtless reader,
Study's necessary in its way,
But not more so that are games like cricket, (132)
To keep old England where she is today."

Humble verse in school magazines and national journals, sermons, biographies, novels and letters to the press, down the years, laid combined stress on the similarity of endeavour involved in battle and match. The catastrophe of the Crimea was attributed in part by 'A Templar' to defects in the cricket system at Eton. Improve one and you would remedy the other, he argued. (133) By the end of the century, Norman Gale was inclined to believe the reform of public school cricket had been successful, and the consequences for British Arms improved!

(132) Lawrence Moncrieff, "The Cricketer's 'If'" in The Cricketer (Winter Annual) 1921-22 edited by P.F. Warner.

(133) The Times July 13th. 1859, p.12.

"See in bronzing sunshine
Thousands of good fellows,
Such as roll the world along,
Such as cricket mellows!
These shall keep the Motherland
Safe amid her quarrels,
Lucky lads, plucky lads,
Trained to snatch at laurels!" (134)

Football, too, was an indirect form of military education.

Harrow boys were compelled to play football so "that they may make good warriors when they grow up" observed a latter day Heroditus recording the school's mores in 1879. (135) A similar point of view was expressed in the Lorettonian: "Football brings out all the qualities that ought to be innate in a brave soldier," it asserted with confidence. (136) And one Lancing master wrote of 'The Football Player':

"...the use on peaceful playing fields,
Of supple limbs and ever-quickenning eye
Win for him laurels in a sterner game,
Giving resource and strength that never yields,
Making him such that he would rather die
Than soil the honour of his country's name." (137)

Both footballers and cricketers were celebrated in this Marlborough College song:

"Vivat vis pedariorum!
Vivat Undecimuiorum!
Folle, pila, seu fortmento, (138)
Civitati propugnanto."

On the outbreak of the Boer War, the Lorettonian printed a poem 'To Loretto from her Volunteers' in which the young heroes on the Veld assured the school that though the colours might be changed from red to khaki:

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- (134) Gale, op.cit., p.57.
 (135) Harrovian Vol.IV, No.11, Dec.11th. 1879, p.116.
 (136) Lorettonian Vol.XXIV, No.6, Feb.1st. 1902, p.22.
 (137) Haig-Brown, op.cit., p.16.
 (138) Second verse of 'Carmen Marlboroughense' by the Rev. C.W. Moule.
 Translation: Long live the strength of our footballers and that of the eleven! May they fight for their country on football or cricket field - or on the field of battle. Song and translation from Ewart, op.cit., pp.169-70.

"For the bowling we are ready
And will keep the right foot steady
And try not to flinch as they hum past our head." (139)

The necessary spirit of stoicism and simple courage were supposedly transmitted by analagous reference to the rugby pitch on which, even when the scrums got roughish and the hacks freely distributed, Loretto boys never whined, always led the charge and appreciated their expendability for the good of the side. (140) The Stonyhurst magazine appealed to a similar breed of volunteers of a later era, when it informed Old Stonyhurstians of Kitchener's army that,

"The ancient trust is yours to keep or break
And in your hands by old tradition set,
The name of English sportsmen lies at stake." (141)

A special verse composed for the annual dinner of the Fettesian-Lorettonian Club in 1917 reiterated the value of the 'mimic warfare of the football field':

"At the call of their country in time of her need
They arose in their strength, men that football can breed,
And showed the whole world they could fight.
In the oldest of games they have proven their worth
When they fought and they bled for the land of their birth." (142)

Shortly after the Great War, the Old Uppinghamian E.W. Hornung published a small book of war poetry which contained a marvellously pure example of vocabulary of patriotic motive, a poem entitled 'Lord's Leave 1915' in which the symbols of school games were extensively used to depict the face of war. The first two verses offer a flavour of the whole:

"No Lords this year: no silken lawn on which
A dignified and dainty throng meanders.
The Schools take guard upon a fiercer pitch
Somewhere in Flanders.

Bigger the cricket here: yet some who tried
In vain to earn a colour while at Eton,
Have found a place upon an England side
That can't be beaten." (143)

(139) Lorettonian Vol.XXII, No.5, March 17th. 1900, p.24.

(140) Idem.

(141) S.C.M. Vol.XIII, No.199, April 1915, p.112.

(142) Lorettonian Vol.XXIV, No.12, May 24th. 1917, p.49.

(143) E.W. Hornung, The Old Guard 1919, p.63.

The poem is saturated with cricketing parlance. The public schoolboy faces the Hun demon bowler his field gun trained upon the stumps pumping Krupp's shells from "a concrete grandstand far beyond the boundary". While the stars blink down from the Pavilion and although the conditions are atrocious - "no screen and too much mud for cricket lovers" - we are reminded that there is no appealing against the light in this match.

It was on the eve of the First World War, with a strong premonition of coming events, that Hornung provided another pure nugget from his unique vein of war-as-games literature:

"For here now 'we see through a glass darkly', so darkly that try as we will, we cannot see the score; so darkly that we can hardly see to play the game; but not so darkly that we are going to appeal against the light - nor so darkly that we cannot be sportsmen and glory in the difficulties we have to overcome. Who wants an easy victory? Who wants a life of full-pitches to leg? Do you think the Great Scorer is going to give you four runs every time for those? I believe with all my heart and soul that in this splendidly difficult Game of Life it is just the cheap and easy triumph which will be written in water on the score-sheet. And the way we played for our side, in the bad light, on the difficult pitch: the way we backed up and ran the other man's runs; our courage and our unselfishness, not our skill or our success, our brave failures, our hidden disappointments, the will to bear our friends' infirmities, and the grit to fight our own; surely, surely it is these things above all that will count, when the innings is over, in the Pavilion of Heaven."⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

Another Old Uppinghamian, Charles Byles, wrote of the public schoolboys of the Great War:

"They fronted the storm and the flame
They laughed in Death's face as they fell
They rejoiced in red strife as a game:⁽¹⁴⁵⁾
They sang as they strode into Hell."

(144) From "'The Game of Life': a sermon preached in the Chapel of Stowe House, Broadstairs," July 5th. 1914, quoted in S. Chichester (ed.), E.W. Hornung and his Young Guard 1914 1936, p.37.

(145) Byles, op.cit., p.20.

'J.B.', the Marlborough master, sang in a poetic obituary of a former pupil, killed at the Front:

"And now you've played your noblest game,
And now you've won your grandest Blue,
And Marlboro' lads shall read your name
Upon the wall and honour you."⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

Fed on a diet of the impossible but poignant romanticism of such as Byles, Hornung and 'J.B.', it is little wonder, as Ronald Gurner wrote of Marlborough boys at the onset of the war, that they thought of it as "a glorified football match in which, if peace did not come, they might take their places in the English Team".⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ How many subsequently reacted like Sheriff's Dennis Stanhope⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ will never be known. Gurner's statement sheds some light on the impact of the chauvinist vocabularies of motive associated with games but, of course, the extent of their influence is impossible to gauge with precision.

Those who wrote the verse and prose were undoubtedly sincere and ardent believers in the naive messages of the efficacy of games playing for war service, and of the value of the games analogy for imprinting qualities of bravery, steadfastness and perseverance. And such proselytism did not end with the Great War:

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- (146) Marlburian Vol.LII, No.776, July 12th. 1917, p.108. ('In Memory of Second Lieutenant H.T. Goodwin'). 'J.B.' was John Bain, assistant master at Marlborough 1873-1883, 1886-1913. He himself, is celebrated in Charles Sorley's Marlborough and Other Poems in the poem entitled 'J.B.', pp.29-30. Examples of his poetic obituaries may be found in Appendix VI.
- (147) Gurner, op.cit., p.55. Gurner's War Echoes 1917, a small book of poetry composed at the Front, significantly contains no verses of the shrill simple patriotism of games-as-war training or war-as-games variety.
- (148) Dennis Stanhope in R.C. Sheriff's Journey's End, the famous play about public school boys in the trenches, was the perfect public schoolboy who under the strain of war became an embryonic alcoholic. At the fictitious Barford (his public school) he had been a clean-limbed skipper of the XV and enthusiastic member of the XI, and as Head of House notably severe on drinkers and smokers.

"Energy is the basis of the "fighting spirit", the determination to leave nothing undone which will help to KILL THE ENEMY, which is the bed rock of success in war. Too much attention cannot be paid to the part played by games in fostering this spirit. In all our national games men of British race submit with enthusiasm to training and discipline for the sake of the side; they possess an inborn instinct which makes them naturally work for the side and play the game." (149)

Up to a point, no doubt, the fitness and toughness developed through activities demanding severe respiratory and muscular effort were useful, but it is interesting that when the 'war to end wars' came, the games fields of the public schools were emptied and the parade grounds filled. For as Cyril Alington wrote, "whether Waterloo was or was not won on the playing fields of Eton, Armageddon will certainly not be decided on the cinder track." (150) The bravery of the public school officer in the First World War cannot be questioned⁽¹⁵¹⁾ but the role of the playing field in its development cannot be evaluated with any exactness. Equally the influence of the motivating verse of Horning, Haig-Brown, Byles, 'J.B.' and various anonymous writers cannot be exactly measured. They can only be recorded as attempts at producing a simple, perhaps too simple patriotism through the medium of the written word.

Despite the lack of proof, the contribution that the internecine house struggles and the 'foreign' matches made to military prowess continued to be expounded throughout the war with simplicity and certainty by soldiers, teachers and pupils. Three examples must suffice. General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien at the Harrow School War Memorial meeting at Merchant Taylor's Hall, Threadneedle Street, in May 1917, declared:

(149) Major-General H.C.C. Uriacke, 'An Address to Young Officers on Joining the Regiment'. The Journal of the Royal Artillery Vol.XLVI, 1919-20, p.61.

(150) Alington (1936), op.cit., p.31.

(151) See A.H.H. MacLean, Public Schools and the Great War 1919. MacLean was at Marlborough 1877-81.

"What struck me...all the time I was out at the Front was the magnificent public school spirit, and training, of which such an important part consists of games and sports." (152)

In the same year F.B. Malim, at one time assistant master at Marlborough, and subsequently headmaster at several public schools, wrote:

"What virtues can we reasonably suppose to be developed by games? First I should put physical courage. It certainly requires courage to collar a fast and heavy opponent at football, to fall on the ball at the feet of a charging pack or to stand up to fast bowling on a bumpy wicket. Schoolboy opinion is rightly intolerant of a 'funk' and we should not attach too small a value to this first of the manly virtues. Considering as we must the virtues which we are to develop in a nation, we realise that for the security of the nation courage in her young men is indispensable. That it has been bred in the sons of England is attested by the fields of Flanders and the beaches of Gallipoli. We shall therefore give no heed to those who decry the danger of some schoolboy games..." (153)

The third example, like Gurner's comment on his Marlborough pupils above, sheds a particularly intense light on the influence of both the literature and practices of public schools before the Great War as it is the statement of a boy, Paul Jones, educated at such a school, who was himself a victim of the holocaust. Jones was at Dulwich before the First World War. He was no insensitive 'hearty'! He was the first Dulwich boy to win the Brackenbury Scholarship at Balliol as well as being Captain of the XV, yet he thought he saw clearly the contribution of the games of the public school system to the war effort:

(152) Harrovian Vol.XXX, No.3, June 2nd. 1917, p.41.

(153) F.B. Malim in Benson, op.cit., p.152.

"Nothing but athletics has succeeded in doing this sort of work in England. (Developing team spirit) Religion has failed, intellect has failed, art has failed, science has failed. It is clear why: because each of these has laid emphasis on man's selfish side; the saving of his own soul, the cultivation of his own mind, the pleasing of his own senses. But your sportsman joins the Colours because in his games he has felt the real spirit of unselfishness, and has become accustomed to give all for a body to whose service he is sworn. Besides this, he has acquired the physical fitness necessary for a campaign. These facts explain the grand part played by sport in this War...we suggest that this War has shown the training of the playing-fields of the public schools and the 'Varsities to be quite as good as that of the classroom; nay, as good? Why far better, if training for the path of Duty is the ideal end of education." (154)

His book contains a final interesting example of the vocabulary of patriotism by another Dulwich schoolboy also killed in the trenches, R.E. Vernede; in which once again the relationship between field and battlefield is quite explicit:

"Lad, with the merry smile and eyes
Quick as the hawk's and clear as the day,
You, who have counted the game the prize,
Here is the game of games to play.
Never a goal - the captains say -
Matches the one that's needed now;
Put the old blazer and cap away -
England's colours await your brow." (155)

(154) Paul Jones, War Letters of a Public Schoolboy 1918, pp.50-1.

(155) Ibid., p.49.

VI

Above, the voices of a past age have been allowed to speak for themselves in an effort to recreate a unique atmosphere and a simple faith; through their vocabularies of morality, cohesion, sexual identification and patriotism, which drew so extensively on the playing-field for their inspiration, a frame of reference and a rationale for action were constructed for generations of public schoolboys; through repetitious trope, colourful epithet and hortatory cliché desirable ways of thinking about the world and a desirable pattern of behaviour were delineated. Metaphor, manners and myth went hand in hand.

The institutional literature of motive, enthusiasm and nostalgia, with its rigid moral formulae and restricted imagery, specified acceptable activities and instilled discriminatory perception. By means of parochial verbal symbolism, the school society developed an awareness of corporate values. Cultural imperatives were established that came to have their own existence and momentum and became regularised into normative behaviour patterns.

It is impossible to quantify the impact of the verbal symbolism of athleticism, and of course symbols can be contradictory of an actual state of affairs, but those of athleticism, it is suggested, both in the schools and in society, served to a greater rather than to a lesser extent as successful agents of socialisation, of social control and of social cohesion. In this way, they assisted in the development and reinforcement of individual role, collective habits and the institutional value-system: they both created and reflected an ethos.

They constituted, in short, a set of symbols for believing and acting.

EPILOGUE

The Great War may be conveniently taken as a Divide - political, social, economic and educational: ⁽¹⁾ new political principles, creeping embourgeoisement, declining national prosperity and a reformulation of educational ideals increasingly characterised the next fifty years. The eventual effect on the public schools was pronounced, but typically there was no charge to a liberal vanguard, nor an immediate recantation of firmly-held beliefs. The pressures for change were inexorable in nature but gradual in effect. And they were differently experienced. With memoirs unwritten and school archives as yet unfilled, it is impossible to determine at this close proximity in time either their order of importance or their relative influence with any certainty.

Thus, a detailed survey of the demise of athleticism is not the purpose of this study. Yet in the interests of completeness it might be useful - briefly and tentatively - to attempt to locate the major forces, which destroyed a powerful belief-system and widespread practice.

Those, within the schools, who had a knowledge of the real world, possessed a sense of proportion, took pleasure in the intellect, and perhaps felt a Calvinistic urge to work, waged a long war against an extreme belief in the educational value of the games field, and what they saw as the licence permitted public schoolboys under cover of a wide-flung cloak of moral texture. A line of Marlborough headmasters extending back in time to the birth of athleticism stand witness to a constant unease at the muscular libertinism they thought too prevalent in the school.

(1) This is the practice of the excellent study of British education by A.M. Kazamias, Politics, Society and Secondary Education in England 1966. And appropriately it was the position adopted in a series of articles, 'The Public Schools: A Hundred Years of Experience' in The Times in August 1928.

As early as 1868 F.W. Farrar (1871-1876) complained to the members of the Royal Institute of an "extravagant athleticism" in the public schools:

"The marble which is brought to us is white and precious, and it is the fault of our method and our system if the statue which we hew out of it is so often, not a Zeus or a Hermes but an Adonis or an athlete." (2)

On this occasion Farrar looked back with something of Utopianism to the seventeenth century, when, in his view, students left the ancient halls of Cambridge 'young and beautiful and strong' and learned. In the frequently irritating atmosphere of the classroom, we are told, Farrar was more realistic, and would quietly criticise the idle games zealot to his face. His ultimate limit in benevolent sarcasm was to refer to a pupil as "a case hardened victim of Circe that ever conceived the world to be formed in the image of a cricket ball". (3) From the chapel pulpit he continually pleaded with his young congregation for reasonableness, moderation and a little more intellectual effort. (4)

Farrar's successor, G.C. Bell (1876-1903), evinced an unrestrained exasperation with the games ethos by the end of his reign. In his last few Prize Day speeches he was decidedly antagonistic towards the athlete. In 1898 he remarked:

"We have a very full equipment of challenge cups and shields and it does not seem desirable to add to their number. We offer quite enough stimulus to Athletics. I have often wished to see a challenge prize of a similar kind to one awarded in another school to the house which had most distinguished itself in the studies of the school."

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- (2) F.W. Farrar, The Fortnightly Review March 1st. 1868, p.237 (Published lecture delivered to the members of the Royal Institute on 31st. Jan. 1868). Farrar clearly included Marlborough in his strictures. Although at the time of the lecture he was a Harrow master (1855-1871), he had been assistant master at Marlborough from 1853-1855.
- (3) Harrovian Vol. XVI, No. 2, April 4th 1903, p.13.
- (4) Farrar (1889), op.cit., pp.370-5. Henry Palmer recorded in his Marlborough diary, "Farrar writes his form a most touching letter on their idleness" (entry for May 25th. 1855).

The following year he commented drily that, in his experience, athletic matters were frequently discussed by schoolmasters, foreigners and journalists, but he would only say "games...vigorously pursued, well organised and...not too much talked about, are generally estimated to be excellent helps towards school discipline". In 1900 he was wearily laconic: "...following the order of our school virtute, studio, ludo it is time to say a word about games I suppose." In 1901 he contrived the excuse, "My watch tells me I have left little time in which to refer to games".⁽⁵⁾

In turn, Frank Fletcher (1903-1911), was unequivocally hostile to the established idolatry.⁽⁶⁾ On his arrival at Marlborough "he found that the cult of games had weakened the position of the prefects until they had become the rois-fainéants of a community in which the captains were the Mayors of the Palace. He set himself to right this Merovingian condition and gradually against much opposition, the ball made room for the book".⁽⁷⁾ Fletcher was determined to improve academic standards, to widen cultural horizons and to loosen the grip of the athlete on school life. His technique was simply to assert the prefect over the athlete. There is a certain irony in a headmaster, like Cotton coming directly from Rugby, having to ensure the domination of one of his famous predecessor's two strategies over the other. That Fletcher had to overcome the resentment of staff as well as boys, nicely points the inversion of Cotton's involvement strategy which had occurred in the interim!

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- (5) Newspaper Cuttings pp.15, 17, 19, 21. (M.C.A.). In retirement Bell donated an academic challenge cup to the school, and in 1906, as guest speaker on Prize Day, he vigorously attacked the inbalance in the school between body and mind.
- (6) See his autobiography After Many Days: A Schoolmaster's Memories 1937, pp.123-5.
- (7) Marlburian Vol.LXXXVII, No.1065, Winter 1954, p.51.

The concept of 'Service' obsessed Cyril Norwood⁽⁸⁾ (1916-1926),

and he harnessed games to the educational yoke in pursuit of his ideal:

"What is the justification of the games we play so much here save this ideal of service?...team games are played in order that you may learn to serve your side, to combine and avoid selfishness; in proportion as games lead to purely individual glorification they cease to be of value...You are not learning to win Olympic championships on the Marlborough playing fields. You are learning to serve..."⁽⁹⁾

He was, therefore, less openly critical of the athlete than Farrar, Bell and Fletcher. At the same time he was a stern academic headmaster. An advocate of twentieth century knowledge, he modernised the entire school curriculum and introduced the School Certificate as a screening device for entry into the upper school. By these actions he put athleticism in its place - a junior partner in the business of education. His modernity contributed to its decline.

Norwood was followed by G.C. Turner (1926-1939) - the 'Apollyon' of Marlborough athleticism.⁽¹⁰⁾ The tone of his headship was set in his first school sermon when he confessed that at house matches his eyes wandered "to the sunset dying over the Kennet" for the excellent reason that the sight lingered in his memory long after the cheers of victory. It was a statement of considerable courage in the atmosphere of the time:⁽¹¹⁾ it was equally a statement of firm conviction - under his regime the aesthetic and liberal arts were to be fostered.

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- (8) See for example his articles on social service and the public schools; The Spectator Nov.13th.1926, pp.847-8 and Nov.23rd. 1929, p.756.
- (9) Marlburian Vol.LX, No.810, July 13th.1920, p.91.
- (10) I owe this point to Mr. E.G.H. Kempson, who was a pupil under Turner. Turner himself was a Marlburian (1904-1910). He was school captain, a loyal and enthusiastic supporter of Frank Fletcher and the first secretary of the Literary Society created in his last year as pupil. He returned to Marlborough as assistant master in 1919, became housemaster of B1 and subsequently headmaster.
- (11) A point made by Turner's obituarist in the Marlburian Summer Term 1967, p.5.

Over the years constant internal criticism demonstrated in word and action, of the self-confident athlete, in conjunction with a similarly persistent hostility expressed in the wider world of the novelist, social commentator, biographer and autobiographer, (12) undoubtedly played its part in dispossessing him of the certainty of his supremacy. But only in association with other forces which made the articulate and often sensitive critics appear less than neurotic and, in fact, remarkably level-headed.

By the end of the Victorian era, the Boer War, the Liberal and Conservative populist scramble for the votes of the enfranchised proletariat, concern over foreign commercial competition, the rise of German power and scientific and technological advances had created "a consensus for educational reform". (13) The resulting Balfour Education Act of 1902 with the subsequent systematization and expansion of state secondary education, gradually increased the academic and occupational pressures on the public schoolboy. And middle class parents were not impervious to the new state of affairs. In any case, headmasters were quick to sense the consequences of change and issued stern warnings on speech days. It would seem scarcely fortuitous, for example, that in the same year as the Balfour Act became law, Selwyn, at Uppingham, warned parents of the consequent disaster if boys in the public schools found themselves left behind by the growing numbers who took advantage of the opportunities offered by the expanding provincial colleges and universities. In 1903 the public schools introduced the Common Entrance Examination! A few years later, at the time of the Free Place Regulations of 1907, (14)

(12) This is discussed in considerable detail in Mack (1941), op.cit., see especially chapters X, XI and XII.

(13) Kazamias, op.cit., p.315.

(14) All fee-paying secondary schools in receipt of a government grant had to provide twenty-five per cent of their places free annually for children from elementary schools.

G.A.N. Lowndes and his fellow pupils at their expensive preparatory school were given a grave lecture by the headmaster on the serious threat of increased competition from the state schools "where boys did such an unfair amount of work".⁽¹⁵⁾ The pressure for "a widening of the rungs of the educational ladder" exerted by Socialism and new Liberalism grew more severe: in 1917 the Board of Education allocated special grants for sixth form courses, in 1918 the Fisher Education Act, with its aim of establishing a national system of education for all capable of taking advantage of it, was passed, and in 1920 state scholarships were introduced. These thrusts towards fairer educational provision for all classes jolted the public schools out of their academic complacency.

But, of course, it was not only increasing state competition which led to an improvement in standards. In the wake of scientific and technological developments there was also the growing demand for specialised skilled professionals of many kinds.⁽¹⁶⁾ Parents, while still ostensibly unintellectual, were always firmly practical and quickly adapted to a new reality. In March 1928 The Spectator declared:

"Not one parent in ten cares how much his son acquires in the way of book-learning, provided that the school brings him to the point of passing such exams as are necessary for his career."⁽¹⁷⁾

By the end of the twenties in consequence, the School Certificate, introduced in 1917, had established its hold over the public schools and had raised the standard of performance.⁽¹⁸⁾ Boys were working harder - even at Harrow muscle became "slightly discredited".⁽¹⁹⁾ The halcyon days of leisurely ease and subscription to an appropriate educational rationale were drawing to a close. The public schoolboy was being compelled to learn new values.⁽²⁰⁾

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- (15) G.A.N. Lowndes, The Silent Social Revolution 1937 (2nd ed.1969), p.88. Mr. Lowndes also made this point, with embellishments in conversation with the present writer.
- (16) Gerald Birnbaum, Social Change and the Schools 1967, pp.4-5.
- (17) The Spectator March 17th.1928, p.407.
- (18) Norwood in Wilson, op.cit., p.121.
- (19) Vachell (1937), op.cit., p.147.
- (20) W.N. Marcy, Reminiscences of a Public Schoolboy 1932, pp.172-3.

If the results of continual, albeit erratic reform in state education were disappointing,⁽²¹⁾ it is still true that the state educated were gaining more frequent access to universities and better occupational qualifications.⁽²²⁾ And in any case the threat they posed seemed more potent in its effect than the reality they achieved.

Thus, for example, at Uppingham in 1935, John Wolfenden (headmaster 1934-1944) presented parents with a "New Deal" - essentially an emphasis on the School Certificate - to ensure their sons were sufficiently well qualified to win the posts in offices, businesses and factories.⁽²³⁾ At Loretto, a major concern of D. Forbes McIntosh (headmaster 1945-1960) was to make the boys appreciate that examinations mattered as never before!⁽²⁴⁾ By 1947 R.W. Moore, the headmaster of Harrow, could declare on speech day, with some truth:

"The age of assumed and assured privilege is over. The public schools are no longer a royal road or a short cut to eminence."⁽²⁵⁾

Later he expressed regret that the versatile commoner should be squeezed out of Oxford and Cambridge by the "subsidised and specialised second rate".⁽²⁶⁾

(21) A.D. Edwardes, The Changing Sixth Form in the Twentieth Century 1970, pp.16 ff.

(22) Grant earning schools (England and Wales):Growth of a University Connection.

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
1908-1909	695	361
1920-1921	1675	1214
1924-1925	1912	1330

from Board of Education Pamphlets, No.50, 1927, p.21.

(23) U.S.M. Vol.LXXIII, No.549, July 1935, p.179.

(24) Lorettonian Vol.LXXXIII, No.3, Sept.30th.1960, p.33. In a letter to the present writer dated 26.10.74, Mr. Forbes McIntosh stressed that in the late 'forties, as a result of the public examinations, the emphasis at Loretto changed. Boys worked harder and there was a broadening of interests.

(25) Harrovian Vol.LX, No.26, June 18th.1947, p.108.

(26) Ibid., Vol.LXII, No.31, June 22nd.1949, p.121. Statements about the considerable effect the public examination system had on the traditional schoolboy way of life continued to be made in the Harrovian throughout the following decades, see especially Vol.LXXII, No.14, Feb.12th.1959, p.57; Vol.LXXV, No.26, June 15th.1962, p.129.

Unaware of the resentment they engendered, these 'subsidised and specialised second rate' had helped bring about a change of life-style in the public school system. As the Uppingham School Magazine stated in 1950:

"Much has changed...we are becoming used to more work and less games and the passing of exams has become the aim of many."⁽²⁷⁾

II

The Board of Education Regulations for Secondary Schools (1906) introduced the possibility of schools, not eligible or applying for grants, being recognised as efficient. In consequence in the years before the Second World War, Harrow (1911, 1920, 1931), Lancing (1926, 1936) and Marlborough (1924, 1934, 1937) were all fully inspected.⁽²⁸⁾ Educational progress, it has been observed, is achieved by the illumination of genius, fertilised by the imitative power of the enthusiast and disseminated by the missionary efforts of inspectors.⁽²⁹⁾ Those inspectors who visited Harrow, Lancing and Marlborough were forceful emissaries of change. They urged the introduction of Swedish Drill - first used in Britain in 1902 at the Royal Naval Physical Training School⁽³⁰⁾ - and recommended the appointment

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- (27) U.S.M. Vol.LXXXVIII, No.623, Feb.1950, p.2. B.W.T. Handford, with over thirty years experience of Lancing, informed the present writer that, in his view, the development of the examination system was the single most potent factor in destroying athleticism.
- (28) Inspectorate Reports (Harrow 4196, 4197, 4198; Lancing 6253, 6254; Marlborough 6596, 6597, 6598; Education 109, Public Record Office).
- (29) Lowndes, op.cit., p.1C7.
- (30) Among the officer-instructors was E.M. Grenfell, who became an inspector at the Board of Education in 1909, see Smith, op.cit., p.60. I draw on Smith's excellent description of the emergence of physical education as a discipline throughout the following section.

of qualified teachers trained in the principles of physical training. So successful was their pleading, not only at Harrow and Marlborough but throughout the public school system, that in 1924 the Headmasters' Conference produced The Practice of Health, a booklet which dealt with the virtues of the Swedish system. (31) And in 1930 the Conference proposed the foundation of a Physical Training College. As a direct result Carnegie College was established in 1933 and courses started at Loughborough in 1935 and at Goldsmith's in 1937. Nor was this all. In 1942 the Conference, in its Memorandum of Evidence to the Norwood Committee recommended that the public schools appoint Directors of Physical Education. This gradually became the practice over the next thirty years and the image and status of the subject, hitherto taught by ex-army P.T.I.s of little education and definite social inferiority, slowly improved.

In many cases the scope of physical education had already widened in the years between the wars to embrace camping, trekking, sailing and similar outdoor activities. Instrumental in these developments were men like Cecil Reddie at Abbotsholme, J.H. Bradley at Bedales, John Ford at Bootham and Kurt Hahn at Gordonstoun. All demonstrated a more rational, liberal and flexible approach to adolescent physical health and leisure than the more traditional public school headmasters. The para-military organisations of the Boys Brigade and the Boy Scouts also played their part in the spread of outdoor activities throughout the middle classes. (32) So too did the Youth Hostel Association established in 1930.

Among the recommendations on physical education, made to the Norwood Committee by the 1942 Headmasters' Conference mentioned earlier, was the establishment in the schools of "a sound and full system of Physical Education...including remedial treatment for remedial defects". (33)

(31) Report of the Headmasters' Conference 1924.

(32) Symptomatic of this development was the creation in 1930 of the Argonauts Club at Harrow, which encouraged "every kind of open air life, but especially the wilder kind, such as camping out". (General Prospectus of the Club, H.S.A.)

(33) Memorandum of Evidence to the Norwood Committee 1942, p.56.

Similar recommendations had been made as early as 1907 when the school medical service was established. This body advised educational gymnastics for prophylactic and remedial health purposes. In time a powerful corpus of medical experts argued the case for a broad conception of physical education to include these activities. And in 1935 the British Medical Association set up a committee to assess the physical efficiency of the nation. Among other things it pointed to the inadequacy of physical education in the public schools, and to an undue emphasis on games. Simultaneously a few dedicated physical educationalists, R.E. Roper and his disciples, G.W. Hedley and G. Murray,⁽³⁴⁾ set about devising and implementing an adequate programme for use in the public school system.

These various influences - the Inspectorate, the Headmasters' Conference, liberal headmasters, medical experts and dedicated teachers - helped to change the nature of physical exercise in the public schools. They gradually widened the range of activities to cater for the aptitudes and interests of as many boys as possible. They substituted an individualistic argument for a corporate one, and so weakened the moral basis of athleticism. At the same time they provided a well structured and effective practical alternative.

(34) Mr. Gerald Murray, for a number of years in charge of physical education at Marlborough is now college archivist. Over the last five years he has furnished the writer with letters, papers and source references. His kind interest has been a considerable stimulus, and his arguments most helpful.

III

The individualistic emphasis of the new physical education harmonised with the general social, philosophical and educational fashions of the time. From the nineteen-twenties onwards, it has been argued, the consensus of opinion in English education was on the side of individualism.⁽³⁵⁾ Perhaps this reflected in part the increasing influence of Pestalozzi, Montessori and Froebel as revealed, for example, in the writings of Norman MacMunn, Caldwell Cook, A.N. Whitehead and Bertrand Russell. It may also have reflected the gradual dissemination of the psychological work of Freud, McDougall and Ellis. In the specific context of the public schools, possibly the arguments of new visionaries such as J.F. Roxburgh played an important part. Certainly Roxburgh's beau idéal of the public schoolboy, propounded in his Eleutheros and encouraged at Stowe, was a creature of individuality, morality and intellect.⁽³⁶⁾ The growing belief in individualism was certainly a consequence of reaction to an overlong emphasis on procrustean conformity:

"When I became a Headmaster I found myself unconsciously, and then consciously reacting against pre-war Marlboro': I had been disqualified myself from ever developing much in the way of artistic insight or imagination. I was perhaps a natural 'converger'...but the tendency had been strongly encouraged and I found myself trying to create a situation where individuals could discover and express themselves."⁽³⁷⁾

Whatever the causes of the ascendancy of individualism, developments in the schools of this study firmly support general assertions that it occurred. It was nowhere more apparent than in physical activities.

(35) S.J. Curtis & M.E.A. Boultonwood An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800 1960 (4th ed. 1966).

(36) J.F. Roxburgh, Eleutheros 1930; for details of his headship at Stowe see Annan, op.cit., passim.

(37) Birley, op.cit.

Lord Gornell wrote of Harrow in 1938 with pleasure and some disbelief:

"There is (now) predominantly the sense of variety which is impressed upon me with vividness every visit I pay to the school. Forty years ago a boy was an individual only if his idiosyncracies were unusually pronounced - at all events individuality was not encouraged. All boys played games, the same games, cricket in the summer, Harrow football in the winter and spring ...practically nobody specialised in work - they were classical or 'modern side'...Now the pendulum has swung to the other extreme...and every boy's individual tastes are developed." (38)

At Uppingham Malcolm Lloyd (headmaster 1944-1965) was remembered warmly on his departure for his recognition of games other than the traditional, for the introduction of free afternoons, for his encouragement of mountaineering, pot-holing, golf and fishing and for the 'decompulsorisation' of senior cricket. (39) At Loretto, Sparta, the traditional inspirational ideal, was eventually redefined to suit the new fashion. Curiously it came to be regarded not primarily as a place of physical toughness as formerly, but as a community in which every member was important for himself! (40)

Of course it was not only in games that there was a move towards greater personal choice. It was apparent in the widening of the curriculum and, more particularly, in the huge increase in extra-curricular hobbies and enthusiasms. And reform was praised, encouraged and legitimated by public school staff in such books as Donald Hughes' The Public Schools and the Future, George Snow's The Public Schools in the New Age and J.F. Wolfenden's The Public Schools Today.

Headmasters now made a practice on Speech Day of requesting respect for personal inclination. (41) The shibboleths of solidarity were

(38) Lord Gornell, "'Forty Years On' with an Old Harrovian", The Christian Science Monitor (Boston), March 8th.1938. (H.S.A.)

(39) U.S.M. Vol.CII, No.690, March 1965, p.3.

(40) Lorettonian Vol.LXX, No.7, May 31st. 1947, p.39.

(41) L.C.K. Vol.30, No.434, March 1937, p.5; Marlburian Vol.LXXXV, No.1050, July 1957, p.87; Harrovian Vol.LXIV, No.27, June 1957, pp.114-5.

redundant. With unconscious irony however, Speech Day reports alternated between a defence of the nourishment of the inviolable self, and warnings about failing to appreciate the need to sacrifice this nourishment to the consuming demands of the School Certificate!

IV

The years after the Great War mirrored the violence of war and the violence of reaction to war.⁽⁴²⁾ They represented an era in which morals and manners were created anew, sometimes in reactionary frivolity, self-indulgence and cynicism.

Lytton Strachey's Eminent Victorians published in 1918, with its witty, acidulous irreverence for things and persons previously honoured, set a trend that surprisingly found ready imitators in the public schools. Where talent and the censor permitted, mockery became an instrument of attack on former values. By means of a curious time lag the Aesthete Movement of the eighteen-eighties seemed to experience a delayed efflorescence in the freshly turned school soil of the nineteen-twenties. A pre-Raphaelite whimsy took hold of some pupils. The words of Punch of the earlier era were singularly appropriate to these latter-day Bunghornes:

"I built myself a lordly place
Wherein to play a Leo's part
I said, 'Let others cricket, row or race
I will go in for Art."⁽⁴³⁾

(42) David Thomson, England in the Twentieth Century 1964, p.73.

(43) Quoted in James Laver, Victorian Vista 1954, p.197.

At Marlborough the defiant and posturing 'high aesthetic band' celebrated their daring irregularity with the publication of a controversial magazine, The Heretick. It was largely taken up with a predictable attack on the Victorian values of virile muscularity. Its cover portrayed a cropped-haired, square-jawed, wide-shouldered athlete, squatting on a large rugby ball, surrounded by mischievous and taunting pixies. Below was the caption 'Upon Philistia I will triumph' - an entirely accurate prognostication.

At Lancing Evelyn Waugh formed the Corpse Club for the world-weary. Its members paraded in black ties, black tassels and button-holes, and wrote on black-edged notepaper. Their mouthpiece in the school magazine was 'Lavernia Scargill', who defended her published witticisms against the spleen of "the tedious and self-assured letters from all parts of the Empire" by announcing:

"No humour...could be more cadaverous, no pomp more funereal than that of the O.L. trying to restore the school to the high position it had attained in his day."⁽⁴⁴⁾

Other schools, it seems, had less imaginative, less ambitious and less indulged iconoclasts, but all the magazines reveal a growing unwillingness to parade the former virtues, to maintain uncritical solidarity, to abstain from open disaffection. Increasingly, independent minded boys nurtured on Shaw, Ibsen, Tawney and Eliot raised their voices in criticism of traditional ways. Even at Loretto, the school magazine - once the purest of ideological texts - published in 1929 a cry for 'A Quiet Life':

"Leave Rugger, Hockey, Fives and
Such to those blokes athletic
For they lead hardy lives and
I'm not energetic."

I always was a loafer
Away with all these follies
O give me but a sofa
And a pile of Edgar Wallace."⁽⁴⁵⁾

(44) L.C.M. Vol. XV, No.34, March 1922, p.31.

(45) Lorettonian Vol.LII, Oct.12th. 1929, p.8.

If it lacked the venomous sting of 'Lavernia Scargill', it was clearly an attempt to be sacrilegious!

Such things betokened the appearance of a new, openly critical, non-conformist public schoolboy, embarrassed by his past image and uncertain of his present role. (46)

Constant and fierce anti-athleticism within and without the schools, competition from the state-educated, the demands of a national examination system, the growth of professional occupations in association with reduced opportunities for imperial careers especially in the armed services, reactions and arguments of medical practitioners, physical educationists and radical schoolmasters, the new ethos of individualism, a non-conformist spirit of disenchantment - these certainly appear to be among the main reasons for the eventual decline of athleticism. Yet two points must be firmly made: despite the evidence of change presented above, residual elements of the ideology were prevalent until well after the Second World War, and as in other things, the schools of this study were characterised by quite different rates of change.

In 1930 a German observer, Bruno Wachsmuth, claimed in the Quarterly Review that athleticism no longer held sway in England; its limitations had been acknowledged. (47) It was a premature observation. At Uppingham the years of R.H. Owen's headship (1915-1934) brought a period of intense games regimentation with an accompanying ideological rhetoric, which resulted in Uppingham's 'Second Golden Age of Athleticism'. (48)

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- (46) Michael Birley has written of his Marlborough schooldays that the sartorial trappings of colours had become a source of embarrassment "as they made me out a privileged member of society". He notes with sympathy that boys nowadays, in an attempt to merge into a common adolescent background, adopt slovenly accents, worship commonplace music (Birley, op.cit.).
- (47) Quarterly Review Vol.CCLV, No.564, April 30th. 1930, p.353.
- (48) I owe this point to Mr. T.B. Belk. See also his funeral sermon entitled 'R.H.O.' (U.S.A.).

Some remember Lancing in the nineteen-thirties as still excessively given over to games. (49) At Marlborough a member of staff took over a house in 1948 to discover that only five activities were permitted on weekday afternoons - play a game, practise a game, watch a game, go a 'sweat' (run) or garden under supervision. (50) At Loretto in the 1950s one observer considered, "the tide of Philistinism was only just beginning to turn". (51) Ideological argument in its most undiluted form could be found as late as 1955:

"...courage, determination, loyalty, enthusiasm
love of fair play, honest dealing, good temper,
self-control, good manners in victory,
cheerfulness in defeat, unselfishness - all
and much more can be learnt on the playing field." (52)

As regards the varying speed of change, understandably the closer the study approaches the present, the more reticent witnesses become, the fewer the biographies and autobiographies, and written records in general are in short supply. For comment, one must rely heavily on the school magazine and its coverage is neither encyclopedic nor objective. Statements regarding differing rates of change, therefore, must be most tentative.

Marlborough appears to have anticipated the other schools in the move towards alternative commitment, while Harrow seems to have clung longest to the games tradition. (53) One fact symbolises this difference in time. While the editor of the Marlburian announced a reduction of space devoted to games topics in 1926, a similar statement appeared in the

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- (49) I owe this point to Mr. R.D. Bell, assistant master at Lancing.
 (50) Mr. R. Jennings, letter to the present writer dated 21.2.73.
 (51) Mr. Peter Wood, a senior member of the Loretto staff to the present writer.
 (52) H.L.O. Flecker, 'Character Training: the English Boarding School', The Year Book of Education 1955, p.264.
 (53) To read the Harrovian of the 1960s and 1970s is to reread the verbal battles over compulsion, regimentation and excessive team games playing which in the other magazines ended some years earlier.

Harrovian in 1971!⁽⁵⁴⁾ At Uppingham, Lancing, Loretto and Stonyhurst the three decades after the Second World War seem to have seen the gradual assertion of a new liberalism.

However difficult it is to be exact about the timing of reaction in individual schools, it may be said without fear of contradiction that by the late nineteen-sixties athleticism was widely ridiculed, savaged and moribund. As the Harrovian recorded:

"Since Kipling's 'muddled oafs' and Waugh's 'Loom of Youth', the more obvious excesses of Manliness have been pummelled and derided to the point of death. We can now read with detached amusement and relief the words of a recent writer on the late-Victorian public schools: 'the beauty of athleticism, the salutary effects of Spartan habits...the cultivation of all that is masculine, and the expulsion of all that is effeminate, un-English and excessively intellectual..'"⁽⁵⁵⁾

New priorities, extremism and reaction have produced new values. The Welldons, the Bowens and the Almonds are certainly seen and heard no more; the rhetoric is no longer written and the litanies no longer loyally chanted; the badges are fewer, less valued and less flauntingly displayed; the practical manifestations such as compulsion and an expected homage to the major games of cricket and football are far less evident than in earlier times. It is even possible that what is apparently true of Lancing is equally true elsewhere:

"The great post-war reaction against over-athleticism ...that had such a violent effect...is declining into merely an excuse for apathy and cynicism... Instead of an athletic hierarchy we (now) have an exclusively intellectual one."⁽⁵⁶⁾

(54) Harrovian Vol.LXXIV, No.22, June 12th.1971, p.125.

(55) Ibid., Vol.LXXVII, No.2, Oct.11th.1963, p.5.

(56) L.C.M. Vol.55, No.522, Advent 1962, p.135.

Whatever ideological beliefs and actions characterise the present, they too, will in time stimulate appraisal, reaction, change. Every ideology, its tenets created for a certain moment in time and in response to a particular set of circumstances, carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Tempus edax rerum! *

* Time devours all things.

APPENDIX I

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE EVOLUTION OF ATHLETICISM

(a) Harrow: Philathletic Club Papers (April/May 1853)

i. Circular letter dated 15th. April 1853 sent out with the Prospectus.

ii. The Club Prospectus.

iii. The Club Rules drawn up on 13th. April 1853.

iv. A printed list of the first Honorary and Acting Members which includes H.M. Butler (headboy 1851; headmaster (after Vaughan) 1859-1884.

(The originals of items 2 and 3 are in the Vaughan Library Collection, Harrow School: the originals of items 1 and 4 are contained in the papers of T.H.S. Sotheron (mss. D1571) in the Gloucestershire Record Office. Together these two sets of documents comprise the most complete known collection of early Club papers).

(b) Marlborough: Cotton's Circular to Parents (June 1853)

Appendix 1(a)1

Harrow, April 15th 1853.

Sir,

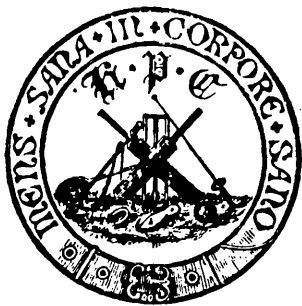
I beg to lay before your consideration a prospectus of the objects of a Club which has been lately formed at Harrow, for the purpose of promoting among the Members of the School an increased interest in manly sports and exercises. The plan has met with the entire approbation of the Head Master, and will, it is hoped, obtain the support of all old Harrovians who take an interest in the welfare of the School.

Should you wish to become an Honorary Member of the Club, you will perhaps be kind enough to state your intention of doing so to the Treasurer at as early an opportunity as possible.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

J. Wallace Rogers
President, H.P.C.



HARROW PHILATHLETIC CLUB.

PROSPECTUS OF THE OBJECTS OF THE INSTITUTION.

At a Meeting of certain members of the VIth and Vth Forms, held on Tuesday, 22nd February, 1853, it was decided that a Club should be established in Harrow, to be called the HARROW PHILATHLETIC CLUB, with the view of promoting among the members of the School an increased interest in games and other manly exercises.

The project in question has its rise in a desire to obtain a remedy for the general apathy and want of spirit now conspicuous at Harrow. That the excitement and interest formerly displayed in behalf of the games of the School is at present, to say the least, considerably on the decline, is a matter at once of notoriety and regret. Those who knew Harrow some years ago, see a marked change in the spirit and manners of the School, as contrasted with that of olden times. The encouragement of innocent amusements and recreation must tend greatly to the maintenance of order and discipline throughout the School. The sure way to keep boys out of mischief is to find them plenty of modes of amusement during the hours devoted to recreation. There need be no conflict between School-games and School-duties; on the contrary, the encouragement of the former, within proper limits, must undoubtedly assist the due per-

formance of the latter. Those who *play* well, will generally be found to *work* well also. It is on this supposition that the Harrow Philathletic Club has been established.

It is intended that the Club shall have a Reading-room in the town, in which sporting periodicals shall be taken in, and which shall at all times be accessible to members. A monthly meeting will be held here for the despatch of business, when all questions relating to the games of the School will be discussed. The Head of the School and the Head of the Eleven will be always members *ex officio*; and means will always be taken to secure having at least four Monitors, if possible, in the Club, as this will be a guarantee to the Masters for the propriety of all proceedings.

With regard to the objects of the Club, the members will be considered pledged to the promotion and encouragement of all sorts of games, both by pecuniary contributions and by all other means in their power. The commencement of subscriptions for prizes at Football, Racquets, Cricket, &c. will form one of their chief duties; and it must be allowed by all that it is a much easier matter for a body corporate than for a single individual to take the initiative in any steps of this nature. It is also felt that, at present, during two quarters of the year the encouragement of School-games depends so entirely on the personal tastes of the Head of the School that there may be at times a danger of the interests of a large body being sacrificed to the private opinion of an individual. The risk of such a state of things will be considerably diminished by the establishment of the Philathletic Club. The encouragement of house-matches, and the institution of prizes for the Championship in both Cricket and Football, will come under the consideration of the Club. The foundation of a Gymnasium will also be one of its chief objects. It will also feel itself bound to reward any display of peculiar merit on the part of any member of the Eleven in the matches either at Harrow or at Lord's: in fact there will be no difficulty in finding a wide field for its operations.

The benefits resulting from such an institution will, it is hoped, be two-fold. It will in the first place, from its popular character, tend to raise throughout the School a desire of gaining admission to the Club. It will in this manner cause an ambition of excelling in games, while it will necessarily disseminate generally throughout the School a stronger feeling of interest in manly exercises and amusements than now exists, and thus it will probably help to bring forward and stimulate many who, though possessing great weight and influence in the School, do not at present come sufficiently forward in games. In the second place it will certainly (even if it should do nothing more) foster a spirit of sociability and concord throughout the members of the School, the absence of which at present is greatly to be regretted. The

various members will be bound together by a common tie, and from meeting frequently for the transaction of necessary business, will become better acquainted with each other, and consequently better able to work together for the general good.

To prevent misapprehension it may be as well to add that the idea of the Philathletic Club being a *Sporting* Club is most entirely repudiated, no such intention having been ever entertained by its originators.

Old Harrovians are most earnestly invited to give their support to the objects of the Club by becoming Honorary Members ; and it is believed that the advantages they will derive from the use of the Reading-room, on the occasion of their visits to Harrow, will prove of great convenience to them.

* * Subscriptions may be forwarded to the Treasurer, H. E. Platt, Esq. at Harrow.



R U L E S

OF

The Harrow Philathletic Club,

ESTABLISHED A.D. MDCCCLIII.

I. THE chief object of the Club shall be the encouragement and promotion of all manly Sports and Exercises, and every Member shall consider himself pledged to the attainment of this object by all lawful means in his power.

II. Under the head of "manly Sports and Exercises" shall be included Cricket, Racquets, Football, Races, Jumping, Fencing, Gymnastics, Swimming, Skating, Quoits, or any other game which may meet with the approbation of the Club.

III. Admission to the Club to be confined to Members of the Vith and Vth Forms.

IV. The Head of the School and the Head of the Eleven shall be always Members of the Club *ex officio*.

V. The Members of the Club to be restricted in number to thirty.

VI. The Club shall have a room, in which all Periodicals approved of by the Members shall be taken in. This room shall be at all times provided with a due supply of paper, pens, &c. and all other materials for letter-writing; as well as all appliances for Chess

and Backgammon. Attached to the Reading-room shall be a Library, to be augmented by voluntary donations of Members leaving the School, and others.

VII. At the beginning of each Quarter a President, Treasurer, and Committee of Six Members shall be elected, to hold office during that period, being re-eligible at the commencement of the next Quarter.

VIII. In the discussion of any question, whether in Committee or at a general Meeting, in the case of an equal division, the President shall have a casting vote.

IX. A meeting of the Members shall be held within the first week of each Month for the despatch of all business connected with the objects of the Club.

X. Attendance at these meetings shall be compulsory, on pain of a fine of one shilling and sixpence.

XI. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to present for the inspection of Members, at each Monthly meeting, a Balance Sheet of the expenses of the Club; and he shall not be allowed to incur any expense above the sum of ten shillings within the month, unless empowered by the Committee so to do.

XII. The election of new Members shall take place by ballot at the Monthly meetings; one black ball in five to exclude.

XIII. Notice of the proposal of any new Member must be posted up on a board provided for that purpose in the Club-room, not later than one week previous to the next meeting.

XIV. Notice of the proposal of any alteration in the Rules or addition to the Periodicals supplied to the Club must be declared at length in the same manner, with the proposer's name. All such propositions to be voted upon at the business-meetings and decided by a majority of Members present.

XV. The elective power shall be vested in the whole body of Members.

XVI. At the business-meetings no remarks shall be allowed not immediately connected with the objects of the Club; and any member making such remarks shall be called to order by the President.

XVII. The President shall have the power of convening at any time an extraordinary meeting of the Club.

XVIII. All Members shall consider themselves pledged not to attempt any previous canvassing on the subject of the election of a new Member; and any candidate who may be convicted of having used such means for obtaining his admission, shall be excluded from the Club.

XIX. The institution of prizes for distinction in the various School Games shall come under the especial consideration of the Club, which will also feel itself bound to present with some Testimonial any member of the Eleven who particularly distinguishes himself in the matches at Lord's.

XX. The necessary expenses of the Club to be defrayed by an entrance-fee of One Guinea—to be paid immediately after election—and a quarterly subscription of Ten Shillings

from each Member, to be paid to the Treasurer within one week after the commencement of the Quarter.

XXI. The names of all Members failing to pay their subscriptions within the appointed time to be posted on a board in the Room; and any Member failing to pay within a fortnight after the posting of his name, to be excluded from the Club until the payment of his subscription.

XXII. All old Harrovians may become Honorary Members on payment of either an immediate donation of Three Guineas, or a yearly subscription of Ten Shillings.

N.B. The Club will always be grateful for Subscriptions from any of those interested in its welfare, although not desirous of becoming Honorary Members.

XXIII. A veto on the election of all new Members to be vested in the Head Master.

XXIV. A majority of Members present at any business-meeting has the power of altering or abolishing any former Rule, after the proposal of such a measure in due form.

*Harrow Philathletic Club,
April 13th, 1853.*

CROSSLEY AND CLARKE, PRINTERS, HARROW.



Harrow Philathletic Club.

MAY, 1853.

Honorary Members.

Those to whose names an asterisk is prefixed are members for life; the others are yearly Subscribers.

- * The Earl of Hardwicke.
- * The Earl Spencer, K. G.
- * Joseph Neeld, Esq. M.P. } Governors of
- * T. H. S. Sotheron, Esq. M.P. } Harrow School.
- G. F. Harris, Esq. Senior Assistant Master.
- Rev. G. C. Swayne, Assistant Master.
- * Hon. R. Grimston.
- * Hon. F. Ponsonby.
- * M. Portal, Esq. M.P.
- * Rev. K. H. Digby.
- * E. Wigram, Esq.
- * J. Arkwright, Esq.
- * W. Stone, Esq.
- * C. O. Eaton, Esq.
- Hon. George Pepys.
- R. N. Young, Esq.
- L. H. Daniell, Esq.
- * Captain Boldero.

2

- * H. K. Boldero, Esq.
- W. B. Marillier, Esq.
- F. G. Veasey, Esq.
- H. C. Finch, Esq.
- J. S. Gibson, Esq.
- * J. R. Maxwell, Esq.
- H. M. Butler, Esq.
- * W. K. Fenton, Esq.
- * J. W. Bliss, Esq.
- H. S. Cunningham, Esq.
- J. H. Clutterbuck, Esq.
- W. S. Portal, Esq.

Acting Members.

President.

J. W. Hozier.

Treasurers.

H. E. Platt. W. H. Stone.

Committee.

R. Arkwright.	A. A. De Bourbel.
K. E. Digby.	W. H. Davey.
C. D. Crawley.	S. C. Glyn.
<hr/>	
R. D. Wilson.	Lord Althorp.
W. J. Hope.	T. Walters.
F. E. Wigram.	Lord Garlies.
C. Bruce.	Hon. R. H. Stewart.
R. Marker.	P. H. Knight.
A. Smith.	R. G. Currie.
F. M. Birch.	O. Wigram.
F. S. White.	

Appendix 1b

The Lodge,
Marlborough College.

June 1853.

My dear Sir,

In the course of my first year's experience as Master of this College, I have naturally thought over plans by which the general welfare and discipline of the boys might be promoted, and I wish at the end of it, to lay before you my views on one or two subjects.

1. The first of these, is the important one of the boys' amusements. In most public schools of long standing these are regulated very much by prescription, and the subscriptions, necessary for keeping them up, are levied as a matter of course on every member of the School. Here there has not been time for such a tradition to grow up: and the result is, that both subscriptions and games are very imperfectly organized. To the Cricket Club (which also provides for the expenses of football and hockey) not half the School subscribe, and the result of this is bad in many ways. The mass of the School are not trained up to cricket and foot-ball at all, which, as healthy and manly games, are certainly deserving of general encouragement. Instead of this, the money, which should be devoted to the legitimate games of the School, is spent on other amusements, often of a questionable character in themselves, or at least liable to considerable abuse, and which have no effect in providing constant and wholesome recreation for the boys. Many do not spend their half-holidays in the play-ground, but in wandering about the country - some in bird's nesting, or in damaging the property of the neighbours, or other undesirable occupations.

The system of fines has of late been discontinued. It seems clear that there were serious objections to it, of which one may be mentioned here, that the fine for trespass or disobedience ultimately came out of the parent's pocket, since if a boy's money was stopped as a punishment, the parent was obliged to give him an additional supply, unless he

wished to hear of his running into debt. Detentions and impositions have been substituted for fines (except as far as the payment of actual breakage or other mischief is concerned) but this change, though it must have diminished parents' expenses, has deprived the College of a considerable sum applicable to public objects. A large part of the expense of levelling the cricket ground was paid for from the fine fund.

Although no compulsory extras are permitted by the charter of the College, and though it is most desirable to keep subscriptions low, yet it is obvious that in every large School, there must be some contributions for public objects and amusements. In the hope of encouraging such as will most obviously conduce to the good of the boys, of introducing gradually the feeling that they should keep as much as possible together as one body in the College itself and in the play-ground; of checking abuses of the liberty which it is necessary to allow, if Marlborough is to confer the advantages, and be conducted on the principles of English public Schools, under which any system of entire and compulsory restriction to the College premises is quite impossible; I venture to recommend the following objects for your son's subscriptions, and in doing so I am not advising any increase of the money now given to him for such purposes, but only pointing out how, in my judgement, it can be best bestowed for his own advantage, and the general good of the School.

1. THE CRICKET CLUB:- The present Captain of the Eleven has made a calculation, by which it appears that the expenses of cricket and foot-ball might be liberally provided for, if the great majority of the School were to subscribe half-yearly, on the following scale:-

Lower School.....	1s
Middle School.....	2s
Fourth Form.....	3s
Fifth Form.....	4s
Sixth Form.....	5s

with some private contributions from the first eleven. This would include

the expense of bowler, tent, matches &c.: would enable every subscriber to play, and might possibly be diminished if all the School were to subscribe.

2. HOUSE LIBRARIES:- It is proposed to establish in each of the three houses, a library of entertaining and improving books, which the boys may take with them to read where they choose, to be selected by a committee of the boys who subscribe, subject to the approbation of the House-Masters, who will undertake the general superintendence and regulation of the libraries. The subscription proposed is 2s a half-year. It is hoped that, besides the obvious advantages of such an institution in each house, it might provide some occupation for long afternoons in winter and rainy weather, which are now liable to be misused.

3. THE FIVE-COURTS:- The games of fives and rackets, healthy and good in themselves, and particularly useful at School, as filling up many half-hours when there is not time to get up a game at foot-ball or cricket, are suspended at Marlborough from the defective paving of the Courts. A general effort to pave them would be of great advantage to the School, and some external help from its friends has already been promised. This is an object to which the old fine fund would have been properly applicable.

There are other amusements which I hope gradually to see arise, such as carpentering, turning, and some scientific occupations, which have been introduced with success at Woolwich and elsewhere. But it is undesirable to attempt too many things at once. Again, other public objects, such as the Musical Society, though very good in themselves, need not be noticed here, as limited for the most part to those who have some particular taste or talent. Nor do I mention the religious societies now grouped together under our College Church Union, among the institutions to which I venture to call your attention, partly because my chief motives for sending this circular are unconnected with those societies, but still more, because our desire is that the contributions to the Church Union should spring from a conviction on the part of the boys, that they ought to devote a part of their own money to higher and better objects than their own pleasures, and

therefore that any sums given to it should not be supplied from extra funds allowed by their parents, but fairly saved from their own ordinary expenses, as a sign that they desire, according to their ability, to promote the glory of God.

11. There is one subject more which I wish to mention, connected with the Education of the School. So many boys are now not intended for an academical career, that the feeling is becoming general, that it would be well if in our large School classes were instituted by the side of the present course of preparation for the Universities, in which modern languages and science should form the principal subjects, and where boys should be prepared for military, naval, engineering, or other pursuits. I do not feel, with my present information competent to submit to the Council a scheme for introducing such a department here, but it is my desire to do so in the course of the next year, and it would much facilitate my plans if I could form any notion as to the number of pupils likely to be placed under such a course.

Possibly, too, we might be able to introduce it gradually, and by way of experiment, before endeavouring to incorporate it in our general School system. It would of course be included in the ordinary charge for education, or at most with the additional expense of a private tutor, which might be necessary till it sufficiently commended itself to public favour, to stand on its own foundation, and to occupy the whole time of one or more Masters.

I must apologise for the length of the communication, which has been occasioned by a deep conviction that no School, least of all one of such recent foundation as ours, can really flourish unless all connected with it, the boys, and their parents, no less than the masters and other authorities, are united in the common desire and effort to raise its general tone, and to make it, in all respects, worthy of the high purposes for which it was instituted.

Believe me,

Yours very faithfully,

G.E.L.Cotton.

APPENDIX IIHISTORICAL DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THEECONOMICS OF ATHLETICISM

- (a) Uppingham School Statement of Capital Invested and Comparative Annual Expenditure of Trust and Masters 1853 - 1872.
- (b) Harrow School Tercentenary Appeal 1871
- (c) Deed of Trust Associated with the Bessborough Memorial Fund raised 'for the permanent benefit of cricket at Harrow School' 1899.(extracts).

(The actual cost is given in each case, unless otherwise stated.)

I. Belonging to the Trust :—

(A) Supplied by the Foundation ;

	£.	£.	£.
1 House, the Head-Master's: the old School-house, (say)	4,000		
Contributions to the School-room	3,093		
		7,093	

(B) Presented by Present Masters to the Trust since 1853 ;

The Gymnasium	300		
School-room, remainder of cost of building, including site	2,408		
The Chapel, with Organ and Tower*	9,797		
2 Fives Courts in School Quad	100		
		12,605	
<i>Total belonging to the Trust</i>			19,698

II. Belonging to the Masters :—

(A) Conjointly ;

Sanatorium*	2,920		
2 Bathing Places cost	250		
2 Cricket Fields, levelled, etc., cost	300		
Pavilion on Cricket Field	360		
Plate and Furniture in Chapel	195		
Furniture in School-rooms	300		
in Music Class-rooms	130		
in Library	73		
in Museum	135		
in Sanatorium (say)	200		
<i>Total belonging to Masters conjointly</i>		4,863	

(B) Separately ;

(a) Used for public purposes :

Seale Hill, Class-rooms, etc.... ..	1,500
Old School-room, Carpentry, etc... ..	500
Gardens	860

(b) Used by individual Masters :

11 Boarding Houses, with 10 Fives Courts and 1 covered Play Ground	48,275
3 Private Dwelling Houses	5,500

(Other Properties are held in Uppingham by Masters with a view to the benefit of the School, but as they are not used for School purposes they are not here included.)

Total belonging to Masters separately 56,635

Total belonging to Masters 61,498

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTED IN BUILDINGS, ETC., £81,196

* Considerable debts remain upon the Chapel and Sanatorium secured upon the personal bonds of the Masters and in course of liquidation.

Thus of the Total Capital invested in Buildings, etc., viz., £81,196,

The Trust has supplied £7,093, or 8½ per cent.,

And the Present Masters £74,103, or 91½ per cent.

B. Comparative Annual Expenditures of the Trust and the Masters in carrying on the Work of the School.

(For details of these, so far as they are borne by the Masters conjointly, see Appendix.)

I. Masters :—

The School employs 27 Masters and 2 Lecturers. Of these

The Trust contributes towards 2 Masters £270 ;

The School supplies the chief income of these 2 Masters, and also maintains the 25 other Masters and pays the 2 Lecturers.

Thus of the Teaching Staff, the Trust supplies about 2½ per cent.,
and the School supplies about 97½ per cent.

II. Houses :—

The School employs 21 Dwelling Houses, viz., 12 Boarding Houses and 9 Private Houses. Of these

The Trust keeps in repair, etc., 1 Boarding House (the Head-Master's).

The Masters keep in repair, etc., 14 Houses.

The remaining 6 Houses are rented by the Masters.

III. Chapel :—(Now belonging to the Trust.)

The Masters supply attendance and repairs.

IV. School-rooms :—(The large School-room, with Library and 1 Class-room, belongs to the Trust.)

The Masters supply attendance and repairs.

The Masters also supply entirely about 24 other Class-rooms, in their Houses or at Scale Hill.

V. Examiners :—

The School employs 4. Of these

The Trust supplies 1 annually for the highest boys for Exhibitions.

The Masters supply 3, viz. :

1 for Music, half-yearly.

1 for Mathematics, yearly.

1 for Scholarships, yearly.

VI. Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes :— (Exclusive of 3 Exhibitions each year, to boys at College, total value £420.)

The Trust gives in the School yearly £7 10s. in Prizes.

The Masters give in the School yearly £890.

VII. Other Buildings and Apparatus for public School purposes, which have all been supplied since 1853 by the present Masters, are repaired by them, viz. :—

(a) SANATORIUM.

(b) SMALLER HOSPITAL.

(c) WORK-SHOP FOR CARPENTRY.

(d) GYMNASIUM.

(e) MUSEUM.

(f) GARDENS.

(g) 2 CRICKET FIELDS.

(h) 2 BATHING PLACES.

Appendix detailing Monies annually expended by the Masters conjointly for Public School Purposes, as set forth under B.

Salaries :—

	£.	£.
Classical, etc., Master	250	
Do. do.	162	
Do. do.	162	
Mathematical Master	150	
Singing do.	100	
Reading Lecturer	50	
Other Lecturers	7	
Attendant on Rooms, etc....	60	
	<hr/>	941

Examiners :—

Music	30	
Mathematics	15	
Scholarships in School		
	<hr/>	45

Scholarships :—

Classical, etc.,	680	
English	80	
	<hr/>	760

Prizes :—

Books, etc.	130	
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Rents :—

Class-rooms, Scale Hill : deficiency	35	
Smaller Hospital	21	
Carpenter's Shop and Museum	30	
Gardens : deficiency about	45	
Cricket Fields	83	
Bathing Places	17	
	<hr/>	231

Tradesmen :—

Gas and Coals	52	
Gravel for School Quad, etc.	6	
Printing, etc.	85	
Miscellaneous and Repairs	20	
	<hr/>	163

Interest on money borrowed for building purposes is not here included, nor in the Statement of Capital Invested in A. It has been and is a considerable item. On the new School-room the Masters paid £394 as Interest, in addition to the cost as given in A.

TOTAL £2,270

HARROW SCHOOL TRICENTENARY.

This Circular is respectfully addressed to the Parents of those who are now, or have been previously, members of the School.

HARROW, May 10th, 1871.

I am anxious to be allowed to bring before the Parents of Harrow Boys, past as well as present, a work of much importance to the welfare of the School.

Three hundred years have now passed since the original Charter was granted to JOHN LYON by QUEEN ELIZABETH. We propose to commemorate our 300th birthday by an effort on a large scale to supply the School with such buildings as are still necessary in order to enable it to do its duty fully by its Scholars, and to carry out worthily such additions to its educational system as the progress of sober and cultivated opinion demands.

I.—It may be desirable to explain at the outset the peculiar financial position in which Harrow stands. *Harrow has virtually no endowment.* The Trust Fund administered by the Governors is quite inconsiderable, amounting to a very few hundreds a year, and is practically absorbed by annual and unchanging demands. Hence, when any improvements on a wide scale become necessary, there is no resource but to apply to the friends of the School for voluntary subscriptions. How largely we have been indebted to this system will be seen from a rapid sketch of our recent history.

Till 1819 there appear, so far as I am aware, to have been no considerable additions to the public buildings or resources of the School.

In 1819 a subscription was raised among Old Harrovians and Parents of the Boys for the purpose of building a new Speech-Room, adding one wing to the old buildings (including a Library), and enlarging the School-yard. This subscription received additions till 1829, and amounted at last to about £8,000.

In 1838 a Chapel was erected at a cost of some £4,000, similarly raised.

In 1845 about £3,000 was subscribed, £1,000 being a single gift, to build a Boarding House for the Head Master.

In 1851 the School Bathing Place was improved by DR. VAUGHAN, at a cost to himself of about £1,000.

In 1854—1856 the present new and beautiful Chapel was erected at a cost, from first to last, of some £12,000. The Chancel, which cost about £2,500, was the gift of DR. VAUGHAN.

At the same time new School buildings were raised for about £4,000, to which the Masters very largely contributed.

In 1861—1863 the Vaughan Library was built at a cost, including the purchase of site, of about £10,000.

In 1864 new Racquet and Fives Courts were constructed at a cost of some £2,300, in addition to some £1,400 which had been expended in 1849—1851.

Circular to Parents.

In 1865 followed the School Sanatorium, costing about £5,000.

In 1865 a Spire was added to the School Chapel as a Memorial to the REV. WILLIAM OXENHAM, at a cost of about £1,000.

In 1866 we collected the large sum of £7,000, for the purchase and adaptation of a new and additional Cricket Ground, which had become absolutely necessary for the wants of the School.

It thus appears that in a space of about fifty years sums of not much less than £59,000, nearly £47,000 of which have come during the last quarter of a century, have been expended on permanent School improvements, raised by voluntary contributions from Masters, Old Harrovians, and Parents of Boys actually in the School. These do not include other very large donations to the School in the form of Scholarships and Prizes, representing a capital of some £20,000. A list of them will be found in the enclosed copy of the Commemoration of Benefactors, which is yearly read out in the Chapel on our Founder's Day. Its simple facts are perhaps the best record of the recent historical life of the School.

Our warmest acknowledgments are due, and cannot be paid more fitly than in this year of Commemoration, to all those who during the past half-century have come forward so repeatedly and so generously to meet Harrovian wants.

II.—But the fact remains that other wants are still very pressing, and it is to these that I would now respectfully invite attention.

In the first place, there is no one room in which the School can conveniently be summoned together, a deficiency which is often seriously felt. The present Speech-Room is too small—too small for the annual gathering on our Speech-day, when numerous visitors and all the boys are obliged to be excluded, but also too small for our own School uses, for Lectures, for Concerts, and even for occasional assemblings.

We require a new and very much larger Speech-Room. If this were once standing, the present Speech-Room could be turned to practical account, as it is capable of being divided into several excellent School-rooms.

These last we greatly need, partly because of our numbers, partly because some of those which we are now obliged to use are by no means well adapted for teaching; but still more because the extension of our range of studies absolutely demands greater material appliances.

We need a Museum, a Laboratory, with two good Lecture Rooms for Physical Science, a large and well-lighted room for Drawing, and at least four good Class Rooms besides the three into which the present Speech-Room can be divided.

We have also very great need of a Gymnasium. It would occupy many boys at all times, and would be peculiarly valuable in wet weather.

Besides the number of buildings required, we have special difficulties of *site* to contend with, as is well known to all who are familiar with the locality of Harrow. Nothing on a large scale can be done at Harrow without considerable previous demolition, and this of course adds largely to the cost.

It has been estimated, after much careful thought, that in order to make such purchases of land, and erect even a considerable part of such buildings as we now require, we must endeavour to raise a sum of not less than £30,000.

At a meeting of old Harrovians held a few weeks back in London on March 30th, with the HON. FREDERICK PONSONBY in the chair, it was moved by A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE, Esq., M.P., and seconded by the EARL OF GALLOWAY, "That a Fund be raised to be called the 'Lyon

Harrow School Tercentenary, 1871.

Memorial Fund,' for the purpose of acquiring land and erecting buildings for School purposes, the first object being the erection of a Speech-Room."

This resolution was carried unanimously, and we have since been actively engaged in considering the measures for carrying it into effect. Though we are only just beginning to extend our appeal beyond the body of the Masters and our immediate neighbours, we have already received promises of subscriptions to the amount of some **£5,700**. These are indicated below.

I trust I shall be pardoned for thus laying our case not only before the Parents of Boys now in the School, but before the friends of past years. It will be felt that we are pleading not for ourselves, but for the School, which has no permanent funds of its own. If we are to carry out our work in a manner worthy of the fame and antiquity of the School, it can only be by the generous and even munificent aid of those who have its interests at heart, and feel the importance, at the present educational crisis, of not only loyally maintaining all that is best in the old classical system, but also making provision for other studies, the claims of which are so loudly and so justly demanding recognition.

My gratitude will be very great if, at the close of our third century of School life, we are enabled to continue with ampler appliances, but with unchanged spirit, those labours of our predecessors which have left their mark—we trust for good—on the public life of England.

H. MONTAGU BUTLER.

P.S.—At Messrs. COUTTS AND CO., 59, Strand; Messrs. GLYN, MILLS, AND CO., 67, Lombard Street; and the London and Westminster Bank, accounts have been opened in favour of the "Lyon Memorial Fund." Any Donations that may be kindly given can be paid either to the above Banks, or to the Master of the House in which the Donor's son resides; or to the REV. J. A. CRUIKSHANK, Harrow, or to the Head Master. They can, if the Donor prefers it, be spread over a term of three years.

SUBSCRIPTIONS ALREADY PROMISED.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Anderson, Douglas E. Esq. (the late) ...	50	0	0	Cruikshank, Rev. J. A. ...	150	0	0
Butler, Mrs., Julian Hill ...	100	0	0	Gilliat, Rev. E. ...	25	0	0
Butler, Mrs. Montagu ...	25	0	0	Griffith, G. Esq. ...	50	0	0
Galloway, Earl of ...	200	0	0	Hallam, G. H. Esq. ...	100	0	0
Gilliat, J. S. Esq. ...	105	0	0	Hayward, R. B. Esq. ...	60	0	0
Grant, W. Esq. ...	200	0	0	Holmes, C. F. Esq. (1st sub.) ...	50	0	0
Grimston, Hon. R. ...	100	0	0	Hutton, H. E. Esq. ...	150	0	0
Harrow Club at Oxford ...	100	0	0	Marshall, F. E. Esq. ...	100	0	0
Heath, Baron ...	105	0	0	Masson, Mons. G. ...	21	0	0
Leaf, C. J. Esq. ...	1,000	0	0	Middlemist, Rev. R. (1st sub.) ...	50	0	0
Ponsonby, Hon. Fred. ...	150	0	0	Nettleship, H. Esq. ...	25	0	0
Roundell, C. S. Esq. ...	50	0	0	Quick, Rev. R. H. ...	100	0	0
Sanderson, Rev. L. ...	50	0	0	Rendall, Rev. F. ...	200	0	0
FROM THE MASTERS OF HARROW SCHOOL.				Ruault, Mons. G. ...	20	0	0
Accumulation of certain School Funds (about) ...	750	0	0	Smith, Rev. J. ...	50	0	0
The Head Master ...	1,000	0	0	Smith, R. Bosworth, Esq. ...	50	0	0
Bowen, E. E. Esq. ...	50	0	0	Steel, Rev. T. H. ...	60	0	0
Bull, W. J. Esq. ...	25	0	0	Stogdon, J. Esq. ...	30	0	0
Bushell, Rev. W. D. ...	100	0	0	Tosswill, A. C. Esq. ...	50	0	0
				Watson, A. G. Esq. ...	100	0	0
				Young, Rev. E. M. ...	100	0	0

This Indenture

made the thirtieth day of August 1899 BETWEEN THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS FRANCIS EARL OF LICHFIELD of 38 Great Cumberland Place London W. ALEXANDER JOSIAH WEBBE of 35 Eaton Square London S.W. Esquire and WILLIAM OXENHAM HEWLETT of Harrow-on-the-Hill in the County of Middlesex Esquire hereinafter called the Trustees of the one part and EDWARD ERNEST BOWEN of the Grove Harrow-on-the-Hill aforesaid Esquire of the other part WHEREAS on the death in 1895 of the late Right Honourable Frederick George Brabazon Ponsonby Earl of Bessborough a fund was raised in his memory called the Bessborough Memorial Fund and the objects for which the same were raised included the erection of a memorial in Harrow School Chapel (which has been erected) and the application of the residue thereof to some purpose or purposes for the permanent benefit of Cricket in Harrow School. And WHEREAS the Committee in charge of the said fund have caused such residue to be laid out in the purchase of the messuages and pieces of land described in the schedule hereto and the same have been conveyed to the Trustees in fee simple And WHEREAS the funds at the disposal of the Committee not having been sufficient for the payment of the whole of the purchase money thereof a sum of £940 or thereabouts has been borrowed by the Committee for that purpose And WHEREAS it is desired that the trusts on which the Trustees hold the said premises should be declared and the following provisions with a view to carrying out the objects of the said fund have been agreed upon by the said Committee and they have authorised the said Edward Ernest Bowen to be a party to and to execute these presents as representing the Committee and in testimony of the approval by the Committee hereto NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that to effectuate the said desire and in consideration of the premises it is hereby declared as follows :—

Trust Deed date 30th August, 1899, between the Trustees and Representative of the Committee.

Recites creation of Bessborough Memorial Fund.

Purchase of property by Committee.

Money borrowed by Committee.

Object of Trust deed.

Sanction of Committee.

Declaration of Trust.

1. The Trustees and the survivors and survivor of them and the heirs and assigns of such survivor or other the Trustees or Trustee for the time being of these presents (hereinafter called the Trustees to hold the Trust Estate to promote cricket in Harrow School.

Trustees or Trustee) shall stand possessed of the said messuages and premises so vested in them as aforesaid (which together with any lands or hereditaments added or substituted under the powers herein contained are hereinafter called the Trust Estate) upon trust for the promotion and advancement of the game of Cricket among the Scholars of Harrow School and thereby for the benefit of Harrow School in such manner as the Trustees or Trustee shall from time to time think most expedient to carry into effect such object and in order thereto subject to the trusts and with the powers hereinafter expressed.

Powers of the Trustees.

2. The trusts and powers of the Trustees or Trustee shall comprise the entire management of the Trust Estate and the control and disposal of all moneys arising from or received by them or him for the purposes of the trust and without limitation of the generality of the foregoing trusts and powers the Trustees or Trustee are expressly authorised as follows :—

General powers.

Particular powers.

To manage the property.

(a) To exercise in respect of the Trust Estate all the rights and powers of owners of property and in particular to pull down alter repair build and rebuild houses and buildings thereon to lay out or alter roads to apply for the closing or alteration of roads to defend ancient lights to prevent encroachments or the acquisition of easements to bring actions in defence of the property to defend actions relating thereto to apply to all rating licensing and other authorities in any matter relating to the Trust Estate or any neighbouring property and to take and adopt all other steps and proceedings which may deem expedient in the management of the property of the Trust.

To let.

(b) To let the Trust Estate or any part thereof for any term and on any conditions and in any manner to accept surrender of leases and tenancies on any terms to deal with tenants and occupiers in any manner and to settle all questions relating to repairs rates rents and all other matters.

To sell or exchange.

(c) To dispose of by sale exchange or otherwise the Trust Estate or any part thereof.

- (d) To receive and give receipts for rents purchase moneys and all capital and other moneys arising from the Trust Estate. To receive moneys.
- (e) To pay all outgoings and payments required to be made for the Trust Estate or in connection with the Trust whether out of capital or income. To pay outgoings.
- (f) To apply the income of the Trust Estate and any other money whether capital or otherwise held by the Trustees or Trustee for the purposes of the Trust for the promotion of any of the purposes of the Trust or in furtherance of any of the powers of these presents and in any other manner which the Trustees or Trustee shall deem to be conducive to the promotion or advancement of Cricket among the Scholars of Harrow School. To apply moneys in promotion of the Trust.
- (g) To provide for the custody of all capital and other moneys held by the Trustees or Trustee or hereafter given or bequeathed to the Trustees or Trustee for the purposes of this Trust and if thought advisable to invest any of such moneys in any securities. To keep and invest moneys.
- (h) To employ Bankers Solicitors Surveyors Agents and others and any other persons to conduct the business of the Trust Estate without any liability for the acts or defaults of such person. To employ agents.
- (i) To borrow moneys on mortgage of the Trust Estate or any part thereof or in any other manner for the purposes of the Trust. To borrow money.
- (j) To pay off all mortgage or other debts including the moneys already borrowed by the said Committee and the interest thereon out of the income of the Trust Estate or other money held upon the Trusts of these presents and either by the establishment of a sinking fund or appropriation or investment of capital or income or otherwise. To pay off mortgages.
- (k) To receive donations and subscriptions and to hold and deal with the same as moneys of the Trust. To receive donations

To acquire further property.

- (l) To accept by gift partial or complete or for any interest and to acquire by purchase exchange lease or otherwise and either out of capital moneys or income or subscribed or borrowed moneys further houses and land freehold or leasehold or other property for the purposes of this Trust.

To make contracts.

- (m) To enter into any contracts relating to the Trust or the execution of the Trusts of these presents.

To lay out property as Cricket Ground.

- (n) To lay out and construct or arrange for the laying out and construction of the Trust Estate or any part thereof, as a Cricket ground and place of recreation for Harrow School in connection with any other ground or otherwise with any fences drains sewers roads paths and other accessories and to make or provide for any alterations works or improvements on the Trust Estate.

To erect Pavilions.

- (o) To erect alter and repair or arrange for the erection alteration and repair of any pavilions sheds or other buildings on the Trust Estate and to accept maintain and keep in repair any pavilions sheds or other buildings which may be presented to the Trustees or Trustee or erected by their or his leave on the Trust Estate for the use of the Scholars of Harrow School and for the purposes of Cricket.

To plant trees.

- (p) To manage plant and cultivate and cut timber on the Trust Estate and to do all other acts of cultivation and management.

To regulate use of ground.

- (q) To depute any person or persons appointed by the Head Master or the Cricket Committee for the time being of Harrow School in that behalf to act in the general management and regulation of any part of the Trust Estate appropriated as a Cricket ground or place of recreation and the care and custody thereof.

To unite property with any other Cricket ground.

- (r) To unite partially or wholly temporarily or permanently the management of the Trust Estate or any part thereof with the management by Trustees or others of any other Cricket ground used by the Scholars of Harrow School and

in particular the grounds known as the Philathletic Field and the Nicholson Ground, but in the latter or any similar case not beyond the interest for which the same is appropriated for the use of the said School and to convey the Trust Estate or any part thereof to the Trustees of any such other ground (subject to a permanent Trust thereof for such use as aforesaid having been established) upon the Trusts and subject to the powers vested in such other Trustees and as to the estate so conveyed to determine the present Trust.

- (s) To do all other acts which in the opinion of the Trustees or Trustee are incidental to the execution of these Trusts and powers or conducive to the attainment of the general object of this Trust.

To act generally.

PROVIDED that after appropriation of any part of the Trust Estate as a Cricket ground the foregoing powers of selling exchanging and leasing or any other power whereby such part of the Trust Estate would be taken away from the use for the time being by the Scholars of Harrow School as a Cricket ground or place of recreation shall not be exercised unless in cases where by change of circumstances or for any special reason the portion of the Trust Estate so to be dealt with shall in the opinion of the Trustees or Trustee be no longer capable of being conveniently used as such Cricket ground or place of recreation or another and in the opinion of the Trustees or Trustee a more suitable piece of land will be or is intended to be substituted for the same or it will otherwise be in the opinion of the Trustees or Trustee conducive to the general object of this Trust or in the case of a sale or exchange of small portions for the purpose of altering or rectifying boundaries or other like purpose and no sale or exchange of the whole of the Trust Estate for the time being not so appropriated shall be made unless the same shall have been first offered to the Governing Body of Harrow School to be purchased by them on reasonable terms and shall have been refused by them.

Restriction on certain powers.

As to sale of Cricket Ground.

As to sale of Trust Estate.

APPENDIX III

THE SCHOOL MAGAZINE

- (a) The School Magazine as a Primary Source
- (b) A Page and Correspondence Analysis of the School Magazines 1866 - 1966

APPENDIX IIIa

THE SCHOOL MAGAZINE AS A PRIMARY SOURCE

This study has involved a page by page scrutiny of the magazines of the various schools from their inception to their present maturity. Such sources provide the researcher with a rich 'lode' for the simple reason that the role of the school magazine is largely an introspective one. The outside world seldom intrudes. In the words of an early commentator: "the society is close knit.... and absorbed in its own pursuits. The magazine is a record of this life" (J.R.H. O'Regan, The Public Schools from Within 1906, p.102). Despite censorship discussed below, it is a record which, in the view of one writer who has made a comparative study of public school magazines, captures "with remarkable accuracy, the standards, vitality and temper of each school" (Oliver van Oss, 'A Century of School Magazines,' Conference April 1976).

The habit of introspection was, from the start, quite deliberate and commercially sensible: "To be the mouthpiece of the school, to chronicle events, to take notice of all that goes on, to record the incidents of the day, to interest the present school by pleasantly writing down its exploits, the past school by reminding them of their own" was the avowed ambition of the first editors of the Uppingham School Magazine (Editorial, April 1863). Those elsewhere made similar promises and had similar objectives. In defence of its parochial flavour the Stonyhurst College Magazine described itself modestly as chronicler of school life for boys past and present. Erudite treatises and elaborate essays, it stated, were available in The Times for those who desired them (Editorial, March 1886). The objectives of those early editors remain broadly the same today.

It must never be overlooked, however, that the magazine in its self-appointed role, is an official record of school life. As such

it has always perpetuated established values rather than challenged them.

It is significant that the Marlborough aesthetes of the nineteen-twenties published their own magazine, The Heretick, rather than sought space in the Marlburian for their polemics. However, unofficial magazines while permitted greater freedom of expression, were not safe from interference.

In one such journal, a Harrovian wrote with mournful indignation:

"Another poem here should be
Born of my fountain pen, sir,
O gentle reader, weep with me.
It did not pass the censor! " (Upshott July 1938)

And, in fact, The Heretick was suppressed after the second number.

An important question to ask, therefore, in connection with all school magazines is, "What has been the nature and extent of official censorship?" It is clear that there has always been censorship, the task of an appointed member of the school staff, and a deliberately conservative responsibility. By way of illustration, Rev. T.Cooke wrote cuttingly in his Lancing diary of one censor of liberal views, who feeling strongly about a particular subject, was tempted to promote (rather than repress) radicalism: "His position is to control not to initiate" (Entry for October 18th. 1908).

No surviving examples of unacceptable material have been located. And indeed, such ephemera are hardly likely to still exist. In general, any material likely to bring the school into bad odour with parents, old boys and possible clients would be declined. Quite reasonably, the aim of the censor was to present the school to such people in its most attractive light.

A further matter of importance is the nature of editorial power. Generally the editors were boys, and exercised the usual editorial prerogatives of initial selection and rejection of material. As in the case of official censorship, the tastes of past editors and their full effect on the content of the magazines can never be known, but the Uppingham School Magazine contains some interesting evidence on the subject.

It was its practice for a time to state the reason why articles were not accepted. The third number (June 1863) includes the following:

- " 'Victor' - Declined with thanks; most objectionable in style and matter.
- 'Pie-Crust' - Utterly unworthy to appear in any periodical. "

An earlier number still (April 1863), gave detailed reasons for several rejections: one was a piece of plagiarism, one required overmuch correction and rewriting one was short on matter and one was "not of interest to young readers". In the above cases, therefore, rejection appear to have been on both technical and moral grounds. No doubt where the morality of editor and censor failed to agree, the censor triumphed.

Occasionally editors had strong literary and intellectual aspirations, as discussed briefly in Chapter Four, and favoured aesthetic and scholarly rather than sporting contributions, but until the second quarter of the twentieth century, their idealism was invariably thwarted. The reason was elementary: "a boy would very much rather read how decisive a victory his house achieved over another in the cricket field..... than any abstract dissertation, and will dwell on the scores made on either side long after an essay on Milton has palled" (F.E.Hulme, The Town, College and Neighbourhood of Marlborough 1881, p.86). The fate of the editors of the second Harrovian established in November 1878, fully illustrates this brutal truth. They wished to kindle a literary spirit in their readers, and at first were undaunted "by the many who will sneer at the idea of a school paper having any serious literature in it..... wishing to see it given up exclusively to Philathletic news". Yet eventually they reverted to old styles and litanies. As the first Harrovian had knowingly observed, it was rare to hear of a literary paper which survived long at any Victorian public school (Editorial, April 1870). There can be little doubt its cynicism was justified. In 1898 the Public School Magazine published the details of a survey of some hundred school magazines, and discovered that they contained "no clever or learned articles".

Despite the absence of a detailed record of official censorship and a complete analysis of the preferences of editors, and while it is impossible to be exact about the extent to which magazines reflected various shades of school opinion over the years, a careful reading of the magazines indicates that between 1860 and 1920, competently written descriptions of school life, especially its sporting dramas, which were of interest to the majority, invariably won editorial and official favour. Pressure to produce issues, fill pages and win support, circumscribed the power of the most literary editors and made light work for the censor's blue pencil.

It would be unreasonably circumspect, in my opinion, to adopt the view that during this period the preoccupation with games revealed in the correspondence columns, and the extensive reporting of matches, indicated obsequious editorial gestures towards officialdom rather than dominant community values; or that the later increasing emphasis on literary material did not indicate in turn the relative lack of interest in games which gradually came to characterise the subsequent decades.

Finally, apart from indicating general trends of this nature, the magazine, with its devotion to the small world of the school, contains biographical material and the statements of staff, pupils and old boys, which constitute a fund of vocabularies of motive, enthusiasm and nostalgia. These provide insights into the beliefs, attitudes and values of an era, and permit the composition of a picture which, though certainly incomplete, goes a considerable way towards capturing the aesthetic of athleticism.

A PAGE AND CORRESPONDENCE ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL MAGAZINE 1866-1966AT TEN YEAR INTERVALSHARROW

PAGE

	1866	1876	1886	1896	1906	1916	1926	1936	1946	1956	1966
SPORT	30	-	78	43	45	-	72	95	64	46	51
	21.4%		50.6%	38.7%	34.8%		52.9%	53.9%	38.5%	30.2%	28.4%
ALL											
OTHER	110	-	76	68	84	-	64	81	102	106	128
	78.5%	-	49.3%	61.2%	65.1%	-	47.0%	46.0%	61.4%	69.7%	71.5%

CORRESPONDENCE

SPORT	3	-	7	5	16	-	10	7	47	30	14
	50%		41.9%	26.3%	59.5%	-	47.6%	26.9%	54.6%	34.1%	20.9%
ALL											
OTHER	3	-	10	14	11	-	11	19	39	58	53
	50%	-	58.8%	73.7%	40.7%	-	52.4%	73.1%	45.4%	65.9%	79.1%

Note: There was no school magazine in 1876

LANCING

PAGE

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
SPORT	20	48	48	40	42	60	-	16	49
	43.5%	43.6%	46.2%	27.4%	37.5%	34.5%	-	10.2%	27.2%
ALL									
OTHER	26	62	56	106	70	114	-	142	131
	56.5%	56.5%	53.8%	72.6%	62.5%	65.5%	-	89.8%	72.8%

CORRESPONDENCE

SPORT	6	15	6	1	7	10	-	3	2
	50%	50%	30%	8.3%	31.8%	58.8%	-	27.3%	40%
ALL									
OTHER	6	15	4	11	15	7	-	8	3
	50%	50%	70%	91.7%	68.2%	41.2%	-	72.7%	60%

LORETTO

PAGE

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
SPORT	36	36	32	25	31	55	-	18	30
	54.5%	57.2%	53.3%	48.1%	55.4%	59.7%	-	23.7%	31.9%
ALL									
OTHER	30	24	28	27	25	37	-	58	64
	45.5%	42.8%	46.4%	51.9%	44.6%	40.3%	-	76.3%	68.1%

CORRESPONDENCE

SPORT	20	13	2	1	12	5	-	2	4
	40.8%	65%	25%	14.3%	57.2%	62.5%	-	33.3%	33.3%
ALL									
OTHER	29	7	6	6	9	3	-	4	8
	59.2%	35%	75%	85.7%	42.8%	37.5%	-	66.7%	66.7%

STONYHURST

PAGE

	1886	1896	1906	1916	1926	1936	1946	1956	1966
SPORT	16	35	25	-	-	50	42	51	22
	9.8%	17.7%	10.1%	-	-	24.5%	22.8%	41.8%	36.7%
ALL									
OTHER	146	163	223	-	-	154	142	71	38
	90.2%	82.32%	89.9%	-	-	75.5%	77.2%	58.2%	63.3%

Note: Stoneyhurst no longer has copies of the school magazine for 1926.

CORRESPONDENCE

SPORT	3	10	3	-	-	0	3	1	0
	16.7%	55.6%	9.7%	-	-	0%	20%	20%	
ALL									
OTHER	15	8	28	-	-	7	12	4	0
	83.3%	44.4%	90.3%	-	-	100%	80%	80%	

UPPINGHAM

PAGE

	1864	1874	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924	1934	1944	1954	1964
SPORT	112	101	175	134	-	-	166	86	-	67	37
	24.5%	29.2%	46.3%	41.1%	-	-	44.5%	37.8%	-	34.7%	27.6%
ALL											
OTHER	346	245	203	192	-	-	207	176	-	126	97
	75.5%	70.8%	53.7%	58.9%	-	-	55.5%	67.2%	-	65.3%	72.4%

	1864	1874	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924	1934	1944	1954	1964
SPORT	19 38%	6 35.3%	10 58.8%	1 50%	-	-	2 28.6%	4 44.4%	-	3 13.6%	5 45.5%
ALL OTHER	31 62%	11 64.7%	7 42.2%	1 50%	-	-	5 71.4%	5 55.6%	-	19 86.4%	6 54.4%

General Notes:

- (I) Details of Marlborough may be found in the text in Chapter Four.
- (II) Both World Wars considerably disrupted life in the schools, military training often replacing conventional games. For this reason an analysis of the war years is omitted above.
- (III) The contents of magazine pages and occasionally of correspondence, of course, do not divide neatly into sporting and non-sporting material. The above separation must of necessity be only an approximate division.

Comment:

The overall picture which emerges from this analysis, as in the case of Marlborough discussed in Chapter Four, is one of a distinct emphasis on games reporting and discussion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at Harrow, Lancing, Loretto and Uppingham. Yet there is some variation between the schools. Harrow, Lancing and Loretto gave considerable space to games literature, while Uppingham, initially under Thring, appears to have taken a more balanced view of life, although games coverage grew in volume towards the end of his headship and subsequently remained substantial for many years. Once again, it may be noted, Stonyhurst proves the exception. As the twentieth century progressed there was a gradual shift away from a preoccupation with sporting matters, and after the Second World War, as the figures above indicate, this was clearly reflected in the school magazines.

APPENDIX IVSOME NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY TIMETABLES IN RELATION TO GAMESUPPINGHAM

Paul Ford, writing on public school athletics in C.Cookson's Essays on Secondary Education published in 1898, claimed that the average public schoolboy devoted a considerable amount of time to playing games, and that during the second half of the nineteenth century school timetables were continually re-arranged to make this possible. Evidence from Uppingham would certainly support this assertion. This is clear from the comparison below of the timetables for 1857 and 1913, The comparison incidentally reinforces the new general belief that Thring (1853-1887) was a moderating influence on games zealots rather than the reverse. He allowed fewer hours each afternoon for games than H.W.McKenzie (1908-1915).

UPPINGHAM: WEEKDAY TIMETABLE

1857		1913	
Rise	6.30 a.m.	Rise	7.00 a.m.
First School	7.00 a.m.	Prayers in Classroom	7.30 a.m.
		First Period	7.45 a.m.
Breakfast	8.30 a.m.	Breakfast	8.30 a.m.
Second School	10.00 a.m.	Second to Fourth Periods	9.45 a.m.
Extras/Free Time	12.95 p.m.	Extra/Free Time	12.30 p.m.
Dinner	1.30 p.m.	Dinner	1.30 p.m.
<u>Three days per week -</u>		<u>Monday to Saturday - no further school</u>	
Maths. 2.30 - 4.00 p.m.		Monday, Wednesday - Two periods 4.30-6.30p.m.	
<u>Three days per week - no further school</u>		and Friday	
No details - 4.30 - 7.00 p.m.		Thursday	
		No further school except for Upper Sixth (5.30 - 6.30 p.m.)	
		Tea 6.45 p.m.	
Preparation	7.00 p.m.	Preparation	7.30 p.m.
Supper, prayers and bed	9.00 p.m.	Supper, prayers and bed	9.00 p.m.

Note: For details of the 1857 timetable see 'The Reminiscences of Charles Cornish', U.S.M. Vol. LXXI, No.535, April 1933, pp.42-9. I am indebted to Mr. T.B.Belk, the Uppingham School Archivist, for the 1913 details. He further informed me that some form of physical activity was compulsory every weekday during this period. On Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays there were school games, and on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays there were either house games, runs or fives. The unathletic or unenthusiastic, however, he insists, could occasionally escape this routine. Mr. Belk himself, has pleasant memories of painting on summer afternoons.

Stonyhurst

It is instructive to compare the Uppingham timetables above with those of Stonyhurst for 1866 and 1894 (to 1920) given below. At Stonyhurst the earlier rising hour and the longer time devoted to academic work, illustrate quite clearly its stricter regime. Its relative severity is further emphasized by the details left by B.E.James in his diary, of Sunday study periods and continual religious services. Uppingham boys, in contrast, attended chapel only twice, apparently did no preparation and had a considerable amount of free time.

STONYHURST: WEEKDAY TIMETABLE

1866		1894	
Rise	5.30 a.m.	Rise	6.30 a.m.
Mass	6.00 a.m.	Mass	7.00 a.m.
Studies	6.45 a.m.	Breakfast	7.45 a.m.
Breakfast	7.45 a.m.	Morning studies	8.15 a.m.
Schools	8.00 a.m.	Schools	9.15 a.m.
Dinner	12.30 p.m.	Dinner	1.00 p.m.
Recreation	1.00 p.m.	Recreation	1.30 p.m.
Afternoon studies	2.30 p.m.	Afternoon studies	3.00 p.m.
Schools	3.00 p.m.	Schools	3.30 p.m.
Bread and beer	4.50 p.m.	Bread and beer and recreation	5.00-5.45 pm.
Chapel Visit	5.10 p.m.	Chapel Visit	5.45 p.m.
Night Studies	5.30 p.m.	Night Studies	6.00 p.m.
Supper & Recreation	7.00 p.m.	Supper and Recreation	7.30 p.m.
Night Prayers & bed	8.30 p.m.	Night Prayers and bed	8.30 p.m.

Note: It is not clear whether there were half-holidays in 1866 - probably not, as this was a public school device introduced to permit organised team games which at this time were barely established at Stonyhurst. However one full day each month (the Blandyke) was completely free. In 1894 Tuesdays and Thursdays were half-holidays and the traditional Blandyke was still observed. Details of the 1866 timetable are to be found in the diary of B.E. James for October 1866. (S.C.A.), and the 1894 timetable is recorded in S.C.M. Vol. XXVIII, No. 357, July 1945, p.75.

APPENDIX VCAPTAINS OF SCHOOL, GAMES AND ACADEMIC AWARDS

In Chapter Four above, it was argued that ideological consolidation in the schools of this study was achieved between 1880 and 1900 rather than during the previous twenty years. It is interesting to note in this context therefore, the change that occurred in the qualifications of school captains after 1890.

Between 1860 and 1890 at Harrow, Marlborough and Uppingham there was a definite tendency to select as school captains, boys of predominantly intellectual ability - as measured by the winning of internal and external academic awards and non-representation in school games teams. Between 1891 and 1931 on the other hand, the number of school captains of predominantly intellectual ability declined at all three schools while the number of school captains with games ability increased markedly at Harrow and Marlborough. At Uppingham the all-rounder became favoured.

As regards the other schools, at Lancing after 1890 there was a noticeable shift in selection towards the games player. At Loretto, as early as 1862 prowess at games appears to have been a prerequisite for promotion. Unfortunately the qualifications of Stonyhurst school captains are not readily available for analysis.

Of course, a number of factors, in addition to ideological pressure and popularity, affected both the nature of the qualifications of school captains as well as their selection for promotion - for example, the presence or absence of an academic élite and the corresponding ability to win university scholarships, the number of internal academic awards available and the predilections of headmasters. However, it is suggested that, despite the influence of such variables, the figures below demonstrate a distinct trend in selection, which reveals the considerable importance attached to games in school life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in contrast to the earlier period.

HARROW

1860 - 1890

Total 34;Games 8;Academic Awards 25

Games only 1

Academic only 20

Both 7

Neither 6

1891 - 1931

Total 44;Games 23;Academic Awards 23.

Games only 15

Academic only 17

Both 8

Neither 4

MARLBOROUGH

1860 - 1890

Total 29;Games 9;Academic Awards 29

Games only 0

Academic only 20

Both 9

Neither 0

1891 - 1931

Total 46;Games 27; Academic Awards 34.

Games only 12

Academic only 19

Both 15

Neither 0

UPPINGHAM

1860-1890

Total 26;Games 9;Academic Awards 23.

Games only 2

Academic only 16

Both 7

Neither 1

1891 - 1931

Total 44;Games 29;Academic Awards 34.

Games only 6

Academic only 11

Both 23

Neither 4

LANCING

1860 - 1890

Total 25;Games 20;Academic Awards 15.

Games only 10

Academic only 5

Both 10

Neither 0

1891 - 1931

Total 47;Games 40;Academic Awards 11.

Games only 30

Academic only 1

Both 10

Neither 6

LORETTO

1860 - 1890

1891 - 1931

Total 29;Games 27;Academic Awards 14. Total 62;Games 62;Academic Awards 13.

Games only 13

Games only 49

Academic only 0

Academic only 0

Both 14

Both 13

Neither 2

Neither 0

APPENDIX VI'POETS' OF ATHLETICISM

Three of the most fertile writers of the 'poetry' of athleticism from the schools of this study, are H.B. Tristram of Loretto, Edward Bowen of Harrow and John Bain of Marlborough. Typical examples of their work are found below. Tristram's 'Cricket Song' and 'Football Song' are so far unpublished, and John Bain's verse has appeared only in the Marlburian.

The selection reflects the various moods of athleticism: Tristram represents the mass of verse of the genre - hearty, well-intentioned propaganda. There is much of this in Bowen ('Lord's 1878', 'Tom') but there is also jocular silliness ('The Niner',) and elegiac tenderness ('R.G.'). Bain, inspired by the tragedy of the Great War wrote poetic obituaries of gentle, unsophisticated sorrow.

H.B. TRISTRAMGo Like Blazes

Tune: Marching through Georgia

Listen, friends, I beg you, while I sing a football song.
Shout the chorus loudly, you must keep it going strong,
Only use your voice and lungs, and we'll make it swing along
Boys as we are at Loretto.

Chorus

Hurrah! hurrah! for forwards backs and all;
Hurrah! hurrah! We'll carry every maul,
We all can go like blazes and we're always on the ball
While we are boys at Loretto.

Best of games in all the world for those who have the grit,
Far above all other sports, there's none can rival it,
Going strong from first to last, we'll play for all we're fit,
Boys as we are at Loretto.

Charging down the Pinkie Hill, upon the other backs
Never one among us all a single minute slacks;
What care we although we're bumped or what care we for hacks
While we are boys at Loretto.

Grand it is to tackle low, and grip the runner round,
 Grand to feel we've got him safe, and swing him to the ground,
 Grand to make some glorious kick, when loud the cheers resound
 From all who are boys at Loretto.

Shoving hard in every scrum, then quick away we go
 All together, dribbling close, the ball wet at our toe,
 Till, a winning team again, we hear the whistle blow
 While we are boys at Loretto.

Here's to all the gallant souls who've worn the jersey red,
 Here's to all the captains who the School Fifteen have led,
 Here's to all who've got their pluck and in their footsteps tread,
 All who were boys at Loretto.

Going Strong!

Sing Football the grandest of sports in the world,
 And you know it yourself if your pluck's never curled,
 If you've gritted your teeth and gone hard to the last,
 And sworn that you'll never let anyone past.....

Chorus:

Keeping close upon the ball-we drive it through them all,
 And again we go rushing along, along, along;
 O the tackle and the run, and the matches we have won,
 From the start to the finish going strong, strong, strong, going strong!

If you live to be a hundred you'll never forget
 How they hacked in the scrum, how you payed back the debt;
 The joy of the swing when you tackled your man,
 The lust of the fray when the battle began.

Long hence when you look with a quivering eye
 On the little white tassel you value so high;
 You'll think of the matches you've played in and won,
 And you'll long for the days that are over and done.

Football Song

The poet oft sings of a sport fit for kings,
 But a far grander subject is mine:
 Sport for heroes and gods; I wi'll lay any odds
 Jove himself would have called it divine.
 For football's the sport that I mean
 A sport to make anyone keen;
 The game we all love,
 Where we run and we shove,
 Yes, the finest that ever was seen.

Chorus:

Then here's to this team of to-day
 You bet we can show them the way;
 Whether winners or not,
 We're a jolly fine lot,
 And we'll teach the old crocks how to play.

In the glorious strife, that glad hour of life,
 When the blood pulses strong in our veins,
 There's nought can compare with enjoyment so rare,
 And we care not for hacks or for strains.
 That push in the scrummage so strong!
 That dash through the thick of the throng,
 Coming straight through the pack
 We are down on the back
 And again we go rushing along.

And when in the fight we may find we're too light,
 We must work all the harder instead;
 Never mind if you're small, but get hold of the ball,
 And fortune will smile on the red.
 Then think of that wonderful drop,
 Sailing inside the posts at the top,
 Of the man whom you downed,
 Having gripped him well round,
 Or that dribble that no one could stop.

It's the very best fun, but it soon will be done,
 So we'll play while we can, never fear;
 Generations must fade, and all those who have played
 For the School, in their turn disappear;
 But although we regret each old friend;
 Still fortune another will send;
 And Loretto will show
 Both to friend and to foe
 That she turns out the stuff in the end.

Then here's to the team of to-day
 You bet we can show them the way;
 Whether winners or not
 We're a jolly fine lot,
 And we'll teach the old crows how to play.

Cricket Song

Though cold be our summers
 We welcome all comers
 And lend them a sub if they're short.
 If they give us a beating
 It won't spoil our greeting,
 And we always can show them some sport.

And when we are winning
 We send the ball spinning,
 All bowlers' devices defy:
 We come down on the shooters
 Stop wicket-uprooters,
 That make other people's bails fly.
 (And steal a sharp run on the sly).

We hit 'em all round
 And all over the ground,
 And feel we could stay there all night;
 And every fresh fourer
 That's notched by the scorer
 Makes our century nearer in sight.

But trying to often
 Too high do we loft one,
 And sadly the wiseacres frown.
 Going straight up to heaven
 It's fully worth seven,
 But no, there's the tenth wicket down.

And though Fettes may beat us,
 And others defeat us
 Sometimes and it seems a bit rough;
 To the very best cap'en
 Such accidents happen
 And the luck will come back soon enough.

Then from careful beginnings,
 We'll run up long innings,
 And banish all pitiful blobs;
 We'll become wicket takers
 With cunning leg breakers,
 Or develop some wonderful lobs.

And the past generations
 Who've won reputations
 Must not be left out in the cold
 With due meed and measure
 We always shall treasure
 The names of the heroes of old.

Then hurrah! for elevens victorious
 For cricket, the great and the glorious
 For each keenly fought match
 And each gallery catch;
 And away with all critics censorious.

EDWARD BOWEN

Tom!

Now that the matches are near,
 Struggle, and terror, and bliss,
 Which is the House of the year?
 Who is the hero of this,

Tom!

Tom, who with valour and skill, too,
 Spite of the wind and the hill, too,
 Takes it along sudden and strong,
 Going where Tom has a will to;
 And so let us set us a cheer, O,
 That Jaffa and Joppa can hear, O,
 And if a hurrah can waken the Shah,
 Why, then, let us waken him, singing, Hurrah,

Rules that you make, you obey;
 Courage to Honour is true;
 Who is the fairest in play,
 Best and good-temperdest, who?

Tom!

Tom, who is sorry and sad, too,
 When there are bruises to add to;
 Why did he crush Jack with a rush?
 Only because that he had to!
 And so let us, &c.

Base is the player who stops
 Fight, till the fighting is o'er;
 Who follows up till he drops,
 Panting and limping and sore?

Tom!

Tom, who with scuffle and sprawl, too,
 Knows where he carries the ball to;
 Ankles and toes! look how he goes!
 Through them and out of them all, too!
 And so let us, &c.

Some, who their Houses enthrone,
 Rest, when the victory comes;
 Who will go on till his own
 Boasts an eleven of Toms,

Tom!

Tom, who in cloud and in clear, too,
 Goes with the lads he is dear to;
 Is it a dream, There is the team;
 Tom may be real, and here, too!
 And so let us, &c.

Lord's, 1878

There we sat in the circle vast,
 Hard by the tents, from noon,
 And looked as the day went slowly past,
 And the runs came, all too soon;
 And never, I think, in the years gone by,
 Since cricketers first went in,
 Did the dying so refuse to die,
 Or the winning so hardly win.

Ladies clapped, as the fight was fought,
 And the chances went and came;
 And talk sank low, till you almost thought
 You lived in the moving game.
 O, good lads in the field they were,
 Laboured and ran and threw;
 But we that sat on the benches there
 Had the hardest work to do!

Feet that had sped in games of yore,
 Eyes that had guarded well,
 Waited and watched the mounting score,
 And the hopes that rose and fell;
 And girls put frolic and wagers by,
 As they felt their pulses throb;
 And old men cheered - but the cheering cry
 Went gurgling into a sob!

What is it, forty, thirty more,
 You in the trousers white,
 What did you come to Harrow for,
 If we lose the match to-night,
 If a finger's grasp, as a catch comes down,
 Go a thousandth part astray -
 Heavens! to think there are folks in town
 Who talk of the game as play!

'Over' - batsmen steadily set;
 'Over' - maiden again;
 If it lasts a score of overs yet;
 It may chance to turn the brain.
 End it, finish it! such a match
 Shortens the breath we draw.
 Lose it at once, or else - A catch!
 Ah!

The Niner

He may have been little, or may have been tall,
 But his tale is so sad, you will weep for it all,
 And it happened along of a bat and a ball!

Boo-hoo!

Of Cricketers never a finer,
 From Nottinghamshire to China,
 But he never could manage a niner!
 Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo!

Chorus - Of Cricketers never, &c.

He planted his feet - and he lifted his bat -
 And his reach you would wonder excessively at:
 And the field said, 'For nine he will surely hit that.'
 Boo-hoo!

But they ran and they scampered and fielded,
 And such was the work that their zeal did,
 That merely an eighter it yealded,
 Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo!

Chorus - Of Cricketers never, &c.

But he finally struck a majestical blow,
 And didn't it, didn't it, DIDN'T it go,
 If not for a mile, for a quarter or so!
 Boo-hoo!

Oh run, I believe you, he then did,
 With speed and celerity splendid,
 And stopped with the nine of them ended,
 Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo!

Chorus - Of Cricketers never, &c.

And just as the niner was done and entire,
 He threw himself down to rejoice - (and perspire),
 'One short,' said the fair and impartial umpire!
 Boo-hoo!

So he gave up and went and ate ices,
 Of varicus colours and sizes,
 And died of pulmonary phthisis,
 Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo! Boo-hoo!

Chorus - Of Cricketers never &c.

R. G.*

Still the balls ring upon the sun-lit grass,
 Still the big elms, deep shadowed, watch the play;
 And ordered game and loyal conflict pass
 The hours of May.

But the game's guardian, mute, nor heeding more
 What suns may gladden, and what airs may blow,
 Friend, teacher, playmate, helper, counsellor,
 Lies resting now.

'Over' - they move, as bids their fieldsman's art;
 With shifted scene the strife begins anew;
 'Over' - we seem to hear him, but his part
 Is over, too.

Dull the best speed, and vain the surest grace -
 So seemed it ever - till there moved along
 Brimmed hat, and cheering presence, and tried face
 Amid the throng.

He swayed his realm of grass, and planned, and wrought;
 Warned rash intruders from the tended sward;
 A workman, deeming, for the friends he taught,
 No service hard.

He found, behind first failure, more success;
 Cheered stout endeavour more than languid skill;
 And ruled the heart of boyhood with the stress
 Of helpful will.

Or, standing at our hard-fought game, would look,
 Silent and patient, drowned in hope and fear,
 Till the lips quivered, and the strong voice shook
 With low glad cheer.

Well played. His life was honester than ours;
 We scheme, he worked; we hesitate, he spoke;
 His rough-hewn stem held no concealing flowers,
 But grain of oak.

No earthly umpire speaks, his grave above;
 And thanks are dumb, and praise is all too late;
 That worth and truth, that manhood and that love
 Are hid, and wait.

Sleep gently, where thou sleepest, dear old friend;
 Think, if thou thinkest, on the bright days past:
 Yet loftier Love, and worthier Truth, attend
 What more thou hast!

* R.G. was Robert Grimston, an Old Harrovian who
 was for many years the school's devoted and
 voluntary cricket coach.

JOHN BAINIn Memory of Captain R.O.Lagden*

"A King was he of high degree,
 King of the boys who love
 The lads they know can tackle low,
 And the lusty lads who shove.

King of them all, and King of the ball,
 Whatever the colour be;
 Red, white and brown, they owed his crown,
 And King of them all was he.

Good was his name, he played the game,
 And he made the red ball hum,
 A King beloved as he stood and shoved,
 Or burst through the reeking scrum.

Farewell, young King. Away you fling,
 All in the flush of youth,
 Playing the game, the grand last game,
 For England and for Truth".

* Marlborough 1903 - 1908. Killed in action at
 St.Eloi, March 1st, 1915.

In Memory of Lieutenant E.S.Phillips *

I read - It all rushed back again -
 The merry games we played together,
 The old squash court, the shine, the rain,
 The Boy who'd play in any weather,
 The heart not pinned to Honours Lists -
 That knew the joy of hard fought matches;
 The steady eye, the supple wrists,
 The sinewy hands that gripped the catches.
 Aye, Marlborough knows you played the game,
 Dying you set the gem upon her,
 Giving her yet another name
 To sparkle on her Roll of Honour.

* Marlborough 1898 - 1901, Killed in action in
 Flanders, May 8th. 1915.

In Memory of Lieutenant H.J.O.Leather *

In the old days, a Voice would call,
 A cheery voice, just after Hall;
 To Cotton House, gloves, shoes and all,
 I'd run, young Leather,
 And there we'd knock a little ball
 About together,

And now you've played a grimmer game;
 Old England called - you heard and came
 To shot and shell, to fire and flame,
 To death or glory
 To fight and fall, and link your name
 With England's story.

O cheery voice that once I knew!
 O hand and eye so quick and true!
 Its hard to think on death and you,
 Old Friend, together.
 Goodbye the old days when the fives-balls flew,
 Goodbye, young Leather.

* Marlborough 1898 - 1902. Killed in action in
 France, Dec. 2nd. 1915.

In Memory of Second Lieutenant H.J. Goodwin *

I saw your brave face in the Sphere -
 I had not seen it since the days
 When, term by term, and year by year,
 You taught the ball to go your ways.

Cricket and Hockey, Rackets, Fives -
 Aye, you were the master of them all;
 I see your hand as it contrives
 The old spin that made the wickets fall.

And now you've played your noblest game,
 And now you've won your grandest Blue,
 And Marlboro' lads shall read your name
 Upon the wall and Honour you.

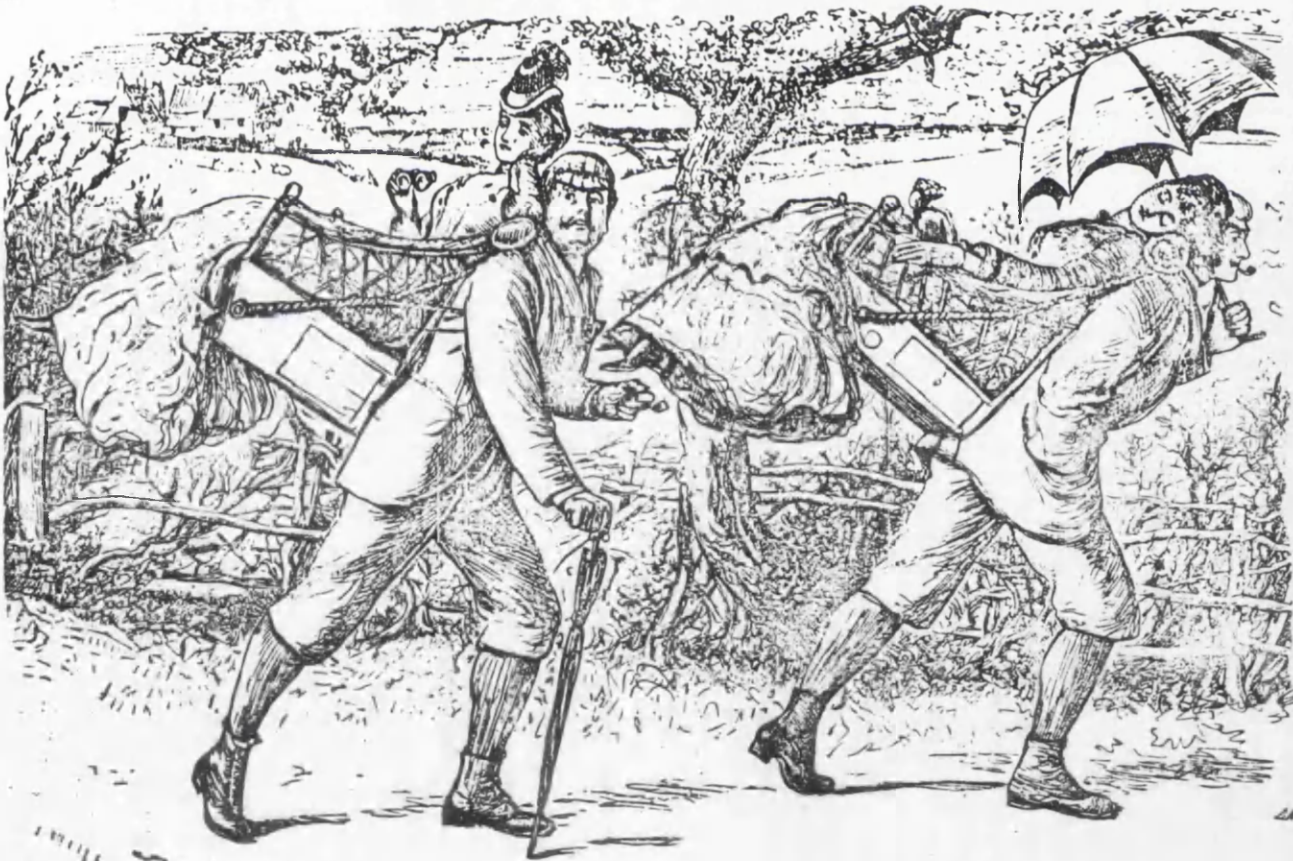
* Marlborough 1900 - 1905, Killed in action,
 24th. April 1917.

A P P E N D I X V I I

PUNCH'S PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ATHLETICISM

Punch was a consistent critic of the late nineteenth century games-cult which preoccupied public schools and universities and their products. In prose, verse and cartoon it ridiculed its various manifestations. It, therefore, provides an amusing yet mordant view of period values, attitudes and practices.

(1)



SEASONABLE ATHLETICS.

THE STALWART BROTHERS DICK AND BOB TURN THEIR PUBLIC SCHOOL AND COLLEGE EDUCATION TO GOOD ACCOUNT BY TAKING THEIR NEWLY-MARRIED WIVES (THE GENTLE SISTERS, BLANCHE AND VIOLET) ON A WALKING TOUR THROUGH THE MIDLAND COUNTIES. LADEN IN THE MANNER WE HAVE TRIED TO DEPICT, THESE BRAWNY SONS OF ANAK LOOK UPON THIRTY MILES A DAY AS A MERE TRIFLE.

(Punch September 6, 1873, p.94).

This is the first cartoon the magazine published on the subject of the new 'public school and college education' and its devotees - a benign if amused depiction of strange new creatures.



This cartoon (which appeared fourteen years after (1)) is far less charitable. It mocks the foolish pretensions of the athletic 'blood'.

FORM.

Public School Boy (to General Sir George, G.C.B., G.S.I., V.C., &c., &c., &c.) I SAY, GRANDPAPA,—A—WOULD YOU MIND JUST PUTTING ON YOUR HAT A LITTLE STRAIGHTER! HERE COMES CODGERS—HE'S AWFULLY PARTICULAR—AND HE'S THE CAPTAIN OF OUR ELEVEN, YOU KNOW!"

(3)

(Punch September 17, 1887, p.123)

This is a celebration of the arrival of compulsory games. The physically powerful headmaster (suspiciously like Warre of Eton) and the ostentatiously displayed parents' file symbolise respectively the new master ideal and his clients' approval of his novel approach to education.



THE NEW TYRANNY.

"OF COURSE YOU NEEDN'T WORK, FITZMILKSOPPE; BUT PLAY YOU MUST AND SHALL!"

(Punch October 5, 1889, p.165)



ATHLETICS UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

Master (to Brown Secundus, who is doing a little private practice).

How 's THIS, BROWN! OUT OF SCHOOL? WHAT FOR!

Brown Secundus (innocently). "SPRAINED WRIST, SIR!"

(5)

(Punch March 31, 1894, p.155)



Both these cartoons illustrate the firm resistance to academic learning of the sturdy, well-adjusted, anti-intellectual public schoolboy of the time.

PREPARING FOR BLACK MONDAY.

Paterfamilias (reading School Report).

"Ah My Boy, this isn't so good as it might be, 'Latin Indifferent,' 'French poor,' 'Arithmetic nothing,'?"

Tommy. "Ah, but look down there, Papa.

'Health Excellent'!"

(Punch September 20, 1890 p. 141)

(6)



CONFIDENCES.

Miss Gorton. "AND DO YOU LIKE BROWNING?"

Muscular Undergraduate. "WELL, TO TELL THE TRUTH, I'D AS SOON READ A TIME-TABLE!"

(Punch 1897, July 10, p.6)

Punch's sardonic view of the ex-public schoolboy as Oxbridge 'hearty' displaying a healthy distaste for poets and poetry.

THE 'BLOOD' IN FULL REGALIA

(From The Captain Vol.XLII, No.247, October 1919.)

APPENDIX IXCOMPOSITION AND RELATIVE SALARIES OF ASSISTANT MASTERS
AT HARROW IN 1874

Schedule H of the School Regulations for 1874 below

reveals that there were:

- 21 assistant masters in classics
- 5 assistant masters in mathematics
- 2 assistant masters in modern languages
- 1 assistant master on the 'Modern Side'.
(at this time a classicist by training)

The financial advantages accruing to a classical qualification are clear from the details on the two following pages. Only classics masters could aspire to masterships of Large Houses and the post of Tutor in these residences. In some cases the posts of house-master, tutor and form-master might be held by the same person.

(Details are from Harrow School Regulations for 1874 in the Papers and Correspondence of the Marshall Family (Box D/M/1) held in the Cumbria County Record Office, Carlisle. One of the family, Francis Edward Marshall, was an assistant master at Harrow from 1870 to 1904. The amendments, it is believed, are in his hand.)

NUMBER AND SALARIES OF ASSISTANT MASTERS.

A.—ASSISTANT MASTERS IN CLASSICS.

*I. Masters of Large Houses and Tutors.**Number acc'dantle**Two* ~~Three~~ at £300 a Year each.*Six* ~~Four~~ at £150 a Year each.*II. Masters of Small Houses and Tutors.*

Three at £150 a Year each

III. Tutors without Houses.

One at £200.

Four at £150 a Year each.

IV. Form Masters, not being Masters of Houses nor Tutors.

One at £500.

One at £450.

One at £300.

B.—ASSISTANT MASTERS IN MATHEMATICS.

I. Masters of Large Houses.

One at £150 a Year, with a Fee of £1 10s. on each Non-Foundationer, with liberty to receive Private Pupils from his own House.

One with a Fee of £1 on each Non-Foundationer, with liberty to receive Private Pupils.

II. Master of a Small House.

One with a Fee of 16s. 8d. from each Non-Foundationer, with liberty to receive Private Pupils.

III. Form Masters, not being Masters of Houses nor Tutors.

One at £500 a Year.

One at £400 a Year.

C.—ASSISTANT MASTER IN NATURAL SCIENCE.

Master of a Small House.

One with 10s. Entrance Fee and £1 per annum on each Non-Foundationer and with liberty to take Private Pupils.

D.—ASSISTANT MASTERS IN MODERN LANGUAGES.

Masters with Small Houses for young Boys destined for the regular Houses.

One with a Fee of £1 2s. 6d. on each Non-Foundationer, and a Salary of £200, and with liberty to receive Private Pupils.

One with a Fee of £1 2s. 6d. on each Non-Foundationer, and a Salary of £100.

E.—ASSISTANT MASTER ON THE MODERN SIDE.

One at a Salary of £400.

Sealed by the Governing Body of Harrow School this Twenty-first day of February, 1874.

L.S.

APPENDIX XJESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF
ENTRANTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURYSchools of Entrants 1849 - 1885

Total entrants	-	1290
Schools	-	217 entrants from small local schools known as grammar schools
	-	207 entrants from private schools and private tutors
	-	818 entrants from schools commonly called public schools.

From English public schools

Harrow 63, Eton 50, Uppingham 33, Haileybury 31, Marlborough 30,
Shrewsbury 30, Repton 27, Rugby 26, St. Edmund's, Canterbury 24,
King's College School, Wimbledon 22, Winchester 22, Lancing 22,
Tonbridge 21, Charterhouse 19, Radley 19, Rossall 18, Malvern 17,
Brighton 15, Felsted 15, Clifton 14, Oundle 14, Christ's Hospital 13,
Wellington 13, Durham 12, Sevenoaks 11, Blackheath Proprietary School 11,
Merchant Taylors 10, Bradfield 10.

From other public schools

32 entrants from public schools in 'British lands overseas'

Australia 19	Also	Scotland 16
New Zealand 11		Wales 9
Canada 1		Ireland 3
Mauritius 1		

Other

48 entrants - details not known

Note: 818 of the 1290 entrants took degrees and 217 of the 818 took
honours degrees.

(Details from A.Gray and F.Brittain, A History of Jesus College,
Cambridge 1900, pp. 176-7.)

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A. SCHOOL ARCHIVES

The schools of this study, with the exception of Loretto, possess sizable archives. All their available nineteenth and twentieth century material was inspected. The total is substantial, and only items directly related to the theme of this study are listed below.

HARROW

The main archives are housed at present in the Vaughan Library, although they are shortly to be catalogued and transferred to the School Museum. The archives of the Philathletic Club and Knoll House were also inspected.

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Scrapbook of H.W. Greene.

Scrapbook of Alec Tweedie.

Somervell, D.C.: Forty Years Back: A Paper read to the Essay Club. (undated MS)

Torre, H.J.: Harrow Notebook 1832-1837. (MS)

Thornton, P.M.: letter to E.E. Bowen presented to P.C. Vellacote dated 21.3.1890. (MS)

Tyssen, C.D.: Cricketing record and Notebook with newspaper cuttings 1877-1908. (MS)

The Vaughan Papers: letters and testimonials. (MSS)

Venables, E.M.: Bases Attempted: Twenty-five Years at Harrow. (TS)

West Acre House Books (various). (MS)

Printed Sources

A Harrow Dictionary by an Old Boy (no date).

Annual Cricket Matches between Harrow and Eton and Harrow and Winchester from 1833-1851 1855.

Darlington, W.S., Chronicles of the Past - Harrow on the Hill 1906.

Graham, Edward, Some Notes on the Harrow School Songs 1933.

Harrow Almanack 1865-1870.

Harrow Almanac 1870-1939.

Harrow Association School Quater-centenary Guildhall Dinner Programme.

Harrow Association Record (1907 onwards).

Harrow School Existing Customs (Three copies, one undated, one dated 1903 and one dated 1950).

'Harrow Football: A Change to Rugby Rules' (Cutting from The Times Dec.11th 1926).

Harrow Hurdle Races (printed programmes for March 4th and 24th and April 8th 1854).

'Harrow Memoirs of H.O.D. Davidson' (Cutting from the Morning Post March 19th 1913).

Harrow Memorials of the Great War 1914-18 1919-21.

Harrow School Songs (various editions).

Harrow School Tercentenary 1871.

Memorials of a Harrow Schoolboy 1873.

Modern Side Prospectus 1869 (signed by H.M. Butler).

Register of Principal Matches played at Harrow and Lord's during the season 1884.

Rules and Regulations 1914.

'Some Eton and Harrow Matches 1858 to 1864' (Offprint of an article by G. Lyttelton from the National Review).

Also Collated Material on various topics at present filed as follows:

Goulash and other internal school magazines. (File 2)

Older Harrow Magazines. (File F)

Published Articles on Harrow. (File K)

Published Memoirs of Old Harrovians. (File 7)

Platt Affair. (various pamphlets) (File 1)

Philathletic Club

Match Books (Shell, Vth and Vith Forms and Philathletic Club) for various years throughout the nineteenth century.

Philathletic Club Account Books 1893-1922 and 1922-1953.

Philathletic Club Photographic Album 1888-1922.

Knoll House

House Rule Books 1913-1927 and 1927 -1945.

LANCING

The archives at Lancing are also being reorganised and rehoused. At the time of my visits there were two main sources of material - the Woodard Papers in the Bursar's office and the Lancing Archives Collection in the new archive room.

Woodard Papers

Material consulted included items from:

Sermons and Pamphlets by Nathaniel Woodard and Others. (Drawer 1)

Newspaper Cuttings. (Drawer 2)

Copies of early Kalendars. (Drawer 3)

Founder's Sermons in Lancing Chapel 1857-1877. (Drawer 5)

Founder's Sermons in St.Nicolas Society Chapels. (Drawer 6)

Founder's Sermons undated. (Drawer 7)

Founder's Sermons 1844-1889. (Drawer 8)

Founder's Letters 1848-1887. (Drawer 9)

Lancing Archive CollectionUnpublished Sources

Complaint to the headmaster by a number of staff regarding certain aspects of the school organisation (including the disproportionate time spent on games) 1932. (MS)

Field, Edmund: Miscellaneous Papers. (MSS)

Games Committee Record Book. (MS)

Headmasters Notices 1890-1899, 1905-1909, 1925-1929. (MSS)

Hill, Eustace St.Clair: Notes on Old Mac (H.W. Mackenzie), 1941. (MS)

Letter to the Provost and Fellows of the Corporation of SS. Mary and Nicolas and the Provost and Fellows of the Society of SS. Mary and Nicolas, Lancing, concerning the unsatisfactory state of the school from a group of Old Boys, 1897.

Lancing College: Proposed changes in the Timetable and Curriculum after the Second World War. (MS)

Lancing Prefects' Common Room Minute Book 1907-1913. (MS)

Wilson, A.C.: Notebooks. (various) (MSS)

Wilson, A.J.: Report to the Provost on the Conditions at Lancing, 1899.

Wilson, A.J.: Suggestions for the Reorganisation of the School, 1899.

Printed Sources

Handford, B.W.T., Lancing College 1848-1948 1948.

Kalendars of the Corporation of SS. Mary and Nicolas
1858-1969.

Lowe, E.C., The Image of God... 1856.

————— Address delivered at the Wolverhampton
Congress 1867.

————— A Record of Thirty Years Work... 1878.

Published Articles on Lancing College. (various)

Raymond, W.S., A Sermon preached in the Chapel of St.Nicolas
College 1859.

LORETTO

Unpublished Sources

Almond, H.H.: Letter to an unnamed correspondent in defence of his school, games policy and curriculum balance dated 18.7.1898. (TS copy)

B.B.C. Script on H.H. Almond dated July 1957. (TS)

Loretto School Athletics Standards Book 1907-1947. (MS)

Loretto School Cricket Scorebook 1864-1869. (MS)

Loretto School Roll of Honour. (TS)

Photographic Albums of School Life. (various)

Scrapbook of Reviews of the Writings of H.H. Almond.

Six School Songs by H.B. Tristram. (TS)

Printed Sources

Buchanan, A., A Quarter at Loretto (Extracts from a school diary privately printed) 1869.

H.B. Tristram, Loretto: Special Supplement to the Lorettonian 1947. (This includes an obituary of Mrs. E. Almond, wife of H.H. Almond and sister of H.B. Tristram).

Loretto Association Records.

Loretto's Hundred Years 1827-1927: Special Supplement to the Lorettonian 1927.

Loretto Portfolio (prints of drawing of Loretto school life) n.d.

Loretto School Rules. n.d.

Loretto School Songs. n.d.

Nineteen Memorable Years: Special Supplement to the Lorettonian. (n.d.) (A tribute to J.R.C. Greenlees, headmaster 1926-1945)

Prospectus of Loretto School 1854.

Some Memories of the Head 1903.

Also a collection of Lorettonia contributed by Mrs. S.W. Elphinstone, 1963. It contains music programmes, examination papers and reports.

MARLBOROUGH

The main archival sources are the official school archives in a room adjoining the Memorial Library, and in the Adderley. There is also a collection of Marlborough documents at present in the possession of Mr. L. Warwick James at Springfield Park, Horsham, Sussex. In addition, some of the houses possess partially or wholly complete sets of house record books devoted exclusively to games.

Unpublished Sources

(Unless otherwise indicated the location is Marlborough College).

Autobiographical Musings from the Shades of Marlborough College by a Doctor of Medicine 1881-1886, n.d. (TS)

Beckurth, E.C. (1919-1923): Right and Left: Verses of the Open Air, 1960. (TS)

Book of Annotated Press Cuttings 1893-1906.

Coney, E.C. (1867-1877): letter to his uncle, A.H. Coney, describing life in the school in the early 1870s. (MS)

Cotton's Circular to Parents 1853. (TS) Horsham.

Cricket Scorebook belonging to John Sowerby. (MS)

Diary of W.F. Adams 1849. (MS)

Diary of Henry Palmer 1854. (TS) Horsham.

Diary of Boscawen Somerset 1857. (TS)

Diary of E.C.C. Firth 1883-1885. (MS) Horsham.

Games Teams 1849-1887. (MS)

Harrison, J.W.D.: Marlborough in the Sixties (undated recollections of schooldays). (MS)

House Record Books - various (details of teams, matches, results and performances). (MS)

Marlborough College Cricket Club Book circa 1855. (MS) Horsham.

Marlborough College Rugby Football Club Books 1861-1888, 1889-1907, 1909-1932. (MSS)

Marlborough College Jubilee: scrapbook of J.F.L. Hardy.

Marlborough College and the Victoria Cross, n.d. (MS)

Marlborough: script for B.B.C. Programme, 1952. (TS)

Penny, Sir John: Autobiographical Notes on Marlborough Schooldays, 1975. (MS)

Photographic Albums of School Life (various).

Rodgers, H. Mordaunt: Magnetic Marlborough, n.d. (TS)

Annotated Book of Press Cuttings of Marlborough Nomads and Blues 1902-1920.

Leonard the Lionhearted: A Record of Sporting Achievements. (MS)

Senior Prefects' Report Book 1905-1950. (MS)

Sorleiana (papers of C.H. Sorley) in the possession of Marlborough College Literary Society, including poetry manuscripts, letters in manuscript, photographs, minutes of the Lower Sixth Literary Society and various manuscript letters of commentary and reflection by relatives and contemporaries of Sorley to Mr. Gerald Murray.

The Red Book (Headmaster's rules for staff, 1903 onwards). (MS)

The E. Dormitory Gazette 1887-1888 (3 vols.). (MS)

Thomas, J.S.: extract from sermon preached at Marlborough College, 1897. (misc. papers, Bursar's Office). (MS)

Wilkinson, M.: letters, 1849 onwards. (transcribed from the original carbon copies by L. Warwick James). (TS) Horsham.

Printed Sources

A Collection of Poems by Younger Boys of Marlborough College (written for 'A' House magazine between 1936-1942) 1943.

Benson, E.F., Sketches from Marlborough 1905.

Brentnall, H.C. and Kempson, E.G.H., Marlborough College 1843-1943 1943.

Brown, F.A.Y., Family Notes 1917.

Butterworth, M.H., Alexander Kaye Butterworth 1854-1946: A Memoir by his Niece 1967.

Cowley, P. (ed.), St. John Basil Wynne-Willson n.d.

Carmen Marlboroughiense (song sheet) n.d.

Centenary Cavalcade (a musical entertainment marking the centenary of the school) 1943.

Davies, J. Llewellyn, Sermon in Marlborough Chapel on the Feast of St. Michael All Angels 1874.

Extracts from School Rules 1890.

Edward Meyrick 1854-1938 (Reprint from 'Obituary Notices of the Royal Society of London', Vol.2, No.7, Jan.1939).

Heaven, J.W.G., Marlborough College: By way of reply to John Betjeman's 'Summoned by Bells' n.d.

Hulme, F.E., The Town, College and Neighbourhood of Marlborough 1881.

John Shearme Thomas (offprint from Marlburian Vol.XXXII, No.504, Nov.4th 1897).

Littlefield Annals 1872-1905 1907.

Marlborough College Year of Jubilee 1893.

Marlburian Club News Bulletin 1953-1956, 1957-1960.

Miscellaneous Sermons by staff, headmasters and visiting preachers (bound volume)

Penny Reading Concert Programmes (various).

Prize Day Programmes (various).

School Rules (various).

Wilkinson, Matthew, School Sermons Preached in the Chapel of Marlborough College 1852.

Wilson, Jonathan, False Starts 1943.

Also: four box files of memorabilia including athletic cards, song book, Marlborough Nomads fixture lists, Marlborough v. Rugby score cards and the Marlborough Cricket Club Accounts Book, 1851.

STONYHURST

Unpublished Sources

Diary of B.E. James 1866-1867. (MS)

First Prefect's Log 1817-1821, 1822-1832, 1844-1867, 1868-1876, 1894-1906. (MSS)

Prefect of Studies Reports

(a) Father John Gerard 1880-1884.

(b) Father G.R. Kingdon 1861-1862, 1864-1872, 1873-1879. (MSS)

(These reports were made at the end of each term and covered each class in the school).

Rector's Book for Matters connected with the interests of the College 1869-1893. (MS)

Stonyhurst Association Football Journal 1884-1895. (MS)

Stonyhurst Biographical Dictionary 1794-1825.

Stonyhurst Cricket Journal 1860-1872, 1873-1884, 1885-1893. (MS)

Stonyhurst Cricket Club Cash Book of Subscribers 1864-1888. (MS)

Stonyhurst Centenary Record (Annotated book of Press Cuttings).

Printed Sources

Hints offered to Young Masters in the Colleges of the English Province By One Who has known the Difficulties of their Position 1882 (1928 ed.).

Introduction to Stonyhurst College n.d.

Memorials of Stonyhurst College 1881.

Reports of the Stonyhurst Association 1880-1889.

Souvenir of Stonyhurst 1882.

Stonyhurst 1909.

Stonyhurst and its Tercentenary 1892.

Stonyhurst Handbook for Visitors and Others n.d.

Stonyhurst Illustrated 1884.

Stonyhurst War Record 1927.

Stonyhurstiana (bound volume of printed memoirs, school lists, etc.). n.d.

Views of Stonyhurst College 1931.

In addition, records (manuscript and published) of Stonyhurst life are contained in a number of assorted files (E 1/2 to G 2/7/10) in the archive strongroom. Relevant items include:

Customs, Traditions and Events. (G 2/7/10)

Diary of an unidentified writer 1847-1851. (F/VI/22)

Diary of F. Trappe and J. and J.S. O'Ferrall, 28.8.1826 - 10.11.1826. (F/VI/23)

Discipline: Pupils, School Rules, Discipline (including flogging). (F/1/2/6)

History: Documents on early history. (E/III/5-7)

Inspections by Board of Education 1903, 1910, 1919. (F/VI/71, F/VI/72).

Oxford versus London Dispute 1894-1896. (F/1/3/7)

Press Cuttings on Stonyhurst. (F/2/5)

Printed matter on Stonyhurst. (Drawer 28)

Printed articles on Stonyhurst in monthly magazines. (E/1/2/5)

Stonyhurst Chorus (school song). (E/1/2)

Stonyhurst Old Prospectuses. (F.II/7/7)

Stonyhurst Photographs. (F.I/4/9)

Stonyhurst School Societies. (E.I/11)

Stonyhurst Sport. (F.I/3/6, F.I/1/4, F 9/2/7)

UPPINGHAM

Unpublished Sources

Archdeacon Johnston's School, Uppingham. 1874-1906 (scrapbook).

B.B.C. script - Thring of Uppingham, 1949.

Belk, T.B.: Fives at Uppingham. (MS)

———— A Copy of the Rules of Uppingham Football 1857. (MS)

———— Sources for School History from the School Magazines. (TS)

Bothamley, H.W.: Some Notes on the History of Uppingham School, 1951. (MS)

Bell, Dr. Thomas : A Letterbook 1876-1904.

Howitt, Harold Gibson: Reminiscences, 1966. (TS)

James, W.P.: Thring and Uppingham: an essay of recollections. (MS)

Memorials of the Rev. Edward Thring, collected by H.F. Wilson, 1887.

Photographic Albums (various).

Rome, R.C.: Uppingham: The Story of a School 1654-1948, 1948. (TS)

Thring, Edward: Diary - extant volumes 1853-1862, 1886-1887. (MS)

———— Sermons. (MSS)

———— Index Rerum: a notebook. (MS)

Thring, Margaret: Memories (notes). (MS)

Also Folders: a considerable quantity of miscellaneous manuscripts, letters and other Uppinghamia is contained in a series of folders, U.A. Files 1-102. Much useful material is to be found here. For example File 53(1) and (2) holds the Candler/Thring correspondence on the purchase of the Leicester Field, File 55 holds Old Uppingham in India and File 57 holds various songs of the Uppingham Rovers.

Printed Sources

Bingham, C.R., Our Founder 1884.

Blyth, W., In Memoriam - Ernest Henry Blyth 1866.

Lewis, J. & M., Lorne House, Uppingham 1856-1956.

O.U.F.C.: Records of the Old Uppinghamian Football Club 1913.

School Delusions - Essays by the Sixth Form 1860.

Tate, David, West Deyne, Uppingham 1859-1959 1959.

Uppingham School: Thring Centenary 1853-1953 1953.

Uppingham Tercentenary 1864.

Edward Thring

The complete set of Thring's printed works are held in the Uppingham archives. The list below includes his lesser known works. For his better known writings see Secondary Sources below.

Thring, Edward, Translations and Songs 1855.

_____ School Songs: a collection (with Herr Riccius)
1858.

_____ Uppingham School: The Statement of the
Rev. Edward Thring, Headmaster, respecting
the organisation of the School: and the
Decree of the Governors 1860.

_____ Truth in Schools 1862.

_____ Songs of Uppingham School 1881.

_____ Borth Lyrics 1881.

_____ An Address delivered before the Education
Society 1885.

_____ An Address on Education 1886.

B. CORRESPONDENCE AND UNPUBLISHED PAPERS

A number of staff, present and retired, and old boys provided written details of the schools. In addition, Mr. Gerald Murray generously wrote several papers on various matters. It is intended to present copies of correspondence and unpublished papers to the respective school archives in due course.

Correspondence

Mr. T.B. Belk, Mr. Michael Birley, Mr. R.B. Bruce-Lockhart,
 Mr. G. Chilton, Mr. D. Forbes Mackintosh, Mr. B.W.T. Handford,
 Mr. L. Warwick James, Mr. R.A.U. Jennings, Rev. F.J. Turner, S.J.,
 Mr. Raymond Venables, Mr. E.J. Whiteley and Mr. Peter Wood.

Unpublished papers

Gerald Murray: Some Notes on the Cotton letter of June 1953.

- _____ Ritual in Public Schools.
- _____ The P.T.I. in the Public Schools.
- _____ The Games Master in Fact and Fiction.

(In addition 37 letters on matters relating to Marlborough and general public school history).

C. SCHOOL MAGAZINES

(The official school publications from 1860 onwards are underlined).

- Harrow : Harrovian (1828), Harrow Magazine (1836),
Triumphirate (1859-1861), Tyro (1863-1866),
Harrovian (1869-1872 and 1878-1881),
Harrow Notes (1883-1887), Harrovian (1888 onwards),
 Pen Vyper (1870), Bullite (1873), Unicorn (1895),
 Toad (1900), How's That (1923), Bell (1925-1926),
 Broadsheet (1947-1952), Goulash (1953-1963).
- Lancing: Lancing College Magazine (1877 onwards), Beard,
 Miscellany.
- Loretto: Lorettonian (1880 onwards).
- Marlborough: Marlborough Magazine (1842-1862 irregularly),
Marlburian (1865 onwards), Viator (1881-1882),
 Heretick (1924), Kennet (1950s), 'A' House
 Magazine (1961), Polyglot (1973), Phoenix (n.d.).
- Stonyhurst: Stonyhurst College Magazine (1881 onwards), Eagle.
- Uppingham: Hospitaler (1851-1853), Uppingham School Magazine
 (1863 onwards).

D. SCHOOL REGISTERS

- | | | |
|---------|----------------|-----------|
| Harrow: | Second Edition | 1800-1901 |
| | Fourth Edition | 1845-1925 |
| | Fifth Edition | 1855-1949 |

Lancing:	Third Edition	1848-1932
	Fourth Edition	1901-1954
Loretto:	First Edition	1825-1907
	Second Edition	1825-1925
	Fourth Edition	1825-1964
Marlborough:	Fifth Edition	1843-1904
	Eighth Edition	1843-1903
	Ninth Edition	1843-1952
Stonyhurst:	(No Register is published)	
Uppingham:	First Edition	1824-1884
	Sixth Edition	1824-1931
	Seventh Edition	1853-1947
	Eighth Edition	1888-1962
(Sedburgh:	Second Edition	1546-1909)

E. ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Carlisle: Cumbria Record Office.

Miscellaneous papers and correspondence concerning the Harrow life of Francis E. Marshall, assistant master at Harrow from 1870 to 1904, in the Marshall Family Collection. (D/M/1)

Chelmsford: Essex County Record Office.

Scrapbook of Harrow schooldays among the papers of Sir Frederick Green. (MS. D/DU/1681/1)

Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland (Dept. of Manuscripts)

Thirteen letters on education and other matters from H.H. Almond to his publisher, and one to J.S. Blackie. (MSS. 4480, 4495, 4546, 4610, 2639 and f 168)

Gloucester: Gloucestershire County Record Office.

(a) Letters from Robert Wynter Blathwayt at Harrow to his family circa 1864. (D1799/C58-60)

(b) Harrow Philathletic Club: introductory letter, prospectus, rules, list of honorary members and acknowledgement of donation among the papers of T.H.S. Sotheron (school governor 1843-1869). (D1571)

- 429
- London:
- (i) Archives of the Society of Jesus, see below.
 - (ii) British Museum (Dept. of Manuscripts)

Tables of the physical development of
Marlborough schoolboys 1874-1885.
(Add.MSS. 32610-32, 20)
 - (iii) Headmasters' Conference.

Headmasters' Conference Reports (1869
onwards)
 - (iv) London Library

The MS autobiography of John Addington Symonds.
 - (v) Public Record Office

Inspectorate Reports on Harrow (E109/4196, 4197,
4198), Lancing (E109/6253, 6254), Marlborough
(E109/6596, 6597, 6598), Stonyhurst (E109/2667).

Reading: Berkshire County Record Office.

- (a) Letters to his family from the Harrow
schoolboy D. Pleydell - Bouverie together
with school reports circa 1855. (D/Epb C38)
- (b) Correspondence and papers relating to the
sons of Phillip Wroughton at Harrow School
1857-1861. (D/EW F11)

ARCHIVES OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS (Farm Street, London)

Relating to Stonyhurst

Scholars Rules circa 1870.

Stonyhurst Handbook 1947

Notes on Stonyhurst by H.J. Pollen (bound volume).

Foreign Correspondence (1819-1854).

Relating to Beaumont

The Beaumont material proves relevant because of frequent reference to the senior establishment at Stonyhurst, and because of the illuminating contrast with the more traditional, authoritarian Lancashire school.

College Rules and Traditions n.d.

First Prefect's Journal 1878-1879, 1881-1882.

Games Log Books (various).

Miscellaneous papers circa 1880.

Papers of J. Bampton 1902-1908.

Prefects' Journal 1862-1897.

Record of Beaumont Games and Athletics by a series of Prefects.

General

A Collection of Papers on Higher Catholic Education 1871-1895 made by Rev. E. Purbrick, S.J. (printed).

F. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Reports of:

The Public Schools Commission (Clarendon Commission) 1864.

The Schools Inquiry Commission (Taunton Commission) 1868.

The Secondary Education Commission (Bryce Commission) 1895.

The Royal Commission on Physical Education (Scotland) 1903.

The Public Schools and the General Education Commission (Fleming Commission) 1944.

The Public Schools Commission (Newsom Commission) 1968.

G. UNIVERSITY THESES

Honey, J.R. de S., The Victorian Public School 1828-1902: The School as a Community D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1969.

Mallea, John, The Boys' Endowed Grammar Schools in Victorian England: The Educational Use of Sport Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1971.

Rigby, Cormac, The Life and Influence of Edward Thring D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1968.

Spence, M., Charles Kingsley and Education M.A. Thesis, University of Bristol, 1945.

Tozer, Malcolm, The Development and Role of Physical Education at Uppingham School 1850-1914 M.Ed. Thesis, University of Leicester, 1974.

Thomson, Ian, Almond of Loretto and the Development of Physical Education in Scotland during the Nineteenth Century M.Sc. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969.

H. SECONDARY SOURCES

The published literature on public school education is huge. Two leading historians of the public school, T.W. Bamford and J.R. de S. Honey, have omitted bibliographies in their recent works. For his part Honey states that the volume of literature on the Victorian public school alone, is so great that the number of works read for his thesis "renders impractical the listing of all these books". The following secondary source list by virtue of the specialised nature of the inquiry and methodology adopted, makes no claim to be comprehensive. It concentrates considerably but far from exclusively on the literature of athleticism and the six survey schools. A number of bibliographies elsewhere deal more fully with the public schools in general and have been useful collectively for the acquisition of background knowledge.

G.F. Lamb, The Happiest Days (1959) and V. Ogilvie, The English Public School (1957) both contain short lists of books which provide a superficial introduction to the study of the English public schools. More substantial, but still only skimming the surface, is the bibliography of B. Gardner, The Public Schools (1973). A.B. Badger has an interesting reading list which includes a number of continental authors, periodicals and newspapers in his The Public Schools and the Nation (1944). Details of the novels dealing with public school life are to be found in H.R. Hick's The School in English and German Fiction (1933) and J.R. Reed's Old School Ties: the public schools in British literature (1964). However, the most scrupulous of bibliographers is unquestionably E.C. Mack with his extensive range of sources including a large number of periodicals, in the two volumes of Public Schools and British Opinion (1938 and 1941).

A.C.F. Beale's Education under Penalty (1963) has a most scholarly bibliography dealing with the Catholic public schools, and Brian Heeney in his Mission to the Middle Classes (1969) lists many of the sources for the Woodard Corporation. Finally, the Leeds Institute of Education and Paddington Public Libraries have issued details of available school histories.

- A Book of Lancing Verse. Oxford, 1928.
- Abrahams, H.M. & Kerr, R. Oxford versus Cambridge. London, 1931.
- Adamson, J.W. English Education 1789-1902. Cambridge, 1930.
- Alington, Cyril. A Schoolmaster's Apology. London, 1914.
- _____. Lionel Ford. London, 1934.
- _____. Things Ancient & Modern. London, 1936.
- Almond, Hely Hutchinson. Christ the Protestant and Other Sermons. Edinburgh, 1899.
- _____. Sermons by a Lay Headmaster. Edinburgh, 1886.
- Amery, L.S. Days of Fresh Air. London, 1939.
- _____. My Political Life (vol.1) London, 1953.
- Anedon, E. & Sutton, B. The Study of Games. New York, 1971.
- Annan, Noel. Leslie Stephen. London, 1951.
- _____. Roxburgh of Stowe. London, 1965.
- An Old Harrovian (Sydney Daryl). Harrow Recollections. London, 1867.
- Archer, R.L. Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge, 1921.
- Arlene, M. Piracy. London, 1932.
- Armytage, W.H.C. Four Hundred Years of English Education. Cambridge, 1964.
- _____. The Rise of the Technocrats: A Social History. London, 1965.
- Arnold, Matthew. A French Eton... London, 1864 (1892 ed.).
- _____. Culture and Anarchy. London, 1869 (3rd ed 1882).
- Arnold, Thomas. Christian Life at School (sermons). Cambridge, 1832 (1878 ed.).
- Ashley-Cooper, F.S. Eton and Harrow at the Wicket. London, 1922.
- Assistant Master Speaks, The. London, 1938.
- Attick, Richard. Victorian People and Ideas. London, 1973.
- Austin, Alfred. The Autobiography of Alfred Austin. (Poet Laureate). 1835-1910. London, 1911.
- Badger, A.B. The Public Schools and the Nation. London, 1944.
- Badley, J.H. A Schoolmaster's Testament. Oxford, 1937.
- Baldwin, Stanley. On England and Other Addresses. London, 1926.

- Bamford, T.W. The Rise of the Public Schools. London, 1867.
- _____
Thomas Arnold. London, 1960.
- _____
Thomas Arnold on Education: a selection from his writing, with introductory material. London, 1970.
- Barbour, Ian G. Myths, Models and Paradigms. London, 1974.
- Barker, Sir Ernest. National Character. London, 1948.
- _____
The Character of England. Oxford, 1947.
- Barnard, H.C. A Short History of English Education 1760-1944. London, 1947.
- Barnes, A.S. The Catholic Schools of England. London, 1926.
- Barnett, Corelli. The Collapse of British Power. London, 1972.
- Bassett, Bernard. The English Jesuits. London, 1967.
- Beales, A.C.F. Education Under Penalty. London, 1963.
- Beesly, A.H. Ballads and Other Verses. London, 1895.
- _____
Poems. Old and New. London, 1912.
- Beith, Hay, Ian. (pseud. Ian Hay). Housemaster. London, 1936 (11th ed. 1949).
- _____
The Lighter Side of School Life. London, 1914 (2nd ed. 1921).
- Bell, Daniel. The End of Ideology. New York, 1961.
- Bell, Phillip. Idols and Idylls. Essays by a Public Schoolboy. London, 1918.
- Bell, Robert & Grant, Nigel. A Mythology of British Education. London, 1974.
- Benson, A.C. (ed.). Cambridge Essays on Education. Cambridge, 1917.
- _____
The Schoolmaster. London, 1902.
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