MANLINESS

THE EVOLUTION OF A VICTORIAN IDEAL

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Manliness was the central educational ideal of the Victorian public school: it was not however a static ideal, for its interpretation experienced continual evolution.

The first chapter of this study traces the formulation of the ideal of manliness, seeking to portray it through the words and actions of its chief exponents. Manliness was essentially an ideal of 'doing' rather than 'saying', thus in the second chapter attention is directed towards Edward Thring's Uppingham for a contemporary picture of the ideal in practice. It is here during Thring's long reign at an effectively new school that manliness flourished longest and best.

Even as Thring began his headmastership, so the evolution continued: elsewhere the ideal took an athletic tilt, and as the mid-Victorian years receded so the allegiance to Sparta increased. The development of 'masculinity' is traced in the third chapter. By the end of the century, manliness had imperial and militaristic overtones added to its athletic ones, and in the Golden Age of the public schools the ideal reached a gaudy and noisy zenith. This forms the substance of the fourth chapter.

Then, during the crusades of the Great War, the ideal was thrown to a glorious climax, but in the falling it died, quite suddenly. This, on the surface, seems the end of manliness, but during the years of the hearty athletic back-slapping and through the imperial pomp and show, the modest Thringian ideal lived on at smaller, less hearty and less brash schools. This lifeline of manliness is traced in the final chapter. When, in the years after the Second World War, the time was ripe, this ideal was seen to have as much value and validity now as it once had at Thring's Uppingham.
This thesis is a development of my earlier study, published as Physical Education at Thring's Uppingham. It was during the later stages of my research into the development and role of physical education at Thring's Uppingham that I discovered that for Thring physical education was a vital part, but only a part, of an education in manliness. Time and word restrictions allowed only a short chapter on 'The Ideal of Manliness' to be included in that study, besides a fuller treatment had no place in a history restricted to physical education, and so it was left for me to find more time and more words for 'manliness'. This is the result.

It must be stated at the outset that though I have aimed for objectivity, this thesis has not been written from a purely objective viewpoint. Thomas Hughes once said that he certainly did not give up all his holidays for the writing of Tom Brown's Schooldays merely to write a boys' tale - his aim was to preach a message. In my case, the holidays have been devoted to a personal search: first to discover the sources that combined to produce the Thringian ideal of manliness; second, to trace the tortuous evolution of that ideal through to the present
day. Both quests were important: the first, because Thring's Uppingham seemed so at odds with the traditional picture of a Victorian public school: the second, because the elements of Thring's ideal of manliness are with us today in current educational philosophy and practice. Perhaps, like Thomas Hughes, I have gone further than this, for I am an ardent admirer of Edward Thring, and some may indeed see this work as no more than the propagation of the Thringian message.

The reader should know too some of the constraints that have limited my objectivity. I come into the realm of educational philosophy via physical education, and it is the inter-relation of manliness and physical education that attracts me most. This study is restricted largely to boys' public schools and their conformist influence, yet, though I have taught in a public school for twelve years, I was never a boy at one: had I been, I suspect that I too would have conformed. Two topics that had to be examined in terms of manliness were the First World War and homo-eroticism. Here I have had to judge each effect without ever having served in the forces (let alone fought in a war) and without, to my remembrance, ever having been exposed personally to homo-erotic advances. My reaction to these influences, had I been exposed to them, remains untested.
I began my previous study with the words - 'Generalisations are dangerous, and often unfair.' - and I am all too aware of this trap. None the less, throughout this current work I have had to generalise so as to trace the overall pattern, and always there will be exceptions to my generalisations: despite this, I stick to my judgments. Even when I come to Uppingham as my example, I am aware that individual boys could have received treatment different to what I describe. One Old Uppinghamian, who was a boy at the school before and during the First World War, reached the sixth form in his second term and was excused all fagging. He describes himself as 'entirely incompetent at all athletic pursuits', yet his years at the school were blissfully happy. The rigidity of the system was even flexible enough to allow this boy to become a housecaptain. Perhaps there were others as fortunate as him, but the picture I paint is, I believe, the true one for the majority of boys.

It would have been impossible to have even contemplated this study without the ease of access that I had to the Uppingham Archives, and I am most grateful to the Trustees and the headmaster of the school for granting me such access. In fact, there have been two headmasters of Uppingham during the years it has taken me to complete this work - John Royds (1965-1974) and Coll Macdonald (1975+) - and I should like
to add my personal thanks to both for their interested support and enthusiastic encouragement.

I owe special thanks to four colleagues at Uppingham, each of whom has read and criticised my work. To Brian Belk and Bryan Matthews I owe everything, for without their kindness, interest and guidance this study, and its predecessor, would never have been started. I know that at times I have offended their remembrance of Uppingham ways - and for that I apologise - and I hope that the final result satisfies the balance of impetuous youth versus kindly authority. James Barnett endeavoured to instruct me on theology and church history, especially in relation to the first two chapters, and I thank him for his lucid guidance. I cannot however claim that my judgments necessarily agree with his, particularly with regard to Thring's churchmanship. Nigel Richardson has also researched into the Victorian years at Uppingham, and it was a pleasure to exchange ideas with him. In addition, he was good enough to pass a historian's eye over my work. The assistance received from all four critics has been immense, but all judgments made, and any errors that remain, are my responsibility.

One of the pleasures of this work has been the frequent contact with other research workers. Cormac Rigby has once again given me an objective model on which to base my own
assessment of Thring, and if once more this study is in sympathy with his overall picture, then I am satisfied. I thank him for his gentle and perceptive criticism. Tony Mangan has recently completed his own study into athleticism as an educational ideology, and through liaison with him I have been able to compare my interpretation of a sociological phenomenon with the research of a genuine sociologist. I am most grateful for this standard. Gerald Murray has guided me through the difficult years after 1920, a period when one is always likely to upset someone's sensitivities. If I have successfully walked the tight-rope between objectivity and sensitivity, then much of the credit is due to him.

Thanks are also due to David McNair, Professor Brian Simon and Professor Gerald Bernbaum for suggesting various possible lines of enquiry; to the London Library, the British Library and the Cambridge University Library for allowing me access to material in their possession; and to Miss Johnnie Ferguson and Mrs Mary Fell for their most efficient typewriting.

Finally, I must thank my university tutor, Bob Wight, who once again has proved invaluable. I have thoroughly enjoyed the six years under his wing, and I hope that he is pleased with the results.

Malcolm Tozer
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In December 1884 Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham School for more than thirty years now, preached in his beloved chapel to the boys of the school: his theme was a favourite one - the ideal of manliness. Near the end of the sermon Thring told his listeners - 'I must think that to be known through England for true manliness is a better thing than to have a name for cricket.' This sentiment tells the twentieth century reader much about the Victorian ideal of manliness. First it must be noted that if there was a 'true manliness' then there must also be a false or mock manliness, and that the two ideals might be easily confused; then we see that it is this mock manliness that is closely associated with prowess and success in cricket and other games, and we discover by implication that true manliness is not; and finally, and crucially, we are informed that Thring's purpose at Uppingham was to give each boy an education in true manliness.

By 1884 the words 'manly' and 'manliness' could obviously have two meanings, depending on whether or not the attendant ideal was true or mock. An examination of the definition of these same words from the year of Victoria's accession to the

throne through to the years after the First World War shows that there had been a steady evolution in their meaning. In 1837 manly is 'strong, robust, fearless; with the courage, dignity, fortitude of, or belonging to, man'.\(^2\) In 1870 it is, in addition, 'not womanish; not childish',\(^3\) and by 1891 manly has become synonymous with 'noble' and 'stately'.\(^4\) At some stage it had also meant 'humane, charitable, generous', but by 1908 this definition was obsolete.\(^5\) In the 1920s the idealistic qualities of manliness became less numerous and were replaced by more objective synonyms, such as 'masculine', 'grown up, adult, mature'.\(^6\) This evolution is vitally important for it reflects what each generation thought the qualities of a man, or more correctly a gentleman, ought to be, and this in an age when the concept of a gentleman was the cardinal concern. This concern with the qualities of a gentleman properly belonged to the public schools for, increasingly as the nineteenth century progressed, these schools became the main training ground for the sons of gentlemen, and for the sons of aspiring gentlemen. The education that a public school-boy of 1837, 1870, 1891, 1908 or 1927 received at his school mirrored the contemporary definition of 'manly' and

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2. Charles Richardson, *Dictionary of the English Language*. 1837
   *Oxford Dictionary*. 1933
'manliness', and no matter how the needs of society changed from 'godliness and good learning' to 'Empire' or to 'service' so each generation was influenced by the current interpretation of the ideal of manliness.

Thring saw the communion and circulation of ideas, of thought and of feelings as a perpetual current, ebbing and flowing like water under the influence of external forces. The rain that begins the water cycle falls everywhere, and then the geography of the terrain guides it into streams of steadily increasing power. It was thus with the ideal of manliness. This stream had its birth in antiquity, but not until the end of the eighteenth century did it begin noticeably to affect the landscape; then, as the first half of the nineteenth century unfolded so the stream raced to a vital torrent. It is at this time, in the years between 1850 and 1870, that the true ideal of manliness flourished, and it owed its realisation to the greatest generation of schoolmasters England has ever seen. The foremost of these men, Edward Benson, Frederick Temple, Frederic Farrar and Thring, sought to inculcate the ideal in their schools, whilst Charles Kingsley strove to broaden its influence in other social and religious spheres. These five men had much in common: most enjoyed a boisterous country childhood in which they adored the novels of Sir Walter Scott and thrilled to the tales of Arthurian times. At school they read the same classics, notably Plato and Thucydides, and they carried similar prizes and comparable
scholarship to their respective university colleges. Most went to Cambridge, for only Temple went to the older foundation, and there they came under the spell of Platonic-Romanticism as exemplified by the works of S.T. Coleridge and William Wordsworth, and then experienced its mission as advocated by F.D. Maurice. Maurice's influence was similarly felt at Oxford, but here the sense of mission owed more to Thomas Arnold's zeal. After gaining their degrees and winning their college and university prizes each began his life's work: it could only be one of two vocations - schoolmastering or the Church - and in general it was both. Benson, Temple, Farrar and Thring took Holy Orders, went into the public schools, and in time became influential headmasters. Kingsley also entered the Church: he was never a schoolmaster, but from his parish at Eversley he watched educational developments with great concern. A decade or so earlier Thomas Arnold had successfully combined the academic responsibility of a headmaster with the pastoral care of a school chaplain and from this pioneer work at Rugby he brought a new dimension and meaning to the term education. These men now built on Arnold's foundation: education was not just self-determination and self-expression - it had a mission. Their ideal was the ideal of manliness.

The first chapter of this study follows that early stream of ideas and traces the formulation of the ideal of manliness, seeking to portray it through the words and actions of its chief exponents. The ideal of manliness was
essentially an ideal of 'doing' rather than 'saying', thus in the second chapter attention is directed towards Thring's Uppingham for a contemporary picture of the ideal in practice. It is here during Thring's long reign at an effectively new school that the ideal flourished longest and best: it is here that the torrent was its most dynamic. The Uppingham chapter ends with a biographical sketch of Handwicke Rawnsley, one of its old boys, whose career exemplifies exactly what his headmaster wished to inculcate.

Though the fullest realisation of the ideal of manliness was to be found at Thring's Uppingham, it was not the end of the evolution: water from the one wellspring can be diverted from its true course. Just as a river that slows may split into more than one branch, with each branch likely to encounter its own rapids and falls or swamps and marshes, so the ideal of manliness began to meander off course. Even as Thring began his headmastership in 1853 so the ideal was taking an athletic tilt, and as the mid-Victorian years receded so the allegiance to Sparta increased. The broad and increasingly sluggish river of 'masculinity' is traced in the third chapter.

By the end of the nineteenth century the ideal of manliness had imperial and militaristic overtones added to its athletic ones, and in the 'Golden Age' of the public schools the ideal reached a gaudy and noisy zenith. This fast moving cascade of white-water forms the substance of the fourth chapter. Then, during the crusades of the Great War, the ideal of manliness was thrown to a glorious climax, thundering
over a magnificent waterfall - but in the falling it died, quite suddenly, like the water than forms a stagnant pool.

This, on the surface, concludes the ideal of manliness: what was once a vital flow is now a dead stillness. But it is not the end of the story. It is as if the true stream went underground, forming new springs that could be tapped if only one knew where to look. During the years of the hearty athletic back-slapping and through brash imperial pomp and show, the modest Thringian ideal lived on at smaller, less hearty and less brash schools. This lifeline of the ideal is traced in the final chapter. When, in the years after the Second World War, the time was ripe this ideal was seen to have as much value and validity now as it once had at Thring's Uppingham.
Chapter One

THE IDEAL OF MANLINESS

I

It was John Stuart Mill who once remarked that the Greeks were the initiators of nearly everything, Christianity excepted, of importance in the world, and no history of nineteenth century English education can ignore them. The Greeks however did not just have one school of thought on educational matters; in Athens and Sparta, for example, we have two highly contrasted ideals, though both draw support from the same epics of Homeric times. The beauty of Greece is that each subsequent philosophy can find at least one Greek philosophy to serve as a platform on which its own developments can be built. In the search for neat solutions for the complicated evolution of English educational thought, facts may be chosen to agree with theories and integrity can be sacrificed to promote clarity, but none the less in the sixty-five years of Victorian reign, Athens, Sparta and then Homeric Greece can each be shown to have its own Golden Age. The rise of the public schools and the emergence of athleticism in the 1860s and 1870s would seem to owe much to Sparta, whilst the age of imperialism at the end of the century is decidedly Homeric; but both are distortions of the ever-pervading influence of Athens, and in

particular, of Platonic Athens.

Platonic influence on all our thinking about the practical conduct of life has been and still is incalculable. If one sometimes underestimates our debt in these matters to Plato, it is only because his ideas have become so completely part and parcel of our best traditions. Platonic influence often goes undetected for we are never really free from it. Platonism is a perennial philosophy, but in the first half of the nineteenth century it dominated English thought. Early Victorians felt a kinship with the Athens of the last years of the fifth century B.C., and they looked to this past for the key to the problems of the present. There was great interest in the classical history of Greece and Rome, and the era saw renewed attentions paid to excavations of the sites of antiquity.²

There are many similarities between the Athenian democracy and early Victorian England. Both were maritime nations, and both had gained security after triumph in war: Trafalgar and Waterloo were to the Victorians as Salamis and Marathon were to the Athenians. Both nations had growing empires on which their undoubted commercial success was built. In name both societies were democracies, though in each case the democratic rights were shared only by a few: the non-citizen slaves of Athens bear some similarity to the non-voting lower classes in pre-Reform Bill England. In both societies social unbalance was partly redressed by the great and genuine political,

² R.M. Ogilvie, Latin and Greek. 1964. p 95.
educational and social service given to the State by the ruling aristocratic families. Both ruling classes were civilised and cultured, and each paid considerable attention to the arts. Victorian England gleaned much support from Plato; he maintained that government should be by educated gentlemen rather than by technical experts. This inexpert intelligent ruler became the archetypal all-round, amateur administrator of world-wide fame. Plato was remarkably the gospel for all shades of Victorian opinion: Utilitarians and Radicals, Evangelicals and Tractarians, all owed support to his influence.\(^3\) The public schools owed as much to Athenian education as to Spartan: they were for the ruling elite; they were boarding and the sexes were segregated; literature and athletics were the core of the curriculum; and character training was prized above mere intellectual prowess.

The Greek ideal of 'the beautiful and the good', though it was realised for less than eighty years, left behind it an imperishable memory. The clever, well-born and beautiful Charmides was the exemplar of this ideal: he combined modesty with pertness, and pride with sensitiveness. He possessed all the desirable physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral capacities and gifts, and they were tuned in perfect harmony: he was the 'whole man'.\(^4\) The revival of this philosophy as

\(^3\) ibid. p 108.
the basis of Hellenism occurred in Rome in Christian times under Plotinus. Platonism passed into the Western Church from Plotinus through Augustine, Boethius and Dionysius. Plato's social concern and his spirit of vocation matched those of Christianity, and the Platonic philosophy was easily absorbed by the Church - especially when it advocated a merciful, anti-damnation doctrine. In England, where the tradition of Augustine and Boethius was always strong, Plato became the intellectual source for all Anglican theology from Hooker onwards, through the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century (Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith and Ralph Cudworth) and right through Victorian times. This influence only undergoes an eclipse under the Puritans (whom Plato resembles at least in moral earnestness) owing to the Calvinist views about 'total depravity', but the eclipse is only brief.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Platonism, or rather the neo-Platonic philosophy of Plotinus, became the 'lifeblood of Romanticism'. Platonism and Romanticism were the dominant creeds at the Cambridge of the period, whilst Oxford had Aristotelian and Tractarian leanings. To S.T. Coleridge:

'Every man is born an Aristotelian, or a Platonist. I do not think it is possible that anyone born an

Aristotelian can become a Platonist; and I am sure no born Platonist can change into an Aristotelian. They are two classes of men, besides which it is next to impossible to conceive a third.' (1830)9

These men, the subject of David Newsome's Two Classes of Men, dominate English thought throughout the century. F.D. Maurice, in doubting whether Newman was a Platonist, noted that 'the great evil of everything at Oxford (is) that there is nothing but Aristotelianism ..' Maurice disagreed with Coleridge as to whether a Platonist could become an Aristotelian: 'all little children are Platonists, and it is their education which makes men Aristotelians'. (1836)10 A.E. Taylor, a century later, took a further step forward: 'Aristotelianism itself, on close study, is steadily found to be only a rather half-hearted Platonism'. (1925)11 In concert with the Romantic sentiments of the period, Platonism was thus seen as the 'natural' philosophy: only the sophistication of an Oxford education could deflect a man from the true path. R.M. Ogilvie, in his study Latin and Greek, notes the re-orientation of classics from Latin to Greek in this period, and especially towards Plato and Thucydides. At the universities the change-over occurred in the 1830s, when William Sewell began to lecture at Cambridge on the Republic: Oxford followed suit in 1847 when Jowett lectured on Plato. Thomas Arnold was responsible for much of the change in the schools (though Arnold's

9. S.T. Coleridge, Table Talk. 1835. vol. 1, p 182.
own passion was for Aristotle - he was an Oxford man): at Rugby A.P. Stanley studied Plato and Thucydides above all others, and the same picture emerges from the Shrewsbury of Butler and Kennedy, and from Prince Lee's King Edward's, Birmingham. Greek, and in particular Plato, became the staple diet in early Victorian public schools.

As the century progressed, so the Platonists came into dominance. The poets Wordsworth and Browning were both Platonists, and Carlyle derived his Platonism second-hand from Christianity - he greatly admired the Platonic ideal of service. Coleridge was probably the greatest of the Platonic philosophers, and he in turn inspired F. D. Maurice, Tennyson and Julius Hare, who at Cambridge formed a Platonist Club, the 'Apostles'. For Maurice, the Republic matched his own dream of a universal Church. For Charles Kingsley Plato was the 'king' of philosophers, and John Ruskin would read something from the Bible and something from Plato each morning. Of the later poets, William Cory, who won the

Chancellor's medal at Cambridge for a study on Plato, and Matthew Arnold are two who glorified Platonism in their work.

Plato was born in 428/7 B.C. and died, at the age of eighty or eighty-one, in 348/7. His whole thought was directed towards how society could be reshaped so that man might realise his full potential. This forms the central theme of the Republic. Plato was appalled by the sophistication and disintegration of life in contemporary Athens, and he sought to bring it back to a more strictly Hellenic style: in effect the Republic is a recall to simplicity.

Plato's ideal city, the Republic, is but one manifestation of man's search for the ideal State, be it the City of the Perfect, Utopia, Civitas Dei, or indeed the Kingdom of Heaven. His ideal citizen, or exemplar, combines the best of the legends of the past and all the hopes for the future. Each Republic has its own hero.

Virtually all idealistic theories of education can be traced back to Plato - the aim is to produce ideal citizens to play their part in the ideal civic community. Service was the corner-stone of this community: within an ordered society each citizen would disinterestedly concede his own preferment and loyally serve others. Plato was convinced

20. David Newsome, Bishop Westcott and the Platonic Tradition. p 3
R.L.Nettleship, Lectures on the Republic of Plato. 1898. p 11
that happiness was the reward of virtue, and that the virtuous life was the only pleasant one. It was not the having of strength, long life, health, wealth, but the right use of them that made men happy. In this aim the State's supreme function was education. Most importance was attached to early education when the soul was still plastic - and there was no distinction between the sexes in Plato's educational plans. As Plato believed that the soul assimilated its environment it was vital to surround the soul with objects worthy of imitation. This was the basis of Plato's educational practice. 24

The Greeks believed that the greatest work of art they had to create was Man, and the training of a noble personality was an aim second to none. Before prescribing an education, Plato analysed the principles governing human life. There were three elements to a man's soul - appetitive, spirited, and philosophic. The appetitive element was concerned with the pursuit of bodily desires (food, warmth and so on) and was not involved in education. The spirited element was the source of courage and self-confidence, and was realised in ambition and self-assertion. The rational or philosophic element involved the pursuit of intellect and all learning. The balance of the three elements in the soul was essential in the 'whole man', and this harmony Plato

23. Walter Pater, op. cit. pp 239, 241
Basil Willey, op. cit. p 42.
termed *arete*. The term is hard to define exactly, but Harold Nicolson's 'balanced achievement' is a fitting interpretation. The soul was to aspire to three virtues - truth, courage and self-control. It is from these virtues that the Victorian ideal of manliness stems, so let us use contemporary sources to analyse their meaning. Truth implied all honest action, truth to oneself and truth to one's loyalties. Courage had animal bravery as its base but rose to fortitude under affliction and in adversity: it was also the courage of men who are loyal to the principles which have been inculcated into them during their upbringing. Self-control was the obedience to authority, whether the authority of a ruler or to one's higher inner self. Adamson used the word 'manly' in relation to all three virtues: 'manly' is equivalent to 'true to (one)self'; 'courage' is synonymous to 'manliness'; the 'manly man' is unshaken by 'the waves of emotion'. Indeed the aim of Plato's teaching is to 'endeavour to foster the virtue of manliness'. Truth, courage and self-control are thus three aspects of the one Victorian ideal of manliness. But they are just three axes in the total continuum: thus 'endurance' (of sorrow, pain,

or illness) is the meeting point of courage and self-control.

The Greek conception of education the 'whole man' is summed up in the term paideia. Plato defines this as 'the education in arete from youth onwards, which makes men passionately desire to become perfect citizens, knowing both how to rule and how to be ruled on a basis of justice'. The word is derived from paidēs, a child, and originally referred to education of children, but in Hellenistic times the word came to signify 'culture': thus the means became the end to be achieved. A man's paideia is his personal culture, the thing for which he is born, the sum of his intellectual, physical, moral and aesthetic attributes that make him a 'whole man'. Plato's educational practice was based on 'music' and 'gymnastic'. 'Music' included literature, music and the plastic arts: it was central to Plato's philosophy that beauty in nature and art were but an outward sign of godliness. 'Gymnastic' aimed at simplicity of life and diet, and the maintenance of good health without the attentions of a doctor: over-emphasis on sport had no place in the education of a citizen. 'Music' and 'gymnastic' did not separately educate the 'philosophic' and the 'spirited' elements of the soul: a good body would not by itself make the soul excellent, but a good soul would render the body as perfect as possible. 'Music' and 'gymnastic' were thus finely tuned to produce the perfect harmony of the 'whole man'.

29. Plato's Laws, 643e, quoted in E.B. Castle, op. cit. p 103. See also Richard Livingstone, Plato and Modern Education. 194.
Whenever it is felt that the roots of society are being undermined by progress there is a tendency for it to become introspective: it shrinks at the impersonality of innovation and seeks to give it a soul. It reassesses the lessons and legends of the past and enhanced with the dreams of the future it strives yet again to attain the ideal society. To S.T. Coleridge at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the age of mechanical improvement and empirical science was being undermined by 'talent without genius' and 'understanding without reason'. 'We have purchased a few brilliant inventions at the loss of all communion with life and the spirit of nature'. Coleridge's aim, and the creed and deepest meaning of all Romanticism, was to recover this communion with life and to regain the spirit of nature. Coleridge thus gave meaning to all who followed

for whom utilitarianism was the very antithesis of life.
He was to become the spiritual source for all nineteenth
century moralists. No study of Victorian behaviour can
neglect him, yet as the century progresses, so his influence
becomes more diffuse. Thomas Arnold had a great reverence
for Coleridge, and many of his ideals owe support to *Aids to
Reflection*. Through F.D. Maurice his influence is felt at
Cambridge and Oxford and then in London: both Christian
Socialism and the Broad Church Movement owe much to Coleridge's
union of religion and morality. Arnold and Maurice in turn
inspired those at the universities in the middle years of
the century. At Cambridge F.W. Farrar developed a 'boundless
admiration' for Coleridge's work; \(^2\) at Oxford Frederick
Temple read him widely - 'I have been reading Coleridge a
good deal lately', Temple wrote from Balliol, 'and I can
hardly tell how much I admire him'. \(^3\) Alfred Tennyson's *In
Memoriam*, that ode to the generation of the Great Exhibition,
is seen by some as one of the fullest expressions of Coler-
idge's religious thought. \(^4\)

In effect there are two Coleridges. The early poet and
critic is the fount of Romanticism; the later Highgate
philosopher is best captured in *Table Talk*. The former,

\(^2\) Reginald Farrar, *The Life of Frederic William Farrar*. 1904,
p 48.

\(^3\) E.G. Sandford, *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple*. 1906, vol. 2,
p 424.

\(^4\) Graham Hough, 'Coleridge and the Victorians', in *The English
Mind* (ed. by Hugh Sykes Davies and George Watson) 1964,
p 189.
almost the essential Coleridge, is closely associated with William Wordsworth, for it is in their momentous partnership of the decade spanning the new century that two traditional currents of thought meet. One is the Protestant line of Platonic humanism, the other is the secular belief in Nature deriving from Rousseau. In the combined creed that was to be the life-line of nineteenth century Romantic thought the former brought the message, the purpose, whilst the latter brought the means: together they brought the call for a simple life.

As Basil Willey explains in his study of The English Moralists, Coleridge's philosophy was directly descended from the sixteenth century Christian Humanists and through the Cambridge Platonists of the succeeding century. Richard Hooker, that 'God-centred Humanist', rooted English Protestantism in early Platonic and Christian traditions and steered it thus on a middle road between Papal Rome and Calvinist Geneva. To the 'whole man' ideal of the Humanism of the Italian Renaissance Hooker had added the search for a Christian society in which the desires for fellowship and co-operation would be met. Through John Smith of the Cambridge group, for whom 'purity shall be happy and vice miserable', and his successors, Christian-Platonism continued

6. ibid. p 110.

its middle path in religion between the Puritan and Prela-
tist extremes of Protestantism. 8

'Wholeness' is one essence of Coleridge's thought. A man was a 'whole man' and not an assemblage of parts: he was a living unity rooted and founded in God. In the same way philosophy and theology were not distinct, they were a single entity; and, further, religion and politics could not be separated. The main function of the Church as a human institution was the advancement of knowledge, the education of the people, and the civilising of the nation. Its spiritual role was based on morality and the quest for virtue: in this respect he anticipated the later purge on the literalism of Biblical interpretation whilst still holding to its spirit. Coleridge also foresaw the growth and danger of sectarianism -

'He, who begins by loving Christianity better than truth, will proceed by loving his own sect or church better than Christianity, and end in loving himself better than all.' 9

It was through Aids to Reflection that Coleridge's influence was most directly felt by succeeding generations. These Aids aimed to present a rational groundwork for Christianity based on the fusion of reasoned philosophy and spiritual experience. They were prepared 'for all, who desirous of building up a manly character in the light of

8. ibid. p 184.

distinct consciousness, are content to study the principles of moral architecture on the grounds of prudence, morality and religion, but they were 'especially designed for the studious young at the close of their education or on their first entrance into the duties of manhood and the rights of self-government.'\(^{10}\) The aim was to make the reader more 'manly', indeed the first edition was entitled *Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character*.\(^{11}\) This manliness was based on the Greek ideal *arete*: in his comment to Aphorism XII Coleridge asks, 'What says the Apostle? Add to your faith knowledge, and to knowledge manly energy - \(\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\nu\)\(^{12}\). To Platonic *arete* and the 'whole man' concept of the Humanists Coleridge added Christian moral duties - the result was the 'ideal of manliness'.

What the duties of morality are, the Apostle instructs the believer in full, comprising them under the two heads of negative and positive; negative, to keep himself pure from the world; and positive, beneficence from loving kindness, that is, love of his fellow men (his kind) as himself.'\(^{13}\)

The Greek ideal *arete*, it will be recalled, was the balanced harmony of the three elements of a man's soul - appetitive, spirited and philosophic - and the three virtues to which the soul was to aspire were truth, courage and self-control.

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10. *ibid*. pp xii, xiv.
Platonic arete became Christian manliness when the moral virtues of personal goodness and selfless service were added. Morality was a vital ingredient in Coleridge's 'whole man':

'Are not reason, discrimination, law, and deliberate choice, the distinguishing character of humanity? ... Can any thing manly, I say, proceed from those, who for law and light would substitute shapeless feelings, sentiments, impulses, which as far as they differ from the vital workings in the brute animals owe the difference to their former connexion with the proper virtues of humanity.'

It is impossible to see the full relevance of Coleridge's teaching without an examination of his relationship with William Wordsworth. They complemented one another: Wordsworth was no philosopher, but his poetry could give philosophy a medium more easily assimilable; Coleridge was, with the exception of the notable year of The Ancient Mariner and Kubla Khan, no poet and his prose works are not easy to digest. Coleridge was greatly helped by the solvent powers of Wordsworth's poetry. Before their meeting in 1796 Coleridge and Wordsworth had each grown to love the country and to hanker after the simplicities of a rustic life. Wordsworth brought to Coleridge the Rousseau belief that man was by nature good, and that civilisation produced the corrupting influence. Modern man could only be saved by Emile-like

14. ibid. p 27.

'natural education', in which the child should be brought up in the country, and should learn there from experience. Both Wordsworth and Coleridge were to feel that there was a bond between Nature and the soul of man, and that moral impressions were to be associated with enduring things, especially lakes and mountains.16 -

'Let Nature be your Teacher ....
One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.'

(The Table Turned - 1798)

Thus the divinization of Nature as a means of rehabilitating a man's spirit was passed into the mainstream of Victorian morality. Soon art and craft-work were added as natural aids to help express the spiritual things that were in themselves inexpressible. It was not necessary actually to live in an area such as the English Lakes, but it should exist as a place to escape to. Its healing power then fitted man with renewed vigour for life's struggle. In the 1820s and 1830s the visitors and reading parties to the Lake District began to increase; in 1822 Wordsworth wrote his own Guide to the Lakes; by the 1840s a cottage in the Lakes became the realisation of a dream for many; today the legacy is seen in the countless hikers and cyclists, and in the founding of

16. Basil Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, 1940, p 256
the National Trust and the Council for the Protection of Rural England. The influence of the Lake District on the ideal of manliness was considerable. Many headmasters, including both Arnold and Thring, had cottages there, and Thring's pupil H.D. Rawnsley did his life's work in the service of the ideal from a Lake District parish. If the Lake District was not easily accessible, then any attractive countryside would do: the Bristol poor might go on picnics to the neighbouring downs, or the Working Men's College students might ramble in Epping Forest.

It is in Tintern Abbey that perhaps the fullest formulary of the Wordsworthian faith can be found -

'Therefore am I still
A lover of the meadows and the woods,
And mountains; and of all that we behold
From this green earth; of all the mighty world
Of eye, and ear, - both what they half create,
And what perceive; well pleased to recognise
In nature and the language of the sense,
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
Of all my moral being.'
III

Our present generation, wrote Basil Willey in 1950, is 'a generation which has so largely lost its sense of direction and of any distinct moral summons, and yet it is anxious to recover both'.

'In our most unpleasant century we are mostly displaced persons, and many feel tempted to take flight into the nineteenth as into a promised land, and settle there like illegal immigrants for the rest of their lives. In that distant mountain country, all that we now lack seems present in abundance: not only peace, prosperity, plenty and freedom, but faith, purpose and buoyancy.'

The late Victorians may have felt a confidence in faith and purpose, and in the creed of progress, but the generations that came to manhood before 1890 were at first less assured. To many the growing industrialism and its attendant worship of materialism and wealth struck deep into the moral code. The philosophies and practices expounded by Jeremy Bentham and the other Utilitarians were the very antithesis of their own concept of an ideal society. They in their turn looked back to the preceding centuries for guidance, guidance as to 'direction' and in 'moral summons'. The period adopted for assimilation was the Middle Ages. In some respects it became a pretence, no more than a game played with tremendous zest:

1. Basil Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p 52.
mock-Gothic castles and follies were constructed, and the stolid Prince Albert was even painted in full armour.  

Here it was mere escapism. The interest in medieval chivalry might at first also seem no more than escapist fantasy, but this inference would be mistaken. Chivalry, 'a body of sentiment and practice of law and custom, which prevailed among the dominant classes of a great part of Europe between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries' (to quote F. Warre Cornish), was used more as a source of inspiration and of support for the present than as the embers of a lost dream of the past. The knightly virtues of service and duty were seen as a synthesis of ennobling Platonic literature and the Christian ethos, and its effect was to be felt right up until Kipling's time. Imperialism, and the 'White Man's Burden' of colonialism, was perhaps the last English romantic ideal. But before 1850 three romances on chivalry were to help form the ideal of manliness: they were the Waverley novels of Sir Walter Scott, the epic Song of Roland, and the early writings of Alfred Tennyson on the Arthurian legends.

The enthusiasm for Scott was enormous. 'He is my lost childhood', wrote William Cory, 'he is my first great friend'. F.W. Farrar read Ivanhoe so many times that the characters were almost real. Thomas Hughes as a boy was an avid follower

of these tales of adventure and romance. The author of the Waverley novels was born in Edinburgh in 1771, and even at school his head was 'on fire for chivalry'. It was to be a lifetime interest, for as well as the novels on this theme he was also to write 'An Essay on Chivalry' in 1814 and the entry on chivalry for the 1818 Encyclopaedia Britannica. Scott detested the selfishness of the new industrialism, and he sought through his writings to hold to the morality of a day now passing rapidly away. His own code was drawn more from honour than from religious principle, but in sympathy with Coleridge he disliked the intense pre-occupation of a man with his own soul, be it Scottish Calvinism or the imported English Evangelicalism. Though Scott and Wordsworth were to meet often, both at Abbotsford and Grasmere, there was little of a Wordsworthian in Scott, but each had a respect for the different genius of the other. The spiritual world was not really within Scott's sphere, and there was much substance in Carlyle's charge of 'worldliness'. John Buchan saw Scott as Scotland's Plato:

'He saved his land from the narrow rootless gentility and the barren utilitarianism of the illuminates; he gave her confidence by reopening her to the past; and he blended into one living tradition many things which the shallow had despised and the dull had forgotten.

Gently he led her back to nature and the old simplicities.\footnote{9}

The appeal of Scott to his own age was both immediate and universal, and his influence on his contemporaries and successors was great and enduring. He was translated into many languages, and, with the exception of Shakespeare, no English writer was so continuously reprinted in so many lands.\footnote{10} Scott could paint with ease and truth, though not always perhaps with historical accuracy, the life and country of days long past. His characters, Papists or Puritans, Cavaliers or Roundheads, Normans or Saxons, were all drawn with vivid boldness and freshness. The impression left is both instant and lasting.

The two \textit{Waverley} novels that most draw on the age of chivalry are \textit{Ivanhoe} (1819) and \textit{Quentin Durward} (1823). \textit{Ivanhoe} was immediately popular: it is hard now to recapture the atmosphere in which the novel won its resounding success, but the fortunes of the Disinherited Knight were avidly followed by generations of boys in Georgian and Victorian times. Scott chose as his stage the Merrie England of the reign of Richard Coeur-de-Lion and his theme the hostility between Norman and Saxon. To the forests of the English Midlands he added a romantic blend of Robin Hood, Saxon legend and medieval chivalry. The customs of

\footnote{9}{John Buchan, \textit{op. cit.}, pp 372-3.}
\footnote{10}{\textit{ibid.} p 335.}
three centuries may be confused in this costume play, but the glittering pageantry cannot fail to catch the imagination. Excitement is poured on excitement, and one stirring episode falls hard on another: the feast in Cedric's Hall; the tournament at Ashby; the revels of the Black Knight and Friar Tuck; the adventures of Locksley; and so on to the end of the tale. Richard, 'the first in honour as in arms, in renown as in place' is the epitome of manliness: 'English chivalry were second to NONE who ever drew sword in defence of the Holy Land'. One incident from the tournament at Ashby serves to illustrate the ideal in practice:

'In his fourth combat with De Grantmesnil, the Disinherited Knight showed as much courtesy as he had hitherto evinced courage and dexterity. De Grantmesnil's horse, which was young and violent, reared and plunged in the course of the career so as to disturb the rider's aim, and the stranger, declining to take the advantage which this accident afforded him, raised his lance, and passing his antagonist without touching him, wheeled his horse and rode back again to his own end of the lists, offering his antagonist, by a herald, the chance of a second encounter. This De Grantmesnil declined, avowing himself vanquished as much by the courtesy as by the address of his opponent.'

*Quentin Durward* is rated by many a better novel than *Ivanhoe*, and perhaps one of Scott's best works. The setting

in fifteenth century France, when the feudal system and the chivalric code were beginning to break down, made its appeal in that country immediate; in England its acceptance was slower. Quentin is one of the best of Scott's young heroes, because the author is content to make him only young, chivalrous and heroic, and he overweights him with no oppressive moralities. The story rests in the hero's attempts to halt the erosion of the chivalric ideal. As Scott writes in the 1831 introduction to the tale:

'The spirit of chivalry had in it this point of excellence, that, however overstrained and fantastic many of its doctrines may appear to us, they were all founded on generosity and self-denial, of which if the earth were deprived, it would be difficult to conceive the existence of virtue among the human race.'

'But,' he continues, 'like other old fashions, it began to fall out of repute, and the weapons of raillery could be employed against it, without exciting the disgust and horror with which they would have been rejected at an earlier period, as a species of blasphemy. In the fourteenth century a tribe of scoffers had arisen, who pretended to supply what was naturally useful in chivalry by other resources, and drew ridicule on the extravagant and exclusive principles of honour and virtue, which were openly treated as absurd, because, in fact, they were cast in a mould of perfection too

lofty for the practice of infallible beings ... In like manner, the principles of chivalry were cast aside, and their aid supplied by baser stimulants. Instead of the high spirit which pressed every man forward in defence of his country, Louis XI substituted the exertions of the ever-ready mercenary soldier, and persuaded his subjects, among whom the mercantile class began to make a figure, that it was better to leave to mercenaries the risks and labours of war .......14

The message to the nineteenth century was clear.

At the close of the eleventh century an unknown poet composed the work we now call the Song of Roland. Although the legend was well known in medieval times, and its hero regularly cited as a model of chivalry, it was not until the publication in 1837 by Francisque Michel of the earliest and most complete manuscript belonging to the Bodleian Library in Oxford that more modern interest was satisfied. This one great French national epic, much sung at the time of the Crusades, is centred on Roland's death at Roncevalles in 778. The battle portrayed was in fact no more than a skirmish between a detachment of Charlemagne's army and some Basque raiders, but the legend embroiders this into a crusade against twelve Saracen chieftains and their army of 400,000 men. In the story, Roland, 'courteous, knightly, noble and brave', bears the burden of being a legend in his own lifetime. He has the conflict of endeavouring to perform the impossible yet still remaining true to his

14. ibid, pp xxiv-v.
ideals of humility, concern for fellows, and the general
good. It was a conflict with which mid-Victorian headmas-
ters, notably Edward Thring, were much in sympathy. The
presence of Oliver, Roland's companion, who is more con-
cerned with commonsense survival and the importance of
living, makes the contrast more real.

The poem opens with Charlemagne contemplating, after
seven years' war, the complete conquest of the Saracen-held
old Christian kingdoms of Spain. A council of peace how-
ever prevails, and Roland, a nephew of Charlemagne, despite
his misgivings is named ambassador to the Saracen king.
Betrayal is on hand though, for Roland and his small band
are set upon by a vast army of Saracens at Roncevalles in
the Pyrenees. Roland proudly refused to sound his horn
and call re-inforcements: 'That would be mad, insane! For
I would lose renown throughout sweet France.'15 Roland's
small band hold their ground heroically. 'Towards the
pagans, Roland's gaze is proud; humble and fond each
glance back at the French.'16 Before the final overwelm-
ing onslaught Roland consents to Oliver's call to sound
the horn, and the Saracens flee the battlefield. The dying
Roland thus claims victory, a victory that is made real by
the arrival of Charlemagne's army. The moral drawn is that
the defeat now can be the victory later on.

16. ibid. p 35.
One of the enigmas of the Victorian age is the evolution of the poetry of Alfred Tennyson. There are, in effect, two Tennysons, with the *In Memoriam* that reputedly gained him the Poet Laureateship in 1850 serving as the divide. The later civic bard belongs more to the age of imperialism; here we are concerned with the Tennyson of the early lyrics. This is the poet who for William Cory was 'the light and charm of my poor life'. It was this Tennyson whom Charles Kingsley sketched when he visited Eversley, and the one whom John Ruskin greatly admired. The 1842 collection of Tennyson's work is seen by many to be the crown of his genius. In his years at Cambridge from 1828-31, he was drawn into the 'Apostles', and they imbued him (uncomfortably, according to Harold Nicolson) with the modest yet deep conviction that it was his duty and privilege to serve mankind through his poetry. He soon became 'their' poet, for in 1830 he had won the Chancellor's medal for his prize poem *Timbuctoo*. Tennyson's respect for their spiritual leader, Maurice, was life-long, and in 1851 he was to ask him to be the godfather of his first child. Tennyson also possessed that distinctive nineteenth century excellence, the habit of accurate observation of nature and

the power to produce definitive renderings of it. This love of nature, which stemmed from his boyhood in Lincolnshire, developed into a religious respect. Nature was God's handiwork, his symbol language, and to study it was not aesthetic indulgence but a solemn duty. Many of his poems were to reflect this conviction.

The fusion of Tennyson's reverence for nature and the ethos of service was realised in his idylls on Arthurian legends, which were to form a nineteenth century extension of Spenser's *Faerie Queen* and Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*. These legends were to haunt Tennyson's whole career, and indeed he hints that their culmination in the 1872 publication of *Idylls of the King* is his most important work. The writing of the *Idylls* spanned many years, but most had been composed before 1850. *Sir Lancelot and Lady Guinevere* was written in his Cambridge days, and by 1833 a prose sketch that was to form the basis of the *Idylls* had been substantially developed. Arthur, his 'blameless King', was to be the perfect personification of English character. The theme of the *Idylls* matched Scott's *Quentin Durward*, as A.C.Benson writes:

'Arthur's object is to establish law and order,'

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Harold Nicolson, *Tennyson*, p 89.
civilisation in the highest sense, a high standard of unselfish and noble life. The attempt fails: his knights were meant to set a noble example of manliness, devotion and purity; but the court teems with scandal, and finally the evil and seditious elements are triumphant.²⁵

Tennyson's message was as transparent as Scott's. But Tennyson was less despondent, for his In Memoriam (1850) ends with trust in a better world and in a loftier race:

'A soul shall draw out from the vast
And strike his being into bounds,
And, moved thro' life of lower phase,
Result in man, be born and think,
And act and love, a closer link
Betwixt us and the crowning race
Of those that, eye to eye, shall look
On knowledge; under whose command
Is Earth and Earth's, and in their hand
Is Nature like an open book;
No longer half-akin to brute,
For all we thought and loved and did,
And hoped, and suffer'd, is but seed
Of what in them is flower and fruit;
Whereof the man, that with me trod
This planet, was a nobler type
Appearing ere the times were ripe,
That friend of mine who lives in God,
That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.'

²⁵ A.C. Benson, Tennyson, p 197.
IV

Thomas Arnold plays an important role in the evolution of the ideal of manliness, for he was the first headmaster who sought to inculcate the ideal in his charges. As a reviewer in the Quarterly of 1860 noted: 'Dr. Arnold was the first who laid down the doctrine, now generally recognised, that the headship of a school is a cure of souls.' Religion and education had been closely associated for centuries but up until Arnold's time the association had largely been in name only. To Arnold they were inseparable: education without Christianity was like a ship without a rudder. He believed in an absolute identity between the Church and the State, and there was no dichotomy between things spiritual and things secular. Within this fundamental truth, as Arnold saw it, education and religion became equivalent. Education was merely that aspect of moral training concerned with childhood, whereas religion was the application of this way of life to all ages. Arnold's synthesis of all social and religious problems did not agree with the accepted Evangelical and Tractarian standpoints. Arnold was too practical for the Evangelicals, too involved with social conditions. He also believed that the eighteen hundred years of progress since St. Paul meant that the too

literal interpretation of the Bible was untenable: it was the generous reading of the Bible's spirit that was important, not the exact acceptance of all gospel as fact. The Tractarians, on the other hand, Arnold regarded as idolaters who placed the affairs of the Church even above reverence for Christ. To Arnold the Church ought to be rooted firmly on earth, the earth with all its attendant social problems; the Tractarian appeal to the ideal of a divinely inspired Church only divorced it from earthly reality. Arnold, after S.T. Coleridge, and with Julius Hare and F.D. Maurice, thus became a founder of the Latitudinarian or Broad Church Movement which took its place between the extremes of Evangelicalism and Tractarianism. This Broad Church Movement took social problems as its sphere of interest, and it steadily evolved into the Christian Socialist Movement associated with Maurice, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. But first Arnold was concerned with his own social world at Rugby. Here he was the first post-monastic headmaster to make religion an integral part of school life. His earliest aim was to get himself appointed chaplain (up to this time the offices of headmaster and chaplain were distinct) - this was essential for his conception of the role of pastoral responsibility between a headmaster and his boys.

Hugh Sykes Davies and George Watson, op. cit., p 190.

Gradually the Chapel became the centre of school life, and his sermons from the pulpit were used to explain the purpose of life and the role that the school should play. In this respect Arnold was supremely successful: no subsequent public school was without its chapel, and the headmasterly sermon became an essential ingredient of public school life.

Thomas Arnold was born in 1795. He first went to school at Warminster, and his letters home indicate that he possessed normal boyish spirits: he played fives, he swam, and he enjoyed gardening. He then moved on to Winchester, and it is from his experiences there, Norman Wymer believes, that Arnold drew his insight into the contribution each boy could make in the communal life of a school. Certainly the bullying he received his first night as he knelt to pray gave support to his later theories on the wickedness of childhood.

though intellectually and morally precocious, Arnold seems to have had his share of schoolboy interests: he was full of boyish vigour, and keen on swimming and running - he even seems to have got into mischief. This love of a healthy vigorous life persisted when he went up to Oxford. He would often go on 'skirmishes' across country, taking hedges, ditches and streams in his leaping stride. Bathing and

rowing on the Isis and nature expeditions to Bagley Wood were popular summer recreations. At Oxford Arnold was an outstanding scholar: he obtained a first in Literae Humaniores in 1814 at the age of nineteen, and the Chancellor's medal for both English and Latin Essays in 1815 and 1817 respectively. His youth and precocity were largely responsible for the earnestness for which he was later so renowned.

On leaving Oxford, instead of returning to Winchester as expected, he opened a private school with his brother-in-law at Laleham: this was to be his home for the next ten years. It was at Laleham, a delightful and leafy site on the north bank of the Thames, that Arnold developed in embryo the practices he was later to use at Rugby. The core of Arnold's approach rested on a warm and healthy relationship between master and pupils - a relationship unusual for the time. Physical activity and rambles in the countryside helped in this intercourse. Bonamy Price, one of Arnold's Laleham pupils and later one of his first appointments at Rugby, recalled:

'Who that ever had the happiness of being at Laleham, does not remember the lightness and joyousness of heart, with which he would romp and play in the garden, or plunge with a boy's delight into the Thames; or the merry fun with which he would battle with spears with his pupils? Which of them does not recollect how the Tutor entered into his amusements with scarcely

less glee than himself?'

Looking back on Laleham, Arnold wrote to a fellow teacher:

'I should say, have your pupils a good deal with you, and be as familiar with them, as you possibly can. I did this continually more and more before I left Laleham, going to bathe with them, leaping and all other gymnastic exercises within my capacity, and sometimes sailing and rowing with them. They I believe always liked it, and I enjoyed myself like a boy, and found myself constantly better for it.'

A 'gallows' and a 'pole' were constructed in the grounds of Laleham to further the gymnastic exercise. This early inclusion of gymnastics within a school is perhaps unique, and stems from Arnold's German studies. He learned the language so as to be able to study Niebuhr, the great German historian. Francis Lieber, tutor to Niebuhr's children, had been one of the most enthusiastic followers of J.F.C. Jahn, the father of German gymnastics. After serving with Niebuhr's family, Lieber came to England in 1823. Arnold discussed Niebuhr and education with Lieber, and certainly seems to have absorbed some of the gymnastic doctrine. Even as he took up his appointment at Rugby, gymnastic considerations were important:

10. ibid. p 66.
'The Rugby prospect I contemplate with a very strong interest: the work I am not afraid of, if I can get my proper exercise; but I want absolute play, like a boy, and neither riding nor walking will make up for my leaping pole and my gallows, and bathing, when the youths used to go with me, and I felt completely for a time a boy as they were.'

He need not have worried. He gained his 'gallows' at Rugby; he swam, and he had his daily vigorous walk. To Arnold this daily exercise was an important relaxation, and the strengthening of the body helped strengthen the mind.

'It is this entire relaxation, I think, at intervals ... that gives me so keen an appetite for my work at other times, and has enabled me to go through it not only with no fatigue, but with a sense of absolute pleasure.'

Though he maintained his gymnastic apparatus in the move to Rugby, he lost his immediate access to the countryside. In the 1820s and 1830s the influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge began to draw visitors to the Lakes. The area became revered as a course of 'uplift'. Reading parties from the universities came; and to own a cottage in the Lake District became the supreme aim of all Romantics. The influence of the area became immense: as Basil

13. idem.
Willey writes:

'I think that the whole course of English thought and letters in the nineteenth century would have been different if this island had not contained the mountain paradise of Westmorland and Cumberland.'

Arnold fell under the spell of the Lakes in 1824, before his appointment to Rugby. The combination of the proximity of Wordsworth (they met that year for the second time) and the magnificence of the scenery determined that Arnold should own a cottage there. Soon Fox How, not far from Wordsworth's home, was purchased. After 1828 it was Fox How and not Rugby that became the Arnold home; the family would leave for the Lakes on the first day of the school holiday, and then return at the latest possible moment. The rush away from the materialism and industrialism of the Midlands to the hearth of Romanticism grew ever more important: eventually Arnold gained an almost physical craving for beautiful country and a phobic loathing of the Midlands. The five counties of Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire (and 'perhaps Rutland') were totally dismissed - 'We have no hills - no plains - not a single wood, and only one single copse: no heath - no down - no rock - no river - no clear stream - scarcely any flowers, for the Lias is particularly poor in them - nothing but one endless monotony of

inclosed (sic) fields and hedge-row trees.' Even Switzerland could not stand comparison with the Lake District - 'to me Fairfield is a hundred times more beautiful than Righi, and Windermere than the Lake of the Four Cantons.' Boys would be taken to Fox How 'to refresh their health when they get knocked up by the work'. To go to the mountains and dales became a 'great desideration' after the dreariness of the Rugby environment. The whole sixth form went there with Arnold in 1841 when a typhoid epidemic had closed the school.

Arnold was perhaps the first headmaster who saw his school as a microcosm of the ideal Christian society - a nineteenth century version of Plato's Republic. Three lasting influences resulted from Arnold's Rugby - a more relevant classical curriculum, a viable prefectorial system, and the chapel sermon. Arnold redefined the teaching of classics to make it a more interesting and educationally useful study, and through the emphasis on Plato and Thucydides he directed the study towards the attainment of social and individual perfection. He devised a structural society based on the subjugated authority of the sixth form. Within this society Arnold extolled a sense of mission: Bonamy Price imbibed this spirit:

17. ibid. p 708.
18. ibid. p 307.
'Every pupil was made to feel that there was work for him to do - that his happiness as well as his duty lay in doing that work well. Hence an indescribable zest was communicated to a young man's feeling about life; a strange joy came over him on discovering that he had the means of being useful and thus of being happy.'

Arnold had turned the prefectorial system into a missionary organisation. The third lasting influence was the headmasterly sermon from the chapel pulpit. To Charles Vaughan each sermon was 'brief, manly, original, often heart-searching'.

Thomas Hughes recalled his first sermon in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*:

"The oak pulpit standing out by itself above the School seats. The tall gallant form, the kindling eye, the voice, now soft as the low notes of a flute, now clear and stirring as the call of the Light Brigade bugle, of him who stood there Sunday after Sunday, witnessing and pleading for his Lord, the King of righteousness and love and glory, and with whose spirit he was filled, and in whose power he spoke ..... we listened .... to a man who we felt to be with all his heart and soul and strength striving against whatever was mean and unmanly and unrighteous in our little world. It was not the cold clear voice of one giving advice and warning from serene heights, to those who were struggling and sinning below, but the warm living voice of one who was fighting for us and by our sides, and calling on us to help him and ourselves and one another. And so, wearily and little"

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by little, but surely and steadily on the whole, was brought home to the young boy, for the first time, the meaning of his life: that it was no fool's or sluggard's paradise into which he had wandered by chance, but a battlefield ordained from one of old, where there are no spectators, but the youngest must take his side, and the stakes are life and death.'

'Is this a Christian school?' Arnold would ask: 'It is not necessary that this should be a school of three hundred, or one hundred, or fifty boys; but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen'.

The school was 'God's temple', 'to which the sons of Christian parents, and no other, are sent to receive a Christian education'. All boys had a role to play, even the youngest boy had influence over others:

'every one of you has a duty to perform towards the school, and that over and above the sin of his own particular faults, he incurs a sin, I think even greater, by encouraging faults or discouraging good in others, and farther still, that he incurs a sin, less I grant in the last case, but still considerable, by being altogether indifferent to the conduct of others, by doing nothing to discourage evil, nothing to encourage good.'

Arnold had an almost obsessive preoccupation with the denunciation of evil, and many of his sermons were

22. Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays. 1857/1914. p 126-7
23. A.P.Stanley, op. cit. p 90.
deployed in this attack. He listed six moral vices: sensual wickedness, lying, bullying, disobedience, idleness, and 'a spirit combination in evil and of companionship'. Lying as a moral offence was particularly oppressive for young boys, but the general feeling grew up that it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie for he would always believe it.\(^{25}\) The sixth vice, 'a bond of wickedness', was the subject of a whole sermon: it was the vice 'by which a boy would regard himself as more bound to his companions in ties of wickedness than to God or his neighbours in any ties of good'.\(^{26}\) This shot deep into the code of schoolboy loyalty.

The virtues which Arnold thus extolled were adult rather than adolescent. Childhood comprised the elements of manhood but in chaotic disarray: the faults of youth were the retention too long of ignorance, selfishness and thoughtlessness, when manhood implied wisdom, unselfishness and thoughtfulness. Childhood was an inferior, but necessary prefatory state to manhood: 'manliness' was thus the exact opposite of childishness, and the quicker it could be attained, the better was Arnold pleased.\(^{27}\) He would often quote I Corinthians XIII, verse 11: 'When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child, but when I

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became a man, I put away childish things'. It is curious that a man who enjoyed the society of boys as much as Arnold undoubtedly did should yet have held such a low opinion of their intrinsic moral capacity: his theories on the inherent wickedness of boys are almost Calvinistic in interpretation, and are the very opposite of Coleridge's. Arnold even saw childishness as a growing vice, fostered by the new novels on Pickwick and Nickleby. Yet at the same time the virtues he wished to inculcate in young boys were so adult - self-denial and charity were professed as the highest of Christian graces. Manliness was thus the adult state reached when all moral weakness had been conquered. But manliness was not merely intellectual: it was possible for a clever boy to be childish, and a not so clever boy to be exceedingly manly. Intellect had to be linked with moral excellence:

'Mere intellectual acuteness ... divested as it is, in too many cases, of all that is comprehensive and great and good, is to me more revolting than the most helpless imbecility, seeming to be almost like the spirit of Mephistopheles.'

Arnold's aim was to produce 'a thorough English gentleman - Christian, manly, and enlightened', but the demands he made were so great that he was almost doomed to failure and

30. A.P.Stanley, op. cit. p 103.
disappointment:

'I will tell you what seems to be wanting (he once preached in chapel) - a spirit of manly, and much more of Christian thoughtfulness. There is a quickness and cleverness; much pleasure, perhaps in distinction, but little in improvement; there is no desire of knowledge for its own sake, whether human or divine. There is, therefore, but little power of combining and digesting what is read; and, consequently, what is read passes away, and takes no root in the mind. The same character shows itself in matters of conduct; it will adopt, without scruple, the most foolish, common-place notions of boys, about what is right and wrong; it will not, and cannot, from lightness of its mind, concern itself seriously about what is evil in the conduct of others, because it takes no regular care of its own, with reference to pleasing God; it will not do anything low or wicked, but it will sometimes laugh at those who do; and it will by no means take pains to encourage, nay, it will sometimes thwart and oppose any thing that breathes a higher spirit, and asserts a more manly and Christian standard of duty.'

It is perhaps hard to say that Arnold failed as a headmaster, but in many vital ways he did. Had it not been for A.P. Stanley, Arnold's influence, both at Rugby within his reign, and nationally after his death, would have been less. Frances Woodward, in her study *The Doctor's Disciples* maintains that much of the boys' reverence for Arnold was largely due to Stanley, and certainly his *Life and Letters*

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of Thomas Arnold built Arnold's posthumous reputation. Soon myth became mingled with fact. When Tom Brown's Schooldays was published in 1857 the school portrayed was an 'absolute revelation' to Stanley, opening up 'a world of which, though so near to me, I was utterly ignorant', and the arguments on how rough Arnold found Rugby and how pure he left it have raged ever since. Michael Sadler, in the preface to Arnold Whitridge's Dr. Arnold of Rugby (1928), gives examples to illustrate that life at Rugby in Arnold's day, and after, was still barbaric, whilst in Norman Wymer's Dr. Arnold of Rugby (1953) such practices have clearly been stamped out.

Arnold's failure stems from his lack of understanding of boys. Few at Rugby had any real communication with the headmaster, and his own boys in School House could report that Arnold did not even remember their names. The inner circle of the sixth form he knew well, and with these scholars he was relaxed and he mingled as a friend; but, even though he enjoyed playing with his children, he was awkward in his dealings with the younger boys of the school. He was too involved with his repressive and adult ideal of manliness to be relaxed with the part-moulded

33. Frances Woodward. op. cit. p 25.
product; only when the ideal was firmly set in the sixth former would the man shine through the headmasterly façade. 36 This attitude brought three sad results. First, only boys who reached the sixth form had any real communication with Arnold. Second, boys who did not come up to standard were summarily expelled - 'the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects'. 37 And third, the strain placed on the loyal praepostors in the sixth form sapped their individuality. Arnold recognised this problem: 'by their whole training they (the praepostors) fit the character for manly duties at an age when under another system such duties would be impracticable', 38 but when a praepostor failed in his duty, as Thomas Hughes' brother George did, he was immediately expelled - an examplar had fallen. 39 The difficulties remained when these disciples left Rugby, and to Stanley a world without Arnold became a world without a sun. 40 This is a legacy of failure, and it is due in part to the lack of any organisational system: Rugby was a world centred solely on Arnold and only Arnold could keep Rugby on the right tack. Other headmasters would attempt to use his methods in other schools, but their ends were their own, and not

36. Edward Lyttelton, Memoires and Hopes, 1925/29 p 163
    Lytton Strachey, Eminent Victorians, 1918/22, p 184.
    Arnold Whitridge, op. cit., p 96.
his. The result was 'Arnoldianism' - a philosophy claiming Thomas Arnold as its spiritual leader, but following principles only marginally drawn from his practice.

Despite these shortcomings, Arnold is important in the evolution of the ideal of manliness. He brought the ideal into the schools; he was the first who sought to foster the ideal in (at least some of) his pupils; he was the first to appreciate the power and the influence of the headmasterly sermon; and it is the practical sense of mission that he inspired in others that enabled much of what followed to actually occur.
The ideal Christian society that Thomas Arnold strove towards at Rugby gained wider meaning through the efforts of the Christian Socialists in the years between 1848 and 1852. This social creed was the practical synthesis of a half-century of philosophical exaltation: Coleridge supplied the base with his blend of religion and politics; Carlyle directed the attention towards the improvement of the spiritual and moral dignity of the poor; Julius Hare, from Coleridge, revived the interest in Platonism; Wordsworth, with Coleridge, associated moral impressions and God's will with the enduring beauty of nature; and Arnold had sketched a blue-print of this nineteenth century Republic at Rugby. The man who instilled this Christian Socialist philosophy in his contemporaries in such a real and positive way was Frederick Denison Maurice.

Maurice, the son of a Unitarian minister, was born near Lowestoft in 1805. He received his elementary education at home, on strict and narrow lines, before entering Trinity College, Cambridge. Here he read Civil Law, but as he could not then accept the Thirty-nine Articles he did not take his degree. Julius Hare was Maurice's tutor, and it was from him that Maurice imbibed his love of Plato: 'I have never taken up any dialogue of Plato without getting more from it than from any book not in the Bible.'¹ Hare was also a member

¹ Frederick Maurice, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p 37.
of Coleridge's Highgate circle, and he would seem to have imbued the Romantic spirit in his pupil: certainly Maurice was greatly struck by the beauty of the Lake District and he would later often holiday there.\(^2\) In his second year at Cambridge Maurice with John Sterling founded the Apostles, 'a gallant band of Platonic-Wordsworthian-Coleridgian anti-Utilitarians'.\(^3\) The Cambridge of the period was more progressive and liberal than its sister foundation, and from a standpoint between infidel philosophic radicalism on one hand and the Oxford Movement on the other, the Apostles would discuss the leading questions of the day. Tennyson was also a member of the group, and Coleridge was soon brought in by Sterling and Maurice. Arthur Hallam's view on Maurice and the Apostles was later recorded in Tennyson's biography: 'the effect which he has produced on the minds of many at Cambridge by the single creation of the Society of 'Apostles' (for which the spirit though not the form was created by him) is far greater than I can dare to calculate, and will be felt, both directly and indirectly, in the age that is upon us.'\(^4\) As he had not taken his degree, Maurice was unable to accept the proffered Fellowship at Trinity and so instead he entered the Bar in London. Only a few years were necessary however to show him his real vocation, for in 1830 he entered Exeter College, Oxford, to read for Holy Orders. Four years later,

\(^2\) ibid. vol. 2, p 66.


\(^4\) Basil Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies. p 62.
at the age of 29, Maurice was ordained, and shortly he was appointed Chaplain to Guy's Hospital in London. Maurice now became closely associated with the newly founded London University: in 1841 he was appointed Professor of English Literature and Modern History at King's College, and in 1846 he transferred to the Chair in Theology. A distrust of examinations and a dislike of prizes were two of his practical educational observations, but he did have scope to advance his interest in chivalry with lectures at King's on 'The Knight'. His interest in the education of women gained fruition in 1848 with the creation of Queen's College, and he was subsequently appointed its first Principal.

In 1846 Maurice relinquished his Chaplaincy at Guy's Hospital and took on a similar role at Lincoln's Inn. This new post had no parochial responsibilities, thus giving Maurice more time for his educational work; but the freedom also gave time for the evolution of Christian Socialism. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Evangelicalism had been the dominant philosophy within the Church of England; 1833 saw its supreme triumph in the abolition of slavery. Evangelical theology was however so 'other-worldly' and 'ultra-saintly' that it had little relevance to the lower classes. It was also actively anti-revolutionary in its support for the monarchy as of

5. Frederick Maurice, op. cit., vol. 1, pp 275, 300; vol. 2, p 591
Edward Strachey, introduction to Thomas Malory, Morte d'Arthur 1868, p xxi.
divine decree and in its insistence on total submission to law. The Evangelicals were only interested in saving souls; their missionary zeal at home and abroad was entirely directed towards individual conversions and they turned a blind eye to the environment of their converts and to the causes that produced it. The poor were encouraged to accept their state with resignation and humility. William Wilberforce was typical of this attitude: the fight for the abolition of negro slavery was fought in a country where the children of its own poor were dreadfully exploited in the factories and down the mines. Wilberforce consistently opposed every measure to improve the conditions of the workers by legislation, and was reckoned by Cobbett to be the worst enemy of the people. It was the Evangelicals who were to become the fiercest opponents of Christian Socialism.

If the Evangelicals were individualistic in their concern for conversion and Puritanical strictness, the Tractarians were no less so in their involvement with personal discipline and sacramental ritual. The Tractarian wing of the Church of England evolved from the old-world cloistered virtues of the Oxford Movement in the 1830s. As true conservatives, the Tractarians were opposed to progress and liberalism, and sought to direct attention away from the social needs of the present to questions on the religious archaeology of the past. Their aim was to

make Christianity deeper and spiritually larger, and each Christian a model of exclusive personal piety. But as Charles Raven noted:

'When the cry of the oppressed was ringing in men's ears and when Christians might have listened to the prophets of social righteousness or to the victims of social evil, fifty years were wasted in law suits over 'regeneration' and ritual, vestments and incense, and the precise meaning of sixteenth century rubrics.'

The Tractarians, like the Evangelicals, were openly hostile to Christian Socialism.

Leslie Stephen, no supporter of Maurice, once described him as 'the greatest Anglican theologian of the century'.

Maurice had a dream of a universal Church, which matched the highest aspects of Plato's Republic, and this striving for the salvation of the whole race, and not just personal salvation, became the gospel of the Christian Socialists:

'I was sent into the world that I might persuade men to recognise Christ as the centre of their fellowship with each other, that so they might be united in their families, their countries, and as man, not in schools and factions.'

7. ibid. pp 19-23.
10. ibid. vol. 1, p 240.
To Maurice, man was not composed of two entities, 'one called religious, the other secular'; he was an integrated whole. The Church therefore had a role to play in the social and educational advancement of humanity: 'the business of the Church was to assert this ground of universal fellowship ... a fellowship in Christ'. Maurice saw Christian Socialism as a movement, not a party, that would serve as a link between the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists. 'Our greatest desire is to Christianise Socialism' - the aim was not to 'Christian-Socialise the universe'.

It was Daniel Macmillan, the Cambridge publisher, who in 1842 first drew Maurice's attention to the social conditions of the poor. Macmillan wished Maurice to prepare some religious writings for the use of the artisan classes, but at this time Maurice declined. Later Macmillan was to introduce many Cambridge undergraduates to the Christian Socialist Movement. Meanwhile, from his base at Lincoln's Inn Maurice had taken charge of a small poor district in the parish, and had set a number of young men, chiefly from the Inns of Court, to work in it. These men, soon to include Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, had been attracted by the reports of Maurice's weekly preaching.

The initial impetus for the social work seems to have come from one of the students at Lincoln's Inn, J.M. Ludlow. Ludlow had received part of his education in Paris, and from his experiences there with the 'Société des amis des pauvres' he brought the socialist experience into the Movement.14 Gradually other young men were drawn in by Maurice's magnetism: A.P. Stanley, J. Llewellyn Davies (the co-translator of Plato's Republic (1852)), John Ruskin, Leslie Stephen, and William Cory. Most came from Cambridge, and especially from Trinity College. All agreed that if Christianity was to be a universal religion it needed a human heart.

1848 saw the true founding of Christian Socialism. It was the year of revolution in Europe: in Ireland there was famine, and civil strife was only checked by armed force; in February there was revolution in Paris and other continental cities, and the epidemic spread to Britain; in March there were riots in London, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Liverpool, troops were brought into London and a million special constables were enrolled throughout the land. The London disturbances culminated in a Chartist rally on 10 April 1848, but in the face of the military the demonstration collapsed. After the abortive rally Kingsley and

Charles E. Raven, op. cit. pp 55-6
Thomas Hughes, prefatory memoir in Charles Kingsley, Alton Locke. 1876/95. p ix.
Maurice met, and that evening Christian Socialism was born. 15 Together they drew up a broadsheet to the 'working-men of England' - 'the first manifesto of the Church of England, her first public act of atonement for a half-century of apostacy, of class prejudice and political sycophancy'. 16

The first practical act of Christian Socialism was the formation of a night school in Little Ormond Yard in September that year. This was not just a re-birth of the earlier Utilitarian Mechanics' Institutes, but an attempt to present a liberal education to the poor. Bible classes under Maurice's tuition, and day-trips to Epping Forest soon became vital ingredients. 17 The ideal of a 'brotherhood of workers' was then extended with the formation of Working Associations - Charles Kingsley vividly portrays a tailoring co-operative in his novel on Christian Socialism, Alton Locke. But this aspect of Christian Socialism was not a success, and by 1854 only the Working Men's College remained as the concrete outgrowth of the movement.

Perhaps Christian Socialism was doomed to failure, for in their strictest sense Christianity and Socialism are

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15. Thomas Hughes, op. cit., pp x-xi.
17. ibid., p 128.
irreconcilable: the very name Christian Socialism is a contradiction in terms. Later Socialists saw the practice as admirable but the theory as false: and how could lawyers and clergymen be in sympathy with the grass-roots of Socialism? Contributory factors in its demise were certainly the distraction of the Church from social problems by the threats of Roman aggression and by the Tractarians, the personal attacks on Maurice by the Evangelicals, and the direction of the nation's energies and attention to the Crimean War. But the time was not yet ripe. The moral demands made by the Christian Socialists were too great; the workers were not fit for association; they had not been educated to the Platonic Christian ideal of service. The concentration of resources on the Working Men's College thus became the investment of Christian Socialism for the future. Collectively this may be the movement's one lasting monument, but individually much was done. Ludlow and Friendly Societies; Kingsley and sanitary reform; Maurice and education; Octavia Hill and housing for the poor: these all owed their inspiration to the failed Christian Socialism.

VI

'Accuse me not
Of arrogance, ..............
If, having walked with Nature,
And offered, far as frailty would allow,
My heart a daily sacrifice to Truth,
I now affirm of Nature and of Truth
Whom I have served, that their Divinity
Revolts, offended at the ways of men,
Philosophers, who, though the human soul
Be of a thousand faculties composed,
And twice ten thousand interests, do yet prize
This soul, and the transcendent universe,
No more than as a mirror that reflects
To proud Self-love her own intelligence.'

These lines from Wordsworth's Excursion John Ruskin placed on the title page of each volume of his Modern
Painters. The first volume was published in 1843 when
the author was only 24, and it, and its subsequent
volumes, were immediately regarded as one of the greatest
expositions of truth of the age. The lines from Wordsworth
were well chosen, for here in the middle years of the
century Ruskin reaffirmed belief in the qualities that
Coleridge and Wordsworth had expounded fifty years earlier.
Ruskin was a true Platonist; his later Fors Clavigera is
a commentary on the Republic and the Laws, and he had
experienced the full force of the Romantic revival. In
his support for the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and its
aim 'to encourage and enforce an entire adherence to the
simplicity of nature', and in his services to the Working Men's College, Ruskin was true to his predecessors. It is from his years with the Working Men's College (he used to run drawing classes and he would organise day trips for landscape work) that Ruskin derived his interest in social reform, an interest first reflected in *Unto This Last*.

Though many of Ruskin's direct educational ideas were fanciful - he would have every public schoolboy learn to plough - his indirect influence carried great force. His overall aim was to make 'the beautiful in all things that God has made' more universal in the service of education. To this end he wanted beautiful classrooms, with much decoration, relics of antiquity and engravings of historic sites: like Plato he believed in the educational powers of assimilation of the environment. He also wanted every boy to learn a manual craft and to take nature study so that the communion with Nature would be the greater.

Schools were to be situated in the country both to facilitate these studies and to provide a healthy environment. Natural physical activities - riding, swimming, running and the like - were important: 'The body must be made as

1. E.T.Cook, op. cit. vol. 1, p 284.
5. *ibid.* paras. 105, 128.
beautiful and perfect in its youth as it can be, wholly
irrespective of the ulterior purpose.'

Another indirect influence on education came from
Herbert Spencer, though from the diametrically opposite
standpoint. Whereas the idealist Ruskin wanted education
in the laws of health and physical activities to produce
a beautiful and perfect body, the realist Spencer sought
by the same means to prepare for 'the survival of the
fittest' - a phrase, first coined by Spencer, which
echoed the current, Darwinian theories on evolution. To
Spencer the physical development of children was in the
national interest, and it was a necessary preliminary to
educating their minds. He thought it strange that 'while
the raising of first-rate bullocks is an occupation on
which educated men willingly bestow much time and thought,
the bringing up of fine human beings is an occupation
tacitly voted unworthy of their attention'. Spencer,
however, was no enthusiast of physical activity; he
merely advocated a cold and scientific approach to the
production of a better race. Manliness had no place in
his theory of morality.

   1964/70. p 133.
   1861/78. pp 131-2.

see David Duncan, *The Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer*.1908
The man who in the years from 1848 to 1859 did most to bring the ideal of manliness to the attention of his countrymen was undoubtedly Charles Kingsley. Through his provoking pamphlets, in his fiery sermons and popular lectures, and by means of his best-selling novels, Kingsley was able to spread the gospel of the Romantics and the principles of Thomas Arnold and F.D. Maurice, and then to bring them to bear on the religious, social and educational problems of his time. Kingsley's influence was to be far-reaching, for he was the greatest all-rounder of his era: as a churchman he became Chaplain to the Queen and a Canon of Westminster; as a propagandist he was the thorn that provoked Newman's Apologia; as a scientist he was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society, and he corresponded with Darwin and Lyell concerning the theory of evolution; as a historian he held the post of Regius Professor at Cambridge for nine years; as an educationalist he tutored the Prince of Wales; and as an author he gave Macmillan's their first best-seller in *Westward Ho!*. Kingsley was a living exemplar of the Platonic concept of the whole man. But most of the accomplishments listed above came to fruition after 1859, the year when 'Parson Lot' of the Christian
Socialist movement stepped back, and Canon Kingsley, Chaplain to the Queen, stepped forward. The essential Kingsley - the Kingsley of the ideal of manliness - was the one of whom W.R. Grey wrote: 'the dust of combat is to him the breath of life.' It was this Kingsley who could swear: 'The age of chivalry is never past, so long as there is a wrong left undressed on earth, or a man or a woman left to say 'I will redress that wrong, or spend my life in the attempt'.

As is fitting for a man so closely associated with the Victorian era, Kingsley was born in the same year as his Queen, 1819. The coincidence is made even more appropriate, as Margaret Thorp in her biography of Kingsley points out, when one recalls that as Victoria was seen to portray the best in womanliness, so Kingsley typified the mid-Victorian ideal of manliness. That his birthplace was at Holne, between Dartmoor and the river Dart, was particularly satisfying to Kingsley for despite innumerable moves around England he always regarded himself as a Devon man. His mother's passion for the country was so great that she walked about it constantly.

2. ibid., p 171.
3. ibid., p 297.
during her pregnancy so that it might be communicated to the unborn Charles. After a few years in East Anglia the Kingsley family returned to Clovelly where their son grew up amidst the legends of Drake and Grenville and the tales of the Spanish Main. Eton and Rugby were considered as possibilities after his years at a Clifton preparatory school, but in the end it was to Helston Grammar School in Cornwall that Kingsley went to receive his schooling. It was a happy choice, though Kingsley did regret missing his chance of coming under Arnold's direct influence, for at Helston he came under the wing of two sympathetic teachers. Derwent Coleridge, the second son of S.T. Coleridge, was the headmaster and the school presumably owed much to the Romantic influence. From C.A. Johns, the other master of this small school, Kingsley derived his love of natural history: many boyhood hours were spent roaming the moors and shore about the Lizard peninsular. On his father's move to a London parish, the adolescent Kingsley attended the newly founded King's College, and used it as a cramming establishment for entry to Cambridge. (Ruskin and Farrar also proceeded to University in this way.) During three pleasant and boisterous years at Magdalene— with much time spent in rowing,

6. Johns later published Flowers of the Field.
fishing and riding - Kingsley met his future wife and also took Holy Orders.

Kingsley was the true Romantic. He became interested in Plato during his Cambridge years, and for a prize chose a finely bound edition of his works. In 1852 he wrote, 'I confess myself a Platonist; and my aim is to draw men, by showing them that the absolute "God the Father", whom no man hath seen, is beyond all possible intellectual notions of ours.' From boyhood he knew much of Coleridge by heart, and in manhood he was 'delighted' with Aids to Reflection. Wordsworth, and a love of nature, were ever-present influences: 'I have been reading Wordsworth's "Excursion"," he wrote in 1844, 'with many tears and prayers too. To me he is not only poet, but preacher and prophet of God's new and divine philosophy - a man raised up as a light in a dark time, and rewarded by an honoured age, for the simple faith in man and God with which he delivered his message.' From childhood reading Malory's Morte d'Arthur and Spenser's Faerie Queen - 'perhaps the most beautiful poem that has ever been penned by mortal man' - brought the Platonic-Christian ideal of chivalry. Roland too was a Kingsley

8. ibid. vol. 1, p 260.
10. ibid. vol. 1, p 89.
11. Charles Kingsley, Health and Education. 1874. p 207.
hero, and in 1851 whilst on a visit to Germany he stopped at Roland's castle at Rolandseck. At Cambridge Kingsley found Tennyson's works 'the most beautiful poetry of the last fifteen years' and the later In Memoriam he felt to be 'the noblest Christian poem which England had produced in two centuries'. Ruskin's Modern Painters completed the spectrum - 'it was a noble, manful, godly' book, a blessed dawn too'.

'Nature was to him ... the voice of God' was how A.P. Stanley summed up Kingsley's reverence for nature. But with Kingsley the love was not solely reserved for mountains and lakes: all nature was beautiful - 'Beauty is God's handwriting - a wayside sacrament; welcome in every fair face, every fair sky, every fair flower, and thank for it Him, the fountain of all loveliness.' He had a huge fondness for animals - his Scotch terrier Dandy was a parish character for 13 years, and the garden of his rectory was a haven for wild pets including toads, sand wasps, slow-worms, and numerous birds. His children would accompany him on his walks about the parish, and on the journey they would examine the wayside. 'Study nature - not scientifically, that would take eternity ...

15. Mrs Charles Kingsley, op. cit. vol. 1, p 172.
16. ibid. vol. 1, p 317.
17. ibid. vol. 1, p 129.
Try to extract every line of beauty, every association, every moral reflection, every inexpressible feeling from it.\textsuperscript{18} Nature was an educator, and to study nature was to commune with God: such study was an integral part of the training in manliness -

'Let no one think that this same Natural History is a pursuit fitted only for effeminate or pedantic men. I should say, rather, that the qualities required for a perfect naturalist are as many and as lofty as were required, by old chivalrous writers, for the perfect knight-errant of the Middle Ages: for (to sketch an ideal, of which, I am happy to say our race now affords many a fair realization) our perfect naturalist should be strong in body; able to haul a dredge, climb a rock, turn a boulder, walk all day, uncertain where he shall eat or rest; ready to face sun and rain, wind and frost, and to eat and drink thankfully anything, however coarse or meagre; he should know how to swim for his life, to pull an oar, sail a boat, and ride the first horse that comes to hand; and, finally, he should be a thoroughly good shot, and a skilful fisherman; and, if he go far abroad, be able on occasion to fight for his life.\textsuperscript{19}

The study of nature brought out moral qualities too. The naturalist would need to be gentle and courteous, sympathetic to the poor, brave and enterprising, patient and

\textsuperscript{18} ibid. vol. 1, p 63.

\textsuperscript{19} Charles Kingsley, \textit{Glaucus: or the Wonders of the Shore}, 1855/78. p 43.
undaunted, reverent and truthful, selfless and devoted, and desirous of increasing man's knowledge. In short he would aspire to the ideal of chivalry.\footnote{ibid. p 44.}

It was in 1842 as a young curate at Eversley in Hampshire (the parish from which he did his life's work) that Kingsley became acquainted with the philosophy of F.D. Maurice: Fanny, soon to be Mrs. Kingsley, sent him a copy of the recently published \textit{Kingdom of Christ} (a work that Maurice dedicated to Derwent Coleridge, Kingsley's former headmaster) and Kingsley later saw this as a turning point of his life.\footnote{Susan Chitty, \textit{op. cit.} p 70.} The \textit{Kingdom of Christ} gave Kingsley the fundamental philosophy for his own beliefs. Two years later Kingsley and Maurice met in London, and as 'Prophet' and 'Master' respectively they became the hub of the Christian Socialist movement. Kingsley and Maurice were very close - a fact recognised by J.M. Ludlow\footnote{Susan Chitty, \textit{op. cit.} p 101. Una Pope-Hennesey, \textit{Canon Charles Kingsley.} 1948. p 74.}: their beliefs coincided exactly but their personalities differed. Whereas Maurice was the philosophic, retiring listener, Kingsley was the exuberant, active talker: what Maurice preached, Kingsley did. It was as a doer, not as a thinker, that he brought
Christianity into the lives of the ordinary people. In Kingsley the clerical function was never divorced from his everyday life - he was a layman in the guise of a clergyman. There was no clerical dignity and he was alert to the human needs and problems of his flock. And, above all, he made Christianity alive and happy, and put an end to the belief that to be religious you had to be ascetic or gloomy or censorious. 23

Kingsley's main contribution to the ideal of manliness was certainly as a propagandist, but his interest in science brought with it a new dimension. His model society was based not only on Greek philosophy and Christian principles but also on modern science, for science could enable the body to serve God more fully. 24 To Kingsley 'healthy bodies are the only trustworthy organs for healthy minds', 25 and he believed that the ascetic neglect of health was no more than sheer laziness and untidiness:

'There has always seemed to me something impious in the neglect of personal health, strength, and beauty, which the religious, and sometimes clergymen of this day, affect. It is very often a mere form of laziness ... I could not do half the little good I do here, if it were not for that strength and activity

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25. ibid. p 17.
which some consider coarse and degrading.... How merciful God has been in turning all the strength and hardihood I gained in snipe shooting and hunting, and rowing, and jack-fishing in those magnificent fens to this work.26

Kingsley had always been active: besides the shooting, hunting, rowing and fishing he was an avid tree-climber (like many another mid-Victorian) and an enthusiastic walker (once walking the 52 miles from Cambridge to London in a day). 'You', he wrote as a young man to Fanny in 1841, 'cannot understand the excitement of animal exercise from the mere act of cutting wood or playing cricket to the manias of hunting or shooting or fishing.'27 Kingsley was a firm believer in 'mens sana in corpore sano' - 'Unless I get frantic exercise of body, my mind won't work.'28 Exercise strengthened his health so that he might give greater service - and Kingsley's health was never sound. He must have found the 'muscular Christian' jibe particularly unkind. In 1859 he wrote to Thomas Hughes: 'This is my fortieth birthday. What a long life I have lived! and silly fellows that review me say that I can never have known ill-health or sorrow. I have known enough to make me

27. ibid. vol. 1, p 33.
28. ibid. vol. 1, p 336.
feel very old ...'29 In the case of the poor, mere exercise was not enough: their food was putrid, the environment was filthy, and their health was neglected. Kingsley thus became a leader of the hygienic movement, an influence which was to have a large effect on the social conditions and education of the working classes for the remainder of the century.

Kingsley's ideal of manliness owed much to the age of chivalry, an era that he saw as a synthesis of the ennobling Greek literature, Plato in particular, and the Christian faith. It was 'a very fair ideal of manhood: that of "the gentle, very perfect knight", loyal to his King and to his God, bound to defend the weak, succour the opprest, and put down the wrong doer.'30 To be manly implied being active, whereas womanliness was essentially passive31 - Kingsley had a knightly regard for the ennobling influence of womanhood. Manliness was however anti-effeminate. Effeminacy by his definition was far-ranging, including self-indulgence, lack of public spirit, pietism, and anything smacking of individualism, be it Puritanism and Evangelicalism on the one hand, or Tractarianism and Roman Catholicism on

29. _ibid._ vol. 2, p 90.
30. _ibid._ vol. 2, p 213.
the other. Manliness was the antidote to anything mawkish, affected or selfish. Only a man could be manly, but a woman could be womanly (and Kingsley often put the two terms together): thus manliness implied male virtues. These were the Platonic virtues of truth, self-control and courage. True courage was not brute or animal courage, but a courage linked to duty. Heroism was courage 'beyond the limits of duty', and never 'out of the path of strict duty'. Self-sacrifice was the perfection of heroism. St. Peter and David were the heroes that Kingsley would use to illustrate the ideal, and Platonic Ὀμόσ, which Kingsley translated as 'rage' or 'pluck', was the particularly masculine element that distinguished manly behaviour from the effeminate.

Health and strength were to be encouraged for then the commitments to service could be more fully realised.

It was in about 1857 that the term 'muscular Christianity' became attached to Kingsley's concept of manliness - and it probably owed its invention to T.C. Sandars, one of those 'silly fellows' that reviewed him.

32. e.g. Mrs Charles Kingsley, *op. cit.* vol. 1, pp 46, 48.
At first he found the phrase 'painful' and 'offensive', but the label stuck. 'I have to preach the divineness of the whole manhood', he wrote to Maurice, 'and am content to be called a Muscular Christian, or any other impertinent name, by men who little dream of the weakness of character, sickness of body, and misery of mind, by which I have brought what little I know of the human heart.' Later he was to regard it as 'a clever expression, spoken in jest', and he would even throw it into his own sermons for effect. If it were to mean a 'healthful and manful Christianity' that did not exalt feminine virtues to the exclusion of masculine ones, then he might even accept it. That this same expression acquired a different slant under zealous and eloquent men owed little to Kingsley, and he was by no means the prop and stay of Muscular Christianity.

In common with the other Christian Socialists, Kingsley saw education as the key to the future. His own direct involvement was slight - at Eversley he set the village school in better order, and founded a night school; he took private pupils in the late 1840s, and some years later he became tutor to the Prince of Wales - but his influence was undoubtedly felt further afield. Kingsley believed that his own views 'coincided warmly' with Thomas

38. ibid. vol. 2, p 478.
39. ibid. vol. 2, p 212.
Arnold's: 'Oh! why did that noblest of men die?' It was Arnold who had made education truly Christian:

'Till the better method of education which the great Arnold inaugurated shall have expelled the last remnants of that brutal mediaeval one, unknown to free Greece and Rome, but invented by monks cut off from all the softening influences of family, who looked on self-respect as a sin and on human nature as a foul and savage brute and therefore, accustomed to self-torture and self-contempt, thought it no sin to degrade and scourge other people's innocent children.'

Kingsley went further than Arnold and permitted no corporal punishment in his house, feeling that much lying resulted from fear of such punishment. Later he amended his view slightly, and then believed that at schools such punishment might be given for cruelty or bullying. It is perhaps ironic that the advocate of flogging in *Westward Ho!*, regarded so much as a gospel of Muscular Christianity, did not carry his own theory into practice! Kingsley's educational aims matched those of many later headmasters:

'In my eyes the question is not what to teach, but how to educate; how to train not scholars, but men; bold,

40. *ibid.* vol. 1, p 63.
Margaret Thorp, *op. cit.* p 101.
41. *ibid.* p 103.
42. Mrs Charles Kingsley, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p 33.
43. Margaret Thorp, *op. cit.* p 103.
energetic, methodic; liberal-minded; magnanimous.  

On the founding of nearby Wellington College in 1859, Kingsley developed a keen friendship with Edward Benson (he was to send his son Maurice to Wellington), and his interest in schools extended to Thring's Uppingham. Kingsley became a keen advocate of natural history and physical education in these schools as he saw that they were essential to the ideal of manliness. At Wellington Kingsley lectured to the boys in natural history, and helped in the founding of a museum. Bird's-nesting was extolled as a 'manly pursuit', though only one egg was to be removed so that the mother could not desert the remainder. One cannot imagine the hearty muscular Christian of the succeeding decades regarding such a pursuit as manly! Kingsley also instituted a steeplechase at Wellington - a fine mixture of his natural history and sporting aims. In the movement that brought education to the children of the poorer classes, Kingsley was an enthusiast for physical education as well as for hygiene - and girls were not to be neglected. Such activities brought physical and moral health, and

45. Mrs Charles Kingsley, *op. cit.* vol. 1. p 98.
educated the whole man. Games brought out virtues that no book could give:

'daring and endurance, but, better still, temper, self-restraint, fairness, honour, unenvious appro-
bation of another's success, and all that "give and take" of life which stands a man in such good stead when he goes forth in the world, and without which, indeed, his success is always maimed and partial.'48

As David Newsome notes in Godliness and Good Learning:

'If Kingsley had been a headmaster, he would have taught his boys to jump five-barred gates, to climb trees, to run like hares over difficult country; and there would have been nature rambles, a school museum stocked with specimens collected by the boys, science lessons and occasional lectures on hygiene and drains.'49

Kingsley never had the opportunity, but other men did, and in essence this is what they put into practice in their schools.

Though Kingsley had no direct educational influence as a headmaster, his influence as a novelist, poet, and popular scientist was both broad and pervading. It is in his novels in particular that Kingsley's ideal of manliness is best conveyed. Though these works now read somewhat long-windedly (but he does encourage you to skip

48. ibid., p 86.
49. David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p 211.
passages that you dislike), one is constantly struck by the keen eye for nature and the Victorian gift for word-painting. In these novels of feeling rather than of thought, the natural man blends easily with the Christian - though contemporary reviewers often felt his writing to be 'coarse and manly'. Most of Kingsley's heroes are indeed manly men, but never are they mere animals, and never are feminine qualities overlooked. The men are manly, the women are womanly. It is perhaps in *Westward Ho!* that Kingsley most fully portrayed his own ideal of manliness. The novel was written in 1854 during the Crimean War, and it has been seen as a propagandist recruiting novel.

This may be so, yet more concretely the novel portrays the virtues of Protestant manliness against the vices of Roman effeminacy. When Kingsley wrote to Thomas Hughes that it 'is a sanguinary book, but perhaps containing doctrine profitable for these times', the reference is just as likely to be to the 'Papal Aggression' of the early 1850s as to the Crimean War. It was a Protestant nationalism that Kingsley preached.

The novel is a tale of the Spanish Main set in Elizabethan times - 'those noble days, when the chivalry

51. *ibid.*, p 117.
52. Susan Chitty, *op. cit.*, p 172.
52. Mrs Charles Kingsley, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p 331.
of the Middle Ages was wedded to the free thought and enterprise of the new. The Spaniards are of course effeminate - 'they pray to a woman, the idolatrous rascals!' and no wonder they fight like women, whilst the Devonians from Bideford are manly. The hero, Amyas Leigh, is a nineteenth century Charmides. Aged only fifteen yet he looks twenty, 'broad limbs, keen blue eyes, curling golden locks, and round honest face.' He is of the best Devon blood and is brave, courteous, and truly noble. Though not highly educated, he knows the names of every bird, fish and fly, and can read the meaning of every drift of cloud.

'It is a question, however, on the whole, whether, though grossly ignorant (according to our modern notions) in science and religion he was altogether untrained in manhood, virtue, and godliness; and whether the barbaric narrowness of his information was not somewhat counterbalanced, both in him and the rest of his generation, by the depth, and breadth, and healthiness of his Education.'

But manliness needed more than this:

"I should like to be a brave adventurer, like Mr Osenham," (Amyas asks Sir Richard Grenville) "God grant you become a braver man than he! for

53. Charles Kingsley, Westward Ho! p 293.
54. ibid. p 4.
55. ibid. pp 6-7.
56. ibid. pp 8-9.
as I think, to be bold against the enemy is common to the brutes; but the prerogative of a man is to be bold against himself."

"How, Sir?"

"To conquer our own fancies, Amyas, and our own lusts, and our ambition, in the sacred name of duty; this is to be brave, and truly strong; for he who cannot rule himself, how can he rule his crew or his fortunes?....."57

It is this ideal that embodies all that many a public school headmaster wished to promote in his school.

57. ibid. p 15.
Westward Ho! was by no means the only novel that sought to inculcate the ideal of manliness in its readers, for the late 1850s saw the birth of the public school novel. Chronologically Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* of 1857 comes first, but a quick comparison with the novels of F.W. Farrar show that these in effect represent an earlier ideal. Farrar in quick succession wrote three public school novels in the years between 1858 and 1862 - *Eric, or Little by Little* (1858), *Julian Home* (1859), and *St. Winifred's or The World of School* (1862). All three sold widely throughout the remainder of the century: by 1903 *Eric* was in its 36th edition, with *Julian Home* and *St. Winifred's* in their 18th and 26th editions respectively. The books were however probably bought for boys rather than by boys, for each appears priggish and stuffy when compared with the vigour and life of *Westward Ho!* and *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. In later and more cynical times Farrar's stories were greatly ridiculed, and the term "Ericin'" might then be applied to any pious behaviour by schoolboys. 1 *Eric*, and its two brother novels were probably presented by parents and god-parents to boys as they were about to go for the first time to their public school, for each would serve as a warning of what might happen to a careless and unsuspecting adolescent. The parents and god-parents, and

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one presumes many a schoolmaster, would have been in sympathy with Farrar's preface to the 24th edition of *Eric*:

>'The story of 'Eric' was written with but one single object - the vivid inculcation of inward purity and moral purpose, by the history of a boy who, in spite of the inherent nobleness of his disposition, falls into all folly and wickedness, until he has learnt to seek help from above.'

Farrar's own background bears many similarities to Charles Kingsley's. After schooling at King William's College on the Isle of Man, he attended King's College in London. There he became a keen pupil and devotee of F.D. Maurice - and Maurice was later to become the godfather of his second son. In 1856 he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, the home of many Christian Socialists, and there joined the 'Apostles'. On leaving Cambridge, and having taken Holy Orders, Farrar became a schoolmaster, first at Marlborough, and then from 1855 to 1870 at Harrow. He then returned to Marlborough but now as headmaster. As a schoolmaster Farrar was an excellent scholar and teacher of the scholarly, but he was reluctant to think well of a less able boy. Everything and everyone, a Harrow old boy recalled, was either all black or all white in his eyes.

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and a boy was 'altogether an angel or something far lower'.

Lessons in manliness were to be learnt in the classroom, and so under Ruskin's influence decorations were to include antique casts and Fra Angelico works. A Natural History Society was also founded by Farrar, and he sought to teach all that was 'beautiful in literature, art, and nature'.

Farrar was himself able in these fields, for in addition to his success in literature he was an expert on Pre-Raphaelite paintings and, on the nomination of Charles Darwin, a Fellow of the Royal Society. No games player himself, Farrar did not appreciate mere physical energy, but swimming he did encourage. He determined that every boy in his class should swim, and when they all succeeded he would reward them with a morning off school. Life-saving, with its implication of manly service, he greatly encouraged.

Farrar as a preacher was very like the author - 'all flowers and figures' as an old boy recalled - and it is probable that his sermons were more appreciated at Westminster Abbey in his capacity as Dean and Chaplain to the Queen, than they were as delivered from the pulpits at Harrow and Marlborough.

7. ibid. p 88.
The three school novels - *Eric*, *Julian Home* and *St. Winifred's* - have much in common. The first two were largely autobiographical, referring to Farrar's own days at King William's and Trinity College respectively. All contain mountain-rescue and sea-rescue episodes in which selfless devotion and courage are displayed, and each allows the death of a 'gentle, holy, pure spirit' to serve as an inspiration to the hero. The three heroes, Eric, Julian and Walter, separately wend the same path. Each is reared in beautiful countryside with 'nature as his wise and tender teacher', and each possesses a 'manly bearing' and an 'honest look'. Lessons in manliness are learned in the quiet bearing of unjust punishment, and in the penitent struggle if it had been just. Self-denial, the refusal to tell lies and use cribs, and the chivalrous defence of the weakling against the bully, are also exalted. Each hero succeeds in fending off the mock manliness of low stories, smoking and drinking, and of being 'taken up' by older boys through misapplied hero-worship.

The school in *Eric* is thirty years out of date, and belongs to the pre-Arnoldian era. There is negligible pastoral care from the masters, no monitorial system, and organised games have yet to find acceptance. Manliness is not absorbed from the environment for it comes from Eric's
own inner struggle - the school is nothing, the individual is everything. A plea is made though for the introduction of monitorial systems in schools:

'What a Palladium it is of happiness and morality, how it prevents bullying, upholds manliness, is the bulwark of discipline, and makes boys more earnest and thoughtful, often at the most critical period of their lives, by enlisting all their sympathies and interests on the side of the honourable and the just.'

The tone of the story is best illustrated by an example -

"Russell, let me always call you Edwin, and call me Eric."
"Very gladly, Eric. Your coming here has made me so happy."
And the two boys squeezed each other's hands, and looked into each other's faces, and silently promised that they would be loving friends for ever."

- it is just possible that boys might behave in this way, but to later public schoolboys it was certainly improbable.

In a famous passage Eric's manliness is on trial:

'Now, Eric, now or never! Life and death, ruin and salvation, corruption and purity, are perhaps in the balance together, and the scale of your destiny may hang on a single word of yours. Speak out, boy! Tell those fellows that unseemly words wound your conscience; tell them that they are ruinous, sinful, damnable- speak out and save yourself and the rest.

W.R.Hicks, The School in English and German Fiction. 1933. p 31.
10. F.W.Farrar, op. cit. p 47.
Virtue is strong and beautiful, Eric, and vice is downcast in her awful presence. Lose your purity of heart, Eric, and you have lost a jewel which the whole world, if it were "one entire and perfect chrysolite", cannot replace.' 11

Farrar returns to the attack at the end of the chapter in case the message has been overlooked by the reader:

'Oh, young boys, if your eyes ever read these pages, pause and beware. The knowledge of evil is ruin, and the continuance in it is moral death. That little matter - that beginning of evil - it will be like the snow-flake detached by the breath of air from the mountain-top, which, as it rushes down, gains size and strength and impetus, till it has swollen to the mighty and irresistible avalanche that overwheels garden and field and village in a chaos of undistinguishable death.' 12

Julian Home opens with the hero about to leave a school based on Farrar's contemporary Harrow. The hero is a fair cricketer, but he cannot bear the three weary months of talking cricket 'shop' which, with few boys interested in intellectual pursuits, proves the staple conversation. 13 But the story quickly moves on to Cambridge, and includes a portrait of a don reminiscent

11. ibid. p 88.
12. ibid. p 94.
of Leslie Stephen: a type who

'prefers to admire nothing, hope for nothing; who think a warm heart a folly, and sentiment a crime; who would not display an interest in anything more important than a boat-race or a game of bowls, to save their lives...'  

At university Julian steadily gains in manliness, and by his graduation he

'had grown in calmness, in strength, in wisdom; he had learnt many practical lessons of life; he had gained new friends, without losing the old. He had learnt to honour all men, and to be fearless for the truth. His mind had become a well-managed instrument, which he could apply to all purposes of discovery, research, and thought; he was wiser, better, braver, nearer the light. In a word, he had learnt the great purpose of life - sympathy and love to further man's interest, faith and prayer to live for God's glory.'

'To the sacred memory of one in Heaven, these pages which faintly strive to inculcate the courage, the virtue, and the tenderness of which that life was so shining an example, are dedicated with affection too strong for words, with regret too deep for tears!' So reads Farrar's dedication in St. Winifred's, a tale that sought to guide the reader through his school life. The ideal of manliness is even more explicit than it is in Eric: indeed 'manly' may well be the most frequent adjective in the book.

14. ibid. p 42.
15. ibid. p 299.
St. Winifred's is a contemporary school, and probably modelled on Harrow. The masters are intimately acquainted with the boys, and the tone and character of the school is high. There is a monitorial system in the Arnold manner, and games are an important feature of school life. Unlike Roslyn School in *Eric*, St. Winifred's positively aids the education of the individual and promotes the ideal of manliness. Even here though, in a 'bad time' there could be a 'bad house', and the reader is shown that even the youngest boy can turn the tide:

'Even the character of the Noelites was beginning to improve; in that bad house a single little new boy had successfully braved an organised antagonism to all that was good, and by his victories, virtuous courage had brought over the others to the side of right, triumphing, by the mere force of good principle, over a banded multitude of boys far older, abler, and stronger than himself.'

Individual example was still important: 'There were many boys at St. Winifred's gentle-hearted, right-minded, of kindly and manly impulses; but all of them except Walter, lost their golden opportunity of conferring pure happiness by disinterested good deeds.' Gradually, however,

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Walter's influence takes effect:

'Powell and Kendrick were both thinking that this new friend of theirs, though he had been so short a time at St. Winifred's, was teaching them some valuable lessons. Neither of them had previously recognised the truth which Walter seemed to feel so strongly, that they were to some extent directly responsible for the opportunities which they lost of helping and strengthening the boys around them.'

Despite the sales of his novels, Farrar probably felt, as the 1860s slipped by, that he was clinging to virtues of a day passing rapidly away. Certainly St. Winifred's contains a cri de coeur:

'If, in popular papers or magazines, boys are to read that, in a boy, lying is natural and venial; that courtesy to, and love for, a master, is impossible and hypocritical; that swearing and corrupt communication are peccadilloes which none but the preacher and pedagogues regard as discreditable, how can we expect success to the labours of those who toil all their lives, amid neglect and ingratitude, to elevate the boys of England to a higher and holier view?'

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18. ibid., p 129.
19. ibid., p 98.
No period was more blessed with headmasters than the decade after 1850. It was an era of great men - Charles Kingsley, F.D. Maurice, John Ruskin, and Matthew Arnold were the 'prophets' of the new age, with Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin and Alfred Tennyson not far behind\(^1\) - and able men became great headmasters. It is probable that no other period of history saw so many intellectually gifted, morally earnest and spiritually convinced men choose schoolmastering for their careers. As David Newsome writes:

'The nineteenth-century headmaster is now almost a legend: a symbol of an educational system which has virtually passed away. The trappings may remain, but the spirit is changed. For he was a Titan in an age of Titans: undisputed monarch of his kingdom, spiritual leader of his flock, mentor and chastiser of his charges, feared and respected by Governors, parents, masters and boys alike. We shall not see his like again.'\(^2\)

The real Titans of this group numbered three - Edward Benson, Frederck Temple and Edward Thring. Benson was the headmaster of Wellington College from its founding in 1859 until 1873, and was later Bishop of Truro and Archbishop

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of Canterbury; Temple was headmaster at Rugby from 1858 to 1869 and, later, Bishop of Exeter and Archbishop of Canterbury; Thring was headmaster at Uppingham from 1853 until his death in 1887. Severally and individually these men sought to foster the ideal of manliness in their schools.

Benson was a headmaster of the Arnoldian mould, and given the chance of building a new school he sought to found it on the lines of Arnold's Rugby. Arnold's influence reached Benson second-hand through his own headmaster, Prince Lee of King Edward's, Birmingham. Lee had been one of Arnold's first appointments at Rugby, and he was to be his first assistant master to leave to become a headmaster. Benson had a deep attachment to Lee, and from him felt the full flow of the Romantic movement - especially Wordsworth and Scott. In 1848 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and there gained a first in the Classical Tripos. During his Cambridge years Benson was much impressed by Harvey Goodwin, who was doing Christian Socialist work in a poor parish in the city. The Romantic influence remained strong, and in 1881 he went on a reading party to the Lake District, and there visited Arnold's house and sites associated with Wordsworth. Benson had determined to be

3. David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p 25.
5. ibid., vol. 1, p 103.
a schoolmaster ever since he had read Stanley's life of Arnold, and in 1852 he was delighted to accept Goulburn's offer of mastership to the sixth form at Rugby. In 1857 Temple succeeded Goulburn as headmaster, and from this date a strong friendship built on both respect and mutual admiration developed between the two future archbishops.

Benson's chance of a headmastership came in 1858 with the founding of Wellington College as a national memorial to the Iron Duke - and on Temple's advice he took the post. Prince Albert was chairman of the Governors and the driving force behind the venture. He sought to create a Germanic military academy in which the barbarism of fagging and flogging of the old public schools would have no place. The Prince Consort sought to impose many ideas culled from German practice; numbers were to be limited to 250; boys would sleep in cubicles to increase privacy; a uniform would be worn; and the curriculum was to be broadened to include modern languages, music, science, art, and gymnastics. 'Wellington was to be the model of the new system, not the copy of the old.' On Prince Albert's death in 1861 however, Benson steered the school away from the ideals of its founder and closer to those of Thomas Arnold. Wellington now came to the

7. ibid, vol. 1, p 115.
forefront as a public school and sought to lose its image as a military academy for orphans.

Of all headmasters it is perhaps Benson who is nearest as a disciple of Arnold. He was an idealist and perfectionist, with a belief in simplicity, enthusiasm, and honest hard work; but through a lack of understanding of boys, and above all, a lack of sympathy, Benson was a figure held in great terror.\(^9\) The school was maintained in an iron discipline by 'an indiscriminate use of the cane'.\(^{10}\) Benson could not be popular: to many boys he was a headmaster for grand occasions - he would preach in Chapel and could exercise thundering judgement.\(^{11}\) Benson's Broad Churchmanship, his respect for 'manliness and chivalry', and his friendship with his near neighbour Charles Kingsley, indicate that he believed in the ideal of manliness, but he was unable to foster it to any large extent in his school.\(^{12}\) There were, though, to be no overtures to the cult of games. Prefects were always

\(^9\) ibid. pp 163, 272.
\(^{10}\) ibid. p 158.
\(^{11}\) ibid.
\(^{12}\) ibid. pp 80, 126.

picked from the intellectual elite\textsuperscript{13}; a master would be rebuked for closing the library during a 'very important match'\textsuperscript{14}; Benson could write light-heartedly about school-matches, and not feel any obligation to go and watch them.\textsuperscript{15} If Benson had been able to relax more – as for instance when Temple visited Wellington and led headmaster and boys in a game jumping over piles of heather\textsuperscript{16} – he might have been more able to communicate the ideal of manliness to his charges. But physical activity meant little to Benson:

\begin{quote}
He never had been much of an athlete, though he was a fair football player; at cricket, according to his own account, he was always a most indifferent performer .... in his last summer half at school he actually managed to bowl someone out, and was standing complacently receiving the plaudits of his friends when he fell unconscious on the ground, having been struck on the top of his head by the ball which had been thrown high into the air in triumph! \textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

Frederick Temple had all Benson's virtues and none of his vices. A wise man with the gift of foresight would, in 1860, have sent his son to Temple's Rugby – assuming that he had not heard of Thring's Uppingham.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} David Newsome, \textit{A History of Wellington College}. p 161.
\item \textsuperscript{14} A.C. Benson, \textit{The Life of Edward White Benson}. vol. 1, p 155.
\item \textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, vol. 1, pp 197, 307.
\item \textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid.}, vol. 1, pp 162-3.
\item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}, vol. 1, p 74.
\end{itemize}
For Temple, like Thring, had the ability to communicate with his pupils: he was the true schoolmaster. Temple was born in the same year as Thring, 1821, in the Ionian Islands where his father was serving as an Army Officer. On return to England Temple attended Blundell's School in Tiverton, and there won the Balliol Scholarship at the age of 16. At Balliol he continued his brilliant scholarship and gained Firsts in classics and mathematics, and on graduation he took Holy Orders and was elected a Fellow of his College. Temple's academic ability was matched by his physical vigour: as a boy he had been used to hard manual labour on the farm (unlike Benson who had an urban childhood) and he would delight in the pleasures of the countryside; at Oxford he was fond of country walks, and he would join in college sports with enthusiasm. A love of the works of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Tennyson followed naturally. After a few years as principal of a teachers' training college at Kneller Hall, Temple was appointed headmaster of Rugby in November 1857. Three of Temple's testimonials came from influential Rugbeians (A.P. Stanley, Arthur Clough, and Matthew Arnold) and these presumably carried

19. *ibid.*, vol. 1, p 84.
weight with the Trustees. Certainly Matthew Arnold, then Professor of Poetry at Oxford, knew his man well:

'In the most important qualities of a schoolmaster, in the union of piety, energy, and cheerfulness, in the faculty of governing the young, in the power of commanding at once the respect and the affection of those under his charge, Mr. Temple, more than any other man whom I have ever known, resembles, to the best of my observation and judgment, my late father.'

The Temple era saw all that was best come to Rugby. A huge rebuilding programme was undertaken; the curriculum was overhauled and was to include compulsory science for all below the Upper School; art and music gained encouragement; Christianity became purposeful and relevant - for Temple believed that too much religious zeal was unhealthy in the young - and boys would even come to Chapel off the playing field still in their games kit. The Chapel became the mainspring of his influence, but there were no moral exhortations: example was the operative method. Temple's liberalism and Broad Churchmanship as expressed in Essays and Reviews may have upset parents and trustees, but the boys knew their man: 'Temple's all right,' one of them wrote to a worried parent, 'but if he turns Mahometan, the whole School will turn too.'

21. Ibid. vol. 1, p 151.
Much of Temple's success came from the fact that, unlike Benson, he was a boy at heart. Physical activity was important to him: once as an undergraduate he had walked the 48 miles from Oxford to Rugby to meet Thomas Arnold, and he was quite prepared to walk back that evening. Rumour had it that he told his first new boys that he could run a hundred yards, climb a tree, or jump a brook with the best of them: at first this was accounted bragging, but that impression was dispelled when it was heard that he had climbed all the elms in the Close to ensure that they were safe for boys to climb. Yet this was not the only incidence of tree-climbing. On a visit to Wellington Benson showed Temple a magnificent beech tree of which he was particularly fond:

"Temple admired it very much, and, after looking at it for some time close at hand and at a distance, cried out to Benson "I can't resist the temptation - look out!" and before Benson could turn round, Temple had made a rush and a leap, and was scrambling up the bole of the tree. In a few seconds Temple had succeeded in reaching the first stage whence the magnificent limbs diverge in all directions, and was grinning with delight at his success."  

25. E.G.Sanford, op. cit. vol. 1, p 159.  
Physical activity not only enabled Temple to mix with the boys, but it also formed a valuable educational tool in that it was a 'potent factor in his hands for the moulding of human character'.

Games allowed the praepostor (who was always a member of the sixth form) to relax from the strain of responsibility and be a boy again. And it was not work or games, but both. In his evidence to the Public Schools Commission Temple commented that boys were not excused games through academic pressures:

'It is certainly the general custom for boys most distinguished for their progress in intellectual studies to take interest in all the games. No difference between different intellectual studies in this respect is observable.'

But the athletic ethos was not encouraged:

'A boy athlete, not high up in the school, was reported to Temple for neglected work; he was sent for by the chief to his study, the time fixed apparently accidently being just as an interesting match was about to begin. The boy went, but he found Dr. Temple immersed in correspondence; he stood watching the Headmaster's

27. E.G. Sandford, *op. cit.* vol. 1, p 207.
29. *ibid.* vol. 1, p 214.
30. *ibid.* vol. 1, p 213.
pen and gazing furtively at the match out of
the window. A silent hour passed, and "no side"
was called in the Close. "Now you may go", said
the Headmaster without looking up. There was no
need to enforce the moral further.'

It was however at Uppingham in the years between
1853 and 1870 that the ideal of manliness was put most
strongly into practice.

31. ibid. vol. 1, p 212.
Chapter Two

THE IDEAL IN PRACTICE

I

"Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life."

Tennyson wrote these words in 1852 of the Duke of Wellington; he might have written the same words of Edward Thring, who began his headmastership at Uppingham School in 1853 and died in harness in 1887. As with all great men, Thring's life was his work. When he came to Uppingham he found an obscure country grammar school of some 25 boys; by his death the number had been steady at the 300 mark for more than 20 years, and both the name of Thring and that of the school had gained national renown. Tennyson's words are particularly apposite for Thring, for the word 'Life' was his watchword, his maxim, his motto. To Thring, life, and in particular 'true life', was a principle of action, of thought, and of speech. The word appears in countless addresses, in over half his sermons, and it regularly punctuates the text of his books. If the boys wanted to mimic Thring, then they would most certainly choose a phrase that contained the word 'life'. But then, to Thring, education was a training for 'true life'.

education was

'nothing less than bringing everything that men have learnt from God, or from experience, to bear first upon the moral and spiritual being by means of a well-governed society and healthy discipline, so that it should love and hate aright, and through this, secondly, making the body and intellect perfect, as instruments necessary for carrying on the work of earthly progress; training the character, the intellect, the body, each through the means adapted to each. This is the object of education...'²

This then was the ethos of Uppingham, and 'true life' meant doing the work for Christ. Thus to examine Thring's educational thought, one has to study what he sought to achieve at Uppingham, and then to relate the product to the ideal. In this examination we shall find that Tennyson's second line is just as applicable to Thring as the first, for Thring was a great coiner of maxims. One of his favourites was 'Honour the work, and the work will honour you',³ and an examination will indeed show that his work honours Thring.

Thring began his long headmastership on 10 September 1853 with the now legendary innovation of a whole holiday and a cricket match with his few pupils, a match in which


Thring later recalled he got '15 by some good swinging hits.'\textsuperscript{4} No doubt the innings did delight his pupils, but the first years were not to be so idyllic as that first September day. Thring was determined to work the foundation to a greater efficiency and to begin at once his educational experiment. However the experiment nearly failed completely on a number of occasions: the boys did not readily take to his new ideas of honour and schoolboy loyalty; the newly appointed masters did not always readily comply with Thring's dictates; and, almost to a man, the Governors and the Trustees took no interest in the advancement of the School. Gradually though, success came. By mid-summer 1857 the School was bigger than it had ever been before, and was doubling in size every two years. Trusted staff, including R.J. Hodgkinson and John Baverstock, were now at Thring's side, and by Christmas he had won over Walter Earle as a fellow-worker - Earle had been usher, or under-master, on Thring's arrival.\textsuperscript{5} Thring was now firmly in command, and his 'great educational experiment' was in full swing. It was to be a unique experiment, and one that was to have lasting

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5. Diary, 20 December 1858 - passim, see Cormac Rigby, The Life and Influence of Edward Thring. (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford) 1968 - especially chapter 5 for these early years. Hereafter this volume will be identified as Rigby.
influence on education in England and further afield.

'No school has ever impressed me like Uppingham', Thring was told by a visiting headmistress in 1887. 'Other schools may be bodies corporate, but Uppingham has a soul.'

As Cormac Rigby has argued, there is no evidence to suggest that Thring had a blueprint for a school crackling in his pocket on the day that he took up his headmastership, for in fact Thring only gave serious thought to his career when he became engaged to be married in the summer of 1852, and before he obtained the Uppingham vacancy, he had already applied for two other posts. Bryan Matthews believes though, that when Thring did turn his thoughts to headmastering, Uppingham was the sort of school he would be looking for. It was small, run-down, and ready for an enterprising headmaster. It was also isolated, always a good quality for an experimental site, but accessible. Railways were approaching Uppingham from a number of directions, and these would be vital if the school was to grow beyond its local needs and resources.

So Thring might have chosen 'an Uppingham', but he did not have a blueprint. Thring's later years at Uppingham show him to be a pragmatist: if a new idea suggested

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8. personal communication from Bryan Matthews.
itself, and was seen to contribute to the overall philosophy, then it was adopted and absorbed into the system. It is in this way that Thring's educational philosophy can be traced, and here we must turn our attention to the 31 years of Thring's life before he came to Uppingham. It was in these years that Thring absorbed the ideal of manliness; it was after 1853 that he put the ideal into practice.

Edward Thring was born at Alford in Somerset on 29 November 1821. His father, John Gale Thring, was rector and squire of the parish; his mother, Sarah, was the daughter of the vicar of a neighbouring parish. Edward was the fifth of seven surviving children of the marriage. His father, who had been educated at Winchester and St. John's College, Cambridge, was a sound scholar and all his sons were to receive their preliminary classical training from him. The rector also acted as a county magistrate and managed the considerable Alford estate. Sarah Thring, an intelligent and gentle woman, had scholarly connections in her own family, but for Edward her strongest influence came through a sincere sense of Christian duty, tender as well as strong. The Thring brothers shared a robust and boisterous boyhood on the Alford estate, in the pools of the River Brue at the bottom of the garden, and in the surrounding countryside.
As a boy, Edward was remembered as always out of doors, and his own memories recalled the freedom and the luxury of life there. It amused Thring greatly when, much later in his life, he returned to Alford and was still remembered by the game-keeper as 'Young Squire'.

'Let Nature be your Teacher' wrote Wordsworth in 1798, and Nature was indeed one of Thring's first teachers and she remained one throughout his life. In his years at Uppingham he 'really enjoyed' his outdoor life, and his diary was to note the appearance of each year's first crocus, hyacinth, swallow, and so on. Whether rambling in the countryside with his collie at his heels, or visiting his 'rural friends' in the aviary at Uppingham, or holidaying in the Lake District, Thring always held a spiritual regard for Nature. 'But what consoles me is the sight of life everywhere: the rush of life in the tree and the grass. That is a wonderful comfort, that thought.' Thring regarded nature not as an aesthetic experience, but as a mystical one: 'Beauty is the expression of the mind of God seen through a

10. Diary, 23 February 1887 and passim.
material medium'. 12 It was through the flowers and trees, the animals and birds, the sky and the clouds that God speaks to man - 'Sky and earth combine to compose the message'. 13 Whilst at Grasmere in 1874, Thring preached in the local church on the theme that 'He made the earth speak a new language to all men'. This is the true creed of the Romantics, and here expressed at the heart of Romanticism. Back at Uppingham, Thring preached a similar sermon to the school. 14

Poetry to Thring was an extension of nature - 'True Poetry, an unveiling of Truth, not all ornamenting' 15 - and his Cambridge jotting books contain much poetry, especially Wordsworth, Coleridge and Tennyson. 16 Wordsworth was Thring's greatest love, and all his works were much loved - the poet was a great source of spiritual uplift to the schoolmaster. Thring would often talk on Wordsworth to the boys, and to encourage their reading he would lend them some of his own volumes. One day he complained that he had innumerable incomplete sets of Wordsworth's volumes,

16. Little jotting book. UAF 82.
for the borrowed copies were not always returned. 17

Wordsworth may have taught Thring to look at terrestrial nature, but Ruskin encouraged him to look to the skies. It was the 1843 publication of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* that first brought about sky awareness with its chapter 'Of the Open Sky' in the first volume. Here Ruskin asserted that much of Nature's moral message had been missed by previous generations. Thring did not miss it (for he had read Ruskin at Cambridge), 18 and later he wrote that he owed 'to Mr. Ruskin's *Modern Painters* more of thought and fruitful power than to any other book, or any other living man.' 19 This is the only Ruskin work that Thring knew well and on the one occasion that Ruskin and Thring met, he was able to thank the author for it. 20 J.M.W. Turner was of course the great exponent in painting of the moral worth of the sky, and it comes as no surprise to find that Thring was a keen admirer of Turner's renderings of sunrise and sunset and of the different types of cloud formation. 21 Thring often visited art galleries: he admired Italian art, was impressed by Dürer, disliked Vandyck, but no art contained the great moral and spiritual

18. Index Rerum. In UA.
20. *ibid.*, p 245. The other was extracts from *Fors Clavigera*.
force of Turner's. Ruskin's thought was to colour much of Thring's educational practice; five months before his death Thring gave his treasured Ruskin volumes to his three daughters.

Just as Turner follows naturally from Ruskin, so in the true spirit of Romanticism Thring had a cottage in the Lake District. It was in 1867 that he first leased Ben Place in Grasmere, and it was to be the family holiday home for nine years. Only when Borth in North Wales presented a stronger attraction did the Lakes lose their hold. Ben Place is at the heart of the Romantic's paradise, for the area is littered with Wordsworthian memories: Fairfield towers behind the cottage, Grasmere is less than a mile away, and Wordsworth's cottage is just at the other end of the small lake. Thring would often invite boys to Ben Place, and together they would stand at Wordsworth's grave, walk the poet's favourite Easedale, or go to Thring's treasured spot at Tongue Ghyll waterfall - later to be destroyed by the building of the Manchester aqueduct.

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Diary, 11 January 1886.

23. Diary, 8 May 1887.

'Ben Place' was the pseudonym Thring took when he wrote Thoughts on Life-Science - surely an indication of how important the cottage was to him. 'Fairfield' came to Uppingham - as the name of the aviary gardens.
Ben Place became Thring's 'Dreamland Home'. It was there that he would be his most relaxed and carefree self; there he wrote most of his books and his poetry; there that he gained physical and spiritual strength for the coming term. 'Yes', Thring wrote to Hardwicke Rawnsley, an old boy who lived and worked in the Lake District,

'rejoice in your sight of beauty, and your hearing of the creature voice of the hills, and your reading of the inaudible word of God in lake and mountain; it is a great privilege, and may perchance be to you both in after life a gleam and a light in dreary wastes of human misery, and places made dreary by man. I find that the having seen and enjoyed gives me strength and not weakness in harder hours and sadder scenes.'

Alford, Thring's birthplace, is situated in legendary countryside, for not five miles away is Cadbury Hill, and after leaving Alford the Brue flows along to Glastonbury. It is a region rich in Arthurian myth and legend, for Cadbury is believed to be the site of King Arthur's castle, the nearby mere of Somerset is where Arthur is reputed to have thrown his sword, Excalibur, and the history of Glastonbury Abbey is finely interwoven with the search for the Holy Grail. Thring knew his Arthurian

25. Eleanor Rawnsley, *Canon Rawnsley*. 1923. p 47. (emphasis added)
tales well, and when his friend Mrs. Ewing visited Alford in 1884, he was disappointed that he could not be there to conduct her to the Cadbury site. 26 History through legend and heroic exploits was the way Thring would first introduce children to learning: 'Give them to read Poetry, the Lives of Good Men, narratives of noble deeds, Historical Stories, and Historical Novels, Books of Travel, and all the fascinating literature of discovery and adventure.' 27

Many years later Thring remembered how all history had been a 'shadowy ghostland' until, when on holiday in France at the age of twenty, he had seen Richard Coeur de Lion's mark at Rouen. 28 At Uppingham Thring endeavoured to enliven the shadowy ghostland through pictures, photographs, museum pieces, and the library - the library in 1867 containing much Tennyson, seven volumes of Wordsworth, all of Scott, and much of Kingsley. 29

Sir Walter Scott was an early favourite of Thring's, and everything from the beauty of the Waverley novels, the charm of the ballads, the music of the lyric poetry to the glory of the romances, all brought pleasure and

26. Letter from Mrs Ewing to Thring, September 1884. In the wooden casket carved by Thring. In UA.
27. Edward Thring, An Address ... Education Society. p 17.
delight. In 1885, when he addressed the Education Society as its President, Thring told of his love of Scott:

'Here let me record my own deep obligations to Sir Walter Scott, the noblest of writers. Many of his novels I have read over and over again. The glorious lesson to honour, and paint with honour, antagonists and their beliefs, can be learnt nowhere so well as in him. Better be one of Sir Walter Scott's dislikes than the hero of many modern novels. With what a large humanity he takes the human element even in the characters which he holds up to ridicule, so that a kindly feeling is excited whilst we laugh, or even despise! How noble is his sympathy with the weak, the oppressed, the hardly-treated! How manly his spirit, like the air of his own mountains, full of gallantry and truth! To come to lower points, how varied his language! His riches of speech how great! He gave me an acquaintance with words, and a freedom in using them, for which I am, and ever shall be, grateful. For unsullied purity of lofty thought; for a large charity, which ennobles the meanest person he touches, and leaves behind some tenderness towards those we condemn most; for generous, frank testimony to good wherever found; how great gratitude is due to him, who has glorified his country and the English-speaking world with his words! Health and honour flow forth from every word he wrote, an heirloom to us all for ever. I rejoice in confessing my great debt to him, and others may get from similar reading the happy gains I got from him.'

Tennyson was another Thring favourite, and his Cambridge jotting books and Education and School, first published in 1864, contain many Tennyson extracts—especially from the Arthurian works Idylls of the King and Guinevere. Thring was himself an enthusiastic poet, and there is a very Arthurian flavour about much of his own work. In 1867 Thring asked Macmillan to publish a long poem, Ulysses, a poem that Alexander Macmillan felt was on Tennysonian lines. The poem was not published, nor does a manuscript copy exist, but Thring describes it as Arthurian in concept: 'it is the pervading idea of my mind and it seized me at Xmas and forced me to write, but now I have finished it and the ghost is laid.'

Ulysses was presumably written at Ben Place, where much of Thring's poetry was composed. A Wanderer and its related poems was certainly composed there, and was later remodelled into The Dreamland. These poems exude Thring's passion for the Lake District and express his belief that God speaks to men through nature: as H.D. Rawnsley wrote in Literary Associations of the English Lakes, 'he never tired of translating the life of man

31. see Edward Thring, Poems and Translations, 1887.
32. Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, 1 May 1867, Add. Ms. 55171 in the British Library. (BL)
33. Edward Thring, A Wanderer, UAF 82.
   see Edward Thring, Poems and Translations.
into the life of Nature, and of making the trees and rocks and streams and waterfalls speak with human knowledge.  

A second recurring theme in Thring's poetry is the 'Song of Roland'. The first mention of Roland comes in a letter to R.L. Nettleship, a favourite and scholarly old boy then at Oxford. Thring wrote that he had been reading the Roland legend, and that he had composed his own poem on the theme. The poems in the A Wanderer collection contain four which absorb the Roland legend, and the theme was to haunt Thring for most of his life. The last verse of Dream of A Life from the early collection embodies the crucial message:

'And so he died and hither came to be
The king of hopes that live again, the king
Of battles lost, just in the early spring
Of a good cause which dies not in the loss,

35. Parkin 1, p 278.
36. The poems of A Wanderer are slightly altered when they appear in Poems and Translations. Some of the titles are changed, for example 'Roland the King' becomes 'The Dream', and all the earlier mention of Roland is omitted.
37. Paul David wanted Thring to write a Roland song - Diary, 1 November 1872 (Parkin 1, p 241) All diary extracts from April 1862 to September 1886 are taken from Parkin; the original diaries have been destroyed. A comparison of the contents of the surviving first and last diaries with the extracts quoted in Parkin indicates that the editor made frequent, but generally slight, alterations.
But won when summer ripens, and bring on
The harvest, and the dreams become the life.\(^{38}\)

Roland's heroic death at Roncevalles, where he claimed victory in defeat as the Saracens dispersed when the trumpet sounded to call Charlemagne's army,\(^{39}\) clearly held great attraction for Thring, and especially for the concept of the 'lost battle won'. This message occurs in many of the poems and in much of Thring's other writings. Thring explained the message in a letter to Nettleship:

'As to the lost battle, it seems to me that all true working life is to the worker of the nature of the lost battle: day by day there is such a pouring out of seemingly wasted blood; and success, as it is called, is such a mockery, that the feeling of the lost battle is always at hand the more one succeeds. Men praise the things one does not fight for, and mock the things one does, and their praise does not please, and their sneers do wound.'\(^{40}\)

The theme of the Song of Roland is clearly the pilgrimage of Thring's own spirit. His life at Uppingham was

\(^{38}\) This last verse from A Wanderer was omitted when published as 'A dream of life' in Poems and Translations.

\(^{39}\) see above; chapter 1, section IV.

\(^{40}\) Parkin 1, p 278.
always a battle - with masters, with trustees, with inspectors, and so on - and when fame came, it was not the fame he sought. To this day Thring is remembered most for his work in the formation of the Headmasters' Conference, and even in his own years Uppingham's fame came first through sporting prowess. Both are distortions of Thring's central purpose. Though often despondent for the present, Thring was always hopeful for the future, and he believed that his ideals would eventually come to fruition beyond the confines of Uppingham. The 'lost battle won' is thus a cry from the heart - 'To bring up the rear of the lost battle in a good cause is the greatest thing in the world. For the lost battle is always the victory of life later on.'

'You will laugh at the idea of my writing children's stories', Thring wrote to Alexander Macmillan in 1863, 'but as the King of France said, "You have children so you will not be surprised at it."' Thring offered this story for publication, but it was not accepted. A second story, or perhaps it is the

42. Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan. 10 December 1863. (BL)
same one, appeared in *Uppingham School Magazine* in 1871. This, *The Enchanted Wood*, is a fairy tale of the continental style - Thring was very keen on Andersen's tales, and it expressed Thring's chivalric ideal of manliness. In the story the hero, Flulup, protects the dog Corker from the stone-throwing of his brother, behaves in a knightly manner to the 'drudge' Lingula, and makes friends with all the creatures in the Enchanted Wood. After surviving various tests of manliness, Flulup, in the true tradition of fairy tales, marries Lingula, now revealed to be a princess.

In 1863 Sarah Thring sent her grand-daughter Margaret a book edited by Mrs. Catty. Thring avidly read it himself, and discovered 'one of those refreshing little story books which from time to time keep my feelings clear and simple and nerve me for life.' The book was probably a volume of *Aunt Judy's Tales*, for Thring was to use a quotation from them in his 1864 *Education and School*. Mrs. Catty was better known as the author of a long series of tales, spanning many

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43. quoting from them in E & S, p 47.
44. 'The Enchanted Wood'. UAF 76.
45. Diary, 1 February 1863 (Parkin 1, p 129).
years, entitled *Parables from Nature*, and copies were bought for the Uppingham library. The Parables were allegorical tales taken from nature, and in which Christian morals were simply and charmingly drawn. A love of nature and a spirit of affection filled the tales, and behind the 'innocent masks' of animals Mrs. Gatty gently pressed her message. The Parables form part of the Romantic inheritance: Tennyson and Kingsley were her heroes, and they in turn admired her work. Thring had been corresponding with Mrs. Gatty's daughter, Mrs. Ewing, who wrote much for *Aunt Judy's Tales*, since before Mrs. Gatty's death in 1873. He felt that *Parables from Nature* was 'the most beautiful book in its way in the English language. The mother and daughter have opened a new world of higher life and thought and feeling for mankind.'

In the 1870s the news that a loyal African prince had been killed in a skirmish with Zulus, whilst some accompanying Englishmen escaped, gave Juliana Horatia Ewing the idea for a story. In the tale Mrs. Ewing, the

47. Christabel Maxwell, *Mrs Gatty and Mrs Ewing*. 1949. pp 126, 15
48. Letter from Mrs Ewing to Thring, 1874. In casket.
49. Parkin 2, p 177.
wife of a serving soldier, wanted to bring home to the civilian population the military concept of selfless honour that was so at odds with the selfish civilian version.\textsuperscript{50} She took as her theme the idea that it was better to die trying to save a stricken comrade than not to risk one's life at all. Thring seems to have heard of the story from its earliest days, being an enthusiastic admirer even before its publication.\textsuperscript{51}

In 1879 the story, \textit{Jackanapes}, appeared in \textit{Aunt Judy's Magazine} with a frontispiece painting commissioned from the famous children's illustrator Randolph Caldecott. Later, in 1883, the story was published as a shilling edition by S.P.C.K., and, with its Union Jack cover, became a best seller. The story, the 'favourite child' of Mrs. Ewing's imagination,\textsuperscript{52} related in simple, moving language how Jackanapes risked his life in battle to save his fallen comrade. As a result of this 'heroic example and noble obligation' he is fatally wounded and dies - with pride felt for his 'gallantry and devotion'. At Jackanapes' funeral the

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\textsuperscript{50} Gillian Avery, \textit{Mrs Ewing}. 1961. p 32.
\textsuperscript{51} Letter from Mrs Ewing to Thring, Christmas 1883. In casket.
\textsuperscript{52} Christabel Maxwell, \textit{op. cit.}, p 215.
\end{flushleft}
the text taken was 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for My sake shall find it'. Grey Goose, the personification of civilian life, stands in the background, puzzled and baffled, and failing to see any point in Jackanapes' brief life.  

Thring wrote enthusiastically to Mrs. Ewing: 'I love Jackanapes, it is perfect.' He told her that he was going to lecture to the school on it, telling the boys that if it was in his power he would make them each buy a copy, and that he had insisted that Hawthorn's, the local bookseller, ordered 50 copies for display in his window. To Thring, 'life touches life' in the tale; it was the most direct appeal of heart to heart, exquisite for its simplicity and for its purity of spirit.

'I, for my part, agree with the old General, who is said to have locked himself in his room every Sunday to read Mrs. Ewing's story, of "Jackanapes" unseen. I could not trust myself to read it in

53. Juliana Horatia Ewing, Jackanapes, 1883. passim
54. Letter from Thring to Mrs Ewing, 20 October 1883. (Parkin 2, pp 179-182)
55. Shane R. Chichester, E.W.Hornung and His Young Guard. 1941. p 18. Hornung is best known for his 'Raffles' stories - e.g. Raffles (1899 &190
public, or her "Story of a Short Life", and her "Six to Sixteen" with the death of the old French noble. 57

Thring and Mrs. Ewing corresponded for many years (and her nephew was to come to Uppingham), but they were only to meet in 1885 when Mrs. Ewing lay dying. Thring stayed on to preach the funeral address, then, back at Uppingham, he wrote 'In Memoriam - Mrs. Ewing'.

'The bugles, like the silver call
Of God's own trumpets, rang;
The very dust to diamonds turned;
And forth her heroes sprang.

Then changed she to a twilight strain,
So sad, so softly bright;
Sweet death, sweet life, dissolved in tears,
Each tear an orb of life.' 58

Mrs. Ewing's last story was published posthumously in 1885. Laetus Sorte Mea, another best-seller, told the story of a boy who knew he was to die young, but who nevertheless wanted to live and die a soldier.

57. ibid. pp 153-4.
58. Edward Thring, Poems and Translations, p 82.
Thring took Laetus Sorte Mea to his heart.\textsuperscript{59}

'I have been reading Laetus. My whole world has altered, and I am in a nobler, higher, purer, and more unselfish world. There is a strange mixture of pain and happiness, of death and paradise in it; and strange purity too of motives and thoughts not of earth ..... But above all things I am striving to be Laetus Sorte Mea, and to have no more repining or unsettled wishes, and plans or fear or disappointment. Airs of Paradise are nearer than ever before. I am Laetus.'\textsuperscript{60}

After Mrs. Ewing's death in May, soon followed by publication of Laetus Sorte Mea, Thring's life changed. No longer is there despair of the present; no longer is he despondent; Roland's 'lost battle won' theme gives way to Laetus Sorte Mea - 'happy with my lot'. His friendship with Mrs. Ewing provided Thring with an understanding that was to make his last years almost golden, soon finding their fullest realisation in the first Conference of the Headmistresses, held at Uppingham in June 1887. As he confided to his diary: 'It is curious how Mrs. Ewing's life and meaning has set me going on all this woman's work.'\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{59} Diary, 20 June 1885 (Parkin 2, p 170)
\textsuperscript{60} Diary, 29 May 1885 (Parkin 2, p 187)
\textsuperscript{61} Diary, 24 February 1887.
Thring's childhood at Alford was a happy one, and it was in the secure environment of the home that the Christian, Romantic and Chivalric foundation of the ideal of manliness was laid. Life at school had its influence too, but here the effects were to be negative rather than positive, and their result was seen in the realities of life at Uppingham rather than in moral precepts. Thring was eight when he went away to his first school, a private preparatory one in the nearby town of Ilminster. The school had a reputation for 'ability and severity': Thring remembered the severity more than the ability and even in the last years of his life he could still contrast the freedom and the liberty of home with the prison-like nature of his preparatory school. In his 1885 address to the Education Society, Thring told of his Ilminster years.

'My first acquaintance with school began at eight years old, in an old-fashioned private school of the flog-flog, milk-and-water-at-breakfast type. All my life long the good and evil of that place has been on me. It is even now one of my strongest

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1. T & TP, p 68.
impressions, with its prim misery, the misery of a clipped hedge, with every clip through flesh and blood and fresh young feelings; its snatches of joy, its painful but honest work, grim, but firmly in earnest, and its prison morality of discipline. The most lasting lesson of my life was the failure of suspicion and severity to get inside the boy-world, however much it troubled our outsides. Three long years were spent there.¹²

The harshness of Ilminster helped to produce Uppingham, for Thring was to recall near the end of his life that 'it was my memories of that school and its severities that first made me so long to try if I could not make the life of small boys at school happier and brighter.'³

In 1832 Thring went up to Eton, first as an Oppidan in Chapman's house and then as a Colleger, for nine years - 'Those nine years, with all their chequered feeling, did not leave me in ignorance of the good and evil of a great public school'⁴. John Keate was Headmaster at this time, and the term before Thring's arrival witnessed the flogging of eighty randomly chosen boys in order that an incipient rebellion might be repressed. Keate's

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severity of rule was in sympathy with the prevailing feeling of fellow headmasters trying to reform undesirable public school traditions. On his appointment Keate was in sole charge of a class of 170 boys, and in Thring's time there were just nine masters to 570 boys in the upper school. Only the clever and the willing had opportunities to learn, the rest were left to fend for themselves. Thring was in Chapman's house for his first three years. James Chapman was a sensitive and kindly teacher, for he approached his work with missionary zeal. Chapman and G.A. Selwyn, later Bishop of New Zealand, used to hold special evening services in Windsor which Thring and his friend Mackarness, later Bishop of Oxford, would occasionally attend. Chapman's reports spoke well of Thring - the 'little fellow' progressing steadily on all fronts. Many years later Thring was still to correspond with Chapman, who may have been his model housemaster.

In 1835 Thring went into residence as a Colleger. At this time a Colleger's life was severe: at eight o'clock each evening the seventy Collegers were locked in the Long Chamber, a large, bare room, completely without supervision. Here boy government ruled, with

the younger boys at the mercy of their elders. Thring was later to write:

'Who can ever forget that knew it, the wild, rough, rollicking freedom, the frolic and the fun of that land of misrule, with its strange code of traditional boy law, which really worked rather well as long as the sixth form were well disposed or sober?'

At Ilminster there had been no freedom, now it was there in abundance. In between there must be a happy medium: in 1860 Thring contrasted Uppingham with his own schooldays - 'Surely this leading the school in all their life, without destroying their freedom at all, must have a great effect.' At home Thring was accustomed to a rough, outdoor life, and at Eton he developed his love of physical activity. Thring was remembered as a 'great runner long before the days of the "athletic" sports'; he was given to racing with anyone who would take him on. He played cricket and football, and was prominent for the Collegers in the match 'at the Wall' with the Oppidans, but fives was

7. Diary, 28 February 1860.
the real love. An Eton contemporary remembered Thring as 'a capital fives player ... he used to make a good fight on the fives court with the captain of the cricket club, who had more reach... His pluck and muscle were peerless.'

In 1841 Thring left Eton as senior Collegcr and Captain of School, and he was Captain of 'Montem' on the last but one occasion on which this extravagant Eton festival was celebrated. What did Thring take with him to Uppingham? Certainly Chapman's influence and the recollections of the horrors of Long Chamber came; so too a belief that you cannot educate herds, and that a school should be designed so that all might learn; and then too a love of games, and especially of the brand of fives peculiar to Eton. In addition, two Eton contemporaries came - John Baverstock in 1857, and W.F. 'Daddy' Witts in 1861, and both were true 'fellow-workers'. Eton was not however the only public school to contribute to Uppingham practice, for by 1853 Thring had further insight into the established system. Three of his brothers were educated at Shrewsbury when that school was celebrated for the best scholarship in England. Benjamin Kennedy was Headmaster at this time,

10. Parkin 1, p 27.
and when in 1866 Kennedy congratulated Thring on some of his Latin grammar works, Thring was delighted. 'Kennedy's name is to me quite historical, and he was Headmaster of Shrewsbury and a name before I left school or thereabouts, and as a wielder of classical languages he is unrivalled.' In his years between Cambridge and Uppingham Thring served as an examiner, and in this role he saw the inside working of both Eton and Rugby. Though Thring believed that Thomas Arnold was a great idealist, he was not so sure about his qualities as a schoolmaster. 'What personal influence could do, he did. What wise and thoughtful application of means should have done, he did not.' Thring regarded Tom Brown's Schooldays as, in some respects, the 'bitterest satire' ever written on education. It showed a school resting entirely on Arnold's personality and not on any concrete system that Arnold could hand on to a successor - 'and my own experience more than supports its truth'. Thring would not make Arnold's mistake, for he would aim to build an Uppingham that would flourish on the lines he would set until well after his death. 'A man must

11. Parkin 1, p 153.
12. Diary, 20 December 1858.
Thring's maxim. 14

Thring went up to King's College, Cambridge in the autumn of 1841, where as scholar and fellow he was in residence for six years. These 'very quiet, powerful years' he later treasured as one of the best periods of his life. 15 At Cambridge he read much and worked hard, 'now heavy with labour, now buoyant with hope, bringing great searching of heart, and much balancing of right and wrong, much anxious weighing of the value of education and life, and their true use'. 16 Under the system operating for King's Scholars at that time, Thring took his degree without examination. Proof of his scholarship comes in his winning of the University's Porson Prize for Greek Iambics as well as various College prizes. He also won the College Cooke Prize for scholarship and good behaviour - surely a forerunner of the Uppingham medal 'For good work and unblemished character'. Whilst a fellow at the College, Thring agitated for the reform of the system by which King's Scholars did not have to sit University examinations; and later, in 1851, the reform was made.

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14. Diary, 20 December 1858.
15. Letter to A.H. Boucher, 1875. (Parkin 1, p 42)
Thring's studies at Cambridge in the 1840s were of course dominated by the classics. Aeschylus was undoubtedly Thring's favourite poet, and the translation of the Agamemnon was a labour of love that stretched over many of the Uppingham years. It was published posthumously in 1904, with a preface by his son Herbert. Old boys remembered Caesar and Tacitus as other Thring favourites, and Thring's choice of subjects to be portrayed on the walls of the Uppingham schoolroom indicate that Homer, Herodotus, Plato, Demosthenes, Euclid, Pindar, Cicero, Virgil, Horatius and Livius were similarly in favour. True to the Cambridge Platonic tradition, there is no mention of the Oxonian Aristotle; moreover, Thring could be carping on Oxford scholarship and character. 'I have a mean opinion of Oxford scholarship', he wrote in 1860; to be followed in 1863 with 'I am sick of Oxford men with their flimsy pretty ways, like weedy race-horses at best'. Not surprisingly, most Uppingham masters hailed from Cambridge!

18. The other portraits are David, St John, Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Corneille, Johnson, Goethe, Scott and Wordsworth.
19. Diary, 1 December 1860 and 8 January 1863 (Parkin 1, p 128)
The Platonic influence was to be very strong at Uppingham. Thring was much in agreement with Plato's ideas on education as expressed in the Republic, and he sought to put the philosopher's ideals into practice. Something had radically gone wrong in the intervening centuries for the process that had turned out Plato's young Athenians to be distorted into the schooling the average English schoolboy experienced, a contrast Thring would match with 'Greek sunshine' versus 'London fog'. Thring was a warm recipient of that fundamental Platonic principle that the soul absorbs its environment, and whether of buildings or classroom decoration, the countryside or art, Thring always sought for the perfect surroundings. It was a principle applicable in learning too: 'Nature prescribes ... that the first business of the young is to collect material.... This determines the first great axiom, or what ought to be the first great axiom of early teaching; open Fairyland.' Whether in art and crafts, gymnastics and music, the education of girls, or the distrust of doctors, the Platonic influence is always there. Always education is directed towards moral excellence, with the aim of true-life as service:

20. T & TP, p 84.
'True life-science includes in its scope the whole race of mankind from the beginning to the end, each and all, and accepts as a self-evident fact the necessity that, in any world which is not a bungling mistake, every individual has a sufficient share always, and at all times, in the main objects of life and the true progress of the race to which he belongs.'

The quiet years at Cambridge were not spent solely in academic study, for it was there that Thring determined to take Holy Orders: in 1846 he was ordained a deacon, then the following year he became a priest. Bernard Darwin regarded Thring as 'the most Christian man of his generation'\(^1\) - certainly deep humility was the corner-stone of his philosophy: 'the great secret of my own life has been the doing patiently and correctly the thing in hand, and waiting till God changed it, not striving to carve out my own way, but to watch and find what way He willed.'\(^2\)

To Thring Christianity, life and education were equivalent, and it was impossible to separate one from the others. Yet though he was so ardent a Christian, it is not possible to chain Thring to any party of Christian thought and doctrine. At Cambridge he must have been exposed to much theological argument between the various Church parties, but he dismissed their

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2. Diary, 8 October 1859.
'controversial bickerings' as 'gladiatorial shows'. From a review of Thring's sermons it is impossible to tell what religious, philosophical or even political camp he belonged to. In 1873 Thring told of his own stand in a letter to Edward White: 'I strive in a straightforward way to do the right without parade of party, and simply as right.' There was thus no pushing of a particular religious doctrine at Uppingham, and as a result the school gained support from parents who were 'bitter dissenters' as well as from 'moderate men'. As Thring told a candidate for a mastership at the school - 'My own beliefs are decided Church, but I am broad towards other people who are religious, but no irreligious man can be appointed by me.' That Thring should consider trying to win over dissenters to the established Church was totally out of the question: 'I believe my master condemned all proselytising when he condemned the scribes, and all attack of others is wrong. So I never permit anything but the teaching of our own truths without any attempt to overthrow the beliefs of

3. Index Rerum.
5. Parkin 1, pp 299-300.
6. Letter from Thring to Parkin, September 1875 (Parkin 1, p 304)
7. Parkin 1, p 324.
There was to be an air of religious tolerance at Uppingham: Thring may have had his own religious philosophy, but he was not going to force it on others.

In a letter to an old boy clergyman, written in 1885, Thring advised that it was a clergyman's duty not to align himself politically; he might have his own private beliefs, but he ought not to express them in public. The same might well be said of Thring and his religious beliefs.

Thring seems to have been as much pragmatist in religion as he was in education. At Cambridge he could be a member of the High Church Camden Society (and he maintained a life-long interest in church architecture), yet at Uppingham a bust of the Low Church hero Luther stood in his study, and he would readily quote the first protestant in his own writings. Corporate worship was to be very important at Uppingham, and active participation was vital, but the services contained no ritual. Thring resisted the introduction

8. Letter to a candidate for a mastership - Parkin 1, p 324.
9. Letter from Thring to A.H. Boucher, 28 November 1885. UAF 70.
10. Meeting of the Camden Society, 13 February 1843. Thring's father joined the previous year - ibid. 10 November 1842. I owe this information to James Barnett.
of the Athanasian Creed; the School Chapel was never consecrated; Thring never fasted in Lent; and he believed in 'original righteousness' rather than in 'original sin'. He was bitterly opposed to celibacy, whether or Roman Catholic priests or Anglican brotherhoods: 'I know why men turned ascetics, they were too cowardly to face the world as Christian men moving in it'. 'Rather a divine life than a divine knowledge,' Thring was to write at Cambridge, for theology was to hold no fascination: 'Theological bigotry knows no laws, human or divine', was the phrase that he used in a letter on the question of the consecration of the Chapel. Religion to Thring was not theology but life:

'He hated cant, he hated gush, he hated unreality, he hated morbid developments of any kind. None of the great parties in the Church could possibly have claimed him as an adherent. The phrase "religious world" to him had no meaning. By religion he understood serving God and doing good

14. Margaret Thring, Memories. Diary, 12 December 1879 (Parkin 2, p 99)
15. Diary, 12 September 1863 (Parkin 1, p 137)
16. Index Rerum.
17. USM, 1926. p 300.
to men. Of theological shibboleths, of pious phraseology, which appeared to him to embody no divine truth, he sometimes spoke in language of profound contempt. Matters of ecclesiastical ceremony, of procedure, of posture, and the like, were to him quite unimportant. But in essentials no man was more reverent. The great mysteries of Christianity were by him accepted and believed with simple, child-like faith. His attitude towards the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England was one of loyal devotion. He practised and taught the duty of obedience to lawful authority. Whilst he strongly condemned proselytising, that is trying to win over members of one Christian community to another, and whilst he would work cordially and courteously with Nonconformists, he objected no less strongly to Dissent, as fostering the spirit of self assertion instead of the spirit of reverence. In a word, religion was to him not a thing to be criticised, dissected, formulated, nor to be overmuch talked about - but a thing to be practised and made the rule of life. Life - the gift of God, incommunicable by aught else save by the Spirit of God. From God, Life began, on Him it centred, into Him it returned. Not words, nor thoughts, nor actions, but Life.\(^{18}\)

Practise religion, rather than preach it, was to be Thring's rule. 'We must dare to act for ourselves', he wrote at Cambridge, 'and break through the religious

\(^{18}\) ibid. pp 306-7.
etiquette which prescribes sixpences where pounds ought to be given. 19 In the same period Thring wrote this of poverty - 'He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Master, but he that honoreth him hath mercy on the poor.' 20 This was to be Thring's message throughout his years at Uppingham, and on the few church occasions that he was persuaded to speak, he would take it as his theme. In 1884 Harvey Goodwin invited Thring to speak at the Carlisle Church Congress: Thring took as his title 'The Best Means of Raising the Standard of Public Morality';

'Foul air kills animal life, foul surroundings kill higher life. Whole families pigging it in one room cannot in a civilised country be chaste .... We are too religious, we talk of divine truths and build churches, when we ought in God's name, and for Christ's sake, to be going round with a scavenger's cart, and a navvy's pickaxe carting off filth, and making sewers. I believe in a Gospel which builds sewers first, and Churches afterwards.' 21

He gave a similar address in 1885 to a gathering of public school old boys when the topic was missions

19. White note book
20. From Proverbs xiv v 31 in Index Rerum.
21. 'Purity' - Carlisle address. UAF 76.
to the London poor:

'I believe in a Gospel that in Christ's name
carts off filth, and builds Churches afterwards...
We have talked religion long enough, suppose we
obey God's voice in Creation, and Christ's practice,
and begin with happier life in Christ's name first..
'Let mission-rooms, and attractive teaching, and
attractive amusements, and life, buy them. Music
will reach everybody; teach it. Get your demoniac
clothed and in his right mind, then preach to him.
Do as you would be done by, give him pleasure as
well as work, touch him with higher life.' 22

This is the practice of Christian Socialism. One
cannot label Thring other than just 'Christian', none
the less this aspect of his Christian practice coincides
with the work of F.D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley and
Thomas Hughes. In 1886 a Mr. Girdlestone wrote to
Thring asking his views on Christian Socialism. Thring
replied that he abhorred the ideas contained in modern
socialism, but that he was a fervent believer in the
pursuit of Christian brotherhood: 'the term Socialism
has nothing Christian in it, ... it has been started and
pre-occupied by a devil's parody of Christian brotherly
love, and that it had better be left in the hands of those
who started it.' 23

22. Edward Thring, 'The Chapter of Life' in The School of
Life. 1885. pp 84-5.
23. Diary, 7 November 1886.
   Letter 8 November 1886. In casket.
Thring met Maurice once, in 1862 when the latter took over a Leicestershire parish for part of the summer. Thring found Maurice thoughtful-looking, acute, powerful, but not at all gladiatorial. 'He talked pleasantly, but not very much, gave me the impression of observing men rather than displaying himself, withal gentle in manner and quiet, a man seemingly who had rather teach than fight, and rather fight than give way.' Thring, then, was by no means an ardent disciple of Maurice, and when the 'FDM Club' was founded in 1882 the original members did include Harvey Goodwin and Alexander Macmillan, but Thring was not among them. Thring did however have more contact with Charles Kingsley. He had corresponded with Mrs. Kingsley since 1870, and letters talk of Charles Kingsley's 'strong feeling for, Uppingham and the work here'. No correspondence between Kingsley and Thring can be traced, yet there is evidence of prolific correspondence between Thring and Mrs Kingsley, especially after Charles Kingsley's death in 1875. She sent Thring an autographed copy of Kingsley's Brave

24. Diary, 29 September 1863. (Parkin 1, p 126)  
25. Add. Ms. 7348/4 in Cambridge University Library.  
26. Diary, 9 February 1870 (Parkin 1, p 218)  
      Diary, 18 January 1886 (Parkin 2, p 174)
Words to Brave Soldiers: Thring prized it, and in reply wrote: 'It cheers me much to find myself, as life goes on, associated, however far off, with those who have worked for righteousness and striven for the good cause, as he did, a real pioneer.' Mrs. Kingsley was now living in Leamington Spa, where with her daughter Rose she became closely associated with the High School - now the Kingsley School. In 1886 Thring was invited to the School's Speech Day where he presented the prizes and made a speech. A point on which Thring and the Christian Socialists would not have seen eye to eye was the question of evolution. Maurice and Kingsley readily accepted the scientific evidence, but Thring was not so sure. 'Nursery babble', Thring would label it, and its protagonist Herbert Spencer was dismissed as 'a most consummate donkey'. Thring's Life-Science was directed against the moral pretensions of Science, whilst a letter of about 1880 states Thring's position: 'Science is making great and real discoveries, but many of its theories

are in direct contradiction to the facts of the human world and sound reason. Once again, Thring stands aloof as far as religion is concerned.

Thring followed his own advice that clergymen should not publicly be involved in politics, and though his diary might contain jibes at the nation's leaders, none of it came to the ears of the boys. Oswald Powell remembered Thring in 1886 prohibiting 'until further notice any political subjects being discussed' in the school. He applied the same veto to himself - 'I have long determined not to go out of my own line in public, and not to be tempted to platform work or writing for the press'. Gladstone might be thought a 'wicked man', and a Radical could be defined as either a 'clever fool' or an 'ignorant fool', but always a 'fool', but Thring kept his thoughts to his diary. He once told T.E. Powell that his one strong political principle was an 'intense belief in liberty'. 'I am a Radical Conservative - that is, I want quietly to change everything that is, but to change them slowly and on the old

31. Letter to 'Her Royal Highness' in UAF 85. The identity of this personage is not known.
32. USM, 1953. p 31. This is the Thring Centenary edition.
33. Diary, 29 September 1880 (Parkin 2, p 105)
34. Diary, 18 December 1886, 11 January 1887 and 24 July 1887.
principles, reforming everything. Thring's politics on help to the poor are complicated, and have been much misunderstood: with such comments as 'Why should I maintain my neighbour's illegitimate child?' Thring has been labelled an oppressor of the working classes. He was undoubtedly fearful of socialism and he fervently distrusted government intervention, but he was never indifferent to the plight of the poor. To Thring the great law was 'Help - never give' for he agreed with Octavia Hill's observation that 'it was far easier to supply the poor with proper dwellings than to teach them to dwell in them properly.' Help the poor to help themselves, was Thring's advice, for if you give them everything they will not learn to be self-sufficient.

This is more enlightened than indifferent.

Mention has already been made of Thring's agitation for reform of the system whereby King's Scholars at Cambridge did not have to sit for University examinations, an agitation that took Thring into print with A Few Remarks on the Present System of Degrees at King's College Cambridge.

37. e.g. T.W.Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools. 1967. p 254.
39. idem.
40. Rigby, p 56.
This was published in 1846 by Macmillans, and was to be one of the early links in a long chain of friendship with the publishing family. In 1868 Alexander Macmillan recalled

'It was nearly a quarter of a century since I first knew you, and since my dear brother and I used to speculate on the line in which you were to become eminent, for you were among the first of Cambridge men whom his clear eye determined as fitted to do world work in one line or another.'

Daniel and Alexander Macmillan's publishing house in Trinity Street, Cambridge, became the meeting place for many undergraduates and fellows. It was Daniel Macmillan who in 1842 first drew Maurice's attention to the plight of the poor and asked him to prepare some religious tracts for them. Later the Macmillans were to introduce many undergraduates to the Christian Socialist Movement. Thring was a regular visitor to Trinity Street, and in later life he remembered fondly 'those early days, so vivid in my memory', and he would speak of his good fortune in being 'thrown in' with Daniel Macmillan at that time. Daniel Macmillan saw his publishing business as a means of spreading God's word to the lower classes,

41. Letter to Thring from Alexander Macmillan, 1868. Parkin 1, p 42.
42. Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, 28 July 1887. (BL)
and it was a cause that found a sympathetic admirer in Thring:

'Few men have left me a more abiding memory of distinct personality than he has. I can see him now with his thoughtful face, and a certain attractive gentle power, as he stood and had a few words, now with me, now with another, as they came in. I do not know how it was that he and I first came into contact, but very soon, if I chanced to look in, he used to come forward and have a quiet talk with me, generally I think on some mental or social question rather than on books; or if on books, discussing topics of life which were suggested by them. He stands out in my memory perhaps the most distinctive personality of my early manhood, - an embodiment of gentle, thoughtful power, which attracted me exceedingly, and lives with me still, though I do not recollect with certainty any of our conversations. I have no doubt, indeed I am sure, that his words were at the time interesting; but I now feel that it was the man, not what he said, that took such a hold on me, and it is as a living presence, not as a speaker of words, that he abides with me still.'

When Thring informed Daniel Macmillan that he was taking the Uppingham appointment, Macmillan was delighted:

'It seems to me one of the surest ways of doing good.

While a man is giving life and strength to his country in that way he does not proclaim himself either patriot or prophet, but merely seems to be working for wife and family. It has the great advantage of making no fuss. 44

It was in Daniel Macmillan then that Thring saw the beauty and the quiet certainty of letting God plan his path. If the circumstances had been different Thring might have been a general or a bishop, and many believe that he could have been either, but he was content with his life's work at Uppingham. When Daniel Macmillan died Thring continued the friendship with Alexander. Macmillans' published most of Thring's works, beginning with *The Elements of Grammar Taught in English* (1851) and *The Child's Grammar* (1852), both published before Thring went to Uppingham. The Thring and Macmillan families became very close: the Macmillans visited Uppingham on at least two occasions (in 1861 and 1864), and the Thrings returned the visits to Cambridge in 1862 and they were invited to the new London home in 1867; 46 Thring would write enthusiastically about developments

45. Diary, 19 April 1861.
   Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, March 1864. (BL)
46. Diary, 30 January 1962.
   Letter to Thring from Alexander Macmillan, 3 April 1867.
   In casket.
at Uppingham and on the early years of the Headmasters' Conference; and he found a matron's job in the school for a friend of the Macmillan family. The Macmillans recommended Uppingham to their friends, and several sets of boys came; then in 1861 Alexander asked if Thring could take his sons and the sons of Daniel. They came: Daniel's eldest son Frederick entered Uppingham the following April, and his younger brother Maurice - the father of Harold Macmillan - followed in 1866. Thring found great sympathy in his friendship with the Macmillans - they were all 'fellow-sufferers' trying so hard to improve the lot of the world:

'Yet perhaps even on earth the incessant wear and tear of work added to work has its compensations in the only real rest man can have, the rest of a spirit weary indeed but conscious of life and power and the dream I sometimes indulge in of a colony, no hedges, no gamekeepers, no trespass laws, no penny post, and lots of riding and leisure would be more benefit to my guts than my heart.'

The Macmillan friendship was not the only one to last well beyond the Cambridge days, for in these years Thring

47. e.g. 13 March 1868, 9 March 1871, 30 January 1873, 1 December 1886: all in the British Library collection.
48. Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, 11 August 1863. (BL)
49. Letter to Thring from Alexander Macmillan, 10 April 1858. In casket. Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, 7 December 1867. (BL)
51. Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, 9 February 1865. (BL)
cemented his relationship with William Witts and through him met Harvey Goodwin. Witts left Eton before Thring and was a fellow of King's College before Thring took his degree. In the early years at Uppingham Thring twice asked Witts to join the staff, but without success, and then in 1861, quite out of the blue, Witts asked if he might still come. Thring was delighted and said yes at once.

'How wonderfully things are brought about!'
Thring wrote in his diary. 'Of all living men I had rather have him as a colleague, and now he asks me when I thought it was all over, and if he comes will build a house and set himself up. I am exceedingly cheered and strengthened by this .... I know no more conscientious, hard-working, nice-minded fellow than Witts is, full of information and with a great connection.'

The saintly Witts did more than build a house, and not only did he wholeheartedly join in the Uppingham experiment, but, more concretely, he donated £1000 to start the Chapel fund. Four years later, and years before Thring's wildest dreams, Uppingham had its Chapel. The inaugural sermon was preached by Harvey Goodwin - then Dean of Ely, soon Bishop of Carlisle, and a regular visitor to the school. Witts and Goodwin were close

52. Diary, 29 April 1861 and 2 June 1861.
friends at Cambridge, and Thring met Goodwin through Witts. Goodwin in the Cambridge years was Vicar of St. Giles, whilst Witts, when a fellow of King's, served as Curate there for seven years. Goodwin was an ardent Mauricean and a keen Romantic: as a boy he had been brought up an Evangelical, but in the years after graduating from Caius College, Cambridge in 1840 Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* and Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* modified his viewpoint. In 1847 Goodwin and Witts founded an institution in Cambridge for 'youthful offenders', their aim being to reform these boys rather than to punish them. Later in 1853 this grew into a Cambridge branch of the Working Men's College, and was run on the lines of the London original. Alexander Macmillan with some Trinity College men initiated this expansion, and they invited Goodwin to be the College's first principal. When Witts moved to Uppingham Goodwin entered his two boys for the school, and from that time until Thring's death in

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54. *ibid.*, p 63.
55. *ibid.*, pp 50, 52.
56. *ibid.*, p 66.
57. *ibid.*, pp 80-82.
1887 no Uppingham festival was complete without a sermon or a speech from him. His 'spirit of manly, practical Christianity for everyday life' was much in sympathy with the headmaster's: 'Go and do' would be his message to the Uppingham boys. Goodwin's sermon at the 1882 Founder's Day was particularly Thringian in context:

'it is quite certain that a boy's character is formed quite as much out of school as in it, that it is the free and honourable intercourse with his peers quite as much as the direct teaching which he receives from his masters, that makes the boy what he ultimately becomes. Nay, even in the case of the master himself, it is not mere scholarship or technical skill that will make a man successful in his profession, unless also he possesses and cultivates other qualities which boys respect, and which give a tone to the school, and affect in a hundred indefinable ways a boy's conduct and heart.'

58. ibid. pp 75-76.
When in 1859 R.L. Nettleship was nearing graduation at Oxford, he wrote to Thring to ask what he ought to do on coming down. Thring’s advice was immediate: go and work with a mission to the poor, for it would be the best corrective to the impractical tendencies learnt at university:

'There is an absolute necessity, if you are to carry out your great work worthily, that you should lay your foundations deep in the great realities of life, and that can only be by learning the sufferings and glories of the poor. This is the antidote, too, for the feeling of "vanity of vanities, all is vanity" which you speak of. It is overwhelming - it is intended to be overwhelming - to every one with a heart, till he gets face to face with the immortality, not of the world to come, but of this struggling, weary life of ours, which nevertheless in its greater inner wide workings has that which no man ever really sees without heavenly light coming in upon him. So long as circumstances compel the intellectual view of life there does seem a strange mockery in all we do; it is so skin deep, so narrow, also so beyond our grasp; we are whirled along by a remorseless natural law, as men would say. But once plunge out of that circle into the great life ocean, and never more can any one who has felt the life power forget it
or despair. Curiously enough, and it may be a help to you, the school is just founding an East End Mission.1

Here Thring commends to Nettleship his own experience after Cambridge, and he was to be ever-thankful for his years in the slums of Gloucester.

It had been shortly after he had been ordained a deacon that Thring early in 1847 accepted the curacy at St. James's Church in Gloucester. It was a new parish of mean houses on the eastern side of the town where most of the inhabitants were dockers or labourers on the nearby railway. It was a depressing area, and an unhealthy one; the infant mortality rate was high, and Geoffrey Hoyland found Thring's scholarly signature appended to many burial notices.2 Thomas Hedley was appointed Vicar on the formation of the parish in 1842. Like many graduates of Trinity College, Cambridge, he was a firm believer in such a mission to the poor. Yet sadly it eventually claimed his life at the early age of 42.3 Thring was grateful to Hedley's influence on his own life, and he related to Parkin how it was through Hedley's example that he experienced the intense religious conviction that he should consecrate all of his powers to God's service.4

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1. Letter from Thring to R.L. Nettleship, May 1869. Parkin 1, p 284
4. Parkin 1, p 46.
Thring later told his daughter, 'was the most single-minded Christian I ever met, and wise and intellectual withal. He stamped himself deep on me; much of my life here is indebted to him, how much I cannot tell.'

On Hedley's death, two of his sons came to Uppingham as some of Thring's first pupils.

Hedley built a school alongside the church, and it was there that Thring gained his first insight into teaching. It was a rude shock:

'Never shall I forget those schools in the suburbs of Gloucester, and their little class-room with its solemn problem, no more difficult one in the world; how on earth the Cambridge Honour man, with his success and his brain-world, was to get at the minds of those little labourers' sons, with their unfurnished heads, and no time to give.'

It was this experience that laid the foundation of his methods at Uppingham, for as Geoffrey Hoyland asserts, 'the dowdy National School of St. James's is the true parent of Uppingham.' It was these children that gave Thring some of his great axioms:

'They gave me the great axiom, "The worse the material, the greater the skill of the worker".

5. *Idem.*
'They called out the useful dictum with which I ever stepped silently over the threshold - "If these fellows don't learn, it's my fault".

'They disentangled all the loose threads of knowledge in my brain, and forced me to wind each separately in its place, with its beginning and its end.

'They bred in me a supreme contempt for knowledge-lumps, for emptying out knowledge-lumps in a heap, like stones at a roadside, and calling it teaching.

'They made me hate the long array of fine words, which lesson-hearers ask, and pupils answer, and neither really knows the meaning of.

'They taught me how different knowing is from being able to make others know.

'Nay, they taught me the more valuable lesson still, how different knowledge which can be produced to an Examiner is from knowledge which knows itself, and understands its own life and growth.'

It was glorious work at Gloucester, but it took its toll on Thring's health, and in the spring of 1848 he was forced to leave. For the next two years he convalesced at Great Marlow: during this period he read with private pupils, and served as an Examiner for Eton, Rugby and Cambridge. In 1851 he took a curacy at nearby Cookham Dean, where he again taught in National Schools, and in this same period he prepared his first two texts for Macmillans'.

In the years before Uppingham Thring made several long journeys through Europe; one year he travelled through France, and in another he followed the course of the Rhine through Germany and Switzerland. Cities in central and eastern Germany were visited in the company of his brother Henry and cousin Harman Hobhouse. In 1852 Thring went on a Grand Tour through Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria to Italy. His diary for this tour is largely a record of the sites and galleries he visited: there is no reference to visits to schools and universities, nor is there any contact with continental educationalists. There is nothing to suggest that the German influences found in Thring's educational thought and practice were formulated in these visits abroad. None the less, they are there. Whilst in Rome however on the 1852 tour, Thring did meet and become engaged to be married to a young German lady, Marie Koch. He immediately cancelled his plans to visit the Holy Land and returned to England to find a post.

Marie seems to have brought the Germanic influences to Uppingham, and they were then adopted by her husband.

9. Parkin 1, p 51.
10. Diary of 1852 European tour. p 2. In UA.
Marie's role at Uppingham was a vital one. The marriage was to be most happy - 'I can only say I found my marriage the most perfect earthly blessing,' Thring wrote to a friend, 'beyond my lover's hopes even, and worth all'. Marie, with her sister Anna who came to live in Uppingham, not only supported Thring but also contributed her own part: no school function was complete without her presence. Her musical evenings in School House were the foundation of music at Uppingham. She substituted German-style student caps for the boys' unwieldy mortar-boards. She opened the gymnasium on her birthday in 1859, and she was always present at the anniversary gymnastic competitions. It seems probable that she, rather than her husband, first recognised the role that a gymnasium and a gymnastics master could play at Uppingham, for the gymnastic system so commonly adopted in German schools was almost unknown in England. Marie's influence on the life of the school was always strong: the second and subsequent editions of Thring's Theory and Practice of Teaching were dedicated 'To my wife, and partner in school life; to whose courage and help I owe so much of life, and of work done'.

11. Parkin 1, p 53.
12. USM, October 1864. p 333.
13. The second edition was published in 1885.
The German links were steadily strengthened in those first years. The Thrings regularly holidayed in Germany, and a German governess was brought over for their daughters. German-speaking masters first arrived in 1855: a total of 18 were appointed in Thring's headmastership. Most taught music, but others taught science, art, gymnastics and modern languages. Some of the early men remained in England only a few years, but later ones, including Georg Beisiegel and Paul David, became influential colleagues and were still at Uppingham long after Thring's death. Uppingham in fact gained a small German colony, where even the Kaiser's birthday was celebrated - Thring used to attend these festivities at David's house. Thring read deeply in German literature, becoming an accomplished German scholar, and throughout his Uppingham career he maintained a love of German poetry. He translated many German hymns, songs and poems into English. Then too, there was the bust of Luther in his study.

14. Diary, August 1860.
Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, June 1867. (BL)
Margaret Thring, Memories.

15. Diary, 22 March 1887.
Thring's own education in manliness was now complete. In 1853 he applied for the headmastership of Durham School, and was granted an interview. The Durham governors did not select Thring, but chose instead Henry Holden, then headmaster of Uppingham Grammar School. Thring in turn applied for the Uppingham vacancy, secured it, and was appointed on 1st September. From that day until his death in 1887, Thring's life and Uppingham's rebirth are one story. After his first look at the school he told a friend: 'I think I have found my life-work today'. That life-work was to put the ideal of manliness into practice.

Thring may not have had a blue-print when he took up his headmastership, but he did have an idea for a school; an idea based on the experiences that have been described in detail in the preceding sections. Early in 1854 he began his reforms, and then at the end of 1858 he paused to take stock of what he had achieved, and looked forward to what there remained still to do. These expanded notes on his 'great educational experiment' were logged in the front of his diary on

1. Parkin 1, p 55.
20 December. They were later reorganised in a Statement to the trustees, for Thring wished to expand the school further but could not do so without their consent and financial backing— in fact the first was only grudgingly given and the second never came. The introduction to the Statement sets the scene:

'The first necessities of schools are too often glaringly violated by those in best repute, and the public having had no true standard to refer to, have learnt to look upon these blemishes as necessary conditions of great schools, whereas they are no more necessary than perpetual typhus fever is necessary.

There is a large percentage of temptation, criminality, and idleness in the great schools—a moral miasma—generated by known causes, and as certainly to be got rid of even by mere mechanical improvements—a little moral drainage—as the average sickness of a squalid district. This is the task which the School at Uppingham has set itself to carry out.

The excellence of a School, over a series of years, depends, first, on its machinery for education; by which is meant appliances, whether material or otherwise, for conducting the work: the ship, and officers, and crew taken numerically. And, secondly, on the manner in which this machinery is worked: the discipline, knowledge and navigation of the vessel.' 2

Thring’s first step was to appoint a good staff. He had inherited Earle, and two not very suitable assistants. Earle took some years before he accepted the innovations (but when he did it was done wholeheartedly) and so Thring had to look outside for new blood. He had no use for 'ill-paid underlings', and instead turned to Cambridge for his staff. He was determined to have a permanent set of masters, a novelty at this time, however as Thring would not allow his masters to supplement their income by taking local curacies, they generally needed a private income of their own. The men appointed had to be prepared to sink their funds into the venture, for the trust only paid for the existing staff, and the new masters were to receive their income from the boarding houses that Thring was to ask them to build. That Thring actually attracted such men gives some measure of his personal magnetism and dynamism, for at this stage there was no guarantee of success.

The order of appointment of masters was important too: 'to teach an upper class requires more knowledge, a lower more skill as a teacher.' Then, though boarding was arranged on a house basis, teaching was done in forms: a housemaster superintended his own house,

3. Diary, 20 December 1858.
but taught a form of boys from all houses. In this way each master could be made responsible for a particular age-group, and his success or failure could be more easily judged. To ensure that each boy obtained individual attention Thring limited the size of each class to 30. The masters were further expected to be with the boys in their out-of-school activities: a parent of one boy gave warm praise for this practice -

'The masters at Uppingham, generally speaking, take part with the boys in their games; thus indicating much good sense as well as kindly feeling. Many are the important results of such a coming together out of school, as admirably adapted to develop character and increase knowledge, as to invigorate health. They will find these many illustrations of the rules of science, and opportunities of directing conduct; the boys will learn to appreciate their companions, to recognise general cultivation, noble traits, manly feelings, and the evidences of generous dispositions, as well as of gentlemanlike deportment.'

Some of the early appointments were dreadful mistakes, nearly bringing the school to ruin, but gradually Thring built up his team. By the early 1860s it was complete, and once a week these housemasters met in Thring's study to discuss school questions. Though his colleagues' views

were important, they did not necessarily carry great weight and Thring would often claim 'absolute powers'.

He demanded unreckoning devotion from his staff, and for the most part he got it. Whether in contributing financially to the school's success, taking part with the boys in all the variety of activities, or preaching 'manly' sermons in chapel, the early staff worked willingly in Thring's cause. One repeated bone of contention with the housemasters, though, rested on the question of numbers. A housemaster's income depended on the number of boys in his house, so Thring was often pressed to allow houses to take more boys. Thring did not consent, and in addition to his class-size dictate, he applied two other vetoes with regard to numbers: a house should have no more than thirty boarders, and the school should be limited to 300. Thring's reasoning on the second point was that 'A headmaster is only headmaster of boys he knows. If he does not know the boys the master who does is their headmaster and his also.'

In addition to the housemasters, Thring appointed masters for the 'extra' subjects; music, gymnastics, modern languages and the like. These men, who were almost all

6. Diary, 21 August 1860.
7. e.g. Diary 3 July 1881 (Parkin 2, p 110) and 26 June 1887.
8. Parkin 2, p 142.
German in the early years, were equally 'superior men' to the housemasters, but they did not contribute vast sums to the venture. Their income came from the 'extra' fees.

Once Thring had started to appoint masters, the next step was to see that the material appliances of the school were adequate. In 1853 the school comprised the headmaster's house, a school-room, some studies, and a few ball courts. By 1884, the tercentenary of the school's foundation, the staff had invested £91,000 in the school and Thring had hefty overdrafts and mortgages. First priority was given to boarding houses, and between 1856 and 1862 four new houses were built and others were converted from existing buildings. Three further houses were added between 1866 and 1872. Many schools had boarding houses before Uppingham, but in general these were no more than hostels only marginally part of the educational system. At Uppingham they were an integral part: as Canon Robinson noted to Thring's delight during the later Schools Inquiry Commission - 'at Rugby the school made the houses, and at Uppingham the houses made the school.' Each house was 'a little commonwealth'.

9. ibid., p 150.
ruled by a housemaster, housing his family and up to thirty boys. The influence of the housemaster's wife and her family were vital for this added 'home feeling'.  

H.D. Rawnsley certainly appreciated it -

'I had always felt strongly that we enjoyed a great advantage at Uppingham, under Thring, where the home life of the masters was made to touch the whole school. The daughters of the masters moved like sisters among us, and one was never without a kind of sense that the atmosphere of home had followed one to school .... the presence of purity as one finds it in a good home affected the whole school.'

Each boy had a partitioned sleeping cubicle within a dormitory, and his own study. Both were to be Uppingham hall-marks. Thring believed that 'a large dormitory introduces far too great opportunity for undetected evil' and that 'the single room cannot be so healthy.' The partitioned cubicle may have been a German idea, for Prince Albert was to include it in his plans for Wellington College. These 'tishas' gave the boys privacy at night, for, as Thring wrote, 'do not suppose, whatever words may assert, that little Christian confessors say their prayers, and kneel, and at last win respect of their more hardened companions in doing so.'

12. ibid. p 191.
15. ibid. p 151. This is one of two digs at F.W. Farrar: the second talks of his 'unpractical dreams of humbug'. Diary, 27 October 1860.
small studies adjacent to his own house, but he greatly expanded the system so that each boy should have his 'castle'. A boy's study was his retreat and his sanctuary - and a place to decorate to his own taste (Thring awarded prizes for the best kept studies in his own house). E.W. Hornung recalled these studies in the Uppingham novel, Fathers of Men:

'They were undeniably cosy and attractive, as compact as a captain's cabin, as private as a friar's cell, but far more comfortable than either... with a table and two chairs, a square of carpet as big as a bath sheet, a bookshelf and pictures, and photographs and ornaments to taste, fretwork and plush to heart's content, a flower box for the summer term, hot water pipes for the other two, and above all a door of (one's) own to shut at will against the world.'

The housemasters taught in their own house halls, and the non-housemasters taught in makeshift classrooms or in some of the cottages about the town, so at first there was no pressure to build classroom accommodation. The numbers in the school however quickly swelled: there were only 25 on Thring's arrival, but the total doubled every two years through the 1850s. A whole day's holiday celebrated

16. Diary, 13 December 1887
the 200 mark in May 1863, then two years later, in September 1865, Thring's self-imposed limit of 300 was attained. The need for more room was now pressing. The purpose of Thring's statement was to urge the trust to provide more facilities, but in the end it was left to Thring and the masters to dig deeper into their own pockets. Street was appointed in 1861 as architect for a new school-room, and two years later it was opened. Then, thanks to Witt's generosity, came Street's chapel which began life with Goodwin's sermon at the inaugural service in the summer of 1865. Thring had long yearned for a school chapel with his own pulpit, for up until this time the parish church had had to be used (and in shifts too in the years just prior to 1865); now with the chapel directly built onto the schoolroom the concrete reality of 'Godliness and Good Learning' was complete. Other facilities came in these early years - a gymnasium in 1859, a carpentry shop in the old school-room in 1863, and a cricket pavilion in 1864. Thring was gradually working towards his target that every school ought to provide a School Library, Museum, Workshop, Gymnasium, Swimming Baths, Fives Courts, or any other pursuits that conduce to a healthy life.'18

'Machinery, machinery, machinery should be the motto of every good school.' By machinery Thring meant all those factors that would promote excellence so that the system did not solely rest on the talented teacher—the educational equipment, the buildings (also referred to as 'The Almighy Wall'), the ratio of staff to boys, and the arrangements in the houses.

'As little as possible should be left to the personal merit in the teacher or chance; as much as possible ought to rest on the system and appliances, on every side checking vice and fostering good, quietly and unostentatiously, under the commonest guidance and in the most average circumstances.'

Once the machinery had been constructed, the next point was to put it to work, and at Uppingham, as at any school, the academic curriculum was the core of the system.

Thring's curriculum was firmly based on the traditional Latin and Greek, but Mathematics and English as well were compulsory. Music, modern languages, gymnastics, art, carpentry and natural sciences were brought in to 'restore balance'. Scholarship was important, and in 1860 Thring got agreement from his housemasters for each to take one boy free so that there could be a 'stream of intellect' in the school—'No slight matter, judging by the average of

19. Diary, 20 December 1858.
the material we have hitherto had.'21 It was however
the business of the school to teach and train every boy,
and not just to offer knowledge to the clever and the
hard-working - 'everyone has to be dealt with; racing
stables and a crack winner or two will not do.'22

Thring was convinced that the best education of the
mind came through a classical and literary training, and
these subjects were given greatest emphasis in the
curriculum. These, he believed, made the mind 'strong
and ready' and did not confine it to 'harrower ranges'.

'Let the mind be exercised in one noble subject - a
subject, if such can be found, capable of calling
into play reasoning powers, fancy, imagination,
strength, activity and endurance, and be sure that
in the intervals of work there will be plenty of
time for less exhaustive pursuits.'23

There was such a subject; the classics. In his Education
and School first published in 1864, Thring stated the case
for the central role of classics in the Uppingham
curriculum.

'they are the perfection of mere humanity, as distinct
from the living power breathed in all modern life,
literature, and artist-work by Christianity'

21. Diary, 2 April 1860.
'they are the means by which the history of the early world, its facts, its wars, its treaties, its social life, became known to us'.

'they are the perfection of art, the perfection of the shaping of the human mind ... the classics are the perfection of languages in mere word-power and form.'

'they are the fittest training to show how thought should be expressed, calling into play every power of the human mind.'

'they are as languages the foundation of our own.'

Factual learning and mere 'knowledge-power' had no part; the purpose of the classics was to 'exercise the mind', and the benefits gained were as much moral as intellectual. R.M. Ogilvie, in his Latin and Greek has shown how Arnold had slanted the classics towards the study of Plato and Thucydides, and indeed these were the foremost authors studied at Thring's Uppingham. Other authors listed in the schedule of work compiled for the Schools Inquiry Commissioners included Herodotus, Aeschylus (Thring's favourite), Sophocles, Homer and Cicero. Thring was critical of current methods of classical teaching, and complained to Alexander Macmillan on the dearth of good classics teaching aids. In 1855 he wrote 'a little

25. Schools Inquiry Commission. Vol. xvi North Midlands Division Special Reports of the Assistant Commissioners. 1869. pp 132-
construing book' for them; then in 1863 he produced a sequel in an attempt to make the study of classics more relevant to modern needs. The second book was the one praised by Benjamin Kennedy, and it continued to sell well throughout Thring's lifetime and beyond.

One of the ways that Thring would introduce literature and historical studies to the boys was to have them translate passages of the modern work into Greek and Latin prose. Napier's *Peninsular War*, Scott's novels and Ruskin's *Modern Painters* were each subjected to this treatment. Literature and history were in addition studied in their own right, for in this way the boys would meet 'the highest thought of the highest men in the most perfect shape. It is the life of the highest men transmitted. And this transmission of life takes place in any great degree ... through words that have life...' Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, Scott's novels, Chaucer, Milton and Johnson were all studied, with Keble's *Christian Year* reserved for the

26. Letters from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, 18 September 1855, 28 July 1863 and 11 November 1863. (BL)
   The first book was *A Construing Book* (1855); the second was *A Latin Gradual* (1863). The latter reached a fourth edition in 1886, and after Thring's death Vale Bagshawe produced a new edition in 1901.

28. T & TP, p 36.
younger boys. History texts were chosen for their moral worth - 'The Great Romans, The Great Dutchmen, the type of Englishman that built our Indian Empire, appealed to Thring.' Books included Mommsen's Rome, Motley's Netherlands and Kaye's Indian Officers. The teaching of English Grammar was fundamental, especially for the younger boys. 'You might just as well feed and clothe an Indian like an Esquimaux as generalise rules for English, from the Latin or Greek languages.' Thring had already produced two English Grammars in the years before Uppingham; further texts were added in the 1860s. All were used at Uppingham. French and German had a place in the curriculum, though as 'extra' subjects. Thring believed that French was merely suitable for 'conversational purpose', so more emphasis was placed on German, with its 'complete structure' that made it more valuable as an intellectual training.

29. Diary, 12 April 1861
Schools Inquiry Commission .... Special Reports... p 149.
W.P. James, op. cit. p 22.
See the portraits in the Old Schoolroom.

30. W.P. James, op. cit. p 22.

31. Letter from Thring to Alexander Macmillan, 6 June 1857. (BL)

The earlier The Elements of Grammar Taught in English (1851) had further editions printed up till 1885.

33. E & S, p 58.
When Thring came to Uppingham the boys had the use of two ball courts, an indoor play area and a cricket field for their recreation. Cricket was the most popular game and there had been a 'properly constituted Eleven' since the 1830s. When William Earle joined the staff in 1850 he quickly took an interest in the game, playing with the boys and in the school eleven, and he presumably did some coaching. Hockey was a popular winter recreation, even transferring to the ice in severe years, whilst bat-fives were played in the ball courts. On the long half-holidays the boys were accustomed to roam freely the countryside, to sledge and to skate in winter, and in summer to trek to Stockerston brook or to the Welland for a swim.

Thring maintained the liberty of the relaxed school bounds and the freedom to roam the countryside. Before the introduction of the athletic sports in 1859 cross-country runs, involving much jumping of hedges, fences and streams, were common, as were 10-15 mile paperchases across the Rutland landscape, with the whole school and quite a few masters taking part. Competitions at jumping one of the innumerable toll-bars on the roads leading into the town proved great entertainment. Thring's boys inherited the bathing places in the Welland and Stockerston

1. see Malcolm Tozer, Physical Education at Thring's Uppingham. 1976. Especially chapters 3, 5, 6 and 7. Only new material is acknowledged here.
brook. The brook, two miles to the south-west of the
town, was nearer, but the pits in the stream were
continually silting up until the occasionally levied
subscriptions once again put them in 'tolerable order'.
In general it was reckoned more worthwhile to make the
longer walk to the Welland.

The cricket match on the first day of Thring's
appointment heralded a new interest in games. Both
Thring and Earle regularly played cricket with the boys:
Thring playing in his clerical costume, having handed his
black wide-awake hat to the umpire. His batting might
have been somewhat rustic in style, but his underarm
bowling, whether a full-toss or with more than one bounce
before the wicket, would often surprise the unsuspecting
batsman. Fives was Thring's real love at Eton and
Cambridge, and a court to the Eton specifications was soon
constructed in the indoor play area. He introduced
football that first winter, a curious mixture of the Eton
Field Game and the early Rugby code, and it soon came to
be labelled 'Uppingham Football'. The jollity and the
amateurism of these early years is well recorded in
Thring's games songs - two for cricket, and one each for
fives and football. The 'Football Song' suggests that
the game was more an epic free fight than a contrast of
skills: the whole school used to play at once - 'two
great opposing armies' - and Thring and some of his masters used to join in. In 1852, when he had given up playing regularly, he was asked to play in a match between the sixth form and the school. That evening he wrote in his diary: 'I could not help thinking with some pride what Head Master of a great school ever played a match at football before. Would either dignity or shins suffer it? I think not.' He played again the following week.

In 1857 the first Committee of Games was formed - probably on Thring's initiative. He wrote out many of the rules and instructed the committee to the effect that all boys who played cricket should help with the spring rolling of the pitch. During these early years the committee was an extension of Thring's own authority, with trusted praepostors effecting his policies. As the numbers in the school increased, a long search began for additional playing fields, a search logged in detail in Thring's diary for 1859 to 1861. The school was divided into two clubs for games, and the various elevens or fifteens were distinguished by coloured caps and ribbons. Cricket matches were maintained with the local sides, and the boys tried to arrange a match with Rugby - but nothing materialised. 'All in good time', Thring noted. Within the school various pick-up games were played, Tall v Short,
Cambridge v the World, but if a boy did not wish to
play he could just as easily go off for a swim. Problems
with the owners of the land adjacent to the Stockerston
brook had forced the school to look elsewhere for a
bathing place, and again Thring's diary for 1859 records
the search for a new site. Eventually a tar-pit near
the cricket field was acquired and adapted into a suitable
pool. New Eton Fives courts were steadily being built
and a school doubles competition was instituted in 1864.
Thring regularly played the game, and with Witts would
challenge the competition champions, and invariably
headmaster and chaplain would win.

The athletic sports were introduced in 1859 at a
time when most public schools were adopting them. Once
again Thring's diary logs the hunt for suitable sites,
especially for the steeplechase. The heats and finals of
the various events were spread out over two or three weeks
in March, and seem designed to fill the gap between the
end of the football season in January and the start of the
cricket season in April. In February the boys were
encouraged to train for the sports - nothing however was
allowed 'beyond normal exercise and abstinence from pudding'.
Thring, of course, joined in the competitions, one year
recording 4'5" in the high jump and 16'1" in the long jump.
His diary records the boys' pleasure in the sports and his
delight in his own performances: the following year he noted that through the sports 'one feels one with the boys'. In the first years the steeplechases were the blue-ribbon events: the first ones were long and arduous, but an accident to a boy in 1860 persuaded Thring to make them shorter and less difficult. Even then he was relieved when the races were over, 'though we have reduced the chance of accidents as much as possible'. The races tested a boy's manliness and brought out what Thring termed the 'racer's spirit'.

In September 1859 two of Thring's masters proposed that a gymnasium be built. Thring readily agreed, and the construction of 'a plain cheap building' began immediately, and was opened on 24 November - by Marie Thring on her birthday. The boys 'crowded in to great glee'. The following January Thring appointed Georg Beisiegel as gymnastics and music master - a truly Platonic arrangement - and he was to serve Uppingham loyally until his retirement in 1902. It was the innovation of the gymnastics classes as part of the curriculum that warranted Beisiegel's appointment, for those classes were on the same footing as the other 'extra' subjects. In 1865 about a quarter of the school were receiving gymnastic tuition, whilst other boys could use the gymnasium for recreational purposes in their free time. The climax of the year for the gymnastic pupils
was the gymnastic competition, always held on the anniversary of the opening of the gymnasium. Each class was examined in turn, with the results published alongside those for the academic subjects in the Christmas examination lists. It was part of Marie's birthday routine to present the gymnastics prizes, the nature of which puzzled generations of Uppinghamians: first prize was a goose, second a large pork pie, and third a pot of jam. W.F. Rawnsley recalled that the prizes were chosen 'according to a fancy of the Head-Master's that prizes for Gymnastics should be things that perished in the using'. The goose was eaten with due ceremony in the victor's house.

W.S. Patterson, the author of *Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket*, felt that a new chapter of Uppingham cricket commenced in 1863; but the changes affected more than the cricket. The *School Magazine* made its first appearance in April, with W. Cornish, R.L. Nettleship and W.F. Rawnsley as its first editors. House matches and athletics championships for the various sports and games were adopted, and silver trophies were presented to the winners. House matches lead naturally to school matches, and 1863 witnessed Uppingham's first 'public-school match'. The cricketers gained a new pavilion and soon clamoured for a cricket professional to coach them, while the footballers tried to steer their game towards one of the newly accepted national codes. These
changes coincided with a gradual loosening of the reins by Thring, and the emergence of greater participation by the boys in the government of the school. Up to 1863 all changes in the school can be directly linked to Thring, after this date certain powers connected with the day to day life of the boys was entrusted to the praepostors - though Thring always kept, and often used, a headmasterly veto. It is no chance coincidence that this period sees the last use of the title 'Uppingham Grammar-School' and an increased use of the term 'a public school'.

From 1863 the boys took a greater part in the organisation of games. The power of the Committee of Games increased: compulsion in games operated once a week, and fines were imposed for non-attendance or for 'cutting' cricket-rolling. The individual athletics Champion Cup was introduced in 1864, with athletics, gymnastics, fives, swimming and cricket averages all contributing marks on a weighted scale. House challenge cups in football and cricket appeared the same year, and both contributed with the individual sports to a house Athletics Championship. House matches in fives came in 1869. In this period the boys examined all their games to see if they were of public school standing. The praepostors felt that hop-scotch, peg-top and marbles were unsuitable activities,
and younger boys were deterred from playing them. Rounders, quoits and bowls suffered similar expulsion, and even hockey and fives came under suspicion. Gymnastics too was attacked, especially for its preferential position in the weighted scale of marks for the Champion Cup, but its position was secure.

Editorials in the new School Magazine explained the value of athletics to the school. These statements probably duplicated the text of Thring's own speeches at the annual sports prize-giving ceremony. 'Now the object of all our games,' the 1866 editor reported,

'but of the sports in particular, is to produce the manly spirit of competition, and the love of training the body, for training's sake; whilst the prizes won by the successful competitors are but a secondary, and, as it were, incidental result. For not only are "all who do their best equally honoured", but the unsuccessful do in effect win a prize equally with their victors, since we cannot doubt that the lessons learned on the racing ground will have their practical application in any field of active life.'

Football and cricket were by far the most popular games. Thring's younger brother Charles joined the staff in 1859 and from his experiences of football at Shrewsbury and Cambridge he gradually steered the rules of the Uppingham game towards those of the 'Cambridge Rules', soon to be embodied in the code of the Football Association on its
foundation in 1863. House matches brought 'more spirit' to the play and an Old Boys match was introduced in 1865. Because of the various school codes in existence at this time, a public school match at football was virtually an impossibility, but in cricket there was no such problem. Thring would seem to have initiated the 1863 match with distant Rossall, a match that needed a four day excursion by coach and train. The result of the Uppingham victory was telegraphed back to an excited school, and great enthusiasm, by the townspeople as well as by the boys, greeted the victors on their return. It was however to be the only Rossall match: the following year Rossall had a measles epidemic, and then the considerable separation of the schools seems to have effected headmasterly vetoes. In 1865 geographically nearer Repton issued a challenge to Uppingham, and this fixture has been maintained ever since. Cricket success gave rise to the cry for a cricket professional, and in the following year, and on alternate years through the 1860s, Thring consented to the appointment of a professional for two or three weeks at the beginning of the season.

Physical education thus had an important part to play in the Uppingham curriculum, and it was there by Thring's design. One aim was the maintenance of good
health; and a second was, in the Ruskinian sense, to make 'the body ... as beautiful and perfect in its youth as it can be, wholly irrespective of the ulterior motive'. To Thring

'... the one pre-eminent mark of the highbred man is the simple play of the limbs that move with perfect ease, and, as they move, throw off a sense of liberty, and grace, and unconstrained command of strength, able at any moment to do anything that courage may demand of activity, or duty impose on endurance.'

This, then, was the role of gymnastics. Here the whole body could be developed and exercises 'irrespective of ulterior motive', and the repertoire of skills learned in the gymnasium would ensure that the gymnast was 'the master of strength, and trained movement'. 'It is also clear that as far as power goes, the less the training of the body was cramped by unduly exercising any one part, the better would be the result.' Gymnastics was 'the only representative we have of pure exercise of the natural body, combining strength and skill, and stands quite apart in its character from either the races or the games'. Many of the best readers in the school, Thring asserted, were to be found among the gymnastic

2. E & S, p 132.
pupils, thus illustrating the link between 'Bodily' and 'Intellectual' work.

Athletics was essentially competitive, but always voluntary. The purpose of the sports was to push the individual boy to the limits of speed, endurance and strength. Numerous heats were arranged in the various events to provide measured competition for as many boys as possible, but to realise Thring's aim the sports had to be voluntary. The object was to inculcate that 'racer's spirit':

'the world is so constituted that there is competition everywhere, and everywhere the weaker goes to the wall; all are certain at some time to be defeated, and if our Athletics teach us here at school to bear to be beaten with good grace and to look upon victory as by no means assuring us against future defeat, they will have been of real use to us in after life.'

Athletics thus gave boys experience of victory without pride and defeat without depression; indeed they were instituted to form 'that manliness of character'. The object had been gained when 'E.H. Green, the winner of the first steeplechase, had been lately commended for distinguished gallantry in the battlefield.'

The country pursuits - running with hounds, rambling, swimming, skating, sledging and so on - are
the timeless recreations of the English countryside, and it was in this recreational light that they were encouraged by Thring. They were delightful, spontaneous and uninhibited; they allowed time for conversation and they led to a communion with nature. None of these activities is itself of special merit, but the whole produced a natural harmony between the boys and the countryside. What is of particular significance is that Thring continued to encourage these activities even when games, at Uppingham and elsewhere, began to play a more time-consuming role in the boys' lives.

'Games are wondrous vital powers,' wrote Thring, 'and a true school will deal with them as of the highest educational value.' Games fulfilled a three-fold role. Firstly they presented a situation in which boys and their masters could mix:

'We mix much with the boys in games ... many a boy whom we must put at a low level in school redeems his self-respect by the praise bestowed on him as a games player; and the balance of manliness and intellect is more impartially kept.' Secondly games provided a healthy competitive environment - there was no choice between 'manly games, or learning': the choice was both. One could

'escape (from the classroom) to a thorough good game, and restore the balance of human nature by a hearty
game on both sides (boys and masters), of both understanding a good drive or cut, of both admiring a stinging catch, which sends mutual respect into the tips of the fingers.'

Success in these games enabled the less intelligent boys to 'attain some position among their fellows'. Thirdly character was trained in games: 'Never cheat, never funk, never lose temper, never brag' were unwritten rules that promoted manliness.

'For games represent the right actions of bodily life, and all right action is pleasure. But the very games they play are full of pain, possible disagreeables, blows, defeat, disappointment, mortified pride, trials of temper, trials of courage, trials of honesty.'

Physical education was an integral part of Thring's curriculum, and the boys were encouraged to approach it 'on the same basis as our other school work'. If a boy was good at athletics and games it did not necessitate that he be poor at Latin and Greek, and vice versa. The purpose of games was to arouse the quality of manliness, and for this to work the games need not be treated as a 'science'. Thring was uneasy about the school's cricket success as he did not wish athletic prowess to be praised for its own sake. From his earliest days at Uppingham he was wary of 'mock heroics' in games 4, for he knew full

well that 'strength is the school-boy's idol' \(^5\): he held up to ridicule the professionalism of the athletes of ancient Greece. \(^6\) Thring viewed any games coaching with suspicion as it might shift the emphasis from the average boy to the talented athlete. He watched school matches with mixed feelings: if the school won easily he was 'sorry for it'; if they were surprisingly beaten it would 'do them a great deal of good'; if they played without spirit he was annoyed. Nothing was to be done half-heartedly. As games became more important to the boys, so Thring applied a number of vetoes to keep the movement in check. Though he regarded the spring rolling of the cricket pitch as a school duty, all other games faggling was forbidden: 'If faggling enters into school-games, it taints them with a sort of curse of slavery for little boys.' The appointment of all games officers had to meet with Thring's approval, and all were chosen from the sixth form. To play in any match a boy had to have 'leave' from his form-master, his housemaster and the headmaster, and such permission could be withheld for poor work or bad behaviour. Similarly, the acceptance of the cricket professional's services at such a limited level - and the boys had to pay for him - was at Thring's insistence.

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6. 'Euripides Autoclyus' in UAF 82. 'These athletes are the veriest weeds of all ...'
VII

'The woods from Wakerley to Wardley Chase
Are filled with schoolboy rangers, and once more
The Bathers gleam white-armed by Welland's shore;
The Runners ply the old accustomed race -
These track the fox, and those the badgers trace
Up to his woodland dwelling known of yore ....'¹

Memories of Uppingham from all the years of Thring's
headmastership speak of the freedom to roam the
countryside. John Skrine in the 1860s remembered the
'large liberty to ramble where we liked' and his memories
are shared by the Rawnsley brothers and C.E.Cornish;²
J.P.Graham's recollections of the 1880s were much of accord.³
A journalist visiting the school once commented on the
absence of 'high fences and notices to trespassers', a
feature he commonly found at other schools.⁴ Thring
maintained good relations with local farmers: the School
Rules contained some related to the use of the countryside,⁵
and an annual donation to the Rutland Agricultural Show
undoubtedly helped.⁶ Boys who broke Thring's countryside

². J.H.Skrine, op. cit, p 11.
⁴. The Ludgate Illustrated Magazine, May 1894. 'Uppingham
School' by W.Chas. Sargent. p 72.
⁵. School Rules. c 1869. UAF 66.
⁶. USM, March 1924. p 5.
rules were restricted to the main roads for their walks. Good relations were essential if the boys were to get out into the meadows and woods to study nature at first hand. Half-holiday excursions were common, and Thring and his masters would ramble with the boys.

'All can get the loving eye', Thring wrote. Every season has its own character, its own birds, flowers and trees: everything varies with the season. The boys were encouraged to observe every happening, and then to note each:

'Not a bird should fly unnoticed; the note of the first chiff-chaff should be heard. Not a song should sound, not a wing be moved, without appealing to seeing eyes and hearing ears.'

'Look at the clouds, what a difference it makes in mind-power to one who loves the beauty of clouds...'

This was Thring's way of teaching natural history; in the field, not through text books: but then the aim was for a moral experience rather than for factual learning. Many of Thring's boys maintained a love of nature throughout their lives. W.F. Rawnsley, who later wrote

7. Diary, 5 March 1859.
8. 'Observation' in UAF 86.
10. ibid. p 22.
Highways and Byways of Lincolnshire, was one - 'a good walk in the country can do more in some ways for a boy with eyes than twenty games of cricket or football.' 11 Nature was also brought into the school. A museum was started to house the boys' collection of grasses, stones and sea-shells - the last from the year at Borth; and a large aviary was constructed in the gardens of Fairfield - Thring would write enthusiastically of the latest addition. 12 Before the building of the gymnasium in 1859 the site was used for 9' x 3' garden patches for the boys. The Thrings were both keen gardeners, and they would give small plants to the boys, together with prizes of larger plants for the best gardeners. 13 Later in 1871 42 garden plots were allocated in Fairfield, but they were now less popular than in the earlier years. 14

Beauty was not to be restricted to the nature, but was to be brought into the heart of the school. Architecture had long been one of Thring's interests, and he was determined that the new buildings - especially the schoolroom and the chapel - should be the best that money

11. W.F. Rawnsley, Early Days at Uppingham under Edward Thring. p 11
13. W.F. Rawnsley, Early Days at Uppingham under Edward Thring. p 59
could buy. Nothing was skimmed; even Italian workmen were brought in to construct the mosaic in chapel. Lectures with slides were given on architecture as early as 1860, and Thring was delighted when a master formed an Architectural Society: a visit to Peterborough Cathedral was its first outing. Architecture was a language; similarly 'pictures and sculptures speak through the eye.' Thring had appointed Christian Reimers, a German, as his first art-master in 1856 (Reimers also taught music) and gradually he determined that every boy in the upper classes had to learn some drawing. Pictures were important teaching aids—give 'honour to lessons', he would say, with the addition of paintings of birds and animals; read Livy against a background of the Alps or modern Rome. Thring aimed to have classrooms decorated to meet different educational needs—a Roman room, a Greek room, an English room, and so on—and in the decorations of the School House hall, the photographs in his classroom, and the magnificent mural in the school-room he gave ample evidence of his

15. Diary, 5 November 1886.
16. Diary, 26 March 1860, 13 October 1886 and 2 December 1886.
19. ibid, p 52.
belief in the Platonic principle that a soul absorbs its environment. Craft-work too was important. In 1869 Thring invented a slow combustion stove, and nearly suffocated whilst experimenting with it in his greenhouse. More successful was the founding of a carpentry school in 1863: Thring himself took lessons and produced a fine casket decorated in relief with portraits of his children. Later a forge and metalwork shop was set up, and the boys made their own scientific instruments while Thring designed and made a 'Drop-Gate' for the cricket field. All this contributed valuably to the curriculum. 'So get rid, for ever, of the idea that Painting, Music, Architecture, Sculpture are less noble as mind-power, because we may not put them, possibly, into our hard-work time.'

In 1855 when the teaching staff, including Thring, numbered only four Thring appointed his first music master - Herr Shäfer. In itself this was a most remarkable innovation: first, England at this time was notorious as 'the country without music', with only

22. H.D.Rawnsley, Edward Thring: Teacher and Poet. p 53. The casket is in UA.
23. Letter from Thring to A.J.Harrison, December 1882. UAF 50. The plan is in UAF 103.
William Sterndale Bennett as an English composer known to foreigners; second, other than the provision of chapel choirs, the English public schools had no musical tradition, and indeed music was considered 'rather unmanly', and more fitting as a feminine accomplishment; third, and most remarkably, Thring was himself quite unmusical and tone deaf. 'He did not know one tune from another', his daughter Margaret remembered, 'except perhaps the National Anthem'. That Thring recognised the 'power of music' was undoubtedly due to the influence of Marie, and once more the German influence was to be felt in a succession of music masters. Uppingham music began in her School House musical evenings, with a small choir of six or so boys, soon it was to expand to congregational singing (when the practice at most schools was for the choir only to sing), and to two or three concerts a term given by a choir of over a hundred voices.

Christian Reimers succeeded Schäfer in 1856, with responsibility for art as well as music, and it is from the partnership of Thring and Reimers that the first

27. Margaret Thring, Memories.
28. W.P.James, op. cit. p 36. Diary, 24 February 1860, 26 March 1860, 5 November 1863 (Parkin 1, p 138)
Uppingham school songs date. Robert Sterndale Bennett, the grandson of William and a twentieth century director of music at Uppingham, believed that these songs were probably the first with English lyrics to be used at an English school: they were certainly published some years before John Farmer went to Harrow, and before Joseph Barnby arrived at Eton. Three songs stem from the partnership - 'The Uppingham Chorus', 'The Cricket Song', and 'The Fives Song'. All were published in 1856. The 'Chorus' was not a particularly successful school song, but the games songs were much more attractive - their lyrics exude the joyous, boy-like, pleasure of the games. Christopher Cowan believed that it is a mistake to approach these songs with any solemnity, for they are 'real entertainment music' in the tradition of German student songs. A verse from 'The Fives Song' gives a taste of the genre -

'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.
Oh the spirit in the ball
Dancing round about the wall.'

31. In UAF 51.
In 1857 Herr Riccius succeeded Reimers, and soon received assistance from Georg Beisiegel, the gymnastics master. Two more Thring songs were set to music by Riccius, and with the three Reimers songs were published in 1858 by Macmillans as a volume of *School Songs*. Thring's preface is typical:

"There is a tendency in schools to stereotype the forms of life. Any genial solvent is valuable. Games do much; but games do not penetrate to domestic life, and are much limited by age. Music supplies the want...."

The lyrics for two other games songs, 'The Old Boys' Match' and 'The Football Song', date from these early years but were not set to music until later; one presumes that Riccius's English successor did not possess the interest or ability to compose the settings, and these songs had to wait the arrival of further German musicians.

When in 1865 Thring wanted to put music on a more professional footing, he sought to replace his almost peripatetic music masters with a permanent appointment. He asked William Sterndale Bennett, who was about to travel to Leipzig, to find him a suitable man. Sterndale Bennett had regularly attended Mendelssohn's Conservatorium there since he was first acclaimed by that

school in 1837. He asked his friend Ferdinand David, the principal violin teacher, if he could recommend anyone for the Uppingham position, and David suggested his son Paul. How Sterndale Bennett tempted Paul David, a pupil of Liszt and a member of the Mendelssohn and Schumann circle, is not known; what is known is that David sacrificed certain personal renown to give Uppingham a distinction and excellence in music above any other school in England. Sterndale Bennett's charm and Thring's idealism and enthusiasm brought great gifts to the school. Sterndale Bennett continued to be interested in David's work, and he would often visit Uppingham - the performances by the boys, and especially of the instrumentalists, never ceased to amaze him. In November 1873 Thring asked Sterndale Bennett 'to give us a tune, to be a memorial of his connection with us, and he promised to do so, and seemed pleased, as I hoped he would.' Unfortunately the composer died in 1875 before the promise was kept.

Under David's direction music became 'an essential part of school life': more than a third of the school was now learning a musical instrument, and the atmosphere

35. Diary, 22 November 1873 (Parkin 1, p 250)
36. W.P. James, op. cit. p 35.
was such that one year the school's best violinist was also its cricket captain. 37 Thring and David were to collaborate on many songs, including, in 1873 a new School Song 'Ho! Boys, Ho!'. 'What may not come of School Songs,' Thring wrote enthusiastically in his diary. 38 May that year witnessed the first all-Uppingham concert - 'The boys encored the School song again and again, and all rose and stood whilst it was being sung .... The zeal of the boys was wonderful.' 39 Eminent musicians from Leipzig and London were attracted to Uppingham to support David's pioneering efforts: Joseph Joachim, the world's leading violinist and a pupil of Ferdinand David, was a frequent visitor. How magnificent it must have been to hear him play his Stradivarius with the orchestra of boys and masters - perhaps in Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, dedicated by the composer to Ferdinand David. 40 Joachim brought other leading musicians with him on his visits - the trumpeter Kovieck in 1885 and the cellist Klengel the following year are two listed in Thring's diary 41 - and how Joachim

38. Diary, 9 March 1873 (Parkin 1, p 244)
39. Diary, 13 May 1873 (Parkin 1, p 246)
41. Diary, 25 March 1885 and 2 November 1886.
used to enjoy hearing the Uppingham boys sing the
Uppingham songs under Paul David's direction.
VIII

After he had been at Uppingham only a few months, Thring noted in his diary - 'Boys mean well on the whole.' 'May we have large liberal forgiving hearts all our lives.'¹ In his 1859 Statement to the trustees, Thring outlined the weaknesses of the traditional public school system:

'Bullying is fostered by harshness in the masters and by forcing boys to herd together in promiscuous masses.

Lying is fostered by general class rules, which take no cognizance of the ability of the individual to keep them; and they cannot do so when each boy is not sufficiently well known for his master to understand, sympathise with, and feel for him.

Idleness is fostered, when there are so many boys to each master, that it becomes a chance when it will be detected, and a certainty that no special intelligent teaching and help will be given, or indeed can be given, to the individual when in difficulty.

Rebellion and insubordination are fostered, when from the same causes many boys who are either backward or want ability, find no care bestowed on them, are obnoxious to arbitrary punishments, have

¹ Diary, 11 April 1854.
nothing to interest them or give them self-respect, and learn in consequence to look upon their masters as natural enemies.

Sensuality is fostered when these and like boys, from the same causes, are launched into an ungoverned society without any healthy interest, anything higher than the body to care for (the mental part being unmixed bitterness), thrown on their own resources, or want of resources, often exposed to scorn in school, whilst the numbers and confusion give every hope of escaping detection.

The atmosphere of schools is, in consequence, in all their out of the way regions thick with falsehood and wrong; no more necessary, however, than a fog on an undrained field when the country round is clear; but considered necessary by the old-fashioned farmer because it has always been so.²

Thring concluded his Statement with a cri-de-coeur that was to have immense influence on the English educational system:

'The young must be trusted, but not trusted in situations which would ruin their elders: this is at the root of the public school evils.

The young must be trusted, but then the system must be truthful as well as trustful. It does not do to work a slave driver's whip, or a slave master's rations, side by side with the licentious freedom of the backwoods.

2. The Statement ....
'In accordance with these principles, early in 1854, the School at Uppingham began to be remodelled.'

Thring was undoubtedly an autocrat, and his character was often seen as 'downright, fearless, uncompromising and intolerant of show and pretension', with 'little grace, sweetness or patience'; but this is only one side of the coin. With his family, or with the Sixth formers whom he daily taught, he was completely at ease. His daughter Margaret recalled the homely side of his character - he was 'essentially genial, buoyant and optimistic.' Thring's pleasures were simple: racing and leaping in the garden with his children; charades with the boys at a School House party; and he would even look forward 'with childish enjoyment to a lie-a-bed, and a quiet Sunday.' Boys were treated not as schoolboys, but something between sons and pupils - 'as affectionate and confiding as sons ought to be, and as full of affectionate reverence as pupils.' And there was to be no false dignity: in September 1862 another headmaster, a Dr H in Parkin's biography of Thring, visited the school wearing the top hat accorded to

3. idem.
5. Margaret Thring, Memories.
6. Diary, 26 March 1861.
7. ibid. 14 April 1860.
8. ibid. 23 October 1886.
9. ibid. 25 January 1887.
a doctor of divinity -

'I was much amused by sundry masters and masters' wives insisting on the necessity of my never wearing a doctor's hat as utterly uncongenial with the spirit of this place. I too felt the anomaly. In our true, honest, every-day life-work here a mock dignity would be singularly out of place. The artificial nature of it would jar on all our habits. I certainly have been myself impressed by this, and shall never make any effort for my doctor's degree.'

Thring's most important precept was that education must be centred on the child, and this was the very cornerstone of Uppingham's foundations. In his first months as headmaster he wrote in his diary -

'It is better to draw out the feelings of children even if growth of a careless eye be somewhat too luxuriant, than to chill them back into a more precise culture, losing their hearts in the process. It is better to let children find experience in their own little world and roam in it with them, than to lift them up into your castle though it be a castle of truth and enclose them in its stone walls.'

Uppingham was a boy world, where it was 'safer to trust much than to trust little'. A school must either be a 'complete prison rule' (memories of Ilminster here) or 'a wise trust'. A prison rule was obviously effective,

10. ibid. 12 September 1862 (Parkin 1, p 126) He never did: he is often called Dr Thring - much to the annoyance of Uppinghamians.

11. Diary, 11 April 1854.
and it would give little trouble, but it was not founded on trust.\textsuperscript{12} Uppingham discipline was centred on the principle that each boy was his brother's keeper. Public opinion could put down crime. The alternative was 'thieves' honour', a certain legacy of prison rule.\textsuperscript{13} It took Thring some years to break down the barrier of mistrust between boys and masters, a conflict related dramatically in Cormac Rigby's thesis, but gradually he won their 'allegiance to a good cause.'\textsuperscript{14} Thring's ambition was to make Uppingham 'the most trustworthy school on English ground'\textsuperscript{15}, and educational observers as eminent as J.G. Fitch believed that he realised his target.\textsuperscript{16} Obeying his own notion, 'Remember if you have children, not to treat them as children after they are grown up',\textsuperscript{17} Thring gradually loosened the reins, and allowed the boys more privileges as the system began to work. He was now confident that the whole 'machinery' of Uppingham would 'remove any real temptation to do evil, and make it a deliberate and mean choice taken at great risk.'\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{12} E \& S, p 160.
\item \textsuperscript{13} 'Un Discipline' in UAF 86.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Rigby, chapter 5a.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Diary, 6 March 1862.
\item \textsuperscript{16} J.G. Fitch, \textit{Educational Aims and Methods}, 1900. p 295.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Index Rerum.
\item \textsuperscript{18} E \& S, p 258.
\end{enumerate}
The government of the school was conducted through a body of praepostors. Each praepostor was chosen from the Sixth form, thus preserving a sanity of outlook about athletic prowess, and each was expected to be 'thoroughly trustworthy as a helper of the helpless, a doer of justice, and having the spirit of order and true open life.' H.D. Rawnsley recalled how the system worked during a 'school row';

'As was Thring's way, the matter of bringing the offender to book rested largely with the elder boys who were pledged by their position as 'Praepostors' and members of the Sixth form, to safeguard the honour and welfare of the school; so the boys assembled in the big School and there was a great silence. Then Nettleship, as head boy, rose and, fearlessly fronting the whole school, asked the lads to remember they were trusted and called on them to be worthy of the trust. He ended with his appeal to their sense of honour "Uppingham is a little place, and I dare say you fellows think it doesn't matter how we treat our masters or one another, but at least it shall never be said, if I can help it, that Uppingham boys are either liars or cowards!" Ever after one seemed to look at Nettleship as a kind of impersonation of truth and bravery.'

19. Diary, 1 October 1862.
As the praepostorial system began to take hold, and fagging to the praepostors was not as 'severe' as at other schools, 21 so the boys took on more responsibility. Mention had already been made of the Committee of Games (1857) and the School Magazine (1863), in addition the library and a debating society (1860) were put in the boys' charge. 22 Thring's influence was always there of course, and he would often be asked to sort out 'controversies' or to unravel 'tangles' - he regarded his role as 'arbiter and legal adviser'. 23 In 1860 Thring received some silver-ware for the sports, and proceeded to show it to the Committee of Games:

'The boys seemed pleased and we had a very satisfactory meeting. I could not help laughing to myself at the notion of the old Head Masters, as I carried in myself a tray of silver in Hall for inspection. It was enough to make them turn in their graves. Now I feel though that these things strike into the hearts of boys, and in this case of the boys most difficult to reach in school, the animal strength of the school.' 24

In 1860 Thring published a set of essays, School Delusions, written by members of the Sixth form, and the essays, not surprisingly, expressed Thring's own

Diary, 9 March 1860.
23. Diary, 10 April 1867 (Parkin 1, p 157)
24. Diary, 18 January 1860.
ideas. He addressed them to the school 'not only as explaining much of our life here, but as a genuine expression of feeling from amongst yourselves.'

- to his diary he confided 'Their own companions' words may perhaps have some effect.'

There was, of course, still schoolboy crime at Uppingham, and Thring would launch out at one of his 'jaws' to the boys on the evils of 'thieves' honour'. Smoking and drinking were 'put down with a strong hand', and boys found with catapults and pistols were banned from all school and house teams. In 1859 the cricket captain and some friends were caught smoking and drinking by the praepostors, and Thring removed them from their offices.

Thring gained something of a reputation as a 'flogger', but on investigation of this legend Cormac Rigby found that there were more memories of friends being beaten by Thring than actual recollections of having been beaten. John Wolfenden recalled at the Thring centenary celebrations in 1953 one of the famous legends -

'You remember how he found one day posted in the Colonnade the names of two teams listed for a

26. Diary, 3 December 1860.
27. Diary, 20 December 1858.
29. Diary, 24 May 1859 and 25 May 1859.
cricket match under the headings "Those who have been beaten by Mr Thring" versus "Those who have not". "Ha!" said he, in that rather gasping, guttural voice "if that game is played again all the players will be in the same side!".  

Boys were beaten at Thring's Uppingham, but only by Thring and not by masters nor by the praepostors.  

In 1885 Thring, in a letter to his chaplain, mentioned that he kept a book of all canings and 16 boys had been beaten in that term. Such chastisement was used for disciplinary offences and never for 'the punishment of sins' - its advantages were that it was certain, quick, much feared, and soon over.  

Public expulsion or quiet removal of a boy only happened when Thring felt the cause had been lost and the boy was beyond the influence of school-power. Generally this was for 'sins', meaning moral offences. Each year Thring would warn the school that any boy found corrupting another or behaving indecently would immediately be expelled; those committing less grievous offences would silently be withdrawn. The  

31. Diary, 12 March 1867 (Parkin 1, p 155)  
32. Letter from Thring to Christian, 20 October 1885. UAF 50.  
34. ibid., p 234.  
35. Thring's notes to communicants and confirmation candidates, 1885-7. Held in the first volume of Thring's three volume Bible. UA.
two surviving volumes of Thring's diaries, covering the periods December 1858 to March 1862 and October 1886 to October 1887 contain mention of only two cases of immorality. In November 1886 4 boys were punished for being in possession of 'an indecent photograph'\(^{36}\), and in December an 'indecent note' was intercepted by a master, and resulted in one boy being expelled immediately and two others were not allowed to return to school the following term.\(^{37}\)

Thring intended that a sound morality should be fostered by the homely life in the boarding houses (here the ladies of the school played a vital role) and through the broad range of extra-curricular activities provided for a boy's leisure, but he did not propose to allow any boy to 'sin blindly'.\(^{38}\) No boy in the school was to be left in ignorance. Thring did not believe in individual questioning and probing - 'I earnestly deprecate a perpetual pulling up by the roots to see how the plant is growing.'\(^{39}\) - but in bible lessons he would speak 'with perfect plainness on lust, and its devil worship.'\(^{40}\) The main assault came however at the time of the annual confirmation service when Thring would address the whole

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36. Diary, 14 October 1886.
37. Diary, 6 December 1886.
38. Diary, 14 June 1879 (Parkin 2, p 91)
40. 'Purity' - Carlisle address.
school, divided into three sections. To the younger boys he would merely warn against all indecency of thought, word and deed, whether alone or with companions. To those about to be confirmed and to the communicants Thring spoke 'plainly', and if the text of his addresses to the Carlisle Church Congress and the London Mission are any indication of the content of his addresses to the boys, then he indeed did speak plainly. Thring's notes for his school addresses and the text of his Carlisle and London speeches indicate that the approach was identical. 41 'Curiosity, ignorance, and lies form a hot bed of impurity.' 42 For curiosity Thring had no remedy to propose, but ignorance and lies were on a different footing. He deprecated the current fashion of wrapping sex and womanhood in a veil of mystery: 'I suppose everyone is acquainted with some of the current lies', he told his Carlisle audience. 43 There were to be no delusions and no exaggerations in Thring's approach; facts were facts. Purity was life from God; sexual intercourse, and Thring used these actual words, was the most sacred of acts; voluptuousness was heathen; 'Sex

41. See the notes to communicants, 'Purity' address and 'The Charter of Life'.
42. 'Purity'
43. idem.
is not a curse' - 'Lust is a curse'. Any indecency at school was thus 'sham manhood' and like the leper cast out, anyone found corrupting others would go. Thring saw the subservient position in society of woman to man, when she was either slave or mistress, as the root cause of immorality, for in this state woman became the object of lust. Equality of the sexes would abolish lust - 'it is one of the great hopes of our time that woman's work is largely recognised'. It is on this background that Thring became the champion of education for girls.

'The rich boys must learn to help the poor boys', Thring wrote in 1864, and from the outset Uppingham boys were to continue the pattern of work that he had undertaken in Gloucester. In the early years the boys subscribed to help the parish church, and Thring and his staff contributed to the restoration of the church and the church-yard. Money was given to a Boys' Home in London, an Uppingham Scholarship was created at the Blind College in Worcester, and old boys on missionary work in India,

45. Notes to communicants.
46. 'Purity'.
47. The first conference of headmistresses was held at Uppingham, by Thring's invitation, in 1897.
48. Parkin 1, p 310.
Japan, Honolulu and Africa all received support from the school. Through such efforts 'manly open religion' steadily gained ground in the school. In 1866 the Bishop of Brisbane visited Uppingham and talked to the boys on the missionary work in Australia; the result was that he gained support and financial aid for a church and mission in his diocese. Later the school made similar efforts for the Bishop of Western Australia. Work nearer home began in April 1869 when a Mr Foy lectured to the school on the missions in the East End of London. Uppingham immediately offered to find £100 a year for his work, and then followed this by starting its own mission - the first by a public school. This was based on the church of St John in North Woolwich where the Rev. Dr Boyd, later principal of Hertford College, Oxford, was incumbent. The following year an old boy, Wynford Alington, became missionary curate under Boyd. A church was built in 1872 from Uppingham subscriptions, and in September Thring, some masters, a choir of 48 boys and several old boys - a party of 74 in all - went down to London for the service of consecration. In 1878 when Alington, an uncle of the

49. Diary, 25 November 1859.
51. Diary, 25 November 1866.
52. Parkin 1, p 312.
53. Ibid., p 313.
future headmaster of Eton, went on missionary work in Africa the mission transferred to Poplar under another Thring old boy, Vivian Skrine. 54

Work still nearer home began after the return of the school from Borth. In 1878 Thring, ably supported by some masters, revitalised the Uppingham 'Mutual Improvement Society' - 'the name is important', he told a correspondent. 55 At Christmas there would be a gathering of townspeople in the school-room and an exhibition of objects of local skill; in the summer Feast Week Thring arranged for a band to play for a dance on the cricket field. 56 Horticulture, acting and games were each encouraged, and Marie Thring presented the Society with embroidered banners blessed in a simple ceremony by her husband. 57 Thring provided a cricket field and helped with the levelling of the ground; athletic sports were arranged, and cricket and football clubs were formed for the younger boys. 59 The girls were not forgotten, and a tennis club, the 'Grasshoppers', was presided over by the ladies of the school: young men, the 'Locusts', were

54. Alington died in Africa: his memorial in the chapel is the mosaic reredos.
55. Letter from Thring to E.F. Bennett, January 1880. Parkin 2, p 81.
56. Parkin 2, pp 80, 82.
58. Diary, 19 November 1878 (Parkin 2, p 93)
59. Parkin 2, p 83.
allowed to play at certain times. 60 Oswald Powell remembered Thring helping with the instruction - 'I love the picture of him with a Lawn Tennis racquet, before a row of daughters of Upp: Tradesmen, showing the action and motions necessary for them to acquire.' 61 All was in sympathy with Thring's maxim - 'Merriment unlocks the heart and removes constraint.' 62

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'The dreams of childhood and of youth
Were pleasant dreams I wot
But they are gone forever gone
And I lament them not.
Who would not change his dimless hopes
For manhood's stirring strife?
For those who like it nursery milk,
Give me the wine of life.'

The whole efforts of Thring's Uppingham were directed
towards making a boy 'manly, earnest and true'. The school years were the most crucial phase of a boy's life; not a preparation for life, but the most important stage of a life. Each pupil came a boy, each left a man, and 'nursery milk' was exchanged at Uppingham for 'the wine of life'. The evolution was gradual, with the man beginning to emerge from the cocoon of childhood at the time of confirmation, usually at about the age of 14. Each was then ready for service in the 'Christian Knighthood'. The whole Uppingham 'machinery' was geared to the training of 'True Life': it was essentially a

1. Index Rerum.
2. E & S, p 269.
3. Diary, c 1880 (Parkin 2, p 161)
   1885 notes to confirmation candidates.
4. 1887 notes to confirmation candidates.
moral education, for though it was possible to have morality without Godliness, Thring could not conceive of Godliness without morality. He would speak often to the boys on the twin aims of the school: first, 'the winning a character for truth and true honour'; second, 'the winning character for scholarship'. The order of preference was vital; material success was the very antithesis of 'True Life', a life that made all its abilities, whether of body or intellect, as perfect as possible and 'guided by right love and right hate' submitted them to the service of God.

'Perfect education is the jack of all trades and the master of one,' yet it was essential that even the one was the servant of moral excellence. Thring was especially suspicious of mere intellect: at Cambridge he noted 'An overgrown intellect is as much a disease in human nature as an enlarged liver in the body'; and much later, in a paper entitled 'Education, or Idolatry', he continued - 'Many learned men are mere human maggots, crawling lengths of masticated books, swollen out to an

5. Index Rerum.
6. Diary, 18 June 1863 (Parkin 1, p 134)
unwieldy size which is much glorified in the kingdom of the lean where the fat man is king.\textsuperscript{10} Knowledge was like a guinea, being part of the owner: it could have power in its own right, but it ought to serve its master.\textsuperscript{11} Men who lived for the intellect alone were doing work for the devil; men who submitted their intellect to the guidance of a moral purpose did God's work.

Bodily strength was the second power that could be used for good or ill. 'The body is not man', though man could not be separated in thought from his body.\textsuperscript{12} 'Bodily strength was a very great power, and still is in some degree; but to live for the body only is to live the life of a beast.'\textsuperscript{13} The body, like the intellect, had to be the servant of God's will. It was to be trained to resist the temptations of too much or too luxuriant food; it should be able to bear exercise, weariness, cold, heat and pain; it should work efficiently and skilfully; and it should be master of its own physical temptations.\textsuperscript{14} Thring, a true squarson's son, was used to a rough life, not all the boys however came

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} In UAF 6.
\textsuperscript{11} idem.
\textsuperscript{12} E & S, p 14.
\textsuperscript{13} ibid. p 16.
\textsuperscript{14} Rough notes.
\end{flushright}
from a similar background: 'the more I see of the middle classes the more their self-indulgent presumptuous folly fills me with fears for the future of this country.' Life at Uppingham was designed to build the best bodies, but there was to be no luxury in all this genial life - not the faintest approach to it. 'The dog in the kennel barks at the fleas, the dog who is hunting does not feel them' was Thring's own maxim. Each year, at the prize-giving after the sports, he would speak 'on pluck and fair play and the value of wide sympathies, and the difference between a strong body and a plucky heart, that the one is as dead without the other'. The legend on the back of a photograph of the winners of the final heat of the quarter-mile in 1865 describes the ideal in practice: 'Mitchell, leading, collapsed within 2 yards of the tape; a boy - Gordon - passed him and won the race, but C Childs, running 3rd, pushed him over the line in front of himself, thus giving him the 2nd prize - a Quirt Pewter - which he still prizes.'

15. Diary, 3 October 1860.
17. Index Rerum.
18. Diary, 23 March 1861.
19. Photograph P48 in UA. Childs later joined Thring's staff, and was medical officer during the year at Borth.
Neither intellectual strength nor bodily strength were to be lauded at Uppingham: what was sought was a Platonic harmony, in school and out of school, in work and in play, in body, intellect and soul.20 When Nettleship failed to secure the expected first at Oxford he could write to his headmaster, 'No doubt harder reading might have made a First sure. But I feel I have got more from other sources, rowing even included, much that no mere reading could give'; and Thring, in reply, agreed.21

'Leisure hours most affect character and are the hinge on which true education turns.'22 Boys were to be free in the out of school hours, but not cast adrift; higher tastes, objects and occupations were to be cultivated in these hours, and by this means 'animalism' could be checked and 'manliness' aroused.23 As Thring told the Schools Enquiry Commissioners, the 'extra' subjects and the leisure hours formed an important part of the system, for each boy, whether 'clever' or 'stupid', had to be educated to the best of his ability, no matter

   Letter from Thring to R.L.Nettleship, 8 June 1869. Pakkin 1, p 285.
   Letter from Thring to Dr Beale. Parkin 2, p 158.
where that ability might lie. 24 To Thring - 'Training means, everybody learning how to use time well.' 25

'Boys or men become brave, and hardy, and true, not by being told to do so, but by being nurtured in a brave, and hardy, and true way, surrounded by objects likely to excite these feelings, exercised in a manner calculated to draw them out unconsciously.' 26

At the time of the Thring centenary celebrations, Oswald Powell recalled how he had often heard Thring end a school speech with the hope that whenever boys went out into the world from Uppingham they would carry with them such rules for conduct, and such determination to always live the 'true life', that they should get in all lands and among all ranks a character for manliness. This, Powell continued, he cared for more than any number of honours, and he knew Thring to be absolutely sincere on this, and every other, principle. 27 Two entries from Thring's diary illustrate the principle in action:

'Took leave of ______ tonight. Am greatly pleased with him; he has been an honest, manly fellow, and I am proud of his taking those feelings from the school. He said that he could not do much in classics and work, but he hoped to represent the truth and manliness of the school, which was the great thing. I told him that indeed it was, and that I had as great an affection and respect for him on that account as if he could get the Balliol.'

'Had a very cheering letter forwarded me this morning by the guardian of one of the boys who wants to subscribe £5 (to the chapel fund) on account of the good the school has done him, and quotes with pride my declaration that to have been at Uppingham must be a passport for honour, integrity, and manliness. He is a heavy, ill-educated fellow too. If he has felt this strongly the leaven has been working. God be praised for this.'

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28. Diary, 10 October 1864 (Parkin 1, p 142)
29. Diary, 5 November 1861 (Parkin 1, p 114)
'I see Thring plainest in the pulpit,' recalled E.W. Hornung, 'no longer a little old man, but majestic noble and austere'. It was in his sermons, 'the true organ of his thought', that Thring would explain to the boys the purpose of 'True Life', and the role that Uppingham was to play. The 'Almighty Wall' might be the body of the school, and the 'machinery' its life-blood, but the spirit came through in the headmaster's sermons. For the first few years of Thring's headmastership, the boys attended services in the parish church and Thring was denied access to the pulpit, yet on each Sunday evening he would deliver his sermon in the School House hall. In September 1860 Thring moved the services to the school-room adjacent to the parish church, and now made his sermon an integral part of the pattern of worship. Thring long felt the need of a chapel of his own, free from 'party opinions', and after Witt's arrival his dream came true.

1. E.W.Hornung, Fathers of Men, p vii. Hornung was at Uppingham in the 1880s when Thring was in his sixties.
3. Diary, 29 September 1860.
In 1858 Thring published a volume of the School House sermons. It was dedicated to the masters - 'true fellow-workers and friends' - and prefaced in typical style:

'These sermons are sent into the world as part of a system, and as exponents, in some degree of the experience of working men, that it is possible to have a free and manly school life, complete in all its parts, neither lost in a crowd, nor shut up in a prison, nor reared in a hot-bed.'

Nearly 400 manuscripts of other Thring sermons are held in the Uppingham Archives, and of these about a third were published in 1886 in the two volume Sermons preached at Uppingham School. Some of these published sermons had already been printed for private circulation at the request of boys and masters. W.F. Rawnsley used to read out a Thring sermon each Sunday evening when he became housemaster of Fircroft, and after Thring's death Oswald Powell would use only slightly amended versions when he preached as second master at Bedales. Reading these sermons a century later, one is struck by the simple sincerity: they read as parables. They were neither

7. My copy of these sermons was once owned by Oswald Powell.
intellectual nor theological, nor did Thring speak down to the boys. Each sermons would seem to have been written out in one attempt; Thring might make a few amendments on reading over the manuscript, but here the main purpose was to insert the pause marks needed for his delivery. The delivery contained 'no art, no dexterity of phrase or of articulation' - he merely would speak straight from the heart, with rarely a movement except to turn the leaves. Each sermon had a biblical text, and most a title: the length, in an era notorious for prolixity was no more than ten minutes. Thring stood as a 'prophet' of God, and in his sermons he spoke as Moses to a 'chosen people'. Over half the sermons are directed towards the explanation of 'True Life'.

'What is truth?', Thring would ask, for this was the premier virtue. It was 'the knowledge of ourselves, and the humility springing from such a knowledge', it was 'the doing of what we know to be right: each moment that a

thing we know to be right has to be done'. 12

'Truth claims that your amusements shall be manly, and hearty, and honourable, that there shall be no cheating; neither the cheating which steals time and cheats God's working day of work, nor the cheating which in the game itself takes more than is right.' 13

'Never steal time' was almost a war-cry; it should not be wasted in idleness, self-indulgence, work that was self-seeking, or in taking the easy way out. 14 The boys were encouraged to 'take delight in all truly manly unselfish work, in every thing that demands patience and strength of mind.' 15 'It is a manly choice that will not, can not, see in living for self anything to compare with the service of Christ.' 16

True bravery was the second virtue. 'It is strange', Thrimg argued, 'considering the admiration men have for courage, how very little as yet the manliness of Christ's service has been set up as the ideal of the young man.' 17

But 'let us not confound bravery with strength, as fools do', 18 for 'the lowest kind of bravery is animal bravery.' 19

15. Sermon 70a, December 1872.
19. Sermon 155, December 1877.
'True bravery wants no strength but its own life';\textsuperscript{20} it was more likely to be the virtue of the poor, the weak and the oppressed than of the strong,\textsuperscript{21} for it enlisted the power of the steadfast soul to withstand sneers and mockery and long periods of personal trial.\textsuperscript{22}

'The truly brave strong man will face any danger that ought to be faced; the truly brave strong man will master any fear, fear of shame, and fear of ruin, as well as fear of danger; the truly brave strong man will not give way to mean temptations and fearful lusts.'\textsuperscript{23}

Self-mastery was an essential for 'true manliness', it completes the Platonic ideal\textsuperscript{24}: 'Manliness means the cheerful bearing heat and cold, hunger and thirst, work and hardship, pain and weariness.'\textsuperscript{25}

'If we train ourselves to be perfectly ready to bear hunger and cold then we have got rid of the main temptation. If we are able to have the hardy elastic feeling of not caring for hardship then is our own spirit strong within us, then are we beginning to be free indeed. Food and warmth and vanity soon pass into laziness and lust and a hatred of active life.'\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{20} Sermon 64, March 1872 and Sermon 66, April 1872.
\textsuperscript{21} Sermon 293, July 1883.
\textsuperscript{22} Sermon 155, December 1877.
\textsuperscript{23} Sermon 157, December 1877.
\textsuperscript{24} Sermon 299, March 1883.
\textsuperscript{25} Sermon cxliii, Sermons Preached... vol. 2, p 362.
\textsuperscript{26} Sermon 134c, October 1876 (at Borth)
In one of his earliest sermons Thring gave a detailed review of this 'self-denial':

"You are called upon to war against the flesh; that is, to learn not to care for any mere bodily feeling in comparison with higher things. If you bear hunger without ill-temper, that is being Christ's soldier; if you give up dainties and nice things to eat or drink, that is learning to be Christ's soldier; if you can work on when tired, or begin work when tempted to indulge the body in rest or play, that is learning to subdue the flesh. See, then, how well adapted our life here is to give this self-command, and how much that may perhaps have seemed tiresome, or want of freedom even, is in reality Christ's service and perfect freedom. For which is free, He who gives way to his own love of ease or impatience of control, or he who learnt thoroughly to master himself, and in obeying, to be lord of his own heart? Our set times, then, are most valuable assistances to freedom, training you not to care for your own fancies, but at any moment, whatever you are about, to be able to turn to what is right. Just as a war-horse is trained to turn, to charge, to stop, to wheel, to back, so that in the battle he and his rider may conquer, so we are trained never to think of self when there is a call to duty. And again, in their proper degree, how our very games and exercises strengthen the body and will do it right, and make the mere sitting idling by the fire, or lounging in the sun, childish and contemptible; or again, furnish opportunities for self-denial, by being given up readily at the calls of higher duties. All these things, then, are to make you free - and are
freedom - breaking off from your necks, if rightly done, the slavery of selfish fleshy appetites.'

This was 'true fasting' - 'an utter disregard for the body when it stands in the way of good work, and a careful regard for the body when regard means good work, and the power of good working.' To aid the process there was early morning school to throw boys out into the cold on a winter's morning, and an hour of work before breakfast to make the stomach the servant of the mind.

The cheerful bearing of pain, whether physical or emotional, was another important ingredient of self-mastery, 'the thing for a man to face with high heart, and rejoice in having faced.'

'We have to strengthen and fashion the inward life into a state of fearless excellence; and to refer everything to this. And every day brings its contribution; every act, done or undone, plays its part. Difficulties become tests of willingness and strength; the character that can face a hard task is learning much beside the task itself. Pain is a teacher; the character that does not flinch from pain is being moulded for high work. Sorrow teaches; the patient spirit is learning the peace of God. Danger is a teacher; he who is fearless because God is with him, is one of those to whom it was said, "In

27. Sermon xlii, Sermons Delivered... p 191-2.
29. idem.
30. Sermon 276, September 1882.
the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." 31.

The self-mastery of the 'manly effort of purity and truth' would prevent corruption and jealously guard the morality of the school. 32 'Brethren,' Thring called, 'be watchful, watch and cherish in holiness purity, and true righteousness, that seed of life to come, that present seed of immortality, - your body.' 33 'What, know ye not that your bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost?" 34

The 'joy of strength and movement' is evident in many sermons, 35 and 'the blessing of health' that came from games was often praised 36; but always games were regarded as of secondary importance compared with the ideal of manliness 37, and warnings against making games a 'science' span Thring's whole life at Uppingham:

'Another making excellence in games his object and being put out by anything which interferes with that, because he is working for himself and not for Christ.' 38 (1853)

'What a field there is for life. What scope for tenderness to the weak, for not putting difficulties in the way of the young. And in yourselves, what scope for doing the right and giving up hand and foot

31. Sermon 1, Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 275.
32. Sermon 32, July 1870.
33. Sermon 373, May 1887.
34. Sermon 70, September 1872.
35. Sermon 134a, September 1876 (at Borth)
36. Sermon 276, September 1882.
37. Sermon 180, July 1878.
38. Sermon 1, September 1853. Thring's first sermon at Uppingham
and eye, the love of power in games, the love of skill in lessons, for the sake of just doing at the time the distasteful task with friendly welcome.39 (1875)

'I must think that to be known through England for true manliness is a better thing than to have a name for cricket.'40 (1884)

Denouncements on the 'idolatry of strength' were just as likely to be directed at the intellect as at the body.41 There were two worlds, 'the world of knowledge and the world of character and feeling',42 or 'power-worship' and 'True Life': you must choose to follow Caesar or Christ.42

'Instruments are not life', and 'the man, the life of the man, is judged by the use he made of the powers not by the powers he had.'44

'I would draw your attention to the barefaced heathenism which a school can, and does hold. The shameless way in which, as a matter of course, the strong body, or strong in brain, take advantage of the weak in common life ... Abhor strength as a ruling power. Never do a thing because you are strong.'45

40. Sermon cxiili, Sermons Preached ... vol. 2, p 362. W.S.Patterson reports that Thring once preached on the text 'For He bath no pleasure in the strength of a horse, neither delighteth He in any man's legs', but no other record of this sermon exists. W.S.Patterson, Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket. 1909. p 50.
41. Sermon 126, March 1875.
42. Sermon 370, January 1887.
43. Sermon 76, September 1873.
44. Sermon 241, April 1881.
The worship of success was the direct opposite of 'True Life', and the boys were encouraged to face with 'fearless acceptance' all forms of defeat. 46

The tone throughout Thring's sermons is one of encouragement to greater endeavour, yet of forgiveness if the progress was not always maintained. Life was a battle of good against evil, and each boy had to fight his own way, not blindly like 'the slave heart', but with eyes open and using his own talents. 47 The sermons are messages of exhortation and hope; little time is wasted condemning sin and there is hardly any mention of hell. 48 The parable of the sower and the seed was a Thring favourite -

'A life made up of love of Christ and manly honest feeling, which may be tempted, which may fall, which may make many mistakes, but nevertheless whether tempted, or fallen, or making mistakes, like a plant never leaves off the upward push.' 49

How often a boy's life is compared by Thring to the growth of a plant! The sower, sowing his seed of life, was depicted for all to see in the stain-glass of the most prominent window in the school-room.

Earth was a training-ground for the Kingdom of Heaven,

46. Sermon 163, April 1878
   Sermon lxxi, Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 384.
47. Sermon 44, May 1871.
49. Sermon 44, May 1871.
and man was only put on it so that the whole business of his life could be 'active manly work and training and nothing else.' The school was that training ground in a life's first years, and Thring thought it a disgrace that the schools of England 'presented more frequent instances of deceit, lying, oppression, lawlessness and wrong' when they were so capable of being the direct contrary.

'A school can realise in a way that is seldom found elsewhere, the bond of common life, of being, like the Israelites, a small yet a most highly endowed band in a great world, a brotherhood, able to act together, and throughout all our earthly life to feel the tie of brotherhood, to feel that the good of one is the good of all, the evil of one is the evil of all, to feel that all we do is not private, but part of a common honour, as I, at all events feel daily, hourly, with a ceaseless sense of peace at not working save for common good. What might you not do if every heart beat high for the common cause. But remember once more a life has to be lived. A life of manly power, of liberty, of strength, as was set before the Israelites ...'

As 'was set before the Israelites...': the Book of Exodus was thus 'The Architect's Plan' for here could be found all the doctrine, all the facts, of the great Christian tradition.

50. Sermon 99, June 1874.
51. Sermon xlvi, Sermons Delivered ... p 209.
52. Sermon 175, March 1878.
53. Sermon x1, Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 224. See Exodus in volume one of Thring's three volume Bible. This sermon is pre-Borth: after Borth Thring became even more attached to Exodus.
Here could be found the true spirit of holiness -

'Holiness is the giving life to what has to be done, it is an everlasting present, a quiet spirit of daily, silent, patient, enduring work.'

Jacob and Abram were two of Thring's heroes. How similar in many ways was the modern schoolboy's life to that of Abram - taken away from home to face lessons in manliness:

'The manliness of the hardy body, and free heart was the aim of God's first schooling. City power, knowledge power, luxury, and inventions were rejected in this first schooling, in favour of manliness; not mere bravery, but true manliness, the pure heart of the hardy shepherd life, the liberty of the wide pastures, the fields and the hills, the incessant care day and night of the flocks, gentlemess to animals, simple food, the bearing heat and cold, the readiness to risk life against wild beasts in order to save their flocks, in a quiet righteous way, without the excitement in gain of war, and with no one looking in.'

The boys' work at school, as much as that at North Woolwich or in strange lands, was true holiness. The Chapel was the 'heart-life' of the school and the 'centre point of our Life' - and in after years the boys' memories would go

54. Sermon xli, Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 233.
55. Sermon 379, September 1887. The emphasis is Thring's.
56. Sermon xli, Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 233.
back to it most fondly, and cling to it most enduringly.\textsuperscript{57}

The chapel was the heart of the ideal of manliness, the Uppingham 'machinery' was its life blood:

'Your daily life here is just planned out on such a plan as to try your courage in little things every day; to try your courage in good whether you have the life in you that can readily resist temptation in this way and be brave; to try your courage in body, in games and outdoor life whether you have the life in you to overcome weariness, laziness and pain and be brave in body; to try your courage in your main work, whether you have the life in you which can overcome the dislike of tasks, resist idleness, feel the brave spirit that hour after hour can do its work lovingly in spite of the pain of hard reading and the allurements of amusement, and be brave intellectually.'\textsuperscript{58}

'A great school is an army in the regiment of the brave and the true,'\textsuperscript{59} where the boys were to live 'the high and happy Christian life, the honour and the power of being a Christian, the wisdom, the bravery, the true nobility of being enrolled in the army of Truth and of Christ.'\textsuperscript{60} The school was, like the ideal of chivalry, 'rough and imperfect' for 'some few are manly and true, the great majority perhaps mean well, but in a cowardly weak way; and there is simply

\textsuperscript{57} Sermon x, \textit{Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 47}. This is the sermon from the first chapel commemoration service.

\textsuperscript{58} Sermon 63, March 1872.

\textsuperscript{59} Sermon 66, April 1872.

\textsuperscript{60} Sermon 33, September 1870.
little or no trace of the gallant united effort to do good work unflinchingly ....'61 Thring would ask if 'the idea of Christian Knighthood is beginning a new life?' .... 'May it not begin here - even here?'62 'When you have acknowledged God as King you will feel with thankful sober trust the gain of having done honest work, the happiness of manly life, the joy of brave and patient endurance.'63 A number of sermons refer to the School's mission in North Woolwich,64 for Thring knew 'no more glorious gain than being able to understand the lives of the poor, of the great army of God's poor, and all the power of weakness that is life and truth.'65 One Sunday he talked of his own year at Gloucester and of Thomas Hedley:

'I remember the great man, for he was a great man, the quiet clergyman, under who I begun parish work, said in words I have never forgotten, said "I never see a particularly disagreeable little boy come into my parish school without thinking here is some one I have to learn to love for Christ's sake."'66

61. Sermon cxlix, Sermons Preached ... vol. 2, p 398.
63. Sermon 54, December 1871.
64. e.g. Sermon 74, December 1871.
65. Sermon 179, July 1873.
66. Sermon 83, May 1873.
Education was for 'True Life', and the purpose of a schooling at Uppingham was to enable each boy to make the fullest realisation of his abilities so that the life pledged to God's service was as valuable as possible.  

The lessons learned at school would be tested on the battle-field of life—

'God's hero, the man who bears and does all things easily, gently, lovingly - the hero, who may die without glory, but who has been felt to be a perfect pattern of manly power by every living being with the heart of life, whose life has been touched by the life. For life touches life, and passes on in silence, invisible, into other lives, even as rain that falls gently on the earth, and seems to pass away, till the harvest comes, and speaks of a hidden, wonderful spread of unseen goodness.'

'Manly earnest hearts' were to go out into the tumult of the world and play their part to bring peace and hope and help to others, and in so doing to bring peace and happiness to themselves. Each boy was told that on leaving Uppingham he was not to remain 'in his own station', thus creating a gulf between the rich and the poor, but that he should join 'the manliness of Christ's service' and do God's work in

67. Sermon 36, September 1870.
68. Sermon xvi, Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 80.
69. Sermon lxxxviii, Sermons Preached ... vol. 2, p 48.
70. Sermon 33, September 1870.
the 'lost places of this Kingdom';\textsuperscript{71} in the 'bare and dirty streets', and in the 'outcast settlements that skirt our great cities'.\textsuperscript{72}

Thring's message was clear, so too is the portrayal of the true exemplar of the ideal of manliness -

'There is no more striking character stamped upon Christ's Gospel than the thorough manliness of its earthly practice. It is the character, in point of fact, - yea, the character of Christ Himself, as Pilate unconsciously proclaimed, "Behold the Man!" The spiritual Adam, the second Father of this human race, who in His own person set forth all that was heroic, enduring, and brave; the 

\textit{manliest} character that this earth has ever seen, who transmitted to His spiritual children the power of being truly men, - men in heart and not merely in outward form, gallant, brave, and wise; in its best sense, \textit{manly}, - not like the brutes, in bodily lusts and unrestrained appetites, looking to bodily powers as manhood, instead of to the glorious exercise of the pure and strengthened spirit. For there is a growth of body which is in no sense true manhood; and there is a growth of the spirit which in its truest sense is so, though it be a child's body.'\textsuperscript{73}

Thring's last sermon was never preached, for on the day it was to have been delivered he was taken with a fatal illness.

\textsuperscript{71} Sermon 36, September 1870.
\textsuperscript{72} Sermon 47, July 1871.
\textsuperscript{73} Sermon xlvii, \textit{Sermons Delivered ...} pp 212-3. The emphasis is Thring's.
His text was 'knowing good from evil' (Gen iii, vv 4-5)

'I need not point out how completely God's plan is carried out in the plan of a School like this. What opportunities for manliness and self-denial there are in the work and in the games, in the in-door life and the out-door life. How much of the joy of manliness is here as well as its trials. What room there is for obedience. How your life together calls for gentlemess and forbearance with one another.' 74

After writing these words Thring turned to his diary, and closed the day's entry almost in prophecy - 'And now to bed, Sermon finished, and a blessed feeling of Sunday coming'. 75

74. Sermon 360, October 1887. This sermon was not delivered.

75. Diary, 15 October 1887. The last entry.
XI

Were Thring's boys true to the ideal of manliness? To follow their careers after leaving Uppingham and to lay their triumphs at Thring's feet does not really answer the question, nor would it be in accordance with the principle of 'True Life'. Yet the question still needs to be answered - was the ideal put into practice? If what the boys chose as their future careers is an acceptable criteria, then the answer is a most definite yes. Taking the best Thring years as reference, that is 1853-70, the careers of Uppinghamians are decidedly at odds with those of boys from other public schools. Bamford has noted how Rugby in this period produced twice as many boys who followed careers in law or in the armed forces as those who entered the church, and at Harrow the church ranked fifth a long way behind the armed forces, administration and politics, and law. At all the schools Bamford researched there had been a steady decline in the number of boys taking holy orders since 1835 - and this includes Rugby part way through Arnold's headmastership. At Uppingham from 1853-70 the church is clearly the most chosen career, well ahead of law and the armed forces. Two clergymen were produced to every soldier, and throughout the Thring years the percentage of boys entering the church is higher than at the schools cited by Bamford.
In the years after 1870 the armed forces and business come to the top in agreement with the trend at the other schools, yet even here the growth in business as a career is much below that seen elsewhere. As a career choice in the whole of Thring's headmastership, the church ranks third.  

1. The most popular careers for boys who arrived at Uppingham, Rugby and Harrow in the years 1853-87 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uppingham</th>
<th>Rugby</th>
<th>Harrow</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853-70</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Holy Orders 146</td>
<td>Law 69</td>
<td>Army 107</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Law 111</td>
<td>Army 65</td>
<td>A &amp; P * 68</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Army 80</td>
<td>Holy Orders 38</td>
<td>Law 57</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871-87</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Army 207</td>
<td>Business 90</td>
<td>Army 102</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Business 150</td>
<td>Law 65</td>
<td>Business 68</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Law 140</td>
<td>Overseas 45</td>
<td>Law 61</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>(Holy Orders 100)</td>
<td>(Army 41)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>(Holy Orders 23)</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>(Holy Orders 18)</td>
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<td>1853-87</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Army 287</td>
<td>Law 134</td>
<td>Army 209</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Law 251</td>
<td>Business 122</td>
<td>Law 118</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Holy Orders 246</td>
<td>Army 106</td>
<td>A &amp; P 116</td>
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</table>

* Administration and Politics

The percentage of boys who arrived at Uppingham in the years 1853-87 (divided into five-year groups centred on the year cited) who chose Holy Orders and Business for their careers is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Holy Orders</th>
<th>Business</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are extracted from Rigby, appendix B and T.W. Bamford, *Rise of the Public Schools*, p 210 ff.
W.P. James proclaimed that Thring's boys were too straight for the 'crooked game' of politics, and indeed no Members of Parliament figure in the lists before 1871. Thring was always against the army as a career, reckoning it to be a 'monotonous and unsatisfactory life' and instead he directed the boys towards the professions, and in particular, especially in the early years, to the church. If we are to choose an 'average boy', then we must take a future clergyman. If the following of his career is an acceptable test of the ideals-into-practice question, then what other qualifications should the 'average boy' have? Certainly he should come in the first half of Thring's headmastership, for then the ideal of manliness was at its strongest. Cormac Rigby has shown how an 'average parent' of the first years chose to send his son 'to be under Thring', rather than 'to be at Uppingham', and he probably had some personal or professional connection with the headmaster or with the Thring family at Alford. The 'average boy', then, should come from such a family. Several boys meet these criteria, but only two have left sufficient record of their lives for

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2. W.P. James, op. cit. p 44.
3. Diary, 3 October 1879 (Parkin 2, p 96)
4. Rigby, chapter 8.
5. e.g. Newbolt, Cornish, Boucher as well as Skrine and Rawnsley.
a biography to be traced. One, John Huntley Skrine, we shall meet later as a master at Uppingham and then Warden of Glenalmond, but he was too much a disciple and idealist to be an example of the ideal in practice. The choice then falls on Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley.

Rawnsley was born in 1851 at Shiplake-on-Thames, and Edward Thring was his godfather. His father, Canon Drummond Rawnsley, a man of letters as well as a clergyman, was a close personal friend of Thring's. When Thring published *Education and School* in 1864 it was dedicated to Drummond Rawnsley - 'The first personal friend who trusted me in his professional life.' Thring never forgot that here was the first friend to entrust a son to his care. 6 At the time of Hardwicke's birth Thring was also working in the Thames valley, and it was presumably then that the friendship began. Shiplake was the Rawnsley family home, and here the clergyman's children were reared alongside Alfred Tennyson, for Drummond Rawnsley's father was guardian of the Tennyson brothers. 7 It was from Shiplake vicarage that, in 1850, the poet was married, and the eldest Rawnsley boy, Willingham Franklin, served as a page. 8 At some stage in the 1850s the family moved

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6. Diary, 17 October 1861.
8. USM, 1927. p 60. This is W.F. Rawnsley's obituary - written by C.E. Cornish.
to Halton Holgate in Lincolnshire, where Canon Rawnsley took on a larger parish.

Willingham Rawnsley was that first son to go to Uppingham, in 1855 at the age of 10. Hardwicke followed at the age of 11 in October 1862, and in all five of the six Rawnsley brothers came to Uppingham. Hardwicke was under the care of Edward and Marie Thring in School House for eight years; eight years in which he imbibed the ideal of manliness from its very fount. In lessons he was remembered best for his power in answering divinity questions in Thring's classroom; his intellect was such that he had secured a school scholarship in 1865. On the games field and in the gymnasium he was plucky rather than talented: Willingham had been school champion but Hardwicke, despite enormous endeavours, had to be content with runner-up. In 1864 he was one of the smallest boys to finish the steeplechase (that test of manliness); he was nowhere near the front, but Thring offered another prize for a race between the two smallest boys. Rawnsley won. A love of nature was naturally absorbed; and from his years of roaming the Rutland countryside and through his collection of stuffed birds

9. USM, 1920, p 122. This is H.D. Rawnsley's obituary - written by J.H. Skrine.
and animals (boys used to complain at the perpetual smell emanating from his study), Rawnsley developed into a talented naturalist. Thring taught him to use his eyes in the countryside, and made him 'see some beauty in the least of God's creatures.' Back at school these impressions were 'knocked into rough verse'. In 1869 he won the school's prize for English verse, and in these years he absorbed Thring's love of Wordsworth's poetry. It was Rawnsley's recollection of standing with Thring at Wordsworth's grave that was used in an earlier section. Rawnsley completed his Uppingham career as captain of School House, an exemplary position if ever there was one, and in 1870 he left for Balliol College, Oxford.

R.L. Nettleship had gained the top Balliol Scholarship in 1864, now Rawnsley came as his tutee and the Thringian influence continued. Jowett had just begun his mastership of the College, and it was already gaining in reputation for both scholarship and social conscience. John Ruskin was Slade Professor of Fine Art at this time, and Rawnsley joined the famed band of Ruskin's roadmakers who did much

12. ibid. pp 12, 18.
15. ibid. p 20.
good for the Hinksey poor. Sporting activity was maintained, and Rawnsley won the high jump in the Freshman's Sports of 1870, and came third in the 1872 University Championship. Many contemporaries remembered him best as the 'Balliol troubador', composing songs and ballads by the yard, and singing them on any occasion which required musical entertainment. Thring occasionally used to visit Oxford to see his old boys: here, away from Uppingham, the headmaster relaxed and frolic could begin - in 1871 Rawnsley wrote to another Uppinghamian, Edgar Powell:

'I got back yesterday and going about 10.50 p.m. to call on Nettleship who should I find but E.T. with a cigar in his mouth and a glass of 'something hot' by his side and talking in a very excited way about the coming Derby and the hash he had made with his book on the last boat race so that it was some time before I could in the debauched little gent in the chair recognize my old and once much esteemed friend the Headmaster. Of course you needn't show him this but I merely mention it to give you some insight into Thring at Uppingham and Thring at Oxford. By degrees he became more sober and with various hiccups like your minute guns he made me understand that Powell had jumped 5 ft. 2. Cameron and French had distinguished themselves greatly in the Athletics. Whereupon I rushed to a Magazine and having certified his semidrunken

17. ibid. p 23.
18. ibid. p 24.
admissions I write at once to offer my humble congratulations ...’

On gaining his degree in 1874, a third in Classical Moderations, Rawnsley impetuously jumped from one career possibility to another - chemistry, medicine and missionary work were all considered. Thring was obviously consulted, and the reply Rawnsley received was typical of the man:

'You must learn to feel that this world and this life of ours is really, thoroughly and completely governed by a very present God ... Don't get into the habit of thinking God cuts out the world with a pair of scissors and that you hold the handle of them, as so many do, or act as if they did. "His judgements are like the great deep". Your father's letter is a good and wise letter. God's work wants every power we can bring into play, and remember when once we begin the ceaseless conflict of modern working life there is no more storing up of material to work from; empty or full, one has to put out something. Your whole inside may feel like a scraped wall before whitewashing, so bare and empty and hopeless, and yet something must be produced. Well it is then if there is stock and stuff enough of old habit and old fulness to make it possible for the used-up powers to still do good work. Again, a knowledge of medicine is a wonderful gain to a missionary, and so far from the climate being more injurious as you get older, the more settled time of life is the best for endurance of that as for

other things. But this is of small account, what is real is God's will, and it is God's will that you should have some more training first. Follow that will honestly however it may pain, and be sure you will live to bless it.'20

For the period of 'more training' Rawnsley became a lay-chaplain in the Soho district of London, and gradually God's will was seen. He volunteered for missionary work in Madagascar, but was turned down on the advice of doctors; the interest in chemistry waned, and then he decided against medicine. The choice was then missionary work in this country.

Rawnsley maintained his contact with Ruskin, and through him he was introduced in London to Octavia Hill. She had been an ardent campaigner for many years for better social conditions for the poor, and in Rawnsley she found a keen fellow-campaigner. Their friendship and collaboration lasted until the end of her life, and when she died Rawnsley preached the sermon at her memorial service.21 In December 1875 Rawnsley was ordained a deacon in Gloucester Cathedral, and then early in the following year he was appointed by John Percival to run the Clifton College Mission. Percival had heard of the Uppingham Mission and the idea obviously

impressed him. In 1875 he formed a mission committee in the school, and then this in turn gave birth to the first mission to follow Uppingham's lead. Rawnsley was appointed curate, and some rooms in a cottage and the upper story of a carpenter's shed were provided in the Newfoundland Road district of Bristol. The mission was situated in the heart of the dockland area, an area almost identical to the Gloucester parish of St. James's where Thring began his curacy. Rawnsley spent two long hard years in Bristol, and in his reports to the Cliftonian his success can be traced. A night school was started, various clubs and activities were inaugurated, games and swimming were eagerly followed, and there were weekend expeditions to the surrounding countryside.

In December 1877 Rawnsley was ordained a priest in Carlisle Cathedral and took the living at the village of Wray in the Lake District. No decision as to why the Lake District was chosen is recorded, but the ordination in Carlisle may provide a clue. Thring's friend Harvey Goodwin was now Bishop of Carlisle and it is possible that Thring may have sung his godson's praise when the bishop was seeking to inject new blood into the diocese. Certainly Rawnsley and Goodwin were to be close friends, and on Goodwin's death Rawnsley

was chosen to write his biography. One month after taking the Wray living, Rawnsley was married in Brathay church: both his father and Thring performed the service, and Lewis Nettleship was best man. His future mother-in-law had previously written to Thring for a character reference on the young man. He replied -

'If H. had asked me for my daughter I should have given my consent - that is the best answer. I have a very high opinion of him from the most intimate knowledge ... He is so far from commonplace, so original, so full of strange power ... I have never known anything wrong or mean about him ... I believe he is sincerely desirous of doing the right always.'

The couple stayed at Wray vicarage for five years, and then Goodwin presented Rawnsley to the living at Crosthwaite, just to the north of Keswick. Here many old friends were frequent visitors - the Thrings, the Skrines, the Davids, Nettleship - and new friends too, including Frédéric Temple, now Bishop of London. Rawnsley made Crosthwaite his 'Life's work' until his retirement in 1917; by then he had been appointed a Canon of Carlisle Cathedral, and he was a Chaplain to the King. It is a

24. H.D. Rawnsley, Harvey Goodwin. Goodwin was Bishop of Carlisle from 1869-91.
25. Eleanor Rawnsley, op. cit. p 40.
27. ibid. pp 42, 75. Nettleship was killed in a climbing accident on Mont Blanc in 1892. Rawnsley visited his grave there in 1897. ibid. p 75. and H.D. Rawnsley, Sonnets in Switzerland and Italy. 1899.
strange coincidence, remembering his earlier zeal to do missionary work abroad, that in 1898 he was offered the Bishopric of Madagascar - but once more he was advised to decline for medical reasons.²⁹ He was a well-loved parish priest, and a forceful orator from the pulpit. He once sought Thring's advice on the composition and delivery of sermons:

'I don't believe with your pitching into your congregation. The only power in the spiritual world is ὄρθοποίημα- 'orderly building'. The glory and happiness of doing good ought to be the preacher's sole theme, with a dash of how to do it. To paint a thrilling and touching heart-picture is a hard thing - so to draw a clear and striking path of holiness is a hard thing, but to knock a fellow on the head is easy; it merely wants a fist, the other wants heart and head. If clergymen spoke of the Heavenly Father's gift of love, and the happiness of the sons who receive and act, we should not have so much evil; but people get frightened at God, and repelled instead of attracted.'³⁰

The apprenticeship at Thring's Uppingham, with Ruskin in the Hinksey digging days, with Octavia Hill in Soho, and at the Clifton Mission, came to fruition in the Crosthwaite years. He took keen interest in the schools in his parish, and he would be a frequent visitor to them: singing, dancing, gardening and gymnastics were all

²⁹. ibid. p 60.
³⁰. ibid. p 156.
encouraged. He would lecture to the children on the exhibits in Keswick museum, and he wrote them several school songs.\textsuperscript{31} He was closely involved with the foundation of Keswick Grammar School - and was keenly in favour of co-education.\textsuperscript{32} The temperance cause found him an ally, not through mere preaching but in encouragement for the provision of recreational and educational counter-attractions. He was closely involved with the National Home Reading Union, and with a holiday association that gave trips to the Lake District for the working classes of the industrial north.\textsuperscript{33} The Cumberland Nature Club elected him its president in 1904.\textsuperscript{34} He was the founding father of the Keswick School of Industrial Arts, an innovation that gained considerable backing from Ruskin. This began as a night school in the parish room, and quickly expanded to buildings of its own with a full-time staff of teachers of arts and crafts. Rawnsley stated the aims of the school:

1. To counteract the pernicious effect of turning men into machines without possibility of love of their work.

2. To make it felt that hand-work did really allow the expression of a man's soul and self, and so was worth doing for its own sake, and worth

\begin{footnotes}
\item[31] ibid. p 162.
\item[32] ibid. pp 107, 121.
\item[33] ibid. p 156.
\item[34] ibid. pp 65-6.
\end{footnotes}
purchasing even at some cost to the buyer.

3. To try to displace by hand work the crude metal and wood ornaments that are now produced by steel dies and hydraulic presses.

4. To show that there was here in England ... an abundance of skill of hand which is wasted, but which, if any education worth its name could be given to the whole working man - to his eye, to his hand, to his heart, as well as his head - could and would help England here and now.  

In 1883 the beauty of the Lake District was threatened by a proposed railway from Buttermere to Braithwaite; Rawnsley leapt to the defence of the countryside, and quickly gained the tag 'Champion of the Lakes.'  

At the annual meeting of the Wordsworth's Society Rawnsley proposed that a Lake District Defence Society be formed 'to protect the Lake District from those injurious encroachments upon its scenery which are from time to time attempted from purely commercial or speculative motives, without regard to its claims as a natural recreation ground.'  

Ruskin wrote sympathetically but despairingly - 'It's all of no use - You will soon have a Cook's tourist railway up Scawfell, and another up Helwellyn, and another up Skiddaw, and then a connecting ...

35. idem.
36. ibid. p 52.
37. ibid. p 51.
line all round,' 38 Punch joined the defence:

'What ho, my merry Philistines here's news and
no mistake,
They're going to run a railway round and spoil each
pretty lake,
And hear the famous cateract that Southey song of yore
The locomotive's noise shall drown the murmur of Lodore.'

In 1879 Octavia Hill and Richard Hunter had formed the
Commons Preservation Society, and now they joined forces
with Rawnsley. 39 Defence funds were launched, articles
were published in journals, 40 footpaths were forcibly
kept open, 41 and the rallying cry 'The Lake District is
in danger' sounded round the country. Then in 1893 the
Falls of Lodore, the island on Grasmere, came on the
market, and Rawnsley proposed that it be bought for the
nation. He took the idea to Octavia Hill and Robert
Hunter, and together they launched the 'National Trust for
Planes of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty', a movement
known today simply as the National Trust. 42 For the
next twenty years he served as the Society's honorary

38. ibid. p 49.
40. e.g. H.D.Rawnsley, 'Public Land - Footpaths' in Contemporary
Review, September 1886, p 373. This is followed by an
article by Robert Hunter, 'Public Land - Commons', p 387.
41. The Keswick Footpaths Dispute. Eleanor Rawnsley, op. cit.
p 70.
42. Robin Fedden, op. cit. p 18.
Eleanor Rawnsley, op. cit. p 107.
treasurer and leading 'advocate'. Whenever a piece of the Lake District was threatened the tactics were the same - Rawnsley would thunder; the public would be stirred; and the money would be found to buy the land for the National Trust.  

John Bailey of the Trust could only gaze in wonder; 'you are the hardest unpaid worker in these islands.' Rawnsley's main influence was in the Borrowdale region, and here over 80 properties were purchased.

There were quieter sides to the man too. Guide books on the lakes were to be written, and innumerable sonnets were to be composed on commission to periodicals and newspapers. The flow from the pen was exhaustive: eventually Punch could stand it no longer - 'Today is the thirtieth anniversary of the day on which Canon Rawnsley

43. Robin Fedden, op. cit. p 156. Robert Hunter was 'the backbone', and Octavia Hill was 'the inspiration'.

44. Eleanor Rawnsley, op. cit. p 200.

45. Robin Fedden, op. cit. p 103.

46. His guide books include:

- A Coach-drive at the Lakes. 1890.
- Life and Nature at the English Lakes. 1899.
- A Rambler's Note-book at the English Lakes. 1901.
- Sketches at the English Lakes. 1903.
- Months at the Lakes. 1906.
- Round the Lake Country. 1909.
- By Fell and Dale at the English Lakes. 1911.
- Chapters at the English Lakes. 1913.
- Past and Present at the English Lakes. 1916.
- A Nation's Heritage. 1920.
wrote his first sonnet; he has since written 30,000! Yet even here there were causes to fight. In 1886 he proposed to the Wordsworth Society that a reading room be built as a permanent memorial to the Lake poets, then on Rawnsley's initiative Wordsworth's first home, Dove Cottage in Grasmere, was bought by public subscription and adapted as a Wordsworth museum. In 1900 Beatrix Potter was having difficulty in convincing publishers of the merits of her illustrated *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*. Rawnsley joined the attack, encouraging her to print it privately and even turned the whole story into verse in case that was preferred. It was not, and eventually Frederick Warne published the original. The first two verses went as follows:

'There were four little bunnies
- no bunnies were sweeter
Mopsy and Cotton-tail
Flopsy and Peter

His volumes of poetry include:
- *Sonnets at the English Lakes*, 1882.
- *Valete, and Other Poems*, 1893.
- *Ballads of Brave Deeds*, 1896.
- *Sonnets in Switzerland and Italy*, 1899.
- *Ballads of the War*, 1900.

They lived in a sand bank
as here you may see,
At the foot of a fir
- a magnificent tree

Forty-one pages later the moral was reached:

They sat down to tea
Too good mannered to cram
and ate bread and milk
and sweet blackberry jam.'49

In Keswick Rawnsley was known as 'The Volcano'50; there was always something to erupt into - a memorial on Helvellyn to a faithful dog; crusades against the massacre of birds for plumage; rights for persecuted Armenians; subscriptions for paintings for the National Gallery; the construction of Jubilee bonfires; vulgar comic postcards and low station literature; bleached white bread; Cumberland butter; and much, much more.51

In June 1920 he died, and on his memorial in Crosthwaite Church are inscribed the words - 'Who battled for the true, the just.' The National Trust dedicated Friar's Crag, Lord's Island and part of Great Wood on the shore of Derwentwater to his memory and a plaque records

'In honoured memory of Hardwicke Drummond Rawnsley, 1851-1920, who greatly loving the fair things of

49. Leslie Linder, op. cit. p 94.
50. Information received from Geoffrey Simpson.
51. Eleanor Rawnsley, op. cit. passim.

Rawnsley's first wife, Edith, died in 1916. He married his second wife, Eleanor, in 1918; she died in 1959, and most of Rawnsley's papers were destroyed soon after.
nature and of art set all his life to the service of God and man.'

It is a memorial to the ideal of manliness.

J.H. Skrine wrote Rawnsley's obituary for the Uppingham School Magazine: he had no doubt at all that here was an exemplar of everything Thring stood for -

'He was in the fullest sense a son of the School that reared him. In his character and career he carried the Uppingham 'legend', which is not legendary but is living fact. His godfather, Edward Thring, was very truly father in God to this godson. That word which was ever on his great teacher's lips, 'true life,' a mystic word and more clearly realised perhaps in the soul that in the mind of its speaker, has been nobly and luminously interpreted by the vivid career of generous social helpfulness which is the story of Hardie Rawnsley. In that life of vital service the master will have seen an answer to his prayer for a pupil that he should 'here or elsewhere still continue the living life which Christ has given us here.'

52. USM, 1920. p 123.
Chapter Three

ATHLETIC MANLINESS

I

Well before 1800 games were played in public schools. Gray wrote in 1748 in his *Distant prospect of Eton College* of the chase of the 'rolling Circle's speed' and the urging of 'the flying Ball'. At Eton in the 1760s not only were cricket, boating and fives popular but there were also masters to teach boxing, fencing and dancing. Cricket was a popular aristocratic pastime, and there are numerous records of its play at public schools. Rowing, bathing and fives were also activities of long standing at certain schools, where all the sports seem to have been organised by the boys for their own recreation. Less formal, but seemingly more popular pastimes included fighting, poaching and other forms of general lawlessness. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the aristocracy spent much of its time in the country where an important part of the life was sport. Riding, hunting and fishing were all popular. Sports of a different nature were now firmly established: the Jockey Club had controlled racing since about 1750; the Royal and Ancient Golf Club at St Andrews was formed in 1754; and the Marylebone Cricket

Clown, the ruling body for the game, was founded in 1788. In 1810 the 'barbarian' sports claimed most attention in the public schools, but already 'ridiculous stress', in the view of Sidney Smith, was being placed on the less natural 'philistine' games: 'Of what importance is it in after life, whether a boy can play well or ill at cricket; or row a boat with the skill and precision of a waterman?' The ideal of manliness was by some soon attached to these pursuits, though to Smith it was 'as seductive to the imagination as it is utterly unimportant in itself'.

But as the years passed so the position of games strengthened.

During the reforms of the public schools in the second quarter of the century the lawless recreations of the boys soon came under attack. One of the earliest actions of Benjamin Kennedy on his appointment to the headmastership of Shrewsbury was to provide a playing field for cricket so that the boys might have 'the means of innocent amusement and exercise in their leisure hours'. Early actions of Thomas Arnold on his appointment at Rugby in 1828 were the banning of hunting and poaching, and the disbanding of the boys' pack of hounds. The check on these pursuits naturally led to an increase in other forms

of recreation on the school site. Cricket had long been played, and football had an ancestry older than 1822 when William Webb Ellis 'with a fine disregard for the rules' picked up the ball for the legendary birth of Rugby football. Organised games were firmly entrenched at Eton in the 1830s when the future Bishop Patteson threatened to leave the team unless the use of bad language ceased. 4 On the playing fields at Harrow Anthony Trollope 'learned to be honest, true and brave'. 'There we were trained to disregard the softness of luxury, and to love hardihood and dangers of violent exercise. There we became men; and we became men after such a fashion that we are feared or loved, as may be, but always respected....' 5 Charles Wordsworth, then a master at Winchester, used games as a means of inculcating desirable social qualities:

'My habit of mixing with the boys in play-time and of taking part in at least some of their games, such as cricket and bat-fives, not unfrequently enabled me to acquire over them in such matters an influence which I could not otherwise have gained, and which I endeavoured to employ so as to correct whatever I observed of undue harshness and want of consideration toward those whose position in the school made them

liable to be fagged.\(^6\)

Wordsworth also sought to limit this fagging in games, a practice of long standing in which younger boys would be set by their elders to retrieve 'kicked-out' footballs or, in these days before the invention of cricket nets, to field for the batsmen.\(^7\)

By 1850 cricket, football, rowing and various racket games were all common at public schools. Their development was not universally encouraged but where it was, the role was purely recreational. The boys were responsible for the organisation of the games, though sometimes they had the aid of masters. Masters too would occasionally join the boys in play. The first headmaster to reverse this process and actually impose games on a school where the boys did not play them was G.E.L. Cotton. George Cotton, the young master in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, was appointed from Rugby to be Master of Marlborough in 1852 - nine years after the founding of the college. On arrival he found a chaotic, barbarian school in which fighting, bird-nesting and squirrel-hunting seemed to be the main recreations. 'The sporting instinct of the school ... was so great that a boy who had been found with a partridge's or a pheasant's egg would ... have been thrashed within an

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\(^7\) *ibid*. p 230.
In a speech to the assembled school, Cotton outlined his policy:

'The Council informed me on my appointment that the school was in a bad state of discipline, and they hoped that I would allow no boy to go out except in pairs with a master. I told them that 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 now knows how matters stand. They must either submit to the prefects or be reduced to the level of a private school and have their freedom ignominiously curtailed.'

With the introduction of prefects, bounds were tightened, drinking and other forms of lawlessness diminished, and the school day became more organised. In a further debasement of Arnold's philosophy, Cotton imported Rugby football and cricket to replace the country pursuits. The games acted not only as an antidote to mischief and trouble but also, through the participation in the games of many young men appointed to the staff, enabled Cotton's influence to be diffused more effectively. Soon Cotton had introduced matches with other schools, including Cheltenham and Rugby, and by his retirement in 1858 (when until his death by drowning in 1866 he served as Bishop

of Calcutta) he could look forward to the realisation of his three aims for Marlborough - the improvement and adornment of the chapel, a Balliol scholarship, and a victory over Rugby at Lord's. 11

In 1860 'Paterfamilias' in a letter to the Cornhill Magazine opened a controversy on the quality of education at the public schools that was to lead eventually to the creation of the Public Schools Commission under Lord Clarendon. Paterfamilias complained that although the schools, and Eton in particular, provided a fair intellectual education there was a complete absence of moral training. In the writer's view gentlemen became gentlemen at Eton not through the education they received there, but because they were the sons of gentlemen. 12 By the time of the publication of the Clarendon report in 1864, a remedy had been found: games were to provide the moral training. The commissioners recommended that much time should be given to these important activities, for not only did they aid health and provide exercise, but they also formed 'some of the most valuable school qualities and manly virtues'. 13 Though the report expressed worry at the philistine nature of the education

at public schools, it wholeheartedly rejected Paterfamilias's claim of moral laxity.  

'Boys from public schools have decidedly improved in point of moral training and character within the last twenty years. The old grossness and brutality have disappeared, and the use of coarse language is, at the larger schools, confined to a few ...'  

'On the general results of public school education as an instrument for the training of character, we can speak with much confidence.'  

Several reviewers of a few years earlier had welcomed Tom Brown's Schooldays for its athletic outlook and the games it advocated were even seen as 'the most important branch' of education. 'It is in these sports that the character of the boys is formed. It is from them that the readiness, pluck, and self-dependence of the English gentleman are principally caught.' 'They bind the different generations of the school together, they promote the attainment of skill in the game, and they prevent ...'

14. Dublin Review, July 1865. p 5. This quotes Lord Clarendon as saying that the average public school boy of 19 'has learnt to be manly and self-reliant, and has been imbued with the character of an English gentleman' ... but he 'is unable to construe an easy sentence from the Latin or the Greek, is unacquainted with the literature of his own country knows no modern language besides his own, is scarcely able to write that correctly, and knows nothing of physical laws' ... 'after having passed the best years of his life in learning'.

intellectual superiority from being the only one formally recognised in our education.' The Edinburgh Review was not so sure:

'A boy might readily infer from 'Tom Brown' that he was only sent to school to play at football, and that lessons were quite a secondary consideration.'

The National Review agreed:

'Whatever novels may say to the contrary the mere athletic training produces a feeble, gregarious, helpless, cast of character, dependent for vigour that it has upon accidental circumstances, and unfit for the real work of life.'

But the warnings were generally ignored. Cotton had shown how games could be used to impose discipline in schools; the Public Schools Commissioners welcomed the role they played in moral training; Darwin's evolutionary ideas and Spencer's philosophical writings warned of the survival of the fittest; and the spirit of competition inherent in all games matched the feelings of the age. The flood-gates opened - all schools would play games.

In this era of the most rapid expansion of the public school system, with many new schools being founded and still more being raised from old grammar schools, the

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basic formula for a public school was derived. Such a
school should be a self-contained society, partly self-
governing and partly ruled by an autocratic headmaster.
The aim of its education was less in intellectual
qualities and more in terms of leadership and the arts
of social ascendancy: it was in this latter aspect that
games were to contribute their part. The end-product
was the Christian gentleman personified in Tom Brown.
As each new school came about, so the games ethos was
more readily accepted and soon the older foundations
followed suit. 'Private school' games were summarily
abolished, sometimes by the boys, sometimes by the
headmaster. Marbles, peg-top, skipping, tip-cat,
hop-scotch and the like were quickly replaced by football,
generally the Rugby variety, cricket and rowing. Even
hockey became a 'despised' game. Clifton under Percival
was typical of the newer schools which felt this distorted
influence of Arnold: Rugby football was played on the
'Close', and cricket 'reflected the headmaster's influence
quite as faithfully as the rest of school life'. 21 At
the mother-school, Rugby, the years after Temple witnessed
the rise of the athletic 'swell' to usurp the power of the
prefects, and saw a growing glorification of things
muscular. There was, the school's contributor to Great
Public Schools reported, a whole host of school and house

21. (various authors), Great Public Schools. 1883. p 214.
colours, caps, and other trappings:

'We had a school heraldry with its rules so precise and so complete, that had a commission of visitation been issued, and the Garter Principal King at Arms, provided that he had a nice knowledge of Rugby blazonry, attended, he would have been able to have assigned to each boy in the school his house, his rank, and his dignity.' 22

Games however are an essentially boy-culture and, as J.A. Mangan notes, the emulation of Cotton by other headmasters had unforeseen results. Soon the tail was wagging the dog, as boys at all schools clamoured for cups and colours, house competitions and school matches, resident professional coaches and better facilities. Within a few years games alone determined the status of a boy within his school, and the position of that school in the rank-order of public schools. 23

23. J.A. Mangan, op. cit. p 152.
It was the publication in 1857 of Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* that was partly responsible for the tilting of the ideal of manliness towards the physical. With William Cory and Leslie Stephen, Hughes - 'that man of childlike heart, of knightly loyalty, of the most humane generosity, and of the simplest Christian faith'¹ - orchestrated the emergent cult of athleticism. That Hughes had distorted the Maurice/Kingsley ideal of manliness was probably done in all innocence: he did not comprehend the full ideal for only the physical aspect, with which he was most familiar, was within his understanding. When a few years later Hughes saw that manliness was becoming masculinity and that the physical means to the earlier ideal had in their turn become the athletic ends, he tried to close the stable door. By then though the horse had bolted, for Tom Brown had run off with the ideal of manliness.

Hughes was born in 1822 at Uffington in the White Horse Vale of Berkshire. There the earliest influences were a strong squire for a father, a boisterous country upbringing, and a delight in the novels of Scott. He

attended a preparatory school near Winchester before in 1833 going up to Rugby, the school chosen since his father had been an Oxford friend of Thomas Arnold. Hughes arrived at Rugby in A.P. Stanley's last term. Stanley, 'the embodiment of Arnold's deepest wishes', had just won the Balliol scholarship, whilst C.J. Vaughan had gained the Trinity - it was Arnold's most prized year. Hughes however was no scholar, and he never reached the exalted inner circle of Arnold's influence, but he none the less developed an admiration and respect for Arnold's moral purpose, though the headmaster would not have always agreed with his pupil's interpretation. Hughes's own success came on the playing fields. He captained 'Bigside' at football and played in the game requested on Queen Adelaide's visit to the school. He was also captain of cricket and a member of the Rugby XI first to play at Lord's in 1840. The 1841 M.C.C. match, in which Hughes played a captain's innings, formed the substance of 'Tom Brown's Last Match'; the spectating young master was George Cotton, Hughes's tutor. It was in these games and through the pranks and escapades of this relatively unreformed Rugby that Hughes developed

self-reliance, courage and sportsmanship: but this was hardly Arnold's ideal of manliness. In 1842 Hughes went up to Oriel College, Oxford, now a home of strenuous athletes rather than of serious scholars. There he took to rowing, but still found time to play as a freshman in the 'Varsity cricket match. Even in the holidays sports were the major preoccupation - gymnastic exercises, cricket for the village team, fishing, swimming, punting, shooting, and riding were all pursued with enormous vigour.

Oxford may not have had much intellectual influence on Hughes, but it did affect him politically. He became a Radical. On coming down he determined to be a lawyer and it was during his time at Lincoln's Inn in 1846 that Hughes first heard Maurice preach. He was immediately infected by the spirit of service and the sense of fellowship that Maurice stood for, and for the next fifty years he was to be one of the most ardent disciples. Two years later Hughes became a founder member of Christian Socialism. Here, as very much the odd man out amongst Maurice, Ludlow and Kingsley, it was hard to find a role for this boisterous athlete. At first it was merely the 'donkey-work', but gradually he became the support on

5. Ibid. pp 28, 29, 34.
whom the others could lean. He was always optimistic, always cheerful: he was the man 'to rally the forwards for those last five minutes or to pull the side together when batsmen are set and runs coming all too quickly'. He was immediately likeable; a cheery, slangy language developed between Kingsley and Hughes, and they would often holiday together in the mountains of Wales. When in 1854 the Working Men's College was formed Hughes was little in demand as a lecturer, but very popular as an athlete or pugilist. He ran classes in gymnastics and boxing, even joining in the sparring with the members. Later there came clubs for cricket and rowing together with day trips to the countryside. In the Working Men's College Magazine for May 1859 Hughes wrote of the need for a healthy body. 'Round shoulders, narrow chests, stiff limbs, are as bad as defective grammar and arithmetic.' Boxing was all-important in the training of self-control.

The culmination of the effects of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, the Napolean III scare of 1859, and Lord Elcho's call for action, saw Hughes forming two companies of the Working Men's College Corps as part of the 19th Middlesex Volunteer corps. Major-Commandant Thomas Hughes,

'a kind of John Bull regenerate', was in his element. The association of manliness and patriotism began.

In 1856, during a period when he was preoccupied with the planning of the education for his eight-year-old son, Hughes wrote *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. The aim at first was to bring out what he wanted for a school, but gradually it evolved into a memorial to Thomas Arnold. He showed some of the early chapters to Ludlow and Kingsley, and they encouraged him to continue. In September of that year he wrote triumphantly to Daniel and Alexander Macmillan, the Cambridge publishers: 'my chief reason for writing is, as I always told you, I'm going to make your fortune ...' He did. In seven months Hughes received royalties of £1250, and by January 1858 over 11,000 copies had been sold. The success continued, and by 1890 more than fifty editions, including translations into French and German, had been printed. Most of the reviews were enthusiastic, though there were some complaints on the sentimentality and on the moral standpoint. Kingsley thought it a 'noble book': he had been asked to write on it for the *Saturday Review*, but

under special orders 'not to lay it on too strong'.

In his review Kingsley wrote that it was good at last to have a school novel written by a sporting man, in place of the usual moral tale as written by a clergymanschoolmaster or by a woman. He later penned some thoughts to Hughes - 'I have often been minded to write to you about 'Tom Brown', so here goes. I have puffed it everywhere I went, but I soon found how true the adage is that a good wine needs no bush, for everyone had read it already, and from everyone, from the fine lady on her throne, to the red-coat on his cock-horse, and the schoolboy on his forrum (as our Irish brethren call it), I have heard but one word, and that is, that it is the jolliest book they ever read.'

The appeal of this convincing, vigorous and moving school novel was immediate: the successful formula that Hughes had found was applied by others in every school novel to the end of the century, and perhaps beyond. Its influence in schools was to be far reaching.

The story of Tom Brown's Schooldays is simple. Rugby is the setting in which Tom discovers himself and builds his character. There is nothing special about Tom, for

12. Margaret Farrand Thorp, op. cit. p 94.
he is an ordinary true-blooded English boy:

'It's very odd how almost all English boys love danger; you can get ten to join a game, or climb a tree, or swim a stream, when there's a change of breaking their limbs or getting drowned, for one who'll stay on level ground, or in his depth, or play quoits or bowls.'

His father sends him to Rugby not to become a scholar...

'Well, but he isn't sent to school for that - at any rate not for that mainly. I don't care a straw for Greek particles, or the digamma, no more does his mother. What is he sent to school for? Well, partly because he wanted to go. If he'll only turn out a brave, helpful, truth-telling Englishman, and a gentleman, and a Christian, that's all I want ...'

To be 'brave, helpful, truth-telling', these are almost the three Platonic virtues of manliness - courage, self-control and truth.

Tom is soon proud to be a Rugby boy, and after hearing his first Arnold sermon he resolved 'to stand by and follow the Doctor'. The heart of the tale rests in the conflict between those boys who wish to maintain 'the good old days', and those who have accepted the Doctor's morality. Tom is pulled back and forth between the two factions, but in the end of course good prevails over evil. The moral to be drawn is that a true Christian

manfully co-operates with others in the fight for right. Manliness is defined as the fusion of high spirits, self-reliance, and courage in the service of all good works: it is the basic, and virtually sole, Christian virtue. This is an ideal drawn rather from Charles Kingsley than from Thomas Arnold:17 as Asa Briggs notes - 'If Stanley saw what happened in Arnold's mind, Hughes saw what happened in many of his pupil's minds, in the minds of all the Tom Browns who made up 'the masses' of the school'. 18

In accepting the Tom Brown stereotype the new public schools also took on the love of physical activity that is explicit throughout the story. To fight with one's fists was seen as manly:

'Boys will quarrel, and when they quarrel will sometimes fight. Fighting with fists is the natural and English way for English boys to settle their quarrels.'19

'After all, what would life be without fighting, I should like to know? From the cradle to the grave, fighting, rightly understood, is the business, the real, highest, honestest business of every son of man. Every one who is worth his salt has his enemies, who must be beaten, be they evil thoughts and habits in himself, or spiritual wickedness in

19. Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays, p 257.
high places, or Russians, or Border-ruffians, or Bill, Tom or Harry, who will not let him live in quiet till he has thrashed them. ①

How Arnold would have shuddered at the prospect of Tom Brown taking on 'Slogger' Williams in his name. Boxing and football, the Rugby variety of course, were encouraged as replacements for 'private school' games that were not seen to be manly. The novel is possibly first writing to advocate team spirit at school as a training in patriotism. After the School-house football victory Brooke, the captain, asks

'... but why did we beat 'em? answer me that - (shouts of "your play"). Nonsense. 'Twasn't the wind and kick-off either, that wouldn't do it. 'Twasn't because we've half-a-dozen of the best players in the school. I wouldn't change Warner, and Hedge, and Crab, and the young 'un, for any six of their side - (violent cheers). But half-a-dozen fellows can't keep it up for two hours against two hundred. Why is it then? I'll tell you what I think. It's because we have more reliance upon one another, more of a house feeling, more fellowship that the school can have. Each of us knows and can depend on his next hand man better - that's why we beat 'em to-day. We've union, they've division - there's the secret - (cheer) ... I know I'd sooner win two School-house matches running than get the Balliol scholarship any day - (frantic cheers). ②

① ibid. p 242.
② ibid. p 110.
Here then was ready-made team spirit; but not all games fostered it. Cricket did:

"... What a noble game it is too." (said the master) "Isn't it? But it's more than a game. It's an institution", said Tom.

"Yes", said Arthur, "the birthright of British boys old and young, as habeas corpus and trial by jury are of British men."

"The discipline and reliance on one another which it teaches is so valuable I think," went on the master, "it ought to be such an unselfish game. It merges the individual in the eleven; he doesn't play that he may win, but that his side may."

"That's very true," said Tom, "and that's why football and cricket, now one comes to think of it, are such much better games than fives or hare-and-hounds, or any others where the object is to come in first or win for oneself, and not that one's side may win."

"And then the Captain of the eleven!" said the master, "what a post is his in our School-world! almost as hard as the Doctor's; requiring skill and gentleness and firmness, and I know not what other rare qualities." 22

The carry-over into manhood was equally explicit. East has now left the school -

"Bye-the-bye, have you heard from him?" (asked the master)
"Yes, I had a letter in February, just before he started for India to join his regiment."

22. ibid. p 301.
"He will make a capital officer."
"Aye, won't he!" said Tom brightening; "no fellow could handle boys better, and I suppose soldiers are very much like boys. And he'll never tell them to go where he won't go himself. No mistake about that—a braver fellow never walked." 23

Thus we have the Tom Brown formula: self-reliance came through fighting and boxing, and team games produced *esprit de corps*. It was a philosophy that could rule the Empire, but the distortion of the ideal of manliness was complete.

Hughes quickly tried to redress the balance. A sequel, *Tom Brown at Oxford* dedicated to F.D.Maurice, followed in 1862, but it was a novel written from the head and not from the heart and it did not have the success of the original. In the period between leaving Rugby and going up to Oxford Tom had led a sporting life. He was now a 'better horseman and shot', but, so Hughes emphasised, the 'whole man had not grown'. 24 Though college life was to be both philistine and athletic Tom gradually grew to realise that there were more important matters. The befriending of the lowly 'Hardy, the Servitor', who first saves Tom from drowning and then through Tom's efforts becomes the hero of the rowing

eight, is a vivid example of true manliness at work. Tom eventually enrols in the noble brotherhood of 'muscular Christians', and here Hughes carefully distinguishes between the 'hail-brother well-met' musclemen and the genuine article -

'the least of the muscular Christians has hold of the old Christian and chivalrous belief, that a man's body is given him to be trained and brought into subjection, and then used for the protection of the weak, the advancement of all righteous causes, and the subduing of the earth which God has given to the children of men. He does not hold that mere strength or activity are in themselves worthy of respect or worship, or that one man is a bit better than another because he can knock him down, or carry a bigger sack of potatoes than he.'

But the appeal of the sequel largely went unheard.

As the years passed, so Hughes became more depressed and disillusioned; disheartened at the change from Christian Socialism to trade unionism, and disappointed at the evolution of the ideal of manliness into a cult of masculinity. In a 1876 series of lectures to the Working Men's College he attempted to redefine manliness in line with the Kingsley model. These lectures were subsequently published as *The Manliness of Christ*. The term now served as an envelope for courage, tenderness,

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and thoughtfulness for others. Courage was 'at the root of all manliness, but is, in fact, only its lowest or rudest form': it was an 'animal' rather than a 'human' quality. Courage, whether of persistency, determination to have one's way, or contempt for one's own ease and safety, only rose to manliness when the component 'duty' was added. Hughes cited Nelson as an example of true manliness because of his extreme devotion to duty.26

'Tenacity of will, or wilfulness, lies at the root of all courage, but courage can only rise into true manliness when the will is surrendered; and the more absolute the surrender of the will the more perfect will be the temper of our courage and the strength of our manliness.'27

Now true manliness was as likely to be found in a weak body as in a strong one; whilst proficiency in games was not even a test of animal courage, let alone manliness - 'a great athlete may be a brute or a coward, while a truly manly man can be neither'. The possession of the Royal Humane Society's medal for saving life was 'prima facie' evidence of manliness.28

As he withdrew from socialism, so Hughes spent more time on writing. He produced a succession of biographies for Macmillans on manly heroes, such as Alfred the Great.

and David Livingstone. But the England of the late 1870s was not Thomas Hughes's England. The slump caused by the rise of Germany and the United States in world markets, the growing secular feeling of the nation, and the ever-increasing professionalism of sport in the public schools, combined to see the end of Tom Brown's world. Hughes's 'servants' were now becoming imperial 'sahibs'. 29 It was a saddened Hughes who turned his back on England and sought a new world in America. There he helped plan a pioneer settlement in Tennessee where grown-up Tom Browns would prove that they were not anachronisms. 30 The name of the colony was Rugby, but sadly the dream did not come true.

III

Thomas Hughes' role in the evolution of moral manliness into a hearty masculinity may have been unintentional, but with William Cory and Leslie Stephen the consolidation of this new ideal was deliberate. More importantly, Hughes was a Christian of simple faith whilst both Cory and Stephen were to be influential agnostics of the new age. It is to Cory and Stephen, and not to Hughes, that Bowen at Harrow, Warre at Eton and Henry Newbolt, the poet of jingoism, all owed their lineage.

William Cory has a pedigree similar to that of the titanic headmasters - in particular, at both Eton and King's College, Cambridge, Cory was an exact contemporary of Edward Thring. All shared the delight in Scott and Tennyson, and there was enough of a Romantic in Cory to value *Jane Eyre* greatly and to inspire him to make a pilgrimage to Charlotte Bronte's Haworth on the Yorkshire moors. However, in his reverence for Wordsworth there was a germ of cynicism - 'only the daisies are not quite so edifying to me as they were to him'. After gaining the prized Newcastle Scholarship at Eton in 1841, Cory

2. ibid. p 74.
went on to shine intellectually at Cambridge. He became a Scholar of King's in 1842; the next year he won the Chancellor's English medal with a poem on Plato; and in 1844 he gained the Craven Scholarship. On graduation he first thought of taking Anglican orders, then his attention turned to the Bar, but finally with some relief he accepted an invitation to return to Eton. London was near enough for Cory to be quite closely involved with F.D. Maurice's Christian Socialist Movement, and by 1852 he was a member of the council for the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations. Of the leaders of Christian Socialism, it was to Thomas Hughes that Cory was drawn, even though he did not think Hughes particularly philosophically refined. After the 'failure' of Christian Socialism in 1854, Cory ceased to be involved with social reform, and soon too his Christian faith was to evaporate: 'When will this absurd sort of worship come to an end; this holocaust, this human incense, this Moloch-squeezing of infants?'

It is probably from Hughes that Cory saw the latent potential of athleticism. Certainly he was no athlete at Eton or Cambridge, if only because of his very weak eye-sight.

5. Faith Compton Mackenzie, op. cit. p 47.
The boost in games playing at Eton was to owe much to Cory's influence. By 1860 he had instituted house matches for cricket and that year he presented a championship cup. One of his rules for the competition hinted at future developments: ordinary dress was not to be worn and all players had to wear white cricket shoes. His attentions were also felt on the river and reached their culmination in his now famed Eton Boating Song with its call to 'all pull together'. Cory was a good and influential teacher (he contributed to F.W. Farrar's Essays on a Liberal Education in 1867), but he had a reputation for partiality and a susceptibility to aristocratic grace. He 'adored' athletes as long as they had a mind, and he thought bookish scholars 'incomplete people'. In the eight sporting and intelligent sons of Lord Lyttelton Cory found a ready supply of his Charmides-like ideal. But Charmides was to be a soldier: 'His pupil-room at Eton ... was close to the street, and the passage of the Guards through Eton, to and from their Windsor quarters, is an incident of constant occurrence. When the stately military music was heard far off, in gusty splendour, in the little town, or the pipes and

6. ibid., p 42.
7. ibid., p 40.
8. ibid., p 42.
A.C.Benson, introduction to William Cory, Ionica. 1905. p xx.
F.W.Cornish, op. cit., p 33.
drums of some detachment swept blithely past, he would throw down his pen and go down the little staircase to the road, the boys crowding round him. "Brats, the British Army!" he would say, and stand, looking and listening, his eyes filled with gathering tears, and his heart full of proud memories, while the rhythmical beat of the footsteps went briskly echoing by. 9 He was 'a patriot to the marrow of his bones'. Deeds of military heroism, the sight of the Navy off Spithead, and Eton gaining both the Ashburton Shield and the Spencer Cup at Wimbledon in 1868, were the things most likely to thrill his heart. 10

Cory's most lasting influence was through his poems, Ionica, published in 1858 and 1877. Whether on the romance of the river and the cricket field, or on the glory of battle and the hopes of the patriot, the poems always reflected a Platonic agnosticism; there was never a gleam of Christian hope. His 1863 A Retrospect of School Life gives perhaps the fullest intimation of his philosophy:

'There courteous strivings with my peers, 
And duties not bound up in books,  
And courage fanned by stormy cheers  
And wisdom writ in pleasant looks,  
And hardship buoyed with hope, and pain  
Encountered for the common weal,  
And glories void of vulgar gain,  
Were mine to take, were mine to feel.

And to myself in games I said,  
"What mean the books? Can I win fame?  
I would be like the faithful dead  
A fearless man, and pure of blame.  
I may have failed, my School may fail;  
I tremble, but this much I dare;  
I love her. Let the critics rail,  
My brethren and my home are there."  

Leslie Stephen is an enigmatic character. He could be appreciative of Charles Kingsley's work, yet he loathed Maurice. He was rejected for membership of the Cambridge 'Apostles', but for some years he served on the corporation of the Working Men's College. The only consistent factor seen by Noel Annan in his study Leslie Stephen was a subtle contempt for all culture and the world of ideas. It is after his rejection by the Apostles that Stephen, a tutor at Trinity Hall, shunned the company of intellectuals and became the leader of the athletic set. He encouraged long distance walking to guard against 'idleness and effeminacy' and became President of its club, the Boa Constrictors. The Athletics Sports founded in 1860, and the first University

14. ibid. p 32.  
16. F.W.Maitland, op. cit. pp 64-5.
Match with Oxford in 1864, both owed their inception to Stephen.\textsuperscript{17} He coached the rowing eight—seeing in the sport the epitome of team spirit for here it was impossible for one man to win the game,\textsuperscript{18} and he formed a militia in answer to Tennyson's call for riflemen.\textsuperscript{19} Stephen became the very personification of a 'muscular Christian', and, according to Noel Annan, it is he and not Kingsley who ought to be regarded as the founder of that School.\textsuperscript{20} Stephen even defined a 'muscular Christian'—'he should fear God and walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours'.\textsuperscript{21} Soon however Stephen veered towards agnosticism and only the masculinity of Spartanism remained.

\textsuperscript{17} ibid. p 61.
\textsuperscript{18} Noel Annan, \textit{op. cit.} p 30.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{ibid.} p 33.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{ibid.} p 29.
\textsuperscript{21} F.W.Maitland, \textit{op. cit.} p 138.
The Public Schools Magazine for 1902 noted that those who sought the unique in public school education should, since Thring was now dead, no longer look towards Uppingham but should turn their attention north of the border to Almond's Loretto. It is at this school, more than at any other in late-Victorian times, that the ideal of manliness became the central purpose of the educational system, and its legacy was to be far-reaching, both within Scotland and further afield in England.

H.H. Almond, a Scot, was a product of Glasgow University who then proceeded as Snell Exhibitioner to Balliol College, Oxford, in 1850. At Oxford he was an accomplished scholar, gaining a double first in Moderations, but little time was spared for athletic exercise. On his return to Scotland he took a post as assistant master at Merchiston Castle near Edinburgh. Rugby football and cricket had been newly imported to Scottish schools at this time, and Almond became keenly involved in their development at Merchiston. In 1867 the nearby private school Loretto came up for sale, and Almond sank his funds into this new venture. The

development of the school mirrors Thring's Uppingham: on arrival Almond found 12 boys; by 1876 this had risen to 88; the 100 mark was reached two years later; and in 1882 Almond's self-imposed limit of 120 was attained. The eventual success of the school was not purely local, for its reputation soon spread to England. Of the 132 boys in the school in 1902, for example, 63 were English, 17 from the Colonies, and 52 (or less than half) from Scotland. In the same way, many of the staff were English, and many staff moved on to English schools taking Almond's influence with them. H.W. Mackenzie, who later became headmaster at Lancing, Durham and then Uppingham, began his teaching career at Loretto. Loretto's uniqueness lay in Almond. He created a school 'whose convention was unconventionality, and tradition independent of the past'—and like Thring he had a new school at his fingertips. As David McNair suggests, Almond's creed was not 'what is usual?' but 'what is best?'. The foundation on which Almond was to build Loretto was physical education: to keep the body in the best possible

3. ibid. p 135.
5. ibid. p 1.
condition was to become a point of conscience and a matter of religion.

Almond ran the school in a personal, housemasterly way. He was interested in all boys, and perhaps even in the dullard more than the scholar: the training of character was his prime role. 'Loafers' and 'croakers' were never tolerated. The school was an amalgam of relaxed authority within a rigid hierarchy. There were no bolts on doors and bars on windows; there were no roll-calls or bounds; and there was plenty of free time. Dignity was abhorred: boys were called by their Christian names; masters went without caps and gowns; and games helped the social mixing of boys and masters so that their relationship was more akin to brothers than to masters and pupils. The rigid hierarchy enforced a strict discipline within the relaxed atmosphere. There were prefects galore: boys stayed on to 18 or 19 to be school prefects and in addition there were house prefects, heads of bedrooms, heads of schoolrooms, and heads of dining-halls. Each role was specifically defined: 'The head-boy of each form has also to see that every boy learns to play at fives, and to hold a cricket-ball, and to drop a goal'. There was no 'humanitarian softness'

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David McNair, *op. cit.* p 140.
in the punishments. Almond believed that boys 'needed' corporal punishment, and that they preferred it to lines and the like that would keep them indoors. To Almond it was 'unmanly' to 'shrink from pain' - and this even extended to a dislike of local anaesthetics in minor operations. There were two forms of corporal punishment - switching and caning. Switching was for serious offences, such as thieving, lying and bullying, and could only be administered by Almond. The more common caning could be administered by masters and prefects for the petty school offences.

Though H.B. Tristram, the historian of Loretto, is wrong in asserting that Almond was the 'first Headmaster who openly set himself to make the physical education of his boys part of the regular school system', the error is only one of magnitude. Other headmasters, notably Thring, had included physical education as part of 'the regular school system', but only Almond gave it such over-riding importance that almost nothing else seemed to matter. Scholarship, music and the arts, crafts and hobbies, and even the Chapel, all played a minor role when compared to physical education. Almond had admired

Ruskin since his own days at Oxford, and he felt great sympathy for his writings on the laws of health.\textsuperscript{12} Almond's fanaticism on the subject was to match Herbert Spencer's, though he always maintained that he only came across Spencer's works much later in the century. Indeed Almond's paper on 'The Breed of Man', published in the \textit{Nineteenth Century} in 1900, could almost have been written by Spencer, so close are the affinities. 'To be a nation of healthy animals is the first condition of national prosperity!' was a battle-cry much in sympathy with the forecast of the survival of the fittest.\textsuperscript{13}

At Loretto the equation of life was simple. Fresh air, personal cleanliness, careful diet, regular hours of sleep and study, physical exercise and sensible dress, combined to produce manliness.\textsuperscript{14} The motto Almond chose for Loretto comes as no surprise: 'Spartam nactus est: hanc exorna' (You have won Sparta: adorn her) - and the school would lead the way in both physical education and health reforms. To Almond,

'The laws of health are the laws of God, and we can be a great deal more certain of them than of many things about which people are a great deal more exercised. It is impossible for us to decide whether

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} ibid. p 111.
\item \textsuperscript{13} H.H.Amond, 'The Breed of Man'. \textit{Nineteenth Century}, October 1900. p 656.
\item \textsuperscript{14} R.J.Mackenzie, \textit{op. cit.} p 230.
\end{itemize}
God prefers his Church on earth to be governed by bishops or presbyters, but we know quite well that it is very bad for our health to work in a vitiated atmosphere, and anyone who does so wilfully is guilty of sin.\textsuperscript{15}

Almond's campaign began his first year with the introduction of open-necked shirts, opened windows in the dormitories at night, and the rejection of suits and stiff collars. Flannel shirts, tweed shorts and the morning cold bath were introduced in 1864, and these were soon followed by working in shirtsleeves in classrooms (1866), the banning of waistcoats (1868), and the banning of 'tuck' between meals (1869). The following years witnessed the end of school caps (1870), playing golf without coats (1871), the introduction of sensible 'anatomical' boots (1872), changing into flannels for games (1872), and the replacement of tweed by flannel for everyday wear (1874).\textsuperscript{16}

Many of the innovations may now seem commonplace, but at the time they were all regarded as foolhardy. One of Almond's more permanent legacies to British education is the hardy dress of open-necked shirt, tweed shorts and woolly jumper, an attire still to be seen at many public schools. Almond in his later years extended the attack

\textsuperscript{15} Almond's evidence to \textit{Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland)}, 1902, vol. 2, p 410. Quoted in David McNair, \textit{op. cit.}, p 148.

\textsuperscript{16} R.J. Mackenzie, \textit{op. cit.} pp 68, 78, 79, 86.
to the dress of soldiers and women - for the latter he felt that a liberation from encumbering skirts, misshapen figures and deformed feet would do more than any women's rights association. Almond soon built a small gymnasium, and employed part-time staff from nearby Edinburgh to teach gymnastics. All boys were to attend for half an hour every day. By the 1870s Almond had appointed a resident ex-army sergeant to superintend the work. In 1867 Almond introduced quarterly individual measurements for all boys - one of the earliest such known. The measures taken were of height, weight, chest normal and expanded, girth, size of left biceps, and size of left forearm; with them the physical development of each boy was traced, and, where necessary, remedial action was taken.

The playing of games was so important at Loretto that Almond invented 'Loretto time', fifteen minutes ahead of Greenwich, so that more daylight was available. All games were 'moral agents' which helped in the formation of character, and in this respect football had the edge over cricket. If it was too wet for games then cross-country runs, conducted on a basis of personal trust,

20. ibid. p 90.
were instigated. This early version of the 'honour system', later to be developed by G.W.S. Howson at Holt, soon became a Loretto hallmark. No matter what the weather, no matter how deep the snow, boys would still be off on their 'grinds'. If games were to be 'moral agents', they had to be played by all, and not played by a few and watched by many. If a boy did watch a school match, he would take his own exercise afterwards.

Colours, the athletic hero, cups and competitions found no place at Loretto, for Almond knew that they would bring professional attitudes to games, which in turn would lead to the watching of games rather than the playing. For the same reason, Almond despised innovations in games which merely served to make the game more attractive: faster games meant earlier retirement, which in the end defeated the whole object of games. Matches with other schools were important in that they imbued the spirit of chivalry, fairness and good temper - they tasted 'the manly prowess of teams of schools'. They also served as a means of advertising Almond's system.

To foster both these aims, Almond inaugurated the 'Interscholastic Games' of Edinburgh in 1866, but the suspicion of other headmasters soon brought about their

H.H. Almond, 'Football as a Moral Agent'. pp 906, 909, 910.
demise. A revived Games in 1880 fared little better. 26 Team spirit, or a 'school patriotism', was induced through games. At the Interscholastic Games supporters would shout for the school and not the individual, and in Rugby football Almond developed the team play of the passing game. This latter development did not at first please the boys, for they felt that the opposition would think that passing before a tackle was mere funkning. 27 Football was more esteemed than cricket, for here it did not matter who actually made the score, whereas in cricket the scorer's success could not be ignored. Almond did his best though to discourage cricket averages. 28 Golf, the school game found on Almond's arrival and soon to be replaced by football and cricket, did not inspire 'school patriotism'. In a letter to The Tatler Almond noted: 'It cultivates no school feeling, no high spirits, no courage and no endurance'. 29 - but it was an admirable holiday recreation. Almond was also an avid supporter of sportsmanship in all games. He felt that cricket was most open to lapses: here the time wasting of batsmen not crossing on their way to the wicket, and teams preferring a draw to a chance of victory were two items

H.B. Tristram, op. cit. p 122.  
27. ibid. p 153.  
29. Quoted in David McNair, op. cit. p 140. (4 October 1902)
singly out for attack. Almond even proposed to the M.C.C. that a batsman who had scored 50 runs should play with a half-width bat so as to give the other side more chance of success.

For Almond, success in games was a way of demonstrating the value of his system:

'As for the collective success of the School, it is natural that I should be keen. It is natural that I should desire to prove by results the soundness of the system of physical training I am trying to work out. How else but by success against larger numbers could I teach boys to believe that many things which are irksome to them at the time are tending to turn them out into the world stronger, more active, and more high-spirited men than they would otherwise be?'

Athletic successes indeed brought the name Loretto to the forefront in education. In 1873 the first Loretto boys entered Oxford; in 1878 some were in the Rugby XV; in 1880 Loretto fielded five Oxford blues; in 1881 eight out of nine old boys up played for the University and ultimately won blues; and in 1884 11 of 12 were full blues at some sport, with seven playing in the 'Varsity Rugby match. From then to the end of the century there were generally three or so Old Lorettonians in the Oxford

30, R.J.Mackenzie, op. cit. pp 153, 203.
31, Quoted in ibid, p 124.
and Cambridge XVs. This success, of course, had its roots at school. In 1883 a Loretto cricket XI travelled to Uppingham (a school three times as large) and humbled the home side on its own wicket. Rugby matches with Sedbergh were inaugurated in the same period, with Loretto generally winning these encounters. Games were vitally important:

'I would not care to face the responsibility of conducting a school were there not rooted in it as, I hope, an imperishable tradition, an enthusiastic love of football'.

Always, though, they were a means to an end. Kipling's Islanders with the parody of the 'flannelled fool' and the 'muddied oaf' incensed him. Games playing might now be an end in itself at English schools, but at Loretto it was only the means to a moral purpose. The professional approach to games much in evidence at the turn of the century disgusted Almond, and nearly undermined his faith in his own creed: "I consider competitive 'athletics' (though I thought otherwise) to be nearly as great an evil as competitive scholarship."

At J.H. Skrine's Glenalmond, the second 'Anglicised' public school in Scotland, the corps was reckoned more

32. ibid, p 122.
33. ibid, p 125.
34. ibid, p 249.
35. H.B. Tristram, op. cit, p 266.
David McNair, op. cit, p 138.
important than games, but at Loretto there was no corps. Almond, like Thring, probably did not wish to subjugate his own authority to that of an outside body, but in addition there was the question of uniform. Almond had for many years argued against the high, tight collars and the senseless uniform then worn by soldiers, and when five Sandhurst men died of heat in 1879 his attacks became more incensed. The Army system of examination (with its emphasis on intellect rather than character) also displeased Almond. Here he found support in Loretto's own statistics from the Boer War: of the 11 old boy regulars at the front only three were prefects, and one in the XV; of the 32 volunteers, six were school captains, 16 prefects, and 20 in the XV. As David McNair suspects, if Almond had lived a few more years, Loretto would probably have supported Baden-Powell's developments in scouting.

Almond's ideal of manliness combines the physical qualities of 'muscular Christianity' with the scientific and rational spirit of the age as embodied in the philosophies of Herbert Spencer. At no time is there a trace of Platonic or Romantic influence — 'Plato annoys me nearly as much as Mendelssohn does'. Almond preferred tangible, concrete realities to sentimental, artistic

37. David McNair, op. cit., p 145.
'vapourings'. 38 To be manly meant to be physically able, and through physical activity the virtues of courage and temperance could be fostered and the sense of *esprit de corps* could be felt. Courage was the root virtue, the one 'most closely allied to purity'. 'Surely, whatever tends to quicken the circulation, to raise the spirits, and to purify the blood is, *ipso facto*, a moral agent'. 39 This is a Sparto-Christian ideal of manliness, one exemplified in Almond's sermon on 'the consecration of the body':

'It was in the spirit of the soldier, and not the monk, that Paul offered up his body a living sacrifice to God. He had no sentimental notions; he simply kept it in the best possible condition for the work he had to do, and then utilised it in fighting his good fight. He no more shirked pain, or disfigurement, or mutilation, or death, in fighting the battles of his kind, than any of you would do if you found yourself with a rifle in your hands, face to face with an invader.

'Which of you would then reckon the speed of the runner, or the strength of the gymnast, or the honours won between the wickets and goals, or the glowing satisfaction of facing some wild storm on our bleak uplands, or the possession of healthy, hardy bodies - enabling you to enjoy life as only healthy men can do - as the supreme end of an athletic training?..

39. Homer's *Odyssey* was a favourite work - *ibid.*, p 371.
'And as the field of the 'tombless dead' passes before your eyes, will you say of those who have presented their bodies as living sacrifices in the sacred cause of driving back the foe that a single hour of the strong, joyous discipline which gave firmness to the nerves and vigour to the limbs which now lie stiff and cold in death has been spent in vain? ...

'Why, of why, cannot there be a holy alliance between the athlete and the Christian - an alliance against the common enemies of both: against intemperance, and indolence, and dissipation, and effeminacy, and aesthetic voluptuousness, and heartless cynicism, and all the unnatural and demoralising elements in our social life? Why will some take so narrow a view of the true aims of physical training that they bound their horizon by the vision of prizes and athletic honours, not seeing that in themselves and by themselves these things are as worldly and worthless as unsanctified wealth, or knowledge, or literature, or art? Why will others, again, who would not willingly break any of God's commandments, who would not pass a day without prayer, who believe and trust in a risen Saviour - why will they not regard sedentary habits, and softness of living, and feebleness that might have been strength, and delicacy that might have been hardihood, as physical sins? Why will they not devote to the service of the kingdom of heaven blood as pure, limbs as supple, condition as fit, energies as buoyant, as if they were aspirants for a championship, and so do something to
wipe out the reproach that religion is a feeble emasculated thing, good enough for sick-beds and solemn functions, but out of place amid the strong, rough work and more manly joys of life? 40

In many ways the Public Schools Magazine correctly traced the line from Uppingham to Loretto, for indeed Thring and Almond had much in common. Both were practising teachers rather than idealistic theorists, and for both their memorials are schools they created. Almond published little: in addition to the two Nineteenth Century articles already quoted, some of his thoughts are embodied in C. C. Cotterill's Suggested Reforms in Public Schools (1889). 41 As with Thring and Uppingham, many parents sent their boys to Loretto just to be under Almond, and both headmasters shared a dislike and mistrust of examinations. 42 On the other hand, Almond was much narrower than Thring for he restricted his interest to one straightforward aim. With Thring it was character and intellect, but with Almond it was character rather than intellect: discipline, chastity, manliness and mercy were, in the view of his biographer, R. G. Mackenzie, far more important to Almond than scholarship. 43 As Almond lived until 1903 he did however

42. H. B. Tristram, op. cit. pp 72, 311.
have to face the problems that loomed in the decades either side of the new century, problems that Thring's premature death spared him. In this respect Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart's view that Loretto at this time was 'the cleanest and sweetest school in Britain' clearly places Almond as one of the most important headmasters in the history of the ideal of manliness, and supports Bruce Lockhart's claim that Almond was the greatest Scottish headmaster ever.

'Harrow was a fine, manly place', wrote J.G. Cotton Minchin. 'There was nothing namby-pamby about Harrow boys. The Debating Society of Harrow did not, I think, play so important a part in our school life as the "Pop" did at Eton, but the tone there, as elsewhere on the Hill, was healthy and anti-priggish.'\(^1\) Such was the verdict on Harrow's masculinity in 1898. The exemplar was the games player:

'Who then were the autocrats of Harrow, for our Hill was not likely to be the only spot on the world's surface without an aristocracy. This was an aristocracy of the finest cricketers and "footer" players that the School could for the time produce. No thinking man will blame us for idolising the athlete. The cricketer in his flannels was our hero, not the student immersed in his books. Can there be any question as to which is the more picturesque figure? ... In the Harrow XI is found the grit which has built up for Great Britain her united Empire. It is the Wellington not over again. It is to the energy of men, mainly unknown to fame, that Britannia owes her supremacy by land and sea. Such boys leave our famous Hill every year.'\(^2\)

Fifty years earlier games were played very gently at Harrow when the Hon. F. Ponsonby and the Hon. R. Grimston

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\(^1\) J.G. Cotton Minchin, *op. cit.* p 142.
\(^2\) *ibid.*, pp 150, 161.
began to help with the cricket XI. The efforts of these two gentlemen, who were old boys but not masters at the school, soon brought fruit, and gradually games and the playing of games began to dominate Harrow life. By 1871 Grimston could

'claim for our cricket-ground and football-field a share, and a very considerable share, too, in the formation of the character of an English gentleman. Our games require patience, good temper, perseverance, good pluck, and, above all, implicit obedience. It is no bad training for the battle of life for a boy to be shinned at football, or given out wrongly in cricket, and to be able to bear the affliction quietly, with good temper, and in a gentlemanlike spirit.'

By now games were compulsory for all, and a boy would be beaten by the monitors if he did not attend. The 'object of every boy' was to get into the Eleven, and the moment when he was 'given his flannels' would be 'the supreme moment of his life'. Boy government was to be dominated

4. Edmund W. Howson and G.T. Warner, *Harrow School*. 1898. p 219. The memorial in Harrow's cricket pavilion reads: 'In memory of the Hon. Robert Grimston and Frederick Ponsonby, Earl of Beaborough, famous cricketers, loyal Harrovians, blameless gentlemen, whose friendship, begun in school days, and cemented on the fields of English sport, rendered more conspicuous the love they bore to Harrow, where, through fifty summers, while teaching skill in cricket they taught also manliness and honour.'
5. (various authors), *Our Public Schools*. 1885, p 24.
by the athletes:

'The brilliant cricketer and the sturdy footballer will always have authority.' So ran Arthur Holt's argument. 'Make that authority constitutional and responsible, and you will at least escape a good deal of friction; while such boys, if they know that they are trusted, will often be found to exert an influence for good which does not always belong to brains ... But it is a familiar experience that the athlete who might have become a source of trouble as an irresponsible force is found to add strength to the government, on the principle that an old poacher often makes the best gamekeeper.'

The man who, more than anyone else at Harrow, moulded the course of athleticism was E.E. Bowen, and as one of the most respected schoolmasters in England, his influence was probably to extend to other schools. That such an influence came from an assistant master, in an age dominated by headmasters, indicates that his contributions were particularly forceful. Bowen, the son of a Church of England clergyman, was born in 1836. After schooling at Blackheath (where the headmaster was the Rev. E. J. Selwyn, the father of a future headmaster of Uppingham), he followed the route of Frederic Farrar and Charles Kingsley to King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1860 he joined the staff at Harrow,

7. Arthur Holt (a master at Harrow) in The Public Schools from Within. 1905. p 148.
remaining there until his death in 1901. When the
Modern Side was created in 1869, Bowen became its first
Master, and he only resigned that appointment in 1893
when the new headmaster (J.E.C.Welldon) began to use
the Modern Side as a sink for the least able boys.9 In
addition to the fame he gained through the Modern Side,
Bowen was also a much loved and well respected housemaster.
That he never sought a headmastership is partly due to
his refusal to take Holy Orders, for this debarred him
from office at the major public schools, but even when
other posts were virtually at his acceptance, he would
none the less refuse to be considered as a candidate.10
It is thus as a 'light, cheerful, vivacious, humorous,
familiar, and above all things, ingenious' housemaster
that Bowen developed his ideal of manliness.11 His
influence was to be both deep and wide - 'he had the
striking power of discipline and government, as striking
perhaps as that of Vaughan. As a source of moral
inspiration he was scarcely second to Arnold. He had
the vigour, the energy, the manly hardihood of Thring.'12

To his contemporaries Bowen was the walking
embodiment of 'mens sana in corpore sano' - a tag that
suited him 'to a T'.13 He was always an avid walker and

11. ibid. p 346.
rambler. When a student, he had walked the 90 miles from Cambridge to Oxford in less than 24 hours, and in later life he claimed to have walked all England's coastline and a goodly portion of the Alps. At Cambridge he had been a keen footballer and there he played a small role in the formation of the Association rules. His fame as a footballer and cricketer at Harrow was almost legendary, and he continued to play both games to within a few months of his death. His enthusiasm was boundless, and his caution negligible.

Though racquets, gymnastics ('Mere Greek iambics of physical training.'), swimming and the corps were all in existence at Harrow in the 1860s, they were of little account in the boys' eyes, and none at all in Bowen's. They inspired little sense of comradeship. Cricket and, above all else, football were second to nothing in education in 'fostering a healthy, manly, unselfish corporate life'.

'It is not only the gain of doing in a manly way what others do, and sharing the common life, nor the health that comes to body and mind from mingled activity and sport, but on the football field the character is more revealed, for imitation or for blame, than at any other moment of the day.'

16. Ibid. pp 146, 147, 231.
17. Ibid. pp 187, 225.
Manliness was an ideal ever present in Bowen's personal influence as a housemaster. 'Stoicism and honour were the qualities it was mainly directed to form. Every boy was expected to show manliness and endurance, and to utter no complaint.' The regime was decidedly Spartan, and there was no evidence of a softening Christianity in the ideal. Bowen scorned luxury both for himself and for the boys: his rule was that plain living was virtuous and luxury evil. Fresh air, vigour, hardihood and physical strain were preferable to armchairs, hot baths, early fires and daintily furnished studies. A pupil related to James Bryce that when Bowen found he was in the habit of taking two hot baths a week the transgression was reproved with the words: 'Oh boy, that's like the later Romans, boy.'

Bowen is best remembered today for his words to 'Forty Years On', that national anthem of Harrovians. John Farmer, who joined the Harrow staff as music master in 1862, had already set some words of B.F. Westcott's to music in 1864 (these are often mistakenly thought to be the first English school songs, but that honour probably belongs to Thring and Uppingham), and from 1872 to 1877

20. ibid. p 350.
there followed a memorable partnership with Bowen.

'Forty Years On' embodies many of Bowen's ideals:

'Routs and discomfortures, 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.

'God give us bases to guard and beleaguer,
Games to play out, whether earnest or fun;
Fights for the fearless, and goals for the eager,
Twenty, and thirty, and forty years on.'

E.B. Castle, in his Moral Education in Christian Times, feels that Bowen had no illusions about athleticism. 22 Certainly the underlying frivolity of his essay on 'Games' published in the Journal of Education lends support to Castle's view. Here games are extolled for the aesthetic pleasure of their playing, for the pleasure of the company they provide, and for their social influence for good. There are even some passing shots at the over-zealous games master. Underlying the superficial frivolity there is however a thesis that games are the most important and valuable of all factors in the educational process. Games induce respect for command, obedience, dignity and courtesy; in addition they correct laziness, foppery and man-of-the-worldness.

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Bowen is in no doubt that 'the best boys are, on the whole, the players of games'. 23 If he had no illusions about athleticism, he certainly did little to stem its tide, and the hero-worship epitomised by Cotton Minchin's praise was certainly sympathetically received in Bowen's ear. Bowen's philosophy was Spartanism, for the muscul arity of 'Muscular Christianity' almost enveloped the Christian foundations. 'There lies more soul in honest play, believe me', wrote Bowen, 'than in half the hymn-books.' 24 It comes as no surprise that Bowen's favourite maxim was 'Always play the game'. 25

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24. ibid.
VI

E.C. Mack, the distinguished American historian of public schools, saw the years between 1870 and 1890 as witnessing 'the greatest upsurge of passionate adoration to which the schools had ever been subjected.'

Much of the adoration was centred on the games -

'The passion for games, checked somewhat in the sixties, blossomed more fully under the influence of the increased competitive spirit of the age, encouragement by the new plutocracy, and the more widespread interest in imperialism, until it assumed proportions undreamed of in the sixties.'

Inter-school rivalry increased, and school magazines logged the records of their rivals as well as their own. In 1875 The Public School Magazine was founded to distribute news of public school sport, and to raise 'a spirit of healthful rivalry between young Athletes of our several Schools': Uppingham was noticeably omitted from the first issue. When the first Public Schools Year Book was published in the following decade, nearly a third of it was given over to the games at the various schools.

2. ibid. p 123.
4. The Public Schools Year Book, 1889.
The 1870s saw 'the height of the craze for games' at most schools. Games were now generally compulsory on three days a week: A youngster asked in The Cliftonian - 'I want to know why everything here is compulsory. I like football well enough, but when I am forced to play whether I feel inclined to or no it is not pleasant.' Inter-school matches gained considerable status, and large crowds would go to Lord's on the day of a public school match. In the 1850s the Eton and Harrow match attracted hardly any spectators; by 1864 it was necessary to rope off the playing area; in 1880 the match became so important socially that it affected the duration of the London season. The same period saw the large-scale publication of books on sport, including the renowned Badminton Library, and the expansion of the communication media -

'Nowadays', Edward Lyttelton observed, 'the (Boat Race) crowd assembled to see the practice of the crews equals the number of those who used to watch the actual race; moreover, the minutest facts connected with the play of each oarsman's muscles are anxiously picked up on the spot, form a paragraph in the daily papers, and are telegraphed

to the Antipodes.  

Games were now generally accepted for their moral training: in Clement Duke's view they taught self-reliance and self-control. Games also kept sexual temptations at bay for they would teach a boy to respect his own body as 'the casket of his soul', and as such 'the thought even of defilement will not enter his mind, or if it enter will be indignantly repelled'. The morning cold bath, so often the concomitant of compulsory games, was advocated for the same reasons: 'the hot bath at bedtime, so commonly resorted to compulsorily, and so strongly advocated by many, is capable of serious harm to many a boy by suggesting ideas and feelings which lead to practices that otherwise might never have been originated'. Together games and the cold bath would produce a manliness with 'the utter absence of effeminacy'.

'If all boys were encouraged to be manly, energetic, and enthusiastic at their games, they would be trained to become healthy and ingenuous throughout their whole school life; failing this course, there will arise an unmanly precocity in self-indulgence and betting, smoking, and drinking; boys will

9. idem.
11. ibid. p 79.
naturally develop into premature "men of the world", and schools become tainted with an atmosphere of "society" which no master can purify.\footnote{12}

For the moral effects to be experienced the games need not of course be played well or skilfully: the knocks and bruises, bumped balls and dropped catches would none the less still come. The Public Schools Commissioners had twenty years earlier suspected that the attentions of games masters and professional coaches would soon turn games into a 'science',\footnote{13} and indeed by the 1880s the athletic means to a moral end was becoming an end in itself. The 'deification of success' and the 'worship of the athlete' brought problems in their wake, for the effects of games lasted far beyond the hours of play. Players day-dreaming of their matches damaged the intellectual interests of the school, and the athletic hero and his attendant worshippers seriously undermined the prefectorial system of government. At Harrow the prefects were now chosen from the games players rather than from the scholars, and at Rugby, where the games-player did not officially rule, he began to do so unofficially as the prefectorial system started to decay.\footnote{14}

\footnote{12} ibid., p 301.  
\footnote{13} Public Schools Commission., vol. 1, p 41.  
To counteract this damaging individualistic trend, but to keep the important moral advantages of games, *esprit de corps* was raised as the ideal behind games playing.

Thomas Hughes had suggested the alliance of team games and *esprit de corps* in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, but it was now in the 1880s that the ideal first received general acclaim. Edward Lyttelton was one spokesman:

'A boy is disciplined (by games) in two ways: by being forced to put the welfare of the common cause before selfish interests, to obey implicitly the word of command, and act in concert with the heterogeneous demands of the company he belongs to; and secondly, should it so turn-out, he is disciplined by being raised to a post of command, where he feels the gravity of responsible office and the difficulty of making prompt decisions and securing a willing obedience.'

Now 'team spirit' and a training in leadership were to be added to the manly qualities instilled by games. The change involved other increases in regimentation in school life: bounds and regulations proliferated; more time was given to studies and games and less to leisure; the freedom that every early Victorian headmaster thought vital was to disappear for ever.

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15. Edward Lyttelton, 'Athletics in Public Schools'. p 44.
Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, *op. cit.* p 65.
In 1893 Great Public Schools was published. Here the life at the Clarendon schools, with the addition of Clifton, Marlborough and Haileybury, was lovingly drawn. Uppingham is again conspicuous by its absence, though there were a few references to the recently deceased Thring. Long chapters dealt with the games at Eton, Harrow and Rugby - the colours, the rituals, and the language. The Rugby chapter by Lees Knowles seems particularly asinine.\textsuperscript{17} This period saw Rugby football revered as 'the most manly game on earth', whilst 'no Etonian worthy of the name fails to carry the memory of the Eton Playing-Fields with him to his grave'.\textsuperscript{18} At Marlborough games were compulsory daily, a practice that prevented 'loafing' and enabled the housemasters to know exactly where every boy was every minute of the day.\textsuperscript{19} At humbler schools it was the same story: when Sanderson went to Oundle as headmaster in 1892 he found 'little except that vague hunted gregariousness known as esprit de corps, cricketing sentiment, and a gentlemanly habit of mind.'\textsuperscript{20}

Games now played an enormous part in the life of a public schoolboy, and to many the chief ambition on

\textsuperscript{17} Great Public Schools, pp 171-200.
\textsuperscript{19} Our Public Schools. pp 294-5.
\textsuperscript{20} H.G.Wells, Story of a Great Headmaster. 1924. p 20.
entering the school was to distinguish himself at games. Boys felt that 'the swiftest and surest way to eminence is through athletics'. The prominent games player was in practice head of the school and his position was 'more absolute than the Pope's'. The veneration with which boys regarded their heroes was such that G.W. Lyttelton could write that the

'body of the school are far more interested in the prowess of the school eleven than in playing the game themselves. For days before the principal school match, excitement is at fever heat; during the match itself all other games are left off, the whole school assemble round the protagonists to yell themselves hoarse with delight or dismay, and the excitement takes some time to settle down. The match is fought over again ball by ball, and the heroes of it are exalted to demigods in the eyes of their fellows. It is hardly necessary to say that during this period work is practically at a standstill, and the subsequent return to it is slow and difficult.'

The games master was both a product of the system and a prime factor in its continuance. The legend that a cricket blue, on completing his century in the 'Varsity match, received five telegrams from headmasters offering him posts, may not have been true, but it was believable.

H. J. Spenser pictured such a master in the *Contemporary Review* of 1900 as healthy, selfish, philistine and generally slack. He had no professional zeal or dignity, and as the attraction of schoolmastering wore off, he invariably took Holy Orders and escaped to the Church. 23 Parents too not only supported the games, but also worshipped the games player. A. H. Gilkes, the headmaster of Dulwich, was once introduced to a great English bishop with "He is the father of P.T.S.-", naming a youth well-known for his powers of cutting. Gilkes also recalled dining with a parent

'who after dinner said to me, with some feeling in his tone, that he had that day taken his son for the first time to---, naming a great school, and that he had taken the opportunity given him by the parting to give the boy the best advice in his power. I said that the occasion was well chosen, for that when a boy was going into a strange and somewhat perilous life he needed guidance; and moreover from then his heart was soft and open, and thus he would receive and remember what was said. The father agreed with me, and said that the advice which he had given his boy was to take up bowling rather than batting as likely really to be of more service to him.' 24

Parents, staff and boys were agreed that games were a vital central feature of school life. Support was gained by

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A. F. L. Smith from comparisons with continental educational systems:

'Comparisons may be misleading, but one cannot help noticing the contrasts afforded by the attempts made by France in the direction of a system of education more democratic in its scope and more purely intellectual in its aims. Its results are hardly such as an Englishman would be likely to appreciate. The absence of athletics inevitably involves more work, and more work generally means too much work. The nerves cannot stand the strain, and the result is an abnormal development of the morbid side of the character. To meet this the cords of discipline have to be tightened until the system becomes far more cramping and stunting than any amount of compulsory athletics. At best it leads to an intellectual arrogance or priggishness, which is far more unwholesome, and not less offensive than the swagger of the brainless athlete. Such a system fails to make the best of either world. The justification of our own is that it tries to make the best of both worlds - perhaps after all the highest possible ideal in practical life.'

E. C. Mack's conclusion is apt: 'the religion of athletics seems the perfect expression of a Philistine age'.

With the general raising of the age of entry into public schools to thirteen, the later Victorian years saw the formation and expansion of preparatory schools as feeders to the public schools. These schools, with boys

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aged from eight to thirteen, diffused the public school ethos to their charges. The curriculum, attitudes and morality were all those of the public schools. Religion to J.H.Simpson, who was at prep school in the 1890s, merely became a 'divine sanction' for an ethical code of 'dutiful, upright, sensible, industrious, reasonably well-to-do, upper middle-class Englishmen; in particular a sanction for honesty, patriotism, loyalty to one's school and order, and for a rather negative conception of purity.' 27 The games and drill of public schools were wholly adopted, and no time was given to activities more suitable to the age group - such as creative movement or dance - 'grace would have been suspect as unmanly'. 'To be a keen and courageous player of games was certainly no small part of the idea of manliness that was set before us.' Simpson and his contemporaries were encouraged to admire the outstanding games player and their heroes were the men of action, especially the soldier, sailor and explorer, whilst it was scarcely suggested that the world owed anything to artists, scientists and statesmen. 28

The increase of the athletic ethos in the public and preparatory schools in the 1890s took place against a growing national obsession for competitive sport. The

public schoolboys of the 1860s took their love of games with them to their urban parishes and northern factories and mills and there they were instrumental in the formation of football and cricket clubs for their parishioners and workers. Most of these football clubs played the Association game, and during the 1880s the game drifted away from accepted public school principles, and adopted working-men's ones instead. Professional players had now appeared. In 1883 the Old Etonians surrendered the F.A. Cup to Blackburn Rovers, and no public school side ever again reached the final. A passion for league football developed, especially in the industrial towns of the north of England, and even Members of Parliament and the aristocracy were drawn into 'The New Football Mania'. Professionalism in the game brought betting and corruption in its wake and the crowds and cup-tie atmosphere passed into the public school sphere. Soon 'gentlemen' were to feel that they had to play the game only with each other to avoid the 'risk of plunging into the moral slough'. Schools that played the Rugby code felt aloof from such contamination, but some of the Association schools felt the alliance embarrassing and actually changed codes. The developments in cricket


were not so traumatic; but here bigger crowds and more ardent support meant the object of the first class game soon became the avoidance of defeat. Statistics proliferated, matches became duller, and the era of 'the magnificent draw' arrived. Three articles in the National Review alone between 1898 and 1903 indicate how deep was the worry over the game. Reforms were advocated to increase scoring, stop time-wasting, and prevent drawn games. Many agreed with H.H. Almond's fear that certain developments in modern games were actually deterring gentlemen from playing them. Alfred Lyttelton was one: 'that the Saxon before middle-age should desert cricket for golf might undermine the natural character, and produce results too serious to contemplate'. Of the traditional public school games only rowing seemed to escape the tarnish of professionalism, for the sport was not conducive to large crowds and so did not draw the all-powerful gate-money. Gentlemen amateurs strove to maintain the public school spirit of games in an 'Anglo-Saxon Olympiad', but these games as part of an 1892

33. A. Lyttelton, op. cit. p 231.
English-speaking festival never materialised. 35 Baron de Coubertin's revived Olympic Games of 1896 caught the imagination of others, and there they were pleased to see the 'Anglo-Saxons' defeat foreigners in almost every event. 36 Sport was now part of the culture for both the gentleman and the working-man. Special papers were published for the separate sports; the respected reviews carried summaries of the sporting seasons; and all newspapers carried sporting sections, to which most men and boys immediately turned. 37 Sport even began to displace other news on the front page, as A.C. Benson noted:

'It is apt to disconcert the philosophical mind to find a leading evening paper displacing the war news (1900) for a column, introduced by prodigious headlines, recording the performance of an English team of cricketers in Australia.' 38

Against this background the defenders and opponents of games playing in the public schools volleyed at one


36. G.S. Robertson, 'The Olympic Games'. Fortnightly Review, June 1896. p 945. Anglo-Saxon included Americans, who won the bulk of the award. Robertson also voiced the usual public school contempt for continental gymnastics - 'even seconds in these absurd gyrations gained the same laurel branch as the second in the hurdles' - 'An Olympic wreath is far too precious a thing to be squandered on good form in hopping over a horse or swarming up a rope.' Ibid. p 946. cf. Matthew Arnold, Higher Schools and Universities in Germany, 1874. p 136.

37. A.H. Gilkes, op. cit. p 77.

another in the national journals. Games were supported for their disciplinary role (games fagging was a useful punishment and it prevented loafing and visits to the pastrycook\textsuperscript{39}) and for their moral training:

'It is almost unnecessary to remark', wrote E.M.Oakley in \textit{Great Public Schools}, 'that the system of compulsory games is in full swing at Clifton, to the enormous benefit of all, especially of the physically indolent and the morally soft, and certainly too in most cases of those precious tender plants, the boys of precocious intellect, who in the old dispensation used to be seen "on half-holidays walking round and round the school-close, arm-in-arm, discussing their mutual confidences, whilst the games went on".'\textsuperscript{40}

The hero-worship was also seen as being perfectly healthy and normal. Through games boys won primacy and admiration was accordingly bestowed: 'Bodily prowess is to boys the most tangible and visible form of success, and, as such, will always be admired and emulated'.\textsuperscript{41} Besides, such qualities made England great - 'The sportsman continually precedes the trader in new countries; and the trader the statesman. These qualities can be developed on our playing-fields'.\textsuperscript{42} The interval of more than a decade enlarged Clement Duke's list of qualities that games

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Great Public Schools}. p 221.
\textsuperscript{41} G.W.Lyttelton, \textit{op. cit.} pp 160, 197.
\textsuperscript{42} Clement Dukes, \textit{op. cit.} p 285.
cultivated. They now generated not only a well-balanced mind and character, but they also instilled glowing spirits, quick obedience, good temper, fair play, self-reliance, endurance, confidence in comrades, ambition, quick judgment, unselfishness, courage and self-control.\textsuperscript{43} Games and the cold bath were still regarded as an antidote to vice. Through manly games 'the foolish effeminacy' that might make a boy's study 'like a lady's boudoir' was avoided and the 'unmanly precocity of self-indulgence' was discouraged.\textsuperscript{44} Many would have agreed with J.G. Cotton Minchin 'that the more athletics flourish in our public schools, the less vice will be found in them'.\textsuperscript{45}

The opponents of the athletic ethos were in general not opposed to the games themselves, but to their excessive domination of school-life and their acceptance as a cult. The writer of 'Old Eton and Modern Public Schools' in the \textit{Edinburgh Review} of April 1897 was typical. He hoped that the day was far distant when a parliament was to be without cricketers, sportsmen and farmers, but the 'glorification of athletics' had gone too far when 'the attractions of the Eight and the Eleven are enormously exaggerated in boys' minds'.\textsuperscript{46} The 'tyranny', 'idolatry' and 'superstition' of athletics was regularly exposed.

\begin{itemize}
\item[43.] Clement Dukes in \textit{The Public Schools from Within}, p 183
\item[44.] \textit{Our Public Schools}, p 366.\hfill Clement Dukes. \textit{The Public Schools from Within}, p 183
\item[45.] J.G. Cotton Minchin, \textit{Our Public Schools}, pp 230-1.
\item[46.] 'Old Eton and Modern Public Schools', \textit{Edinburgh Review}, April 1897. p 367.
\end{itemize}
Lessons were missed for matches and the intense interest taken in the games by the boys destroyed their interest in their work. 'A coloured cap was worth ten times more than any prize.' As the premier school match of each term drew near, so fewer boys played games and more began to watch.

'How does it help the health of the school to have some few boys in violent exercise while several hundred lounge about and eat cherries, as the only occupation of the day?'

Pleas to cut down the number of matches, to prevent boys missing classes to play in them, and to ban the newspaper reporting of the contests, all went unheard. The oft-repeated call to bring in other leisure activities, such as photography and natural history, to redress the balance, or even to soften the games by the introduction of tennis or golf, never were heeded.

The philosophy that enabled the supporters of games in the public schools to dominate the stage was the generally held belief that games inspired esprit de corps. It has already been shown that this ideal was first acclaimed in the 1880s; now in the closing years of the


century it came to fruition. Arthur Ponsonby, in *The Decline of the Aristocracy*, asks the reader to compare public school team photographs of the 1850s and the 1900s. In the former the random grouping and the variety of hairstyle and dress suggests the carefree atmosphere of the period, whereas in the latter the sitters are precisely placed in stereotyped poses, and the dress and even the expressions look alike. This presents *esprit de corps*, an ideal based on belonging to a group, the concealment of all emotions, and the 'stiff upper-lip', and it was this that was extolled as the new manliness. Inasmuch as it made the least member of the school share identity with the scholars gaining Oxbridge scholarships and the athletic heroes winning school matches, it had its good points; but in the sublimation of the individual to the group norm, the fear of 'bad form', and the moulding of personality to the dominant type, the effect was stultifying. To cultivate the individual came to be to encourage the crank, and this was a disloyalty to the recognised pattern:

'A boy who obeyed the conventions, scholastic, athletic, and social, had a pleasant enough time ... It is only the original boy who refuses to submit to the prevailing customs who suffers.'

As games were chosen as the prime medium for inducing esprit de corps, it thus became natural for the talented games players to be regarded as the exemplars, and thus the reign of the 'blood' and the 'hearty' began in earnest. Even when the effect of this reign was seen in the undermining of discipline and the lowering of morality (the earlier reasons for encouraging athleticism), the ideal of esprit de corps remained intact. Such was its all-enveloping ethos.

If games were to inculcate esprit de corps, then they had to be planned accordingly. Individual games, such as tennis, gymnastics and golf, would have no part. Sixth formers seen with 'tennis bats' in the Close at Clifton had their conduct censored by the praepostors as 'undesirable', whilst at Rugby the game was suppressed 'in the interest of cricket'.[^52] Hockey, in these early days of play on football pitches, was hard to make a truly team game, so it too was generally regarded as effeminate and fit only for malingerers - or perhaps it was valuable 'just for a change'. Cricket can hardly be described as a team game in the esprit de corps sense, but its position in the public schools was long-standing and beyond reproach. It was thus left to football and rowing to produce the ideal. Rowing, with success

dependent on the individual acting in concert with his fellows, was the perfect sport, but unfortunately not all schools stood on suitable rivers. The status of Association football had dropped due to the professionalism in the game (though the oldest schools still fervently maintained the code), and it was thus seen to require less 'speed, endurance, courage or chivalry'. At most schools then, the mantle of esprit de corps fell on Rugby football. In the 1860s the aim of the individual player in the game, and in other comparable games such as Association football and hockey, had been to take the ball as far up-field as possible. Only when he was tackled did he try to pass the ball to a team-mate, and then he too would plough forward. Boys at Loretto felt it unmanly when Almond suggested that they should pass the ball before the tackle was made. In the early 1880s Oxford teams developed 'the passing game' and with it successfully defeated Cambridge for a number of years. This passing game was soon in use at Loretto and Cheltenham, 54 and within a few years it had spread to the other schools. As a true team game, in which the success could depend on the weakest player and where much of the best work was done out of sight (and thus unsung) in the scrum, Rugby was

Great Public Schools. p 139.
universally extolled for these virtues. Individual success in games might affect the character in undesirable ways, but it could not happen in Rugby football.\textsuperscript{55}

The house system common at most public schools was found to be almost purpose-made for esprit de corps. Now not only could a boy offer loyalty to his school, but a second and much narrower and more enforceable loyalty could also be given to his house. At most schools house feeling soon predominated over school feeling. In 1892 The Cliftonian could complain that there was 'hardly a person in the School who would not rather his House should be Cock House than that the School should win the Marlborough match'.\textsuperscript{56} This house spirit was almost wholly concerned with games and especially Rugby football. Housemasters generally encouraged it, whilst at Marlborough their desire for victory in house matches often overpowered all reason.\textsuperscript{57} A spirit of 'sportsmanship' and a love of 'good form' were side effects of esprit de corps. Clifton was renowned in the 1890s as 'the only school in England' that applauded its opponents when they played well as much as they applauded their own side.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{55} Cyril Norwood, \textit{op. cit.} p 101.
\textsuperscript{56} O.F. Christie, \textit{op. cit.} p 363.
\textsuperscript{57} Our Public Schools, p 297.
\textsuperscript{58} O.F. Christie, \textit{op. cit.} p 359.
This then was *esprit de corps*, and games were the medium of its education. Throughout the Edwardian years the standing of the ideal was unchallenged, and even foreigners as eminent as Baron de Coubertin came to see it as the formula behind England's greatness. The following eulogy on Eton could well be extended to all public schools:

'That is the School as a whole, and as we see it most plainly; not the School of the Playing Fields and cricket matches, when we meet other schools; not the School of the river, even though our traditions are of the river; but the School of that great Eton throughout the world is thinking the same thoughts; when Etonians who might never meet otherwise, who are separated by routine, by officialdom, by a hundred miles of riding and railway, meet with the same purpose and with the same words. That is the day which is most to all the School: the day which ends with the Boating Song and Latin messages, long and short, sent home to Eton - *Etones matrem salutant*; - messages ending with the words which can never be hackneyed, because they must always be felt from the heart; which end each half spent at Eton, and must end a book written about Eton, because they mean the same thing for all, and only carry meaning for those who belong to the same school.

FLOREAT ETONA!'  

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59. Pierre de Coubertin, 'Are the Public Schools a Failure?' *Fortnightly Review*, December 1902, p 984.  
There has always been a unique quality about Eton. Partly this is due to its aristocratic connections, and partly to its huge size when compared to other public schools. With much justification, it has always regarded itself as the premier school in England. A consequence of this uniqueness has been the diversity of the staff at the school at any one time: fashions come and fashions go, but rarely do they carry the whole of Eton's staff with them. The reaction of Eton to the cult of athleticism proved no exception, for in the period between 1860 and 1900 Eton numbered amongst its masters not only the leading protagonists of the athletic movement (we have already seen the contribution of William Cory) but also some of its most articulate opponents. Their battle within the confines of the school reflected the struggle at large in the rest of the country.

By 1864, the year when the Public Schools Commission reported, games were well established at Eton. G.R. Dupois, the son of the Vice-Provost, had been coaching cricket there since 1858, and by the time of the Commissioners' visit the game's importance was enormous.
'The cult of cricket playing' the report noted, 'has now reached a pitch of perfection which demands of those who are ambitious of success in it, professional instruction and long and constant practice. Five hours a day, at least on half holidays (or twice a week), and two hours at least on the whole school days are considered by the boys necessary to get into the Eleven.'

The following year R.A.H. Mitchell joined the school and, with Dupois, brought Eton cricket to a high plateau of success that was to last into the new century. At first their attentions were given only at the request of the boys, and then only to the Upper Club, but by the following decade Mitchell was not only moulding a style of Eton play throughout the school, but also directing matches from the boundary. Success in the matches against Harrow gained such importance that Mitchell was not averse to 'spying' on the Harrow XI in the weeks before the game, or providing the opening bat with Dutch courage during the actual contest. Mitchell's appointment on the staff was to set a new trend in the public schools. Gilbert Coleridge recalled that 'He did not impress us in school as a profound scholar', but added that he was very popular with the boys.


*ibid.*, p 171.
specific: though Mitchell was both a form-master and
later a housemaster, he was never an ordinary master,
but 'he held a position that was other and peculiar;
he guarded and guided the cricket of the school, at
least at its more exalted levels, and of the Eleven he
was known to be the genius, the friend and critic ever
at their right hands'.\(^4\) Mitchell was the first of the
'games masters', appointed to the staff of public schools
primarily to coach games. Certainly Etonians knew which
of studies or games ranked higher in priority in his
eyes: 'Never talk to Mr. Mitchell on extraneous subjects,
such as a General Election, during the progress of a
Public School match when Eton is playing'.\(^5\)

The developments in other games at Eton matched
those of cricket. Football, with the Wall and Field
games peculiar to Eton, was purely an internal game and
so did not rank as high as cricket. Rowing, so the Public
Schools Commissioners found, did: 'The Captain of the
Boats is the greatest man in the school, and next to him
ranks the Captain of the Eleven'.\(^6\) Other games might
develop in the individual player 'an element of selfishness
and consequent conceit', but rowing with its 'let's all
pull together' philosophy could not. Rowing not only

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taught neatness of wrist, a sense of rhythm, acute feeling for balance, subtle variation of power, judgment, pluck, and gallant effort to a stroke's command, but also gave 'the glorious sense of brotherhood which animates a crew in their united struggle for a common end, the unselfishness of the result, and, above all, the long, hard weeks of hopeful training. Good for the body and good for the soul'.

The man behind the developments in rowing at Eton was Edmund Warre. Warre came to Eton in 1860 from Balliol College, Oxford, where he had gained a first. Poor eyesight had prevented success in ball games, so it was towards rowing that Warre turned for a sport. At Oxford he was President of the University Boat Club, and on arrival at Eton he took the school's rowing eights into his charge. Like Mitchell, Warre was not renowned in the school as a scholar or teacher, but as the best rowing coach in England his position was supreme. In 1884 the Headmastership of the school became vacant, and, to the surprise of many, Warre was appointed. A critical letter in The Times greeted the appointment with a list of Warre's accomplishments: he lacked scholarship, he was a poor preacher, he had written nothing of note,

but he was known throughout England as an expert rowing coach and an able field officer in the corps. Percy Lubbock as a boy under Warre saw him as a dignified, conventional, uninspired teacher. He was not a school-master at all, but more a leader, a statesman, or a prime minister. He was the head of state, whilst others were to educate his subjects. As a preacher Warre 'stirred nobody', but he still followed the rowing. Even in his dress of straw hat and flannels the sportsman generally overcame the don, and only when a lesson could be twisted towards Odysseus and the raft or the construction of an Athenian galley would Warre teach enthusiastically. Athleticism burgeoned as Warre strove towards an ideal of manliness that was boyish in its conception: he was, in Percy Lubbock's view, a great schoolboy wanting to produce everlasting schoolboys. E.C. Mack's assessment of Warre's 21-year reign at Eton was that 'he was eminently fitted to create a model school for turning out athletic philistines, and that was, indeed, exactly the sort of school that he developed so effectively'.

The critics ranged against the 'athletic philistines' at Eton were numerous, but with Warre as headmaster their efforts were generally non-availing. However, even before Warre's elevation the Spartans were in the ascendant. In the 1860s his predecessor, Dr. Hornsby, had dismissed Oscar Browning for continued opposition to the games mania, and the attempts of W.E.Jelf for Eton reform fared little better. Jelf saw that for nine-tenths of Etonians it was 'all play and no work' and that 'amusement is essence, work the accident, of daily life'.

'When the muscular theory places the duty and perfection of man in athletic excellence, it is perhaps no wonder if the Eton boy follows suit, and embraces heartily the notion that amusement is as much his duty as work'.

Ralph Nevill of the Warre years agreed: 'An entire absorption in games to the exclusion of practically all other interests cannot be called a healthy feature of education'. And Lionel Ford, a supporter of games who contributed an article on 'Public School Athletics' to Essays on Secondary Education (1898), felt that, even though games were important in character-training, there was undoubtedly 'a tyranny of athletics and an idolatry

15. ibid. p 99.
of athletes'. 18

The most reasoned and articulate case against the cult of athletics was presented by A. C. Benson, the son of the former headmaster of Wellington. Benson was a senior housemaster during Warre's headmastership and witnessed the full onslaught of athleticism. That the dulling effects of the cult were eventually modified owed much to his well-publicised efforts. Benson was himself physically active and a member of the Alpine Club, but it saddened him that schoolmasters could

'send out from our public schools year after year many boys who hate knowledge and think books dreary, who are perfectly self-satisfied and entirely ignorant, and, what is more, not ignorant in a wholesome and humble manner, but arrogantly and contumaciously ignorant - not only satisfied to be so, but thinking it almost unmanly that a young man should be anything else'. 19

Intellectual aims were now low in education, for schoolmasters only wanted to make boys morally good and physically healthy. Moreover success was seen only in terms of wealth and sporting aptitude. To Benson society had become a mixture of the Hebraistic and Spartan systems; the Athenian ideal of 'strong intellectual capacity' had


no place.\textsuperscript{20} In \textit{The Schoolmaster}, \textit{The Upton Letters} and \textit{From a College Window}, and in articles in the \textit{National Review}, Benson wrote of the tyranny of games. It now required almost more courage to write about games than anything else for 'to the ordinary Englishman a belief in games is a matter of faith and morals'.\textsuperscript{21} Many masters were games players, for the presence of a blue on the staff gave parents confidence and provided an excellent advertisement, but these men, with their 'sense of complacent superiority, and a hardly disguised contempt for the people who do not play', supported athleticism to the detriment of the rest of school life.\textsuperscript{22} Boys could

'find plenty of masters who are just as serious about games as they are themselves; who spend all their spare time in looking on at games, and discuss the athletic prospects of particular boys in a tone of perfectly unaffected seriousness'.\textsuperscript{23}

Even on social occasions Benson found that 'my worthy colleagues give themselves to athletics with an earnestness which depresses me into real dejection. One meets a few of these beloved men at dinner; a few half-hearted remarks are made about politics and books; a good deal of vigorous gossip is talked; but if a question as to the best time

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid.} p 56.
\textsuperscript{21} A.C. Benson, \textit{From a College Window}. 1906. p 266.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ibid.} p 278.
\textsuperscript{23} A.C. Benson, \textit{The Upton Letters}. 1905. p 43.
for net-practice, or the erection of a board for the purpose of teaching slip-catches is mentioned, a profound seriousness falls on the group'.

Parents were little better: 'For one parent who said anything about a boy's intellectual interests, there were ten whose preoccupation in the boy's athletics was deep and vital'.

'It may safely be alleged that a very large percentage of parents of Eton boys would make no secret of the fact that they would rather that their boy was in the Eleven or the Eight than obtain any number of school prizes.'

To Benson the result was 'a pedantry, a priggishness, a solemnity about games which is simply deplorable' - the whole thing was 'distorted and out of proportion'.

Benson agreed that games were a healthful occupation and that they could confer on boys certain manly qualities. Games could also produce serenity under defeat, and the sacrifice of self to the interests of the side, but this was not always the case.

'I once asked a good many boys to tell me candidly whether they would prefer to gain great distinction in a match and have their side beaten, or that their side should win, but that they themselves should be discredited; and I can only say that very few indeed

24. ibid. p 163.
chose the latter alternative.\textsuperscript{28}

Benson also questioned the theory that games were valuable from a moral viewpoint, and that they kept physical temptations at bay: here he believed the adoration of the athlete presented even greater sensual temptations.\textsuperscript{29}

The danger of athleticism in Benson's view was that activities meant for healthful recreation were taken far too seriously. Success in games became ardently desired and was identified with success in life. The pressure on boys was considerable: some would suffer in health and have sleepless nights when their game went off, and were deeply relieved when rain gave them a day free from the burden of anxiety. Benson's remedy was very Thringian: the importance of games should be diminished, and other activities should be given equal opportunity for development. Masters should ensure that every boy had something he could do well.

'What I desire with all my heart to see is an increase of the intellectual spirit, a larger share of generous admiration for all effort, a true view of the end of physical prowess, and a stronger, healthier, more manly tone of morals; more simplicity, less conventionality; a bigger conception of duty, a larger view of patriotism,'\textsuperscript{30}

These could have been Thring's very words.

\textsuperscript{28} A.C.Benson, \textit{The Schoolmaster}. p 99.
\textsuperscript{29} ibid. p 100.
\textsuperscript{30} A.C.Benson, 'An Eton Education'. p 460.
How did Thring and Uppingham fare in the years of the athletic tilt of the ideal of manliness? The question can be answered in an examination of how, when the school left the town of Uppingham to escape a typhoid epidemic, the year at Borth influenced both the history of the school and the evolution of the ideal of manliness. This year proved to be perhaps the most important of Thring's headmastership and it produced a marked change in the interpretation of the manliness ideal: the effects of that year at Borth were as powerful and far-reaching as those of a deep geological fault that strikes across the face of the countryside.

In 1875 an outbreak of scarlet fever caused two fatalities in the town of Uppingham. The drainage system was found to be primitive yet, despite Thring's pleadings, the local Board of Guardians did nothing. Typhoid fever soon followed and five boys of the school died, but a local sanitary inspector pronounced the town's wells pure. Thring was not convinced and, with the town persisting in its lethargy, he sent off a sample of water to London. Inspectors soon arrived and condemned the Uppingham drainage system. The recommended repairs and improvements were, however, not implemented.

1. See Malcolm Tozer, op. cit., chapters 9, 11, 12. Only new material is noted here.
for many months, and the parents of Thring's boys understandably were becoming anxious. On 2 November 1875 Thring disbanded the school, ending the term a month early. The boys re-assembled on 28 January 1876, but a further outbreak of disease enforced a second dispersal on 11 March. The future of the school was now at stake. Thring was strongly condemned in the press for keeping the school open, and a mass withdrawal of boys was imminent. At a meeting of housemasters Thring looked for suggestions: one offered, 'Don't you think we ought to flit?' The school did just that, and on 4 April it re-assembled at Borth in North Wales. A whole year was spent on the Welsh coast, with the school housed in the Cambrian Hotel and some nearby cottages. On 4 May 1877 the school returned to a healthier Uppingham. 2

These are the raw facts of a remarkable exodus; the true spirit is logged in the three much annotated volumes of Edward Thring's Bible which are held in the archive room of the school library. The bookmark for the first volume is to this day resting at the page where Thring placed it for his last Borth Commemoration service on St. Barthabas Day, 1887: the text on that page is Genesis XXVIII, verses 11-22. This page of the Bible had a special connection with Borth, for not only did Thring

Nigel Richardson, 'Uppingham-by-the-Sea'. 1977. This is a dramatised account of the Borth saga. In UA.
use it as the text for his sermon at the 1887 thanksgiving (vv. 20-22), but it was also the one used for a sermon soon after the return from Borth (v. 11), and for the 1879 commemorative sermon (vv. 20-22). Genesis XXVIII tells part of the life of Jacob, and Thring's telling of the story gives meaning to the whole Borth adventure. Thring had already started in the years before Borth to identify his own life with that of Jacob's. In May 1873 a visiting bishop took Jacob as the theme for his sermon to the school, and Thring felt that the choice was prophetic: 'I had been pondering on that chapter, and taking Jacob's vow this very season.'

Jacob was seen as 'the father of all the toiling, striving men, who have to make their own way; the men who through many mistakes, and much suffering purge out the meaner views and mixed motives, and come out at last into the full Light of God, princes of God, no more Jacob, but Israel.'

Jacob had lived all his life in a wealthy and peaceful home, and in a home where religion played an important part. In this secure atmosphere Jacob had experienced all the usual minor vexations of life, but he was spared the real worries. Nothing in terms of religious doubt or personal trial came to test him. Jacob's life was simply too comfortable, everything was

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3. Diary, 5 May 1873. (Parkin 1, p 246)
4. Sermon lxviii, Sermons Preached ... vol. 1, p 364. This is in fact a post-Borth sermon.
taken for granted. One day God called to Jacob, and asked that he should relinquish all this security and follow Him. Without any clear motive Jacob made his decision, and chose to follow the call to foreign lands. Incredibly that decision saw the end of wealth and security, and in their place there came all the fears and deprivations that are part of the life of a homeless outcast. Not unnaturally, Jacob bemoaned his plight, bitterly contrasting his former life as a rich man with his present state as one of the poorest of the poor.

One night, as Jacob slept in some strange land, he dreamed his now well-known dream, of a ladder stretching up to heaven, and at the top seeing not only God's angels, but also God Himself. In this dream God revealed to Jacob that he was one of the chosen people and that his descendants would be for ever blessed. On awakening, Jacob returned to his former home, forsaking his life as an outcast, and for the rest of his years led a truly godly life.  

Thring would compare Jacob's life to that of Uppingham.

Not many years before, Uppingham had begun in effect as a new school, and from these small beginnings grew a great school. This school had a cause; the aim was to

5. This is the essence of Thring's telling of the story as in the 1879 Borth Commemorative sermon. Sermons Preached ..., vol. 2, p 18 - sermon lxxxiii.
give each boy the best chance in life.

'The object aimed at was to raise school-life to a higher level, to give it less temptations, more power for good, to make it happier as well as better, to breathe into the school life a principle of common honour, a feeling that the school, the boys of the school, were a regiment with a banner of their own, enlisted to uphold the right, and to put down the wrong, themselves amongst themselves, as free, and not as under compulsion; and thus in Christ's name, and with Christ's blessing, that all should be joined together in one body, each in his place working in liberty, for a liberty and privileges of freedom which he understood; and that being free, and soldiers of truth, all should take a higher place in the kingdom of life.'

The idealism in those early years was strong; the new educational experiment was a success; and the school went on from strength to strength. 'There was great prosperity. After years of slow and painful labour, and care, and risk, great prosperity had come; the bread was multiplied; and it seemed as if nothing was left to be done but to go on in an easy path of successful work, and add quietly what still remained unfinished.'

As the school flourished, so it had grown away from its own ideals. In the 1850s and 1860s Uppingham had blazed a new trail across the map of education, but by

7. 1887 Borth Commemorative sermon.
the 1870s many of these 'private' school ways were being replaced by customs common at all the other 'public' schools. Idealism was giving way to conformity and conventionalism and a surge in the prominence of the playing of games was the most noticeable change. In the ten years between 1863 and 1873 the expenditure on games had nearly trebled whilst the number of boys remained much the same; the Committee of Games had grown in importance, and its rule book had expanded to 31 pages; and the results of cricket and football matches were published in The Field, The Sportsman and The Football Annual. A few games playing old boys at the universities began to exert a marked influence on the playing of games in the school. Perhaps in a university world of Old Etonians, Harrovians and Rugbeians, the name of Uppingham meant little or nothing: one way to lift the status of the school was to give it a sporting reputation. To this extent they succeeded, for it is arguable that Uppingham's national fame came first as a school of great cricketers rather than as the school where Edward Thring was headmaster. With the formation in 1871 of the Rugby Union to rival the well established Football Association most schools adopted one code or the other. Of the nine Clarendon schools most maintained the dribbling game of the

8. Hence Thring's call 'that to be known through England for true manliness is a better thing than to have a name for cricket'. See chapter 2, section X.
Association whilst the newer schools in general followed the lead of Rugby. The majority of Uppingham old boy footballers were more impressed with the Association game, and even the Rugby enthusiasts agreed that a choice one way or the other was better than no choice at all, so in the early years of the 1870s the Uppingham game veered towards soccer. Inter-school matches could now come. 9 Old boy cricketers were not to be outshone, and through the auspices of an increasingly self-important and self-selected old boys club they determined to raise the standard of Uppingham cricket. The battle with Thring on whether or not to have a full-time, residential cricket professional was long and hard, but in the end the old boys were victorious. Thring grudgingly agreed to the appointment of H.H. Stephenson on the grounds that not to have a professional had 'become equivalent to losing rank as a school, which would damage my rank with the boys immensely'. 10 The standard of cricket steadily improved; more inter-school matches were played; the XI was invited to Lord's; and in 1876 four old Uppinghamians were instrumental in Cambridge's commanding victory over Oxford. Uppingham was now almost any public school.

9. One did, against Shrewsbury during the Borth year.

10. In fact H.H. Stephenson was an outstanding success in all respects.
J.H. Skrine noticed the change. Skrine had been a boy at Uppingham from 1861-7, and on his return as a master in 1873 he noticed the increased prosperity and the enhanced reputation of the school. In addition, the several years of outstanding cricket success had brought a sporting glory, a glory that was set to dominate the whole of school life. Yet to Skrine's eye all was not well. The boys no longer prided themselves on the school's distinctiveness, and a spirit of conventionalism was evident. Discipline was less than perfect, and the standard of morality was lower. Along with this relaxation of the school's character went some weakening of Thring's own magnetism. These years saw Thring fighting for the economic and political survival of the school, and, whilst his attention was drawn away, changes occurred without his real attention. There was even the fancy that Thring was dispensable, and it was rumoured that he would soon retire. It was at this stage that typhoid struck - 'I do not know', Thring wrote, 'as Jacob did not know, how much of self-deceit, and corrupt work, needed the great calamity to purify and purge it.'

Thus the complacent school, like the complacent Jacob, had been reminded of God's presence, and, like Jacob,

11. e.g. The Schools Inquiry Commission, the founding of the Headmasters' Conference, and the New Scheme. see Alicia Pervical, The Origins of the Headmasters' Conference. 1969.
12. 1879 Borth Commemorative sermon.
began its new life far away from the riches and comforts of home. At Borth Thring discovered a sense of freedom, and the school refound its earlier ideals. Thring learned that he did not need the magnificent buildings at Uppingham to foster the ideal of manliness, for the spirit that built the 'Almighty Wall' could work anywhere. The year at Borth not only rescued the school from 'the Valley of the Shadow of Death', but it also saved it from the full cult of athleticism: how could team games flourish when 300 boys had to share one proper games pitch, and that four miles away? Artificial recreations lost their attraction among the cliffs and beaches, the mountains and Atlantic rollers on the Cardigan coast. Thring realised the importance of his new power almost immediately.

'This encampment of ours in a new land', he told the boys in a sermon at Borth, 'is full of freedom, full of trust, full of change; and its very trials test and train: test the heart, whether it is the mean heart of the day labourer, who frets and troubles if his work and food is not what he is used to; or the heart of the free manly character, which rejoices in overcoming difficulty, feels as it were a mountaineer's joy in the steepness of the climb, and the freshness of the air, joy in the exercise of sinew and strength, joy in the health and greater scope. So it may be with you, from the top to the bottom of the school, you may have a racy enjoyment of little hardships, instead of a sullen fretfulness and a slave's selfishness. Then again, the freedom
and the trust. You may show to all England that boys can be trusted, that boys have truth, that boys need not prison walls, and bars, and bolts to keep them from wrong, but can be self-governed, trustworthy, genial companions, above playing tricks, above the meanness that must be watched, above the idea of successful cheating. And it may be that our free life here, lived in a spirit of true liberty, every boy in earnest to make things go right, may do more to overthrow low views of education than all that has ever happened before. For new and startling facts have great power. 13

After the year at Borth, the school, like Jacob, returned home. And just as Jacob had been entrusted with a mission, so too had Uppingham -

'Those, who have been saved by a great deliverance, have been saved for a great purpose: to give witness before Caesar, to stand out boldly, and fearlessly in the world, and maintain truth, and purity, and obedience, self-government, and honour, in the face of the prevailing powers of the day, if need be, and fashionable idolatries. The being saved means this. I am sure, if you will quietly think over the fact, that for one whole year this school was in exile, and at any moment might have come to an end in that grim struggle for life, when more than once all seemed lost to those who really knew what was going on, a strong feeling will take possession of you, that a great debt is owed by the school to God, Who opened the way, when there seemed no way, and saved it

13. Sermon 134f, September 1876.
through all. The school has a work to do in the world, or it would not have been saved.'

Thring was now revitalised to deal with 'the prevailing powers of the day' and the 'fashionable idolatries'. The flirtation with soccer ceased, and the Uppingham football game was maintained; the cricket matches in London were stopped; the varieties of athletic millinery were reduced; and expenditure on games dropped by a third. The old boy enthusiasts bemoaned the fall in sporting interest and prowess, and blamed the unsettling move to Borth and the new timetable that Thring put into operation on return, but the reins were now back in Thring's hands. The cricket professional was encouraged to extend his influence to all boys and not to restrict his attention to the XI; gymnastics, athletics and swimming were encouraged once more to maintain balance; and physical education took its earlier place in the educational spectrum that Thring had painted. As Jacob did in his time, so Uppingham in its turn gave thanksgiving for a safe return, in the annual Borth Commemoration Service.

In his last Borth sermon, Thring reminded the school that the whole episode was far more than the kind of pleasure excursion that it was now generally remembered

14. 1882 Borth Commemorative sermon.
to be; indeed, the Borth year is a great divide in the history of Thring's Uppingham. Thring saw the typhoid epidemic as an act of God sent to point out that the school had strayed from its true path and had taken the easier road of conventionalism. The year at Borth was taken as the opportunity to rediscover these earlier ideals, and to put them into practice, and once back at Uppingham this is indeed what Thring did. The last ten years of Thring's life were mellowly golden - it was almost a return to the 1850s. Through the Borth Commemoration Service Thring's message is as clear today as it was a century ago -

'I do claim ... for this school, that the very deliverance is a grand inheritance for those who come after; a certainty, that a truth, which God thought worthy of delivering, is here; a certainty that it is entrusted with a special mission for life, with a precious germ of holy work which it is found to carry on. That year at Borth stands alone in the history of schools.

As long as these walls rise in their strength, so long will they plead with those who worship here; plead with those who were cast out and brought back again; with them and their descendants for ever; plead for the price that ought to be paid, the price of the life that was given back; the truth and the purity that shall show they were worthy of deliverance, the honest, active power of the sons of a great
inheritance, of sons, who remember ever, that a great gift is a claim for a great future, and that destruction, when it is a resurrection, is a passing from lower to higher life.

Do not betray your life. The school died and is alive again. Do not betray that life. 15

J.A. Mangan, in his recent thesis on athleticism as an educational ideology, has noted how it was at Uppingham that the athletic outlook was the most balanced. In a comparison of the content of the school magazines, in the time given to games, and the school careers of the boys chosen to be school captains, the research shows that at Uppingham the athletic ethos was not as strongly entrenched as at Loretto, Harrow, Marlborough and Lancing. Thring succeeded where other headmasters failed. At the fourth annual Headmasters' Conference, at Winchester in 1873, the increased importance of school games meant that they warranted discussion. Thring was present. Percival of Clifton opened the session: too much time was given to games he said, but

'It is not so much the amount of time ordinarily given to school games, as the amount of talk which follows upon the time and the impression the games make upon the boys' minds, which are absolutely ruinous, so far as many boys are concerned, to intellectual development.'


Henniker of Rossall followed—

'I contend that athletic exercise is good not only for the bodily but also the moral strength of a boy. I like every boy in my school to have so much exercise and fresh air that, when bedtime comes, he may soundly sleep till next morning without even dreaming.'

Butler of Harrow voiced the opinion that the cost of prizes for some games was becoming excessive, and he blamed the subscriptions from parents and 'injudicious friends' for the bringing it about. Blors of King's Canterbury criticised the increased publicity given to school matches and vehemently condemned the self-advertisement of present society. Then, almost gingerly, West from Epsom volunteered a suggestion—'I think we might judiciously introduce something like the German system of gymnastics, where every muscle is regularly brought into use and strengthened.' At last, Thring could keep quiet no longer:

'It seems to me it is useless to talk, or to trust to personal influence unless you can find for every boy a place for the sole of his foot—a πόδι—where he can distinctly feel that whatever he may be in other subjects, he has self-respect and is respected. I have in mind sundry

3. ibid. p 58.
4. ibid. p 58.
5. ibid. p 59.
6. ibid. p 59.
boys, which in my judgement, the gymnasium has absolutely saved, and others who in the carpentry have found the place they wanted.'

Perhaps they had heard before all about the 'great educational experiment'; perhaps, like Thring's own boys, they waited for the phrase 'True Life'; whatever the reasons, the words fell on deaf ears. Fanshawe of Bedford got the meeting back to the real business in hand; 'I do not suppose that without games we should have any means at all of fostering esprit de corps amongst boys.' The discussion carried on in this vein, whilst Thring remained silent.

Thring was not the only headmaster who saw the athletic outlook in perspective. Two good friends did too; Daniel Harper at Sherborne and George Ridding at Winchester. Harper had raised Sherborne from a school of 40 boys and one master to one with over 200 boys and 18 masters in the years between 1850 and this conference. Thring and Harper had been close allies in the assaults of the Schools Inquiry Commission and they were both instrumental in the formation of this Headmasters' Conference that had first met at Uppingham in 1869. The two schools shared a specially compiled hymn-book, and Thring even wrote a Sherborne 'Football Song' for his friend. It may have been no chance accident that William

7. ibid. p 60.
8. ibid. p 60.
Sterndale Bennett's son, J.R. Sterndale Bennett, was now teaching music and mathematics at Sherborne. At Harper's Sherborne all seemed well with the balanced ideal of manliness. The friendship with Thring continued after Harper's retirement as headmaster in 1877, for Thring initiated his appointment as a trustee of Uppingham.9

George Ridding was headmaster of the host school, Winchester, the first of the old schools to lend its influence to the Headmasters' Conference. Perhaps he had put the games question on the agenda? Ridding had been a boy at Winchester and a scholar at Balliol College, Oxford: these early years in his biography almost read as a Farrar novel. At Winchester he was pelted with slippers as he knelt to pray; he did not flinch, and gradually other boys came to follow his example.10 At Oxford, he did not get the expected double First, for he lent some notes to a friend, who inadvertently burnt them,11 nevertheless he gained a fellowship. At some stage Thring offered him a mastership at Uppingham, but instead he went back to Winchester - becoming second-master in 1863 and headmaster three years later.12

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10. Laura Ridding, George Ridding. 1908. pp 7, 8.
11. Ibid. pp 10, 16.
12. USM, 1892. p 335. Ridding preached the sermon at the unveiling of Thring's memorial at Uppingham. He said that the invitation came to start a second house almost forty years ago'.
At Winchester Ridding is remembered as 'The Second Founder', pouring £20,000 of his own money into new buildings and in general improving the whole educational facilities.\textsuperscript{13} Games, swimming and gymnastics all had their place, so too did the school mission at Portsmouth. Here Ridding acknowledged his debt to Thring, and the mission, founded in 1875, competes with Rawnsley's at Clifton for the honour of being first to follow Uppingham's lead.\textsuperscript{14} A contemporary old boy recalled Ridding saying, 'our first object is to make boys manly'.\textsuperscript{15} When he retired in 1884 he became the first Bishop of Southwell, in Nottinghamshire: Thring had written one of his testimonials. The closeness between Thring and Ridding was maintained, and after Thring's death it was Ridding who preached at the unveiling of the Uppingham memorial.

Not all schools then worshipped athletic gods, but most did. What did they hope to achieve? Some, in the manner of Cotton and Vaughan, needed to impose discipline on a reluctant school. Most saw games as the one area of school life where boys and masters could congenially mix. Health was seen to improve, and the discomforts and hard knocks that are always part of games were believed to be

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Christopher Dilke, \textit{Dr Moberly's Mint-mark}, 1965, p 74. Laura Ridding, \textit{op. cit.}, p 51.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Christopher Dilke, \textit{op. cit.}, p 76. Laura Ridding, \textit{op. cit.}, p 144.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Quoted in Christopher Dilke, \textit{op. cit.}, p 80.
\end{itemize}
good character-trainers. Teaching was in general dull and the classrooms cramped, so games brought some light relief - and, at most schools, little other amusement was provided. The worship of the successful athlete might be unwanted, but then boys always did worship physical strength; besides if the games sent the boys to bed dog-tired there were no worries about immorality. There were other advantages too. Here was an area of school life which was relatively unimportant, so it could be left to the boys as a training-ground in management. Games too provided an area of the curriculum where competition was definitely acceptable, and even the dullard could play his part without embarrassment. Boys are of course conservative by definition, yet the group loyalty inherent in games was useful in the smooth running of boarding houses. As time went on old boys, masters returning to their old schools, and eventually parents too, came to believe that all must be good in the religion of athletics.

For it was a religion, and at its best it was sincere, noble and outgoing. When Edward Lyttelton was a boy at Eton in the 1860s he was totally isolated from the social problems of the real world. Soon London was covered with school missions, offertories were given

to the poor, and reports in the school magazines gave record of the missionary efforts of old boys. In 1879 Bishop Walsham How accepted the newly formed diocese of Bedford and took responsibility for the co-ordination of all the London missions. There was a second important legacy. Thomas Hughes had shown how a manly word could drive home a moral message, and now it was to be through a genre of athletic literature that the Christian message was pressed. How different is Baxter’s Second Innings from the earlier Parables of Nature or Charlotte Yonge’s A Book of Golden Deeds, though all ply the same basic message. Baxter’s Second Innings relates how the hero, whilst recovering from an injury sustained in a cricket match, is visited by his ‘Captain’. It is pointed out that ‘Life’ is the real match, and ‘Temptation’ the bowler: the three stumps of the wicket are no less than the virtues of manliness, ‘Truth’, ‘Honour’ and ‘Purity’, and must be defended at all times from Temptation’s deliveries. The whole game is recorded on the score-sheet of character. Naive, yes, but in its cricket blazer cover, complete with pocket badge, it must have made an ideal Christmas present.

18. Charlotte Yonge, A Book of Golden Deeds, 1864. This is a collection of heroic tales for the young: the emphasis is on simple duty, mercy and loving kindness.
19. The copy in UA did. J.A. Mangan brought this book to my notice.
All this was 'muscular Christianity', and we do wrong if we scoff from the safe distance of time. The message was sincere, and the whole ethos came as a breath of fresh air after the mawkishness of Evangelicalism and the piety of the Tractarians. Sadly, as we have seen, the 'Christianity' gradually became servant of the 'muscular'; and soon disappeared altogether. This was the pattern of the times. The erosion of belief had begun under the influence of the Utilitarians, but it was the era of 'Darwinism' that accelerated the wane. In the battle of biblical truth against scientific evidence, distinguished churchmen found themselves on opposing sides. Much of the poetry of Tennyson and Mathew Arnold epitomises the mingled doubt and hope, the dejection and determination of mid-Victorian society. Science brought a chill to the very belief in orthodox religion, especially from 1862 to 1877 when the conflict was at its most bitter. ¹² By the 1880s church attendance was markedly down, and the trend was accentuated by the increasing tendency of the protestant church to split into extremes of denomination. ²¹ Then, with its culmination in the Forster Act, came the inevitable separation of religion and education. As the century ends so headmasters find it progressively more difficult to

²⁰ B.M.G. Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore. 1971. p 13.
appoint professedly Christian masters, and then too came the lay headmaster. 22

As the belief in true Christianity declined, so the ideal of esprit de corps rose in its stead. Esprit de corps had its good points. Some saw that it put down bullying, and it cannot be denied that to put the side before the individual is at times but a good thing, yet in the forced concealment of all emotion and the suppression of individual character in order to create a uniform type, the effects were not attractive. Platonic Athens had given way to Sparta. At its worst it fostered a violent partisanship, and positive hatred was sown between groups of people artificially selected in the same world of schools. The Eton and Harrow matches, with up to 15,000 spectators crowded into Lord's, became a feud -almost a vendetta, and it was impossible to include the two teams in the same luncheon room. 23 Corporate spirit was identified with athletic warfare; extrovert 'muscular Christianity' had become introvert 'esprit de corps.'

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23. Edward Lyttelton, Memories and Hopes. p 43.
Chapter Four

IMPERIAL MANLINESS

I

'To the philosopher of any nation (not excluding our own) the spectacle of the Englishman going through the world with rifle in one hand and Bible in the other is laughable; but to Englishmen, who are neither logicians nor idealists, it is not the wish to see his skill with the one and his faith in the other strengthened and increased. If asked what our muscular Christianity had done, we point to the British Empire. Our Empire would never have been built by a nation of idealists and logicians.'

Such was the opinion of J.G. Cotton Minchin in the 1901 publication Our Public Schools. It has been shown already how the ideal of manliness had evolved via 'muscular Christianity' to a cult of athleticism; this Chapter will examine how the same ideal developed under the auspices of what J.A. Hobson termed 'Imperial Christianity' into militarism.

During the middle years of the century, a series of 'nationalist' revivals were seen in a number of European countries, notably in Holland, Poland, Belgium, Norway and the Balkans. English nationalism was raised by the

excitement of the Crimean War and by the imperial designs of Napoleon III, but these only fanned the flames of an already kindled fire. As early as 1849 nationalism was evident. When, at an early meeting of the Christian Socialists, some Chartists began to hiss as the National Anthem was about to be played, Thomas Hughes sprang on to a chair and announced that the first man who hissed the Queen's name would have to settle the account personally with him. When volunteer movements of militia were formed in 1859, Hughes was one of the first fifty or so to enlist, and he soon raised two companies at the Working Men's College. Hughes' enthusiasm was matched by others. Alfred Tennyson sounded the clarion call to arms in many of his poems, and the call was answered at the universities. At Cambridge Leslie Stephen formed a small company and trained it in his College rooms; the Oxford corps was founded in Edmund Warre's rooms. For both corps drilling was the main activity, but soon rifle shooting was added.

One of the first signs of imperialist spirit was seen at this time in the love of the glories of Elizabeth's reign. Just as early Victorian England felt a kinship with Athens, so the mid-Victorians drew

support from the adventures of Drake and Raleigh. The bond spanning the centuries was the fear of the anti-national power of the Church of Rome. Elizabeth's conflict through Spain to Rome provided epic tales in an England fearful of 'Papal Aggression'. Poems like Tennyson's Revenge and novels such as Kingsley's Westward Ho! caught the spirit of this age. Westward Ho! not only preached the creed of nationalism and attacked the influence of Roman Catholicism, but it also taught a larger view of the country's mission in civilising the world. In effect, the benefits to be gained from (protestant) Christian Socialism were not to be restricted to England alone, but were to be diffused throughout the world. This imperialism Charles Dilke saw in the concept of a 'Greater Britain', in which the developments of the England of Elizabeth were not to be witnessed in the Britain of Victoria, but in the 'Greater Britain' of America, Australia, India, and half the habitable globe. Dilke's view, first expressed in 1869, matched the sentiments of the time, and soon saw fruition in Disraeli's expansionalist policies:

'The aim which in all the length of my travels has been at once my fellow and my guide - a key wherewith to unlock the hidden things of strange new lands - is a conception, however imperfect, of the grandeur of our race, already girdling the earth, which it is destined, perhaps, to overspread.'

A writer in the Dublin Review for 1865 (the writer was certainly not English, and probably Irish) observed this growing English nationalism with a mixture of amused scorn and fearful horror. Englishmen now regarded themselves as the finest people in the world, and perpetually prided themselves on their courage, pluck, nerve, daring, 'bottom', and 'stubborn, unflinching, dogged, perseverance'. Their 'honesty of purpose', 'uprightness of character', 'natural veracity', 'tough endurance', 'high and honourable and open-handed bearing', and 'honest pride' were qualities all the world ought to admire. The Englishman was always in the right, could never be beaten, and was ever-ready to defend himself with his own strong arm. All his heroes were Englishmen, whilst all foreigners were to be looked down upon. The French were frivolous, the Dutch self-satisfied, the Germans drunk, the Belgians cowardly, the Italians roguish, the Scots grasping, the Welsh obstinate, and the Irish lying. There really was only one chosen race.

In 1860 a meeting was held in London under the chairmanship of Lord Elcho to discuss the formation of corps in public schools. The meeting was successful, and that same year saw the formation of several school contingents. The first was at Rossall, where two companies were raised as

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part of the Lancashire Regiment, and Eton, Rugby, Marlborough, Winchester and Harrow followed in quick succession. The number soon reached between twenty and thirty, and then remained there until the end of the century. At Rossall and Bradfield elements of drill were taught to all boys, and not just those in the corps, but in general the corps was voluntary. Each corps was commanded and officered by masters at the school, and each had the professional assistance of one or more 'sergeants'. These men, the school sergeant (or porter), gymnasium sergeant, and corps sergeant, joined schools on leaving the Army and were responsible for the day-to-day running of the corps as well as other activities such as boxing and fencing. By the 1880s every school probably had its own sergeant.

Drilling, camping and shooting were the main activities in these new corps. Drilling, since it was dull, was soon given character-training overtones: 'It gives them an upright carriage, expands the chest, removes the slouch, and trains them to be attentive to the word of command and quick in obeying it.' Summer holiday camps were more popular, but shooting drew most support from the boys. Shooting could be run on the lines of a

7. The Public Schools from Within, p 212.
8. Ibid, p 213.
game, with house matches and school matches, and soon
Rifle Corps, as against Cadet Corps, were becoming
dominant. The establishment of the National Rifle
Association's Wimbledon (later Bisley) competitions for
the Ashburton Shield in 1860 did much to enhance shooting,
but in general its status was much below that of other
games, and drill did not rate at all. An Old Cliftonian
described the hierarchy:

'Football and cricket really counted. Gym and
athletic sports came next, a very bad second,
swimming an even worse third, while the Rifle Corps,
O.T.C. as it is now, not only did not count, but
proficiency in it, even gaining the shooting colours,
labelled a boy an outsider.'

9 Eton was one school where the corps was important. Warre
was a friend of Lord Elcho and he formed a contingent in
his first year in the school - 1860; by 1878 it was 318
strong.10 Etonians also had the vociferous support of
William Cory whose patriotic poems caught many a boy's
imagination. Ever since the time of the Duke of Wellington,
and perhaps beyond, Eton had had a strong connection with
the military, but now newer schools were forging such links.
Cheltenham and Marlborough from early in their foundation
were quick to prepare their boys for the military colleges
at Sandhurst and Woolwich, and by the 1880s Clifton and

9. O.F. Christie, op. cit., p 244.
Wellington were prominent too. Schools like Haileybury and Westward Ho! were in effect service foundations with almost all their boys the sons of serving officers, whilst in Scotland Glenalmond was gaining a similar reputation. At these 'military caste' schools the military ethos was strong: there were strong corps, plenty of shooting, and most boys joined the Army on leaving. But these schools were few in number; most were untouched by the seed of militarism.

The reason for the small number of schools with a military ethos is seen in the comments of the Old Cliftonian - corps was of little importance when compared with games. In that Clifton resisted the formation of a corps until 1875 because it was felt that it would lower the standard of the cricket and encourage loafing, it is perhaps typical of most schools.\(^\text{11}\) Almond never permitted the introduction of a corps at Loretto. Problems over the uniform clashed with his own theories of dress, but more important was Almond's belief that games could do everything that a corps could, and much more besides. Uppingham in Thring's time was another school that had no corps. A 'Rifle Corps' was an institution common in every other public school, wrote "A Volunteer" to the School Magazine in 1863\(^\text{12}\), and, perhaps in consequence, a weekly

\(^{11}\) O.F. Christie, op. cit. p 243.
\(^{12}\) USM, May 1863. p 41.
'drilling class' was introduced for a while in 1864. An old boy questioned this need for a corps: "...deportment, "exercise" and "amusement" can be secured ... from the good old games and the Gymnasium," and its introduction would 'sap much of the interest in these true Englishman-making games.' He hoped to see Uppingham at Lord's some day, but this would never happen if a boy was 'playing at soldiers in a fine uniform ... when he ought to be learning to catch a ball!' This idea of a Rifle Corps was revived in 1876 - when it was felt there was 'much material that should form excellent subject for the sergeant's function and the sergeant's severity,' and again in the 'troubled' times of 1885 - 'of what importance are games', asked "Martial Spirit", 'when compared with the glorious occupation of learning how to fight for their homes, country and freedom?' That Uppingham consistently did not adopt a corps must have been at Thring's insistence. The reasons for Thring's position would seem to be three-fold. First, the acceptance of a corps would make the school answerable to an authority outside his own control - and that was unacceptable. Second, the corps could add nothing to the ideal of

14. USM, November 1863, p 278.
15. USM, March 1876, p 4.
manliness as Thring saw it; and third, Thring's views on Empire did not match those of the emergent militarists.

To see this last point in perspective, we must go back from 1885 to the years that follow Disraeli's 1867 Second Reform Bill. Disraeli gathered together the various threads of imperialism, most noticeably those of Charles Dilke, and welded them into a national policy that was to be received sympathetically by the newly enlarged electorate. The years 1874 to 1880 witnessed the growth of this imperial idea - an ideal based not on imperial aggression but on imperial federation, an ideal best seen as an extension of the Christian Socialist philosophy beyond the confines of England. The leading force on imperial federation was a Canadian educationalist, George Parkin. Whilst on a visit to England in 1873 to examine the English educational system, Parkin was directed to Thring as the leading educationalist in the country. The two men were to have much in common and a natural affinity developed between them. When Parkin returned to Canada he and Thring corresponded much on educational and other matters, and such was Thring's respect for Parkin that it was to he, and not the faithful Skrine or the beloved Nettleship, that Thring entrusted his own 'official' biography. The Thring/Parkin link was made ever-stronger through the efforts of Edward's eldest brother Henry, Lord Thring.
In the 1860s Henry, whilst active as a counsel to successive parliamentary cabinets, had done much to formulate the constitution for the Australian and Canadian colonies. This experience encouraged him to lend his weight to the cause of imperial federation. 17

Like Dilke, Parkin had the fundamental belief that England, as the most civilised nation, had a duty to civilise the world. As the colonies were part of the same great body, it was essential that they should combine in federation so that the civilising influence should be the greater. That increased imperial trade, commerce and defence would come about were all beneficial, but wholly secondary to the main ideal. This Pan-Britannic empire was fostered through arts and sports as well as by commerce, whilst aggressive, bullying imperialism had no part. England, according to Parkin's Imperial Federation, should learn two things from history: the small Greek republics, centred on Athens, would have survived the onslaughts of Rome if they had combined in a federation; and the 1776 breakaway of the American colonies, with its disruptive effect on the Anglo-Saxon alliance, must not be allowed to happen again. 18 Together, the new colonies and the old country could civilise the world and spread

18. ibid. pp 7, 30.
the Christian gospel:

'If we really have faith in our own social and Christian progress as a nation; if we believe that our race, on the whole, and in spite of many failures, can be trusted better than others, to use power with moderation, self-restraint, and a deep sense of moral responsibility; if we believe that the wide area of our possession may be made a solid factor in the world's politics, which will always throw the weight of its influence on the side of a righteous peace, then it cannot be inconsistent with devotion to all the highest interests of humanity to wish and strive for a consolidation of British power. It is because I believe that in all the noblest and truest British people there is this strong faith in our national integrity, and in the greatness of the moral work our race has yet to do, that I anticipate that the whole weight of Christian and philanthropic sentiment will ultimately be thrown on the side of national unity, as opening up the widest possible career of usefulness for us in the future; inasmuch as it will give us the security which is necessary for working out our great national purposes.'

Could there ever be a political philosophy more in sympathy with the ideal of manliness? That when the imperial federationalists met at Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, this ideal of federation was giving way to the materialism of a custom's union and then the militarism of an aggressive empire, is no fault of Parkin's. Like Thring, he lived to see his own ideals distorted.

W.B. Yeats once defined two types of patriotism: 'that which lays burdens on men, and that which takes them off.' In the same manner one could define two types of imperialism: the imperialism of the pre-1880s is an example of the former, whereas that of the age of jingoism is of the latter. Whilst the imperialists of the turn of the century could glibly use the term 'White Man's Burden' to describe their imperial mission, the words merely camouflaged the exploitation of the colonies.

As a consequence of the new power of the united Germany and the industrial strength of the emerging United States, Britain in the late 1880s was seen to lose some of its lead over other world powers. This, together with episodes like Gordon's martyrdom in Khartoum and the subsequent denting of British pride, led directly to an era of aggressive imperialism in the scramble for colonies. Africa became the main attraction, and under a cover of doctrines on national destiny and civilising mission that were crudely married to policies of materialistic greed, the continent was carved up by the world powers. Soon the Far East and the Pacific brought new acquisitions for the British Empire. All the purer
and more elevated adjuncts of imperialism as propounded by Parkin and the other federationalists were kept to the fore, whilst adventurers stressed the importance of their missionary work, so that religious and philanthropic agencies would in turn to some extent sanctify the spirit of imperialism. 'Imperial Christianity' had arrived, and the Englishman with a rifle in one hand and the Bible in the other was to be seen at the frontiers of wherever the map was red. India was the pay-cheque for thousands of Englishmen, and a colonial caste of planters, merchants and adventurers, both abroad and in retirement at home, supported this selfish imperialism. Soon, too, so many British incomes were to depend on the Empire that any idealistic philosophies of mission were totally out of question.

At Queen Victoria's accession in 1837 hardly a thought was given to the empire; at the 1887 Golden Jubilee the emphasis was on civilising mission and duty; the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 was an orgy of self-congratulation and national assertion. Crude, rumbustious, imperial fever intoxicated the nation in the last five years of the century, and this imperial sentiment carried all shades of political and religious opinion and all classes of people in its wake. Whether trumpeted by the newly founded Daily Mail (1896), imbibed in the verse of Henry Newbolt
and Rudyard Kipling, or sung in such patriotic songs as 'Another Little Patch of Red' or 'Soldiers of the Queen', the hysteria of imperialism swept the country. To ensure that the nation would both vote and pay for these imperial policies, the country was subjected to crude appeals to hero-worship and sensational glory, to adventure and sporting spirit. Current history was falsified in coarse, glaring colours for the direct stimulation of the combative instincts of the stay-at-home adventurers. Through this Jingoism, sham glories of military heroism and wonderful claims of empire-building engendered a narrow patriotism built on the lust of the spectator, a lust devoid of all personal risk, effort and sacrifice. The result was a blind passion of aggression and assertion - a stage set for militarism:

'We have renewed our pride in the Flag,' wrote another imperialist poet, W.E. Henley, in Imperialism. 'Our old delight in the thought of a good thing done by a good man of his hands, our old faith in the ambitions and traditions of the race. I doubt ... there be a single Englishman who does not rejoice in the triumph of Mr. Rhodes; even as I believe that there is none ... who does not feel the prouder for his kinship with Sir Herbert Kitchener. And the reason is on the surface. To the national conscience, drugged so long and so long bewildered and bemused, such men as Rhodes and Kitchener are heroic Englishmen. The one has added some hundreds of thousands of square miles to the Empire, and is neck-deep in the work of
consolidating that he has got, and of taking more. The other is wiping out the great dishonour that overtook us at Khartoun ... and preparing the way of them that will change a place of skulls into a province of peace.1

Soon the lands that were good only for grabbing by the adventurer and subduing by the soldier began to grow. By 1899 the area of the empire was equivalent to four Europes; its population was about 400,000,000; and it provided half the world's seaborne trade. Nationalism can only grow into imperialism through military might, and the empire needed its 1,000,000 men in the armed services.2 As the century drew to a close, so the national expenditure on the Army and Navy burgeoned: £22.7 million in 1870; £32.8 million in 1890; £35.9 million in 1895; and £69.4 in 1900. The following year witnessed the peak of £121.0 million, with £67.2 million being drained by the Boer War.3 The fictional schoolmaster Mr Chips, and one suspects others, 'did not share the general jingo bitterness against the Boers',4 but in general the nation, and the schools, did. Imperialism masquerading as patriotism was extolled in the schools, and the army was pictured as the ultimate in esprit de

1. John M. Robertson, Patriotism and Empire. 1899. p 53. Nigel Richardson offered:
'Onward Christian solders into heathen lands;
Prayer books in your pockets, rifles in your hands.
Take the gladsome tidings where trading can be done;
Spread the peaceful gospel with the Gatling gun.'

corps.\textsuperscript{5} This linking of the school corps and the ideal of esprit de corps, the philosophy then attached to team games, proved remarkably successful: soon fighting for one's country was seen as playing in the ultimate team. The bond between games and things military is supported by the findings of A. H. H. Maclean's \textit{Public Schools and the War in South Africa}, an attempt to justify public schools in regard to their 'results' in the war. The expected schools sent most soldiers (Eton, Harrow, Wellington and Cheltenham), and 'rank for rank, and man for man, the public schools were much superior to other schools.'\textsuperscript{6} A look down the list of comments in individual schools shows the constant use of 'games language': 'The Charterhouse results are throughout disappointing'; 'The Scotch schools were only moderately successful'; 'the day schools.... made but a poor show'.\textsuperscript{7}

The climax of this association is to be found in H. A. Vachell's \textit{The Hill}. For much of this 'Romance of Friendship' at Harrow, Vachell portrays a philistine, athletic school in which intense loyalty and house feeling culminate in athletic triumphs. The last chapters however see the approach and declaration of the Boer War: 'War is an alchemist', Vachell proclaims, a real test of character,

\begin{footnotes}
7. \textit{idem}.
\end{footnotes}
it is the supreme game -'the discipline of the camp will transmute the bad metal into gold'\textsuperscript{8} It is here that the creed of 'Imperial Christianity' is most ardently voiced:

'Henry Desmond ... died so gloriously that the shadow of our loss, dark as it seemed to us at first, is already melting in the radiance of his gain. To die young, clean, ardent; to die swiftly, in perfect health; to die saving others from death, or worse - disgrace - to die scaling hights, to die and to carry with you into the fuller ampler life beyond, untainted hopes and aspirations, unembittered memories, all the freshness and gladness of May - is not that cause for joy rather than sorrow? ... I would sooner see any of your struck down in the flower of his youth than living on to lose, long before death comes, all that makes life worth the living. Better death, a thousand times, than gradual decay of mind and spirit; better death than faithlessness, indifference, and uncleanness.'\textsuperscript{9}

'Better death ... better death ...': such was the ideal of manliness at the turn of the century. In the first decade or so of the new one the corps rose from bottom of the status ladder in the schools and climbed right to the top; now a 'military caste' replaced the older 'athletic caste'.\textsuperscript{10} In 1900 Warre persuaded a committee of the Headmasters' Conference to pass a unanimous resolution that 'all persons in statu pupillari

\textsuperscript{8} H. A. Vachell, \textit{The Hill}. 1905. p 303.

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{ibid.} pp 313-4.

\textsuperscript{10} Ian Hay, \textit{Lighter Side of School Life}. 1915. p 220.
at the Universities or the Public Schools above fifteen years of age, able ("and willing" was later inserted) to bear arms, should be enrolled for the purposes of drill and manoeuvre and the use of arms. 11 83 of the 102 schools represented agreed to take action immediately - old corps were revived and enlarged, and, where there were none, new corps were founded. The increased numbers were matched with more time in the day for corps activities and greater keenness on behalf of the boys. Field days, reviews and war games proliferated. The Navy League and the National Service League, two bodies promoting national conscription, were quick to catch on to this new enthusiasm and each sent representatives to the schools to lecture on military topics and to inspect the corps. Here Lord Roberts, the hero of South Africa, proved the National Service League's greatest advocate:

'Peace, not war, is my aim and earnest desire; defence, not offence, ... and therefore what I do well to stir up, to foster and develop, is a more manly and patriotic spirit in the nation - a spirit which shall induce our youth to realise that they must be not only ready but prepared to guard the heritage handed down to them.' 12

To Roberts 'the right to be taught to defend your country' 13 was a fundamental right, and he toured the schools to champion the cause. Up and down the country Roberts presented

13. ibid. p 344.
prizes, reviewed corps, and opened Boer War memorials: everywhere the military message was preached, and everywhere it seemed to be well received.

In the fifty years between 1850 and 1900, patriotism, the love of country, evolved into imperialism, the love of more country: at the same time militarism developed to foster and maintain this expansion. Patriotism, imperialism and militarism are thus inextricably intertwined. The dangers inherent in this triangle were realised at the time by Herbert Spencer, the pacifist and liberal of the old Victorian school, but in 1900 his views carried little weight. He bemoaned the change to a society which replaced 'the ideas and feelings and institutions appropriate to civilised life ... by those appropriate to a fighting life'. Everywhere he saw 'this diffusion of military ideas, military sentiments, military organizations, military discipline': it pervaded all life; religion, literature, education, journalism, art and even sport.\(^\text{14}\) The growing sacerdotalism of the Church and its doctrine of authority were both in accord with the increased militarism;\(^\text{15}\) like Sparta, an air of zealous warring brought a decline in the arts, letters and philosophy;\(^\text{16}\) oligarchy and bureaucracy soon became the natural supports of imperial militarism;

\(^{14}\) Quoted in Esme Wingfield-Stratford, Beyond Empire. 1964. p 31.
\(^{15}\) J.A. Hobson, op. cit. p 228.
\(^{16}\) John M. Robertson, op. cit. p 75.
and the government became blind to the social needs both at home and in the Colonies. Perhaps worst of all were the effects of jingoism - 'No one' wrote Esme Wingfield-Stratford, 'who remembers the outburst of vulgarity which made the patriotism of the non-combatant populace the laughing-stock of Europe during the South African War, will be at a loss for an example'. Many, in retrospect, blamed the whole phenomenon of imperialism and militarism on the emergent *nouveaux riches*, a materialistic class who measured pleasure by its cost and who sought through it to identify with the governing classes.

'The last twenty years of the nineteenth century saw the rapid break-up of (the) old order. The bourgeoisie had attained a position of such importance that their dignity as a class had been undermined; the very word "middle" had a savour of inferiority, and instead of being and breeding respectable citizens, they hankered after the status of "ladies and gentlemen". This was especially the case among the suburbs of London .... It is, indeed, matter enough for alarm and perplexity, the rise of a community without traditions, without self-respect, without ideals, feverishly aping the supposed customs of its acknowledged betters.'

But the real danger in imperialism lies in the inevitable war when two imperialist regimes clash for

18. *idem*.
influence. Ardent imperialism may have been stifled by the national shame brought about by the Boer War, but the perpetual European disquiet held sway in the new century, and the gloom of 1914 loomed ahead. It was then, and only then, that it was seen by all that the end of the soldier was not, as was previously said, to die for his country; but it was to kill for it. In as far as he dies he is a failure - and the militaristic ideal of manliness died with him in the fields of France.
'Beyond the book his teaching sped,
He left on whom he taught the trace
Of kinship with the deathless race.

And faith in all the Island Race.
He passed: his life a tangle seemed,
His age from fame and power was far;
But his heart was high to the end, and dreamed
Of the sound and splendour of England's war.'

These closing lines from *Ionicus*, a poem which praised
William Cory, are part of a collection of poems, *The Island Race*, composed by Henry Newbolt in the years between 1897 and 1907. That Newbolt should be inspired by Cory is fitting: Cory eulogised games and patriotism in his verse; Newbolt linked them through war. To modern ears Newbolt's verse may appear banal and clichéd, but it faithfully echoes the conservative spirit in the nation at the turn of the century. A sermon delivered by the Bishop of London from the pulpit of St. Paul's in the presence of King Edward could include quotations from Newbolt; Ministers in the Commons could use extracts in their speeches; old boys would roar *Drake's Drum* and *The Fighting Temeraire* again and again at their re-unions; and Sir Charles Stanford's magnificent settings for

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The Old Superb and other poems took the message to a still larger audience. All would agree with J.C. Smith's comment that Newbolt's work was 'manly, Sir, manly'.

Newbolt was a true patriot of the conservative order. In 1907 he helped form the English Association to promote the cultural, political and moral unity of the English-speaking nations: later, in 1928, he was to be its president. It is in the novel The Old Country, set against the magical power of the English landscape, that Newbolt shows how, over the centuries, the same English character has reacted to the same national difficulties and dangers.

'I love this Country,' Aubrey said; 'I love it as I love nothing else in life. It is to me everything that men have ever loved - a mother, a nurse, a queen, a lover, and something greater and more sacred still. There is not one look of it that I shall ever forget or cease to long for, and I would as soon kill a friend as change the name of the smallest of its fields.'

'I understand,' he said; 'but I had almost forgotten that patriotism could be so intense and yet so local.'

'If you forget that,' she replied, 'you forget all. Patriotism has its own high spiritual thoughts, but it has a body too - very earth of very earth, born of time and the land, and never to be found or made: it is as

human as our other passions, instinctive and deep and unreasonable, and as hot as the blood by which we live.'

This appeal to intense local patriotism as the vital foundation of the larger national patriotism was naturally and sympathetically received in the schools for it implied that the narrow patriotism of school life, or esprit de corps, was in itself part of that foundation.

Newbolt also successfully revived the interest in chivalry and easily wedded it to the ideal of patriotism. Whether of Homer's *Odyssey*, the *Song of Roland*, tales of Richard Coeur de Lion or the Black Prince, they all thrilled Newbolt by their 'heroic vitality', and he in turn, in novels like *The Book of the Happy Warrior*, passed on this enthusiasm to the younger generation. Further tales of more modern heroism on sea and land were vividly and, at times, horrifically portrayed in such books as *The Book of the Blue Sea* and *The Book of the Thin Red Line:*

'My dear Man,

I have written you another Christmas book - this year it is a book about soldiers. You are hardly ready to serve your country in that way yet, but I take it for certain that you are thinking of such things. I take it for certain too that when you read about war you want real battles and real people, not imaginary ones. Well, in this book everyone is real, every page is

5. Quoted in Margaret Newbolt, *op. cit.* p 40.
is true, and as accurate as I could make it.‘7

At times Newbolt’s love of chivalry became quite fanciful. The Navy - ‘These great ships are very like medieval castles, warlike and comfortably unluxurios, and solid as rock’8 - and the public schools were both chivalric institutions. The public schools had derived the house-master from the knight to whose castle boys were sent as pages: fagging, from the varied services they were required to perform: prefects, from the senior squires: games, from the habit of outdoor life: and the love of competition, and the amateur view, from the tournaments and the chivalric rules of war.9 In short, to Newbolt ‘chivalry was a plan of life, a conscious ideal’ - and, as the boy at Clifton who was nearest to Percival’s ideal of the balance of work, games and service, he was to many the embodiment of his own philosophy.10

Perhaps no poet was more closely associated with his old school than Newbolt and Clifton. Numerous poems allude to the school, one is dedicated to its Chapel (and a manuscript copy still adorns its walls), and a novel, The Twymans, is effectively an autobiographical school tale. At Clifton Newbolt was a success: he was a good scholar and prefect, and he captained the school corps and

the shooting VIII; but it was the fellowship of school and house feeling that was to leave the deepest impression -

'I knew what glory meant, for in my time at Clifton we had an extraordinary succession of victories and our champions were almost as well known to the public as to ourselves. It was not for them only but for us that the light of what I have called Glory lit up the horizon: we went about our work and play in a proud obscurity, content to know that we belonged to a great and famous fellowship.'

Clifton, as portrayed in *The Twymans*, is no mere school, but a society 'complete with nations, senates, battlefields, crimes and seats of justice'. Games are viewed as a 'compulsory military service, a duty to the state', and through them the players are trained in the sacrifice of selfish interests to the ideal of fellowship and the future of the race. Newbolt pictures the exemplar: a type that Patrick Howarth labels 'homo newboltiensis'.

'To be in all things decent, orderly, self-mastering: in action to follow up the coolest common-sense with the most unflinching endurance: in public affairs to be devoted as a matter of course, self-sacrificing without any appearance of enthusiasm: on all social occasions - except at the regular saturnalia - to play the Horatian man of the world, the gentleman after the high Roman fashion, making a fine art, almost a religion, of stoicism - (The taboos of this tribe included:) To show emotion in public, or indeed to

show emotion at all; to make any sound at a match, beyond a hand-clap, to applaud at the fall of an opponent's wicket or the failure of his kick at goal; to wear, even in holidays, any but a black or undistinguished dress ....

G.M. Trevelyan once noted that in the years about the turn of the century there 'was the close connection of poetry and politics, when poetry could serve the purposes of pamphleteering.' Some of Newbolt's poems, like The Best School of All which portrays the return of an old boy to his school, do no more than follow conventional lines, but others, of far greater significance, link schools and their games with patriotism and wars. It is these poems that 'could serve the purpose of pamphleteering'. The Schoolfellow, 'He led the line that broke the foe', and The School at War, 'We ... cheered the dead undying names', sing the praise of old boys fighting on the front line in South Africa. Another, He Fell among Thieves, tells of the dying old boy dreaming of his old school:

'He saw the School Close, sunny and green,
The Runner beside him, the stand by the parapet wall,
The distant tape, and the crowd roaring between
His own name overall.'

15. Quoted in Margaret Newbolt, op. cit. p 28.
17. ibid. p 152.
18. ibid. p 120.
More important, and more revealing even, are the two poems Clifton Chapel, written just after the Boer War, and the famous, or notorious, Vitae Lampada. In the former we mourn for the dead who, having learned how to serve and fight at school, now have given their lives for their country.

'Here in a day that is not far,
You too may speak with noble ghosts
Of manhood and the vows of war
You made before the Lord of Hosts.

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 -

Today and here the fight's begun,
Of the great fellowship you're free;
Henceforth the School and you are one,
And what you are, the race shall be.'

In Vitae Lampada there is no attempt to mask the link between school games, esprit de corps, and death on the battlefield: the militaristic ideal of manliness is complete.

'There's a breathless hush in the Close tonight -
Ten to make and the match to win -
A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
An hour to play and the last man in.
And it's not for the sake of a ribbonned coat,
Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
But his Captain's hand on his shoulder smote
"Play up! play up! and play the game!"

The sand of the desert is sodden red,
Red with the wreck of a square that broke:
The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel's dead,
And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
The river of death has brimmed his banks,
And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
"Play up! play up! and play the game!"

This is the word that year by year,
While in her place the School is set,
Every one of her sons must hear,
And none that hears it dares 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!" 20

In a way, one might think that this was the climax,
but the bunglings of the Boer War, where civilian Boer
guerillas inflicted embarrassing defeats on the British
professional army, raised questions about the military
success, or otherwise, of the old boys from public schools,
and in particular questioned the theory that school games

20. ibid., pp 131-3.
were a suitable preparation for war. Newbolt, now editor of the new *Monthly Review*, in an article on 'Public Schools and their Critics' leapt to the defence of the schools, and indirectly set into being Maclean's survey on the public school soldier, the findings of which were mentioned in the previous section. But Newbolt had shifted his ground slightly: games inculcated the ideal of the warrior, but the mere mechanics of soldiering had to be added later.

'The typical virtue of the playing field is the habit of trained faculty of putting the game first and self last, of refusing under all temptation, whether of pain or ambition, to do that which is harmful to the player's own side or unchivalrous to his opponents.' 21

But -

'If our games are to be a thorough training for war, they must include throwing the bomb as well as the cricket ball.' 22

Before the Boer War tempered idealism with reality, Henry Newbolt thus pictured the climax of the athletic-militaristic ideal of manliness, an ideal best seen in the preference for a noble death rather than an ignoble peace, or a glorious youthful adventure on the battlefield rather than a safe life at home. The ideal was proclaimed

by a 'brotherhood of manliness' and claimed for its exemplars strong institutional loyalty, conformist belief, ardent patriotism, unstinting acceptance of service and duty, and natural command. Others saw also a delight in worldly success, philistinism in artistic taste, and a mild sense of homo-sexuality.

IV

The man who most articulately questioned that games were a suitable preparation for the warrior was Rudyard Kipling. If Britain was to save her Empire, one would have to learn The Lesson of the Boer War:

'We have had no end of a lesson: it will do us no end of good!
It was our fault, and our very great fault - and now we must turn it to use;
We have forty million reasons for failure, but not a single excuse!'¹

In The Islanders Kipling pointed the lesson explicitly. The nation had 'set your leisure before their toil', had been satisfied with 'witless learning and your beasts of warren and chase', and had 'grudged your sons to their service and your fields for their camping place'. Inevitably the country's 'shame' was revealed 'at the hands of the little people'. Only with the help of the 'Younger Nations' of the Colonies could England defeat the Boers, and had then

'... returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls
With the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals.'

Before it is too late, all this must change. All men

must give 'a year of service to the lordliest life on earth' and be given training for war;

'Soberly and by custom taken and trained for the same;
Each man born in the Island entered at youth to the game -
As if it were almost cricket, not to be mastered in haste,
But after trial and labour, by temperance, living chaste.
As it were almost cricket - as it were even your play.'

A return to the old methods could only bring disaster:

'Will ye pitch some white pavilion, and lustily even the odds,
With nets and hoops and mallets, with racket and bats and rods,
Will the rabbit war with your foemen - the red deer horn them for hire?
Your cock-pheasant keep you? - he is master of many a shire.
Arid, aloof, incurious, unthinking, unthanking, gelt
Will ye loose your schools to flout them till their brow-beat columns melt?
Will ye pray them or preach them, or print them, or ballot them back from your shore?'

If Newbolt can be seen to represent the amateur games-playing idealist, then Kipling is the serious professional realist. But if the means differed, the ends were the same: both had a firm belief in the mission of empire. And if the means did differ, they at least agreed that the medium for producing the product was the public

2. ibid. pp 134-8.
schools. Newbolt was a traditional games-playing apologist - but Kipling was of the new age. The difference between these two poets of imperialism is largely due to their respective backgrounds: Newbolt was of true English stock and had been educated at a top public school which aimed at educating the whole man; Kipling, on the other hand, was of colonial background, grew up in England away from his parents, and was schooled at the narrow, non-traditional United Services College at Westward Ho.

Kipling enjoyed his schooldays at Westward Ho! as much as Newbolt did at Clifton, but the influences were different. The United Services College was a new foundation promoted by Army officers for the cheap education of their sons: it was, in Kipling's terminology, a 'caste school' where seventy per cent of the boys were born outside England, and from which most hoped to join the Army.³ The school was based on the principles used at Haileybury - and indeed its headmaster, Cormell Price, and many of the boys came from the parent school: it was said that the other boys were those 'with whom Cheltenham could do nothing, whom Sherbourne found too tough, and whom even Marlborough had politely asked to leave.'⁴ Though military in concept, it was not military

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³ Rudyard Kipling, Something of Myself. 1951. p 22.
⁴ Rudyard Kipling, 'An English School' in Land and Sea Tales. 1923/5. p 259.
in outlook: there were no parades, no uniform, no flags, and no corps. As a modern foundation the curriculum was not based on classics, but on the requirements of Sandhurst and Woolwich, and it was a secular school. Price was not in Holy Orders; there was no Chapel; there was no religious enthusiasm; and Kipling left it owing nothing to religion. Though the school was as ardent on games as any other, this influence too Kipling did not receive, for poor eyesight debarred his proficiency in them despite his strong physique. In comparison with Clifton, then, Westward Ho! was Spartan, secular, small, cheap and more intensely Army orientated. Kipling also maintained that it was a 'clean' and 'healthy' school: one of Price's aims was to send the boys to bed dog tired. 5

It is from this background that Kipling drew his Stalky tales. The first story that he wrote on the subject, 'Stalky' can be found in _Land and Sea Tales_, others came in _Debits and Credits_, but most appeared in the 1899 _Stalky & Co_. On a first reading the tales seem the very antithesis of public school life. The heroes deride cricket - 'even house-matches'; they sneer at those who say '"Yes, sir," an' "No, sir"'; and episode after episode sees Stalky and Co. challenging the authority of the masters and prefects. 6

5. Rudyard Kipling, _Something of Myself_. p 23.
To generations used to Tom Brown's Schooldays and Eric, the novel came as a real shock: to George Sampson it could only be 'an unpleasant book about unpleasant boys in an unpleasant school'. By the end of the book, though, the picture has to be modified, for now Stalky, along with 'Cheltenham and Haileybury and Marlborough chaps' is serving the Empire like any true-blooded public school old boy.

One now sees that this hilarious novel is a serious text in which Stalky is Kipling's ideal boy, and that he, rather than the athlete, ought to be the exemplar of the public school system. In essence, Stalky is a return to the ideal of schoolmasters before 1850: he is healthily extrovert, brave, resourceful, ingenious, and above all, practical. He is though entirely free of the cramping effect of Christian ethics and untroubled by an Eric-like morality. He is, in fact, the very ideal of manliness of fifty years before, but with the moral and philosophical overtones removed. As Kipling explains in the first Stalky tale, '"Stalky", in their school vocabulary, meant clever, well-considered, and wily, as applied to plans of action.'

It is not that Stalky, and Kipling, loathe games, but that they see them in perspective, and that they rejected the moral accoutrements. It is not that Stalky is unpatriotic, but that the school corps was only 'playing at soldiers',

9. Rudyard Kipling, 'Stalky' in Land and Sea Tales. p 133.
whereas most old boys would eventually do the real thing. 10 It is not that Stalky & Co. is an anti-public school novel, but that it is an appeal to return to the simplicities of earlier Victorian times, and an appeal to beware the sins that the schools would fall into in their forthcoming 'Golden Age'.

First and foremost, however, Kipling was the inspired propagandist of the imperial idea. He was the last of the Victorian romantics: his heroes were not the merchants and millionaires of the materialistic empire, but the small men sharing 'The White Man's Burden' (his own phrase) in far-flung corners of the globe. Through his poems Kipling opened up to his readers new worlds to the east and south, and always the flag of England stood for service and sacrifice. Civilising the world was a worthwhile task, though always it was likely to be thankless. Kipling also put across a glamourised vision of empire to a nationwide audience. This 'drum and trumpet' history vividly brought the Empire within the compass of the moderately educated and the lower classes: in effect he became the 'people's laureate'. Kipling composed many poems for C.R.L. Fletcher's A History of England - dedicated to 'all boys and girls who are interested in the story of Great Britain and her Empire' - and thereby extended his naively imperialist message. 11 'I have done

my best', wrote Kipling in 1907, 'to make all the men of the sister nations within the Empire interested in each other'.

Despite his firm convictions to the contrary, Kipling's 'Stalkies' and 'Brushwood Boys' fared little better in the Boer War than did the typical public school product, and it was then that he composed The Lesson and The Islanders. Kipling now saw that a Stalky-like education was not enough, and, like Newbolt, that the nation must also be trained in the mechanics of modern warfare. Kipling soon founded a Rifle Club in his own village, and then lent his weight to Lord Roberts' National Service League and the call for national conscription. The poet who delighted most in studies of soldiers and sailors was enthusiastically received by the militarists. But behind Kipling's imperial ideal there had always been the force of militarism. The shedding of blood and the bustle of war fill many poems; others are seen by critics as 'hate' poems; The White Man's Burden implies the cult of a 'Master Race' and of 'lesser breeds' as much as it does imperial service; whilst his involvement in the 'sahib' class of India brings to mind many analogies with the Roman Empire. As Frank Swinnerton remarked: 'He had seen the Empire, and the Empire filled his dreams.'

13. Ibid. p 201.
The public schools were now seen as the training ground for the leaders of the Empire: how did this effect the schools themselves? Uppingham can serve as the example. On 22 October 1887 Edward Thring died and the Uppingham trustees appointed Edward Carus Selwyn as his successor. Selwyn was born on 25 November 1853, two months after Thring began his life's work at Uppingham, at Blackheath where his father was principal of the local proprietary school. He was a brilliant scholar: at Eton he gained the treasured Newcastle Scholarship, and at King's College, Cambridge he won numerous awards. With the exception of one year's curacy at Jarrow-on-Tyne, the years between his ordination in 1876 and his appointment to the headmastership of Liverpool College in 1882 were spent as fellow, lecturer and then dean at King's College. Selwyn was a brilliant theologian and he continued his scholarship at Uppingham. He became a doctor of divinity in 1900, and he published a number of texts on the New Testament. Selwyn's connections as much as his qualifications must have impressed the Uppingham trustees — on his own side he could list the Bishop of Lichfield, whilst his wife was the grand-daughter of Thomas Arnold.

1. See Malcolm Tozer, op. cit., chapter 13. Only new material is noted here.
A new broom had arrived. Demand to get into Uppingham had long been great, but Thring had maintained his limit of 300: now Selwyn relaxed this veto and soon the numbers climbed passed the 400 mark. It did not seem to matter that the boys now shared studies. The seemingly archaic curriculum was reformed: compulsory Greek was dropped and special army and engineering classes were introduced for the Sandhurst and Woolwich examinations. In fact these new subjects were regarded with open scorn, and, with the loss of many of the 'extra' subjects of Thring's time, the curriculum was in effect dominated by the classics. Selwyn was a respected sixth form teacher, but no other boys were taught by him. A gulf grew between headmaster and boys and most regarded him in awe from afar. Others merely hated him. Certainly some isolation may have been due to a strained relationship with the Thring family and the suspicion of the former headmaster's old colleagues, yet that no doubt was to be expected.

Two other aspects of school life quickly felt the passing of Thring: the Uppingham football game was exchanged for Rugby football in 1889 and a cadet corps was established in the same year. The acceptance of a national football code was probably both inevitable and sensible. Such a change had nearly happened in 1876, only then it would have

been Association football: now the change was made to Rugby football, the public school game. School games became compulsory three days a week, and house games might take another two.³ A league system of house matches was introduced; tassled caps were awarded to the XV; and matches were introduced with club and school sides. Selwyn was a keen supporter at matches -

'One remembers him, in his silk hat and clerical overcoat, walking up and down in the rear of the boys massed on the side-lines of the Leicester ground, using his gold-headed stick on any part of their lower anatomies and exhorting them to "Shout, boys, shout!" Quite oblivious - or was he? - of the fact that as his mild castigation drove the line forward, it was driven back by the hunting-crops of the praepostors keeping the touch-line clear.'⁴

Despite the increased status of football, cricket was still Uppingham's serious game. The 1890s saw the return of the glories of the early 1870s. Stephenson now had an assistant professional, and, as he confessed to the headmaster of the visiting Haileybury team, even greater influence:

'Well, between you and I,' he said in answer to a question as to the age of a very powerful eleven of boys, 'I tell you what I does. If one of these 'ere parents wants to take one of these boys away, I just writes him a letter and so keep them.'⁵

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3. USM, 1933. p 50.
5. The headmaster was Edward Lyttelton - Memories and Hopes, p 74.
The fixture list saw the return of the London matches and the arrival of new school opponents: in 1897 for the Jubilee Day match at Rugby the whole school travelled to watch the game. The other school sports increased in due proportion; expenditure on games was more than doubled; athletic millinery proliferated both on and off the field of play; and sports day heats merely served to clear out the incompetent.

The cadet corps was formed in April 1889, and at the end of its first term the roll numbered a third of the school. A house drilling competition was inaugurated; a thousand yard rifle range was built; the shooting VIII shot with success at the Bisley meetings; and from 1899 a detachment attended the newly founded Public Schools Camp at Aldershot. From 1896 there was an injection of military spirit in the school through Selwyn's appointment of C.H. Jones to teach the army class and run the corps. Jones, a professional soldier at heart, was an outstanding commander, and under his powerful influence Uppingham leaped to national renown. At the start of the first term of the new century Selwyn announced to the school that all boys, whether in the corps or not, were required to pass a shooting test, and that no boys would be allowed to take part in any inter-house athletic or sporting contest, nor could he gain a school prize, until he had passed that test. In February 1900 Jones left for active service in the Boer
War, and his exploits in South Africa were reported in the School Magazine in gory detail - 'We hear that Mr. Jones has killed five Boers single-handed. We congratulate him heartily on the exploit and hope he will dispose of many more.' In June 1901 Jones returned to a hero's welcome. In the early years of the new century about half the school was in the corps, and by 1905 over a thousand cadets had passed the Uppingham 'Recruit Drill and Fire Exercise'. To Selwyn the corps was 'one of the glories of the school'; to the visiting Lord Roberts, Uppingham's lead was an example to all public schools.

The valete on Selwyn's retirement in 1907 records that to Selwyn 'fell the task of smoothing out the school'. If this meant that he turned Thring's unique school into an established and conventional public school, then Selwyn did indeed smooth out that roughness. No matter what criterion you apply, Uppingham was now on that elite list. But the price paid was high; athleticism swelled and militarism flourished. The Thring ideal of manliness had become the Selwyn ideal 'to fear God, to speak the truth, and to shoot straight.'

The rapid growth of the school was a prime cause of the change of ethos: Thring's limit of 300 became 360 in 1892, 410 by 1898 and reached a peak of 440 after 1900. The type of boy changed too: no longer were the parents from purely professional backgrounds.

attracted to the school by Thring's reputation, but many of 'the newly rich from Yorkshire and Lancashire' came who sought any public school education for their sons. The housemasters had changed too: by 1900 few of Thring's housemasters were still in residence and the old homely atmosphere had gone. Along with rugby football and the cups, Selwyn introduced other public school conventions - blazers, Eton jackets and striped trousers and umbrellas for the praepostors. The old Sunday liberty, so vital to Thring's philosophy, was replaced with chapel morning and afternoon, and 'Sunday Questions' for the spare moments. The habit of roaming the countryside disappeared on this 'about the busiest day in the whole week.'

The cult of Tom Brown had come. Boys in their house XI or XV were excused fagging, and only rarely did other than the talented athletes reach the rank of praepostor. Success was equated with the 'cricket XI, football XV or anything like that.' The Captain of Games became the post of real authority in the school, and even masters were seen to judge a boy's ability solely on his athletic prowess. Charles Raven, later an eminent Cambridge theologian, recalled how moral goodness was equated exactly with games prowess. Christianity was at a low ebb in the school, and

'good form' became the all-pervading ethos. Both Raven and C.R.W. Nevinson attended countless services and sat in innumerable divinity lessons, but it was the theology that they studied, the spirit essence of religion did not exist.9

The new housemasters were not Thring's housemasters. Selwyn was not interested in the pastoral responsibilities and did not seek to influence the policy in the houses. He even proposed that the headmastership and the housemastership of School House should be separate offices - but this suggestion was rejected by the trustees.10 The green baize door was closed between the private side and the boys' side of the boarding houses - and the reign of the 'swell' and the 'hearty' began. Praepostors would beat boys for not cheering at football matches; and from their bicycles would whip boys on house runs. Boys were bullied, coerced and tortured for the diversion of the 'swells'. If two boys of unequal ages and different houses were seen speaking, immorality was taken for granted; sexuality was driven underground, passion became distorted, and there grew a 'dirty delight in illicit acts'.11 Nevinson reckoned he possessed a more extensive knowledge of 'sexual

9. ibid. p 16.
10. Trustees Minute Book. October 1900. in UA.
manifestations' than any voyeur, and certainly the later sex life of the poet James Elroy Flecker can hardly be laid as a credit to his time at Uppingham. Obviously Selwyn knew something of what was going on for both Flecker and Harold Howitt recalled the headmaster calling a meeting of housecaptains at which a resolution was passed to 'stop the immorality in the school'. The result was that each housecaptain was sent to address his house and Selwyn preached a 'vehement sermon' on 'The Happy Husband' in a chapel with all but masters and boys excluded.  

The inscription over the Tudor schoolroom at Uppingham reads, in a translation of the Latin, 'let no foul word or sight approach a house which holds a boy'. H.W. Bothamley, a historian of the school, felt that the sentence 'ought to have been in front of the H-M and his staff in blazing letters.' Bothamley was at Uppingham from 1897 to 1902, the same period as Flecker, Nevinson, Howitt and Raven. H.L. Lyon, J.C. Gibson and F. Savery were also at the school at this time, and their observations match those already cited. The eight old boys span five houses and fifteen

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   C.R.W. Nevinson, Paint and Prejudice. 1937. passim.
15. Letter to H.W. Bothamley from H.L. Lyon, 1 August 1949. In metal box in UA.
   For Frank Savery, see John Sherwood, op. cit. p 15.
years, so the laxity in morals was not restricted to 'a bad house in a bad time.' The statistics in the school roll and the entries in register of scholars do not make happy reading. To take a term for example: of the 34 boys who came in term I 1903, 17 left in three years and under, and 9 of them left within two years of arrival. Of the 21 boys who came the same term exactly 50 years later, none left in the same spans. Obviously there are various possible reasons for the early departures, but boys do not usually leave after a year or two unless the circumstances are special. The register shows that between 1900 and 1905 17 boys were expelled, 3 were withdrawn on Selwyn's request, 5 ran away, and a further 4 entries have their withdrawal reasons noted in Selwyn's curious dog-Latin. A rot had set in and soon numbers in the school began to fall. From 1899 onwards, the Trustees and Selwyn increasingly were at loggerheads: Selwyn was reprimanded over the school's accounts; there was talk of withholding his salary; the shooting edict was not welcomed unanimously; and then there was question of the housemastership of School House. Breaking point was reached in March 1906, when the trustees were appalled at the nature of Selwyn's punishment of a boy and incensed by his desire to

16. Uppingham School Roll. Bryan Matthews collected these figures for me.

17. Register of Scholars. In UA.

withhold the facts. His resignation was demanded, and in 1907 Selwyn retired to Hindhead to follow his theological studies. 19

Selwyn was possibly no more than a victim of circumstances. Yet, sadly they were circumstances of his own creation. There is a sympathetic biographical sketch of this unhappy headmaster in J.P. Graham's 40 Years at Uppingham, but then Graham believed that Thring's principles 'endured' under Selwyn's rule. 20

19. Ibid. March 1906, October 1906.
Selwyn's eldest son felt that his father should never have become a headmaster, and that he should have remained a theological scholar at Cambridge. Introductory memoir to E.C. Selwyn, First Christian Ideas. 1919. p xxii.
Many of Thring's cherished aims were abandoned during his successor's reign at Uppingham, and in those first years of the new century Thring would have found little to connect the Uppingham of its 'Golden Age' with the school he had created fifty years before. But is it fair to denigrate Selwyn, when perhaps all he did was to conform to the standards of his time? Thring came to Uppingham in a period ripe for educational innovation, and in mid-Victorian England a headmaster as strong as Thring could, and did, set his own course without much reference to the accepted public schools. In that isolated market town in the heart of the Rutland countryside, it was perhaps relatively easy for Thring to create his own school, and then in it to set and attain his own ideal of manliness. In late-Victorian and Edwardian England Selwyn had to face problems that Thring may have been glad to have been spared. The country was now more brash, more noisy and more materialistic, and as the creed of imperialism rose, so the mid-Victorian confidence in Christianity fell. With 30,000 boys in the public schools of 1900, there were more boys than ever, but the schools were bigger and more numerous, and the competition to fill them was consequently greater. The schools were now more business-like in their
operation, and the rise or fall in numbers at a particular school did much to reflect its popularity, and frequently a sharp but prolonged fall in numbers could indeed settle the fate of the unsuccessful headmaster. The boom in popularity of the schools may have made a headmaster's position more precarious, but for the schools themselves it brought comparative immunity from outside criticism. The schools were confident of their purpose and of their ability to realise it, and this confidence was not shaken until the later Edwardian years when the combination of a post-Boer War depression and the emergent industrial rivalry of Germany brought about a new liberal onslaught on these conservative bastions of privilege. It was outwardly the greatest time for public schools, and the term 'Golden Age' is often attached to this period, so perhaps in an age of conformity Selwyn did no more than conform.

Certainly Selwyn conformed to the accepted pattern of the public school headmaster, a pattern seen both in fiction and in reality. In Good-bye, Mr. Chips, Ralston, the new young headmaster, is efficient, ruthless, and ambitious, and as he glides around the school in his rustling silk gown (a sartorial necessity for fictional headmasters) he exudes confidence with a pontifical air. Under Ralston the status of the school rises, and there are long waiting-lists.\textsuperscript{1} H.A. James was headmaster at

\textsuperscript{1} James Hilton, \textit{op. cit.} pp 65, 70.
Rugby at the turn of the century, and was regarded by a boy of the period as 'outwardly an impressive figure in the fashion of his time'. Like Selwyn, James was only interested in the Sixth formers, whilst young boys felt that he was awesome and unapproachable. James's punishments were remembered as 'quite primitive'. The most memorable picture of a headmaster of this period is drawn by Harold Nicolson: Bertram Pollock, who was appointed headmaster of Wellington at 29 in 1893 and who ruled until 1910, is vividly portrayed by Nicolson in his essay 'J.D. Marstock' from Some People and in his preface to Pollock's autobiography, published just after the subject's death. Everything about Pollock was distinguished: he came from an eminent family: his tall, angular figure was capped with an impassive face: he had great charm, consummate grace and perfect self-control: he was an accomplished scholar, and at university he had been an able athlete. Nicolson recalled -

'my feelings in regard to him were a mixture of fearful curiosity and religious awe: there was something emotionally magnificent about him, something theocratic. His tall slim figure billowed in a silken gown as he glided rapidly through the cloisters, leaving behind a faint but pleasant smell of hair-wash, an impression of something rich and luxurious and mundane: a striking contrast to the drab penury of our existence: a touch of the great coloured world beyond.'

3. Harold Nicolson, Some People. 1927. p 44.
Pollock was worshipped by his sixth form, but feared by the rest of the school, and perhaps by the staff. To the smaller boys, Nicolson remembered, he appeared as a distant and majestic figure; robed in silk, it was said, to make a visible distinction between himself and his subordinates. Punishments were severe, and years later Pollock could still recall with sadistic pleasure the punishment he set for a boy who misbehaved at the end of a term —

'A boy would be sent for to see me after breakfast and I would then tell him I was busy for the morning and he would come back before lunch. The other boys had left at 7 a.m., and he had a very dull and desolate morning.'

Pollock was at his best on ceremonial occasions when, decked in his doctor's red robes, and surrounded by the royalty whose special favour he enjoyed, he could turn a speech day into a social event to rival Ascot. Pollock cultivated the links with nearby Windsor Castle and many royal sons were sent to the College. There was much of the courtier in Pollock, and he was rewarded by being appointed a chaplain to Edward VII and he went on to become Bishop of Norwich.

If the headmasters had changed since mid-Victorian times, so too had the boys and their parents. Thring may have attracted parents from the professional classes who were in sympathy with his educational experiment, but now new classes were sending their sons to the public schools. From about 1900 boys from the nouveaux riches parents were sent in droves to make fashionable friends and to become gentlemen. Contemporary novels, such as Vachell's The Hill, pictured disapprovingly these new sons of gentlemen - gentlemen in the 'social sense' because of their wealth, rather than gentlemen in the 'moral sense'. Compared with his predecessor, the public school boy of 1900 was pampered in terms of food and clothing, furniture and fittings, and, above all, in pocket money. Dressiness, and an over-appreciation of sartorial smartness and the spectacular aspects of life became commonplace in the schools.7

Religion was changing too. The Chapel was still officially the heart of each school, but it was now rather the scene for sartorial splendour and the hearty singing of popular hymns than the setting for religious worship and moral guidance. Schools might publish their own hymn-books, and headmasters their sermons, but there is a hollow ring about the whole proceedings. To some there was no real morality - 'No setting up of an ideal, no

suggestions for moral training, no guidance for conduct,
oaim for growing hopes and aspirations'. 8 The mechanics
of religious and moral training might be there, with daily
chapel, two or three services on Sunday, daily construing
of the Greek Testament, and the biblical research for
Sunday questions, and the general impression prevailed that
morality was strengthened in proportion to the amount of
divinity studied, but in reality no amount of study could
be substituted for true religious teaching. 'Muscular
Christianity' certainly had its short-comings, but it did
aim at moral education: 'Imperial Christianity' was, as
a correspondent to The Nation explained, merely a sanction
for a way of life:

'The average parent understands by religious training
something which will provide a sanction for the
commercial spirit and the existing social order. In
a vague way he wishes his boy to realise that wealth
is blessed and poverty slightly discreditable, and
that the British Empire is a sounder and more practical
ideal than the Kingdom of Heaven. If a boy must be
righteous it is desirable that his righteousness should
not exceed that of the Scribes and the Pharisees;
whatsoever is more than this comes of Socialism or
some other evil thing.'9

The growing regimentation of school life and the
attendant erosion of a boy's individuality, factors noted
in the late-Victorian public school, continued in the new

8. ibid. p 240.
Still more time was given to studies, to games, and to other organised activities, and less time was available for a boy's own disposal. Regulations and restrictions proliferated. At Rugby, the whole town was out of bounds, including places of worship, and mid-afternoon call-overs ensured that no boy could wander too far. Sunday afternoon chapel prevented long country walks, and for some its retention was a bastion of morality. Prudery was such that the Rugby Rule Book insisted that games shorts should be tied below the knee (an innovation of Percival's), and in showering a boy needed two towels, one for drying himself, the other to preserve modesty.

As housemasters relinquished the pastoral role that had been the norm in the past, and now often hardly penetrated the boys' part of the house past the dining hall from one end of term to the other, so the general running of the school fell on the prefects. In many schools such power soon evolved into an absolute monarchy, with, as at Wellington, positive encouragement for this prefectorial sacerdotalism being received from the headmaster. The result was an overcentralised system, with power diffusing from the headmaster through the prefects. Elitism increased as attention was bestowed only on the scholars in the sixth form and on the talented games players. The individual,

11. ibid. p 63.
12. ibid. p 72.
average boy, as Nicolson recalled, nearly sank without trace:

"At Wellington ... one ceased to be an individual, to have any but a corporate identity, that the question scarcely arose whether one might or might not be odd. One was just a name, or rather a number on the list. The authorities in their desire to deprive us of all occasion for illicit intercourse deprived us of all occasion for any intercourse at all. We were not allowed to consort with boys not in our own house: a house consisted of thirty boys, of whom ten at least were too old and ten too young for friendship; and thus during those four years my training in human relationships was confined to the ten boys who happened more or less to be my contemporaries. In addition, one was deprived of all initiative of action or occupation. The masters took pride in feeling that not only did they know what any given boy should be doing at that particular moment, but that they knew exactly what the said boy would be doing at 3.30 p.m. six weeks hence. We thus had no privacy and no leisure, there was never open to us the choice between two possible alternatives." 13

An important part of the process of regimentation was still games. As the new century progressed, so more time was given to games and matters athletic dominated schoolboy thought: as Robert Bruce Lockhart remembered - 'Everyone still talked sport; in fact, talked more sport than ever'. 14

Little had changed. In 1885 Lord Harris could write of the

qualities of command and leadership that games could instil, whilst fifteen years later, and now as President of the M.C.C., he could expound in the same manner at a Dulwich speech day. In Harris's view, the public school had two aims: first, to make a boy a good citizen so that he might maintain England's honour and uphold the dignity of the British flag; second, to ensure that each boy got as much exercise as possible. In this period of relative immunity from criticism, games as an institution went untroubled. Apologies on athleticism abounded, and the questions on regimentation and lack of morality did not exist. It was no wonder that the country was angered by Kipling's outburst in *The Islanders* on the 'muddied oafs' and the 'flannelled fools', but one cannot but smile at Harold Nicolson's picture of such a hero:

'A tall figure, he seemed, in his black and orange jersey striped as a wasp. Upon his carefully oiled hair was stuck a little velvet cap with a gold tassel; he would walk away from the field, his large red hands pendant, a little mud upon his large red knees. He would pause for a moment and speak to a group of lower boys. "Yes, Marstock, - no, Marstock", they would answer, and then he would smile democratically, and walk

on - a slight lilt in his gait betraying that he was not unconscious of how much he was observed. 19

'How clean he was, how straight, how manly! How proud we were of him, how modest he was about himself! And then those eyes - those frank and honest eyes! "One can see," my tutor said, "that Marstock has never had a mean or nasty thought" ... It took me six years to realise that Marstock, although stuffed with opinions, had never had a thought at all.' 20

Edmund Warre's call in 1900 to the Headmasters' Conference to establish cadet corps in all public schools was quickly answered. In the late 1890s only 12% of all public school boys were in the corps, but soon it was to grow to more than a half: at Clifton in 1901 half the boys were in the corps, and this year is two or three before the peak. 21 Many advocated that all boys should be taught the rudiments of rifle mechanics and should learn how to shoot, and in quick succession Harrow, Rossall, Glenalmond, Repton, Dover and Wellington followed Uppingham's universal call to arms. 22 New rifle ranges were opened, inter-school matches increased, and field days were staged against other schools. In some schools the corps even met in lesson time, with those excused taking modern subjects such as Geography. 23

20. ibid. p 33.
O.F.Christie, op. cit. p 246.
22. The Public Schools from Within. p 214.
David Newsome, A History of Wellington College. p 249.
corps rated poorly when compared with games:

'A father would feel it a grievance if his son, on leaving for good, were not a skilled proficient in some game, probably in more than one. He expects him to have been in a cricket eleven or a football fifteen, or a boat, or a house eleven, to have been a fives captain or a racquet champion, or many of those, or to have a good knowledge of gymnasium work, or to have boxed at Aldershot. But he is usually quite indifferent if his boy is unable to hit a target at five hundred yards, or even if he is ignorant of how to load a rifle. 24

But gradually the corps gained status and time, and by 1905 the corps probably rated as highly as any game. Some of the change in attitude obviously was due to the background of the Boer War, but much of the success was due to the skilful propaganda of the advocates - headmasters such as Warre at Eton, Norwood at Bristol (and later Marlborough and Harrow) and Wray at Rossall, all of whom had actually commanded school corps. The cries of 'militarism' were stifled with strong protestations of peaceful intent and of service to the community: more importantly, the corps was offered to the boys and parents in the manner that Kipling advocated - as if it were a game. Character-training overtones, that had earlier been the preserve of games, were now readily attached to corps activities. It was now drilling that taught attention to the word of command and quickness in obeying it,

and schools with corps reaped the 'reward ... of a higher and more easily sustained "tone", readier discipline, and more implicit obedience.' It comes as no surprise to find the term 'manly' attached to corps activities:

'"The voluntary submission to a sound military training, as a duty, for the good of their country, and the defence of those near and dear, may indeed be said to lay a sound foundation for the finest type of Christian manliness."'

In the conservative public school world, where there is no house like the house, and no school like the school, the narrow, local patriotism of esprit de corps was easily extended to the corps. A look at the school debates at Clifton in these years indicates the acceptance of the military ethos:

- 1895 - for conscription 7, against 31.
- 1902 - Boer War approved, 24 to 10.
- 1908 - for Universal National Service 39, against 3.

Between 1895 and 1908 there is a complete turn around in the boys' attitude to militarism. School magazine poetry could now include

'England, narrow seas divide thee
From the foe:
Guard the waves lest ill betide thee,
Lest the foe that lurks beside thee
Lay thee low.'

27. The Public Schools from Within, p 210.
- and such a poem could win a school prize.\textsuperscript{29}

The first years of the new century undoubtedly saw the public schools at the zenith of their popularity. They were full; they were respected: they educated royalty as never before: they were relatively free of criticism. Their speech days were magnificent, their ceremonials were grand. They were the very picture of conservative, imperialist, Edwardian England. But, as David Newsome found when writing on the Pollock period of the history of Wellington, one begins to wonder whether appearances are perhaps deceptive, whether the true life of the average boy is as glowing as was painted, whether the outward success is a true representation of the health of the school. Is the 'Golden Age' as golden as it at first appears, or is it only gilt? Newsome's predicament over Pollock can be easily, and legitimately, extended to include other contemporary headmasters. It is indeed hard to distinguish between 'true ideals and cant', between 'honesty and insincerity', between 'real values and sham'.\textsuperscript{30} The early and mid-Victorian headmasters seem honest, simple and of solid stuff when compared with the shadowy figures of their late-Victorian and Edwardian successors. Perhaps they were honest in their attempt to produce 'a manly, straightforward character, a scorn for lying and meanness, habits of obedience and command, and fearless courage',\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29} Quoted in Arthur Ponsonby, \textit{op. cit.} p 199.

\textsuperscript{30} David Newsome, \textit{A History of Wellington College.} pp 263, 272.

\textsuperscript{31} Rev T.L. Papillon in \textit{The Public Schools from Within.} p 283.
and in their claims that

'our English schools, at their best, can boast a
magnificent tradition of corporate life, and have shown
an inspiration that amounts to genius in discovering
and developing those influences that make for manliness
and energetic volition',

but the evidence does not seem to support them. The
Edwardian headmaster may have given his school a bit of
polish and a grace of manner, the gravitas of a leisured
gentleman and the dignitas in outward appearance to match
it, but beneath the surface all was not well. These years
saw the final destruction of the individual boy and his
absorption into the group type. Behaviour was governed by
'good form', and characters were moulded to the new ideal
of manliness - a healthy, good-mannered type, but philistine
in taste and without moral fervour: religion was totally
unimportant. These same years saw the acceptance of the
materialism and snobbery of the nouveaux riches, the peak
in athleticism, and the noisy rattle of militaristic
imperialism. Then too, the homosexuality that had been
kept in bounds by the earlier freedom and moral fervour now
sprouted in the atmosphere of regimented manliness.

Selwyn and Uppingham then were perhaps no more than
a typical headmaster and school of the time; only at
Uppingham the contrast with the Thring years makes the
'Golden Age' seem particularly tarnished.

Up to this point the subject of this study has been the evolution of the ideal of manliness in the public schools. The restriction is valid, for until about 1880, little attention was paid to the secondary education of the non-public school boy, and, besides, manliness was a gentlemanly virtue. The public school old-boys may have taken their games into their parishes and factories, but these activities were for the recreation of their parishioners and workers, and not for their education. Not until the 1880s did it seem proper to take the wider aspects of education to the lower classes. The first influences came through the Y.M.C.A., with its aim of Christian brotherhood, and through the efforts of the various national recreation societies. Octavia Hill and Lord Brabazon were two of many who endeavoured to provide gymnasia, playgrounds, parks and open spaces for working class children, whilst George Fletcher was one of a group of public school medical officers who sought to bring physical education into the curriculum of the public elementary school. By the 1890s physical training and drill was being introduced under the insistence of Lord Meath's 'National Physical Recreation Society'. The Society had been appalled by the poor physical

state of the working class and by the high rejection rate of working class recruits in the Army, and sought to gain the benefits that Sweden and Germany had found from their State gymnastic programmes. By the turn of the century the militarists were advocating the formation of cadet corps for working class children to complement those already in existence at the public schools. The public schools were providing the officers, now attention should be given to the men. The work of all these groups though was only marginally involved with the propagation of the ideal of manliness, but for two others, the Boys' Brigade and the Boy Scouts, it was a central aim. Through these enormously popular boys' organisations the public school ideal of manliness reached hundreds of thousands of non-public school boys and eventually affected the whole State secondary education system.

The Boys' Brigade was founded by William Smith in 1883. Smith, a Scot born in 1854, came from an army background, and as a young man in Glasgow his main interests were the Church, the Y.M.C.A. and the Militia. The Boys' Brigade was born on the idea of using militia volunteer methods in the Sunday School. Smith felt that the Sunday School would be more exciting, and thus more able to hold its boys, if it brought 'discipline and esprit de corps' to its members.

What Thomas Arnold did for the well-dressed boy, Smith would do for the working-boy. Smith felt that the boys needed an association with its attendant team-work and common interests, and that their pride in the association, or *esprit de corps*, should be shown in a distinctive uniform and badge, and in a creed. The first brigade was launched from the Free College Church Mission, Glasgow, and it numbered three officers and twenty-eight boys: three years later there were four companies with nearly two thousand boys, and by the 1890s the movement was nation-wide. The brigade was restricted to boys over 12, whilst 'old boys' were encouraged to return as leaders. Through activities such as elementary drill with dummy rifles, physical exercises, team games, and camping (the Boys' Brigade was one of the pioneers of camping), Smith endeavoured to inculcate 'that *esprit de corps* which public school boys acquire as a matter of course.'

'Our aim was to band the boys together and create an *esprit de corps* that would make them proud of their company, jealous of the honour, ashamed to do anything to disgrace it, and prepared to make any sacrifice rather than be dismissed from it.'

A Christian, moral education was an integral part of Smith's plan, and unlike later lads' brigades, the Boys' Brigade was undenominational in nature. As Smith explained:

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5. *ibid.* p 36.
7. *ibid.* pp 36, 47, 66.
'By associating Christianity with all that is most noble and manly in a boy's sight, they would be going a long way to disabuse his mind of the far too prevalent idea that there is something essentially feminine about it, and that, while it is all right for girls, it is something alien to the nature of high spirited boys.'

All brigades were thus attached to churches or church missions, and bible-reading classes formed a compulsory part of the programme. Manliness was the central Christian ideal: 'All a boy's aspirations are towards manliness, however mistaken his ideas may be as to what true manliness means.' Smith's stated 'Object' in the Boys' Brigade was more specific - "The Advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys, and the promotion of habits of Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness.'

The Boys' Brigade did magnificent work throughout the country, and soon various offspring groups, all owing much to Smith's ideals, were founded. Many of the new brigades were associated with particular denominations - the Anglican Church Lads' Brigade, the Catholic Boys' Brigade, and the Jewish Lads' Brigade. The Boys' Life Brigade, founded in 1899 and later to amalgamate with the original, also included

10. ibid. p 47.
11. ibid. p 80.
12. Quoted in ibid. p 38.
the phrase 'manly Christian character' in its aims. As the brigades expanded, so support came from figures as varied as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Methuen, and the military Lords Wolseley, Roberts and Kitchener. By the turn of the century Lord Methuen, wanting the brigades to be in step with the public schools, was advocating that all the lads should be taught to shoot.

Robert Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts was, however, the most popular and most influential of the offspring of the Boys' Brigade. Baden-Powell's background contrasts vividly with Smith's, and much of the difference between the two movements can be traced back to their respective founders. Whilst Smith was the quiet Scot from a humble background who came to the Boys' Brigade from Sunday Schools, Baden-Powell was a public school old boy, a dashing army officer, and, through his exploits at Mafeking in the Boer War, a national hero. To Patrick Howarth, Baden-Powell was the very epitome of that breed of men, homo newboltiensis. Born in 1857, educated at Charterhouse, and then straight into the Army, Baden-Powell possessed all later Victorian public schoolboy attributes. He felt that he had gained nothing at all in the classroom at school, but then, he believed, 'the main point in Public School Training is that it supplies Common-sense, Manners and Guts, even if it does not supply knowledge.'

16. Robert Baden-Powell, *Lessons from the 'Varsity of Life.* 1933 pp 20-
Team games prepared the player 'for the greater game of life', and promoted discipline in obedience to rules and to the captain, fair play, and playing for one's side and not for personal glory. The Army brought new sports - polo, hunting and pig-sticking: 'try it before you judge', Baden-Powell asks -

'See how the horse enjoys it, see how the boar himself, mad with rage, rushes wholeheartedly into the scrap, see how you, with your temper thoroughly roused, enjoy the opportunity of wreaking it to the full.'

And then of course there was the adventure and fighting, with all their appeal to 'any red-blooded man': 'Football is a good game, but better than it, better than any game is that of man-hunting.' The Army too brought comradeship and the opportunity to educate one's men for future citizenship. The Army was thus seen as the ultimate in service.

Whilst in India in 1899, Baden-Powell had written a small book, Aids to Scouting, for his fellow soldiers. The book was produced cheaply so that even privates could afford it, and as it was published at the time of the author's Mafeking exploits, the sales were enormous. Though the book outwardly is a military text, in effect it is bound up with the training of a scout's character: the good scout needed

17. Ibid. p 57.
pluck, self-reliance, confidence and discretion. On his return to England after the Boer War, Baden-Powell found that this book was being used by various boys' groups, including the Boys' Brigade, whilst earlier in 1900 the editor of Boys of the Empire had serialized the contents under the heading 'Boy Scout'. At first Baden-Powell only helped existing groups who were using Aids to Scouting, and he would write further on it for the Boys' Journal and Marvel, but after consultation with William Smith he decided to form his own boys' movement. In 1907 the Boys Scouts were formed; in 1910 the founder retired from the Army to devote all his energies to the new venture. The first camp was held in 1907 on Brownsea Island in Poole Harbour. The party of twenty comprised ten public schoolboys and ten lads from the Boys' Brigade; this social mixing was important, for through his Scouts, Baden-Powell hoped to break down class prejudice.

Baden-Powell grafted new ideas on to the established practice of the Boys' Brigade, ideas gleaned from his years as a soldier, and from his experiences with the famed Mafeking Scouts of the Boer War. The well-known Scout uniform was adopted from the start; drilling was rejected as being too

22. ibid. pp 135, 137.
conformist; boyhood gangs were transformed into scout patrols: and an emphasis on outdoor life was stressed far more than by any comparable organisation. In effect the Scouts were a realisation of Kipling's ideal of the 'Brushwood Boys', and indeed Kipling's tales of Kim and of India were adopted as part of scouting mythology. The military links remained strong, and many eminent soldiers, including Lords Roberts and Kitchener, took honorary and full-time offices in the organisation, whilst in return Baden-Powell gave strong support for Roberts's National Service League and the call for national conscription. The 1909 publication of Scouting for Boys, Baden-Powell's re-write of the original Aids, has a strong imperialist flavour.

The fundamental purpose of Baden-Powell's Scouts was the character-training of the nation's youth, it was to be an education in manliness. In contrast to the public schools, who through team games seemed to provide a boyish, immature ideal, Baden-Powell sought to present a more adult version. Boys, he felt, always aimed to grow up, and only men harked back to childhood games: thus the emphasis in the Scouts was to be on adult, manly pursuits with, for example, field sports preferred to team games. In the manner of Henry Newbolt, Baden-Powell drew on chivalry for the basic scouting code of conduct:

'the Romance of the Knights of the Middle Ages has its attraction for all boys and has its appeal to their moral sense. Their Code of Chivalry included Honour,
Self-discipline, Courtesy, Courage, Selfless Sense of Duty and Service, and the guidance of Religion. These and other good attributes would be readily accepted if embodied in a law for Scouts.²⁴

From this foundation, Baden-Powell framed the Scout 'Promise' to do one's duty to God and the King; to do a good turn every day; and to obey the Scout Law -

1. A Scout's Honour is to be trusted.
2. A Scout is Loyal.
3. A Scout's Duty is to be useful.
4. A Scout is a friend to all.
5. A Scout is courteous.
6. A Scout is a friend to animals.
7. A Scout obeys orders.
8. A Scout smiles and whistles under all difficulties.
9. A Scout is thrifty.
10. A Scout is clean in thought, word and deed.²⁵

These laws probably represent the most exact formula of the ideal of manliness ever presented; all the ingredients are there. Through obedience to these laws, and through the various scouting activities, the ideal of manliness would be inculcated into the youth of the country: what the ordinary school curriculum could not provide, scouting would, and the qualities of observation, endurance, courage, patience, resourcefulness, self-reliance, nerve, a love of nature, and comradeship, would no longer be the preserve of the public school boy, but would be available to all.²⁶

²⁴ Robert Baden-Powell, Lessons from the 'Varsity of Life, p 278.
²⁵ ibid, p 279.
²⁶ ibid, pp 109, 277.
Whereas the Boys' Brigade was primarily a movement for the working classes, the Boy Scouts had a wider appeal. Of the 14,000 Scouts enrolled in 1913, a large proportion were from middle class backgrounds (though not from public schools - they had their corps), and, importantly, many of the troops were attached to Grammar Schools. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and in the first years of the new one, increased attention was paid to the State secondary education programme. Old Grammar Schools were revived and new ones were founded to give an education based on public school lines to intelligent middle and lower class children. The Scout troops attached to them did much to inculcate public school ideals, but far more practices and philosophies were adopted straight from the original models. The schools had a strong religious tone, with assemblies each morning instead of the public school chapel, and most of the headmasters were in Holy Orders. Many of the staff were public school old boys; a strong emphasis was placed on sixth form scholarship; and prefectorial systems were universally adopted. Though the schools were almost wholly day-schools, the boys were split into houses, though usually the only expression of house feeling could come through sporting competitions. Public school games and their attendant millinery were taken on with enthusiasm: rowing generally proved too expensive, and so Rugby football proved the staple diet - it certainly could not be the working class
game of Association football. Education for leadership became the aim of the schools, and soon the airs and graces of their public school image in the neighbourhood brought out all the worst in social snobbery. Sixty years later, the Grammar School pattern had hardly changed at all: the ideal of manliness had spread well beyond the confines of the public school cloisters.
The ideal of manliness gained even broader circulation in much of the literature of the period. The 1880s and 1890s witnessed a flourish of historical novels of adventure, all plotting the exploits of their manly heroes. The years after 1900 saw the heyday of the public school novel for adults and the public school story for boys, and again each portrayed the ideal of manliness in action. Not only did such literature give wider horizons to the ideal, but it also helped to sustain it. The tales of adventure and the public school stories were avidly read by the very boys who would go to those schools: thus, before setting a foot over the threshold, they had a picture of the code of conduct they ought to employ.

Of all the boys' writers of the late-Victorian years, it is G.A. Henty who was the most popular and most widely read. Between 1867 and the turn of the century, Henty produced over a hundred books at a rate of three a year: to speed up the process, Henty would dictate his tales to an amanuensis, and this way he would regularly pour out 6500 words a day. For years, over 150,000 copies of each edition would be sold, and serialisation in journals would broaden the market further. For a while, Henty even edited and wrote for his own boys' journal, the Union Jack. At his death in 1902 the usually
staid London Sketch felt that 'by the death of George Henty, the boys of England lose one of the best friends they ever had.'

Henty in life was almost as large as his heroes were in fiction. Born in 1832 and educated at Westminster, Henty went up to Caius College, Cambridge. There he is pictured as a true muscular Christian - 'a big, robust, heavy, manly-looking Englishman' - with most of his time spent in boxing, wrestling, rowing, fencing and 50-mile-a-day walks about the Cambridgeshire countryside. Whilst at Cambridge, Henty's imagination was fired by the excitement of the Crimean War, and he left to join it without taking his degree. He was appointed to the Commissariat Department of the Army and set off to the battlefield. This post however did not bring him close enough to the action, so he transferred to become a War Correspondent for a London newspaper, and thereby began his life's career. Many of his later tales were to be drawn from his own adventures, first in the Crimea, and then with Garibaldi in Italy, with Napier in Abyssinia, the Franco-Prussian War, the Carlist Insurrection in Spain, and the Turco-Serbian War.

Henty prided himself on the historical accuracy of his books, often including maps and charts to illustrate the

2. G. Manville Fenn, op. cit. pp 1, 7.
3. ibid. p 15.
4. ibid. p 318.
text, and he always brought a sense of 'I was there' reality, bringing the stress of war right into the reader's home. Whether it was with Clive in India, Wellington in the Peninsular, Roberts in Kandahar or Buller in Natal, Henty was always able to take the boy-reader right into the action. To aid the process, the hero was generally a boy, a 'fighting boy', 'very manly, full, as he termed it, of pluck'. And there was nothing 'namby-pamby' about Henty's writings: he once ventured to allow a boy of 12 to kiss a girl of 11, but he received so many indignant letters that he never allowed the lapse to be repeated. Like Baden-Powell, Henty believed that a boy's one 'aim is to become a man and read what men do and have done': his 'manly' novels sought to teach the English boy to glow at the thought of his ancestors' glories. This way the future manhood would be attuned to higher issues. The novels exude an English nationalistic pride in 'the race that has peopled North America, Australia, and the south of Africa, holds possession of India, and stands forth as the greatest civilizer in the world,' and the scenes of battle are painted in gory detail:

'It is sometimes said that there is no good to be obtained from tales of fighting and bloodshed, - that there is no moral to be drawn from such histories. Believe it or not, War has its lessons as well as Peace.

5. e.g. G.A.Henty, The Treasure of the Incas. 1903. preface, p 7.  
7. ibid. p 333.  
You will learn from tales like this that determination and enthusiasm can accomplish marvels, that true courage is generally accompanied by magnanimity and gentleness, and that if not in itself the very highest of virtues, it is the parent of almost all the others, since but few can be practised without it. The courage of our forefathers has created the greatest empire in the world around a small and in itself insignificant island; if this empire is ever lost, it will be by the cowardice of their descendants.'

The late Victorian years saw a spate of nationalistic boys' journals (Pluck, Captain, Vanguard, etc.) full of tales in the style of Henty. These heroes, labelled 'Tom Brown's Imperialist Sons' by Louis James, mirrored the imperialist attitude of the nation. The stories abound in racial stereotypes, with the English always uppermost: the Russians are treacherous and loutish; the Spaniards are cruel; the Chinese are wily; and dark skins can only be savages, and thus can be killed without compunction. Literature from a higher plain was presented to boys in a similar manner. The imperialist poet William Henley compiled 'a book of verse for boys' to set forth, as only art can, the beauty and the joy of living, the beauty and the blessedness of death, the glory of battle and adventure, the nobility of devotion - to a cause, an ideal, a passion even - the dignity of

11. ibid. p 97.

There were also the glaringly coloured histories by H.E. Marshall, including Our Island Story, 1913.
resistance, the sacred quality of patriotism, this is my abition here.'

These Lyra Heroica - Tennyson's The Heavy Brigade, Cory's The Two Captains, Kipling's The Flag of England, Austin's Is Life Worth Living?, and a host more - proved immensely popular, and were still being given as school prizes thirty years later.

Henty's successors in the new century as tales of adventure and excitement, with manly heroes who always started the day with a cold bath, came from the pens of Rider Haggard, E.W. Hornung, Arthur Conan Coyle and, above all, John Buchan. Buchan was the very epitome of the 'whole man' ideal, and talented enough to be listed in Who's Who whilst still an Oxford undergraduate - he is almost a twentieth century Charles Kingsley. Buchan's pedigree is pure: a confirmed Platonist; a biographer of Sir Walter Scott; a lover of Wordsworth's pantheistic poetry; and an enthusiast for Kingsley's stories of Devonian seamen in Elizabethan times. Though not a public school boy - he felt 'incapable of what is called public-school spirit' - and no games player, Buchan exuded all the best qualities of manliness. Indeed his non-public school and non-games playing background may have aided his manliness, for it is of an earlier age, almost mid-Victorian in its roundedness. Like Parkin, Buchan was a convinced imperial federationalist,
dreaming of a world-wide brotherhood with the background of a common race and creed, consecrated to the service of peace. Buchan dedicated his life to service—secretary to Lord Milner (another federationalist) in South Africa; back home as a Member of Parliament; then courageous service in the 1914-18 War; and finally as Governor-General of Canada.

It was in 1910 that Buchan wrote his first tale for boys, at a time when he felt appalled by the dullness of boys' books. He thought he would have a go, and the result was Prester John. In quick succession others followed, including the famed Richard Hannay series, notably The Thirty-Nine Steps. Though the books are written in a nationalistic age and on an imperial background, there is no mock patriotism. Characters, including the Boers, are painted with sympathy: like Sir Walter Scott, Buchan could draw characters with a richness, no matter from which land or from what walk of life they hailed. The books sold widely, and from them the boys at school in the years before the Great War gained some insight into a purer ideal of manliness.

The boys' journals that flourished in the years either side of 1900 not only carried tales of adventure, but as a regular ingredient also contained tales of public school life.

15. Ibid., pp 129-30.
16. Quoted in Ibid., p 130.
Talbot Baines Reed, the king of Boy's Own Paper writers, penned their first school tale in 1879, but it was not until the turn of the century that the magazine could never be without such a story. These tales kept alive the public school legend, passed it on to the new generation, and spread the public school ideal to thousands of boys who would never come near such a school. A historian as eminent as Mack felt sure that in this way the Boy's Own Paper influenced in no small way the course of public school history. The formula for these tales was fairly standard, almost Tom Brown's Schooldays but without the seriousness and idealism. The public school realism was remarkable, especially when one notes that few of the writers went to public schools themselves. Countless longer public school stories were published in book form, often for only a few pence. The broadsheet for Walter C. Rhoades' Our Fellow at St. Mark's indicates that it manages to roll all the excitement of Tom Brown and Eric into one tale:

'It concerns the adventures of Grayson and his friends at St. Mark's School. All the elements which go to make up a good school story are here: exciting school sports, cricket and football matches, the thrashing of a bully, narrow escapes and brave rescues, an adventure at sea, and a host of other important things.'

20. Certainly Talbot Baines Reed and A.L. Haydon did not.
21. See advertisements at the back of A.L. Haydon, Up-School at Monkshall, nd.
Through these myriad tales and stories, public school practice and a simple manliness built on conventional courage was presented to generations of boys.

But tales of public school life were not reserved for boys alone. The 1899 publication of Kipling's *Stalky & Co* released a barrage of public school novels for adult readers. They were avidly read, especially in the Edwardian years, in an atmosphere that some contemporary observers felt was 'child worship' or a 'cult of childhood.' The most notable works in a long line of titles were Vachell's *The Hill* (1905), Portman's *Hugh Rendall* (1905), Gilkes' *A Day at Dulwich* (1905), Newbolt's *The Twymans* (1911), Walpole's *Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill* (1911), and Hornung's *Fathers of Men* (1912). With the exception of *Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill* which is a book about masters rather than boys, the novels have a basic formula not too different from that of the tales for boys. The new boy enters the school with a mixture of fearful apprehension and determined ambition - he has usually read *Tom Brown* or *Eric* or both; at first he suffers from loneliness and the rigours of fagging; then comes the regimentation of games and the harshness of masters; as he moves up the school, he makes a few friends, becomes free and mischievous, and leads a rebellious life! eventually he learns true manliness, becomes a loyal prefect, and helps put down bullying, the excesses of athleticism, or both; finally he

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22. *e.g.* *Contemporary Review*, March 1898.
leaves the school, with regret but soundly placed on the path of a successful life. They owe their lineage to Tom Brown rather than to Eric or Stalky & Co.: in the latter the individual is everything, and the school nothing: now in the Edwardian novel it is the school that plays the role of alchemist, transmuting the base metal of childhood into the purity of manhood.

The Hill, with its snobbishness and its ardent 'Imperial Christianity', we have already met; so too we have examined the conservative patriotism of The Twymans; and Fathers of Men has been seen in its Uppingham context. Lionel Portman's Hugh Rendall is set at Wellington in Pollock's headmastership. It pictures a school seeking aristocratic favours; bursting with 'manly' games (with squash rackets seen as soft and effeminate); striving for esprit de corps and ridden with mild homosexuality. Portman supports the athletic ideal of manliness:

'To judge one's fellows mainly by their muscles and power of using them in a certain way may seem ludicrous enough to older eyes. But the idea, if primitive, is undeniably sound. Apart from the other and more obvious advantages, games have this above all - that they create a corporate life, an absorbing common interest which would not otherwise exist. And so the boy who will not play his part in that corporate life is generally tabooed; while of him that thinks of little else the world can

reasonably expect the soundest citizenship when he grows up." 24

It is in this way that boys 'absorb some of the indefinable elements that constitute an English gentleman.' 25 A Day at Dulwich is one of several novels on the school written by A.H. Gilkes, at that time its headmaster. The hero is a manly boy, and the aim of the school is the inculcation of manliness:

'The aim may be described with much precision. The qualities which make a man are truthfulness, cleanness, courage, public spirit, kindness, with an understanding quickened in all directions, and most of all in the direction of that Unseen Power which rules us all: these qualities, together with a healthy body, seem to us schoolmasters to be those at the production of which we should aim.' 26

This, then, was the vein of the Edwardian public school novel: and it was not until the Liberal attacks on the schools in the years before the Great War that the tone changed. For the present, the athletic-imperialist ideal of manliness was secure.

24. ibid. p 175.
25. ibid. p 304.
A.H.Gilkes, A Day at Dulwich. 19
IX

Mention has already been made in the previous chapter of the criticism of A.C. Benson and others on the conservatism of the public schools, and on their inherent tyranny of games in particular, now as the century unfolded, the voice of liberalism grew louder and between 1908 and 1914 it became a voice sympathetic with the ideals of the country. From 1906 there was a swing towards the radical left in politics and a Liberal government succeeded that of the more ardently imperialist Conservatives. Greater emphasis was now given to social improvements at home and expenditure on the imperialist and military budget dropped. The change came slowly to the schools and it had not dug deep nor expanded far before the declaration of the Great War, but a change had indeed begun. It can be witnessed in the school novels of the period, and in the schools themselves.

Two novels particularly reflect the new liberalism; G.F. Bradby's *Lanchester Tradition* and Arnold Lunn's *The Harrovians*, both published in 1913. Bradby was a much respected housemaster at Rugby: he could never be described as a liberal, but he was intolerant of 'the militarists, the

athletocrat, the sacerdotalist, the precious highbrow, the educational faddist. He was never an enemy of new ideas, though he was wary of endangering the unity of a school's moral purpose. In the Lanchester Tradition Bradby, with gentle cynicism, reports how the tradition of a former and great headmaster, Dr. Lanchester, permeates the school - but this tradition means different things to different groups; boys, old boys, masters or governors. Chandler is the personification of the type of athletic housemaster 'who find it easier to be chivalrous to a vanquished foe than fair to a victorious one.' A victory in a housematch 'did not mean merely that his boys, by superior will or skill, had scored one goal more than the boys of another house. It meant, somehow, that the Lanchester tradition had been vindicated; that all that was best and noblest in the place, all that had made the past glorious and the present fulfilled, had, in the face of tremendous odds, asserted itself in a supreme and convincing manner. He was glad that his house had taken the field with two of their best players away, glad that le Willows had sprained his ankle and that the referee had been blatantly unfair. All things had worked together for good, and misfortunes which looked like irretrievable disasters had only served to enhance the moral sublimity of the victory.'

4. ibid. p 112.
Football, the school's own brand of football, was the means of engendering manliness and all moral qualities: the only impressive thing about the chapel was the singing of popular hymns, and that was noisy rather than reverent. The school, Bradby records, exuded all the virtues inherent to the best of the public schools tradition - loyalty, discipline, gentlemanly behaviour, and a subordination of the individual will to the interests of the community. The message of the Lanchester Tradition is of course a parody of the tradition accredited to Thomas Arnold; what is perhaps surprising is that it should have come from a conservative housemaster at Rugby. When a new headmaster is appointed to Bradby's fictitious school he tries to reverse the process, and comes up against that Lanchester tradition. Then one of the masters discovers some old papers belonging to the great man - and the false premises on which the Lanchester tradition was built become clear to all.

In contrast to Bradby's scholarly cynicism, Arnold Lunn's The Harrovians is the first 'realistic' school novel, set up to show as sham the sentimentality of that earlier Harrow novel, The Hill. Lunn's housemaster Dent matches Chandler as a 'sportsman' and games are again seen to dominate school life, but the whole tone of the book is more biting that the

5. ibid. pp 49, 69.
Lanchester Tradition. 'Confirm or be kicked', Lunn declares, is the command that should be written over the portals of every public school. Youngsters are bullied in the houses and harrassed at their games; always it is the 'swells' that do the hounding. Even the prefects are 'of little importance compared with the XI.' Lunn sets the novel in the years either side of 1900, now in 1913 he feels that things have started to improve.

The headmaster who was to most gain the support and encouragement of the intellectual radicals, men like George Bernard Shaw and H.G. Wells, was Frederick Sanderson. Sanderson's achievement at Oundle bears some comparison with Thring's at Uppingham, for during his leadership the school was to rise 'from comparative obscurity to a position of eminence among English public schools.' Many of Sanderson's innovations at Oundle were no more than those found forty years earlier at Uppingham, but in other important ways Sanderson tackled problems peculiar to his own age. He greatly reformed the academic curriculum, raising science and engineering to important levels. Yet, like Thring, his aim was not so much the mere acquisition of knowledge, even though the knowledge was of particular relevance to this period of history, but that it should be directed towards the training of creative instincts, almost as a moral.

7. ibid. pp 50, 275.
8. ibid. pp 26, 275.
education. The athletic ethos of the school was rigorously challenged. Sanderson's own physical interests were centred on outdoor activities in the Lake District, and with 'reading parties' of boys too, hence the 'aristocracy of athletes' gained little favour. Palmer has shown how Sanderson did encourage games, athletics, gymnastics and outdoor activities, though their position in the school was never dominant. Co-operation, and not competition, was the Sanderson philosophy.

Changes were also occurring in the established public schools, and usually in reaction to the athletic and militaristic excesses of the recent years. When in 1910 W.W. Vaughan succeeded Pollock at Wellington there was a quite remarkable about-turn. The importance of games diminished, bogus intellectuality was discouraged, prefectorial power declined, and much of the sacerdotalism was curtailed. Under Vaughan the cultivation of publicity and the impressive window-dressing that had been so successful in the Edwardian years ceased abruptly. An era of change had come. Changes came at Eton too, when in 1905 Warre was succeeded by Edward Lyttelton. Lyttelton had been one of England's best cricketers during the 1870s, but he was also

a keen admirer of F.D. Maurice - the combination produced a near Thringian. When headmaster at Haileybury, Lyttelton had invited G.R. Parkin to speak to the school on Imperial Federation, an ideal sympathetic to Thring as well as to Lyttelton. In the same period he had addressed a small book to Mothers and Sons to aid mothers to early foster the ideal of 'true Christian manliness' in their sons. Once at Eton Lyttelton checked the craze in games, broadened the curriculum to include handicrafts, and reduced the aura of militarism. Games were important to Lyttelton, but both morally and physically the education they provided was viewed as lopsided. Games did nothing to feed the minds - 'Bowen of Harrow stated boldly that games furnish the boys' minds with something to think about. So they do, but it is thin fare, and if the mental anaemia is combined with a full-blooded physique, complications set in.' Nor did games fully develop the body, and so Lyttelton built a gymnasium on the Swedish pattern and in it masters, including R.E. Roper who began his career at Eton, did 'some excellent work'. Attendance at the gymnasium became

15. This was in 1893. Edward Lyttelton, Memories and Hopes. p 118
18. ibid. p 280.
19. See below: chapter 5, section iv.
compulsory, some masters took a course, and a programme of remedial gymnastics proved a valuable addition to the boys' welfare. Many of these innovations were to go in the years of the Great War, and they departed with Lyttelton. In the spring of 1915 Lyttelton preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the moral aspects of war and in the 'mad' atmosphere of the first year of hostilities, Lyttelton's comments were blown large by the press, and 'in deference to a view of his patriotism entirely inconceivably to anyone who knows him', Lyttelton tendered his resignation.

William Temple was now headmaster at Repton. Son of the headmaster of Rugby who later became Archbishop of Canterbury, Temple was destined to follow his father's footsteps to that same See. The 'moral tone' of the school may not be remembered as being particularly high in the Temple years, but at least in his sermons to the school the headmaster preached the new creed of liberal Christianity. The 'self-aggrandisement' of Empire at the expense of smaller nations was viewed as false patriotism: 'We shall value Empire, not as the satisfaction of a futile pride, but as the opportunity of influencing human history, and guiding it according to the laws of God, by whom the opportunity is given.' National patriotism was seen as

23. Information from James Barnett.
the culmination of devotion to family, school and university and 'the more complete our loyalty in the narrower sphere, the more effective will our patriotism be.' The King was portrayed as the outward and visible sacrament of this patriotic religion, and the ultimate test of a school rested on its ability to serve the nation. School affection was a training ground in citizenship, and the boys were encouraged to 'go and practise what you have learned in the hard unsympathetic world.' The ethos had returned to the quiet, modest bearing of 'the White Man's Burden'.

In 1907 the Rev. Harry Ward McKenzie was appointed headmaster of Uppingham. McKenzie, only three years younger than his predecessor, Selwyn, had previously been a master at Almond's Loretto and headmaster of Lancing and Durham. He came with a reputation for good management rather than sound scholarship and within a year the numbers were passed the 400 mark again, and by 1911 they were back to the earlier pattern of 440. At Lancing he was remembered for his 'resolute, sure muscular Christianity,' and there he recruited a notable band of muscular Christians to the staff to subdue in the manner of Cotton at Marlborough, the ill-discipline that had increased during the last years of his

25. *ibid.* p 139.
predecessor. At Uppingham McKenzie absorbed the talented athletes into the prefectoral body, perhaps as a move to gain their favour. If so, it worked, for customs and privileges that were recently the prerequisite of the swell and the hearty now ceased, and the reign of terror came to an end.

Though McKenzie did curtail the excesses of athleticism there was little change in the games organisation or the athletic outlook. Brian Horrocks, the future general, felt he was typical of many boys of the period: 'I was a games addict, and did as little work as possible - my whole life was devoted to sport.' More school matches were introduced in this period, and second team matches became more general: a large increase in the playing fields is one of the tangible legacies of the McKenzie years. The corps continued to flourish - Jones was now a major and soon a lieutenant-colonel. McKenzie supported his efforts keenly, telling the boys that such service taught discipline, submission and eventually command. It made, in McKenzie's words, a boy 'manly'. Vera Brittain came to Uppingham for her brother's last speech day in the idyllic summer of 1914. She liked this stern man, almost an intimidating figure, for

he knew his boys well and could recognise the various parents. Vera Brittain remembered too the closing words of McKenzie's speech that day: 'If a man cannot be useful to his country, he is better dead.'

Whatever the dispute about which career a gentleman could or could not follow, one thing was always suitable — fighting. The causes of this military ideal of manliness, an ideal that flourished in the twenty years before the Great War, are several. We have seen how since the 1850s the temper of the country became increasingly nationalistic; 'we were the best breed in the universe'. As the second half of the nineteenth century unfolds, so the demands made on the home country were correspondingly raised. A spirited foreign policy is a necessary adjunct of imperialism, and so too a large army and navy is essential if what has been gained is to be held. The need to breed an 'Imperial race' was seen to be vital, and the armed forces rose to the top of the career league for public school boys.

These were the positive influences, but other factors also helped form the new ideal. Society was changing. As the crown passed from Victoria, 'a respected, puritan granny', to Edward, 'the jolly old uncle of Liberty Hall', so a total reaction to the Victorian era set in, and even though King Edward died in 1910, the new age lasted four more years. The changes began in the 1870s, when Edward was Prince of Wales; by the 1890s 'the Corinthian manner was more in

1. Noel Annan, Leslie Stephen, p 38.
vogue than the Attic', and by 1905 some feared that
the Empire was dying at its heart. The 'naughty nineties' gave way to a 'vulgarity and worship of wealth' in the new century. 'Smart Society' hungered for excitement and amusement, and sought it where it could. The mid-Victorians had idolised 'scholarship and manliness', now the Edwardians worshipped 'manliness and good-breeding'. Money became the supplanter of birth, and the new-rich sought to imitate the old-rich by aping their fashions, their mode of life and their interests. Matthew Arnold's 'Philistines' sought to become 'Barbarians'. The idea of a 'gentleman' is the vital ingredient in any analysis of Victorian and Edwardian society; it was hard for a definition to be formulated, but one gentleman would immediately recognise another. The elusive definition changed however; a mid-Victorian was suspicious of the religion of wealth, the Edwardian worshipped it. True religion was becoming even more identified with ethics. As the church became even more sect-conscious in the new century, so religious doubt increased. Edwardian England was perhaps the first civilisation in the world's history to become so completely

2. John Buchan, Memory Hold-the-Door, p 35.
3. ibid, p 133.
5. Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, 1869/93, pp 64-5.
7. Meril Trevor, op. cit. p 188.
secularised. The surface of Edwardian life was brilliant and glamorous, and indeed there was a superficial code of strict decorum, but below the surface morality was lax. Moral hypocrisy was rife, for whilst prostitution was both illegal and violently condemned, so the pleasures were enjoyed by many 'gentlemen'.

The code of the gentleman, rather than the religion of the Christian, became the ethos of the public school. As laymen gradually replaced men in Holy Orders, so the religious teaching evolved into a code of ethics to support the commercial needs of the nation, and the British Empire was raised as a greater reality than the Kingdom of Heaven.

There were new powers in the schools too. Mid-Victorian headmasters had reformed their schools by autocratic means and their successors had extended the work with a sense of mission to the whole school. In the process two institutions were created to help in the organisation - the houses, and the prefects. The housemaster's income depended on his house, so he did not readily retire from it: limited tenures were a thing of the future. Often a headmaster was one of the youngest men on the staff, and it was perhaps

   Esme Wingfield-Stratford, The Victorian Aftermath, 1901-1914. 1933. p 45.
10. The Nation, 14 January 1911.
natural to leave much of the day-to-day running of the boys' lives to the men who knew them best. Few headmasters could exert Thring's influence over their housemasters—especially as the schools became larger—and gradually housemasters became an inner cabinet in each school, with definite powers of veto. The houses became regulated, conformist institutions. It was the same pattern in the actual houses, where the longer a housemaster remained in residence, the more day-to-day power he delegated to his prefects. Prefectorial rule, fagging, games, and beating increased, and all, in retrospect, were agreed to be ethically justified.\textsuperscript{12} As the headmasters surrendered their right to innovate to the conservative intentions of housemasters and prefects, so the public schools began to petrify.

A military historian has defined 'militarism' as 'an ever-increasing web of rules, restrictions and constraints, presided over by an elite, one of whose motives was to preserve the status quo'.\textsuperscript{13} The definition describes an Edwardian public school. Boys were squeezed into identical moulds; passionate, blind devotion to one's house or one's school was prevalent; friendships were limited to one's own house; individual hobbies and pursuits were surrendered to

\textsuperscript{12} ibid. pp 3, 6, 7, 8.

house interests: emotions and all individuality were buried deep. School society became intolerant, whether of Jews, of parvenu mathematical masters, or of anything out of the ordinary mould. The moral picture mirrored society: on the surface the fervent puritanism of long games shorts, two towels when showering, and the net of school rules seemed to keep the crust intact, but below the surface there lurked a veritable quicksand, and the crust was all too thin. Games playing and esprit de corps were now an educational mystique, still praised for the reasons listed at the end of the previous chapter. The orgy of compulsory games ever grew. During matches an educational moratorium would be declared; success and failure were vital, whether to school or house; a row of silver cups was seen as visible and tangible evidence of a united will. Standards of sportsmanship fell. There was the scandalous Varsity cricket match when Quills, at his captain's request, bowled five wides to the boundary to prevent Oxford following on. When Mitchell retired as cricket master at Eton, Quills was his successor.

15. Shane Leslie, The Oppidan. 1922. passim. This pictures Eton about the turn of the century. See, for example, p 131.
17. Shane Leslie, op. cit. p 222.
and a minor one at that, but in the new century it climbed in status to the very top. A new 'military caste' replaced the older 'athletic caste'. Great importance was attached to outward signs of maleness, and for example, hair length rapidly decreased to the 'short back and sides'. Field Marshall Lord Wolseley, one of the champions of the cadet corps, gave the reason: 'It is very difficult to make our Englishman at any time look like a soldier. He is fond of longish hair ... hair is the glory of a woman but the shame of a man'.

School religion was changing too. A headmaster might occasionally warn against 'filth' and talking 'filth', but in general sermons became theological rather than religious. The boys received little moral guidance from their housemasters. A visiting preacher might bring variety - perhaps 'The Game of Life,' a favourite theme. An old Uppinghamian, E.W. Hornung was an expert:

'It is a very old comparison that likens Life to a game; so old indeed that there is very little in these days that we cannot, and do not habitually, express in terms of cricket, for example. Thus, when you want anybody to try hard at anything - to make an effort - you tell him to 'play up'. When you find it hard to do the right thing, hard to be quite straight about something, you say to yourself "I must 'play the game' - because", you may add, "because what I'm tempted to do is 'not cricket'." If it be a case of doing our share in some

20. L.E. Jones, op. cit. pp 152, 207.
way to help another, we call that 'keeping our end up'; and if only one good word could be said for us by our friends, and by the world, and if it were for us to choose that one good word, what do you think it would be? I believe we should one and all, man and boy, love to be known above all else as 'sportsmen' - simply because the word 'sportsman', as we use it among ourselves, has come to signify every virtue which is dearest to our hearts. Courage, honesty, unselfishness, chivalry, you can't be a sportsman without all these; and if you have all of those, you must be a good man.'

'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 triumphs 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 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 other that will count, when the innings is over, in the Pavilion of Heaven.'

Preachers might tell boys that life was a game, but for the younger ones, life in the boarding houses was more a battle. As headmasters passed authority to the housemasters, and they in turn trusted it to the prefects, so

immorality set in. Boys in the 1890s might complain of 'low and nasty ways,' but the conviction and imprisonment of Oscar Wilde for homosexual practices brought a jubilant proclamation that all was well in the philistine camp: only aesthetes could be immoral. 22 The excesses, at Uppingham and elsewhere, did however, gradually gain public attention. In 1910 'A Public School Boy' wrote on the lowering of moral tone to the National Review and a heated debate ensued.

'The state of affairs in the Public Schools on moral matters is of the gravest kind,' he asserted, 'from my own experience, as well as from what I have heard from many in diversities of schools, things are done which are hardly mentionable, which would make many respectable parents jump in their chairs. There is often an absolute tolerance and indifference to the most shocking immorality. Young lives are ruined, incurable habits are contracted, disgusting and horrible cases are brought to light.' 23

'An Undergraduate' felt that the case had been over-dramatised, but 'A Parent' supported the original thesis. In May the following year, 'An Ex-Assistant Master' replied that such things only happened in a bad house, in a bad school, in a bad time; 'A Public School Boy' was however not to be silenced, and in June he re-iterated his original remarks, and this time added the experiences of many who had written to him. 24

E. C. Mack, op. cit. p 127.
By now reforms had started to come.

'Imperial manliness' was the last English romantic ideal. Christianity had been found wanting; romanticism was discredited with the downfall of Oscar Wilde; the early public school ideals became a 'Lanchester Tradition'. At its best the spirit of 'The White Man's Burden' was a high ideal and nobly sought. Many public schoolboys had decided that they would 'never go into an office', but would go out into distant lands to uphold the honour of Englishmen and play, on a wider scale, the role of a prefect. Douglas Haig was one. In 1910 he wrote to a nephew who had recently served in South Africa:

'It would be absurd for a lad of your years and without any experience of the Empire and its inhabitants to settle down into a turnip-grower in Fife. Leave these pursuits until you get into your doddering age! Meantime do your best to become a worthy citizen of the Empire ... How would you feel if you had not been out here, had not starved with the 'Old Colonel'...... in fact were not an officer in Her Majesty's 2nd Hussars? It has been your good fortune not only to become a soldier, but to have served and risked your life for the Empire - you must continue to do so and to consider that it is a privilege and not that by doing so you are losing time and money! ...... possibly a word or two of patriotism would not be wasted on some of your home waters such as _______. Let him use some of his wealth in buying land in the newly-acquired territory and send out settlers to ensure the unity of the country. There are a thousand ways in which these
rotters can become useful members of society, once they realise what rotters (from the point of view of British Citizenship) they are in their present mode of living. The gist of the whole thing is that I am anxious not only that you should realise your duty to your family, your country and to Scotland, but also to the whole Empire - 'Aim High' (as the Book says), 'perchance ye may attain'. Aim at being worthy of the British Empire and possibly in the evening of your life you may be able to own to yourself that you are fit to settle down in Fife. At present you are not, so be active, and busy. Don't let the lie of mediocrities about you deflect you from your determination to belong to the few who can command or guide or benefit our Great Empire. Believe me, the reservoir of such men is not boundless. As our great Empire grows, so there is a greater demand for them, and it behoves everyone to do his little and try and qualify for as high a position as possible. It is not ambition. This is duty.25

The ideal was not, however, always seen at its best.

Most public schoolboys were narrow in knowledge and outlook, and narrow in social conscience of responsibility. They were well-bodied, well-mannered and well-meaning, keen at their games and devoted to their schools, but they were ignorant of life about them and contemptuous of all outside their own caste. The most that one could hope for was that they would be efficient administrative cogs in the political and social system of the Empire.26 This then might be the

average. Richard Aldington, in his biting novel *Death of a Hero*, portrays the worst aspect of 'Imperial Manliness'. Aldington's hero, George, goes to a public school which aims to turn out 'thoroughly manly fellows'. The pride of the school is its excellent games record, and there is a cadet corps where boys compulsorily learn 'to take up arms' for their country. The whole school exudes manliness - 'manly' corps, 'manly' games, 'manly' prefects, even 'manly' beatings and 'manly' bullying. George's contemporaries all seek to be approved, and to be 'healthy barbarians' cultivating 'a little smut on the sly'. On leaving school each will go to some minor and unpleasant post in an unhealthy colony where 'a thoroughly manly fellow' was still appreciated.

George is, of course, bad at games, keen on painting, and thoroughly 'unmanly'. He is beaten by the headmaster, who then kneels with him to pray that he might become 'a manly fellow'. The headmaster is both corps commander and chaplain: in the corps he stresses - 'It is so important to learn how to kill. Indeed, unless you know how to kill you cannot possibly be a Man, still less a Gentleman.' In chapel he preaches the moral 'prepare to meet thy God and avoid smut' - 'Within ten years one half of you boys will be DEAD!' 27

The true spirit of Christianity and the message of Romanticism may now no longer figure strongly in the schools, but the emphasis on the classics was as strong as ever. They

were still the core of the curriculum. Eighty years earlier Thomas Arnold had made them a means of moral education, and, through a concentration on the works of Plato and Thucydides, this tradition had strengthened in the mid-Victorian schools. Now in Edwardian times the classics still provided intellectual support, but Plato was almost unread and Homer was the fashionable author. R.M. Ogilvie, in his study Latin and Greek, has noted how swift the change over occurred. By the turn of the century all schools read Homer; men as diverse as Edmund Warre, Arthur Ponsonby and T.E. Lawrence were all enthusiasts. The late nineteenth century was an age of real heroes, Gordon, Kitchener, Roberts and the like, and it was perhaps inevitable that Homer should be chosen to give the era substance and identity. The writings of Henry, Vachell, Newbolt, Kipling, Buchan and Hornung all resound to the adventures of heroes ready to risk all, death included. Current history was a heyday of English heroism - T.E. Lawrence and Richard Burton were exploring the Middle East and Africa, and the Boer War was filled with heroic excitement.

The Homeric poems, generally dated to the eighth century, B.C., record the legends and myths of the Greek heroic age, one that lasted for about four generations and ended in the

   John Buchan, Memory Hold the Door. p 228.
battle of Troy. There is no morality in the Odyssey and the Iliad; the actions are either honourable or dishonourable, and they relate to the dignity of the hero. The person was of greater consequence than the cause. Honour was the supreme virtue, and this determined correct behaviour, attitudes to women, conduct towards servants and matters of dress. Trade was never part of the Homeric life-style, but acquired wealth as a sign of prestige and work was: honour was equated with solid goods of value. The Greek for hero originally meant a warrior, and the hero's status depended on who he fought, and how he fought, and how he fared. The heroic qualities included high courage, modesty and courtesy; however personal honour was of far greater importance than loyalty to comrades or duty as a soldier. Prizes gained were lasting evidence of glory, to be displayed to all on appropriate occasions, and the intrinsic value of the prize gave it its proper value - a beautiful young woman was more honorific than an old woman. The link between heroism, material prizes and ceremonial feasting was strong. Britain was a country whose wealth was built on an Empire that needed

C.M. Bowra, Homer, 1972. p 84.
32. M.I.Finley, op. cit. p 131.
34. M.I.Finley, op. cit. pp 132, 133, 137.
to be defended and her heroes were naturally worshipped. Courage and patriotism were thus venerated, and the good, the kind, the meek were not. The Greek age of heroes died quickly, for when the community became settled the hero was tamed - a 'domesticated hero' is a contradiction in terms. The Edwardian age of heroes died quickly too, but not in the same manner.

35. *ibid.* p 129.
Chapter Five

THE SURVIVAL OF THE IDEAL

I

When war was declared against Germany on 4 August, 1914, it was almost as if providence had given a test by which the public schools might prove their worth. War, with its call to self-sacrifice, to duty, and to honour, was seen by many as the realisation of a hope. The Homeric hero was first and foremost a warrior and to such a warrior only valour justified life. Only in battle could he fully realise himself; only in battle could he be put to the greatest test of all. The schools answered the call to arms in the most glorious and dramatic of ways: young masters and senior boys set to return for the autumn term said quick farewells to their schools and volunteered almost to a man to go to the front; whilst in the schools themselves the cadet corps became compulsory overnight, often, as at Charterhouse, through direct action on the boys' part. At school the corps parades were suddenly meaningful and war exercises full of realism - all too soon these cadets too would be joining their seniors in the crusade against German imperialism. At the front the public school subalterns did well, remarkably so when we remember that they had

only a few weeks training in England prior to embarkation for France. Their concern for their men, their determination to succeed, their hardiness amidst all the deprivations of war, and above all their simple open courage, soon won the respect of the professional soldiers under their command, and to such a degree that it is now almost impossible to realise just how young and how inexperienced these subalterns were. The legion tales of selfless devotion and unstinting heroism are still famous today, and the literature of the period constantly reminds us 'lest we forget': perhaps Ernest Raymond's *Tell England* is the most sincere and wonderful example of all that is best in public school service, honour and manliness. The price was enormous, for a generation of public schoolboys died in the four years of war. The Uppingham roll of honour number 436: almost every other name in the Uppingham School Roll for the years 1907 to 1909 has the word 'killed in action' appended to its entry. Never did a generation go to war so willingly and so idealistically, and never did so few return.

Through the autumn of 1914, when the war was only going to last a few months, the idealism of the public school officer was high. He was literally a crusading knight in armour, and many, like Siegfried Sassoon endlessly prepared for the cavalry break-through that was never to come.  

Memories abound of combatants gaining inspiration from the medieval quests of Roland and King Arthur; the pilots of the Royal Flying Corps pictured themselves as knights of a twentieth century chivalric order; and as the war moved into the Homeric lands of the Middle East, so the links with the world of heroes grew ever stronger. Paul Fussell has recorded how the letters, diaries and other writings of these young men abound with a raised, almost medieval language, that they had absorbed from their boyhood readings. A friend was a 'comrade' and one's horse became a 'steed', whilst the enemy was the 'foe' and the front became the 'field'. The possibility of death was one's 'fate'; the dead were the 'fallen' - indeed the whole war became 'strife'. 'It's all great fun', Rupert Brooke wrote home. It was almost like being at school still. The proximity of England meant that mail and hampers of food from Fortnum and Mason's or Harrods came often; leave was regularly given for officers to go back to England, as if on holiday; the caste status of regiments, from the Guards at the top to the territorials at the bottom, reflected school structure and indeed the senior regiments expected the position of honour in any assault of the enemy. The athletic ethos came too. The battle for the Belgian sea-ports quickly gained the title

3. See *ibid.*, p 114 ff.
4. For many other examples see *ibid.*, pp 21-2.
'The Race to the Sea' with its overtones of a sporting event; and the German use of chlorine gas was felt as 'illustrative of the Prussian idea of playing the game'; and a craze developed for kicking footballs towards the enemy line during an attack. This feat was first performed at Loos early in 1915, but it soon spread throughout the Western and Middle Eastern fronts. Christmas 1914 saw the declaration of an informal truce, and the two sides met in No Man's Land: gifts were exchanged and even games of football were played. 'Never such innocence again,' observed Philip Larkin. The poetry of an Old Uppinghamian, E.W. Hornung exudes this euphoric air. *Lord's Leave* (1915) is an example:

'No Lord's this year: no silken lawn on which
A dignified and dainty throng meanders,
The Schools take guard upon a fierier 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!

A demon bowler's bowling with his head -
His heart's as black as skins in Carolina!
Either he breaks, or shoots almost as dead
As Anne Regina;

7. *ibid.* pp 9, 27.
While the deep-field-gun, trained upon your stumps,
From concrete grand-stand far beyond the bound'ry,
Lifts up his ugly mouth and fairly pumps,
Shells from Krupp's foundry.

But like the time the game is out of joint -
No screen, and too much mud for cricket lover:
Both legs go slip, and there's sufficient point
In extra cover!

Cricket? 'Tis Sanscrit to the super-Hun -
Cheap cross between Caligula and Cassius,
To whom speech, prayer, and warfare are all one -
Equally gaseous!

Playing a game's beyond him and his hordes;
Their but to play the snake or wolf or vulture:
Better one sporting lesson learnt at Lord's
Than all their Kultur ....

Sinks a torpedoed Phoebus from our sight,
Over the field of play see darkness stealing;
Only in this one game, against the light
There's no appealing.

Now for their flares ... and now at last the stars ...
Only the stars now, in their heavenly million,
Glisten and blink for pity on our scars
From the Pavilion.'

This was no mere jingoism, for when his own son Oscar died
that same year the poem Last Post, dedicated in his memory,
could still contain such sentiment. The Last Post refers
to the contents of Oscar's last letter home -

'Still merry in a dubious trench
They've taken over from the French,
Still making light of duty done;
Still full of Tommy, Fritz, and fun!
Still finding war of games the cream,
And his platoon a priceless team -
Still running it by sportsman rule,
Just as he ran his house at school.
Still wild about the 'bombing stunt'
He makes his hobby at the front
Still trustful of his wondrous luck -
'Prepared to take on old man Kluck!' 10

Whilst the war was fought in this Homeric atmosphere
so the ideal of manliness sustained the new heroes, but
the arrival of entrenchment saw the start of its demise.
Eventually the whole trench system was to stretch from
the North Sea to the Swiss border, and on the 90 miles
that British troops defended some 7000 officers and men
were killed and wounded each day, even in the quietest
times. 11 The enemy became invisible, and speculation grew
amongst the troops as to the physical appearance of the
German soldier. 12 By July 1916, after the ordeal of the
Somme, it was felt by many that the war would never end. 13
War was no longer Homeric. There was nothing chivalrous
about chlorine gas; there was nothing heroic in dying
under bombardment from an invisible enemy; there was nothing

10. ibid. p 47.
12. ibid. p 76.
13. ibid. pp 13, 71.
idealistic in inhuman mechanistic trench warfare. As the mode of warfare moved from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, so the public school officer met his limit and the ideal of manliness met its end. The young officers still led as well, still fought heroically - and now bore all with a 'stoical reticence' that could turn the worst disaster into something that was merely 'darned unpleasant'.

- now however the short-comings of their military training were becoming evident, and, more importantly, the war had moved away from a level where individual action was vital to one where the individual was lost in an army of millions. The war that was to be the awakening of the ideal of manliness instead witnessed its death in the mud of countless battles.

It was the same story in the schools. In 1914 the atmosphere was vigorous and idealistic; games were seen as unimportant 'in the presence of the real thing'; the cadet corps absorbed all energy and interest; school magazine editorials were devoted to the war; and playing fields were turned over by boy labour for the growing of vegetables. The lists read out in Chapel of 'Those who have laid down their lives for their Country' brought the reality of war back to the schools, yet a greater impression was usually made by the visit of a newly decorated old boy.

14. ibid., p 181.
By the summer of 1915 the excitement was on the decline and by January 1916, according to S.P.B. Mais who went back to schoolmastering at his old school, all was back to normal as if August 1914 had not happened. As the war dragged on, as the lists read in chapel grew ever longer, as the returning heroes became less idealistic, so the schools shrunk away from the reality of war and looked back to the halcyon Edwardian days. Games suddenly increased in importance again, and once more, they dominated editorials in school magazines (as Vera Brittain noted at Uppingham) and the obituaries of old boys killed at the front made slight reading beside the biographies of the XV and XI. As if almost to dull the senses of boys before they too were slaughtered in France, the schools turned their backs on the reality of war, and sought to live in a world of peace. The ideal of manliness had evaporated.

The return now of all the old public school problems was noted by many. H.E. Luxmore witnessed the games cult as strong as ever at Eton, with masters advocating its virtues as in the past. Ian Hay wrote of the dulling effects of compulsory games, the conformities of public school life, and the moulding of personality to a stereotype, concluding .... 'The Englishman is suspicious of brains, despises intellectualities, and thoroughly mistrusts

17. Vera Brittain, op. cit, p 241.
any superficial appearance of cleverness; but he worships character, character, character all the time.\footnote{19} Arnold Lunn's \textit{Loose Ends} pictured a school where everything was athletic, from the housemaster, 'one of that breed of professional-cricket-schoolmasters', to the annual speech day. The school of the tale, Hornborough, taught only two things - cricket and \textit{esprit de corps}.\footnote{20} E.F. Benson's \textit{David Blaize} sentimentally pictured life at Marlborough and hinted throughout of mild homosexuality.\footnote{21} It was, however, the 1917 publication of Alec Waugh's \textit{The Loom of Youth} that brought the public schools back into the headlines.

\textit{The Loom of Youth} was written in the spring of 1916 when Waugh was 17½ years old. He had recently left Sherborne where he had been happy and successful, gaining colours in both cricket and rugby, and he had just joined the army. Waugh later saw the book as 'a realistic but romantic story of healthy adolescence set against the background of an average English Public School', and pictured it as an attempt to expose the sham of the 'cornerstone of the Empire' philosophy that was prevalent.\footnote{22} In a way that no other book had done before, \textit{The Loom of Youth} portrayed a contemporary school and revealed all its

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\item \footnote{19} Ian Hay, \textit{op. cit.} pp 163, 210, 211, 215, 219.
\item \footnote{20} Arnold Lunn, \textit{Loose Ends}. pp 17, 18, 22, 34, 35, 36.
\item \footnote{21} E.F. Benson, \textit{David Blaize}. 1916. passim.
\item \footnote{22} Alec Waugh, preface to 1955 edition of \textit{The Loom of Youth}. pp 9-11.
\end{itemize}
brutality, its rigidity, and its conventionality. Athletic
gods reigned supreme, and to be athletic meant that any-
thing else might be forgiven: life in the boarding houses
was barbaric, with homosexual relationships pictured as
absolutely usual; true religion did not exist, but was
merely equated with 'good form' and 'playing the game'.

In short, Waugh in one novel had exposed that which numerous
other writers since the turn of the century had merely hinted.

Waugh produced a storm of reaction that was to last
until the end of the war. Conservative feelings were well
represented by the writer in the Contemporary Review who
found the book 'uniformly dull, occasionally unpleasant,
and almost wholly untrue, and the same feelings saw
fruition in an answering novel, A Dream of Youth, by another
recent public schoolboy. Despite the furore, Waugh, who had
his name erased from the Sherborne old boys list, stuck
to his guns, and in The English Review and in Public School
Life maintained that what he had written was true from his
own experiences, and that it was also, so he was informed,
true for most other schools. Numerous writers notably
Sir Francis Fletcher Vane supported Waugh's revelations,
and meanwhile J. Howard Whitehose edited a fact-finding
symposium in The English Public School. Here the weakness

25. Alec's younger brother, Evelyn Waugh, had to go to Lancing.
Alec Waugh's name was later restored to the Sherborne roll.
Alec Waugh, Public School Life. p 76 ff.
27. Francis Fletcher Vane, The English Review, April 1918. p 343.
of public school religion, the games mania, the militarism, the lack of freedom, were all once more aired, but perhaps with more objectivity and authority than in any previous denunciation. The liberal assault on the public schools continued unabated until the end of the war, and on into the years of peace. In 1920, under the atmosphere of optimism and in the prosperity of the immediate post-war boom, it really did look as if the concerted attacks launched at the public schools ever since the turn of the century were beginning to take effect in the 'new age'.

The 'new age' began with the end of an ideal, and the virtual extinction of a word. With few exceptions the noun 'manliness', and its adjective form 'manly', dropped suddenly from current usage. The word that had been in many fathers' letters and every headmaster's sermon in 1914 was now quietly and without ceremony buried with the ideal. For 1918 marked the end of a myth. The pre-war generation of public school old boys had tried to live the life of heroes - but the war was not noble; a whole generation was slaughtered; and most died without glory and nobility. After 1918 the make-believe of Homeric times ceased and in the egalitarian years that followed the heroic qualities needed for success and distinction went out of fashion.

29. Virginia Woolf used 'manly' in some of her novels; Florida Air Academy used 'manliness' in its prospectus (John Wakeford, op. cit. p 15); George Snow used 'manly' in his book on public school life (George Snow, The Public School in the New Age, 1959. p 39); and 'manliness' was used in the recent government campaign against advertisements for cigarettes.
II

The optimism of the 'new age' did not last long. In three months of the winter of 1920-21 unemployment soared from three hundred thousand to over a million: the economic boom had ended and the gold that had supported the 'golden age' had run out. The same years saw the rapid decline of the now splintered Liberal party, which suffered disastrous results at the 1918 and 1924 General Elections, thus leaving the political arena to the Conservatives and the newly emerged Labour Party. In an atmosphere of political polarisation, the gap between the upper classes and the working classes opened, with each side closing ranks and each adopting fixed ideological positions. This, and the recent revolution in Russia, threw the upper classes firmly to the political right, and all overtures to liberalism were hastily withdrawn. The public schools, as bastions of the upper class system, were immediately affected: liberal reforms that seemed ready for implementing were dropped; policies that were politically safe were adopted; all that was conventional and conservative in the past was emphasised. In the years before 1914 the liberal reformers seemed to be making great strides forward, the war seemed to sway things their way, then a shift in the economic climate brought about total
rejection. A decade of activity was wasted, a real chance was lost, and no second chance was to come for another fifteen years or so. So entrenched and so conservative did the public schools now become, that to criticise them was seen as unpatriotic. The twentieth century had lost its spring with a vengeance, and it was all too easy to point to the public school statistics of the war and to make propaganda out of the dead. Lord Dartmouth's evidence that of the 384 public schoolboys who shot for the Ashburton at Bisley in 1914, 66 were dead and 29 were wounded, is just one example of such figures being used to support the schools that produced these boys, and to resist any changes that might be made in them. 1

No study has ever been made of the effect of the return to the schools of masters who served in the war, but one cannot but believe that the shattering events that they had taken part in and witnessed at first hand must have left their legacy. Many of these men were scarred by the war, both physically and emotionally, and all schools had such men. 2 These men went back to their schools and stayed there, rarely moving on to headmasterships or to other professions. Many became housemasters; many were still there in the 1950s. How the atmosphere of the new jazz age

2. See note 'Re Masters 1944-48'. Cardboard box in UA.
and the night clubs must have stung them; how they must have despised 'The Bright Young People' so vividly portrayed in Evelyn Waugh's novels. How did they react to the pacifist spirit so evident in the late 1920s; what did they think of the concept of a League of Nations? It is impossible to answer these questions - but their reaction to these and similar changes may well explain the reaction-ary, unadventurous, and narrow lives that some of these men followed in their schools. Some of the returning masters brought back liberal ideas with them, together with a determination to seek for a brighter future; many more concentrated on their teaching, the house, school politics and games, and failed to maintain interests outside the world of the school. These men became progressively more and more out of step with the times; ever looking back to the past, ever preventing change, and ever suspicious of innovations. They can but have had only a conservative effect on their schools.³

The public schools of the 1920s and early 1930s exude an air of conventionalism and conservatism. Life may not have been as exotic as in Edwardian days, but the fundamental principles were much the same.⁴ Each school became a safe

³. I owe the substance of this paragraph to Gerald Murray.

conservative world, protecting its charges from the bustle of the surrounding turmoil. Only safe politics were discussed, the Times and Punch formed the staple reading for the boys, sermons of the 'Cross and Union Jack' variety were delivered regularly from Chapel pulpits, and Navy League lecturers still flew the banner of military imperialism. Despite the passing of compulsory Greek at Oxford in 1920, all schools still based their curriculum firmly on the classical languages, whilst inclusion of 'material' and 'commercial' subjects was resisted strongly. A public school education was to be a training of the mind, was the oft heard cry, and all attempts to broaden the curriculum or to let boys specialise in modern subjects were seen as undermining this principle. Art and music were now more commonly taught in these schools, and handicrafts were starting to come in; in general though they were regarded as extra-curricular, voluntary, and of little importance—and certainly the belief that such aesthetic training could have a moral value was viewed with great suspicion.

Games, of course, were compulsory, and games still reflected the status of a school: a 'rugger' school was decidedly one up on a 'soccer' one, and to be classed a

'Lord's' school was the supreme epithet. The time given to games, the compulsion, and the values derived from their play were exactly as in pre-War schools. Games inculcated courage, endurance, self-control, public spirit, a sense of fair play, leadership, discipline, unselfish team spirit - virtues attested to come through playing games by the example of those who fought in Flanders and Gallipoli. Rugby, rowing and cricket were still the major games - major in terms of their character training facilities - hockey and soccer were acceptable merely as a change, running was good for the 'stick to it' attitude, but golf, tennis and racquets were hardly fit to be school games - 'they were not painful enough'. Physical training was still generally despised, with only boxing, 'a fine instrument of education', giving any real purpose to the gymnasium work. In order for the character training effect to work on all boys, games had to be compulsory, and, in like manner, the compulsory watching of school matches was thought to encourage esprit de corps. The games were as competitive
as ever; school magazines were filled with sporting exploits; the national press was keenly interested in the progress of school matches; and the Times still published portraits of the Eton and Harrow XIs on the eve of their match at Lord's. The cult of athleticism continued unabated, but with two new aspects that were not there before the war. First, it was now the masters and the parents, and not the boys, who encouraged the playing of games,\(^\text{13}\) and second, the whole proceedings were irrational and meaningless, for there was no underlying ideal of manliness to be promoted through the playing of games. Games were now played largely to 'occupy' boys, a popular phrase of the period; to keep them from mischief; and to send them to bed tired, too tired for sexual irregularities.\(^\text{14}\)

The cadet corps was compulsory too - if not by actual headmasterly statement than by the effect of prefectorial and other pressure. In 1908 200 schools had cadet corps, now in the 1920s every school with public school ambitions had its own corps.\(^\text{15}\) That cadet corps did not encourage militarism, but merely encouraged the military virtues, was monotonously maintained - presumably however the War Office

\(^{13}\) F.B. Malim, *op. cit.*, p 161.  
Dennis Potter, *op. cit.* pp 11, 112.  


thought it was getting something for its money. 16 Generally
a corps training was seen to prepare boys for the needs of
their country, by awakening a patriotism greater than a
narrow school loyalty. A.H. Ashcroft, the headmaster of
Fettes, actually voiced the opinion, rarely heard in public,
that service in the corps was a preparation for national
defence and that this formed an integral part of a public
school education. This was, in his view, religion in a
most practical form. 17 Donkin, the Housemaster in Ian
Hay's novel, gave the more common apologia:

'I'm no Jingo, but we live in troublous times, and
we've a deal of life and property to protect all over
the world; and I believe that each one of us owes it
to his country to learn at least to shoot straight
and submit himself to certain simple forms of volun-
tary discipline. That is all that need be required of
the rank and file - people like you and me. The big
stuff we leave to natural-born fire-eaters like Mr.
Kent, and Purvis major, and the rest of the Army
Class.' (Appreciative laughter. The Moke was in
extremely good form to-night).

Now we arrive at what P.G.Wodehouse would call the
nub of the matter. Some of you so-called athletic
swells are disposed to sniff at the O.T.C., because
anybody can join it, and its distinctions are not
individual; and of course the little boys, being
howling little snobs and sycophants, copy them. But

17. The Head Master Speaks. p 93.
the O.T.C. is rather a big thing, with rather a big record. Long before any of you were born there was an occurrence called the Great War. You may have heard of it. It took us as a people entirely by surprise, and there was considerable confusion and fuss. Armies had to be raised, and raised quickly. That was easy; you can procure raw recruits on these occasions by the hundred thousand. The difficulty was, and is, to find people to lead them. Fortunately those leaders were forthcoming, mainly from a practically unknown organisation known as the Officers' Training Corps. They are entirely forgotten now, of course — that is our national habit — and so is the man who founded the O.T.C. itself. His name, by the way, was Haldane. You have never heard of him, but give him a thought occasionally, because he saved England.* 18

Though life might be a little softer than in Spartan times (Ashcroft thought there was too much coddling), though masters were on friendlier terms with boys, and though boys were certainly on better terms with their seniors and juniors, in general 'the green baize door which led to the boys' side of the house' was still closed, and rarely did the house-master penetrate the far side. In this undersupervised boy world, it was all too simple 'in a bad house, in a bad school, in a bad time' for homosexuality to rear its head. The evidence that homosexual acts were common in public schools, that they were practised for amusement and that they were openly tolerated, is huge. 19 Now the belief that

See below, next section.
games could still keep such irregularities at bay has a particularly hollow ring, and the old cry of 'but what do French boys talk about' seems hypocritical. It only becomes laughable when one reads that in the late 1920s France itself was starting to adopt a policy of athleticism in schools - presumably to reap the English rewards.\(^20\)

The belief in athleticism went beyond the maintenance of morality, and now became the corner-stone of public school religion. It was a difficult time for the Church, for the war had demolished much of what remained of the post-Victorian confidence. School religion was ineffective and dormant, but only because the schools mirrored the country as a whole. Fewer headmasters were in Holy Orders; few masters were practising Christians; and few of those who were would actually defend their faith.\(^21\) Faithless, institutional, ceremonial religion was presented to the boys; it rarely touched their souls, and all too often the preacher would resort to athletic cant to capture the boys' attention: 'St Paul was no Mug but a bit of a boxer, in fact a regular Sportsman -yes, the Apostles were all Sportsmen ...'\(^22\) The playing fields, rather than the Chapel, became the spiritual centre for many a school. School Missions in general still existed, but the links with the parent schools were more

\(^20\) F.B.Malim, *op. cit.* p 164.
\(^21\) *Nineteenth Century*, January 1927, pp 88, 96.
\(^22\) Quoted in L.B.Pekin, *op. cit.* p 143.
tenuous than in the past - now attention was often limited to occasional Chapel collections or perhaps visits from the school to the mission, short enough to give little chance of the two sides mixing. 23

At first glance there is little then to distinguish a 1920s public school from a school of the Golden Age - beyond a slight tightening of the economic belt. The Edwardian school, however, looked forward and, lifted by its confidence in 'Imperial Christianity' sought to inculcate a Homeric ideal of manliness : the post-war school, on the other hand, looked back at the past, found support in the substance of the pre-war school, but could not believe in its Christianity or its manliness. It might have been difficult to distinguish between sham and idealism in the Edwardian school, but at least there was some idealism: now the post-war school was in danger of becoming a means without an end. To fill that vacuum 'the public school spirit' was raised as the new ideal. The search for 'That Something' occupied headmasters and old boys from 1924 to 1928, and articles and correspondence filled the reviews. Eventually the components of 'the public school spirit' were agreed to be total trust, cheerful obedience, ability to get on with others, honour, and service to one's country - in fact, esprit de corps. Life in the boarding houses and

23. ibid., p 106.
games on the playing fields were seen as the formative influences. How short this falls of our ideal of manliness. 'Good form' is a poor substitute for Christianity; 'play the game' is a weak maxim for a hero; to be a 'sport' is hardly a fitting life's ambition. Yet in the post-war public school world life was indeed a game: games were the only possible form of school service; athletic goals provided the ultimate ambitions; fair play was the rule of life. 24

One of the things of which we can be certain is that the late-Victorian and Edwardian ideal of manliness and its immediate post-war successor will never again be sought in the public schools. Two charges have long been levelled at the schools, and the ever-increasing volume of evidence has seen that the charges have stuck. The first maintains that they produced an incompetent ruling class; the second that they created a homoerotic tradition.

Wilkinson and Dixon allege that the leadership incompetency began in the Great War and has lingered on ever since. Most army officers are public school old boys; in 1958 67% came from such schools with 12% from Wellington and Harrow together, and these statistics have only dwindled since the turn of the century. Army officers are seen to be chosen for, what Dixon labels, their 'Butch' qualities such as size, strength and prowess at games, whilst little or no attention is paid to intelligence, educational attainment, resistance to stress or moral courage. The result is that though these officers may lead well and serve with heroism, they do not exhibit curiosity, they dislike innovation, they are over self-confident, they are totally obedient to

the rule book, and they are bound by an inflexible principle of honour. All these qualities, Dixon maintains, make for bad generals, and in his study the evidence is cited. The ethic of honour and fair-play, so admirable in itself, could lead to disastrous results when espionage is regarded as 'not cricket', or when matched against an opponent like Hitler who 'plays the game' to a different set of rules.

A plot to assassinate Hitler during the 1930s was turned down as 'not cricket' - the very words used by the government of the day.

The accusation of incompetence is extended by Correlli Barnett to include the whole of the ruling class. In 1918 Great Britain was truly great. In the defeat of Germany her main industrial competitor had gone; the rival fleet to the Royal Navy had been scuttled; France had been bled white; and Russia was in the throes of revolution. The British labour force was largely intact, the country was a creditor nation, and with the acquisition of the German colonies the empire was greater than ever before. Yet 22 years later, on the eve of the Battle of Britain, the whole reality of power, economic and political, had evaporated. Britain was bankrupt, and by 1945 she had become a relatively minor

4. ibid. p 291.
5. ibid. pp 292-4.
6. ibid. p 292.
The economic incompetency stemmed from a preoccupation with old cottage-type industries; in the cultivation of traditional, unsophisticated markets; and in the ignoring of the new technological industries. In addition the slowness of secondary education expansion, the disbelief in economic alliances, and the mistaken belief that the empire was a financial asset, all contributed to Britain's slide down the export league. The political incompetence came through the crusading, missionary image seen in foreign policy; the distaste for the old 'bull dog' image; and a pre-occupation with moral politics. This pacifist and internationalist outlook naively assumed that all other nations shared the same moral background, so whilst Britain was blinded by its own virtues, the rest of the world acted in self-interest. The eventual result was the policy of 'appeasement' to Hitler.

The leaders of the period 1918-39 were at the public schools between 1880 and 1905, and it was the narrow curriculum and the sense of conformity that stunted their abilities. The schools did not prepare the boys for the

   See also Correlli Barnett, Britain and Her Army, chapter 1.
   238-40.
   Edward Grierson, op. cit. p 217.
world, they merely inoculated them against it.

'The qualities imparted to this future ruling class by their education - probity, orthodoxy, romantic idealism, a strong sense of public responsibility - admirably fitted from for running the British Empire as they saw it: an unchanging institution of charitable purpose and assured income. Such qualities were however ill-suited to leading an empire, a great business and strategic enterprise, through drastic internal reorganisation and against ferocious and unscrupulous competition. Indeed other characteristics fostered by Victorian education - conservatism, doctrinaire orthodoxy, rigidity, inertia and unbounded complacency - are the classic attributes of an army about to suffer a catastrophic defeat.'

Correlli Barnett explodes the myth of the 'lost generation' in the Great War. Both France and Germany lost far more dead than Britain, yet neither nation created such a legend; whilst the percentage of the British population of working males hardly fluctuates in the years between 1891 and 1926.

What had happened was the high casualty rate of the public school boys had meant that every member of the ruling class felt some sense of personal loss. The Homeric ideal of manliness had left a lasting legacy. The British collapse was psychological.

11. ibid. p 425.
12. ibid. p 426.
Is there a homo-erotic tradition peculiar to Britain? Certainly Paul Fussell, an American observer of British society, feels that there is. 'Do the British have a special talent for such passion?' he asks. Such passions found plenty of eminent men to enjoy them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: of the men mentioned in this study, Tennyson, Cory, Flecker, A.C. Benson, Newbolt, Buchan, Lawrence, Burton and probably more, have all been cited in one place or another as possessing homo-erotic tendencies. Much of literature in the years 1850-1914 is permeated with its spirit, and some detect it in the 'Muscular Christians' Kingsley and Hughes, and others in the Tractarians Newman and Froude. No modern autobiography seems complete without some observation on the author's homosexual experiences, whether overt or otherwise, and the possible coupling of master and boy, don and undergraduate, officer and soldier, scoutmaster and scout, choirmaster and chorister, has become absorbed in our culture.

Edward Lyttelton believed that 'the special evil' was unknown at the public schools in the 1820s, for its growth was checked by the hardness of life, but that by the 1870s 'decadence' had set in. Its existence was publicly acknowledged by J.M. Wilson, in 1881, in his presidential

15. Edward Lyttelton, Memories and Hopes. p 115.
address to the Education Society. Wilson, who was headmaster at Clifton, was sure that it was a product of the last twenty years and that there was now 'ample sufficient ground for alarm that the nation may be on the eve of an age of voluptuousness and reckless immorality'.

He was correct in his forecast. In the 1890s H. Havelock Ellis recorded many examples of sexual malpractice amongst public schoolboys; the situation at Uppingham in the Selwyn years has already been described; J.R. Ackerley, Robert Graves, A.J. Ayer, T.C. Worsley are but four authors who record their experiences from Rossall in the 1900s to Wellington in the 1930s. Homo-eroticism, whether in 'romantic friendships' or homosexual acts, was an integral part of the public school system.

Various reasons are put forward for its growth. It is said to breed easily in the monastic all-male environment such as a public school. The 'untouchable' image of Victorian womanhood is believed to have inhibited heterosexual relationships - in public school boys this extended to 'motherly rejection'. Flogging and other forms of flagellation are now known to excite sexual precocity. Then, on the grounds that pornography always reflects a reversal

Robert Graves, Goodbye to All That, 1929.
of the current moral code, homo-erotic submission is seen as the antidote to Victorian and Edwardian manliness. 

In the pre-Freudian era masturbation and homosexuality were taken purely as physiological in origin. Thus the main line of attack came through the physical - mechanical contrivances were invented, cold baths were prescribed, and the exhaustive efforts on the games field were sure to send the boys to sleep. The whole cult of games seem planned to extend boyhood into early manhood so that the adolescent phase might be missed altogether. Religious fervour and emotional fear were two other weapons. The former seems to have had little effect, but the picturing of those who gave in to temptation as weak, stunted, under-developed, sluggish, secretive and nervous, must have had some effect, unforseen or otherwise.

The British homo-erotic tradition seems to have reached its peak in the Great War, amongst the boys who had been educated to the imperial ideal of manliness. The army has long been seen as an extension of school life, and the prefect-fag or master-boy relationship could easily transform to an officer-soldier one. The camaraderie of the trenches easily evolved into 'romantic friendships', for war is a well practised destroyer of codes of sexual morality.


War-time poetry abounds with quasi-erotic vignettes of nude soldiers bathing, and much poetry contains reference to 'men', 'boys' and 'lads', a vocabulary of increasing erotic heat.  

An earlier civilisation had a homo-erotic tradition - ancient Greece - and the Greeks believed that they invented pederasty. All games were performed naked, and in front of admiring spectators; most gymnasia had a statue of Eros; and it was at the foot of the statue of Eros at the Academy that Plato would discourse to his pupils. Greek homo-eroticism began as a high ideal, in which the mere worship of male beauty was stressed. It was the very foundation of Greek education where the older lover would seek to assert himself in the presence of the younger, with the reciprocal desire induced in the latter so that he might appear worthy of his senior's affection. Love affairs accordingly provided the finest opportunities for noble rivalry, and the spirit of comradeship became the sentiment of honour. Generally, however, such highmindedness was not always maintained, and pedophilia would descend to pederasty. Greek literature,

Paul Fussell, op. cit. pp 273, 282, 299.  
22. ibid. p 72.  
T.C.Worsley, op. cit. p 284.
and especially Homeric writings, are impregnated with pedophilia and pederasty. 23 How symbolic that the age that sought the Homeric virtues should succumb to the Homeric vice.

'How curious it was that, day in and day out, we should be soaking ourselves in the literature which glorified that addiction without its ever coming into the open! If the Greece we read of was really so glorious, weren't the passions they cultivated no less glorious, too?' 24


24. T.C. Worsley, op. cit. p 77.
Michael Campbell, Lord Dismiss Us. 1967. passim
That, one might think was that. The ideal of manliness, which found its final flowering in the heroic, Homeric ideal, died ingloriously in the fields of France. The very words 'manly' and 'manliness' fell quietly out of the vocabulary of a nation, almost as a silent memorial to a lost generation. The public schools raised 'public school spirit' in its stead and sought the new ideal in an introspective, near selfish way. The ideal of manliness must be dead.

That ideal was indeed dead, but the seeds that were responsible for that eventual final flowering also gave root to a second growth. This growth was slower yet steadier than the more colourful strain, and did not come to full bloom until almost a century after the seeds were sown. In order to follow the growth, however, we must return to Thring's Uppingham.

On 13 March 1861, Thring's diary records the arrival of a new boy: 'Little Skrine came last night with his elder brother, such a bright innocent looking little fellow. I quite loved him as I looked on him'. It was not usual for the headmaster to note the arrival of every new boy - this one made an impression. Master and boy were close for the six years of John Huntley Skrine's schooling. In 1865 he
succeeded Lewis Nettleship as captain of school and served in that capacity for two years. He won a scholarship to Corpus Christi College, Oxford and after a successful undergraduate career was elected a fellow of Merton College. He was a competent poet, winning the Newdigate prize and publishing several volumes of verse. Contemporaries at Corpus thought this work better than that of a later Poet Laureate who was in college at the same time.¹ In the summer of 1873 Thring offered Skrine a mastership at Uppingham. On 2 June the headmaster's diary records: 'Received his acceptance this morning to my great comfort. These two lines very little represent the longing, and prayers and trust that I might have God's blessing on him and me in this, or the relief and strength of heart I feel at his coming'. Thring was clearly preparing Skrine for great things. In October 1874 an offer was to be made to Skrine of the headmastership of the Liverpool Institution. Thring was consulted, and said that he believed Skrine needed a few more years' experience. Then Thring spoke plainly to Skrine, telling him that he 'looked to him some-day being a leading headmaster, and it was good he should have my experience.'²

¹. USM, 1923. p 72. This is J.H. Skrine's obituary - written by W.F. Rawnsley.
². Diary, 19 October 1874 (Parkin 1, p 258)
conversation. 3 By May 1875 Thring was using the epithet 'disciple' in relation to Skrine, and this indeed was the relationship for the next twelve years.

During the Borth exodus Skrine was Thring's trusted lieutenant, and he later recorded the years in Uppingham-by the Sea. He wrote a splendidly moving thanksgiving hymn, set to music by Paul David, and since 1880 it has been a feature of the Borth Commemoration Service: later the same partnership presented Thring with hymns for use at the beginning and end of term. 4 That same year witnessed Skrine's total acceptance of the philosophy of 'True Life': the moment is recorded in Thring's diary of 10 November -

'Skrine preached, and took for his sermon the faith of Abraham offering Isaac, pointing that up to then Abraham's trials had all had some admixture of earthly gain in them, but this was utter overthrow of everything excepting faith in God. Then he drew a short parallel of the boy and young man's life, in which all the hardships are connected with personal gain; but a time comes when the demand is to give up all the personal dreams, and he ended with the noble sentence, "Let not the holder of the promise think he can lose it by too much obedience, knowing that God is able to raise it up even from the dead". I knew he had made his choice. And my own heart swelled, and was comforted'.

3. USM, 1923. p 73.
4. All are still used today.
Skrine had now seized the true gospel of the ideal of manliness. The diary entry continues -

"As we came out of singing practice this afternoon I touched him, and said softly, "John, you have grasped the sword today, the conqueror's sword; hold it fast, ora et lobora; and he looked very solemn and earnest, and said, "Yes, I know it", or words to that effect, and we parted. How I do feel the power of this spiritual step and bond between us! How I do feel another onward life set living, and I am strengthened by the sympathy that there must be now that he begins to understand what it is to be true and to be sacrificed for truth, as well as by the feeling that the truth has found a champion to carry it on. May God and Christ accept and purify him and us."

Cormac Rigby has noted how Thring believed that no 'great public work' should be attempted before the age of thirty, and the lives of Joseph, David, John the Baptist and Christ Himself gave the belief support. This was why Skrine needed that long apprenticeship under Thring, yet Skrine attained the age of thirty in 1878. Was Skrine being groomed to take over from Thring at Uppingham? This was certainly the view of a contributor to the Journal of Education, and Skrine seems to have taken over much of the routine running of the school. "I am very much touched by the quiet

5. Diary, 10 November 1880 (Parkin 2, p 86).
devotion with which Skrine strives to lighten my work and brighten my life. I am very grateful.' So reads Thring's diary in July 1886. In October the following year Thring died, and the senior housemaster, Campbell, became acting headmaster. Then in January 1888 Selwyn came to succeed Thring. Why did the trustees not appoint Skrine? No answers are recorded, but one can surmise. First, Thring had been at odds with the trustees throughout his life at Uppingham. The example of the Borth year, when they 'washed their hands' of the school, is one of countless clashes that one could site. Would they be willing to appoint a second Thring? Second, many of the old boys and parents may have wanted other than Skrine, perhaps seeking an outside appointment of someone who would lead the school to the attainment of accepted public school status. The Merseyside lobby had always had a powerful influence on the life of the school, thus the appointment of the Principal of Liverpool College as headmaster of Uppingham may have been at their instigation. Whatever the reasons, Selwyn came and Skrine went - as headmaster, or warden, to Glenalmond in Perthshire.

At the Trinity College, Glenalmond, Skrine was true to his apprenticeship under Thring. He raised a struggling school to a position of security, with a reputation in Scotland second only to Almond's Loretto. He wrote a touching Memory of Edward Thring that is the most beautiful of the

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8. Parkin 2, p 175.
early Thring biographies, and when he came to write of his own teaching experiences in Pastor Agnorum, the work was inevitably dedicated to Thring - 'Shepherd, the tender and strong, Giver of Life for the sheep ...'\textsuperscript{9} Pastor Agnorum exudes an Arthurian code of manliness, with games as the 'tilt-yard', of school life, and this was to be the pattern of most of his writings.\textsuperscript{10} At Glenalmond the boy's progress from fag to prefect was pictured as parallel to the evolution of a knight in chivalric times. School life became a 'Romance' in the best traditions of the chivalric ideal -

'Is our chivalry of the school a true phase of the world-old conflict of "Soul out now with sense"? Is the public school a fortress held for the ideal against earthliness of money, fashion, luxury, selfish competition, sloth, cowardice, dread of pain, and all other forms of materialism? Are we rearing there a knight errantry fit to keep the marches of an empire, and to purge the land nearer home of wrong, violence, lust? To the gallant old chivalrous watchwords what echoes come back with its walls? By the answer stands or falls the romance of school.'\textsuperscript{11}

Here indeed is the ideal of manliness, but much of the body was lost in the emphasis on spirituality: and it is no wonder that the boys at Glenalmond found Skrine's sermons too transendental for them.\textsuperscript{12} There is an aura of spiritualism

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{9} J.H.Skrine, \textit{A Memory of Edward Thring.} See the dedication in J.H.Skrine, \textit{Pastor Agnorum}. 1902.
\item \textsuperscript{10} \textit{Ibid.} passim. See especially pp 56, 59, 65, 71.
\item \textsuperscript{11} J.H.Skrine, 'The Romance of School' in \textit{Contemporary Review}. March 1898. p 438.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Rigby, chapter 13.
\end{itemize}
in the last Thring sermons; now Skrine became immersed in the legends of Glastonbury and King Arthur and on the possibilities of telepathy with the spirit-world. 13

In the view of N. Whatley, the headmaster of Clifton in the 1930s, the period in which he had taught in public schools had witnessed many good headmasters, and indeed the average then may never have been higher, but there were no great ones. In the modern public school, the headmaster had become an administrator rather than a prophet; he followed, rather than led. 14 Here Whatley hits the nail right on the head: if there had been an Arnold or a Thring (or a Temple, a Benson, a ...) then the ideal of manliness might have survived in the public schools. But there was not, and it did not - thus one must look outside the established ranks of public schools for the survival of Thring's ideal. Skrine, despite his training, was not to be the man.

14. The Head Master Speaks. p 68.
Though Skrine certainly aspired after the Thring ideal of manliness at Glenalmond, his work there had little influence on the long-term survival of the ideal. The reasons for this are two-fold: first, Glenalmond was isolated from the main stream of English public schools; besides, all the Scottish thunder was stolen by Almond at Loretto; and second, Skrine shrouded the ideal with such a mystique of chivalry and spiritualism that it was hardly intelligible to anyone outside the school. One then must look elsewhere for evidence of a life-line, and it is surely no chance coincidence that the death of Thring and the birth of the progressive school movement occur at almost the same time: by 1889, two years after Thring's death, the first school of that movement, Abbotsholme, came into being. Abbotsholme and its direct and indirect successors, like Uppingham in its first Thring years, are innovatory schools founded as a protest against what was happening in the traditional public schools. In a way, Thring can be seen as the inspiration behind the radical progressive school movement: as early as 1869 he wrote

'I want to separate my lot entirely from the fashionable schools and to cast it in ... with the earnest working men and smaller schools which one may hope to see doing honest work.'

1. Parkin 1, p 171.
Cecil Reddie, the founder of Abbotsholme, was the first of a new generation of educational radicals. There are many similarities between Reddie and Thring. Both had a deep belief in the 'whole man' concept of education, and both were much influenced by German educational thought; Reddie, after graduating from Edinburgh University, gained a doctorate in chemistry at Gottingen University. Both were autocrats, both had battles with their masters and their governing bodies (or partners in Reddie's case), both tolerated no outside influence. Reddie was even perhaps the greater autocrat, having little use or time for parents, regarding women with courteous distrust (he was a convinced bachelor), and having almost no sense of humour. Like Thring, Reddie had a dislike of sophisticated luxury, loathed a slovenly carriage, and enjoyed long rambles in the countryside: to many he was seen as the embodiment of *mens sana in corpore sano.*

Abbotsholme was founded as a protest against what Reddie viewed as the rapid degeneration of England: the remedy was to lie in the abandoning of all that was cramping and conformist in the public school curriculum and the adopting of all that could be individualistic and aesthetic. Two immediate targets were classics and games. Classics were to go, and a modern curriculum based on history, languages, science, hygiene, social study, and above all English literature,

art and music, was constructed in its place. Co-operation, rather than competition, was to be the emphasis in the classroom, for Reddie saw that only in public school games was team spirit inculcated. Such an attitude inevitably brought in its wake a Thringian distrust of examinations and prizes. 3 The attack on games was also Thringian in concept: games were to be limited to two afternoons a week, and other interests were brought in to destroy athletic 'shop' as the only talk between boys. 4 The other interests reflect the strong influence of Ruskin's thought on Reddie's practice. Manual labour, including building, hay-making and general estate work, was brought in as a compulsory afternoon activity, and much time in the curriculum was devoted to craft activities such as tailoring, boot-making and cookery. Further evidence of Ruskin's (and Thring's) belief in an aesthetic education is seen in the importance Reddie attached to a freedom to roam the surrounding Derbyshire countryside, and on the care he bestowed on the architecture of the school buildings and the decoration of the chapel and classrooms. 5 His concern for physical health and hygiene is even stronger than Thring's, and perhaps owes more to the influence of Almond: the provision of a suitable supply of water and an adequate drainage system, a wholesome

3. ibid. p 176.
4. ibid. p 116.
5. ibid. pp 60, 67-8, 152-3.
diet, a ban on tuck, and the adoption of 'sensible' clothing all show the Loretto trade-mark. Hygiene was taught in class; there was a carefully conceived physical education programme, in which a boy's weight and height were logged, and an overall attitude to total, positive health prevailed: 'Medicine should cease to be a private occupation, and should become a public service'.

In true public school tradition, the chapel was the centre of Abbotsholme, but with the difference that Reddie tailor-made the means of worship to match his own religious and educational views as based on the concept of the 'whole man'. Reddie wrote his own prayers, and translated much of the Prayer Book and the Bible into a form he thought more suitable for school use. From the pulpit Reddie, veering away from the contemporary custom of moral exhortation, returned to the Arnold and Thring manner of using the sermon to explain the school's role in the development of each boy's life. Like these predecessors, he seems to have managed to persuade his pupils to accept that their school was odd as compared to its neighbours. Though Abbotsholme still had the teaching of leadership as its aim, it sought to do it in a less hierarchical way than the traditional public school.

As at Almond's Loretto, there were countless offices to give

6. B.M.Ward, op. cit. pp 27, 66, 208, 211. Like Almond, Reddie enjoyed juggling with time - in his case it was the construction of a 'Perpetual Calendar'.

7. Ibid. pp 17, 170, 175, 190.
as many boys as possible a position of responsibility.

Service to the community was seen as of vital importance, and service by all replaced the normal prefect and fag system. Boys did organise other boys, but as the job changed, so a boy could exchange the role of organiser to organised. There was also a small element of self-government. Abbotsholme also differed from the traditional public school in two other important ways. First, Reddie incorporated sex education in his curriculum, convinced that in this way homosexuality would be prevented; and second, he believed in a slow and unforced maturation through puberty, for only in the later adolescence was it possible to form the physical, moral and mental individuality that he sought.

Here then at Abbotsholme were to be found many of the threads of Thring's ideal of manliness. When H. Courthope Bowen, an ardent admirer of Thring's work, went to inspect the school in 1895 he reported that

'I know of no other school in which the predominant aim is so markedly the development of the boy's whole nature, moral, physical, and intellectual, and none in which the effort to bring his knowledge, power and skill into harmonious inter-relation is so carefully maintained.'

But for Reddie's own autocratic manner Abbotsholme might have

8. ibid. pp 64, 158, 203.
been more successful than it was, but in the early years of the new century various problems outside our interest brought the numbers to a low ebb. Reddie's hope of giving birth to a New School Movement was realised though, and his influence was to be felt at schools in Europe and America. Abbotsholme's more famous English descendant was Bedales, but its success was also Reddie's greatest disappointment.

One of Reddie's first appointments to the staff of Abbotsholme was J.H. Badley. Badley had been a boy at Rugby in the 1880s and had felt there the full brunt of its philistine education. The curriculum was narrowly based on the classics, athleticism reigned supreme, bounds and regulations proliferated, all emotion was discouraged, and 'good form' was enforced. After graduating from Trinity College, Cambridge, with a first in classics, Badley determined to remedy the traditional public school educational malaise, and thus eagerly joined Reddie's staff. Though Badley was to agree with almost all Reddie's philosophy, there was one marked disagreement: the female sex. Badley wished to get married, and Reddie could not abide women; the engaged couple wished the school to become co-educational, and Reddie would not tolerate girls in his school. The result was that Badley soon left Abbotsholme, and opened his own

school, Bedales, in Sussex in 1893. At first Bedales took only boys, but in 1898 it admitted girls and thus became one of the first co-educational boarding schools. By 1900 the school had grown to 240, and had to move to new premises in Petersfield, Hampshire, to allow for further expansion. Though anti-feminism was Badley's main objection to Reddie's philosophy - Badley felt that co-education would diminish the muscularity and spartanism of school life - there were other differences of opinion. Badley felt that Reddie was too autocratic, too authoritarian, that his ideals were too Prussian in their application, and that in his reaction against examinations he had gone too far and had thus underrated intellectual attainment. In the fundamental principles, though, Bedales was true to the Abbotsholme mould, though in addition Badley was influenced by the educational theories of Montessori and Froebel and by the scouting innovations of Baden-Powell. In one of his earliest appointments, that of O.B. Powell, Badley gained a direct contact with Thring's Uppingham. Oswald Powell had been a boy at Uppingham in Thring's last years, and after Cambridge and a spell teaching at Manchester Grammar School had "cast about to find some school that might be putting into practice the ideas Thring had in mind when he founded Uppingham without being frustrated, as he was, by the

see also J.H.Badley, Bedales: A Pioneer School. 1923.
13. ibid. p 165.
medieval layout and traditions of the Public School.  

Powell's eye fell on Bedales, and together Badley and Powell, as headmaster and second-master, served their lives' work at Bedales.

Bedales was firmly founded on the 'whole man' philosophy:
'Scholarship, good-breeding, and leadership no longer form the whole of our educational idea. We now recognise more clearly that education is concerned with the whole human-being, on every side of his nature, and cannot neglect any of his activities and needs.'

The Ruskin influences were there: much of the school facilities was built by the pupils, including tennis courts, a swimming pool and a pavilion; hay-making, gardening and estate work were tackled by all; craft-work (and here Badley cites Thring's influence), art, music and drama all flourished - and as part of the curriculum, not just as out-of-school activities. Rambling in the countryside was encouraged, and Baden-Powell like camps were instituted in the early 1900s to facilitate this union with Nature. Badley was one of the first headmasters to bring the wider possibilities of outdoor activities into the regular curriculum.

Badley had visited Almond at Loretto, and, agreeing with many of his principles, had introduced a wholesome diet, a ban on tuck, and the relaxation in forms of dress to Bedales.

16. Ibid. pp 49, 55, 60.
   Gyles Brandeth and Sally Henry, op. cit. pp 11, 37.
17. Ibid. pp 12, 29.
It was recognised that games were not enjoyed by all, and so a variety of physical activities was introduced, together with many non-sporting alternatives. Games were held on two afternoons a week, with two more given to outdoor manual work. Gymnastics was to have an important role, and in the appointment of R.E. Roper in 1914 Badley made the greatest contribution to curricular physical education since Thring's appointment of G.H.C. Beisiegel in 1860. Roper, a classics graduate from Owen's College (now Manchester University), spent two years at the Royal Central Gymnastic Institute in Stockholm, and there fully imbibed the Swedish gymnastic tradition. On his return to England he taught at Eton for a few years, and then, after appearing before three tribunals for his pacifism, came to Bedales at the start of the First World War. Under Badley's encouragement Roper put into practice the philosophy that physical education is not just games and gymnastics, but also all those aspects that we would now label 'health education'. Diet, clothing, hours of rest, and so on, all came under Roper's supervision. Weights and measures were regularly logged, checks were made on posture and feet, and remedial exercises were introduced. Roper was convinced that 'gymnastic', in the Platonic sense, was one of the two

18. ibid. p 80.
ingredients of life - a view expounded in his 1917 publication *Physical Education in Relation to School Life*.\(^{20}\)

Other aspects of Bedales saw a relaxation of Abbotsholme practice. Teachers did not wear cap and gown (they did at Abbotsholme); school rules and conventions were reduced; the militaristic spirit that prompted Reddie to make Abbotsholme the first school to join the Navy League was replaced by quiet pacifism; and the religious ethos, though the same as Abbotsholme's, was portrayed without the aid of chapel and chaplain or adherence to any particular Christian doctrine.\(^{21}\) Badley's aim was religion through education:

>'To many, no doubt, a school which does not teach the doctrines or enforce the forms of any Church may seem to have no religion. But if there is a growing sense of something beyond self and its immediate desires, and of a purpose in life that is worthwhile, and if in the whole school life of the community there is a spirit of comradeship and joy and freedom, there is something of real religion in the school.'\(^{22}\)

Thus, the ingredients of Thring's ideal of manliness entered the twentieth century under the banner of the New School Movement. What the old public schools could not see, the progressive schools adopted whole-heartedly.

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A second direct line from Thring's Uppingham can be traced to Gresham's School, at Holt in Norfolk, for in 1900 a member of the Uppingham staff, G.W.S. Howson, was appointed its headmaster. Howson had come to Uppingham in 1886 specifically to be under Thring, but unfortunately Thring died before Howson's first two years at the school were completed. He stayed on under Selwyn, but as time elapsed, so his position became more uncomfortable. At Selwyn's Uppingham, Howson felt very much the odd man out: he was the only Oxonian in a Cambridge dominated common-room; he was a scientist in a non-scientific atmosphere; and he was a poor games player in a school where such prowess now meant so much. In addition, Howson did not regard the Uppingham prospect with pleasure: science was given little scope in the curriculum, he disliked the sharp boundary that had developed between boys and masters, he feared the growth of athleticism, and he felt that the boys were left far too much to their own devices, especially in the boarding houses. By 1900 Howson regarded his position in the school as out of sympathy with the ideals of the headmaster, and that his own contributions were met with either indifference or unpopularity. When the Gresham's post became vacant, he left to make a fresh start in a school that had no adverse traditions to hamper him.

1. J.H. Simpson, Schoolmaster's Harvest. pp 79, 82, 83. The same material can be found in J.H. Simpson, Howson of Holt, 1925.
The move to Gresham's was a fortunate one. The foundation was now receiving a vastly increased income as a result of renewal of leases and thus Howson was given the financial backing for expansion. In 1900 there were 44 boys and four staff; three years later the boys numbered 103; and by the time of Howson's death in 1919 the figure had reached 240.\(^2\) New buildings, new facilities and an increase in the teaching staff all matched the growth in numbers. Howson was also fortunate in the geographical location of the school: on the east coast of Norfolk not only was there ample countryside and a bracing air, but, more importantly, the school was remote from the influences of other public schools - indeed it was probably the 70 mile distant Uppingham that could be regarded as his nearest traditional neighbour. In this setting Howson was effectively able to start a new school, just as did Thring, Almond, Reddie and Badley in their turn.

Many of Thring's best principles went with Howson to Gresham's. The numbers were kept low enough so that the headmaster would know every boy; against the pattern of many schools Howson made himself a housemaster so that School House could be a working, model house; the barriers that existed between the boys' side and the private side in the boarding house were largely destroyed; the relationship between boys and staff became less formal and more friendly;

\(^2\) ibid. p 80.
and facilities and expert teaching were available across a broad curriculum (though with the notable absence of Greek). Though intellectual training was not ignored, greatest attention was given to moral education: here Howson's belief that 'in comparison with moral worth, intellectual excellence counted for little' almost exactly matches Thring's own dictum. Howson knew that his methods were a departure from the public school norm - and he would often speak of other schools with disparagement - and that their standards were not Gresham's standards, but he was careful not to align himself with the New School Movement. Gresham's was to be a public school, and was not in any form to be labelled cranky or progressive: 'This is not the kind of school where, if a boy is not good at arithmetic, he is allowed to keep rabbits instead', Howson once told his biographer, J.H. Simpson.

At Gresham's Howson set out to create the conditions necessary to foster the moral aims he sought, and in this, as in all respects, the life of the school was to centre on his own personality. 'Fresh Air and Morality' could well have been Gresham's motto. The attractive site of the school gave easy access to the surrounding countryside and there were no locked doors, barred windows or unreasonable limits.

3. ibid. pp 84, 96.
4. ibid. p 90.
5. ibid. pp 80, 82.
6. ibid. p 84.
to the bounds. There were no printed school rules, and the freedom of the Sunday afternoon was restored to the schoolboy. Hobbies and the arts flourished, and each boy was fully encouraged to develop his own particular interests. Health was seen to be ruddy, and all boys were expected to be free of minor ailments - as Howson was. Fussiness over health was regarded as almost criminal. Howson was also a bitter foe of athleticism: games were regarded as healthy and agreeable exercise - and nothing more. The actual games were played keenly and well, but with a non-devotional attitude. Any factors that smacked of professionalism were banned: there were no cups, no school matches, no scrum caps nor starter's pistol, and spectators could clap but not cheer at matches. The result was that athletic idolatry dropped (and certainly prowess as a games player counted little in the choosing of prefects) and the non-athletic boys and masters felt that they too could join in and enjoy games without receiving the impression that their efforts were absurd. Howson's impact on these matters was so strong that even after his death these policies were maintained by his successors, and it was not until the 1930s that Gresham's met another school at sport, and then, interestingly, first at hockey with Kurt Hahn's Schule Schloss Salem. The Germans came to play at Gresham's in 1930, and then the English school returned the visit in 1933. When regular school matches

7. ibid. pp 86, 87, 95.
8. ibid. pp 85, 91, 92.
were adopted in the late 1930s, Hahn's Gordonstoun was on the fixture list. Since the early 1930s a comprehensive programme of physical education - including timetabled periods for all, remedial gymnastics, and postural measures - had been introduced by P.A. Smithells, who as a boy at Bedales had been strongly influenced by R.E. Roper.

Howson's most original contribution to educational philosophy and practice rested in the 'Honour System' - though there are similarities between the Gresham's and Loretto models. Howson believed that everything should be geared to the good of the community, but beneath that aim, that good could only be attained if there was a sense of responsibility and self-respect in each individual. The system depended on a private compact between Howson and each boy, and all sins against school discipline were regarded as moral failures. One advantage as Howson saw it was that the prefects were now freed from the policing role, and could concentrate on leadership. On his arrival in the school each new boy was interviewed by Howson and asked not to indulge in 'smoking, swearing and indecency' and also to positively discourage his fellows from such temptations. The boy was then to report this conversation to his housemaster, who would in turn talk freely about morality, including sex. If


10. ibid., p 470.
a boy lapsed, then he was expected to own up - and in
general the malefactors did. Today such a system may
seem self-denigrating, but in its isolation at Gresham's
trust really did become the basis of school life.11

Many of Thring’s ideals thus lived on at Howson’s
Gresham’s, but, by the very nature of the school, their
successes were not broadcast to the public schools at
large. None the less, the life-line was there.

The 'whole man' philosophy of education was brought to light once more in the late 1920s and early 1930s - this time through the widely received views of a university professor, L.P. Jacks. In various journals and newspapers, at schoolmasters' conferences, and in two books (The Education of the Whole Man and Education through Recreation) Jacks expressed his plea for a new spirit in education.

'The training of the whole man in the skilful achievement of excellence within the bounds of a socially valuable vocation - such is the general formula of education when viewed in the social perspective. .... Much emphasis will be laid on the whole man. To achieve his education in the wholeness of his personality, the conception of man as a patchwork partnership of mind and body, in which the mind alone, as the celestial partner, falls within the province of education, while the body, as the terrestrial, is left to hygienists and medical practitioners - an evil inheritance from the past which still dominates our educational methods ... - will have to be abandoned. In place of it our plans must be laid for a vigorous co-education of mind and body regarded as an inseparable unity in every stage of their development.'

Jacks mistrusted the fragmentary nature of a traditional public school education in which the mind was 'educated' by teachers in the classroom, the body was 'trained' by

instructors in the gymnasium, and the soul was the province of the chaplain in the chapel. Such schools either produced narrow scholars or efficient games-playing barbarians - and in both true Christianity was missing. Jacks sought to combine the two extremes of education and then infuse them with a Christianity that was not restricted to the chapel, but went with the boy to playgrounds, the classrooms and the workshops. Jacks felt that the current imbalance of the whole man ideal was primarily at the physical extreme of the spectrum, and he thus devoted most attention to what he termed 'the wider possibilities of physical culture.' Here, using colourful phrases to illustrate his points, Jacks asserted that 'man is a skill hungry animal', yet a majority of the population were 'physical illiterates'.

'I regard a trained body - trained to be master of its movements as a whole and not in fragments - as the necessary foundation for all kinds of creative activity, just as reading and writing are the necessary foundation for the acquisition of knowledge.'

Thus, in this most Thringian of concepts, Jacks asserted that physical education was the core of all creative activity - or what other educationalists would term aesthetic education or simply leisure. To realise his aim, physical education

2. ibid, pp 55, 163.
must be given due importance in schools, and its teaching must be by men who are as qualified as the other members of the teaching staff. He knew of such a school - and was able to report that with good modern physical education the composition of Latin prose had improved (a sentiment close to Thring's heart). 4 The school was Mill Hill, and its young headmaster was his son, M.L. Jacks.

Not only was M.L. Jacks the active propagator of his father's theories, but he was also a keen disciple of Thring. One of his staff, Gerald Murray, relates how frequently Jacks referred to Thring's pioneer work, and his own books contain many Thring quotations. 5 On his appointment as headmaster in 1922 at the age of 28, Jacks was encouraged by the governors to reform and develop the school. There Jacks sought to build a Christian, Platonic school in which service to one's fellows was implicit in every aspect. Education was no more than an apprenticeship for citizenship, and this would later be seen in old boy involvement in local politics, charities, youth organisations and the like. The final goal was Civitas Dei. 6 Following his Ruskinian beliefs, Jacks gave much time in the curriculum to leisure-type activities, and in terms of physical education put his

4. ibid. pp 45, 51. Thring believed that many of the best readers were to be found among the gymnastic pupils. Malcolm Tozer, op. cit. p121.
father's ideals into practice. Health was seen as being a positive sense of well-being, and not merely the absence of disease. At the traditional schools the athletic balance and outlook were all wrong, with too much emphasis being placed on team games and on the talented players. To remedy this situation, Jacks appointed G.W. Hedley to his staff as 'director of physical education', and his brief was 'to cover promotion of the physical development of every boy in the school, especially the less skilful, the weak and the unstable, and liaison with the school doctor, the form-masters and the house masters.' Hedley was an ex-Army officer, an Oxford graduate, and had attended various physical education courses: both he and his successor, G.W. Murray, were ardent disciples of R.E. Roper. Hedley, and Murray, together with P.A. Smithells of Gresham's, were instrumental in the development of the Secondary Schoolmasters' Physical Education Association which, through its conferences at Mill Hill and by means of various publications, disseminated these modern ideas on physical education to the schools.

7. ibid. pp 137, 139.
9. P.C. McIntosh was a boy at Mill Hill in Jacks' time. He later became Senior Inspector for Physical Education in the Inner London Education Authority, and then succeeded P.A. Smithells as Professor of Physical Education at Otago University, New Zealand.
One of the outlets of L.P. Jacks' philosophy of education was the Harrow Conferences for Young Schoolmasters, and these same gatherings heard papers on physical education delivered by L.P. Jacks and Murray. These conferences were founded in 1931 by a Harrow schoolmaster, T.F. Coade, and after the war were reconstituted by him as the Oxford Conference for Schoolmasters. When, in 1932, the headmastership of the new Dorset public school Bryanston surprisingly became vacant only four years after its foundation, Coade was appointed its headmaster, and remained in that office until his retirement in 1959. Bryanston's first headmaster was an Australian graduate of Melbourne and Oxford, J.G. Jeffreys, who set out to create a school where boys would 'become honest, manly, and Christian citizens of the British Empire.' The venture was a success: the 23 boys at the opening in January 1928 quickly rose to 250 by 1932. Jeffreys developed Bryanston on two principles that were departures from general public school practice. First he brought with him the Dalton Plan of schoolwork in which the boys worked on an organised plan of personal study guided by one or more tutors, and second he advocated an Almond-like code of health. Life at Bryanston was to be simple, there were to be no servants.

10. G.W.Murray, 'Physical Education in the Curriculum' in E.D. Laborde, Problems in Modern Education. 1939.
T.F.Coa, Harrow Lectures on Education, 1931.
P.A.Smithells, 'Physical Education' in T.F.Coa, Manhood in the Making, 1939.

to wait on the boys, and the school uniform was to be of the shorts and open-necked shirts variety. When Coade came he thus found a new, lively and receptive school, one in which he could put into operation his own germinating educational plans.

Thorold Coade was born in 1896, the son of a clergyman. Much of his early life was spent in the Lincolnshire countryside, where, as he later saw it, he imbibed a belief in Nature as an educator. At preparatory school in Norfolk, where he was shocked by the innate cruelty of under-supervised small boys, and at Harrow, where he experienced all the limitations of such a school at the turn of the century, his simple faith received a bruising. At Harrow religion was primitive, intellect was viewed with suspicion, the arts were totally neglected, and boys grew up in an immature atmosphere of prolonged boyhood. Coade's disillusionment with the public school system was completed by what he saw when he went to Sandhurst in 1915. Here the cream of public school youth appeared smart and orderly on the parade ground, but off-duty all was chaos and licence - and no-one in authority seemed to mind. Coade was horrified at the naked barbarism and the stark philistinism of the behaviour of his fellow cadets. Even when allowance had been made for the war-time environment, and the fact that many of them were soon to die a glorious death, the impression was hardly softened, for, in a way, the war was an accident, and their schools had prepared them
for a glorious life. To Coade

'they represented ... the failure of the Public Schools before 1914 to bring the average boy to the threshold of manhood in a fit state to face life either confidently or constructively.' 12

He vowed that, if he survived the war, he would endeavour to remedy that situation - and it is here with Coade that Thring's ideal of manliness met its most enthusiastic apostle.

After his wartime service and four years at Christ Church, Oxford, Coade went back to Harrow as an assistant master. He found that little had changed since his own pre-war days: 'The school had relapsed into its old complacency.' 13 Not until Cyril Norwood's appointment as headmaster in the late 1920s did things begin to move forward again. Coade had a fundamental belief in the public school system of education, but felt that it was now anachronistic in terms of its curriculum, its attitude, and, above all, its imperial-sahib type of product. He set out to build a school that was a balance between the old-fashioned Victorian autocracy and the ultra-modern free school - in fact, a school at the progressive end of the public school spectrum. Individuality, and not selfish individualism, was to be the aim, and friendliness and service to others was to be the all-pervading atmosphere. Bryanston was to be 'the place of the Individual in the Community.' 14 Coade aimed at

13. ibid, p 32.
strong teacher-parent liaison, and sought to develop a relationship between master and boy built on mutual education and mutual respect through common interests. He had a Thringian mistrust of examinations and prizes; he regarded M.L. Jacks' Total Education as an educational philosophy of great significance; and he became a great friend of Kurt Hahn. Their friendship began in 1929; some boys from Bryanston exchanged with boys from the Schule Schloss Salem for some weeks in 1932; and when Hahn was exiled to Britain in 1933, Bryanston was his first resting-place. Coade greatly liked Hahn's notion of the grande passion - every boy must do something well is the Thring equivalent.

Coade's greatest curricular interest was in those activities that other schools labelled 'extra-curricular activities'. He felt that too many schools were satisfied with just the 'occupation' of a boy's leisure, and accepted low involvement provided the boys were amused and kept out of mischief. To Coade these leisure-time activities were 'when most of our significant and creative thinking takes place'; hence they should be of vital importance to educators and should be brought into the mainstream of the curriculum. He did not believe that this would reduce the level of academic or sporting success, for if the proportions were right, the

general enrichment of life would reflect itself in higher standards at everything. Arts, crafts and, most notably, drama were brought into the curriculum for all, skilled instruction was provided, ample facilities and materials were made available, and due recognition was given to the boys’ achievements. Such creative work was an article of faith to Coade, for

'The effect of introducing creative and corporate activity into the curriculum is to break up and fertilize the ground, to prepare the way, by awakening in the young an alert sensitiveness, awareness, responsiveness to beauty, to truth and to the needs of others. Into a life so lived in childhood and adolescence, the Christian religion comes sooner or later as a comprehensive, illuminating and energizing revelation of the meaning of life; and it will carry us on with a greater confidence and a surer faith than we have now into the unpredictable future that lies ahead.'

The corporate activity mentioned above came through various forms of community service, and these too formed a significant part of Coade’s conception of a school. The Pioneers were instituted in 1933 as a liberal alternative to the cadet corps; here Bryanston blazed the trail of school and community action that many schools were to adopt in the 1960s, and which indirectly led to the founding of Community Service Volunteers (C.S.V.) and Voluntary Service Overseas (V.S.O.). Group projects could be hut building, outdoor manual work, and the

17. T.F. Coade, The Burning Bow, pp 34, 37, 40.
building of an open-air theatre, whilst Pioneer holidays included exploration expeditions and visits to Outward Bound Schools. The outdoor activity based Sea Cadets were another means of community service. In these years before the Second World War, the importance of the individual's service to the community was paramount: as Coade told the 1939 Harrow Conference of Young Schoolmasters:

'What we need in this country is to awaken in youth the same enthusiasm and readiness for service as we find in totalitarian states, but enable them to relate it to the Christian ideal and the Christian way of life. That we cannot do until we have begun to find that way and live that life ourselves.'

All aspects of physical education fitted into the framework of creative and corporate activity. Games were encouraged, and there was a broad spectrum of choice, but compulsion was limited to a boy's first three years. Individual sports such as canoeing and climbing were keenly followed. As W. David Smith remarks, 'in its breadth of approach and variety of activities Bryanston anticipated by many years what has since become standard physical education practice.'

Here at Coade's Bryanston, the underlying philosophy of the ideal of manliness stands out from every aspect of the curriculum. 'Religion is Education and Education is Religion' was Coade's guideline. By religion was meant a relationship

with God, and education was the process by which each individual becomes aware of it. Education was not just moral, intellectual and physical - but also spiritual, and spiritual education could only come in the Platonic manner through music, arts, crafts and literature. The object was the awakening of the whole personality, and harnessing that energy to the purposes of God; the method was through the 'sense of purposeful creative joy in all that (a boy) does, in his games, in his physical training, in all his leisure activities and in his work'; the aim was the 'wholeness of man' or, its Coade equivalent, 'the holiness of spirit'. Here indeed is Thring's ideal of manliness.

VIII

Coade put his ideals into practice at Bryanston quietly and with very little publicity. His friend Kurt Hahn at Gordonstoun in Morayshire ran his school on many of the same principles but here Hahn's undoubted gifts as a publicist brought the work to world-wide attention and his efforts were to contribute much to developments in various sectors of British education. Hahn was born in Germany in 1886 of Jewish parents. He was educated first at Berlin and then in 1904 he came to Christ Church, Oxford, as a Rhodes' Scholar. By this time he was an avid Platonist, and his years at Oxford made him an admirer of Thomas Arnold and brought about an abiding affection for Britain. At the end of the First World War Hahn served as private secretary to Prince Max of Baden, the last imperial chancellor of Germany, and he was closely involved with the measures thought necessary to restore a defeated nation's confidence. When in 1920 Prince Max settled on education as the most likely means of improving this confidence, Hahn went with him to Salem, and later succeeded him as headmaster of the Schule Schloss Salem. At Salem Hahn was particularly concerned with physical fitness and moral independence, and powerful emphasis was placed on the character-training qualities that certain
physical activities could inculcate. In Hahn's view, nothing at Salem was original: ideas were borrowed from Plato, Arnold, Eton and Abbotsholme, and a host more educational establishments.¹ But the mixture was unique. The school was already internationally famous when in 1932 Hahn's denunciation of the Nazis led to his imprisonment and then, in July 1933, exile to Britain. With the help of influential friends, including Archbishop Temple, G.M. Trevelyan and John Buchan, Hahn secured Gordonstoun as the setting for his British continuation of the Salem scheme. The first pupils arrived in 1934 - mainly the sons of parents known to Hahn and attracted by his philosophies, and many the misfits and failures from other public schools.

To Hahn there were three types of education: the 'Ionian' was individualistic and free, and totally disregarded the community; the 'Spartan' devoted everything to the community and the individual counted for nothing; and the 'Platonic', in which 'the individual becomes a cripple from his or her point of view if he is not qualified by education to serve the community.'² There were many Platonic parallels at Gordonstoun: the terms 'guardian' and 'helper' were adopted for school offices; paideia, or the development of energetic participation, became the central ideal; and the

¹ W.A.C. Stewart, op. cit., p 191.
² Quoted in Henry L. Brereton, Gordonstoun, 1968. p 130.
moral responsibility, and not the scholar, artist or games player, became the educational exemplar of the school. To cut down nationalism and to harness all energies in the cause of peace, Hahn sought for a 'moral equivalent for war', and here community service, sports and arduous training activities were to play their part. The aim was to effect in the individual the ability to recognise right, despite hardships, despite dangers, despite inner scepticism, despite boredom, despite mockery from the world, despite emotion of the moment, and its test became the risking of all in the service of one's fellow men. 3

The plan at Gordonstoun was as follows. Each boy was responsible for his own physical fitness, and had to tick off his daily routine on a chart - this was the basis of the school's 'Honour System'. School uniform included shorts and sweater; the day started with a run and a cold bath; and no tuck was allowed. The physical education programme was based on individual skills - running, jumping, throwing, and the like. Team games were played, and were both keenly contested and successfully performed, but they were not allowed to dominate the programme. A broad spectrum of art and craft activities was introduced and compulsorily followed by all boys: here the aim was to find one activity for each boy that would be his grande passion.

3. This was the Salem rule: H.Rohrs, Kurt Hahn, 1970. p 134.
Vigorous and arduous outdoor activities, such as sailing, climbing and canoeing were included for the hazards they would present to boys in order that they would learn to triumph over defeat. Service to the community was encouraged through activities including life-saving, manning a coastguard station, running the local fire-service, practical estate work, and mountain rescue patrols: here a reality of useful service was the keynote. Underlying the whole was a belief that everything should be done in the service of God, and to give the boys time for contemplation (the need for 'aloneness') Hahn insisted that the boys walked unaccompanied and in silence on their daily journey to the chapel.4

Encouraged by his undeniable success at Gordonstoun, Hahn set out to extend its influence. In 1936 he inaugurated the Moray County Badge Scheme so that boys in the surrounding country could benefit from some of Gordonstoun's principles. The scheme was similar to that used in Germany, with the badge being earned through fitness tests, life-saving drills and cross-country expeditions. The outbreak of war in 1939 stimulated interest in the scheme, and it gradually evolved into the Outward Bound Trust. During Gordonstoun's evacuation to North Wales, Hahn in 1940 set up a summer

school to demonstrate his methods, and the following year the Outward Bound Sea School was founded at Aberdovey. Here was Hahn's 'war equivalent' in action. At the launching ceremony for the school's schooner Garibaldi, Sir George Trevelyan voiced the creed in his address: 'If ever youth loses the thirst for adventure, any civilization, however enlightened, and any state, however well ordered, must wither and dry up.'5 Within a decade this first Outward Bound School was followed by five more in Britain, and a score more were established in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Malaya, Hong Kong, Singapore, Africa, Germany and Holland. It is through Hahn's work that outdoor activities now form an integral part of physical education programmes at public and state schools, and his Outward Bound Schools have given rise to countless outdoor activity centres where, if only for a limited period, the benefits of a boarding school life together with those of an arduous training programme of activities can be experienced by the nation's youth. In 1956 the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme was launched as a nation-wide successor to the Moray County Badge: at first it was for boys only, but soon the scheme was widened to include girls. Under the vigorous sponsorship of the Duke of Edinburgh, who had been a boy under Hahn at both Salem and Gordonstoun,

5. Quoted in H.Rohrs, op. cit., p 126.
thousands of youngsters were attracted to a scheme built on physical fitness, community service, outdoor pursuits and expedition training. The aim throughout is to promote useful citizenship. This scheme has been widely adopted by schools and youth organisations and in industry.

Hahn's main contribution to the survival of the ideal of manliness was as the publicist par excellence. Coade may have been truer to Thring's original concept - for surely Gordonstoun is just a shade too hardy - but Hahn drew the nation's attention to its benefits. Since his early days as Prince Max's private secretary, Hahn has had the knack of getting influential people on his side. These men all saw the value of Hahn's passion and inspiration and were able to temper his innovations to meet British needs. The result is the widest possible audience for the ideal of manliness, including, as a Gordonstoun old boy, the next King of England. By the 1950s and 1960s most public schools had assimilated many of Hahn's ideas, even if they only took those that they regarded as acceptable, or those that could be fashioned into their own traditional mould.
The changes of the 1920s and 1930s can be traced at Uppingham in the headmasterships of Reginald Owen (1916 - 1934) and John Wolfenden (1935 - 1944). When McKenzie retired from Uppingham in 1915 through reasons of ill-health, the trustees looked to a young man to inject life into the school. In the 27 year old Owen they chose an accomplished scholar and rowing blue - and their trust was not misplaced. Under Owen's leadership the numbers swelled, magnificent new buildings were constructed, and a staff talented both academically and athletically joined the ranks of the common room. Owen believed that the school was resting too firmly on the reputation of a once great past, and now he sought to increase the boys' endeavour in both work and games. Owen was tireless, his whole energy was devoted to the school. He was never absent overnight from the school in term-time, he taught a hefty timetable, he regularly played games with the boys, and through weekly meetings with the praepostors he had a firm hand on the pulse of the school.

1. Both men were appointed at 27. Owen went on to become Archbishop of New Zealand; Wolfenden became Headmaster of Shrewsbury, Vice-Chancellor of Reading University, and Director of the British Museum.
3. Ibid. pp 34-5.
He knew every boy. Personal relationships - whether between Owen and masters, or both and the boys - were not to be encouraged. Old boys remembered Owen arousing more fear than affection, and even with the praepostors, who might have expected 'something warmer than an official relationship', met nothing beyond a rigid self-discipline. Owen's long-remembered edict to the masters was 'However friendly the relations between master and boy - and they ought to be friendly - it is not healthy for the element of fear to be absent entirely.' Owen was a stern disciplinarian and could, on occasion, look incredibly severe. 'If a boy strayed from the straight and narrow, punishment was merciless and administered personally, and on busy sessions reported to be as painful to the recipient at the tail of the queue as it had been to the first victim.' A dilapidated straw hat, a hair style without a parting, irregularities of dress were not 'tolerated': even masters dared not smoke on the playing fields, but retired to their own tennis club to do so. Owen rarely sought to explain his decisions or his principles, but the example he set in his own life and the standards he inculcated in others were an inspiration to many.

4. ibid. pp 45, 95, 97.
5. ibid. p 44.
6. 'R.H.O. 1916-34' in USM, 1961. p 93. This is Owen's obituary.
7. ibid. p 93.
There were some on the staff who feared that Owen's rigid rule might restrict the full development of the individual boy, but to Owen the aim was the subordination of the self to the needs of the community. 'Service' was Owen's call, and his magnificently organised and well-functioning school produced it. 'The Public School Spirit (?)' is recorded in the 1928 School Magazine:

'Dreams
Mere puff and bluff!
'Tis teams
Both rough and tough
The School esteems
Enough!'

Service was always the theme of Owen's brisk sermons and his addresses on Speech Day. It was an almost puritan service—games results, no matter how good, were not to be praised to parents at Speech Day; nor were they to be published in the national press. And how we still suffer in those seats in Hall, designed, so legend has it, to ingrain a 'rowing posture'! Yet School service could only come out in two ways, the corps and games: Owen's tradition of isolation prevented more meaningful avenues being explored.

9. idem.
11. USM, 1928. p 69. The ? in the title is in the original.
Jones was still commander of the Uppingham corps, and his own strength of personality was such that he was the only master Owen could not dominate. The corps was not compulsory, but in the words of Uppingham's annual entry in the Public Schools Year Book, 'almost all boys were in it'. The compulsory shooting test that Selwyn had instituted in 1900 was maintained until at least 1932: only in 1935, when Wolfenden had succeeded Owen, did it no longer figure in the year book entry. A few boys joined a scout troop on its founding in 1932, though the innovation was never popular. Games were the prime medium for education in service: 'I am not afraid', Owen said, 'of the keenness which is displayed in games, because wherever skill in any form is cultivated there always goes with it some measure of self-control whether of mind or body.' 'Boys should play games', he went on, 'and seek for excellence, however, only for its own sake and the enjoyment it gives them, not for any ulterior motive or any desire for display or advertisement'. And games were played well. The cricket under Frank Gilligan and the rugby under Alastair Smallwood were in the highest rank of public school games. That no school won more rugby blues in this period is one statistic

13. Information from Bryan Matthews. See also Penelope Jessel, op. cit. p 31.
15. Public Schools Year Book, 1918-1932 and 1935. The 1933 and 1934 editions are not in the London Library.
17. T.B. Belk, op. cit. p 3.
that gives a measure of Smallwood's success.\textsuperscript{18} It was a 'Second Golden Age' of games.\textsuperscript{19} Though some might feel that the athletic pendulum had swung too far, one cannot condemn the atmosphere in the school as being philistine.\textsuperscript{20} Narrow and insulated it might be, but the arts, especially music in the tradition of Paul David (now directed by R. Sterndale Bennett) and a new interest in drama, helped redress the balance. It should not pass without mention that Smallwood, athletic-housemaster \textit{par excellence}, had been an Organ Scholar at Cambridge and that he both taught music in the school for a while and played double bass in the school orchestra for fifteen years.\textsuperscript{21} Owen achieved much in his headmastership, and in the inculcation of the ideal of service peculiar to his time he was a headmaster second to none.

Owen's standards were those of most public schools in the early 1930s. T.C. Worsley was a young master at Wellington at this time, and there he had plenty of opportunity for sport. One of the beauties of schoolmastering was that the keen games player could always find someone, boy or master, to act as an opponent.\textsuperscript{22} The ethos of 'team spirit' was still sung loud, and rugby and rowing were still

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} USM, 1952. p 181.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Information from T.B. Belk.
\item \textsuperscript{20} J.P.Graham, \textit{op. cit.} p 12.
\item \textsuperscript{21} USM, 1952, p 182.
\item \textsuperscript{22} T.C.Worsley, \textit{Flannelled Fool}. 1967. pp 12, 22.
\end{itemize}
the games lauded in this respect. The 'being together' of a rowing crew was seen as 'a spiritual sympathy' rather than 'a mechanical correspondence'. 23 Most cadet corps were in theory voluntary, but in effect all boys belonged, and the net result was that more boys were now in the corps than ever before. 24 Morality was still seen to be fostered by hard play, cold baths, cold swimming pools and cold gymnasia - soft, warm conditions were thought conducive to sexual irregularities. At Wellington, friendships between boys in different houses were forbidden, a practice Nicolson observed 30 years earlier. 25 All was in sympathy with the world outside the schools, or at least those regions of it that public schoolboys would meet. School conformity in dress matched the professional man's uniform of bowler hat, pin-stripe suit and rolled umbrella; when interviewed for a job 'were you in the XI?' would be the most vital question; bank clerks and junior civil servants gained promotion on account of their ability at games; the belief that 'the blues could rule the blacks' was the cornerstone of empire management. 'Manliness' had become 'chappishness'. 26

These days were now however numbered. John Wolfenden's autobiography Turning Points has by coincidence an apt title, for the years of his headmastership were indeed a turning

24. ibid. p 230.
25. T.C.Worsley, op. cit. p 93.
   See also T.C.Worsley, Barbarians and Philistines. 1940. passim
26. I owe some of these points to Gerald Murray.
point, both for Uppingham and the public schools as a whole. It is in the later 1930s that the demise of an over-riding belief in the values of athleticism and team spirit sets in. The movement was not consistent, with some schools only attaining in the 1970s what others had accepted in the 1930s, but the momentum had now built up and the motion could be resisted but not checked. The reasons for the demise are no doubt countless, but some can be identified. The belief in Empire was now not so great, and the schools had come to realise that there was soon to be little of it left to send boys out to. India was set for independence even before the 1939-45 war, and the trend was becoming obvious. A growth of liberalism in politics, but not of the Liberal Party, meant that increased emphasis was placed on moral responsibility both at home and abroad. The recent ideal of service in the schools, one that had narrowly been restricted to service to a ruling class, was now seen to broaden, and the economic recession brought a greater sense of compassion and sensitivity to the plight of the less well-off. The pacifist movement, including the League of Nations Union and Pledge for Peace group, made the militaristic ethos of a cadet corps out of keeping with the times. These three effects, the decline in empire, a liberalism in political conscience, and a belief in pacifism, gradually undermined public school confidence.

More importantly there were now hard facts to be faced.
As the century had progressed so the state provision of secondary education had improved. Through the innovation of the School Certificate in 1917 and the introduction of State Scholarships in 1920 a steadily increasing stream of grammar school boys were gaining entry to the universities and the professions - traditionally the preserve of the public school boy. These grammar schools were closely modelled on public school practice, though usually they were a shade more progressive, now they were seen to produce a rival product at no cost. The effects were two-fold: the public school boys had to work harder for the same success - and harder work meant less time for games; the public school market became competitive - and the schools had to fight for custom. It was against this background that reform came, and as so often in the past and in the future, it was the reaction of the public schools to the accumulation of pressure that brought about the eventual reform. Though there were many ardent would-be reformers within the schools, the need to reform came from outside.

The change in attitude to games was quickly apparent, and, but for the intervention of the Second World War, may have been quickly implemented. As it was, the changes were sporadic - seemingly radiating from London and the Home Counties at so many miles a year. The effect of the need to pass examinations was that the boys were made and seen
to work harder. Doubts were cast at the value of 'team-spirit' and the role games played in its inculcation.27 Calls were made for the inclusion of 'individual' games, such as golf and tennis, to supplement the traditional diet.28 Games alone were seen as insufficient physical education for the whole physical well-being of a boy, and the Roperian view of physical education gained wider acceptance. This change was limited by the shortage of qualified graduates, for the first British college of physical education was not created until 1933, and so the reforms many wanted could not always be achieved. Instead the schools encouraged their ex-service PT instructors to try and cope with the new needs, and success was not universal. However the intention that a broad approach to physical education should begin was notified, and in 1942 the Headmasters' Conference stated in its Memorandum of Evidence to the Norwood Committee investigating secondary education that all public schools should appoint a qualified Director of Physical Education.29

Wolfenden had only five years to implement changes at Uppingham before the declaration of War checked his efforts, but they were five years of reform. The P.T.I. that Owen had appointed in 1919 now in 1938 was called upon to

28. ibid. p 135.
29. J.A.Mangan, op. cit. p 347.
superintend 'breathers' — an innovation in which the whole school performed a few simple exercises during morning break. 30 The Archbishop of York (William Temple, the former headmaster of Repton) at an Uppingham Speech Day might still preach the ideal that games were the school manifestation of service, but now new alternatives were found — Wolfenden set up the Uppingham/Corby Boys Club to bring together the boys from the nearby steel town and his own pupils. Each evening 12 Uppinghamians would go over to the club-room in Corby and join in the various club activities: further boys would spend most of the weekend there. Expeditions, outings and visits to Uppingham were all part of this twentieth century 'mission'. 31 Reform had come — and even the following experience was seen by Wolfenden as out of place. He had gone to another school to watch the XV play, and by half-time the visitors were obviously on top. The home headmaster announced that he was going for a half-time walk, and Wolfenden innocently suggested that he accompany him. 'No' he snapped, 'You stay where you are.' 32

The reforms set for adoption in 1939 had hardly made inroads before war was declared. The six year wait saw

30. This did not change until the 1950s. USM, 1938, p 10. and USM, 1952, p 6.
32. ibid, p 85.
much of the enthusiasm for the cause evaporate, especially when many of the men who would have implemented the changes in the schools did not necessarily return to schoolmastering. The urgency for reform went too, for much to everyone's surprise the public schools held 20% more pupils now than they did in 1939. The pressures, however, were still there. The academic demands were greater than ever for, as the headmaster of Harrow complained, the 'subsidised and specialised second rate' from the grammar schools was squeezing out the more versatile public school boy in the chase for Oxbridge places. One effect of the war was that clothes' rationing had necessitated a reduction in athletic millinery and other equally exotic varieties of school uniform. The new physical education departments, at Marlborough before the war and at Worksop in 1947 for example, were introducing more individual sports and the spirit of individualism slowly spread. The liberal revolution did not always seem to move purposefully, but rather leaped randomly as new headmaster succeeded old headmaster. As J.A. Manson discovered, Harrovians only began to challenge compulsory team games in the 1970s when Marlburians had won that battle before the war. These are perhaps extremes

34. Quoted in J.A. Mangan, op. cit. p 345.
of the time scale, for Harrow will be one of the last public schools to adopt a modern approach to physical education - a move that appears imminent.

Uppingham's recent history serves to represent the quiet revolution. In 1944 John Wolfenden left to become headmaster of Shrewsbury, and was succeeded by Martin Lloyd. Tailcoats for Sundays, grey flannels for the summer, and evening dress at concerts were all part of the school uniform that disappeared during the war. Some of the two-day cricket matches were another casualty. Smallwood retired as a housemaster in 1946, and since that time boys in the Lodge have been spared PT before breakfast. In 1948 there was a call for more individual sports, such as tennis, athletics and swimming, but an apologia on the virtues of team spirit by the Captain of Games signalled that the time was not yet ripe. The PTI that Owen had appointed in 1919 retired in 1952, and his successor gained PT periods with the younger boys, then, under his encouragement, the athletic sports were enlarged to include throwing events and there was talk of a match with the old boys. "Breathers" were still practised in the late 1950s, but innovations came: athletics matches in

37. Information from James Craufurd-Stuart.
39. USM, 1955. pp 31, 66. The author is the present housemaster of the Lodge. He is not a noted early riser.
1956, tennis in 1957, and clubs for fencing and badminton in 1958. 42 1959 was the turning point, for then an editorial in the School Magazine could voice the objection to the dominance of school life by compulsory games. It was admitted that to be in the XV meant instant popularity; that the Committee of Games enforced attendance at compulsory games, with a beating if necessary; and that few praepostors were other than games players. Clever boys were dismissed as 'weeds' and 'the swots' whilst 'rugger chaps' and 'hockey types' were the real heroes. The realities of 'A' level work-demands were time-consuming, but all boys had to play games five days a week. The appeal for more 'balance' to the curriculum was objectively stated: the time was now ripe. 43 'Breathers', drill competitions and boxing were all to go, basketball and soccer came in. 44 The praepostors lost their distinctive tail coats, though retained personal 'fags' for a few more years. 45 The music tradition in the school was as strong as ever, but now concerts did not necessarily have to include the hearty singing of a Newbolt song. Much good drama, some poetry, and some art were increasingly popular. 46 In March 1965

46. Information from Philip Gooderson.
Lloyd retired, and his valet recalls the liberal innovations he had made - an increased freedom on Sundays, a reduction in personal fagging, and the broadening of the games programme were three examples cited. 47

John Royds was then appointed headmaster. He had been a master under Coade at Bryanston for twelve years, and now brought the Thringian influence back to Uppingham. The wheel had turned full circle. Attention to the individual child was stressed; music, art and pottery were no longer viewed as purely effeminate activities, the cadet corps became voluntary and community service was seen as important, athleticism had mellowed. A balance returned - both to the total education experience and to its physical education content. Thring would be pleased to see physical education periods in the timetable and the appointment of qualified staff to teach them. He would also like the broad programme of games and sports, the enthusiasm of the staff who run them, and the excellence of the new facilities. The increased provision of recreational opportunities and the attention given to remedial gymnastics are both sympathetic to his principles. The weekend and holiday expeditions in outdoor activities are merely a modern extension of Thring's rambles in the Rutland countryside. Seventy years had been lost, but not Thring's 'True-life'.

This, then, is the evolution of the ideal of manliness. The evolution matched Thring's picture of the communion and circulation of ideas, of thought and of feelings, as a perpetual current, ebbing and flowing like water under the influence of external forces. The stream that was to become the ideal of manliness had its birth in Platonic philosophy, with its total commitment to the moral education of the whole man. It followed the course of Protestant Platonic humanism, and then combined with the secular belief in Nature deriving from Rousseau. Here, at the start of the nineteenth century, the ideal of manliness became an integral part of the Romantic philosophy associated with S.T. Coleridge and William Wordsworth. Sir Walter Scott and Alfred Tennyson disseminated this ideal to the reading public through their immensely popular novels and poetry; Thomas Arnold sought to inculcate the ideal in his pupils at Rugby, and he brought the philosophy into the mainstream of the public schools; F.D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley extended the same philosophy to the needs of society as a whole, and to the working classes in particular. By the 1850s the ideal of manliness was the dominant philosophy in the public schools, and through the efforts of Edward Benson,
Frederick Temple, Frederic Farrar and, above all, Edward Thring, the mid-Victorian schoolboy received an education in manliness.

All that is best in education could be found at Thring's Uppingham, especially in the years 1853 to 1870 when the ideal of manliness was at its strongest. Attractive surroundings and a homely atmosphere; Christian teaching and a moral guidance; intellectual training and a broad general knowledge; a well planned physical education programme and real attention to the arts and music; a sense of communal responsibility and a spirit of individual freedom - all these comprised an education in manliness. The education of the whole man and the attention to the individual child are the two central legacies that Thring has left to English education; in their wake come a balanced approach to physical education, art and craft as an integral part of the curriculum, a belief in the educational role of music, the importance of attractive surroundings, and a distrust of assessing education by examinations alone.

Means to achieve an end have a habit of becoming ends in themselves, and it was such with the athletic aspect of the ideal of manliness. What Thring had intended as a moral education and a physical training, so that the boys
would be better able to devote their lives to service, others distorted to become service in its own right.

Thring was ever aware of this possibility—for it nearly happened at Uppingham—but other headmasters acted differently. Some, like Cotton, Almond and Warre, deliberately used the popularity of games playing to bring about educational innovation in their schools; most though followed the line of least resistance, and surrendered to the athletic clamour of boys, old boys and parents. The result was athleticism, an educational ideology that almost supplanted Christianity as school religion. The ideal of manliness went off course, and followed the increasingly sluggish river of 'masculinity': esprit de corps was the all-pervading philosophy. What had been Platonic Athens was now Sparta.

By the end of the nineteenth century the means of public school education had new ends to achieve: Britain had an Empire, and it had to be extended, defended and civilised. At its best, the belief in 'Imperial Christianity' produced a selfless ideal that was nobly sought, and generations of public schoolboys went out to the colonies to serve Britain's needs. At its worst, the system that educated these public schoolboys was narrow, conformist and elitist, and the result was the 'militarism' of the schools in their Golden Age. Manliness took on a
militaristic flavour, with the Homeric hero as the new exemplar, but under the imperial facade life at the public schools turned sour. Through the writings of Henry Newbolt and Rudyard Kipling, through the influence of Smith's Boys Brigade and Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts, and through a genre of schoolboy literature, this imperial ideal of manliness gained the broadest possible audience. It was perhaps inevitable that this new Homeric age should culminate in war.

The mainstream of the ideal of manliness ended at the First World War, and the words 'manly' and 'manliness' fell from current usage. In the post-war public school there was no room for an ideal that had helped to slay a generation, and so 'public school spirit' was raised in its stead - but this was no more than the earlier athletic esprit de corps. Thring's true ideal of manliness may have been warped and distorted since the mid-Victorian years, but the original ideal lived on in the progressive school movement. The essence of the ideal of manliness could be found at Abbotsholme, Bedales, Gresham's, Mill Hill, Bryanston and Gordonstoun; the spirit still had influence through the efforts of the educationalists L.P. Jacks, E.B. Castle and Alec Clegg; and when, in the years after the Second World War, the time was ripe,
Thring's philosophy found its way back to the public school world - and indeed pervaded the whole English educational system.
The material in the following bibliography refers only to this work. Much of my *Physical Education at Thring's Education* has been condensed into sections of this present work, but the footnotes and bibliography for the earlier work have not been included here except when new material has been used. The reader who wishes to discover the sources for much in the Uppingham sections is thus referred to the relevant chapters of *Physical Education at Thring's Uppingham*.
A. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Edward Thring

White note book - begun in 1847
Little jotting book
Index Rerum - a collection of jottings
Diary of his European tour
Lecture on poetry - c 1857

The two surviving volumes of his diary: 1853-March 1862 and October 1886-October 1887

Over 400 sermons
'The Enchanted Wood' - a fairy tale
'Observation' - a lecture
'On discipline' - a paper
'Purity' - Carlisle address
Notes to communicants and confirmation candidates
Annotations in the first volume of his 3 volume Bible
Numerous letters
Various notes and jottings

This is only a small fraction of the Thring manuscript material in the Uppingham Archives. The list includes only those items actually mentioned in the text or footnotes of this work.

2. Uppingham Archives

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110 folders (UAF1 to UAF110) containing miscellaneous letters, papers, etc.

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