

Durham E-Theses

*The English private school 1830-1914, with special
reference to the private proprietary school*

Donald P. Leinster-Mackay

How to cite:

Leinster-Mackay, Donald P. (1971) The English private school 1830-1914, with special reference to the private proprietary school. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/10479/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

THE ENGLISH PRIVATE SCHOOL 1830-1914,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PRIVATE PREPARATORY SCHOOL,

Being a thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the University
of Durham

by

Donald P. Leinster-Mackay M.A. (Oxon.) M.Ed. (Dunelm)

Vok 1

December 1971

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

C O N T E N T S

VOLUME I

Preface

Chapter 1 Private Enterprise in English Education

Chapter 2 The Dame School

Chapter 3 Commercial and Other Private Adventure
Schools

Chapter 4 Private Progressive Schools

Chapter 5 The Private Classical School

Chapter 6 Private Coaching and the Growth of
Competitive Examinations

Chapter 7 Proprietary Schools

Chapter 8 Quasi-public Schools

VOLUME II

Chapter 9 The Origins, Growth and Development of
Preparatory Schools

Chapter 10 Some Earlier Preparatory Schools

Chapter 11 Some Nineteenth and Early Twentieth
Century Aspects of Preparatory Schools

Chapter 12 Late Nineteenth Century Preparatory Schools

Chapter 13 Preparatory School Principals: the Growth
and Development of the Association of
Headmasters of Preparatory Schools

Chapter 14 A Local Study of Nineteenth Century Private
Education with Special Reference to
Private Preparatory Schools in Warwickshire
and Worcestershire.

Chapter 15 Private and Preparatory Schools - Conclusions

VOLUME III

Appendices

Bibliography

ABSTRACT

The English private preparatory school evolved from a complex pattern of private education which developed in the nineteenth century and which differed in degree and kind from earlier private education. Nineteenth century patterns of provision were determined by the prevailing philosophy of laissez-faire; by increased wealth and expectations of beneficiaries of the Industrial Revolution; by the improvement in modes of travel; by the introduction of middle class and professional examinations and by the character of those prepared to meet the demand. Social factors as in the case of some proprietary schools and religious factors, as in the case of yet other proprietary schools and many private schools of pious owners, all contributed to shape the character of the supply which met the demand. Underlying much of this supply, however, was the economic factor of the private profit motive, which also characterised the private preparatory school.

In the early years of the century there were classical schools for the sons of gentlemen which tended to specialise in the education of young boys from about eight to fourteen. Other smaller schools, kept by clergymen in country rectories, which often had the character of private tutorial establishments, and dame/preparatory schools kept by middle class spinsters and married women alike, contributed to the evolution of the late nineteenth century preparatory school which by the 1880s had become an institutionalised phenomenon with close ties with the Royal Navy in providing a supply of young officer material but more especially with the Public Schools, whose characteristics they mirrored: the institutionalisation of these schools led to their political organisation in the 1890s.

By 1914, these two forms of educational institution, with largely antithetical origins, had been closely linked to comprise the major part of secondary education in the independent sector of English education in the twentieth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For their critical discussion and advice I am grateful to Professor J. R. de S. Honey, who suggested the subject of this study and to Dr. J. Kitching, who read the drafts of early chapters.

I should like to thank the staff of several records' offices, reference and university libraries which I have used but more especially the following which I have used extensively:

Birmingham Reference Library
Bodleian Library
British Museum Library
Durham University Library
Leamington Spa Reference Library
Malvern Reference Library.

I am grateful also to Mr. Robert Bearman of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust for his assistance in 'tapping' local sources in Stratford upon Avon.

I have been in correspondence with many Preparatory School Headmasters to whom I am grateful for information about their respective schools. In particular I wish to thank Mr. L. H. A. Hankey, Secretary of the I.A.P.S., Mrs. B. H. Belle (Orwell Park); Mr. R. J. Curtis O.P.E. (formerly Headmaster of Hurst Court, Ore) Mr. A. D. J. Grenfell, Headmaster and Mr. Geoffrey Place assistant master (Mostyn House School); Mr. A. B. Moore (Stubbington House); Mr. J. P. Nelson (former Headmaster of Ardenhouse School); Mr. P. B. Waterfield (Headmaster of the Mall School, Twickenham); Rev. Robert Wickham (former Headmaster of Twyford School) and Mr. Paul Wootton (former Headmaster of Eagle House School). I should like to thank especially Mr. C. Adamson of Bow School, Durham; Mr. G. W. Chittenden, Headmaster and Mr. H. F. Chittenden, former Headmaster of Newlands School, Seaford; Mr. P. Spencer, Headmaster of Red House School, Moor Monkton and Mrs. E. Thompson, wife of former Headmaster and Mr. S. J. Reynolds present Headmaster of Aysgarth for allowing me to visit their respective schools.

I am grateful to Mr. P. Dudgeon of Dover College School for information on the Rev. Herbert Bull; to Dr. Duncan Bythell of the Economic History Department of Durham University for making me cognisant of the Dame Schools of Coventry; to Gabbittas Thring for information on its early history and to Arthur Stewart for information on the early history of Skerrys College.

Finally I am very grateful to my wife for reading through the final drafts and to Mrs. Elaine Bird for typing them.

VOLUME I

C o n t e n t s

	Preface	i
Chapter 1	Private Enterprise in English Education.	1
Chapter 2	The Dame School	22
Chapter 3	Commercial and Other Private Adventure Schools	66
Chapter 4	Private Progressive Schools	116
Chapter 5	The Private Classical School	128
Chapter 6	Private Coaching and the Growth of Competitive Examinations	146
Chapter 7	Proprietary Schools	159
Chapter 8	Quasi-public Schools	183
	Footnotes	204

LIST OF TABLES

VOLUME I

	page
1. The number of existing schools established each decade from 1801-1851 in England and Wales.	7
2. Increases in national imports, output, population from 1815 to 1885.	12
3. Comparison of imports and exports 1875 - 1915 with other countries.	13
4. Wealth of chief European countries in 1914.	13
5. 1849 - 1871. Increases in taxpayers earning more than £200.	15
6. 1851 - 1871. Percentage increase in salaries.	15
7. The relative number and size of public and private schools in three Unions.	32
8. A sample of poor class dame schools in St. Pancras district.	36
9. Comparison of ages of scholars in public weekday schools in specimen districts, with ages of scholars in private weekday schools in 1858.	53
10. Distribution of age ranges in public and private weekday schools.	54
11. Numbers of schools teaching various subjects mentioned in the answers to the questionnaire given to Coventry Dame Schools 1840.	63
12. Summary of 504 schools in sample eleven counties abstracted from de Carteret-Bisson, F.S. Captain <u>Our Schools and Colleges 1879.</u>	83a
12a. Growth of private schools in sample eleven counties 1801 - 1851.	90
13. Gross total of private schools attended by <u>D.N.B.</u> entries.	111
14. Gross total of preparatory schools attended by <u>D.N.B.</u> entries.	111
15. Distribution of <u>D.N.B.</u> entries amongst counties	112
16. The decline in the number of the boys at Norfolk County School 1888 - 1890.	179

List of Abbreviations

A.P.S.	Association of Headmasters of Preparatory Schools
A.S.A.	Art for Schools Association
B.J.E.S.	British Journal of Educational Studies
C of A	Change of Address
C of O	Change of Owner
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
E.I.C.	East India Company
E.H.R.	Economic History Review
I.A.P.S.	Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
m.c.	Middle class
n.f.d.	no further details
N.A.P.S.S.	National Association for the Promotion of Social Science
N.A.P.T.S.E.	National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education
M.O.S.A.	Medical Officers of Schools Association
O.D.	Old Draconian
Q.J.E.	Quarterly Journal of Education
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers
P.N.E.U.	Parents National Education Union
R.M.C.	Royal Military College
R.N.C.	Royal Naval College
R.M.A.	Royal Military Academy
S.D.U.K.	Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge
S.I.C.	Schools Inquiry Commission
T.E.S.	Times Educational Supplement
V.C.H.	Victoria County History

PREFACE

This thesis had its origins in the need for a history of the English preparatory school.¹ It was soon discovered, however, that because this particular genre of school emerged, in the late nineteenth century, from a complicated pattern of private educational provision, it was necessary to explore the English private school in toto to appreciate fully, the background to the concept of the private preparatory school. Starting with the intention of studying upper and upper middle class education in the preparatory school, the scope has been extended, therefore, to span the whole class range of nineteenth century private education, from dame schools for artisans' children to private schools of a quasi-public school nature like Trinity College, Stratford on Avon and the Old Hall School, Wellington² which catered for the 'sons of gentlemen'.

It is quickly realised, in any study of nineteenth century private education, that the clergy played a vital part in its evolution. Many country rectories, early in the century, became classical schools run by their incumbents, some developing into preparatory schools later;³ other clergymen became private tutors to young men preparing for university entrance or perhaps for entry to the Army, and so were part of the nineteenth century phenomenon - 'the cramming system'; and yet others ran schools of a 'commercial' character.⁴ If individual clergy adopted a pedagogic role, in many cases to supplement their meagre stipend, the church or churches themselves made a special contribution to nineteenth century private school provision, by the formation of proprietary schools - financed on the joint stock principle - many earlier ones of which were in connection with King's College, London whilst others were inspired by the Tractarian movement;⁵ but by no means all proprietary schools were of a church or denominational character, or even ecclesiastically inspired.⁶

Perhaps the two areas of private school provision which have least connection with the preparatory school are the private commercial school and the private 'progressive' school. Of these, the private commercial school has not received adequate treatment⁷ and in so far as the principals, both of the private commercial and the private preparatory school, shared the private profit motive in the running of their schools, there is adequate justification for consideration of the private commercial school. Private progressive education, on the other hand, has received considerable attention recently from educational historians⁸ and will be touched on only lightly in Chapter 4.

In considering what form a history of nineteenth century private education should take, R. L. Archer's statement, quoted fully on page eight that no adequate history of the private school will ever be written, seems to be quantitatively conditioned: but it is possible to envisage such a history, written in qualitative terms. This would relegate in importance, the undoubtedly large number of individual private schools that have existed and vanished without trace and concentrate on giving a representative picture from what evidence exists in extant documents viz. trade and commercial directories, school prospectuses and advertisements, biographies and novels and in some few cases, school histories, both published and unpublished.

The problem posed by Archer could be overcome by either the adoption of the surveyor's method of triangulation by concentrating on certain schools and relegating the remainder to appendices⁹ or by an examination of all private and preparatory schools in one area, as a local history forming part of a future larger picture of private education in nineteenth century England. In the event, the thesis has taken on the geographical basis of both. An important feature is a local study of Worcestershire, Warwickshire and

Birmingham with Chapter 14 devoted especially to Leamington Spa and Malvern, which became centres of private educational provision in the nineteenth century. Further, counties in the North (Durham and Northumberland); in the South (Hampshire and Sussex); in the Midlands besides Worcestershire and Warwickshire (Oxfordshire and Berkshire); in the East (Cambridge and Norfolk) and in the West (Somerset), serve as a geographical basis for a sample method. Whenever a national survey is considered, e.g. Brougham's select committee returns of 1820, data relating to those counties give a fairly representative picture of the whole country, with the exception of London.¹⁰

This device allows, for example, the singling out, on an organised basis, of certain schools for detailed examination so that whatever form of private school is considered, the majority of examples cited are taken from these eleven county areas. To take but a few illustrations, in the chapter on the Dame School, the dame schools of Coventry serving the children of handloom weavers etc., in 1840, are examined, but only passing reference is made to the Manchester Statistical Society's findings on Dame Schools; in dealing with quasi-public schools, Bath College and Bloxham School are examined rather than Cranleigh and Epsom; and as for preparatory schools, very many of them are to be found in Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire.

An examination in depth of Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Birmingham is attempted by a detailed study of commercial and trade directories published between 1830 and 1912, while samplings from ^{some of} the other ~~main~~ counties for the years 1869 and 1894¹¹ serve as confirmation or otherwise of findings in the two West Midland counties.

Some unpublished theses, based on local studies have been written,¹² which have referred to nineteenth century private education: whilst some few

theses and studies have been largely concerned with private schools, either at a local or at a national level.¹³ This thesis differs from these in that

- a) the spectrum is much wider than most others¹⁴ and
- b) general biography, supported by a study of the whole of the D.N.B. up to 1951, has been taken as a main source, together with contemporary comment in nineteenth century journals.

In this way the schools are viewed from a more critical standpoint than if judgment on them were based on the undiluted claims to be found in newspaper advertisements.¹⁵ The fact, that to date, there has been only one thesis concerned with the English Preparatory School, justifies the writing of this present thesis and for its being written/in two volumes, the first serving largely as the background to the second.

Apart from widely tapping general biography for source material, use is made of hitherto unused material such as: the Frank Glover papers held by the Leamington Reference Library; private documents kindly supplied by some preparatory schools together with information elicited from a questionnaire sent to all existing preparatory schools known to have been in existence before 1892; finally the thorough search through the trade and commercial directories of two counties and the City of Birmingham from 1830 to 1912, as well as for the City of Durham from 1849 to 1905, plotting changes of owner and changes of address of private and preparatory schools, has not been attempted before.

Because new ground has been freshly ploughed, it has been necessary to adopt at times the role of recorder and relate briefly the salient features of some schools' existence, about which no history has so far been written, as in the cases of Trinity College, Stratford on Avon and Leamington College.

Percy Street Academy, Newcastle upon Tyne has been similarly treated because of its neglect by general historians of education. Of the other private schools like Old Hall School, Wellington, Wellington School, Somerset,¹⁶ and the Link School, Malvern,¹⁷ it is to be hoped that histories of them may be written at some time in the future.

CHAPTER 1

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN

ENGLISH EDUCATION¹

English private education has long suffered from a kind of 'Whig interpretation'² of English educational history.³ In the spirit of this interpretation, the significance of the English private school has not yet been fully recognised as a means of educating the nation in the nineteenth century: this has been done either by consciously traducing it or, by unconsciously ignoring it altogether.⁴ Here is to be found the raison d'être for this thesis. However, it in no way seeks to be partial by defending, in a partisan fashion,⁵ the repute of the various forms of private schools existing between 1830 and 1914. A fortiori, no attempt is made to link the study with existing relations between private and public education in the twentieth century, the bases of which are very different from those of the nineteenth.

To return to a more positive line of thought, we are concerned with institutions - private institutions of education which provided alternatives and additions to religious and/or endowed elementary schools or endowed grammar schools.

Three aspects of these private schools or institutions require immediate clarification or examination. viz. their 1. Definition;

2. Classification;

and 3. Estimation of numbers.

Definition

The term 'private school' will be used in a wider sense than that given in Appendix 11 (c) 13 (p.280) of the Hadow Report on The Education of the Adolescent (1926). This briefly defines a private school as one conducted for private profit. Such a definition would exclude proprietary schools which form an important part of this study. Further, some preparatory schools,⁶ which were not privately owned either by an individual or by two or

more partners, would also be excluded by such a definition, although forming an essential part of the thesis.

If Hadow's definition is too narrow for our purpose, the European use of the term is too wide. 'Private Schools' with a sectarian connection but founded 'publicly' rather than 'privately' are not included. For this reason Ampleforth (1802) and Downside (1814), Benedictine schools of the St. Lawrence and St. Gregory Communities respectively, are not considered; nor is Prior Park College, Bath⁷ (1830); Kingswood School, Bath (1748)⁸ and Queen's College, Taunton (1843)⁹ are not considered but Anglican schools like Bloxham (1860),¹⁰ St. Edward's School, Oxford (1863)¹¹ and Monkton Combe (1868)¹² are; and because of their more close sectarian connections, Bootham School, York (1823) and Leighton Park School (1890),¹³ Caterham School (1811)¹⁴ and Eltham College (1842)¹⁵ are excluded whereas Radley (1847)¹⁶ and Bradfield College (1850) are included.¹⁷

Although, therefore, 'private' denominational schools founded on the joint stock principle as proprietary schools do not come within the scope of this thesis, other proprietary schools,¹⁸ largely Anglican in worship, are considered because of their peculiarly nineteenth century form of private enterprise, despite the absence, in many cases, of a strong private profit motive.

Classification

Perhaps the difficult task of defining a private school in the nineteenth century ought not to be attempted without at the same time attempting to classify the schools in question. Here again difficulties arise. Although the English education system in the twentieth century, resulting from the piece-meal development in the nineteenth, is, to the ~~un~~ⁱⁿitiated, a jungle of educational terminology with schools and colleges having overlapping functions,

classified into several not altogether distinct types, the chaos in terminology in the nineteenth century was much greater. So great was the confusion that the Hadow Commission of 1924-26 felt constrained to include in its Report a comprehensive appendix¹⁹ on educational nomenclature to explain such terms as 'Preparatory School', 'Middle School' and 'Commercial School.'

Perusal of nineteenth century trade and commercial directories will throw up even more terms (mainly class-based) such as ladies' seminary or gentlemen's academy, or classical and commercial academy; occasionally the term 'Collegiate School' is used. Some were styled Middle Class Schools; others just schools. To add to the confusion, some were called preparatory schools which were run by possibly semi-literate dames²⁰ in back streets of Birmingham and other large and smaller towns and which had nothing to do with the emerging preparatory schools, which prepared boys from eight to fourteen for the Public Schools and the Royal Navy.

One further doubt or confusion has not been touched on. When was a school a school, or rather when did a group of pupils constitute a school? Did an Anglican clergyman taking four to six pupils in his country rectory constitute a private classical school? Or was he a private tutor? Or more pejoratively, was he a mere 'crammer'²¹? Such was the extent of the chaos of English education in the nineteenth century.

This chaos, reflected in contemporary educational nomenclature,²² was a product of an age in which laissez-faire principles were the prevailing philosophy. Throughout the nineteenth century private school teachers were suspicious of the State and jealously guarded their interests against possible invasion of their privacy. Towards the end of the century, however, 'Collectivism'²³ gathered momentum and gradually displaced earlier

laissez-faire principles in government. The triumph of Collectivism in education over the earlier philosophy, as characterised principally by the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902, was accompanied by some clarification of educational terminology, of which the Hadow Report's Appendix II forms a part.

This clarification in the early twentieth century, however, does not help the educational historian to classify the schools of the nineteenth century; although despite the diversity of educational institutions, existing then, it is possible to perceive a 'gestalt' of English private education which can be broken down into several segments. Accordingly Chapter 2 will deal with Dame Schools with some reference to common day schools; Chapter 3 Commercial and other private adventure schools; Chapter 4 'Progressive' schools; Chapter 5 private classical schools; Chapter 6 "Crammers" and Private Tutors; Chapter 7 Proprietary Schools and County Schools; Chapter 8 Quasi public schools²⁴ (both of a private and proprietary nature); Chapter 9 - 13 Preparatory Schools (including Choir Schools).

To return to the earlier task of definition of the private school for the purpose of this thesis, a private school will be taken to be one that was conducted either for private profit or on the joint stock principle but was not controlled by any sectarian society²⁵ and did not receive any grant aid from either the Committee of Council on Education²⁶ or later from the Board of Education.

Within this definition, it is clear that all endowed schools with very few exceptions²⁷ were not 'private' schools - the leading schools of this class,²⁸ were by the end of the century gaining universal recognition as public schools. It is not proposed to consider other major public schools which were created on the joint stock principle in the nineteenth century e.g. Cheltenham (1841), Marlborough (1843) Rossall (1844), Wellington (1853),

Clifton (1862) because they have been wholly or partly the study of others²⁹ already. For similar reasons the Woodard Society Schools will not be considered.³⁰

Other areas of private education, within the limits of the definition given, represent separate areas of study in their own right and will not therefore be considered. Among these topics, girls' education is perhaps the most important. For much of the nineteenth century there were probably more private schools for girls than for boys; despite this, no attempt will be made to assess nineteenth century education for girls, which until some time after 1869, (when the Endowed Schools Act released endowments for the provision of girls' schools), was largely provided in private schools. Some girls' private schools form part of the local surveys in Worcestershire and Warwickshire in Chapter 14 but only as part of private education provision and not as a study of female education per se.

P.N.E.U. Schools and Kindergartens, too, despite their obvious overlap with dame schools have been excluded. Finally all private professional schools such as Agricultural schools,³¹ Medical schools, Schools of Art,³² Law schools and Schools of Naval Architecture, together with private schools of an industrial character such as the colliery schools of Durham and Northumberland and factory schools in the textile counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire have been reluctantly left for others to study.

Estimation of Numbers

Although the nineteenth century was an age of statistical enquiry³³ into various facets of national life, including education, early statistics were sometimes not very reliable - for instance in the 1831 Census some of the acreage of England was given twice, which produced a discrepancy as large as Berkshire.³⁴

By the late 1840s and early 1850s, however, statistical techniques had improved. Nevertheless both R. D. Altick: The English Common Reader (1957) and E. G. West: Education and the State (1965) respectively, throw some doubt on the validity of some of the findings of Horace Mann in the Education Census of 1851 and of the two H.M.I.'s, Sir Joshua Fitch and Mr. Fearon, who carried out the survey of four industrial towns³⁵ in 1869, prior to Forster's Education Act.

The statistics which are available to the historian of private education are relatively few and because of the nature of some private schools, are not very reliable. Even by the end of the century there were considerable doubts as to the absolute numbers involved. Of the national surveys which examined elementary or popular education, those of Henry Brougham's Select Committee of 1820, of Horace Mann's Educational Census of 1851 and of the Newcastle Commission Report of 1861, are the main sources of information about numbers of private schools up to 1870.³⁶

The figures, given by Brougham's Select Committee, of 3,102 Dame Schools with 53,624 pupils, though surprisingly low, would seem to be in some accord with figures given by the 1851 Education Census where the number of private schools for all classes established before 1801 was 487; during the period 1801 - 1811 it was 443, and during 1811-1821, was 1,087.³⁷

By 1851 the number of private schools in England had increased dramatically. The table on page xx of the Census of Great Britain: Education England and Wales (1854) shows how dramatic was this increase³⁸ in private school provision for the 'lower orders' during the decade 1841 - 1851:-

TABLE 1

Date	Number of existing schools established at each period		
	Total	Public	Private
Before 1801	3,363	2,876	487
1801 - 1811	1,042	599	443
1811 - 1821	2,207	1,120	1,087
1821 - 1831	3,482	1,265	2,217
1831 - 1841	7,467	3,035	4,432
1841 - 1851	22,214	5,454	16,760
Date not specified	6,267	1,169	5,098
Total	46,042	15,518	30,524

Of the 29,425 private schools which sent in returns to Mann,³⁹ 13,879 were categorized as 'Inferior' consisting largely of Dame Schools.

Ten years later the Newcastle Commission Report (1861) produced figures⁴⁰ which appear to show yet another dramatic increase in the number of private elementary schools. Computations based on the one eighth survey of the population by Assistant Commissioners suggested that there were 34,412 private schools containing 860,304 pupils. The increase appears substantial in so far as in 1851 it was computed that some 12,000 (4,956 'superior' and 7,095 'middling schools') formed part of the 29,425, whereas the figure of 34,412 can be presumed to refer only in the main to dame schools and common day schools and possibly private schools of a slightly higher status, since Assistant Commissioners were asked to investigate private schools charging less than £1 per quarter.⁴¹ Schools charging more, were excluded from their inquiry.

R. L. Archer in his "Secondary Education in the nineteenth century (1966) refers to the difficulty of educational historians dealing adequately with the private secondary school in the nineteenth century. Of these he wrote, "Besides the endowed schools there were about 10,000 private schools. These no commission ever investigated and nothing like an adequate history of them will ever be told."⁴² Archer's estimate of 10,000 private schools seems to be a fairly conservative estimate if it is compared with estimates given in the Bryce Report on Secondary Education (1895) which accepted that there were between 10,000 and 15,000 private schools in England professing Secondary Education.⁴³ The Bryce Report figures were based mainly on the estimates of two private educationists who gave evidence to the Commissioners, viz. Charles Robert Hodgson Esq. B.A., Secretary of the College of Preceptors and W. Brown Esq. M.A., who was representing the Private Schools Association.

Mr. Hodgson thought "the number of schools in the different county directories was not far short of 16,000 but the number that might be properly called Secondary schools would be about 11,000 or 12,000."⁴⁴ Mr. Brown when questioned on this point mentioned even higher figures. He told the Commissioners that "Whitaker, ... gives 18,000 schools, nearly 19,000."⁴⁵ He had written to Whitaker's asking for the basis of such an estimate but had received no reply. However, he had made other enquiries in order to obtain a reasonably accurate estimate of private secondary schools in the country: for instance he learnt that "Messrs. Longmans, the publishers had a list originally of 16,000 which they cut down for trade purpose to 12,000."⁴⁶ Messrs. Allman, likewise, according to Mr. Brown, had a list of 11,000 schools.

Evidence gleaned by the Bryce Commission on the English Private School was obtained also from the following sources:-

- a) Questionnaire issued by the College of Preceptors to

which the College received approximately 1,900 replies.⁴⁷

- b) Enquiries by the Private Schools Association - 345 replies.
- c) Questionnaire issued by the Bryce Commission to nearly 1,000 private schools in selected districts which produced a 35% response.
- d) Visits by Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners to a few of these private schools.

On the strength of these enquiries the Commission claimed to have some "more or less definite information" on about 2,000 schools.

The most authoritative source of information about the numbers of private secondary schools is to be found in, to give its full title, the Return of the Pupils in Public and Private Secondary and other Schools (not being public elementary or Technical Schools) in England (excluding Monmouthshire) and of the teaching staff in such schools on 1st June 1897.⁴⁸

This comprehensive survey, conducted with the help of the Association of Head Masters of Preparatory Schools (A.H.P.S.⁴⁹), the College of Preceptors and the Incorporated Association of Private Schools, and supported by supplementary lists from Messrs. MacMillan & Co., and Messrs. Longman Green & Co.,⁵⁰ called into doubt all previous estimates as being too high. Returns were made in 1897 from 6,209 private schools (1,958 boys, 3,173 girls and 1,078 mixed schools). If this computation seems inordinately low, a contemporary publication The Record, the quarterly journal of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education (N.A.P.T.S.E.), did not think so. Its faith in these figures reaffirmed the sentiments

of the Committee of Council on Education for whom the returns had been made, when it (The Record) stated, "As these schools were taken from the lists of the College of Preceptors, educational publishers and local directories,⁵¹ and as very few failed to reply,⁵² it is quite safe to assume that the number of 7,000 would include all public schools and all private schools forming part of the local supply in the 'Secondary' sphere ... This is much under all previous estimates, which put the private schools at 10,000 at least and even as high as 15,000."⁵³

W. R. Lawson, too, writing ten years later in John Bull and his Schools (1908) was satisfied with the comprehensive nature of the 1897 Return when he wrote "it included practically every kind of upper class school in England and Wales (sic) not receiving State aid. It extends from Eton to the smallest private school of which any record can be obtained."⁵⁴

Preparatory Schools were included in the survey but private tutors were not. However, as the Return itself suggested, "no clear line can be drawn between the case of a gentleman who takes a number of private pupils into his house, and that of one who teaches a similar number of pupils, but calls his establishment a school."⁵⁵

Despite the faith shown by the Record and by W. R. Lawson in this Secondary School census of 1897, the introductory memorandum itself to the Return, written by G. W. Kekewich, Permanent Secretary of the Education Department (1890-1899 and the Board of Education 1899-1903), was not so sanguine about some of its aspects. On the question of classification of these schools he wrote "it is not possible with any approach to accuracy, to classify the whole number of schools public and private into grades of educational service ... The whole subject is exceedingly obscure."⁵⁶ (My italics) These honest doubts of George Kekewich go some way to determine the

limits to the value of other aspects including numbers⁵⁷ of this VOLUNTARY census. Statistics in Appendix 2 and Table 22, Chapter 14, suggest why the belated survey of secondary education in the nineteenth century seemed such a conservatively low estimate in view of earlier figures. The decline in numbers of private schools in Warwickshire (including Birmingham) and Worcestershire makes this fairly clear.

Uncertainty may exist in both the classification and the computation of private schools in the nineteenth century, but there are unlikely to be doubts about the general prosperity of the country as a whole during this period. This prosperity, which was necessary for creating a demand for education, to which private enterprise could respond with an adequate⁵⁸ supply, was neither uniform nor universal throughout the century. It was not uniform as W. W. Rostow has shown:⁵⁹ Britain's prosperity was not constant but was subject to trend rates of increase in both industrial production and national income. It was not universal since some sections of the populace⁶⁰ suffered badly from the economic consequences of industrialisation.⁶¹ The period 1830-1914 was one of boom and depression, of poverty for some and prosperity for others, but for those not burdened with a social conscience the total impression is one of unprecedented plenty for the nation.⁶² In a word, the nineteenth century was Britain's century in which, to quote James Morris's jingoistic phraseology, she ringed "the earth with railways and submarine cables."

What were the bases of this prosperity? Britain's industrial and commercial supremacy during much of the century was unchallenged, as has been demonstrated by A. Birnie,⁶³ S. G. Checkland,⁶⁴ Harold Perkin⁶⁵ and Eric J. Hobsbawm.⁶⁶ This industrial and commercial supremacy is perhaps best illustrated by statistics from these economic and social historians. S. G. Checkland, in his Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885,⁶⁷ compared imports and output of various commodities in 1815 and 1885 and showed some

astonishing contrasts viz.

TABLE 2

	<u>1815</u>	<u>1885</u>
Raw Cotton		
Imports (U.K.)	81 million lbs.	1,298 million lbs.
Raw Wool		
Imports (U.K.)	7.5 million lbs. (1816)	505 million lbs.
Pig Iron		
Output (U.K.)	.243 million tons (est. 1806)	7.4 million tons
Coal		
Output (U.K.)	13 million tons (est.)	159.4 million tons
Railways (G.B.)	-	16,594 miles
Steamships (U.K.)	-	3.9 million registered tons
Population		
(England and Wales	10,164,000 (1811)	25,974,000 (1881)

Although Harold Perkin's figures differ in detail from those of Checkland⁶⁸ he is largely in agreement on the high growth rate which according to him (Perkin) led to a fourteen fold increase in industrial production during the century. Hobsbawm, too, gives a general picture of continuing prosperity despite intermittent depressions (e.g. 1830 and 1840s) and financial crises (e.g. 1857 and 1866)⁶⁹ Birnie, who adopts a comparative method, shows in his statistical appendix the relative strengths of British and foreign commerce together with the wealth of chief European countries in 1914, as estimated by Sir Josiah Stamp.

The following tables, taken from this appendix, illustrate Britain's continuing strength:-

TABLE 3Foreign CommerceTotal of imports and exports in millions of pounds sterling

	<u>1874-5</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1895</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1913</u>
United Kingdom	656	584	657	914	1,186
France	296	287	287	380	607
Germany	300	290	353	719	1,021
Belgium	96	102	124	219	328
Russia	148	157	128	170	303

TABLE 4Wealth of Chief European Countries in 1914

	<u>Total</u>	<u>per head</u>
United Kingdom	£14,500,000,000	£318
France	£12,000,000,000	£303
Germany	£16,550,000,000	£244
Belgium	£1,200,000,000	£157
Russia	£12,000,000,000	£85

There is a danger of oversimplifying the very complex nature of Britain's economic growth in the nineteenth century by this eclectic approach to the problem but the main purpose is to establish the major fact of general economic growth leading to national prosperity and, in turn, to individual well-being which allowed Britons to raise their standard of living including their educational aspirations. W. W. Rostow summed up the situation well when

he wrote "one can trace in nineteenth century Britain a dynamic reinforcing process: the rise of an industrial and commercial middle class; its insistence on improved facilities for education."⁷⁰

Even during the period popularly known as the Great Depression from 1873-1914,⁷¹ Britain did not experience the violent slumps, as occurred abroad. Hobsbawm explains how although Britain's industry "sagged" during this period "her finance triumphed"; "her services as shipper, trader and intermediary in the world's system of payments became more indispensable. Indeed if London ever was the real economic hub of the world, the pound sterling its foundation, it was between 1870 and 1913."⁷² As A. L. Levine⁷³ suggests, Britain suffered only relative industrial decline. He demonstrated that the income of the United Kingdom rose from 4,500,000,000 £ in 1869 to 9,000,000,000 £ in 1910. For the same period, however, the national income of the U.S.A. rose from 6,200,000,000 £ to 27,200,000,000 £. Britain then, from the 1840s⁷⁴ onwards, when private education began to flourish, until the first world war, experienced prosperity as she had never experienced it before or has since. This led to a concurrent increase in education; but as far as private education was concerned, this was curtailed, as the forces of collectivism gradually gathered strength in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s.

J. A. Banks, in Prosperity and Parenthood (1954), his study of family planning among Victorian middle classes, is concerned to show how this national prosperity affected private individuals and their incomes. From Census Tables for 1851, 1861 and 1871⁷⁵ he is able to show a trend towards increased employment of domestic servants from 751,641 in 1851 to 962,786 in 1861, to 1,204,477 in 1871 - an increase of 28.1%, 29.3% and 56.6% respectively. For the same period the population increased only by 11.9%, 13.2% and 26.7% respectively. Furthermore his examination of taxpayers assessed under

Schedule E for incomes of £200 and over showed a similar upward trend of increasing personal wealth as shown below:-

TABLE 5⁷⁷

Showing increase in taxpayers earnings more than £200

For the period 1849-51	number of taxpayers of £200 + was	19,217
" " " 1859-61	" " " " " "	24,569
" " " 1869-71	" " " " " "	35,567 ⁷⁸

A more detailed study of those assessed under Schedule E for the years 1851 and 1871 show percentage increases through the whole salary ranges uniformly greater than the percentage increases in both occupied males and the total population: viz.

TABLE 6⁷⁹

	<u>1851</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
£200 -	8,885	17,529	97.3
£300 -	4,135	8,213	98.6
£400 -	1,993	4,092	105.3
£500 -	1,090	2,072	90.1
£600 -	603	1,253	107.8
£700 -	423	788	86.3
£800 -	293	624	112.6
£900 -	204	353	73.0
£1,000 -	1,125	1,832	62.9
£2,000 -	235	356	51.5
£5,000	58	80	37.9
All £200 and over	19,044	37,192	95.3
Occupied Males (ages twenty and over)	4,717,013	5,866,168	24.6
Total Population	17,927,609	22,712,266	26.7

The prevailing prosperity was but one condition favourable to the expansion of private education in the nineteenth century. Another was the improved travelling facilities which caused a boom in boarding schools and contributed in no small measure to the decline of the local endowed grammar schools.

The era of George Hudson (1800-1871), the railway tycoon, and Thomas Brassey (1805-1870) saw track mileage increase from 27 miles in 1825 to 6,621 in 1850, to 10,433 in 1860 and 15,537 in 1870. This fast mode of travel had several repercussions. Not least was the increase in the volume of letters sent per year, from 76 million in 1839 to 775 million in 1867. Such increased facilities made it easier to present and to pay school bills, although in many cases no doubt the pupils themselves acted as postman at the end of each term. More significantly, the London termini became focal points, as the century progressed, for boarding school boys to be escorted by an attendant usher back to school.

Not all schools were uniformly in favour of railways. H. Ellis in his British Railway History 1830-1876 (1954) relates how Eton was in the van of opposition to the building of a railway anywhere near the school.⁸⁰ Dr. Hawtrey, the Headmaster and Dr. Goodall the Provost, "foresaw Collegers and Oppidans alike rushing up to orgies in the Haymarket;"⁸¹ whereas Dr. Hawtrey felt that the railways "would destroy the entire classical tradition"⁸², Dr. Arnold of Rugby welcomed the London and Birmingham railway as a "destroyer of feudalism".⁸³

Although day schools gained little benefit from the railways, undoubtedly boarding schools gained enormously by the services; school prospectuses were always careful to note how close to the school was the nearest railway station.⁸⁴ One school, the Norfolk County School at North Elmham even had

a station built for the school in the school grounds.

One boarding and day school, however, which did suffer from the spread of railways was Dr. Cowan's School at Sunderland which from 1830 was known as the Grange School and gained a high reputation in the space of fifteen years 1830-1845.⁸⁵ It had been Dr. Cowan's custom to make incursions into Scotland to canvass for pupils so that his school became - along with Dr. Bruce's Academy in Percy Street, Newcastle upon Tyne - a leading centre for secondary education in the North East and in Scotland. With the coming of the railways (by about 1845 the North of England was linked with London and in 1847 Berwick was linked with Newcastle)⁸⁶ travelling from North to South became much easier. Boys, especially from Scotland, who had been wont to go to Dr. Cowan's school were now able to venture further South to Rugby, Harrow and Charterhouse. This factor, together with the increased competition from Durham Grammar School, only twelve miles away, caused Dr. Cowan to retire in 1846, even though a few years previously he had had so many applicants for entry to his school he had to turn them away because of insufficient accommodation. Such was the possible powerful effect of railways on schools.⁸⁷

Rev. Dr. J. S. Howson, Principal of Liverpool College (1849-1865) also found that the development of the railways was affecting his school adversely. Being a day school, it relied on the relative proximity of boys to it, but as the century progressed the prosperous businessmen of Liverpool were gravitating away from the centre towards the outer suburbs. Further, others were already sending their sons to public boarding schools, which were entering their golden age in the mid and late nineteenth century.⁸⁸ Howson acted energetically and persuaded the railway authorities to make concessions in fares to boys travelling from the suburbs daily. His action saved the school from further dwindling numbers as he "showered south-west Lancashire

with maps showing the railway lines and the principal residential centres, marked with circles concentric upon the college. With the maps went the information that cheap fares were available on the London and North Western, the Birkenhead, Lancashire and Cheshire Junction Railways, and all ferries but the Birkenhead which was soon expected to join in, together with the Lancashire and Yorkshire, the East Lancashire, and the Liverpool, Crosby and Southport railways."⁸⁹ This may seem dramatic but the whole episode does serve to shew how day schools were having to face stronger challenges to survival with the advent of the railways.⁹⁰

Other external factors which affected the supply and demand for private education in the nineteenth century were the religious revival⁹¹ in the early decades, and the Imperialist expansion at the end of the century. The one created a supply of clerical schoolmasters seeking to produce christian gentlemen and scholars;⁹² the other created a demand for some kind of special preparation for positions in the Home and Indian Civil Services. As the century progressed, patronage was being swept away under the increasing pressure of Benthamism⁹³ and the increasing use of competitive examinations.⁹⁴ As competition became keener it was found that attendance at a "crammer" tended to give a better chance for success, and so a demand was created which was readily met by a more than adequate supply. These national aspects of private educational supply and demand will be examined in chapters five and six.

Perhaps the most important factor in determining the nature of secondary education in nineteenth century England, was the prevailing philosophy of laissez-faire which stemmed from Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776) and was integral to the thinking of the Philosophical Radicals in the early nineteenth century.

Since the time of the Bates's Case (1670)⁹⁵ and Cox's Case (1700)⁹⁶ the right of the individual to own a private school had hardly been challenged, and from the time of the Grey Ministry (1830-1834) when Benthamite principles became more widely adopted in politics and government, the English private school was left to develop without State interference. The precept of the classical economists that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is achieved by each person striving after his own aims, was given full rein until that other principle of Benthamism began to assert itself - the principle of Utility. It is one of the chief paradoxes of English political science that Utilitarianism which embraced Adam Smith's doctrine of laissez-faire should also contain within it, the seed of late nineteenth century Collectivism which in education began with the setting up of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839. Later in the century it was the anti-Liberal tendency within the Liberal party which led Herbert Spencer to compile in The Man versus the State (1884) a long list of acts which ran counter to the principle of laissez-faire;⁹⁷ however, it was perhaps John S. Mill who appointed himself guardian of private education when he wrote in his essay On Liberty, "That the whole or any large part of the education of the people should be in State hands I go as far as anyone in deprecating."⁹⁸

By the 1880s the forces of Collectivism had really gained in strength in various fields of government activity not least in education where Matthew Arnold's plea for the country to organise its secondary education was gradually receiving attention. Already the Utilitarian Royal Commission on Education⁹⁹ had led to the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, and shortly Collectivism was to provide the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, to be administered by the newly created Benthamite institutions - the county

councils and county borough councils. As this Collectivism advanced, laissez faire principles receded and accordingly the supply of private schools was reduced as it came into competition firstly with endowed schools and then with government aided schools.

Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations unwittingly summed up, in the eighteenth century, the position of the private school compared with the 'public' school at the end of the nineteenth, when he wrote:

"Their [endowed schoolmasters'] salaries, too, put the private teacher, who would pretend to come into competition with them, in the same state with a merchant who attempts to trade without a bounty in competition with those who trade with a considerable one. If he sells his goods at nearly the same price, he cannot have the same profit, and poverty and beggary at least, if not bankruptcy and ruin, will infallibly be his lot. If he attempts to sell them much dearer, he is likely to have so few customers that his circumstances will not be much mended."¹⁰⁰

G. Kitson Clark, in his Ford lectures delivered at Oxford University in 1960, which forms the book entitled the Making of Victorian England (1962), inveighs against the facile generalisations sometimes made about nineteenth century England. The term "Victorian" is a loose one as is also the term "nineteenth century", to describe the years from 1800-1899. There is a vast difference between the early and later Victorian periods. As Kitson Clark so graphically contrasts them;

"It starts with bishops in cauliflower wigs and the great ones of the world driving in coaches with footmen behind, it ends with expensive people driving in motor cars and a leader of the House of Commons who rode a bicycle; it starts with gentlemen fighting duels, it ends with gentlemen playing golf."¹⁰¹

Similarly radical changes took place in English private schools over the same period. The Yorkshire schools of the early nineteenth century, which Dickens attacked so bitterly in his portrayal of Dotheboys Hall¹⁰² contrast strongly with the Dragon preparatory school under 'Skip'¹⁰³ Lynam in the setting of Zuleika Dobson's, Oxford.

The term 'middle class', too, needs to be treated with some care in so far as it covers a wide spectrum of society "from the wealthy entrepreneur to the Dickensian clerk."¹⁰⁴ Similarly there is a need in examining English private schools for the middle classes, to recognise obvious grades and to distinguish between, for example, the private classical and commercial school or the academy which are likely to be higher in social status than a plain commercial school, in so far as a classical education was the mark of a gentleman in nineteenth century England.

In referring to the need for 'Historical Revision' Kitson Clark saw that one of the most important tasks was "to rescue real men and women who have been shrunk by historians into the bloodless units of a generalisation, or have become the ugly depersonalised caricatures of partisan legend or modern prejudice."¹⁰⁵ In the same way, it is part of the function of this thesis to examine long accepted myths about private schools which have been lodged in the fabric of the history of education like so many fossilised ammonites.

CHAPTER 2

THE DAME SCHOOL

Perhaps more than any other form of private school the dame school has suffered from the 'Whig interpretation' of educational history. In his History of Education 1780-1870 (1960), Professor Brian Simon ignores the dame school altogether and alludes only to unspecified private schools. J. W. Adamson, in his Short History of Education (1922) and English Education 1789-1902 (1930), hardly touches on this so common form of private education except in connection with the Newcastle Commission; Mary Sturt, with a promising title of The Education of the People (1967), turns to the first Report of the Manchester Statistical Society (1834) for evidence on the dame school and not surprisingly in a report concerned with the deplorable condition of contemporary Manchester, finds ample comment on the poor state of these schools.¹ S. J. Curtis in his compendious History of Education in Great Britain (1967)² devotes no more than two sentences to the general background of the dame school and supports his judgment with five too often quoted lines from Shenstone's The Schoolmistress (1742)³ he has very little to say about the nineteenth century dame school except to quote from the Newcastle Report (1861) (p.251). In S. J. Curtis's and M. E. A. Boulwood's Introductory History of English Education since 1800 (1962) four sentences only are devoted to the dame school⁴: only H. C. Barnard, in his Short History of English Education 1760-1944 (1957),⁵ attempts to examine the dame school in the short space that can be given in a general history of English education, covering nearly two hundred years. His verdict on the dame school is fairly ambivalent but his last word on the subject is a reference to the Newcastle Report which found dame schools "generally very inefficient."⁶

Some official reports on education which concerned themselves inter alia with dame schools were most critical of them.⁷ The substance of their criticism was that:

- i) the dame schools were run by semi-literate or illiterate women, more often than not senile and/or widowed;
- ii) in consequence, the standard of education was either very low or nonexistent;
- iii) the premises in which such schools were held were ill-ventilated, often filthy and totally unsuited for education;
- iv) too often the dame did not devote her undivided attention to the children in her care.

In fiction, too, the dame schools at the hands of Dickens, as exemplified by Mr. Wopsle's great aunt in Great Expectations (1860/1), receive very one sided treatment in their portrayal. In real life they have been repeatedly criticised as being no more than "baby-minding institutions"⁸ which were largely swept away by the tide of educational reform in 1870, soon dwindling in numbers and ceasing to exist thereafter.

It is not the intention of this chapter to defend the many thousands of dame schools in the nineteenth century which undoubtedly were travesties of schools even by general nineteenth century standards and which official reports sought to expose. It is rather, to put forward a series of hypotheses which may serve as a basis for investigation and discussion. These hypotheses are:-

1. That the concept of 'dame school' as being concerned with only one section of the population⁹ has been too narrow and that the term outside educational historiography has been used to denote schools providing education for all classes, including the upper middle-class. In other words,

the Dame School is a generic term which can be applied to certain schools run by women which are based on the private profit motive. Such schools exist on a 'class continuum' and are not confined to one distinct sector of the population. The corollary of this would allow them to be boarding schools in some cases.¹⁰

2. That although the State had a vested interest in the demise of the lower-class dame school, not all official criticism about it has been adverse.
3. That the charges made against popular dame schools do not admit of universal application and that in some cases a useful educational grounding was gained at such schools.
4. That in many cases where adverse criticism has been made the criteria adopted in judging the dame schools have not been altogether apposite.
5. That a mistaken concept has been held of the educational function of the dame school and that insufficient attention has been paid to the distinction between rural and urban dame schools.
6. That the 1870 Education Act did not 'kill' the dame school but that it continued to survive; rather, the stereotype of the poorest sort perished before the effects of the Chadwickian and Simonian reforms,¹¹ by failing to keep up with higher standards of health and hygiene and new concepts of environment.

Each of these hypotheses will be examined in turn.

1. The dame school continuum

Apart from J. Dover Wilson's The Schools of England (1928)¹² possibly the only other 'educational history' which even acknowledges the existence of middle-class dame schools is David Wainwright's Liverpool Gentlemen.¹³ These schools,¹⁴ of which there were about a hundred in Liverpool in the 1840s, were attended by the sons of merchants and professional men. So great is this lacuna that even J. H. Higginson in his unpublished thesis The Dame Schools of Great Britain,¹⁵ does not allude to the wider class concept of this term.

Evidence from general biography and from the Dictionary of National Biography (D.N.B.) shows that the term 'dame school' could be used to describe not only the educational cellars¹⁶ in dingy back streets of industrial towns but also to denote early health-conscious, boys' preparatory schools. Dame schools were to some, in the 1840s, either embryonic pre-preparatory or preparatory schools for giving boys from the upper middle and possibly upper classes, a basic grounding before they went on to either a public school or another preparatory school taking older boys. Evidence for the pre-preparatory nature of some dame schools is to be found in the Taunton Report Volume 7 when Mr. H. A. Gifford reporting on Surrey and Sussex wrote "When the Universities throw the blame of their backwardness upon the public schools, and the public schools upon the preparatory schools, it is not astonishing to find that these in their turn throw it upon the dames' school."¹⁷

Taking examples from the D.N.B. of dame/preparatory schools for boys, Sir Frederick W. Duke (1863-1920),¹⁸ an Indian Civil Servant and a son of a Scottish clergyman, was educated at a dame school at Norwood. Sir Frederick Hopkins (1861-1947),¹⁹ biochemist, was the son of a businessman and attended

a dame school at Eastbourne (a town well favoured by preparatory schools) before going onto the City of London School. An earlier pupil of a dame school was Sir Sidney Waterlow (1822-1906),²⁰ 1st Baronet and Lord Mayor of London, who went first to a dame school in Worship Street, Finsbury,²¹ then to a boarding school at Brighton. Henry, 1st Viscount Chaplin (1840-1923),²² politician and son of a clergyman who was also "Lord of the Manor" (a "squarson"), "was sent at the age of nine to a dame school kept by a Mrs. Walker at Brighton [another favoured town for preparatory schools] before going on to Harrow (1854-1856)".

There are many examples of dame/preparatory schools to be found in general biography and selection, therefore, becomes a necessity.²³ Sir William Forwood (b.1840) describes, in his Recollections of a busy life (1910), how as a son of a prosperous Liverpool merchant he was sent to a dame school in Kensington for two years. Sir G. William des Voeux, son of an aristocratic and Huguenot clergyman from Leamington attended a boarding school, kept by a Miss Thrupp²⁴ at Moseley, near Birmingham, before going on to Charterhouse.

Sir Walter Besant²⁵ attended a school kept by three sisters,²⁶ daughters of a retired naval surgeon: in his autobiography, he describes the eldest sister as a "clever, thoughtful and kindly woman."²⁷ The famous Victorian preacher Charles H. Spurgeon, first attended a dame school kept by a Mrs. Cook of Stambourne, Essex, where he gained a good grounding which enabled him to work to the head of the class in his next school, "a good middle class classical and commercial school," belonging to Mr. Henry Lewis of Colchester.²⁸

Another cleric who attended a dame school, but one of a higher social status, was the Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton, successively Headmaster of

Haileybury and Eton. In his Memories and Hopes (1925) he states that he was sent to "a preparatory dame's school in Brighton kept by Mrs. W."²⁹ According to him there were some five hundred such schools for boys and girls³⁰ in the town. Mrs. W.'s school was one of the best.³¹ This may have been the school kept by a Mrs. Wallace³² which Bishop John Wordsworth attended as a boy in 1853. The future bishop began to learn both Latin and Greek³³ here and acquired a sound knowledge of the Bible and Church principles.³⁴

The Misses Elizabeth and Diana Hill kept another wellknown dame/preparatory school at 6, Douro Villas, Cheltenham. According to Professor Sir Charles Oman³⁵ who went to this school in January 1867, "it was a very good school" and he "received an excellent grounding not only in all English subjects but in Latin and Greek." He regarded Miss Elizabeth as a "good classical scholar."³⁶ The sisters were aided both by three assistant governesses and by masters brought in for senior classes. Among other pupils at this school were E. Maclaghan, later Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen who, in his Memories (1925), recalls how the Hill sisters kept a hundred boys³⁷ "in terrific order."

Randolph S. Churchill relates in the biography, Winston S. Churchill Vol. 1 Youth 1874-1900 (1966), how his father was sent to a Brighton School also, to the Misses Thomson, of 29 and 30 Brunswick Road. They were two kindly and sympathetic elderly spinsters. Here the young Winston before going to Harrow studied French and History, read much poetry, and went riding and swimming.

If Churchill's Brighton School days were happy, Frederick Locker-Lampson, earlier in the century was not so fortunate: he was "marched off to a preparatory school on Clapham Common, kept by a Miss Griffin who "had

all the qualities of a kitchen poker, except its occasional warmth ... she had a kick even in her caress" ... and ... "was severely Calvinistic."³⁸

Perhaps the two best accounts of this type of Victorian dame school are to be found in Arthur Waugh's A Victorian Dame School, in the Fortnightly Review Vol. 127 January - June 1930, and in the recently (1970) published Were those the days? by H. C. Barnard.

Arthur Waugh attended the school at 10, Lansdowne Crescent, Bath of Miss Roberts, who had inherited it from her mother.³⁹ She kept a very successful establishment which contained five dormitories over which she maintained firm discipline. She was assisted by a Miss Ellen Barnes whose hands in winter were protected by black lace mittens [a very damely touch]. Miss Barnes' teaching methods were old-fashioned but she insisted on precise forms of speech. Like many dame schools of this character, the senior classics was taught by a visiting master.

H. C. Barnard, in his Were those the days?, describes the curriculum and teaching method of the dame school he attended in N.W. London, which was kept by a sister of "a well-known publisher of Evangelical disposition." This school, which had a brass plate at the front gate, indicating a 'School for the sons of gentlemen',⁴⁰ used copy books for handwriting practice in which maxims like 'Honesty is the best policy' were written in copperplate hand. Arithmetic was worked out on slates which entailed unhygienic use of sponge and mouth to secure erasure of previous figures. Cornwell's Geography and Mrs. Markham's History of England were used, together with Mangnall's Questions. The learning by heart of spellings,⁴¹ tables, Kings of England etc., took up much of their time.

Although the examples given have been cited from different periods during 1830-1914, some earlier and some later, they all have one factor in

common - the schools in question were recognised almost certainly by contemporaries as dame schools or preparatory schools, which terms were used almost interchangeably at one end of the dame school continuum.

With this shift in the class basis for the use of the term 'dame school,' it is not difficult to see that it could also be synonymous with the terms 'ladies school' and 'ladies seminary' which the trade and commercial directories used to describe middle-class girls schools. Such schools were run by 'genteel' ladies for whom, apart from marriage, there were few occupational opportunities.

One example of the synonymous use of the terms 'dame' and 'ladies seminary' is to be found in the case of Angela Brazil.⁴² In the D.N.B. she is referred to as having attended a dame school, but in her My own school days (1925) she describes her attendance at a 'seminary' - which she claims was "the best in the neighbourhood," - called the Turrets, in Wallasey, belonging to Miss Allison and her sister Fanny. The Misses Alison were "ladies of great refinement and beautiful in speech and manners." Their teaching methods, however, consisting of rote learning and regurgitation, were poor, by twentieth century standards. Teaching method apart, such comment on their refinement give some idea of the middle-class nature of the establishment, but the significant point is the seeming interchangeability of terms to describe this school.⁴³

2. Some contrary official views

So strongly entrenched are the condemnations of the private dame school for the 'lower orders' that it seems almost like heresy to suggest that anything could be said in its defence. This almost complete condemnation is based largely on two sources:

- a) The Newcastle Commission Report (1861)

- b) The annual reports of H. M. Inspectorate to the
Committee of Council on Education (1839-1899)

Typical of contemporary 'reverberative' criticism is that of Professor A. M. Ross who wrote on the Education of the Working Classes in 1969 in the first volume of the Victoria County History of Middlesex. Ross devotes only two paragraphs to the dame school but in these paragraphs he leaves no room for doubt about the dames' schools' relative worthlessness.⁴⁴

Further, such is the generally accepted weight of evidence in the Newcastle Report against the dame school that it seems Prudence guided J. H. Higginson in his Dame Schools of Great Britain to devote only half a page of his thesis to this cardinal report.⁴⁵

It is readily admitted that many dame schools were unworthy to be called educational in any sense of the word, certainly by twentieth century standards; but the purpose in hand is to test the second hypothesis that by no means all official statements regarding dame schools in the Newcastle Report and H.M.I. Reports were devoted to their denigration. If this is so it follows that any generalisations need to be recognised as such⁴⁶ - i.e. they are of limited application.

As early as 1840 the Rev. John Allen H.M.I., reporting to the Committee of Council on Education was able to distinguish between two types of lower class dame school, and of the better type he wrote:

"those kept by persons fond of children, and of cleanly and orderly habits, - and these, however scanty may be their means of imparting instruction (the mistresses confining themselves almost entirely to teaching a little reading and knitting or sewing) cannot altogether fail at attaining some of the highest ends of education, as far as regards the

formation of character."⁴⁷

It was in the decade following this Report that, as noted in Horace Mann's Survey of 1851,⁴⁸ there was an efflorescence in dame school and common day school education with almost a 400% increase in the number of schools.⁴⁹ Mann received returns from 29,425 private schools which were divided into three categories: Superior, Middling, and Inferior. In the 'Inferior' category, principally dame schools, there were 13,495. Mann noted that of these 708 made a mark instead of signing their return forms. This represents approximately 5% which is not statistically significant unless more is known about the literacy level of the other 95%.⁵⁰ Although in the twentieth century it seems unthinkable that a 'teacher' should be in such a state of intellectual poverty, Mann also noted that of the 'public' school numbers 35 also could not sign their names. This was approximately 0.2% of the total number of 'public' school teachers.

In volume four of the Newcastle Report, which is mainly concerned with Education in France, Holland, Switzerland and Germany, there is a brief report by the Rev. J. S. Howson, Principal of the Liverpool Collegiate Institution,⁵¹ which he had prepared in the first place at the request of the Social Science Association.⁵² In his investigation, Howson came across "contradictory opinions." He wrote "the tendency of those connected with the Privy Council will be to under-rate the small private schools." After admitting that although private schools are "much below the others in organization and efficiency"⁵³ (My Italics) he notes that "still, it is true that dames' schools and other small establishments for education are often unduly depreciated."⁵⁴ This point is reinforced when an examination of Volume six of the report, containing the Minutes of evidence, shows that individuals who were personally questioned by the Commissioners were heavily weighted in

favour of state officials and public societies. Only two represented the interests of the private sector.⁵⁵ No dames were questioned, such would be their too humble station in life.

This lack of representation of the private sector is surprising in one respect since the Education Census of 1851 showed that nearly two-thirds of schools in England were private schools. However, this deficiency was partly made good by the careful investigation by the Assistant Commissioners into these private schools. As instructed by F. Stephen, the Secretary to the Commission, the Assistant Commissioners or their clerks personally superintended the completion of return forms in dame school cases.⁵⁶

The Rev. James Fraser,⁵⁷ was one of six assistant commissioners who reported in Volume two of the Newcastle Report on the condition of dame and other private schools. Part of his area covered the three Poor Law Unions of Chard and Yeovil in Somerset and Upton on Severn in Worcestershire. The following table is abstracted from Table V of the Report (Vol. II p. 30) and shows the relative numbers and sizes of public and private schools in those three Unions.

TABLE 7

Union	No. of Public Schools	No. of Children in them	No. of Private Schools	No. of Children in them
Chard	26	1,880	39	750
Yeovil	24	1,419	57	1,339
Upton on Severn	20	1,565	22	369

This table is typical of the national picture i.e. although there are more private schools, fewer children attend them overall so that the average size of each private school is much smaller than the public school: for

instance, in the twelve unions⁵⁸ covered by James Fraser's Report there were 402 public schools educating 23,589 children, with an average of 58.6 in each. The average for the private schools was 17.6 each.

Fraser reported impartially on the Dame School and saw that it had a useful function, especially where there was a shortage of infant schools:

"the dame picks up these children at their parents' door; gathers them by the dozen or the half dozen in her humble kitchen; does not attempt mental development, or object lessons, or to give them ideas of form and colour, or the abstract properties of number, but is content to teach them to say their catechism, to read in the Testament, to spell words of three or four syllables, and to repeat the multiplication table. I admit that much of this is taught mechanically; that there is very little awakening of intelligence; but I require it to be admitted also, that even a mechanical power of reading and spelling is not a bad foundation on which to build the subsequent intellectual superstructure. It is almost the universal opinion of parents that children are taught to read quicker and better in dames' schools than in the lower classes, (particularly if left to the charge of monitors) of public schools. I continually found in the private schools young children who had been removed from the public schools, because, as the dames informed me, 'they learnt nothing there.' "⁵⁹

Of the common day schools in Fraser's area and which cannot be left out of consideration altogether,⁶⁰ he found that "the great majority of them - the exceptions are quite rare - are kept by most respectable people

in point of character; some of them by very admirable men and women."

In gaining these impressions of dame and common day schools, Fraser visited something like two hundred in his area. He summed up his findings by suggesting that "there exist so many useful and even efficient schools, that it would be both unfair and untrue to throw them as a class under any one general term of description."⁶¹

The Rev. Thomas Hedley, Vicar of Masham, reported on agricultural districts in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.⁶² He was not so well disposed to private schools as was Fraser, as is shown in some of his comments about common day schools.⁶³

He had to admit, however, that "the reading in dame schools is often tolerably good ... they do some good in the service of education."⁶⁴

Patrick Cumin⁶⁵ reported on the maritime districts of Bristol and Plymouth, and in the process he compared Infant Schools with dame schools. Of these schools he wrote "It is quite true that there are some excellent dames' or women's schools. I have myself visited some of them. The best dame schools are able to hold their own against competition from Infant schools - I readily understand why parents prefer to send their children to the best sort of dames' school rather than to the public infant school."⁶⁶ In fairness he did note, too, several weaknesses common to many dame schools

viz.

- i) the conducting of school in one room, usually
a living room
- ii) the congestion and lack of ventilation in very
many cases.

Appendix J to Mr. Cumin's Report, which consists of answers given by Rev. G. W. Procter, a parish clergyman, to questions on dame schools in his parish, is also revealing. Mr. Procter had had twelve years' experience

as a parish priest in a poor parish so that his observations were based on experiences over a relatively long period of time. Of the qualifications and aptitudes of dames for teaching he thought that "they generally can read with fluency and ease the Gospels, or the lessons in the Universal Spelling book, or in Mavor's⁶⁷ spelling book, or the like. A few can write a fair hand and do write letters for their neighbours at 2d., or for a long letter 3d., or for an Admiralty letter 6d." Some could work sums involving compound division; almost all with exception were "good plain sewers and plain knitters."⁶⁸ To the two questions 'What is the quality of instruction given by the dames as regards reading and spelling?' and 'What is the quality of instruction in arithmetic and writing?' he replied that a child of seven, coming to the parish school after a dame school, can generally read a chapter in the gospels with a little help (although spelling is not satisfactory) and that it would be better if the dames left Arithmetic and writing alone and concentrated on reading and memory work in which they achieve success.⁶⁹ He noted, too, that the more successful dames have pupils whose parents are "shopkeepers, W.O.'s in H.M. Navy, or leading men in H.M. Dockyard."⁷⁰

These dames were at the upper end of the social scale of lower class dame schools; others were not so fortunate: for example, some of the poor class dame schools in the district of St. Pancras examined by Mr. Josiah Wilkinson, were in a sorry plight as indicated by the table on the following page.⁷¹

Even in this most unpromising of backgrounds, Assistant Commissioners received surprises. Wilkinson refers, at one stage in his report,⁷² to several private masters and dames holding two posts.⁷³ One dame "broke up her school for a fortnight whilst she was absent professionally" but on

TABLE 8

A Sample of Poor Class Dame Schools in St. Pancras District

Age of Mistress	Spinster or Widow	Receiving Weekly from the Parish	Scholars fees	Average number attending daily	Ages of Scholars	Remarks
84	-	2/6d. + 1 loaf	3d.	6	Under 9	Kept school 18 years. Is very deaf and feeble*
73	-	2/- + 1 loaf	2d.	12	Under 9	Kept school 6 years. Very deaf
72	Spinster	2/6d.	3d.	5	Under 10	Is very infirm
50	Spinster	-	3d & 4d.	16	Under 8	Kept school 16 years*
30	Married	-	2d & 3d.	7	Under 9	Kept school 12 months
59	Widow	-	3d & 4d.	17	Under 10	Kept school 13 months
50	Spinster	-	3d, 4d, 6d.	20	Under 10	Kept school 2 years
60	Widow	-	3d.	4	Under 7	Kept school 6 months
48	Widow	-	6d.	28	Under 12	Kept school 7 years*
68	Widow	-	2d & 3d.	18	Under 10	Kept school 13 years*
65	Spinster	-	2d & 3d.	20	Under 10	Kept school 35 years*
48	Widow	-	3d.	9	Under 5	Kept school 2½ years
47	Spinster	-	9d & 1/-	20	Under 12	Kept school 20 years*
22	Spinster	-	2d, 3d, 4d.	21	Under 11	Kept school 5 years*
50	Married	-	3d & 6d.	15	Under 10	Kept school a few months only
49 & 60	Married	Received bread and relief at workhouse occasionally	2d & 3d.	8	Under 9	-
-	Married	-	2d & 3d.	11	Under 8	The man in the workhouse

* almost 50%, among a group of poor schools, in existence for 5 years or more.

Wilkinson's second visit he found "the school comprising seventeen children, all under seven, a favourable and clean specimen of a dame School. The woman herself wrote a good strong hand, and conversed in an intelligent manner, and the children spelt and answered questions in their tables very fairly."⁷⁴ He goes on to make a general comment on this aspect of dame schools where the environment has been most unpromising: "I have been surprised at the capacity for teaching with (sic) which I have met, where the antecedents have been so unfavourable. In one of the most wretched corners of St. George in the East I found the widow of a petty warrant naval officer keeping a mixed school of thirty-five, from six to twelve, in perfect order, and the reading, writing, and arithmetic were all up to the average of an ordinary inspected public school."⁷⁵

Two further aspects of dame schools require attention:-

- i) Attendance record
- ii) Continuity of the schools.

Returns from the ten sample districts of the Assistant Commissioners show that attendance at private schools (including dame schools) was better than at any other type of elementary school. Whereas the percentage of pupils in average daily attendance was 84.8% in the case of private schools, it was only 76.1% in public weekday schools, 74.2% in Sunday schools and 67.6% in evening schools.⁷⁶

One of the most serious charges made against nineteenth century private schools in general (and one which is studied in more detail in Appendix 2) is that they were ephemeral. Mr. Fraser⁷⁷ is quoted on this question in Volume One of the report,⁷⁸ but it is Dr. Hodgson who has positive views to express and who is quoted in general educational histories. If he is positive, however, he is also ambivalent. It is again part of the 'Whig Interpretation'

that his words which express one view, like his views on the dames themselves ("None are too old ...), should be as familiar as a Shakespearean soliloquy. It is too often quoted that "When other occupations fail, even temporarily, it is an ever ready resource to open a school. No capital is required, no outlay beyond the cost of a ticket to hang in the window"⁷⁹ but even Dr. Hodgson had to admit that "several schools, even of the rank of dame schools, had existed for many years, and in some cases had passed through different hands in hereditary descent."⁸⁰

References to dame schools in annual reports of H.M.I.'s during the period 1871-1884 are very scattered and are concerned with reporting on the survival of the dame school, which question will be examined later.⁸¹

They are generally hostile in their comment but at least one, Mr. Elliott, who reported on the Lincolnshire district in 1881, recognised the possibility of the dame school having a useful function as had the Rev. James Fraser.⁸² He wrote "There may be isolated instances where very young children cannot walk the necessary distance to the nearest recognised school, and where a dame's school may be of some little use."

Sixty years previously Brougham had been more positive in recognising the utility of dame schools, "on account of the regularity and discipline they inculcated."⁸³ It is significant that he admitted this at the very time he was introducing a measure in the Commons to "better the education of the poor in England and Wales."⁸⁴

3. Some dame school alumni

It is always a difficult task to give due credit to schools for past pupils' successes in later life. There is a tendency for example for public schools to take credit for achievements of boys, the grounding for which was probably gained at the preparatory school.⁸⁵ The task is even more difficult

when dealing with cases of dame school boys who in later life have achieved success.⁸⁶

Sir George Williams (1821-1905), Founder of the Y.M.C.A., for example, attended an "old-fashioned" dame school kept by a Mrs. Timlett in Dulverton High Street, before going off at an early age to Gloyne's Grammar School at Tiverton.⁸⁷ Nothing can safely be deduced from this except perhaps negatively that his experience at the dame school did not preclude his entry into the grammar school.⁸⁸ Other men who achieved fame but about whose early school days at a dame school little is known, include Sir Josiah Mason (1795-1881);⁸⁹ Henry Fawcett (1833-1884)⁹⁰ the son of a draper, who attended a dame school in Salisbury owned by a Mrs. Harris; and H. G. Wells (1866-1946), another draper's son who began in 1871/72 to learn his letters at a small dame school kept by a Miss Knott in 8, South Street, Bromley.⁹¹

Several famous Victorians, exemplars possibly of Samuel Smiles 'Self Help' (1859), who began their lives in humble surroundings, received their first education at the hands of dames. Mandell Creighton (b.1843), Bishop of London,⁹² whose father was in the timber trade in Carlisle, was sent at an early age to a dame's school kept by a Miss Ford whose disciplinary methods were strange.⁹³ Creighton learned to read at this school and became absorbed in books from then on.

George A. Henty (b.1832) the boys' story writer was another who found a love of reading at a dame school. He came of middle class parentage but before going to Westminster in 1846 he attended a dame school where according to G. Manville Fenn,⁹⁴ his biographer, Henty acquired a habit of reading voraciously. Another man of literature who learnt his letters at a dame school, was William Barnes the Dorset poet.⁹⁵

Another famous Victorian L. Forbes Winslow M.B., D.C.L., L.L.D., (b.1844),⁹⁶

the expert on criminal lunacy, attended a dame school in Hammersmith Road, before going on to King Edward VI School, Berkhamsted.⁹⁷

One who was grateful for the education he received was Thomas Catling (b.1838), one time editor of Lloyd's Weekly paper. In his My Life's Pilgrimage (1911) he described how before graduating to a National School, his first lessons were "derived from an ancient dame, whose chief difficulty was to keep boys and girls apart in her humble cottage. She praised and encouraged my progress with arithmetic,⁹⁸ giving me also credit for being a fairly docile pupil."⁹⁹

Montague Burrows, Chichele Professor of Modern History and Fellow of All Souls (b.1819) had cause, too, to be grateful to an old dame who kept a school and looked after the turnpike gate at Sidmouth. Despite her dual occupation which practice had its critics in the Newcastle Report, Burrows made excellent progress. It might be said that he made progress in spite of the dame rather than because of her, but there was no doubt in Burrows mind as to where the credit lay. In his autobiography¹⁰⁰ he wrote:

"What I most thank her for was the thorough knowledge of spelling that I acquired from her by the old-fashioned way of columns of words, learnt perfectly by heart."¹⁰¹

On the other hand, one who was critical of dame school teaching was Joseph McCabe, the biographer of George J. Holyoake. In Volume I of his Life and Letters of G. J. Holyoake, McCabe criticised dames for their ignorance and their tending to domestic chores whilst attempting to teach.

Jesse Collings (1831-1920)¹⁰² was another politician who received his early education at a dame school, in Devon. His parents paid 2d. a week for him to learn with twenty other pupils at the feet of the dame who "taught in her kitchen, and at the same time attended to the cooking of her

modest dinner."¹⁰³ Philip Snowden (b.1864), son of a Yorkshire Sunday School superintendent, in his autobiography (1934), writes about his own school days and those of his father. Although he himself went to a common day school in the village, his father attended one of two or three dame schools in the Yorkshire village where he learnt to read.¹⁰⁴

It is perhaps Thomas Cooper (b.1805), the Chartist and autodidact, who attended a dame school in Leicester, who has passed on to posterity the best testimonial for a dame school. In his autobiography¹⁰⁵ he writes,

"I was sent to a dame's school, near at hand, kept by aged

Gertrude Aram: 'Old Gatty', as she was normally called.

Her schoolroom - that is to say, the large lower room of her two storeyed cottage - was always full: and she was an expert and laborious teacher of the act of reading and spelling. Her knitting, too - for she taught girls as well as boys - was the wonder of the town."

Charles Abbot (1762-1832) was an earlier public figure whose early education was never forgotten. He began life as the son of a hairdresser and wigmaker in Canterbury and rose to become 1st Baron Tenterden and Lord Chief Justice.¹⁰⁶ Undoubtedly his later education at King's School Canterbury and Oxford¹⁰⁷ influenced this meteoric rise but the early foundations were laid in a dame school. In John Timbs' Schooldays of Eminent Men (1858), Lord Campbell is quoted as saying of Abbot: "the scrubby little boy who ran after his father, carrying for him a pewter basin, a case of razors, and a hairpowder bag through the streets of Canterbury, became Chief Justice of England."¹⁰⁸

One feature of nineteenth century dame schools, but much more common in 'ladies schools' or 'ladies seminaries,' was the practice of spinster

sisters owning them. William Garnett (b.1850) the son of a Portsmouth auctioneer and later secretary of the L.C.C. Technical Education Board, attended such a school when the family moved to London in 1854. His father took a house in New North Road and the young William attended a dame school in this road kept by three sisters.¹⁰⁹ W. J. Birkbeck (b.1859), the Russian scholar of Magdalen College Oxford, also attended a dame school kept by the Misses Ringer at Lowestoft.¹¹⁰

G. B. Burgin in his Many Memories (1922) relates how he was sent to the dame school of Misses Clara, Mary and Hannah Crane, where he painfully acquired a grounding in elementary facts. These ladies were as poor as church mice being women who had experienced better fortune.¹¹¹

The case of the Misses Crane is illustrative of the extreme difficulty involved in classifying dame schools in view of the nineteenth century practice of fusing educational terms. The best indication is that of fees charged, but few biographies give such details. Another possible determinant is that of the parents' own social status - but this can be no more than an informed guess.

J. C. Powys (b.1872), a self-confessed sadist, referred in his autobiography¹¹² to the dame school which he attended, near the G.W.R. station in Dorchester (Dorset). He noted that a fellow pupil at the school was the son of the Governor of the County Prison which suggests that this Dorchester dame school was possibly near the middle of the dame school continuum.¹¹³ Another such school was the dame school in Britannia Place, Worcester, kept by a Miss Tyler who began Edward Elgar's formal piano instruction.¹¹⁴ Aspects of the curriculum, too, like piano instruction, might be an indication of the social standing of a particular school. From this it might be concluded that the dame school kept by Miss Gartly, in Manchester (to which at the age

of three, Edward Frankland, Professor of Chemistry at Owen College, Manchester¹¹⁵ was sent, and which taught him chiefly department) was a middle class dame school.

In determining the social status of a dame school, sometimes indicators, like the curriculum of the school or the social status of the parent, can be misleading. Cloudesley Brereton, for instance was the son of a Norfolk squire who, like the son of any Scottish laird, attended the same dame school as ordinary village boys. From his Early Education Sixty Years Ago¹¹⁶ (1933), it would seem he attended two dame schools, the first being of a higher social status than the second. Brereton gives a valuable insight into the methods in the first dame school. Here "he picked up a smattering of the multiplication tables, a little simple addition and subtraction ... and multiplication, manipulating mere figures that conveyed nothing to the mind." It would seem the dame adopted methods of extrinsic reward of which Hazelwood School, Birmingham would not have been ashamed.¹¹⁷ Hand-writing exercises were practised weekly and reading was taught inter alia from Sonnenschein's "Reading without tears". As he grew older, Cloudesley Brereton mixed with the village boys and attended "the only educational establishment in the neighbourhood for those who could afford a penny a week" - the second dame school kept by Mrs. Margerson. Brereton could remember "the bits of slate for writing and cyphering, and the reading books in large print" as also the boys standing in a corner with a dunce's cap on ~~the~~ heads.¹¹⁸ As Brougham had noted as early as 1820, the dame school was in many cases a place of discipline; and Mrs. Margerson, "with her stick was free in her chastisement."

Edward Clodd,¹¹⁹ in his Memories (1916) also gives an insight into teaching method in a dame school in the 1840s. He was sent to a dame

school "where the lesson books were well nigh as primitive as the horn-books which they had not wholly superseded, for as late as 1845 they were in use in schools in the Midlands."¹²⁰ Joseph McCabe, his biographer,¹²¹ who was a critic of the lower class dame school described how Edward Clodd attended "one of those cottage schools of the time in which an elderly and impoverished widow stirred the soup with one hand and held a penny cane in the other."¹²²

The image of this grotesque pedagogical stance prompts the need now to examine hypothesis four and to test the validity of dame school criticism such as that of Joseph McCabe and the Newcastle Report.

4. Criticism and apposite criteria

Joseph McCabe was not alone in his criticism of the dame whom he pictured with a cane in one hand and a soup ladle in the other,¹²³ combining the scholastic with the domestic. However dysfunctional this nineteenth century phenomenon may seem, the root cause of it may have been outside the control of many dames;¹²⁴ it is still debatable whether or not such pedagogico-culinary postures were permanent. For most of the time when the children were in the school, presumably the dame was not cooking.

Another charge which has been levelled at dames' and common day school teachers has been concerned with another form of pluralism - the tendency to hold two posts or occupations simultaneously. Already reference has been made to a dame¹²⁵ who by the testimony of an Assistant Commissioner achieved a high standard in a school in spite of her extra scholastic activities, which presumably were conducted to augment a meagre income. The complete division of labour has never been achieved even in the twentieth century, with men and women in the lower wage strata combining two or more

occupations to make a living; in the nineteenth century this was an even more common practice, therefore, if private school teachers took on additional commitments, so did National Schoolmasters and masters of Free Schools: for example, in 1872 if John H. Cull ran a private boarding school for gentlemen and was also Registrar of births and deaths for Sutton Coldfield (Warwicks), Thomas Richards, the Free Schoolmaster at Studley (Warwicks) performed similar additional duties as Registrar - and had been doing so for at least twelve years.¹²⁶ The dames sometimes worked similarly in a dual capacity, if at a more humble level.

Mr. Hare, Assistant Commissioner for the areas of Hull, Yarmouth and Ipswich, seemed to be criticising private teachers for trying to make ends meet when he wrote:

"many of them eke out a subsistence by doing whatever odd job chance may throw their way."¹²⁷ His apparent prejudice is evidenced when he comments on one successful teacher with more than one source of income that he was not only able: "to keep a day and evening school, but also to cater for a country newspaper, to conduct the correspondence of persons who were no scholars and to make the wills of testators who were penny wise and pound foolish."¹²⁸ He did not indicate how this act of foresight could be regarded as unwise.

The generally low standards of accommodation of dame and common day schools have been widely criticised and it is difficult to avoid the impression that most if not all dame schools were held in either lofts, cellars or kitchens or at best in a living room. 'Dingy' and 'filthy' are epithets which have been constantly applied. No doubt much of this criticism was valid and no doubt many of the 'school rooms' were ill-ventilated - not being purpose-designed, but this fault lay at the root of the private schools

dilemma in an age of increasing State aid to public schools. Capital would be necessary to provide adequate accommodation which could be ill-afforded by many who were on the bread line. In order to keep themselves above this line, dames and others had to cram the pupils in - and it never ceased to amaze H.M.I.'s how successfully they continued to do this¹²⁹ - in order to make their bare living.¹³⁰ For them to reduce the numbers in the interests of health and hygiene was uneconomic: the interests of the two parties were diametrically opposed. The reactions of private school teachers in the Winchester area, noted in Canon Warburton's Report of 1880, is typical.¹³¹ As was suggested in the Newcastle Report (Vol. I p. 95):

"the complaint that the Government grant enables the public schools to undersell, and so ruin them, is very common amongst the teachers."¹³²

Adam Smith makes the same point, in another context, but more objectively, when he wrote about public and private schools generally that:

"The endowments of schools and colleges have ... not only corrupted the diligence of public teachers, but have rendered it almost impossible to have any good private ones."¹³³

Moving from general criticism of dame and common day schools to individual comments by H.M.I.'s and Assistant Commissioners, it would seem that the general inefficiency of these schools moved their critics sometimes to overstate their case against them. Sometimes loose generalisations based on not strictly logical deductions are made, which perhaps need to be corrected. At other times, some H.M.I.'s display an unwillingness to see another point of view from their own.

One generalisation occurs in Volume I of the Newcastle Report when it stated: "The general character of these schools is the same in every part

of the country."¹³⁴ This statement is so general it does not bear even superficial examination. It does not distinguish between rural and urban schools; nor between schools run by efficient or inefficient dames; nor between schools run by young women and those by old crones.¹³⁵ In other words no account is taken of the diversity in quality and character of dame schools implicit in the concept of a dame school continuum. The Rev. James Fraser at least partially recognised this when he warned that: "it is impossible to treat the private schools as one class, or to combine them in a common description."¹³⁶

In Volume I of the Newcastle Report, Mr. Winder, the Assistant Commissioner, is reported as saying that: "hardly anyone (my italics) is brought up to the business unless he suffers from some bodily infirmity."¹³⁷ This judgement is based, it would seem, more on personal intuition than on evidence. The Report goes on "He called without design on five (my italics) masters successively, all of whom were more or less deformed" Apart from the illogicality of his deduction, it might be asked whether physical qualities and mental qualities are equally requisite for a good teacher.

The deformity of one common day school master did not affect his relative prosperity although he was a "poor cripple without legs from infancy." Despite the close proximity of a good National school the private school under the cripple was "crowded to excess" and boys were "sometimes taken from the first, second and third classes of the National school to be finished at this private school." (my italics)

Another example of a possibly wrong assumption is to be found in Vol. II of the Report.¹³⁹ J. S. Winder suggests that "Many, by the reluctance which they exhibited to taking the pen in hand, when asked to sign the returns, showed pretty clearly that they could not write." - There could

have been other reasons: their reluctance may have been prompted by their unwillingness to sign their freedom away, so ignorant were many of them of the purpose of the inquiry.¹⁴⁰

In several aspects of official criticism there appears to be a certain lack of sensitivity i.e. a tendency to judge dame and other private schools by criteria to which the economics of the situation did not lend itself. If some dames were too old there was equally no recognition of the need for old age pensions¹⁴¹ (security in old age being a largely twentieth century concept accompanying the breakdown of the 'extended' family); if the books were described as worn or tattered,¹⁴² there was probably no thought about the likely lack of funds to provide new ones or that possibly the books were worn through having been put to good use over a long period of time; but perhaps the most striking examples of this insensitivity lie in the remarks of Oxford and Cambridge graduates about poor standards of attainment in children of tender years, which misunderstanding lies at the root of hypothesis five. Horace Mann in his preamble to the Education Census of 1851 commented on this disparity between the required educational aims and the age of the children, when he wrote:

"Of course, in looking at the 13,879 inferior schools, it must not be forgotten what a large proportion of the total number of scholars was composed of children under five years old (Mann's italics) for whom a higher class of school would be of little avail."¹⁴³

Even putting aside for the moment this cardinal point about the need to adopt appropriate criteria in dame schools with very young children only, suited to age and ability, assistant commissioners were unable to agree about standards achieved. James Fraser in his report stated that often the dames could not write and seldom did they "profess to teach writing or cyphering."¹⁴⁴

His testimony seems to be at variance with J. S. Winder reporting on the manufacturing districts of Rochdale and Bradford, who declared that "sewing and reading and occasionally elements of writing form the largest group ... 50 out of 147 or 34% in returns profess not to teach writing." These different patterns in the teaching of writing occur because the rural areas of Fraser's district differ from those urban areas which Winder inspected. An examination of the returns made in 1840 to J. Fletcher¹⁴⁵ (P.P. 1840 xxxiv) on handloom weavers in the Midland District confirms the pattern. Of the eighty dame and common day schools within the city boundaries of Coventry forty-five professed to teach writing (56.2%); of the schools in parishes outside the city¹⁴⁶ (i.e. in rural or semi-rural areas) the number professing writing, out of fifty-eight schools was only twenty (34.5%). Both percentages, however, represent considerably more writing in dame schools than the 'seldom' used by the Rev. Fraser.

Ephemerality which is likely to be a recurring theme, was a common charge against dame and common day schools. Both assistant commissioners and H.M.I.'s found it disturbing to come across such frequent changes of building and frequent changes of ownership. Dr. Hodgson epitomised this 'ephemerality' when he wrote:

"... should the income not suffice to pay the rent, an emigration ere long takes place; the children are dispersed or received by the next tenant; and the ticket adorns another window, perhaps in the same or in an adjoining street, unless recourse be had to quite a fresh field. In not a few cases

disappearances, substitutions, reappearances occurred during the limited period of this enquiry."¹⁴⁷

What motives were likely to have prompted such moves? Why did private school teachers move from one house to another, sometimes from one house to the next? Dr. Hodgson suggests it was failure which caused schools to close or move. Why not success? To the contemporary Inspector, who never had the opportunity of inspecting the school's work, what evidence was available to him that a school which had closed or recently changed hands, had done so because of the failure of the previous school teacher? When such schools were not in purpose designed buildings the only way to improve the situation was to move to a possibly larger house or where there appeared to be a less competitive market. Expansion rather than financial loss was as likely, if not more likely, to prompt a move since even in the nineteenth century the task of removal must have been irksome, and have involved some considerable expense. As for the opening and closures of schools during the brief time of the Newcastle Commission (1858-1861), the very nature of these schools; i.e. financial speculation or private adventure, would make them less stable than endowed or free schools: in their humble way they were part of a speculative market, dynamic rather than static.

The early commercial and trade directories appeared not to give the names and addresses of dame schools but later directories from about 1860 appear to do so. As far as it is known no attempt has been made before to trace the movements of nineteenth century private school teachers, evaluate changes of ownership, or establish in many cases the schools' comparative longevity. Appendix 2 with its survey of seven counties attempts to do this.

The gulf which existed in views and background between the Assistant Commissioners and H.M.I.'s on the one hand, and private school teachers on

the other, was the prime cause of misunderstanding on both sides and of the application perhaps of less than appropriate criteria for judging the schools. Mr. R. F. Boyle H.M.I., in his report on the Taunton district in 1880 summed up this difference when he affirmed:

"I find it difficult to reconcile them with the system, under which I am instructed to work, as the proprietor usually has some opinions of his own, which are at variance with those of the Educational Department."¹⁴⁸

On the other hand the dame and common school teachers were suspicious of these official visitors. Dr. Hodgson noted that "very few private school teachers saw anything good arising from the inquiry" - they were naturally concerned about their livelihood. He referred to one lady teacher who was afraid that: "she might be trapped into signing a petition."¹⁴⁹ The ignorance of these teachers about the inquiry was profound¹⁵⁰ as Hodgson noted: "on the whole, I could not but feel that my visits, to private schools at least, were not more welcome than those of the tax collector, with whom I was often supposed to be allied."¹⁵¹

On the other hand there seemed to be a lack of understanding if not by contemporary officials then by later critics of the dame schools, that many of them had more of a social than an educational function which will be examined in Hypothesis five.

5. The social function of rural and urban dame schools

Perhaps one of the severest critics of the dame school was Mr. Barrington Ward H.M.I. who inspected the Bromsgrove district in 1881 and who in his report wrote scathingly of the typical dame school:

"A peep into a Dame School usually discloses a dirty ill-ventilated

front room of a small dwelling house, in which from ten to fifty neglected looking children are packed together in low forms. There are no desks, save perhaps one along the wall, no books except two or three tattered Bibles,¹⁵² and the inevitable 'spelling book' (an article greatly prized by the mistress) three or four of the elder children (girls invariably) have written perhaps a few pages of copy book (in the old-fashioned angular hand of course) but the crowded mass of youthful humanity on the forms have only scraps of slates, if any, and they scrawl and spit upon them, as they please.¹⁵³ Dictate a line of figures such as 2,301 and the scholars are sure to reproduce it thus '2,000 300 1.'¹⁵⁴ Ask them their tables crosswise and they fail to reply, but let them 'go down the column' and they are perhaps efficient enough. Call for the needlework and you are shown a few 'samplers' decorated with animals of impossible hues and trees of impossible regularity.¹⁵⁵ Of clean regular sewing there is none, but knitting is sometimes in favour, and one then sees with amazement coarse stockings whose distorted proportions might fit a club-footed person, or possibly an elephant. To complete the picture of the dame school, add that most important enforcer of discipline, the cane wielded vigorously,¹⁵⁶ no doubt, in season and out of season. There are no registers, no maps, in fact no ordinary school requisites."¹⁵⁷

Much of any criticism such as this hinges on the vital point as to the ages of the pupils concerned. Already reference has been made to Horace Mann's statement in 1854¹⁵⁸ which claimed that many of the children who

attended dame school were under five. This seems to be at slight variance with Tables given below from the Newcastle Report but nevertheless even these tables show the great majority of dame school children to be of tender years.

TABLE 9 ¹⁵⁹

Comparison of ages of scholars in public week day schools
in specimen districts with ages of scholars
in private weekday schools in 1858

<u>Ages</u>	<u>Centesimal Prop.</u> <u>in public schools</u>	<u>Centesimal Prop.</u> <u>in private schools</u>
Under 3	3.0	5.4
3 - 6	19.8	34.7
6 - 7	11.3	13.4
7 - 8	12.3	11.0
8 - 9	12.4	9.0
9 - 10	11.6	7.4
10 - 11	10.3	5.8
11 - 12	7.9	4.8
12 - 13	6.0	3.9
13 - 14	3.1	2.3
14 - 15	1.3	1.3
15+	1.0	1.0

TABLE 10Distribution of age ranges in public and private weekday schools

Description of School	% of scholars aged 9 years or less			% of scholars aged above 9 and not more than 15 years			% of scholars aged above 15 years		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Public	58.2	59.6	58.8	40.6	39.7	40.2	1.2	0.7	1.0
Private	76.3	71.0	73.5	22.8	27.9	25.5	0.9	1.1	1.0

As can be seen from these tables the bias in the private school population was heavily weighed towards the younger age groups. This being the case, in the light of twentieth century theory on conceptual developments, some of the H.M.I. expectations anent standards, though perhaps valid for the nineteenth century, in view of the advances that had been made in public infant education, lose some of their force to those judging the situation from the twentieth century. It would seem that the nineteenth century inspectorate assumed they were examining institutions with the educational function of a school when in reality these institutions had a social function of a nursery as well, but which differed depending on whether the dame school was in the country or the town.

Even when H.M.I.'s or Commissioners perceived this social function it was not admitted. In Volume I of the Newcastle Report, dame schools or private infant schools were found to be "frequently little more than nurseries"¹⁶¹ to which Mr. Cumin's idyllic description of "children as closely packed as birds in the nest, and tumbling over each other like puppies in

a kennel"¹⁶² gives credence.

As early as 1820 Brougham, in his speech of 28th June, in the debate on the education of the poor,¹⁶³ recognised this social function of the dame school. He referred to the dame school population of 53,000 who "were educated, or rather not educated, for it amounted to no education at all, since the children were generally sent too young, and taken away just when they were competent to learn."¹⁶⁴

He went on to suggest that there ought to be more 'schools' like the Westminster Infants School for those between three and five so that they could be kept off "the streets, and taken care of by a parental indulgent dame, while their mothers were set at liberty to go out and work.

Such establishments ... would, he trusted, be universally created. They required but little money, and the superintendence of a dame of good temper, who might let the children indulge in any amusement ... whether they learnt less or more was of little consequence."¹⁶⁵ (My italics)

This same point is made in Appendix J to Mr. Cumin's Report¹⁶⁶ when Rev. G. W. Procter, in reply to the question, "what can be said in favour of the dame schools?" wrote that they were self supporting public nurseries for the poor which kept younger children out of danger and mischief whilst mother (was) otherwise employed. "As such nurseries, they are valuable institutions, if in separate rooms and properly ventilated. They supply a want as regards very young children which cannot be supplied by a public infant school."

Similarly Mr. George Coode - who reported on the Poor Law Unions of Dudley, Wolstanton, Newcastle under Lyme and Stoke on Trent¹⁶⁷ - attributed the great number of Dame Schools in Dudley¹⁶⁸ to the fact they catered for the children of working mothers.

Dr. J. D. Morrell H.M.I., in his report to the Committee of Council on Education in 1871, on the City of London and Greenwich, would seem to have been innocent of this social function when he writes of "middle-aged women, widows or wives of low wage-earners who collect children in the neighbourhood and pretend to teach them before they go to regular elementary school."¹⁶⁹

Acceptance of the hypothesis of the social as well as the educational function of the dame school produces two corollaries, viz:

- a) that dame schools may be subdivided into those with younger children only, with a largely social function and those all age dame schools where the function was both social and educational.
- b) that the social function of rural dame schools has a different origin from that of the urban school.

Corollary a) is stated quite explicitly and needs no further clarification. Corollary b) springs from the recognition of the early existence of dame schools in rural areas in the eighteenth century which were as J. H. Higginson suggests "an integral part of the domestic structure of a rural community."¹⁷⁰ The urban dame school on the other hand sprang from the economic law of supply and demand and was a by product of the Industrial Revolution, as T. Raymont suggested in his History of Education of Young Children, "they constituted the first attempt to meet the needs of the working class mother of a family and ... were the historical forerunners of the English Infant School."¹⁷¹

Despite the generalisation in Volume I (p. 28/29),¹⁷² recognition in the Newcastle Report of the differences between the two types of schools is given in Volume III by Mr. J. M. Hare in another general statement about

the dame schools in rural areas:

"the room is more airy and wholesome, the accommodation better, the needlework white and beyond a mere presence, the mistress more tidy, the children are cleaner and better dressed, and the books, if not the teaching also, more creditable."¹⁷³

If the rural dame school was the place where very young children first learnt their letters and so formed part of the social fabric of the countryside, the urban dame schools in some cases became industrial creches; in others this function was combined with that of giving a measure of social exclusiveness for those older children whose parents were able to pay a little more.¹⁷⁴ It is this latter group of children, much smaller in number, whose parents' social aspirations contributed to the continuance of the dame school long after 1870 but whose neglect conscientious H.M.I.s criticised. Bearing in mind the zeitgeist of the 1850s and 1860s this criticism suggests that the dame school may have been a humble victim of the contemporary penchant for examinations and standards.

6. The survival of the dame school

Although parental social aspiration was one cause of the temporary survival of the lower class dame school after the 1870 Education Act, there were others. Appendix J of Mr. Cumin's Report, listed fourteen different reasons why dame schools were sometimes preferred to Infant Schools for the children of the upper working class and lower middle class parents.¹⁷⁵

Certainly there was plenty of evidence for their continued patronage before Forster's Act. In Volume III of the Newcastle Report, for example, Mr. Hare noted that the decline of the private school in the face of government backed schools was not so marked as might have been expected. The majority of those surviving the competition were dame schools: it was

the common day school and not the dame school which suffered from government intervention in education.¹⁷⁶ In 1859 there were in Yarmouth only five boys' private, fifteen girls' private and ten mixed private schools: but there were sixty-four dame schools.¹⁷⁷ In Yeovil, the Rev. James Fraser found private schools, (both common day and dame) holding their ground against Government assisted schools: at Misterton (two miles from Crewkerne) he found one private school which was so popular that children from Crewkerne itself together with children from other villages around flocked to it. What were the reasons for this?

There may have been reasons peculiar to this case at Misterton but Cumin attributed the general reluctance to abandon private schools to an "innate prejudice against taking advantage of charity" and "to a feeling of caste ... which grew down to the roots of society."¹⁷⁸

The relative convenience of the dame school which served the immediate locality and which was not too strict about attendance suited many working mothers. This last factor in the dame school survival became even more important after 1870. From the reports of H.M.I.'s to the Committee of Council on Education a general impression is gained that dame schools and to a certain extent magistrates,¹⁷⁹ connived at recalcitrant parents who sought to evade the bye-laws concerning compulsory school attendance.

In his report on the Bromsgrove district for 1881, Mr. Barrington-Ward noted that "a fertile source of difficulty in enforcing bye-laws is to be found in the continued existence of private adventure schools ... when a board begins to show vigour in carrying out its bye-laws, the dame school doors are freely open for the offenders."¹⁸⁰ Mr. Faber, too, in his report on the Warwick District for 1881 considered that "the existence of these dame schools, besides affording shelter against the law, and so demoralising

parents and children alike, is a serious hindrance to schools under inspection."¹⁸¹ This situation had been common in the 1870s despite Section 24 (7) of the Elementary Education Act 1873 which provided that "if a child is attending an elementary school which is not a public elementary school, it shall lie on the defendant to show that the school is efficient" Similarly Section 4 of the Elementary Education Act of 1876 which stated that "it shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic" left the private dame school relatively unscathed from interference by the State, in certain areas.

Of their continued survival there can be little doubt. R. F. Boyle Esq., H.M.I. who reported on Somerset in 1876 averred that he frequently heard of their being newly established, and that he frequently found in country parishes that there were few or no infants in the school he examined, and was told that a dame school took them all. The dame school had an advantage in being open all day, so that the parents could leave their children as at a creche, and go to work.¹⁸²

Despite Mr. Bowstead's hopes and prognostications in his report on Gloucestershire in 1871 that it would be by no means the least benefit conferred by the recent Act, if it should cause most of the so-called schools of this class "to disappear from the face of the land,"¹⁸³ ten years later Mr. Smith H.M.I., reporting on the Kings Lynn district of Norfolk had to note that: "At North Creake, in this union, a dame's school seems to have seriously injured the attendance of the children at the national school. It was condemned by my predecessor some nine or ten years ago, but has gone on and flourished ever since in blissful contempt of the inspector's ban."¹⁸⁴

By 1881, however, the dame school was in recession.¹⁸⁵ This was noted

by Mr. Scott-Coward in his report for 1881 on the Warrington district¹⁸⁶ and by Mr. R. F. Boyle in his report on the Taunton district for the previous year.¹⁸⁷ The seeds of destruction of the lower class dame school were to be found in government concern for health and sanitary standards of school buildings. Mr. Bowstead in 1871 (Bristol);¹⁸⁸ Mr. Du Pont in 1872 (Berkshire);¹⁸⁹ Mr. Oakley in 1873¹⁹⁰ (County Durham) and Faber in 1881¹⁹¹ (Warwick) are but a few examples of this criticism of the poor sanitary conditions. A Mr. Pearce, who helped Mr. Du Port inspect Berkshire, wittily thought that "the seeds of disease rather than of learning were being disseminated amongst their occupants."¹⁹² Mr. Colt-Williams's report in 1881 on Hereford was more aggressive in its comment. It declared that "a visit from a sanitary inspector would break up many of these schools, and a case or two taken before the magistrates to test the efficiency of the instruction would do away with most of the remainder."¹⁹³

This was effected gradually, principally by the enforcement of government standards in school provision,¹⁹⁴ so that by an attritional process it caused the extinction of many lower class dame schools, as the comparatively slender lists of private schools in trade and commercial directories for Worcestershire and Warwickshire, in the early twentieth century, suggest. Middle class dame schools continued in attenuated numbers as they too faced pressures arising from the changes brought about by the 1902 Education Act. Only the private preparatory schools for the upper middle and upper classes flourished and by the 1890s men rather than women dominated that particular field of educational provision.

The dame schools of Coventry (1840)

J. Fletcher, who reported on the Midland District in the national

survey on Handloom Weavers, employed a Mr. John Kinder, Secretary of the Local Sunday School Union and Master of the Well Street Infant School, to collect viva voce answers of private day and dame schools in a questionnaire of twenty questions. (See Appendix 3 for answers to the questionnaire.)

Fletcher claimed that according to Kinder the returns were "full and correct to the best of his knowledge, and as complete as it can possibly be."¹⁹⁵ This claim of a comprehensive survey of the dame schools in a district makes this Report an important document. The questionnaire returns contain details of the number of schools, the numbers attending these schools, the subjects taught and the books used.

The report, on the whole, is very hostile to the dame schools and criticises them for the "careless manner" in which they were conducted; for the low qualification of the teachers and for the wretchedness of the places in which they were held. Kinder alleged he found "little instruction worthy of the name; still less education."¹⁹⁶

Apart from ten or twelve common day schools, the rest of the schools (147-149) were dame schools. Kinder found that because of the total informality of these schools no registers were kept and consequently he was unable to differentiate between boy and girl pupils and between those under seven and those over seven years old. In only a few cases were such details available. These schools contained 3,166 children from Coventry and the ribbon weaving villages,¹⁹⁷ full details of which are given in Appendix 3.

Undoubtedly Kinder had to work under difficult circumstances to obtain his information but the conclusions drawn from his tabulations seem to have gone awry. Two passages in particular need interpolation or comment:-

The first passage from the report reads:

"In some of the dame schools, the teacher, instructing the children one by one, frequently enables them to read pretty well, though with very uncouth pronunciation. This reading and spelling is, in fact, nearly all that the children acquire, even in the better dame schools: needlework is not taught in more than one quarter of the schools; many of the old dames not being able to see well.

Writing on slates and some little cyphering is attempted in about one eighth of them. The few inferior books in use are generally worn and torn to tatters."¹⁹⁸

Now unless the replies made by the dames to Kinder, which he faithfully recorded, are worthless and complete untruth (in which case there would seem to be no point in presenting them to Parliament) Kinder's or Fletcher's interpretation of them would seem to be at the very least ungenerous. It is grudgingly allowed that "frequently" the teacher in the dame school instructs them to read "pretty well" but expects them, sons and daughters of Midland weavers, not to have uncouth pronunciation. Is this a fair expectation?

As for the subjects taught, the claim that reading and spelling is all that most acquire is at considerable variance from the answers to question 6 (see Appendix 3).

Table 11, on the following page, is an analysis of all the subjects which the dames and masters professed to have taught, from which it is seen that in addition to reading and spelling, writing, sewing, knitting and arithmetic were all claimed to be taught more extensively than is suggested by the Report. There is some confusion, too, concerning the proportions of

TABLE 11

Showing numbers of schools teaching the various subjects
mentioned in the answers to the questionnaire

Subjects	Schools in Coventry (80)	In parishes partly in City (22)	Rural areas (57)
Reading	74	22	57
Writing	45	9	20
Spelling	33	15	43
Sewing	54	15	31
Knitting	30	9	11
Arithmetic	19	6	11
History	1	2	3
Needlework	8	5	7
Drawing	-	-	1
Catechism	1	1	-
Alphabet	-	-	1
Accounts	-	2	1
Baby minding	3	-	-
Reading to child	1	-	-
Book-keeping	1	-	-
Grammar	1	2	1
Geography	1	-	2
Gospel History	1	-	-
Scripture	1	-	-
Marking	2	2	1
Tables	-	1	-
Not stated	2	-	-

those doing needlework, writing and arithmetic. It is suggested that no more than one quarter did needlework: according to a detailed examination of the returns only one eighth of the schools did needlework. As for about one eighth doing arithmetic and writing on slates, reference to Table 11 shows that 74 out of 159 (approximately 46.25%) claimed to teach writing (and only two on slates, though this small number is more likely to arise from errors of omission), and 36 (22.5%) claimed to teach arithmetic.

The answers to question 7 about books and lessons used in the schools do not correspond with the Report's comment about "the few inferior books."

The second passage in which reference is made to the ages of the majority of children attending these dame schools would seem to invalidate largely the criticism of low academic standards. It was recognised that these "subscription nurseries" were frequently called "out of the way schools" as children were 'taken out of the way' by them.

The report referred to children aged one to six years attending these schools, estimating that ten per cent were only eighteen months old. Shop and factory workers sometimes sent their children to 'school' before they could walk, and in any event the greatest number of them were between two and seven years old.¹⁹⁹

Somewhere between these two statements, there lies the most enormous discrepancy between the academic claims of the dames and the age range of the children who attended their 'scholastic establishments.'

Postscript

The purpose of this chapter has been a homeostatic one of trying to restore to the dame school some little value which some responsibly minded contemporaries found in it. The purpose has not been to justify the dame school, but to give some counterweight to assessments of it such as the one

quoted anonymously from a thesis of many years ago.

"no work of educational value could possibly be carried on and as the persons conducting these schools were mostly illiterate, possibly no attempt was made to give any."

CHAPTER 3

COMMERCIAL AND OTHER PRIVATE

ADVENTURE SCHOOLS

Classification¹

The amorphousness of private education in the nineteenth century, with its lack of dividing lines between differing types of school, is perhaps greatest in those areas of education covered by the title of this chapter. This condition stems from the heterogeneity of nineteenth century private provision which in turn resulted from (a) the prevailing political and social philosophy of laissez-faire which allowed free rein to the law of supply and demand and (b) the differing aspirations of parents for the education of their differing offspring. John Ruskin, art critic and social reformer, alluded in his first lecture in 'Sesame and Lilies' to the many letters he received from parents about their children's education. He was very struck by "the precedence which the idea of a 'position in life' ... took above all other thoughts in the parents' ... minds,"² but it was the variety of ways of attaining this 'position in life' which was instrumental in producing the very varied kinds of private school; for as Ricardo declared: "a commodity is not supplied merely because it can be produced, but because there is a demand for it."³

Perhaps more than any other form of nineteenth century educational provision the private schools varied in quality. The Bryce Report (1895) noted this very wide variation when it observed private schools "of every degree of merit, from those which, conducted in excellent buildings by an excellent staff, are in the van of educational progress, to those which carried on in ill-ventilated rooms by ignorant persons with no qualifications as teachers, represent the lowest depths of educational stagnation from which we have during the past thirty years been emerging."⁴

Reference has already been made in Chapter 1 to the difficulties of classification because of the use of loose terminology in the nineteenth

century to describe different schools.⁵ No doubt some over-simplification has taken place in Nicholas Hans's classification of eighteenth century schools⁶ but even taking that into account, the nineteenth century nomenclature appears by comparison to be very much more complicated.

The terms 'commercial' and 'private adventure' were used in the nineteenth century to describe a fairly wide variety of schools. A 'commercial' school was one which taught 'commercial subjects', although not necessarily those which are more narrowly associated with commerce today. 'Commercial', in this context, referred to the curriculum which included subjects outside the usual classical fare. These were regarded as 'modern' and in keeping with the demands of the changing commercial world, but the term also had a class connotation and a commercial school was a middle class school for the education of Matthew Arnold's 'Philistine' children. The term 'private adventure' was used even more widely, as a general description of various types of school but these schools had one common factor - the private profit motive was uppermost. Often the term was used pejoratively by the schools' critics and was in common parlance with Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools.⁷ Such was the stigma attached officially to this term that both W. Brown of the Private Schools Association at the time of the Bryce Report,⁸ and Charles Pritchard the Headmaster of Clapham Grammar School, (1834-1862)⁹ objected to its use. Brown preferred the term 'private enterprise' school: Pritchard, 'private establishment'.

If the terms 'private adventure' and 'commercial' present some difficulty because of their differing meanings, other terms are used even more obscurely. In the absence of an overall plan, many schools were described largely by their function. This practice produced such hybrids¹⁰ as Classical and Mathematical Schools, Classical and Commercial Schools,

Classical and Mathematical and Commercial Schools; the famous proprietary school at Marylebone was even called the Marylebone Philological School (1792), but perhaps the most striking example of this functional description which has been recorded is that of the "endowed preparatory commercial school" at Bedford.¹¹ With the almost indiscriminate use of the terms 'Collegiate,' 'Middle' and 'Proprietary' to describe other kinds of private school, the task of classification even in the nineteenth century was a difficult one.

However, the Taunton Commission (1864-1868) laid down some guide lines for the classification of private schools in its scheme for categorizing Secondary schools generally into three grades. This formula was repeated by the Bryce Report (1895)¹² when it placed in the first grade, private schools "of the more advanced type." hardly precise phraseology. In the second grade it placed "proprietary or private schools, which send pupils for the higher classes of the College of Preceptors' examinations, or for the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations": and in the third grade, "those private schools in which the ordinary standard is that of third class certificates in the College of Preceptors examinations." This classification advocated by Mr. Fearon, H.M.I., and Assistant Commissioner for the Taunton Commission, was based on the school leaving age: those in the first grade left at eighteen or nineteen; in the second grade at sixteen or seventeen; and in the third grade at fourteen or fifteen. This classification based on the school leaving age of pupils in each type of school effectively correlated class with the kind of curriculum studied.

Another useful classification is that of Mr. H. A. Gifford in Volume VII of the Taunton Report. In his survey of Surrey and Sussex, he found a diversity of schools in which some were confined to members of a particular

social rank; others were confined to members of a particular creed. He found some were nurseries for the public schools; whilst others were the public schools' rivals. He finally decided to classify on the basis of fees¹³ per annum as follows:

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. 50 guineas and over for board and instruction | : | 12 guineas for instruction only |
| 2. 20 - 50 guineas for board and instruction | : | 6 - 12 guineas for instruction only |
| 3. All below 20 guineas for board and instruction | : | below 6 guineas for instruction only |

Mr. C. H. Stanton, faced with the same problem in Devon and Somerset classified the Secondary schools into Upper, Middle and Lower Schools.¹⁴ Similarly J. L. Hammond, reporting on Norfolk and Northumberland, attempted to classify the schools in his area into four categories viz.

1. Classical schools
2. Semi-classical schools
3. Non-classical - mainly boarding
4. Non-classical - mainly day¹⁵

Although the differing criteria used for these several classifications are interesting, the important point seems to be that they had to be made at all. They serve to emphasize the need for giving some order to the secondary education chaos; but it is the analysis given by Arthur Montefiore in his article "The Private Schoolmaster: His position and his prospects" (1888)¹⁶ which best approximates to the desired model for the examination of the various kinds of private school. His analysis distinguished three main groups of schools viz.

1. Preparatory schools
2. Schools with an all age range which prepare

boys for the universities, services and professions.

3. Private and middle class schools providing a utilitarian education.

This chapter is concerned largely with group three.

Various schools, therefore, fulfilled various functions. The upper reaches of the common day school, where the fee was more than £1 a quarter, met the social needs of small shopkeepers and superior mechanics; hybrid Classical, Mathematical and Commercial schools and academies, both boarding and day, met the needs of those who required more than the endowed grammar schools could or were prepared to offer; a few private schools specialised in dealing with backward children and those who were in delicate health;¹⁷ some, like the Yorkshire schools attacked by Dickens in the early part of the century, were repositories for unwanted adolescents "to be boarded and birched at £20 a year";¹⁸ others, very many others, were ladies' seminaries serving to fill an enormous gap in English educational provision.¹⁹

The common day school catered for the children of the lower orders whose parents could afford a few pence more per week for education away from those who attended the National schools, British and Foreign Society schools and, more socially distant, the Charity schools. These common day schools varied in quality according to the master or mistress and the premises in which they were conducted. Like the dame school, the common day school has been criticized for its badly ventilated rooms,²⁰ low standards and limited achievement. The Newcastle Report, looking at those common day schools charging less than £1 per quarter, "found the schools of all degrees of efficiency;"²¹ The Rev. Mr. Fraser thought that they presented "as many features of discrepancies as public schools, and as many degrees of merit."

He did add, however, that the bad schools were in the majority.²² Both Rev. Fraser and Dr. Hodgson cited examples of good common day schools they had visited which, like the school of Mr. Pizey of Great Malvern,²³ could "stand comparison with almost any public school of the same kind."²⁴ The better class common day school formed a bridge between the educational provision for the upper reaches of the lower orders and the lower middle classes.²⁵

An early common day school was kept by John Briggs at Gainsborough which was chiefly patronised by tradesmen and better paid workmen. Thomas Cooper, the Chartist and son of a Quaker dyer, attended this school and attested in his autobiography²⁶ to the advantages such a school had over the monotonous teaching of the Free School.²⁷ Cooper, himself, opened a common day school in 1828 which was "eagerly patronised by the poor" but had a few children of the middle classes.²⁸ By 1829 he had over a hundred scholars and went to great lengths in time and money to achieve high standards.²⁹ He even tried to teach all his pupils Latin accidence and began to teach Euclid daily.³⁰

Philip Snowden (b. 1864) was another Yorkshireman who attended a common day school, but much later in the century, in 1872.³¹ Snowden was less fortunate than Cooper, attending a school in a hired room where the curriculum was limited to the three 'Rs'. The schoolroom was dreary, having neither pictures nor charts nor any decorations on the walls.³²

Common day schools were more vulnerable to competition from State backed schools than were dame schools³³ because of the age range with which they mainly dealt (seven to thirteen): but this was not always the case. In a letter dated 12th November 1875, from George Mason, Clerk to the Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School board, to Francis Sandford, the Secretary

of the Education Department, Whitehall, reference is made to the continuing survival of common day schools in the Board's area. In December 1871 there were eleven schools containing 566 children but by November 1875 the number had increased to twelve and 605 respectively. This letter which raises several points analogous to the dame school situation after the 1870 Education Act is given in full in Appendix 7.³⁴

The Politics of Education - the nineteenth century debate on private and public education

Just as the common day school experienced varying fortunes after the passing of the 1870 Education Act but finally succumbed to 'Collectivist' pressures by the twentieth century, so did private schools catering for the middle classes experience a squeezing process from the time of the Endowed Schools Act (1869) onwards. It was this pressure which, as the Bryce Commission noted, made for the survival of only the fittest of the private schools and led to the defensive measure of the setting up of the Private Schools Association (1880).³⁵

As the century progressed allegations and counter allegations were made by protagonists on both sides justifying their respective positions and sometimes vilifying that of their opponents. To appreciate this dialogue fully - a dialogue which could be said to still exist today³⁶ - it is necessary to take a broad sweep of this nineteenth century pedagogic debate.

One of the more salient features of this debate is its early changing nature. As Professor F. Musgrove suggested in his article, "Middle class families and schools 1780-1880: interaction and exchange of function between institutions",³⁷ the domestic ideal in education was paramount from about the mid eighteenth century to about 1830. Under the influence of

writers like John Locke, J. J. Rousseau, David Williams, William Cobbett, and Maria and Richard L. Edg^eworth, domestic or private education gained a strong hold at least among the upper classes. During this period 'private' education was synonymous with 'domestic' education. To take but one example, the Rev. William Barrow (1754-1836)³⁸ who won the Chancellor's prize at Oxford in 1778 for his Essay on Education (which was subsequently enlarged and published in 1802), regarded private academies "where the number of pupils is not limited" as part of "publick (sic) education."³⁹

By the early years of the nineteenth century the earnest debaters about the relative merits of private (or domestic) and public education were joined by the acrimonious contributors to the Edinburgh Review, Henry Brougham and Sydney Smith. In their campaign against Toryism and the Anglican Church, they attacked the Church's bastions - the English Universities and endowed schools. Lord Chancellor Eldon's Tory judgment (1805) was but the precursor⁴⁰ to Brougham's Radical attack on the Classics' continued displacement of useful knowledge in schools. It was in this climate that the Hazelwood School Birmingham, and Bruce Castle Tottenham - the private establishments of the enterprising Hill family - flourished.⁴¹ These schools were run on Chrestomathic lines⁴² and were strongly supported by the Philosophical Radicals.⁴³

As the domestic ideal in education receded⁴⁴ before the advance of the public schools, following the Arnoldian revival, private adventure schools seemed to take over the role of guardian of the child. Many private school principals advertised the "homely aspect" of their educational establishment assuring parents that children put in their charge would be happy in a family atmosphere. Such claims seemed plausible in a small school. Other principals offered the doubtful privilege to parents of small

boys, of taking their sons in as 'parlour boarders' for a few pounds extra. In such circumstances the boy became, pro.tem. a member of the master's family.

Although the advent and rise of proprietary schools in the 1830s. and 1840s was a direct reflection on the private school as a provider of education for the middle classes,⁴⁵ nevertheless the private school effloresced during the early decades of the century and enjoyed a hey-day which lasted into the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁶

It was not until the late 1850s. that the debate about the relative merits of public and private schools became once more overheated. The embers of the fire which Adam Smith and later the Philosophical Radicals had lit were fanned into life by that nineteenth century controversialist, Thomas Arnold. In two letters he wrote to the Sheffield Courant about the education of the middle class, dated April and 4th May 1832 respectively,⁴⁷ he proposed the establishment of a State sponsored system of education.⁴⁸ The first letter at least was sympathetic and not hostile to commercial education per se but it does show his concern for the weakness of the private schoolmaster's position: he wrote:

"Thus the business of education is degraded; for a schoolmaster of a commercial school having no means of acquiring a general celebrity, is rendered dependent on the inhabitants of his own immediate neighbourhood; - if he offends them, he is ruined. This greatly interferes with the maintenance of discipline: the boys are well aware of their parents' power, and complain to them of the exercise of their master's authority; nor is it always that the parents themselves can resist the temptation of shewing their own importance, and

giving the master to understand that he must be careful how he ventures to displease them."⁴⁹

His second letter is concerned with the neglect of liberal education because of the tendency to take boys away from school "half educated, because his friends want him to enter upon his business in life without any longer delay."⁵⁰ In neither letter does Arnold attack the private school for inadequacies but he is apprehensive about the difficulties that a private school has to overcome to be successful.

Frederic Hill in his National Education: its present state and prospects (1836) took up one of Arnold's points when he referred to the length of time it takes for a private school to have its merits tested. This difficulty, he claims "and the probability that, before this demonstration has appeared, the school will have fallen into decay, are strong arguments against the system of private schools;"⁵¹

The Letter to Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Peel ... on the education of the Middle Classes, published in London, in 1845 is more hostile to the laissez-faire policy of government which allowed the neglect of middle class education. Again the argument of Thomas Arnold and Frederic Hill was repeated that the parent had no knowledge of the progress of the child till it was too late. The letter put forward positive proposals for the introduction of the examination and certification of teachers, and is important as it antedates both the Minutes of 1846 and the founding of the College of Preceptors.⁵²

An anonymous little book entitled Education of the Higher Classes (1854) took up the 1845 Letter's major point about the neglect of the middle classes. The writer noted the progress that had been made in the provision of education for the poor and that "not only have schools been established among

populations previously destitute of them, till they cover the land like the network of water courses whereby the Chinese husbandmen irrigate their crops,"⁵³ but also that the middle and upper classes had been neglected. Of the state of private schools he wrote;

"speaking generally, and with some honourable exceptions, the state of the schools for the middle classes is as bad as can be conceived. For the most part conducted by men of imperfect education, and who have not themselves had the advantage of any systematic training, many of them so grossly ignorant, that how their schools can flourish for a day is marvellous; conducted ostensibly without recognised religious principles ... subject to no control or inspection or public responsibility, they supply as mere a mockery of education ... as can well be imagined."⁵⁴

Such accusations merited rebuttal but it was the strictures and conclusions of the Schools Inquiry Commission which drew Robert Lowe into the lists on behalf of private schools. His article "Middle Class Education: Endowment or Free Trade" (1868) is a strongly argued case for the continuation of laissez-faire in English Secondary education. In it he pinpointed the paradox inherent in the Taunton Report that although it recommended that aid should be given to private schools where they were proving their worth, the ultimate ideal was a system of endowed schools organised in three grades. Private schools were to be regarded as no more than a temporary expedient.

In doubting the vigour of school governors to act swiftly in the interests of an endowed school, Lowe reaffirmed not only Adam Smith's point that there is no zeal like that of self interest but also his doctrine of

free trade in education. To strengthen his argument Lowe charged the Public Schools with being 'adventure' schools themselves. "The Public schools" he wrote, "are in truth adventure schools, and such vitality as they possess is in truth derived not from, but in spite of their endowments by the free action of the much despised commercial principle, represented by the Headmaster, as opposed to the antiquated traditions represented by authorities who preside over the endowment."⁵⁵

In attacking the inherent weakness of endowment, i.e. the impossibility of maintaining the original purpose without alteration because of changing circumstances, Lowe enlisted Turgot's aid quoting from his article Fondations in the Encyclopedie. This endemic weakness together with the indolence and lack of diligence arising from the security which endowments gave to endowed schoolmasters vitiated, for Lowe, any case for them. Being securely cushioned they were unable to see the encroaching decay.⁵⁶

Lowe attacked most strongly the assumption of the Taunton Report that parents who desired a commercial education for their sons did not know how to discern good from bad education. He trusted to the law of supply and demand which achieves the desired equilibrium, "just like the old illustration of the feeding of London. The wisest man could not do it by preconceived measures - but leave it alone and it works itself automatically."⁵⁷ Lowe preferred "the simple and natural proceeding of instruction by private enterprise as against the species of decentralised bureaucracy, to which, to the exclusion and ruin of private enterprise, the education of the children of the middle classes is to be entrusted."⁵⁸

About the private schools themselves he felt that considering the unfair competition to which they were subject by endowments, "it was a wonder not that they should have any faults but that they should exist at

all."⁵⁹ He pointed to the paradox that "while to the private school, competition with endowment has been a crushing and unequal struggle, to the endowed schools such rivalry is a most valuable and useful stimulant."⁶⁰

Concluding his controversial article, Lowe cited the testimony of Dr. William Smith, a classical examiner at London University who had declared that with the exception of Stonyhurst, boys came better trained from private schools than from proprietary and grammar schools.

This onslaught on 'public' education could not go unchallenged: in April 1869 James Bryce, one of the Assistant Commissioners of the Schools Inquiry Commission and later Chairman of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education in 1894/95, wrote an article "The worth of educational endowments" in MacMillan's Magazine. His refutation of Lowe's arguments is not convincing. On the question of supply and demand upon which Lowe placed so much stress, Bryce suggests that in certain areas of public life private individuals are not able to supply goods to meet demands and cites education as one of them. Further, the classicist Bryce did not recognise there even was a demand in education since the middle class parent was interested only in commercial subjects. It is difficult to understand the logic of this. A demand for a commodity, however seemingly unworthy, is nevertheless, a demand. Bryce's article reiterated points already made by Thomas Arnold (on the difficulties in the parent knowing the value of education received by the son) and by the Taunton Commission (on the inability of the English parent to distinguish between good and bad education) which was no answer to Lowe's more perceptive observations. Bryce concluded that "the private schools of England are a failure, and for a simple reason - it is not worth while to supply better ones to a class which, like the English commercial class, does not yet know the difference between good and bad education."⁶¹

In July 1873 the Westminster Review entered the fray and took up points of criticism and praise of both the private and the public school. It regarded "as unworthy of notice, proposals for the extinction of private schools".⁶² It recognised that "spelling, writing and book-keeping" formed "the modern trivium of mercantile education."⁶³ It took up the question of the ephemerality of private schools suggesting that the private school died when the owner died.⁶⁴ The Review pointed to the chief difficulty of the public school as the want of interest on the part of managers; while parental wishes were the private schools' chief handicap.

The debate reached white hot proportions in the 1870s and 1880s when Matthew Arnold's earlier injunction to England to organise her secondary education was at last beginning to be taken heed of. The verbal battle of recriminations was rejoined when Rev. E. A. Abbott, Headmaster of the City of London School, read a paper on Middle Class Education at the Brighton meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (N.A.P.S.S.) in 1875. This paper which was reported in the "Transactions" of the Society, suggested that public elementary schools were in many cases better than many private schools at the teaching of grammar, probably because their teachers were better trained. If this seemed to be provocation, it was the remarks of Rev. Mark Pattison at the Liverpool Congress of the following year which sparked off an altercation, the rumblings of which were still heard eight years later.⁶⁵

Pattison, the Head of Lincoln College, Oxford and University reformer, was forthright in his condemnation of middle class private schools:

"There is perhaps no institution in our country which calls more urgently for the hand of the reformer than our middle schools. I can only echo the lament of Dr. Abbott ... that

middle class education was very bad, and that there was no prospect of it getting better. The number of boarding schools of private adventure, spread over the surface of the country, is very great. They are the speculation of men and women without culture, without elevation of character, often without manners - men who have undertaken to teach without having learned anything. These schools are not only without educative⁶⁶ capacity themselves, but, in their vast numbers and frequent prosperity, they give mournful evidence of the absence in the classes that patronise them of the very humblest idea of education."⁶⁷

This invective caused Dr. W. Porter Knightly F.C.P., Principal of Western College, Brighton to reply in his A Plea for Private Schools (1876). Knightly methodically took up Pattison's points, one by one and dealt with them effectively pouring scorn on some of Pattison's less scientific observations. His own comments about the numbers of distinguished private school alumni are given some weight in that the Prime Minister of the day, also attended a private school.⁶⁸ It is doubtful, however, if he was right in assuming that the College of Preceptors would make a natural focal point for the defence of private school interests. By this time several private school heads were not impressed by the progress the College had made in some directions at least, which was evidenced four years later by the founding of the Private Schools Association.

It was left, however, to Rev. Richard W. Hiley, Headmaster of Thor parochial Grange School,⁶⁹ in his Sundry attacks on Private Schools and Strictures thereon (1884) to outline the most comprehensive defence of private schools and at the same time to fire one or two effective salvos in the direction

of the public schools. His counter attack was triggered off by an article in the Guardian,⁷⁰ dated 26th September 1883, which attacked private schools thus:

"There is a vast educational area which is the sphere mainly of private enterprise, unrecognised, unorganised, uncriticised; impelled as a rule by no higher motive than pecuniary profit; subject to no check but the ability of parents to detect inefficiency and incompetency It is on the ignorance and helplessness of the parents that educational quackery thrives."⁷¹

This article, together with a remark at the Huddersfield Congress of the N.A.P.S.S. the same year by Dr. Clifford Allbutt that "private schools for boys seem doomed to a gradual extinction,"⁷² caused Hiley to take up cudgels. He reminded his contemporaries that the need for private schools had arisen from the growth of middle classes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;⁷³ that this need had been exacerbated by the spoliation of foundation schools by the upper middle and upper classes,⁷⁴ which abuse "has called the private schools into existence;" and that upto 1869 middle class needs had been thwarted by the rigidity to be found in the terms of Grammar Schools' endowments.

His argument against public schools is weakened by his citing only three examples of witnesses against their ethos but he is on stronger ground when he revives Lowe's assertion that the public schools were themselves private adventure schools. He is, however, more searing in his remarks than Lowe on this point and suggests that Heads of Public schools were using their office as a means to an end e.g. a bishopric or canonry.⁷⁵ He even comes to the aid of Henry Hayman⁷⁶ who quarrelled with his staff and Governors, one of

his sins being to appoint an outsider to one of Rugby's boarding houses, thus affecting the financial prospects of an already resident member of staff. To what extent was Edward Thring's investment in boarding houses at Uppingham a speculation or an adventure?

Others followed in the wake of Hiley's strictures emphasising the virtues of private schools such as closer intimacy between staff and pupils, Principal and parents, and freedom from control as well as freedom to experiment.⁷⁷ Thomas Wyles, Principal of Allesley College, near Coventry⁷⁸ read a paper The Fitness of the Private School, to the Association of private schoolmasters in 1886 in which he referred to the private school being "more sensitive to national wants." Wyles seemed to get carried away by his own rhetoric, equating the growth of private schools with nineteenth century national wealth and progress. It falls next to examine how far this was true as far as commercial schools and commercial education were concerned.

Commercial Schools and Commercial Education

In his paean on private schools, delivered to a presumably sympathetic audience, Thomas Wyles referred to "our vast mercantile community, the glory of our country" and suggested that our "productive and trading classes ... have effected the vast national development which is the glory and pride of Britons." His adulation for the private school was such that it is necessary to examine his claims more closely. Reference has already been made⁷⁹ to the use of the term 'commercial' to describe much of the education that was taking place in private schools during the nineteenth century. Arnold's Letter to the Sheffield Courant of April 1832 pointed to the "great multitude of what are called English or Commercial schools, at which

a large proportion of the sons of farmers and of tradesmen receive their education."⁸⁰ An examination of trade and commercial directories⁸¹ will show that very few private schools, indeed, were called or styled 'commercial schools'. Further, a study of Captain F.S. de Carteret - Bisson's compendium "Our Schools and Colleges" (1879)⁸² shows also that very few schools were styled 'commercial schools';⁸³ but this does not mean that 'commercial' subjects were not taught. A great many private schools offered a whole range of educational subjects of which commercial or quasi-commercial subjects formed a substantial part. Even schools that offered to prepare boys for University (classics) and for the professions (mathematics and other 'military' and 'naval' subjects) also offered preparation for the mercantile pursuits (English, commercial arithmetic, book-keeping). Many such private schools in the nineteenth century had characteristics similar to those of the 'multilateral' academies of the eighteenth.

If then, the private schoolmaster offered a largely 'commercial' curriculum shaping "his principles and methods to public wants", this circumstance was complemented by the general decay of the endowed grammar schools in their inability in some cases to adopt to changing needs by the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ There were some 782 endowments for secondary education according to the S.I.C. Report, of which 340 or 43% were non-classical which suggests that the Leeds Grammar School case (1805) decision was limited in its application. About fifty of these grammar schools had ceased to exist by 1864-68.⁸⁵

Carteret - Bisson's painstaking work is a mine of information in this respect since not only does he give details about those grammar schools which were surviving and possibly reviving by 1879 but also he notes those that had failed to maintain their status and were either closed or were

LEGEND

1. Clerical Academies
2. Lay Academies
3. Clerical Commercial Schools
4. Lay Commercial Schools
5. Lay or Clerical Commercial Schools (Unspecified)
6. Clerical Classical Commercial Schools
7. Lay Classical Commercial Schools
8. Lay or Clerical Classical Commercial Schools (Unspecified)
9. Clerical Preparatory Schools
10. Lay Preparatory Schools
11. Dame / Preparatory Schools
12. Rectory Preparatory Schools
13. Rectory Coaching Establishments
14. Rectory Preparatory and Coaching
15. Clerical Army Crammers
16. Lay Army Crammers
17. Unspecified Army Crammers
18. Clerical University and I.C.S. Coach
19. Lay University and I.C.S. Coach
20. Unspecified University and I.C.S. Coach
21. Army, University and I.C.S. Coach
22. Clerical Collegiate School
23. Lay Collegiate School
24. Unspecified Collegiate School
25. Quasi-public School
26. County School
27. Clerical College
28. Lay College
29. Unspecified College
30. Ex-grammar schools
31. Grammar Schools
32. Miscellaneous
33. Clerical University Entrance and Civil Service
34. Lay University Entrance and Civil Service
35. Unspecified University Entrance and Civil Service
36. Clerical middle class examination preparation
37. Lay middle class examination preparation
38. Unspecified middle class examination preparation
39. Choir Schools
40. Totals

TABLE 12

Summary of 504 Schools in Eleven Counties extracted from Captain F. S. de Carteret-Bisson : Our Schools and Colleges (1879)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	
Berkshire	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	-	6	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	8	3	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	37	
Cambridge shire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	16	
Durham	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	1	-	-	1	1	4	-	24		
Hants.	1	3	2	4	-	2	4	2	5	7	2	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	6	-	2	11	1	-	1	2	7	1	-	71	
Norfolk	-	2	-	5	1	-	4	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	10	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	37
Northumberland	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	12	
Oxon	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	12	1	-	-	1	3	-	1	36	
Somerset	-	2	2	3	2	-	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	4	-	1	2	-	5	12	6	2	2	-	1	9	-	-	66
Sussex	-	1	-	3	3	2	8	1	9	20	29	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	-	5	-	2	1	5	-	-	4	-	4	4	4	-	2	-	9	2	3	134	
Warwickshire	-	1	-	1	2	2	3	-	3	4	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	2	10	2	-	-	-	1	2	-	42	
Worcestershire	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	1	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	10	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	29		
Totals	2	125	21	8	7	30	5	28	40	35	8	14	2	3	5	1	3	6	-	7	2	8	2	-	-	-	-	3	18	1	22	95	2	4	3	7	41	9	-	-	
Grand Total	14	34	42	103	24	9	16	12	17	2	22	117	20	57	6	504																									

continuing as National or Parochial schools by dint of the continuing endowment: for instance, of the thirteen grammar schools in Norfolk the endowment of three had been diverted to the use of elementary education. Of the twelve listed in Warwickshire, two had suffered decline. Coton's school at Kingsbury, founded by Thomas Coton in 1686⁸⁶ was no more than an elementary school teaching English subjects with Latin if required; the Free school at Salford Priors (1656), founded by a W. Perkins for the teaching of Greek, Latin and English, taught elementary subjects only.

Similarly of the thirteen grammar schools in Worcestershire three⁸⁷ had declined from the status of grammar school. Prince Henry's Grammar School, Evesham⁸⁸ (1546) was closed; Feckenham Grammar School (1611)⁸⁹ was also closed and the endowment taken over by the National Society who taught twelve boys free in the village school and used the remaining funds to clothe and apprentice them; at King's Norton Grammar School the £15 endowment was used to instruct fifteen boys in English. Other boys could be received on payment of an appropriate fee and Latin, French and Mathematics could be taught if required. As Miss Steele-Hutton indicated in her paper on the Genesis of the Private School (1910)⁹⁰ this "conjoint undertaking" was necessary because of the diminished value of the endowment and the salary therefrom. Generally the private pupils and the free boys were kept and taught separately, largely because of parental wishes but also presumably because of differing curricula. The 'private school' paid better so the free boys were generally passed over to a wretchedly paid usher whilst the Headmaster tended to the more lucrative aspects of his work. This "school-keeping by double entry" presumably kept some of the grammar schools alive and when the master's strength failed him because of old age and he was forced to give up the private school, the endowed school

would collapse altogether, unless another master could be found to take on the unequal struggle.⁹¹

This decline of the endowed grammar school is the base from which E. L. Greenberg's thesis The Private Academies in England between 1800 and 1840 and their contribution towards modern curriculum and method,⁹² proceeds. The S.I.C. Report took a different view⁹³ and suggested rather that endowments for grammar schools were "insufficient" and "unequally distributed";⁹⁴ but whatever view is accepted there can be no disagreement that between 1800 and 1840 there was an efflorescence of private academies and schools teaching subjects more consonant with the needs of the industrial revolution.

One such academy which had a distinguished record in the nineteenth century was the Percy Street Academy run by the Bruce family in Newcastle upon Tyne. This school, famous in North England, is hardly if ever⁹⁵ mentioned in general educational histories and deserves some special notice in a chapter concerned with commercial schools.

That Percy Street Academy (1806-1881) was a highly successful commercial school⁹⁶ cannot be doubted. Apart from some public schools and the famous Blackheath Proprietary School (1831-1907) it had the highest number of entries in the D.N.B. (eleven with possibly three others) than any school in England. The esprit de corps⁹⁷ which its three Headmasters⁹⁸ generated in three quarters of a century's successful teaching is evidenced by the holding of an Eighth Annual Dinner of the Old Boys in 1904 - twenty three years after the closure of the school. Such was the success of Mr. John Bruce, the co-founder⁹⁹ of Percy Street Academy, that "it ranked higher than the Newcastle Grammar School where Lord Stowell, Lord Eldon and Lord Collingwood received their early instruction."¹⁰⁰

The Rev.¹⁰¹ John Collingwood Bruce, his son, could fairly claim at

the Jubilee Dinner (10th November 1855) of his former pupils that "the alumni of the Percy Street Academy ... in India they are conducting our commerce and laying our railways ... the Egyptian railway may almost be said to be a Percy Street Scheme ... the interior of Africa has been explored by a Percy Street man ... Major Laing, once an usher in the school, was the first European man to reach Timbuctoo. ... William Darnell, Chief Justice of Grenada."¹⁰²

The Bruce family, like the Beards of Manchester,¹⁰³ were a teaching family.¹⁰⁴ John Bruce and his brother Edward were successful educational writers and published a book "The introduction to Geography and Astronomy" (1803) which ran into eight or nine editions. His son had posthumously published, a further edition in 1845.

The school began very modestly with an eight years' lease on 80 Percy Street, Fishwick's House, the ex-residence of a Newcastle merchant. The original schoolroom occupied the whole of the first floor but as the school grew it was found necessary to build a new schoolroom at the back of the building. John Bruce (1806-1834), was not a Classical scholar and employed classical teachers to teach the classics. He himself was a good mathematician and geographer with a particular interest in astronomy. He was a good teacher who took care to make his pupils understand their work. One unsolicited testimony of John Bruce's teaching is to be found in a letter sent to Rev. J. C. Bruce from Robert Stephenson in reply to his letter congratulating his father's former pupil on the opening of the London to Birmingham railway in 1839. Stephenson wrote:

"and above all it reminded me of your worthy and esteemed parent to whom I owe so much; indeed, it is to his tuition and methods of modelling the mind that I attribute much of my success."¹⁰⁵

During this early period of the Napoleonic War, John Bruce trained many boys for the Army and Navy and several went direct from Percy Street to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich.¹⁰⁶

Mr. John Bruce died in 1834 and was succeeded by his son Rev. J. C. Bruce (1834-1859)¹⁰⁷ who unlike his father had a classical training, being a graduate¹⁰⁸ of Glasgow University. His accession marked the second stage of the school's career and so began an even more successful period of the school's history. His first task was to publish his "An outline of the system of education pursued in the Percy Street Academy (1834?)" which gives a very full idea of the wide curriculum. A school library catalogue was published in 1835,¹⁰⁹ and 1843 saw the opening of a much improved and enlarged schoolroom so that in his time he saw the school rise to 225 of whom thirty-five were boarders. He continued his father's policy of holding annual public examinations¹¹⁰ at which the display of agility in mental arithmetic (an essential part of a commercial education) never ceased to astound parents and friends present. During this open day for parents the boys generally acted a scene from a French play and took part in a debate on an historical topic, to assist in their elocution. The open day later in the century, concluded with the school song "Work, my boys, work."¹⁰¹

The lectures in Natural Philosophy, chemistry and Natural History were another feature of the school's enterprise "and many a boy who afterwards gained distinction in the scientific world had his interest in science first aroused by the lectures in Percy Street Academy."¹¹² This is partly borne out by the fact that Thomas Belt (1832-1878) geologist; John Nixon (1815-1899) the pioneer of the steam coal trade in South Wales; Thomas Annandale (1838-1907) surgeon; Sir Isaac Bell (1816-1904) metallurgical chemist and Sir George Bruce (1821-1908) civil engineer, all attended

Percy Street Academy.

Dr. Bruce's school excursions to Durham, Hexham, Carlisle and York and his several trips to Hadrian's Wall mark him out as enterprising a teacher as the Rev. Richard Dawes.¹¹³ He was also a man of wide sympathies and interests which were permeated by a deep religious sense. At his Academy, at least, the common charge that private adventure schools were too secular,¹¹⁴ did not apply.

Sir Thomas Wemyss Reid, biographer of W. E. Forster, referred, at the Seventh Annual Dinner of the Old Boys, to Dr. Bruce's Bible class on Friday afternoons. His simple talks to the boys were comparable, it would seem, with those of more well known educational luminaries in the sphere of public schools, and it is not surprising, therefore, that on the Sunday after Dr. Bruce's death, (1892) Rev. R. Leitch could say in his sermon in Blakett Street Presbyterian Church, that "what Arnold was to Rugby, Dr. Bruce was to Newcastle on Tyne" (he was a gentler creature too!) The following year, Lord Percy, a personal friend of Dr. Bruce, unveiled a tablet placed on Dr. Bruce's house, in the presence of the sheriff and many Newcastle worthies: such was the respect that this private schoolmaster had earned from his fellow citizens.¹¹⁵

Dr. Bruce had retired from Percy Street Academy in 1859 when the Rev. Gilbert Robertson (1850-1881),¹¹⁶ his partner, had succeeded him. For the third time the Academy was blessed with a particularly able Headmaster¹¹⁷ but after twenty-two years under Robertson,¹¹⁸ the school came to a sudden end, like many another private adventure school before it.

In her very admirable thesis Miss Greenberg suggested that by 1840¹¹⁹ the Grammar Schools were beginning to recover their lost position and that with the creation of Collegiate¹²⁰ and proprietary schools in the 1830s

and 1840s the private academy¹²¹ itself began to lose ground. Is not this 'revival' a little ante-dated?¹²² Certainly in the eleven counties there were no signs of decline amongst private schools in the years immediately before 1851. If anything private schools accelerated their growth rate during the decade 1841 to 1851 as the table, on the following page, abstracted from Table I of Mann's Educational Census (1851) shows. Further, J. A. Harrison in his study of private education in Doncaster in the nineteenth century recognises the decline of the private school to come somewhat later and entitles Part II and Part III of his six slim volumed work Efflorescence 1800-1848 (1960) and Hey day and decay 1848-1900 (1961) respectively:

certainly the S.I.C. recognised the continuing prosperity of the private school, - a possible reaction to the stimulus of the examination system created in the 1850s.¹²³ Probably by the 1880s the largest single group were the private preparatory schools for boys owned by clergymen, laymen and dames;¹²⁴ by which time the proprietary schools had experienced a comparative decline largely because of financial difficulties. The 1897 educational return points to the continued prosperity of private enterprise¹²⁵ with the following statistics:-

Of the boys schools:	66.9% were private enterprise schools
	3.6% were subscribers
	2.5% were company schools
	25.6% were endowed schools
	1.4% belonged to Local Authorities

It is significant that of all the boys in these schools 40.6% were under twelve (demonstrating the possible preponderance of preparatory schools) with another 50% catering for boys between twelve and sixteen.

There is an implicit assumption in any comment on the decline of the grammar school in the nineteenth century that what was offered by private

TABLE 12 a

Dates at which existing schools were established

Counties	Total No. of private schools existing	Before 1801		1801 1811		1811 1821		1821 1831		1831 1841		March 1851		Date not specified		1841 1842		1842 1843		1843 1844		1844 1845		1845 1846		1846 1847		1847 1848		1848 1849		1849 1850		3 months of 1851				
		1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851	1841	1851			
Berkshire	289	8	7	13	20	33	118	90	7	7	4	9	12	8	5	16	20	22	8																			
Cambridge shire	398	3	4	10	23	50	235	73	5	14	11	14	18	15	15	35	42	49	17																			
Durham	550	8	5	16	49	79	350	43	7	14	16	21	16	25	31	42	63	82	33																			
Norfolk	864	9	22	33	56	136	466	142	24	20	20	21	30	41	37	54	79	105	35																			
Northum- berland	341	11	9	14	33	51	187	36	2	14	8	9	12	12	15	25	34	44	12																			
Oxford	344	4	9	14	25	37	147	108	9	8	9	7	11	9	17	23	20	24	20																			
Somerset	891	9	14	30	83	148	499	108	19	25	11	32	41	47	46	43	96	119	20																			
Southamp ton	1,021	14	11	29	70	153	553	198	22	20	26	33	29	39	40	59	82	143	60																			
Sussex	819	12	11	28	72	121	453	122	28	14	23	30	31	32	39	50	78	91	37																			
Warwick shire	764	4	12	25	61	108	428	126	18	22	27	18	29	32	39	51	68	93	31																			
Worcester shire	468	5	6	17	43	65	274	58	16	12	7	19	16	25	22	34	42	63	18																			

enterprise by way of a substitute was an effective one in view of the grammar schools' continued decline. There may have been other reasons:

- a) The expansion of the railways contributed directly to the rise of the public schools and indirectly to the continued decline of the local grammar school.
- b) The advent of proprietary and collegiate schools would also tend to take 'custom' from the grammar school as well as from the private school.
- c) The parental preference for a utilitarian curriculum, however poor, made for the continued neglect of the 'dried husks of learning' of the classical curriculum.

It falls next to examine whether or not the alternative to these 'dried husks' was an effective one.

T. H. Green, Assistant Commissioner for the S.I.C., in his report on Staffordshire and Warwickshire¹²⁷ noted that many parents preferred to send their sons to a private school professing a commercial education than to a grammar school.¹²⁸ It was apparent, however, that it was only in the better private schools (charging £4 per annum and upwards) that standards in 'commercial' subjects were better than those in Grammar schools. He had expected private schools to be significantly better than the Grammar Schools in this respect: taking good handwriting, a facility at ready reckoning, a sufficiency in grammar and composition to write a commercial letter and possibly ability in drawing and French as criteria, he found that Grammar Schools were not significantly worse than commercial schools professing these skills.¹²⁹ Taking into account his recognition that more efficient "ready reckoning" and methods more akin to commercial practice were to be found in private schools and that the better private school, which devoted most of its time to commercial

practice, provided a better training for commerce than did the grammar school, there was not much to choose between the general run of the mill school of either type.

The Rev. Dr. C. Badham, Headmaster of the Birmingham and Edgbaston Proprietary School (who therefore had his own proprietary axe to grind) was less charitable to the private commercial school. His address at the prize-giving in September 1864, contained in Thoughts on Classical and Commercial Education, attacked both the grammar school for its shortcomings and the private schools for their specious claims of providing a commercial education. With an admirable eye for business he declared that,

"No parent ... would be satisfied with the wretched mechanical acquirements which are now the common result of five or six years at a commercial academy, if he knew that by going elsewhere he could combine the vulgar utilities which he hopes from thence, with the utilities of a higher kind."¹³⁰

Undoubtedly there were early private commercial schools which gave a satisfactory commercial training for those following commercial pursuits. It is not known whether the school, which Wilkie Collins (1824-1889) attended before entering the tea trade, was a good one or not¹³¹ but the City Commercial School, George Yard, Lombard Street kept by William Pinches, which he began in 1830, prospered in the heart of the capital of the world's commerce. Its success is even more significant when it is recalled that the population of the City was much greater in 1841 than in 1918 because more traders lived at the place of business. No charlatan could get away for very long with an inadequate curriculum. This school which John H. Brodribb, alias Henry Irving, attended, gave "the essentials for a good English education soundly taught" with no Greek and only a little Latin.¹³² It aimed at giving its pupils the

facility of writing clearly, of cyphering quickly, of reading aloud with intelligent emphasis and of being accurate in spelling and grammar,¹³³ for the mere sum of £6 per annum.

The teaching of mainly English however in early commercial schools was not altogether appropriate for citizens of a great trading nation with interests in every foreign market. The famous High Pavement¹³⁴ School, Nottingham, the centre of the English lace trade and closely connected with the continent, gave a sound commercial education with special emphasis on French and German; but even in this school, English was still the main subject of the curriculum.¹³⁵

M. A. Dalvi, in his thesis Commercial Education in England 1851-1902 : an institutional study,¹³⁶ alluded to two schools of thought about commercial education which existed in the nineteenth century. The orthodox or classical school,¹³⁷ which was dominant in that century, regarded a general education as sufficient and thought that men of commerce were born not made. Self made men, too, who had learnt their knowledge through apprenticeship and practice did not favour vocational education for commerce.¹³⁸ The other school which Dalvi calls the 'progressive' or 'modernist' school had a more scientific outlook and were more analytic in their approach recognising, as did Sir John Lubbock,¹³⁹ that specialised methods in industry required a variety of specialised training. Because of the predominance of the 'classical' school new ideas on commercial education or training, took root very slowly.

One early reference to what might be called the "technology of commerce" is the teaching of Pitman's Shorthand at the School of Mr. Sopp at Alderbury (five miles from Salisbury) 1841-47.¹⁴⁰ This is early indeed, when it is recalled that Isaac Pitman invented his phonography as late as 1837.¹⁴¹

Various factors played a part in the gradual evolution of "commercial technology" such as: the evolution of railways (1825 onwards); the invention of the electric telegraph (1837) and the creation of the penny post (1840). One of the early developments which helped to proselytize were the Shorthand Festivals, the third of which held in Birmingham in 1843, was attended by T. W. Hill of Hazelwood fame. Private Commercial Schools of a new type began to emerge in the early 1870s, but they tended to concentrate mainly on one subject e.g. (1) handwriting Commercial Schools, which also gave some Arithmetic and a little book-keeping (2) Shorthand Commercial Schools.

Handwriting schools quickly developed departments for coaching students for professional preliminary and other examinations. In the early years, these schools were attended by males until the demand for female clerks grew with the increasing use of shorthand and typing.¹⁴²

Even in the most successful shorthand schools which grew from these early commercial enterprises, the proprietors tended to keep in close personal touch with the schools work which "had the effect of linking commercial education with the name of individuals."¹⁴³

It was characteristic of this latter day commercial school or college that despite the close proprietorial links they took on the character of a large commercial undertaking. Just as the early nineteenth century had been the age of the entrepreneur and the late nineteenth century the period of giant concerns with a managerial élite, so the earlier private adventure schools were small businesses compared with the large successful educational enterprises of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Skerry's College is a case in point.¹⁴⁴ In 1878 George Skerry, an Edinburgh Civil Servant, opened in that city a College the first of its kind

in Great Britain¹⁴⁵ for the preparation of candidates for the civil service examinations. George Stewart was at first his partner but in 1885 he assumed control and gradually opened other Skerry Colleges in Glasgow, and Liverpool and Newcastle upon Tyne in the 1890s. There are grounds for assuming that he was a man of vision, judgment and a driving force who "remained a firm believer in the freedom and initiative of the private school."¹⁴⁶ At this point in time when vacancies in, for example, the post office and customs and excise posts were filled by competition, Stewart saw the need for preparation for the examinations and so provided private tutors, correspondence Colleges and a Skerry's Training College. Correspondence courses began in 1880¹⁴⁷ whilst in the 1890s office training in shorthand and typewriting was started.¹⁴⁸

This office training course was considerably aided by certain office equipment inventions:- e.g. in 1881 D. Gestetner invented the cyclostyle; 1888 saw the introduction of wax paper for typewriting copies; and in 1899 Roneo introduced his rotary method of copying. By this time the equivalent of the '3 Rs' in commercial education in shorthand, typewriting and book-keeping were well established.¹⁴⁹ It was left to the twentieth century to introduce from the U.S.A. executive and administrative training, a revolution which is not even now fully underway.

Some general aspects of private schools

a) The Curriculum

The private schools' curricula changed in character from being, in the early nineteenth century, a haphazard collection of subjects which were different from school to school (according to the knowledge of the masters and the expressed wishes of the parents), to being more uniformly organized according to the requirements of middle class examinations of the Universities

and the College of Preceptors. From the 1850s these requirements of examining boards tended to determine the character of the curricula of private schools, some specialising in preparation for the universities; some for entry to the civil services and professions; some to 'mercantile pursuits', and others offering a combination of two or three of these areas. From this development emerged in the late nineteenth century what Margaret Bryant calls "a new conception of general secondary education," which included not only the ideas of the traditional curriculum but the 'modern' subjects taught by both enterprising private schools and modern sides of public schools and grammar schools.

An example of the curriculum of a private school in the early part of the period under review (1830-1914), is that of Neasham Hall Academy, Houghton le Spring, Co. Durham, conducted by Mr. William Goodricke. He advertised in the Durham Directory for 1846 a course of instruction in English, Latin, Greek and French Languages; History, Elocution, Composition, Geography, the use of Globes, Mathematics, Practical surveying and Planning, Commercial Arithmetic and Plain and Ornamental penmanship together with lectures on Natural and experimental philosophy and chemistry. It is possible to find private schools where the curriculum was even much wider.¹⁵⁰

Acland and Smith, in their Studies in Secondary Education (1892), suggest that advertisements displayed an absurdly large number of the subjects in the curriculum - out of all proportion to the capacities of the teaching staff or the possible income to be derived from pupils' fees:

"A very simple calculation will show that the large staff of assistant or resident masters advertised, must as a rule, exist principally in the imagination of the headmaster; for if a school contain thirty boys (a very common number) paying on

average £10 a year, the margin left out of the receipts for visiting masters must be very small. We are consequently driven to conclude that the principal is proficient in all the subjects advertised."¹⁵¹

Typical of the more modest curriculum was that offered by the nephew of Admiral Collingwood, who kept a school in 1857 in London attended by the young William Garnett.¹⁵²

A sesquipedalian list of subjects in a schools curriculum, however, gives no indication as to the quality of the teaching or the philosophy behind that teaching. The curriculum, for instance, of the Chrestomathic school of Bruce Castle¹⁵³ seemed no different from subjects generally offered by other private schools. The difference lay, in the way in which these subjects were taught.¹⁵⁴ Science was one subject which greatly interested the Hills who were anxious to secure a regular place for it in the curriculum: but they found an insufficient demand for it and so according to the economic law of supply and demand had to modify their aims in this respect. Science, it will be recalled, was the subject which was particularly well taught at Percy Street Academy, but equally important, it is in Rev. J. C. Bruce's Outline of the system ... (1834) that there is to be found an explicit declaration for a balanced curriculum. Bruce wrote:

"It is respectfully suggested that the object of a liberal education is not only to make the youth a successful man of business, but so to cultivate the moral and intellectual powers that he may be an intelligent and honourable and useful member of a general society; hence, while especial reference is had to those pursuits which will be more immediately useful in his intended profession, other branches may at the same time be prosecuted

with much ultimate advantage.

The religious instruction of the pupil is, in all departments, made an object of primary importance, a careful examination of the scriptures and of the evidence of revealed religion forming a regular part of the school duty."¹⁵⁵

It was possibly such statements of faith in what they were trying to do which set apart such schools as Percy Street Academy and Bruce Castle from other private schools.

The official views of the private school curricula to be found in the S.I.C. Report were not very flattering once the Assistant Commissioners looked beyond the first grade schools preparing for competitive exams like those for entry to Woolwich or the Indian Civil Service. They found the Classics either taught very badly or not at all.¹⁵⁶ Arithmetic seemed to be the core subject in the curriculum:

"The great stress was laid on the arithmetic, and one third of the time was given to it. In all private schools arithmetic appears to be, if not really, yet professedly, the leading study. Along with it writing, especially such writing as is needed for business. In schools of somewhat higher pretensions English, then French."

Altogether the private school curriculum was conducted¹⁵⁷ at a very superficial level with, as Mr. Bryce noted,¹⁵⁸ a repudiation of the classics and nothing with any rigour to put in its place.

b) Ephemerality

A charge that was frequently made against nineteenth century private schools was that they were ephemeral.¹⁵⁹ This aspect has been examined briefly in the chapter on dame schools¹⁶⁰ amongst which 'ephemerality' was most rife. There would appear to be a high correlation between ephemerality

and low social status in the private school hierarchy. Undoubtedly many dame, common day and private schools (charging more than one guinea per quarter) were very short-lived. An examination of commercial and trade directories suggests, however, that in many cases there is greater continuity than at first meets the eye, since many of the 'schools' experienced changes of ownership and/or changes of address. If some continuative factor can be discerned in this fluctuating situation, there would then be grounds for suggesting that some private schools were mercurial rather than 'ephemeral.'¹⁶¹

Other private schools, especially the private preparatory schools had a semi-permanent or permanent¹⁶² character as had some of the private adventure schools. One such school was Gainford Academy kept by the Bowman family (1829-1890) in County Durham.¹⁶³

c) Private Schoolmasters

i) Principals¹⁶⁴

It is easier to assess the benefits which Charles Dickens¹⁶⁵ gave to English private schools by his satirical portrayals of various headmasters than it is to assess the possible mischief he did to the profession of private schoolmasters generally. Although he effectively demolished the "nefarious"¹⁶⁶ trade of some Yorkshire Schools in unwanted boys by his portrayal of Wackford Squeers in Nicholas Nickleby, he also left a lasting impression of low standards of scholarship and character amongst this maligned part of the profession.

To the handicap of being lambasted by one of the most penetrating observers of the nineteenth century social scene, was added the difficulty of knowing that the profession did in fact

contain many charlatans¹⁶⁷ who tended to perpetuate the already poor reputation.¹⁶⁸ In this respect one of the professions's sternest critics was H. G. Wells.¹⁶⁹ The S.I.C. Report Volume I, too, quoting from the observations of Assistant Commissioner Fearon (Volume VII p.p. 364-366) commented on the lack of control of principals' appointments since they appointed themselves:

"There is no one whose business it is to ascertain whether he is, as he professes, a Master of Arts from a Scotch, or a Doctor of Philosophy from a German University. He may be all that he says, but he may not."

It was this weakness which prompted the movement both in private and public education for a Registration Council to ensure a reputable profession and for inspection to achieve uniformly high standards. Again it was this motive which led to the setting up of the College of Preceptors (1846)¹⁷⁰ and to a certain extent the Private Schools Association (1880), which aim was expressed legislatively in 1899 with the Board of Education Act.

If the pretensions of some principals were seriously held in question, their qualifications or rather their lack of qualifications too, did not escape further criticism.¹⁷¹ On the other hand, one Assistant Commissioner to the S.I.C. did not share the common doubts about private school principals: in his survey of Devon and Somerset C. H. Stanton found them to be admirable men:

"I was more favourably impressed with the masters as an intelligent and conscientious body of men, most of them far in advance of the parents whose sons they had to educate We find them in many places without the protection of endowments, holding their own and actually beating schools which by their foundation subsidise a master" ...(it is)... "the fashion with some to abuse the private or commercial school ... a visit to some of these schools would have dispelled such illusions."¹⁷²

That there were both many 'good' principals and many 'bad' principals of private schools cannot be denied, not only amongst the famous exemplars or the notorious cases but also amongst the less well known institutions. The Rev. William Dawson, Curate of Rampside, North Lancashire (1836-59), was a Principal of an academy which by his sterling and enlightened efforts gave his little, remote and unrecorded school a big reputation which brought in boys from Kendal, Liverpool and Manchester as well as from the local town of Ulverston.¹⁷³ On the other hand there were poor principals like the rodomontade Thomas Marley,¹⁷⁴ whose school H. G. Wells attended, or Mr. Beulah Roberts of Holt, in Denbighshire whose "wretched school (was) kept in existence by low fees and sheer insouciance of parents."¹⁷⁵ Yet again the Principal might be a man like J. V. Milne,¹⁷⁶ who by dint of hard work kept private schools which if they were not sources of great income were places of enlightened teaching.

The great difficulty of making any useful generalisation

about private school principals is exacerbated not only by the wide variation of scholarship, conduct and character but also by the time lag between 1830 and 1914. As the Bryce Commission discovered in 1894-95, many poor schools (and therefore poor principals) had disappeared under the Darwinian principle of the survival of the fittest but the relationship of principals to parents¹⁷⁷ and principals to their assistants changed gradually through the century, as the general school situation changed.

One attempt at 'analysing' the private school principals¹⁷⁸ was by an anonymous 'Assistant Master' who seemed to have a personal axe to grind.¹⁷⁹ He divided his principals into three categories - the educated principal (usually an Oxford or Cambridge graduate and possibly a cleric, charging £50 plus per year fees); the semi-educated (usually a layman with some lower qualification like M.C.P. ; and the uneducated principal (ignorant and coarse). Unfortunately such a judgment, although no doubt based on bitter experience, is so biased and full of invective as to be of little value in an objective search for a satisfactory 'identikit' of the private school principal.

The principal of a private commercial school, (either boarding, boarding and day or day) was more often than not a laymen¹⁸⁰ with possibly a university degree. A successful principal would have to be one that was capable of withstanding unwanted pressures from parents (upon whose wishes he was largely dependent).¹⁸¹ He would be master of his house - either

a benevolent despot or a terrifying autocrat.¹⁸² He would have to be a sound businessman, for his school was 'commercial' in more than one sense. The commercial factor was the principal's main incentive¹⁸³ but it was the economic factor which was his main weakness. As Margaret Bryant suggests in her examination of the problems of private school owners,¹⁸⁴ it was axiomatic that for the Principal to make a comfortable living he had to pay his assistants low salaries. Whilst there was a glut of school masters this constituted no threat to his own existence but towards the turn of the century as the 'market price' of assistant masters slowly improved it became increasingly more difficult to obtain men of adequate qualifications and ability, prepared to accept low salaries.¹⁸⁵ Beyond his anxieties and cares involved in running a private school, the 'private adventurer' had always the anxiety of old age without a steady source of income, for not all were as fortunate as Dr. Cowan, Edward Frankland, Professor of Chemistry at Owen College, Manchester relates, in his Sketches from Life,¹⁸⁶ the difficulties which Mr. James Willasey had, as he grew older. As he approached old age the number of his pupils declined and he fell on hard times, to such an extent that two of his old pupils (one of them Frankland) had to buy a life annuity of £30 for him on which he relied in his last years.

ii) Ushers or assistant masters

If the economic position of the private school principal was a precarious one, in which the threat of ill health or an

impecunious retirement were constant threats, that of the usher or assistant master (as he became later in the century), was even more precarious. Unable to count on the trusty support of the Master whose attitude to his pupils was governed by his reliance on continued parental patronage, the wretched ushers¹⁸⁸ sometimes led a most miserable existence at the mercy of rebellious boys possibly brutalised in some cases by constant poor food and flogging. As early as 1838 the Central Society¹⁸⁹ criticised the unsatisfactory situation of the private school assistant masters, their mode of existence in the school and the ways of recruiting them.¹⁹⁰

One of the characteristics of private boarding schools was the close supervision which the principal offered the parents as an inducement for sending their sons to the private school. This chore, however, was not carried out by him but by his educational drudge(s), the usher(s). Such posts were so exhausting, involving constant duty, that only the lowest in the teaching profession were to be found there.

Assistant masters in private schools were generally one of three kinds:

1. Young men just entering on their teaching career or waiting to go to University - this was later very common in preparatory schools.
2. Men who might be regarded as failures in the profession but who perhaps were sufficiently mild in nature as to ensure their non advancement.¹⁹¹

3. Failures from other callings who were probably also misfits in the teaching profession.¹⁹²

At the time of the S.I.C. Report Mr. Fearon noted with some misgiving the difference in quality between the principals and their ushers.¹⁹³ Whereas the Principals were generally self-made men of some energy, drive and experience the ushers, adscripti pupillaribus, were cast in an inferior mould by hard work; irksome duties; low salaries; insecurity and dismal prospects. During the early years of the only means of advancement within the profession were either to save enough to begin one's own school¹⁹⁴ or to marry the Principal's daughter and step into his shoes at a later date.¹⁹⁵

The institution of the middle class examinations made a difference to this pattern in so far as schools were given some external stimulus to work and so competition rather than punishment became the modus operandi which gradually changed the organisational role of usher¹⁹⁶ to that of the pedagogic role of the assistant master.¹⁹⁷

d) Discipline and Corporal Punishment

One of the main differences between public schools and private schools in the nineteenth century was their organisation for the maintenance of discipline. As the Arnoldian use of prefects became more widespread it became customary for the discipline of the public school to rest upon the senior boys. The approach of the private school was different: generally smaller than the public school, it relied on constant vigilance,¹⁹⁸ which was also a distinguishing feature of the early embryo-preparatory schools and continues to be so.

If the overall organisation of the two types of school differed, the use of corporal punishment to maintain discipline was common to both. Even in a school like Percy Street Academy with a kindly headmaster, corporal punishment was not unknown. Dr. Black¹⁹⁹ spoke in his speech at the Eighth Annual Dinner of the Old Boys (1904) of the temper of Mr. Scott the writing master "who wielded his dreaded strap frequently." Stephen Paget in his biography on Francis Paget (1913) related how the future Bishop of Oxford attended a private day school near Regents Park where "the cane was used, now and again, with horrible severity."²⁰⁰ He noted too how the cane was not used on boys whose fathers were influential.²⁰¹ In his Victorian Recollections, J. A. Bridges, recalled another London School in Highgate where the Doctor "an evil tempered brute" would flog the boys unmercifully.²⁰²

It is difficult for those living in the twentieth century to understand the mentality of Victorians which allowed such cruelties to continue.²⁰³ Such must have been the hold of the concept of original sin in the minds of so many Victorians that the only maxim which they could accept in the bringing up of children was "spare the rod and spoil the child." The innate goodness of the Rousseauian child went unperceived and only the wilfulness of Adam was seen: the insolent child was subjected to a rain of blows, calculated to reduce him into humble submission. Sometimes there was no discernment between inability and culpability: stupidity or intellectual weakness was confused with moral torpidity.

Edward Frankland was subjected to harsh treatment at the private school he attended at Claughton, near Manchester where his "head was never free from swellings many of them larger than a pigeon's egg."²⁰⁴ The difference in outlook between the nineteenth and twentieth century to this degree of

corporal punishment is demonstrated by Frankland's noting that his school master was a friend of the family and that he frequently had tea at his house: moreover, his "parents never remonstrated with him ... or even thought there was anything to remonstrate about."²⁰⁵ Osbert Sitwell, too, attended a day school in Scarborough²⁰⁶ where he was beaten on his first day and received two black eyes. This caused his parents to remove him rapidly to a preparatory school, where his treatment was little better.

Caning or flogging, then, was common both in public schools and private schools, but if Thring at Uppingham found himself in trouble with the Press for beating a boy overzealously²⁰⁷ the attacks of Punch faded into insignificance in comparison with the press publicity²⁰⁸ given in the case of Thomas Hopley, a private school master of Eastbourne, who beat a recalcitrant boy²⁰⁹ so furiously one night that the boy, Reginald C. Cancellor was found dead the next morning. Hopley was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to four years penal servitude.²¹⁰ The case is an interesting one since Hopley was by no means a rogue or charlatan like Wackford Squeers. He was the author of Lectures on the Education of Man, Helps towards the physical, intellectual and moral elevation of all classes of society, and Wrongs which cry out for redress, who specialised in taking difficult cases. He recognised in his relations with Cancellor a battle of wills and with the permission of the parent set out to beat the boy into submission. In his Facts bearing on the death of Reginald Channell Cancellor (1860), Hopley attested to his lack of feeling of guilt:

"But while anguish shook the frame, the conscience suffered not one pang. I searched and searched and searched among the deepest secrets of my soul, and could not blame myself ... I could look up tranquilly into the face of Heaven who

knew me to be Not Guilty"

This episode shows either a man anxious to exculpate himself before trial²¹¹ or a man who sincerely believed he had acted for the good, in an age which accepted his actions as not too abnormal.

That the infliction of bodily pain was accepted by many school masters as normal is seen possibly in an entry in the Private Schoolmaster, dated January 16th 1888, (Volume I No. 3) in which it was reported that a French school master had invented an electric birch by which "no mark or sign is left upon the skin." This ingenious contraption could regulate the force of the blows. It is perhaps an indication of the basic humaneness of the teaching profession that this invention never caught on or perhaps it was an example of English humour, for the French - a kind of nineteenth century NO COMMENT - that details of it were published at all.

There were school masters, however, who did not believe in corporal punishment. A. Hill in his Sketch of a System ... (1837)²¹² eschewed it altogether: social isolation was the severest punishment to which his boys were subject. Later in the century, Mr. Giffard, at the time of the S.I.C., found evidence of a distaste for corporal punishment. From a return of twenty-two upper class private schools, although sixteen (73%) had corporal punishment of some kind - all stated that the use of cane or birch ~~was~~ rare.²¹³ Of middle private schools that he consulted, eleven out of nineteen (58%) allowed the use of birch or cane;²¹⁴ whilst in lower schools he gained the impression (objective evidence not being available) of corporal punishment being less repugnant. Some masters that he spoke to, felt the quick remedy of the cane was preferred by the boys, to the tedious task of imposition.

e) The pupils and the distribution of private schools

Any consideration of the pupils who attended nineteenth century private

schools must be guided if the examination is to be on a national basis, by the Dictionary of National Biography. Appendices 14 and 15 contain the names of all persons listed in the D.N.B. who attended a private school in London and the rest of England (arranged on a County basis) respectively. Appendix 16 arranges some of the more outstanding of these entries under office holding and occupational headings.

The D.N.B. is in many ways a strange and inconsistent document. It was the brain child of George Smith and Sidney Lee, who in 1885 began to publish a comprehensive Dictionary of National Biography and invited many scholars and others to contribute to the work which appeared in sixty-three volumes and three supplementary volumes between 1891 and 1901. This nineteenth century project has developed into a work consisting of twenty-one volumes and one supplementary volume dealing with national biography up to the end of the nineteenth century and ~~six~~ volumes in the twentieth century. There is a distinct difference in character between the two parts. There is a tendency in the earlier volumes to include biographies of persons who would not be considered to be in the purview of the later volumes.²¹⁵

A trend towards the 'Establishment' can be discerned in the later volumes so that the twentieth century volumes are concerned with scientists and administrators, generals and admirals, knights and nobles; and prostitutes, pugilists and poisoners are excluded.

Because of its comprehensive nature the D.N.B. is a document superior to Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses and Foster's Alumni Oxonienses, for the purpose of piecing together a picture of nineteenth century private schools. Nevertheless the D.N.B. has its own limitations which should be noted.

In the first place there is the difficulty that in the later volumes the contributors to the D.N.B. were prone to mention only the Public School

attended by the subject of the biography and to ignore the private preparatory school or other private school which he had earlier attended.²¹⁶ Secondly, because there have been so many varied contributors to the D.N.B. there is some difficulty in interpreting the phrase "educated privately" which no doubt in many cases refers to private tuition at home or at a private tutor's house rather than in a private school.

A third difficulty, though less obstructive, is the difficulty of definition. Some contributors refer to at least one well known preparatory school viz. Elstree School, formerly in Hertfordshire (now situated in Berkshire), as a private school and throughout the early volumes there is some confusion as to whether a school is a preparatory or a private school. This is to be expected, however, since the preparatory school, as it exists today, with its public school orientated curriculum, originates from the private school of the nineteenth century.

A fourth difficulty in extracting a true picture from the entries in the D.N.B. lies in the tendency of some contributors to refer to the education of the subject of their biography only partially by not indicating the school or even the locality. However, in order to produce statistics about school attendance of famous English men and women in the nineteenth century as faithfully as possible, reference to anonymous private and preparatory schools have been included in the analysis.²¹⁷

A further difficulty, though not one arising from the imperfections of the D.N.B., is that of dealing with those alumni who attended more than one private or preparatory school.²¹⁸ Because of this it has been necessary to refer to "gross" and "net" totals. The gross totals include all the schools attended by entries in the D.N.B.; the net totals refer only to the number of those persons attending private and preparatory schools. In

other words, the "gross" is a total of schools attended; the "net" is a total of persons attending those schools.

Distribution of Private Schools

Perhaps the most striking feature of the distribution of private schools in the nineteenth century shown in an analysis of the D.N.B. findings is the preponderance of such schools in London.²¹⁹ This is illustrated by Table 13.

TABLE 13

The gross total of private schools attended

London	253
Anonymous	88
Rest of country	<u>512</u>
Total	<u>853</u>

These figures contrast with the gross total of preparatory schools attended shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

The gross total of preparatory schools attended

London	14
Anonymous	10
Rest of country	<u>135</u> ⁽²²⁰⁾
Total	<u>159</u>

Amongst the counties, the greatest number of private schools were to be found in Somerset (including Bristol) 43 entries; Hampshire 39; Lancashire 38; Sussex 31; Devonshire 31; Kent 31; Yorkshire 30; Cheshire 23 and Warwickshire 21.

Table 15 shows the full distribution amongst the counties of pupils attending both private and preparatory schools. Column 1 and 2 show gross figures and columns 3 and 4 show net figures respectively.

TABLE 15

Counties	1	2	3*	4*	Counties	1	2	3*	4*
Bedfordshire	5	0	5	0	Middx.	15	12	14	12
Berks.	16	1	16	0	Norfolk	6	1	6	0
Bucks.	9	6	9	6	Northants.	2	1	2	1
Cambs.	9	0	9	0	Northumberland & Newcastle	16	0	15	0
Cheshire	23	1	23	1	Notts.	9	2	7	2
Cornwall	13	0	13	0	Oxfordshire	10	4	10	4
Cumberland	4	0	3	0	Rutland	0	0	0	0
Derbyshire	8	0	8	0	Shropshire	5	0	4	0
Devonshire	31	3	29	3	Somerset & Bristol	43	5	40	5
Dorset	7	0	6	0	Staffs	5	0	5	0
Durham	11	0	11	0	Suffolk	7	0	7	0
Essex	7	2	7	1	Surrey	17	24	13	24
Gloucester	3	0	3	0	Sussex**	31	9	26	9
Hants.	39	19	37	14	Warwicks.	21	5	20	5
Hereford	1	1	1	1	Westmorland	2	1	2	1
Herts.	18	18	17	17	Wilts.	6	1	3	1
Hunts.	0	0	0	0	Worcs.	6	1	4	1
Kent	31	3	30	2	Yorkshire	30	5	22	3
Lancs.	38	0	35	0	London	253	14	223	10
Leics.	4	2	4	2	Anonymous	88	10	87	10
Lincs.	4	0	4	0	Totals	853	151	780	135
					Gross Totals		1,004		915

* Net figures have been adduced by counting in the survey only the counties listed first alphabetically in any subject's school career. In so far as the D.N.B. does not indicate generally at which private schools the subjects of the biographies stayed longest (some were in more than two schools)

the criterion adopted, whilst invalidating individual net county figures, is no less arbitrary than the alternative criterion of the school which the subject first attended since in some cases, at least, the first school may have been the one in which the subject spent least time.

** Many of these private schools were probably preparatory schools but from the D.N.B. there is no way of differentiating.

Two further points of general interest are that of the 915²²¹ entries in the D.N.B. attending private or preparatory schools in the nineteenth century (1830-1914) a considerably large number 313, (34%) took up scientific professions,²²² whilst only 147 (16%) followed their father's occupation. These figures would seem to reflect, on the one hand, the tendency for private schools to meet the demands of parents who required a commercial and technical education for their sons, and on the other, the widening opportunities for employment arising from an expanding world.

The Government Commissions and the effects of State intervention

The most salient feature of the two Royal Commissions with regard to the private schools was the recognition of their improvement during the intervening thirty years.²²³ After some considerable strictures on the private schools, the S.I.C. had recommended that:

- i) their inspection should not be compulsory nor need they be compelled to employ only registered teachers;
- ii) teachers in private schools be allowed to register;
- iii) the schools be allowed to be enrolled on the list of schools of their district, providing their fees were not excessive.
- iv) Such schools to submit to examination and inspection as endowed schools and

- v) their pupils be admitted to competition for the same scholarships as those of endowed schools.²²⁴

Despite the improvement that had taken place in these schools, their existence was being threatened from several quarters. viz.

- a) Endowed Grammar Schools gradually came out of hibernation after the 1869 Endowed Schools Act, to compete effectively in many cases with the private school.²²⁵
- b) After 1870 the Higher Grade School of ambitious School Boards became a source of competition of an unequal nature.
- c) Private Schools continued to have their hostile critics.²²⁶
- d) The creation of Local Authorities in 1888 and 1894 with powers, in the case of the County and County Borough Councils, to improve technical education (1889) with the aid of Whiskey money (1890) each year. Unable to compete because of rising costs many private schools shared the same fate as schools of the voluntary societies.²²⁷

Private schools gained a fair hearing from the Bryce Commissioners. W. Brown and Miss Olney of the Private Schools Association and Mr. C. R. Hodges B.A. (Secretary) and Mr. E. E. Pinches (Treasurer) of the College of Preceptors were allowed to present their views fully.²²⁸

These four representatives of the private school world had the ground taken from under their feet slightly by the Memorial of seventeen private school teachers (all women) who repudiated half of the P.S.A. policy of defending the interests of private school owners against impending legislation on Secondary education; nevertheless they (P.S.A.) were successful in gaining official recognition for the part still to be played by private schools.

Whilst they gave evidence, the representatives of the private schools' associations had to steer a steady course between the Scylla of Local Authority predatory ambitions and the Charybdis of Central Authority paternalism, the latter of which they regarded as the lesser of the two evils.²²⁹ Willingly accepting²³⁰ the principles of registration,²³¹ inspection and recognition, the schools survived into the twentieth century.²³² The 1902 Education Act which empowered Local Education Authorities (Part II Authorities) to provide Secondary Schools and the national structure of Secondary Education which was built on this Act, tended to put the private schools outside the main stream.²³³ They had served their purpose in the nineteenth century in supplying a need; in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century private schools possibly became increasingly more associated in the minds of many with "progressive education" under the impact of the New Education movement.²³⁴

CHAPTER 4

PRIVATE PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

The term 'progressive school' contains an implicit value judgment more in accord with Platonic idealism than modern pragmatism. For this reason Stewart and McCann, in the first of their volumes,¹ prefer the phrase 'educational innovators' to describe those educators who have eschewed, in varying degrees, traditional subjects and traditional ways of teaching and conducting schools.

Several witnesses² who gave evidence to the Bryce Commission recognised that, in this particular aspect, the private school had not only had the freedom to experiment, unhampered by endowment restrictions, but had made good use of that freedom in introducing educational innovation to English School practice.

The experiment of the Hill family in Birmingham and London in the nineteenth century at Hill Top and Hazelwood Schools Edgbaston, and Bruce Castle Tottenham, is fairly well documented³ and needs no further comment. Similarly the names of Barbara Bodichon,⁴ J. H. Badley⁵ and Charles and Elizabeth Mayo⁶ have been made familiar by the studies of Professor Stewart and W. P. McCann. Not so well known perhaps is the work in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of men like Dr. Charles Pritchard and William H. Herford in proprietary and private schools respectively, and Lionel Helbert and C.C. Lempriere in preparatory schools.

It is always difficult for the historian to point with certitude to the influence of one man's ideas over those of another but Charles Pritchard, in his Annals of Our School Life (1886), pays due tribute to the experience of having attended, in his youth, the private school of John Stock in Poplar, London, after spending some "unfructiferous" time at Merchant Taylors'. Stock was one of those early nineteenth century private school masters with a consuming interest in science, a subject completely outside

most schools' curricula for much of the century.⁷ Although the teaching of this autodidact was exemplary, in so far as it was energetic and practical (based on a spirit of ambitious competition amongst his pupils), it was the content of his teaching which was so innovatory. Stock had a collection of working models, "of such machinery as then existed, made and used by the celebrated Ferguson,"⁸ as well as telescopes and quadrants. He encouraged his pupils or according to Pritchard "insisted" on his pupils "acquiring the use of scales and compasses and the art of geometrical drawing." They also drew maps and architectural plans, whilst many of his pupils could use the theodolite. It was at this school that Pritchard first saw "a retort, an air pump and an electrical machine." Such experiments at Poplar led Pritchard to provide similar education at the Clapham Grammar School which gained a national reputation⁹ under his tutelage.

How Charles Pritchard, later Fellow of the Royal Society, Hulsean lecturer at Cambridge (1867) and Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford (1870), became Headmaster of Clapham Grammar School¹⁰ (1834-1862), after his quarrel with the proprietors of Stockwell Grammar School (1833-1834), is part of the history of proprietary schools", but for the researcher in private progressive schools, the curriculum proposals which Pritchard presented to the proprietors of Stockwell Grammar School are of some significance. An important part of this curriculum was a systematic course on physical phenomena. Of this he wrote:

"I think it now, preposterous to regard any man as thoroughly or even moderately well educated unless he has some intelligent acquaintance with the physical nature of the food he eats, the water he drinks, the air he breathes, and of the general structure of the heart which beats within him."¹²

Unable to carry out his curricular scheme because of proprietorial opposition at Stockwell Grammar School, he left within a year to become Headmaster of another school almost created for him to carry out his ideas.¹³ This school he packed with scientific apparatus and even equipped it with an observatory.¹⁴ Weekly lectures were given in physics and astronomy.¹⁵ Pritchard's basic aim was to get the boys to think¹⁶ and consequently nearly all in the upper forms of the school could draw a fairly good diagram of a condensing steam engine and explain how it worked.¹⁷

For much of the early nineteenth century there was no general appreciation of the value of science in the school curriculum. In many public schools, for instance, Science, if its value was recognised at all, was taught by way of ad hoc lectures given by visiting speakers.¹⁸ Even other comparatively subordinate subjects like French and Mathematics had permanent staff to perform the teaching, despite the lower status accorded to them in comparison with the Classics Master. Schools, therefore, which taught science were pioneers; but it was very rare to find a school embracing science with anything like the enthusiasm of Pritchard's.

One exception was the School of Dr. Heldenmaier¹⁹ at Worksop in Nottingham. This Pestalozzian boarding school, of some sixty to a hundred boys, possessed a Chemistry Laboratory; and like Pritchard Dr. Heldenmaier encouraged reasoning and practice in the teaching of both Science and Modern Languages. The school was equipped, too, with a gymnasium, the apparatus of which was chosen by W. Huguenin of Liverpool, who was in the 1840s, the most celebrated gymnastic instructor. It also maintained a Natural History Museum to which specimens were added as a result of nature walks; in this way a love of botany, ornithology and entomology was aroused in some of the boys.²⁰

Another novel feature of the Worksop School was the half-yearly excursion, by coach and rail, to places of educational interest.²¹ The boys became proficient, too, in both joinery and mechanics and without any loss of status.²² It was such schools as Pritchard's Clapham Grammar School and Heldenmaier's Worksop which gave Matthew Arnold his opportunity to exercise his satirical wit in Friendship's Garland²³ by his portrayal of the Science enthusiast, Dr. Archimedes Silverpump Ph.D. of Lycurgus House Academy, Peckham.

Another pioneer of educational practice, but in a different field, was William H. Herford (1820-1908). Insufficient recognition has been accorded to Herford possibly because his affliction of self doubt handicapped him in his work; but more probably because his two schools, whilst he was at the helm, did not prosper as they did under his two respective successors.

Like Pritchard, Herford had been subjected to an early beneficial educational influence²⁴ - Dr. John Relly Beard (1800-1876).²⁵ Beard kept a very well equipped school with a library, large playground and gymnasium. It was well supplied, too, with scientific apparatus and had gardens for development by the boys. W. H. Herford acknowledged in a letter to Beard, in 1876, his obligations to his old teacher when he wrote:

"My indebtedness to you begins about 1835, when I came to your school, having till then been gnawing ... the asinine meal of sow thistles and bramble as Milton calls it, meaning thereby the classical and mathematical education Myself, as you know, pretty much of an idealist in education, I shall always look upon you as one of the Reformers before the Reformation."²⁶

Although it could be legitimately claimed that what the Mayos did for

Pestalozzian ideas in England, W. H. Herford did for Froebelian, he was indirectly influenced more, by the earlier continental pioneer. A trained Unitarian Minister from Manchester, he was set on a life in the Unitarian Ministry when he was recommended to Lady Noel Byron, widow of Lord Byron and well known Pestalozzian, as a tutor for her grandson, Ralph King.²⁷ To qualify him for the task fully, it was arranged that Herford and his pupil should go to Hofwyl, near Berne, Switzerland to acquaint him with the Pestalozzian methods of Willhelm von Fellenberg.²⁸ This he did in 1847 staying at Hofwyl some three or four months. The idea was to create an English equivalent of Hofwyl in England.

After fully imbibing Pestalozzian doctrine, Herford set up a school first in West Place and then in Queen Square, Lancaster which he ran on Pestalozzian principles for eleven years before handing it over to the Rev. D. Davies, a relative by marriage, who gave it the name of Castle Howell²⁹ and who ran it for nearly thirty years, on similar lines. Both Herford and, to a lesser extent, Davis (who had been first his assistant and then his partner (1850-1854) and after an absence of seven years succeeded him in 1861), ran the school on the important Pestalozzian principle of discovery.³⁰ Further, Herford eschewed all prizes, place taking, merit marks and other extrinsic rewards which characterised other schools. He encouraged self government among his pupils by consulting them on school issues: he replaced the usual system of "espionage"³¹ to be found in some private schools with an open and frank association between teachers and pupils. In true Pestalozzian fashion the emphases were put on plenty of fresh air and exercise with no undue mental strain; on bodily exercises, and moral training. In the spirit of Montaigne,³² although "a sound classical and commercial education" was offered, nothing was committed

to memory which was not first understood. He further inculcated in his pupils an appreciation of the virtue of being painstaking in all their work.

The numbers in the school at Lancaster were never very high,³³ reaching a maximum, in 1856, of twenty-one. From then the pupils began to dwindle in number to sixteen which confirmed Herford in his views of his inevitable failure. He therefore offered the school to Rev. D. Davis. His comparative failure at Lancaster with boys over ten years old persuaded Herford that to be successful it was necessary to begin at the early stage with the education of the child.

He opened a day school in Fallowfield, Manchester in 1873 for boys and girls between seven and thirteen (with entry between seven and ten). Herford regarded the second venture, as the stage beyond Froebel's kindergarten. The principles upon which this school was based are set out in his essay The School (1889) in which he admits his indebtedness to Froebel. He declared his belief in Froebel's dicta - i) the end of education is harmonious development and ii) learn by doing. Shortly after opening his unnamed school, Herford moved to better premises in Lady Barn Lane from which the school, Lady Barn House, eventually acquired its name.³⁴ In his public announcement of the opening of his school, W. H. Herford emphasised his aim of teaching the children to think rather than to rely on memory in their school work. In 1879, a kindergarten was added to the school so that it became distinctly Froebelian in its taking younger children, whose senses were employed in manual occupations. His second wife (until her death in 1880) and second daughter Caroline, helped him at Lady Barn House so that it prospered and made a reputation at least among less conventional parents.³⁵

Herford played a leading role in the instituting of the Manchester

Kindergarten Association, of which he became acting Honorary Secretary in 1875. He and Caroline Herford, who continued to run the school most successfully after her father's retirement in 1886,³⁶ lectured in the Kindergarten College set up by the Association. Despite, however, his work for Froebelian education in England, and his friendship with H.M.I. T. G. Rooper,³⁷ Herford received scant recognition by the Bryce Commission.³⁸

Occasionally it is recognised that within the usually conventional preparatory school orbit there can exist a Headmaster who is not only idiosyncratic in personality but also innovatory in educational method. Such a man was Lionel Helbert (1870-1919),³⁹ Headmaster of West Downs Preparatory School, Winchester from 1897 till his death in 1919. His ever vigilant attitude towards his boys was recognised by William Boyd and Wyatt Rawson in their Story of the New Education (1965), as being in tune with the New Education which they defined as "a matter of watching and understanding, of helping the growth of the child's inner powers and confidence by the right kind of encouragement."⁴⁰ His wholly attractive character, and cheerful ways in which he looked after his boys, have been highly lauded elsewhere,⁴¹ so that even if Lionel Helbert were not to be remembered for his proposals for the reorganisation of the Association of Preparatory Schools (A.P.S.) on a regional basis,⁴² he would be remembered for his encouragement of unconventional attitudes in school and for his employment of Norman MacMunn⁴³ as a radical teacher of English, French and Arithmetic.

History has given no such recognition to C. C. Lempriere (c.1865-c.1930) founder of Red House School, Moor Monkton, for his pioneering work in a remote part of the North Riding of Yorkshire. For some twenty years (1902-1922) this preparatory school was organised on lines very different from the

more traditional preparatory schools which had emerged by the end of the nineteenth century as the recognised nurseries for the public schools. Whilst the schools of the A.P.S.⁴⁴ were discussing such matters as whether or not the teaching of Greek should be left to the Public Schools, and its corollary - the effects of the overloaded curriculum - Lempriere, professionally isolated from his colleagues,⁴⁵ was busy organising his school along the lines of his own personal philosophy.

Much of the evidence for Lempriere's motives and actions are to be found in the pages of the School Magazine, the Carterian⁴⁶ since he used this, as editor, to put over his ideas both to boys and parents who bought copies of the magazine. His school was always a small one⁴⁷ in which great emphasis was placed on a family atmosphere. He first set up school c. 1890,⁴⁸ in Harrogate, calling it Carteret House⁴⁹ from whence he moved in 1902, on the expiry of the lease, to Red House⁵⁰ near Marston Moor, about which he wrote:

"it may be fairly said to have the makings of one of the best preparatory schools in Yorkshire."⁵¹

Lempriere was well pleased with his new location and had the light and water supplies overhauled to accommodate the boys. At the same time he announced his educational plans in the School Magazine to the effect that "every effort (would) still be made to move along with the most recent progress of modern thought ... Science for example (would) be carefully taught, and hold a position on a level with that of Classics and Mathematics as a training for the mind." In Modern Languages he promised a stress on colloquial aspects.

It was the Science teaching in the school which first distinguished the Red House curriculum from that taught at almost all other preparatory

schools.⁵² Lempriere was fortunate to have on his staff a Mr. De Ratti of Berlin University who, even at Harrogate, had given weekly Science lessons.⁵³ When the school moved to Red House, weekly Science lessons continued and a science laboratory was set up in the early 1900s to give De Ratti the right environment for his work, upon which Lempriere laid so much stress. De Ratti lectured on a variety of scientific topics⁵⁴ including Health and Drainage, which no doubt went some way to promoting the excellent health record of the school.⁵⁵ So successful were De Ratti's lectures that he had fifty of his experiments published. Commenting in particular on De Ratti's lectures on psychology which had been very successful with eleven year old boys,⁵⁶ Lempriere stressed the concentrated attention which De Ratti had gained from the boys which suggested "a complete refutation of the common theory that science cannot be satisfactorily taught to boys of an early age": Lempriere, the visionary went on "science, simply, carefully, capably taught may one day form the main basis of education."

In a later edition of the Carterian (No. 23 March 1904), Lempriere again referred to the Science teaching in the School emphasising that "All these subjects are taught with a view to making a boy think about what he sees around him, (Lempriere's italics) and are in line with the whole idea of the scientific side of the school work."

It would seem, however, that Lempriere experienced some difficulty because, despite the increasing importance of Science in the twentieth century, few Public Schools offered scientific questions in their entrance examinations.⁵⁷ He ruefully came to the conclusion that "we either teach science to the consequent neglect, in part at least, of the classical training which alone is held in honour at our large schools; or we teach little

science, and lose thereby the soundest method of teaching boys to think." Nevertheless science continued to be an important subject at the school under the guidance of De Ratti and Lempriere.

Some of Lempriere's other ideas also found expression in the Magazine. Chief among these were his views on the vanishing rural population, in which views he showed extraordinary energy and initiative.⁵⁸ Child psychology,⁵⁹ progressive education⁶⁰ and character building also received his thoughtful attention.

It was his provision of outdoor activities, which he closely linked with character building, which formed the basis of his school policy. His four hole golf course⁶¹ and pony riding school⁶² were novel enough features but it was the school farm which provided the main outlet which Lempriere was seeking for his boys' energy. Red House was ideally situated for such an experiment, being situated in healthy open countryside. The farm began in 1903 with one cow, three pigs, four ducks and forty-seven poultry, but the processes of nature very shortly made it a thriving concern in which not only was a small profit made as the stock grew but also a constant source of healthy occupation was provided for the boys.⁶³ An account of the school farm appeared in the Civil and Military Gazette in 1904 in which it was noted that both the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Meath had an interest in Lempriere's work.

After the farm had been functioning about a year, Lempriere's ideas about it were beginning to take more definite shape and he again gave expression to his views in the Carterian. Recognising the need for an interested member of staff for the carrying out of his ideas, he set down clearly what he thought should be the ratios between work, games and outdoor occupations viz. 60%, 25%, 15% respectively. He was so utterly convinced

of the value of these outdoor occupations that he approached the parents to take out shares from five shillings to five pounds to finance the farm. The boys' shares were to be sold on their leaving the school and so the farm was to be run on a commercial basis. This was an excellent training for the sons of farmers and country squires the like of which had been one of the reasons for the setting up of County Schools in Norfolk and Durham.⁶⁵

Lempriere linked his experimental farm in his mind with the progressive school movement generally. In November 1904 he wrote an article in the Carterian (No. 27) entitled, "An ideal of Education" anticipating the Christmas Conference of Progressive Schools. This article outlines his educational principles and it is revealing the order in which he lists them viz.

- "1. Outdoor occupation
2. Science seconded by Classics as ground system of education
3. Definite training of certain qualities such as determination, go, tact, and self control.
4. The setting of a boy's attitude
 - (i) to his fellows and his masters
 - (ii) to his schoolwork and future occupation
 - (iii) to the questions and problems moral, social and political, of his after life."

To promote his ideas on character building (the third main part of his educational philosophy) Lempriere instituted, in 1906, a prize fund for rewarding character. He sought £20 from parents to provide one pound a year for four prizes (at five shillings each) to reward boys who had best displayed the virtues of Originality, Determination, Tact and Orderliness.

Although Lempriere probably never lost faith in positive character building he did change his views as to what virtues were to be inculcated.⁶⁶

Another of his innovations was the institution, in 1907, of two £50 scholarships to junior boys who promised all-round efficiency. The criteria for these scholarships were novel and contrasted strongly with the contemporary view of scholarships in the early twentieth century.⁶⁷

It has been necessary to expound at some length on the educational philosophy of Mr. Charles C. Lempriere, in so far as this educational pioneer of some stature has not been recognised hitherto. Like other innovators discussed in this chapter, his work and ideas form part of the continuing contribution which many witnesses to the Bryce Commission, including Michael Sadler,⁶⁸ felt was the peculiar contribution of private schools to English education.

CHAPTER 5

THE PRIVATE CLASSICAL SCHOOL

"That the whole of the boyhood and the greater part of the youth of the higher classes of our countrymen should be occupied with the study of the language, literature, history, and customs of two nations which have long disappeared from the surface of our globe, and which, but for the common conditions of all humanity have no more relation to us than the inhabitants of another planet, would assuredly, if presented to our observation for the first time, appear a strange abuse of the privilege which the wealthy enjoy in the long, sedulous, and uninterrupted education of their sons."

Lord Houghton. Essay Nine : "On the present social results of Classical Education"

Edited by F. W. Farrar : Essays on a Liberal Education 1867

The Classics, like the Church in the nineteenth century, experienced changing fortune which modified, to some extent, their importance in English education. They shared with the Church, a common rival, Natural Science, which together with the claims for commercial and technical education, slowly eroded the Classics' hegemony over the English school curriculum. It is not the purpose of this chapter to trace the gradual shift in emphasis in the curriculum¹ or the gradually mounting criticism from the early attacks of the Edinburgh Review at the beginning of the century, to the self confident assertions of Herbert Spencer in mid-century about what education is of most worth; nor to examine the misgivings of friends of the Classics, like Robert Lowe and F. W. Farrar, about their absolute value. It is rather to examine the existence, in the early nineteenth

century, of the private classical school which by the mid century was being metamorphosed in some instances into the embryonic preparatory school.

Nicholas Hans² analysed the private classical schoolmasters of the eighteenth century as consisting of two main categories:

- i) the professional teacher who had probably taken Holy Orders as tradition demanded, but was absent from his parish in the full-time conduct of his school.³
- ii) the resident vicar or rector, who for reasons of economy or personal educational philosophy, educated his son at home with other boys of the locality. Often such schools were opened to augment a meagre stipend.

Of the 260 private classical schools mentioned by Hans, 240 were schools run by Anglican clergy. Sometimes, however, such schools were run by laymen.⁴

Two good examples of the continuity of the 'professional' school from Hans's period to that of the nineteenth century are to be found in the schools of the Rev. J. A. Barron of Stanmore⁵ and of Mr. Horne of Chiswick.⁶ The school kept by Rev. Barron, attended by Alfred J. Church as a boy,⁷ was a school of "high and not undeserved repute." It had been set up in 1771 by Dr. Samuel Parr⁸ when he left Harrow after his disappointment at not being made Headmaster. This school was relatively large, having sixty boys and six resident assistant masters.⁹ The private classical school of Mr. Horne at Chiswick¹⁰ was also of long standing, having belonged previously to Dr. Horne who kept it till 1824. Dr. Horne passed Manor House School,¹¹ Chiswick to his son, Mr. Thomas Horne who kept it till 1835. Horne's school was described as a "first class school for the sons of Noblemen and Gentlemen."¹²

Mr. Elwell's School at Hammersmith was a similar classical school with a high reputation, which was probably recommended to the parents of G. Gathorne-Hardy (1814-1906) by William Wilberforce. Amongst the boys who attended this school were Henry Alford (1810-1871), Dean of Canterbury and first editor of Contemporary Review; Daniel Wilson (1778-1858) Bishop of Calcutta; William Jowett (1787-1855) missionary and Henry Venn Elliott (1792-1865) divine. This school which produced these distinguished clergymen, was alleged to be "a place of narrowness, bigotry, hypocrisy and meanness."¹³ Another distinguished pupil was E. A. Freeman (1823-1892), the historian, who attended a classical school in Sheep Street Northampton, kept by the Rev. T. C. Haddon, assisted by his two brothers.

Two private classical schools which gained a high reputation nationally were situated in the London area.¹⁴ The first, kept by the Burney family¹⁵ in Greenwich, had a long history.¹⁶ Among the boys who attended this school were William Godwin (1803-1832), son of William Godwin the philosopher; George Lewes (1817-1878) writer and Sir John Simon (1816-1904), the sanitary reformer. One famous old boy of this school was, however, very unhappy there. Anthony Ashley Cooper (1801-1885), seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, was sent there at the age of seven. Although the teaching of Latin and Greek was good, the poor food and the bullying by the older boys made Shaftesbury's life a misery before he went to Harrow at the age of twelve.¹⁷ Dr. Nicholas's School at Ealing had an equally high reputation, having no less than six pupils mentioned in the D.N.B. including, ironically, both John Newman (1801-1890) and Thomas Huxley (1825-1895).

Not all classical schoolmasters were uniformly limited in their interests to the Classics. The Rev. Joshua Gray, for instance, who kept a private Grammar School in St. Anne's Terrace, Brixton, London, was a pioneer

in the introduction of Science to the curriculum.¹⁸

Nor were such schools spared the practice of corporal punishment because they were run largely by clergymen. Sir Evelyn Ruggles Brise, founder of Borstal, was sent, relatively late in the nineteenth century, to a private classical school near Hitchin, owned by a Rev. J. Tuck. Here the reverend headmaster although having only twenty boys, found it necessary to rule with a rod of iron.¹⁹ Several examples of brutality in such schools have been recorded: before going to Harrow, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland (1809-1898), attended the school of the Rev. Mr. Roberts at Mitcham, and over a period of five years had the effect of being crushed because of the constant flogging in the school.²⁰ At a later date Roberts moved his school from Mitcham to Brighton and it is tempting to reflect that his tendency to flogging (if it were not all too common) identified him in a classical school which Henry Labouchere²¹ attended before he went to Eton in 1844. Here it was alleged the master flogged boys to relieve his lumbago.

In his Reminiscences chiefly of Towns, Villages and Schools (1885) Volume I, Rev. T. Mozley tried to assess the reason for this inordinate amount of flogging to be found in private classical schools in the early nineteenth century. He had noted as a young man, the brutalised condition of arrivals at Charterhouse and concluded that so many private schoolmasters were frustrated in their task by schoolboy 'obstinacy' that only caning provided an outlet for this frustration. He wrote: "over these boys they broke their tempers, their strength and often their characters."²²

Before proceeding to the second type of private classical school - i.e. that run by a resident rector - it is well to note that not all private classical schools of the first category were run by clergy. Before going

onto King's College School, Frederic Harrison, attended (1841) the school of Mr. Joseph King, of 9 Northwick Terrace, St. John's Wood, whose two daughters taught him the Classics.²³ Another lay classical school with greater pretensions was that of Dr. Grieg²⁴ who kept Walthanstown House School, attended by the future Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge.²⁵ This school for instance, possessed a Drillmaster in the shape of an old sergeant of the 14th Light Dragoons (Hussars) who had fought at the battle of Talavera.²⁶

The Anglican clergyman was in a strong position to unite the office of schoolmaster with his clerical duties, for as Thomas Arnold noted in 1832 "in schools conducted by the clergy, the parents have this security, that the man to whom they commit their children has been at least regularly educated, and ... he must be a man of decent life."²⁷ The man of the cloth had a ready made testimony of his suitability for intellectual instruction and moral guidance. Further, very many clergymen were grateful for the opportunity of augmenting their income. Not all clergymen were so fortunate as 'squarsons' like Rev. Thomas Stevens²⁸ or the Rev. Charles Slingsby - Slingsby²⁹ or the Rev. the Marquis of Normanby.³⁰ Nor were many clergymen so materially blessed as Canon Newton, later Vicar of Redditch, who having inherited a fortune found his vicarage in Yorkshire too small and built himself a new one at his own expense: he also built an extensive residence on a Loch in Western Scotland where he owned a deer forest.³¹

Undoubtedly there were clergymen who found it difficult to eke out a living. In the unreformed state of the Church at the beginning of the century, analysed by Elie Halévy in his A History of the English People in 1815,³² the curates especially, - "the plebs" of the clergy - were in a parlous state.³³ Halévy's findings for the earlier period have been confirmed by Owen Chadwick's recent study of the Victorian Church.³⁴

Chadwick finds that the income of many of the clergy was generally low, more than a third having an income of less than £200 per annum and half had an income of less than £300.³⁵ Those worst off were the parsons whose income depended mainly on glebe since they were then dependent on others for harvesting.

Despite the unattractiveness of the average clerical stipend the number of beneficed clergy rose from about 6,000 in 1848 to more than 13,000 in 1887.³⁶ As to the value of the clergyman's income in the nineteenth century, there seems to be difference of view as well as some possible discrepancy. Quoting from Halévy's A History of the English People (Epilogue. Vol. I 1895-1905. 1929 p. 170) G. Baron suggests that a "full half of the parochial clergy were obliged to live on a stipend of less than £200," with the position of the curates being far worse. Chadwick computes the average income of clergymen in 1837 somewhat higher at £500 but notes that sixty years later it was more like £246.³⁷ With their incomes so low and time on their hands being so plentiful³⁸ many country clergymen converted their rectories into places of education, despite the discouragement of this practice³⁹ by the reforming zeal of the Evangelical and High Church sections of the Church.⁴⁰

General biography gives a number of examples of these Rectory Schools. Frederick Locker-Lampson (1821-1895)⁴¹ in his My Confidences (1896) tells how his school days in 1830 were spent with Rev. Mr. Barnett of Yateley, Hampshire who took in five or six pupils. Locker-Lampson was not happy at this school of "Orbilius of the Birch" whom he hated and feared. After a year at a second school run by a Mr. Wigram (probably another clergyman) of Clapham Common,⁴² which Dean Bradley of Westminster attended as a schoolboy, Locker-Lampson was sent to the Rev. Mr. Wight, Vicar of

Drearyboro' (sic) who advertised his school in The Record, a low Church paper. He did not learn much from this school in which apart from a boy seven years older than himself, he was the only pupil.

John Beddoe F.R.S. (b. 1826), on the other hand, the medical, legal and anthropological expert, was sent to a school kept by Rev. Wharton at Mitton near Stourport Worcestershire, who taught Beddoe a good grounding in both Latin and Greek and in a kindly way.⁴³

Augustus Hare, in his Story of My Life relates, how he attended the school at Harnish Rectory of Rev. Mr. F. Kilvert, the antiquary, who is recorded in the D.N.B. This school was patronised by boys of the rich middle class but in common with other recipients of this form of education, Hare is critical of the way in which the school was conducted.⁴⁴ Though deeply religious, Kilvert like many of his clerical contemporaries, was not averse to the use of the cane and Hare notes how he "was very hot-tempered and slashed our hands with a ruler and our bodies with a cane most unmercifully."⁴⁵ Despite the Scholarship of Kilvert and the rigour of his regime, Hare felt that he learnt little at this school.⁴⁶

Lord Norton, (b. 1814) formerly Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Adderley M.P., with decided views on education,⁴⁷ felt similarly about his experience of a rectory school.⁴⁸ After three years at a private classical school of thirty to forty boys (aged between 8½ - 12 years) at Redland, Bristol, conducted by the Rev. J. Parsons, the young Adderley was sent to the Rev. F. R. Spragg at Combe St. Nicholas where the sons of Wilberforce were his (Spragg's) pupils. His education "was of the most meagre kind in instruction ... though lavish in costliness."

One of the more successful Rectory Schools was that at Durnford near Salisbury run by the Rev. Canon Parr and attended by two D.N.B. entries -

Lawrence Oliphant (1829-1888) and Sir William Harcourt (1827-1904).⁴⁹

Harcourt's father was averse to the public school system and sent his two sons William and Edward to Durnford, a school of five boys only. Parr made the boys work hard, some eleven hours of study a day.⁵⁰ This small school even had its own Durnford School Magazine: it prospered and grew to be twenty-four in number before Parr became Vicar of Preston in 1840 when he transferred his school North.⁵¹

Another excellent Rectory School which seemed to foster a tradition for tutoring and schoolmastering was that at Fordington Vicarage, Dorset, run by the Rev. Henry Moule, the father of Handley C. C. Moule, 85th Bishop of Durham. Henry Moule had some fifteen or sixteen boys in his school and educated in his time his eight sons, most of whom gained distinction in later life.⁵² Henry Moule (senior) was assisted in his task by a succession of curates. The teaching was enlightened and no attempt was made to force lessons but rather to create an environment conducive to a desire for learning. Moule's biographers⁵³ record an interesting experiment in the little school with the institution of the Fordington Times Society (1856-1859) which consisted of the Vicar and his wife, their sons and pupils and the parish curate and clerk. Meetings were held weekly during term and had the character of a 'Literary and Philosophical Society' with original prose and verse being read out.⁵⁴

The phenomenon of the private classical school, small in size, conducted in a country rectory was more common in the early part of the century. Many of them had prospered because of the parental preference for the close family atmosphere to be found in such schools, but with the decline of the ideal of domestic or private education⁵⁵ and the rapid growth and improvement of boarding schools the demand for this type of education dwindled.

Perhaps the best documented account of a private classical school in the nineteenth century is that of Thorp Arch Grange School⁵⁶ (near Boston Spa), Yorkshire which belonged to the Hiley family. R. W. Hiley's⁵⁷ father had owned a private school (of the commercial type) since the age of seventeen and after two moves had built Thorp Arch Grange. He was a successful schoolmaster whose school books were later published extensively by Longmans. Some while after R. W. Hiley had purchased the school from his father in 1861, he attempted to change the clientele and develop a classical school. From 1861 to 1871 he was helped by his brother Alfred who was Vicar of Walton, in the adjoining parish. By 1880 the emphasis in the curriculum had completely changed: French and German were taught less and the Classics were taught more. Hiley at one time could boast of five Thorp Arch men in Oxford and five in Cambridge simultaneously.⁵⁸

Thorp Arch Grange School is important not only as a good example of showing the flexibility of the curriculum in a private school but also as an example of the effects of State intervention in education. By 1887 the aged Hiley began to think of retiring. The Endowed Schools Act had seriously affected the position of Classical Schools: some grammar schools in the neighbourhood such as Ripon, Sedbergh and Giggleswick had borrowed money and built boarding houses and "as these were backed by endowments, could offer scholarships, and had influential governors⁵⁹ interested in their welfare, they attracted the class that had hitherto been my (Hiley's) supporters".⁶⁰ In 1889 he gave up the school. Two successive Masters took it on but could not make a success of it in the changed circumstances. The Leeds School Board finally took over the Grange and turned it into an industrial school.⁶¹

Other examples of later rectory schools are to be found also in general

biography. Walter Besant, in the mid century, attended a school kept by a clergyman who after two or three years gave it up as unprofitable, to become chaplain to a gaol.⁶² Both Herbert Ryle,⁶³ later Bishop of Winchester and Stewart Headlam,⁶⁴ Fabian and educationist, attended the school of Rev. R. H. Wace at Wadhurst, Sussex. Wace was a good example of a clergyman turning his circumstances of large house and family to good effect. He had nine sons who attended the school together with the sons of other wealthy parents. Mrs. Wace helped her husband and the school was run like a large family.

Another school which had a homely atmosphere was that run by the Rev. Maurice Cowell, Vicar of Ashbocking (seven miles from Ipswich) who looked after twelve boys including the future Field Marshall Allenby, with the aid of his curate the Rev. T. Heaviside Peat.⁶⁵

In Dr. Wortle's School,⁶⁶ Anthony Trollope portrays the quasi-preparatory school⁶⁷ of the mid nineteenth century.⁶⁸ Like the Rev. J. W. Hawtreay of St. Michael's School, Aldin House Slough,⁶⁹ the Rev. Dr. J. Wortle was a master at Eton who decided to branch off on his own and teach young boys. Bowick School started off like any Rectory School with half a dozen pupils in his (Wortle's) house and set out to prepare boys for Eton. Wortle was successful and soon he had to limit his numbers to thirty.

About a score⁷⁰ of well known classical schools existed early in the century, some beginning in this way. Some had ceased to exist by the mid century, but others survived to be counted amongst the earliest preparatory schools. One of the earliest of these quasi-preparatory schools was that attended by Edward Pusey (1800-1882) in 1807 at Mitcham. This school, run by the Rev. Richard Roberts, already referred to in connection with severe punishment in early classical schools,⁷¹ prepared boys specifically

for Eton and had "a great reputation". The Earl of Derby was a contemporary of Pusey at Mitcham, and both went to Eton as a matter of course.⁷²

Continuing with the education of aristocrats, two brothers Frederick Leveson-Gower (b. 1819) and Granville George Leveson-Gower (1815-1891), 2nd Earl of Granville, attended different schools before going on to Eton. The elder attended a quasi-preparatory or classical school in Beaconsfield kept by a Mr. Bradford where he stayed five years. Like his brother's school at Brighton, the fashionable Dr. Everard's, it was nicknamed "the little House of Lords"⁷³ because of the number of peers' sons attending it. Neither was a particularly good school and the Leveson-Gowers learned little.

The Rev. Mr. Rawson's school at Seaford, catering mainly for Cheshire and Lancashire families, also had several distinguished pupils including W. E. Gladstone,⁷⁴ Archbishop William Plunket,⁷⁵ and Dean A. P. Stanley.⁷⁶ The school which the future Cardinal Manning attended in 1820 at Totteridge, Hertfordshire, kept by the Reverend Abel Lendon, curate of Totteridge, prepared boys for Westminster.⁷⁷ The D.N.B. contains six entries of famous alumni from this now defunct school⁷⁸ including Sir Francis Cook (1817-1901), the "Cooks of St. Paul's" merchant and millionaire and Sir John Strachey (1823-1907) the Anglo-Indian administrator. Another quasi-preparatory school in Hertfordshire, similarly defunct, was the Bayford School which was attended inter alia by Archibald Primrose (1847-1929) the 5th Earl of Rosebery and Prime Minister, Lord Newport, Lord Claud Hamilton and Lord George Hamilton, Lord Worcester and Lord Methuen - though this school was probably, like Hoddesdon Grange,⁷⁹ of later date than Totteridge.

A school of less pretension as a preparatory school for the public schools was that owned by a Mr. Bowles an ex-actor and Unitarian minister

at Yarmouth, which was attended by Sir James Paget, the famous physician, all three of whose brothers went from Yarmouth to Charterhouse.

Perhaps one of the most famous and one of the earliest quasi-preparatory schools was Dr. Nicholas's Academy at Ealing. As J. L. May suggests, "In the early days of the nineteenth century no private educational establishment enjoyed a higher reputation than did the Academy for Young Gentlemen carried on at Ealing by the Rev. George Nicholas D.C.L. of Wadham College."⁸⁰ The Rev. T. Mozley in his Reminiscences of Oriel refers to Dr. Nicholas's school as being "considered the best preparatory school in the country"⁸¹ - it had about three hundred boys in c. 1817 - but the fact that John Newman, attended it from 1808-1816 before going to Oxford, suggests that it was not altogether preparing boys for public schools but rather competing with them.

A school which must have rivalled Dr. Nicholas's School, not in size but in reputation, was that of the Rev. John Buckland at Laleham. This School had no fewer than eleven entries in the D.N.B., three under Arnold⁸² and eight under Buckland, including F. J. A. Hort, the Cambridge don and subject of A. F. Hort's biography.⁸³ Buckland was a good teacher but very harsh with the cane.⁸⁴ This school was continued after Buckland's retirement in 1853 by his son Matthew (1822-1883) and his grandson Francis Matthew (1854-1913) until it was moved to Bexhill on Sea in 1911.

Edward Bulwer (1803-1873), 1st Baron Lytton, attended several quasi-preparatory schools including Dr. Ruddock's "preparatory institution for young gentlemen," Fulham;⁸⁵ Dr. Curtis's Sunbury; Dempster's of Brighton and Dr. Hooker of Rottingdean. T. H.S. Escott in his biography of Bulwer Lytton⁸⁶ claims that Dr. Hooker's "enjoyed, in the days of the Regency, the same fashionable vogue as belonged, in the Victorian era, to 'Tabor's' at Cheam."⁸⁷

From the foregoing discussion on the private classical school in the early nineteenth century, a pattern of provision can be seen emerging which although continuing to cater for the upper and upper middle classes begins to specialise in the education of young boys only, preparatory to public school.⁸⁸ To turn to a more will o' the wisp subject - the private tutor - Dr. T. W. Bamford, in his article "Public Schools and Social Class 1801 - 1850,"⁸⁹ pointed to the general oversight by historians of education of the part played by private tutors in nineteenth century education. Since the eighteenth century and before, it had been the custom for the sons of the nobility to be educated privately or even for a few, at some continental schools.⁹⁰ Often a tutor lived in with the family and later accompanied the boy to public school and even to University. Such posts sometimes led to preferment. Often livings were obtained from noble families and sometimes bishoprics as in the case of Christopher Bethell (1773-1859), the fourth Duke of Northumberland's tutor who became Bishop of Gloucester (1824) and later Bishop of Bangor (1830-1859). Wealth, too, might be a concomitant of tutorship. Later in the century, James Dean of Derby, of Brasenose College Oxford and Hulme Exhibitioner, who became tutor to the young Curzons of Kedleston Hall at home, abroad, and at Eton, left £70,000 when he died.⁹¹ Other tutors lived in their rectories and received the sons of the nobility and others into their homes.

The classic case for private tuition is to be found in William Cowper's poem "Tirocinium" or "A Review of Schools" (1784) which is dedicated to the Rev. William Unwin, Rector of Stock in Essex who was tutor to his two sons. Cowper advocates education "where all the attention of his faithful host" is "Discreetly limited to two at most," and he upbraids the parent who unthinkingly sends his boy to a school "to be a sot or a dunce,

Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once ..."⁹²

If private tutors were not uncommon in the eighteenth century they came to be an even more familiar form of educational provision⁹³ from the time of the reform of examinations in Oxford and Cambridge at the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the extension of competitive examinations, which is properly the subject of the next chapter, the role of private tutor changed to that of coach or "crammer!" It is difficult to disentangle the skeins of small private classical school, small private coaching establishment and prosperous private tutor, which confusing or loose terminology, throughout the nineteenth century, helped to entangle. The task is made more difficult by the fact that some private tutors and coaching establishments catered for a wide age range, whilst others concentrated on one part of the spectrum. Two successful private tutors in the London area were the Rev. John Bickersteth, Vicar of Acton 1812-1837⁹⁴ and Rev. Charles Wallington,⁹⁵ an Ealing clergyman, like Dr. Nicholas. Bickersteth took in pupils of all ages including Lord Thomas Hay; Francis and John, sons of Lord Grey of the first Reform Bill; Henry Alford, later Dean of Canterbury;⁹⁶ and the future Bishop Pelham of Norwich.

The Rev. Charles Wallington took about six pupils at a time, and was described by Escott, Edward Bulwer's biographer as "a scholarly, wellbred, dignified, urbane, Oxford Anglican."⁹⁷ He had a great belief in the socratic ideal of music and gymnastics, and employed Henry Angelo who had taught Byron fencing, to teach young Bulwer.

Lytton Strachey, very late in the century (1889-1893),⁹⁸ received private tuition from a Mr. Henry Forde, at Parkstone, on Poole Harbour, Dorset, where he was coached for the entrance examination to public school. This establishment was a good example of one which professed the benefits

of a healthy environment for delicate children.⁹⁹

The Rev. Henry Lyte, author of the hymn "Abide with me", kept private pupils of a young age, one of whom was the young Lord Salisbury who at the age of nine spent a year in Devon with him, after a miserable time with the Rev. F. J. Faithfull.

The Rev. Francis J. Faithfull, Rector of Hatfield 1819-1854, was, however, a most successful private tutor whose numbers approached that of a small school.¹⁰⁰ From the names of twenty-one 'illustrious' signatories inside the cover of a Bible presented to Faithfull by his pupils in 1838,¹⁰¹ it is seen how successful Faithfull was and this despite the doubts held by Lord Salisbury about his own days at Hatfield.

Although the good fortune of the Rev. F. J. Faithfull was exceptional, there was little difficulty in the days of the grammar and public schools' decline, for indigent clergymen to turn their learning and godliness to good account. The Rev. W. Russell, for instance, Rector of Shepperton, received a request from at least one parent to become tutor to her boy. The letter which was sent by the mother of John M. Neale (1818-1866), the Ancient and Modern Hymn writer, is interesting in-so-far as it seems to suggest that Russell was suitable to be tutor on two counts:

1. He was able to teach "things which a woman is incompetent to teach" - (Classics?)
2. He was capable of inculcating "the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom" - (see Arnold: 1832 Sheffield Courant)¹⁰³

Later in the century, the young Rider Haggard was sent at the age of nine or ten, to Rev. Mr. Graham at Garsington, near Oxford, after attending two day schools which had proved unsuitable.¹⁰⁴ Once again the private tutor was regarded by the solicitous parent as the answer to the educational problem of the child.

By the mid century certain patterns of private education and tuition had been established. One of the common patterns for a boy in the upper middle and upper classes was:

- i) Quasi-preparatory school
- ii) Public School
- iii) Coach or private tutor
- iv) University.¹⁰⁵

It was in the capacity of tutor for university entrance that many nineteenth century clerics found their metier, because many parsons and other clerics were undoubtedly scholars.¹⁰⁶ The Rev. Mr. Fisher, Vicar of Roche in Cornwall, for instance, was private tutor to the young Thomas Dyke Acland after he left Harrow at seventeen;¹⁰⁷ the Rev. R. W. Hiley's pre-university education was completed in 1844 by the Rev. T. Pearse, of Westoning, Bedfordshire, from whom he received¹⁰⁸ tuition before going to Oxford. The precocious¹⁰⁹ A. E. Freeman was another Oxford man who was to receive private tuition, this time from the Rev. Mr. Gutch of Segrave Rectory (Leicestershire) before going to Trinity College. A little later, the Rev. Charles Bradley of Southgate was responsible for the completion of Augustus Hare's schooling¹¹⁰ before he went off to Oxford.

It is readily appreciated that the nineteenth century, whilst being a century of great religious fervour, was also one in which individual clergy furthered their own material wealth. For some, private tutoring was a form of clerical outdoor relief; for others it was a way of supplementing an already adequate income as in the case of J. W. Colenso who after marriage in 1846 settled down in Fornsett (Norwich diocese) to supplement his already ample income of £500¹¹¹ by some private tuition. No doubt the teaching of many was worthwhile but sometimes the tuition took second place to the tuition fee. W. H. Mallock in his Memoirs of

Life and Literature (1920) gives an impression that the Rev. W. B.

Philpot, a favourite pupil of Dr. Arnold, allowed the ten or twelve pupils at his Littlehampton Rectory, full rein, for little work seems to have been done.¹¹² In the case of the Rev. James Lonsdale (b. 1816)¹¹³ it was senility and not indolence which finally rendered him incapable of useful service. To increase his income he was a school examiner¹¹⁴ as well as a coach at Woodleigh, Mayfield, Sussex. In 1884 at the age of sixty-seven he had three pupils but for an ex-Balliol tutor, he was no longer efficient - rather indolently tolerant. In a letter dated February 1884 to a friend he wrote:

"I have three pupils at present; they are not fond of literature and like hounds better than Homer, but they are nice and gentlemanlike and pleasant."

Perhaps one of the more wretched cases of a clergyman in need of financial assistance is to be found in the private papers of the Rev. Dr. W. D. Macray¹¹⁵ amongst which are to be found begging letters from the Rev. J. W. Hewett, the founder of the first Bloxham School and later a poverty stricken private tutor at Croft House, Tutbury, near Burton on Trent.¹¹⁶

To sum up, the Anglican clergy in the nineteenth century played an important role in the education of the upper and upper middle classes providing both private classical schools and private tutors. As the century progressed some of these classical schools gradually evolved as schools with a function similar to the late nineteenth century concept of a preparatory school; similarly some private tutors found their function changing in a changing situation and became coaches for competitive examinations, which are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

PRIVATE COACHING AND THE GROWTH
OF COMPETITIVE¹ EXAMINATIONS

It has been seen how parish clergymen in the nineteenth century made a considerable contribution to English education as tutors to youths seeking entry to the universities or to the sons of wealthy parents, coaching young boys in Greek and Latin (as the Rev. "H. A. _____" ² did the young Walter Besant).³

The practice of sending young men to country parsons to be prepared for university changed as the century progressed. At first it was regarded by many as a satisfactory alternative to attendance at grammar or public school at the more senior age. Such preparation was of a protracted nature and could last for more than a year. H. C. Malden, for instance, eldest son of C. R. Malden, founder of Windlesham House Preparatory School, went at the age of fifteen to a coaching establishment at Wappenham, Northamptonshire kept by a Rev. Thomas Scott and was there for three years before going on to Trinity College, Cambridge.⁴ Walter Kerr Hamilton, (1808-1869) the future Bishop of Salisbury, went to Laleham in 1825 under Arnold and stayed a year before going to Christchurch, Oxford.⁵ On the other hand the eldest son of Lord Monson, at the age of seventeen, spent only six months (1846) with a Mr. Bull of Sowerby, near Halifax before he too went on to Christchurch.⁶

Some private tutors coached university undergraduates and some yet again were laymen rather than clergymen. One distinguished private tutor in this category was Robert Lowe (1811-1892) who from 1833 to 1840 took pupils whilst for most of that time he was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lowe gained a great reputation in the University for hard work and good results⁷ as is evidenced in a letter, dated March 1893, from the Rev. William Rogers (1819-1896)⁸ Rector of Bishopsgate, to A. P. Martin, Lowe's biographer.⁹ Among Lowe's pupils were the Right Honourable Gathorne-Hardy¹⁰ (Earl of Cranbrook), Dr. Richard Congreve (1818-1899)¹¹

and Arthur Clough (1819-1861) the poet. The Rev. Sedgwick (1785-1873) was another University don (Cambridge) who took in pupils, in this case, for Mathematics.¹² Like Lowe, later in the century, Sedgwick worked his pupils hard.

Handley C. G. Moule,¹³ as a first class honours graduate,¹⁴ began to take pupils in Latin and Greek during the long vacation, and for several years the future Canon Hargrove, Vicar of St. Matthew's Cambridge was one of his pupils. These shorter periods of study were becoming more fashionable; and perhaps the best example of this trend towards these "clerical summer schools" is to be seen in the academic activities of Mandell Creighton¹⁵ who, from 1878, began to have pupils read with him for short periods in the summer. Generally his pupils were men already at University who were reading for honours. In 1878 he took in Lord Lyvington (later the Earl of Portsmouth) the Hon. Fitzroy Stewart and the Hon. Hugo Charteris (later Lord Elcho). In the following year, he took seven pupils: inter alia was again the Hon. Hugo Charteris, together with Sir George Sitwell and Mr. Carmichael (later Sir Thomas Carmichael); whilst in 1881, Creighton entertained Edward Grey grandson of Sir George Grey, at Embleton Vicarage, Northumberland. Creighton, himself of humble origin,¹⁶ was selective in his pupils confining them almost exclusively to the aristocracy, and was paid handsomely for his pains.

Coaching for public schools and university examinations expanded to include in its orbit the preparation for entry to the professions; but it is not the intention of this chapter to examine in detail the structure of social changes in the army, navy and Home and Indian Civil Services which has already been done by others.¹⁷ What does concern us is the growth of "crammers" from about the mid-nineteenth century onwards,¹⁸ which were created to meet the demand for intensive coaching which new examinations

seemed to require for successful entry into the several professions.

The legal profession still has its "crammers" in London and Guildford in the 1970s, the predecessors of which strangely escaped the satirical pen of Dickens, despite his incisive insight into certain other aspects of the legal profession.¹⁹ Basil Tozer, who was himself a son of a country lawyer, briefly recalled in his Recollections of a Rolling Stone (1923) his time at a legal "cramming" establishment of Rev. Baron Von Orsbach at Mottingham House, near Eltham. Despite the unusual name of its principal, this institution where the young gentlemen would descend on the pawnbrokers weekly for extra pocket money, was likely to be fairly typical in its freedom compared with schools. Further it was distinguished enough to attract high class clientele including (Sir) Henry Tichborne and (Sir) Stafford Northcote.²⁰

Preparation for entry to the Navy, which has been so closely bound up with the development of preparatory schools, differed from other professional preparation in two ways:

1. resting mainly on patronage, it was less affected initially by the reforming zeal which attacked, for instance, the recruitment of military officers in the late forties and early fifties;²¹ it was not until the early 1860s that it became necessary to attend a navy crammer to ensure entry;
2. entry at fourteen to the navy was a younger entry age than that of other professions.

The history of naval officer preparation was a chequered one in the nineteenth century. Upto 1837 there was a preliminary course of education at the Royal Naval College, Portsmouth; but for twenty years thereafter, this preliminary training was abolished and cadets went straight to sea following

a period in the docks. 1857 saw a reversal of this policy and a training ship H. M. S. "Illustrious" instituted under a Captain Harris who became Captain of the famous H.M.S. "Britannia"²² (which for ten years was moored in Portsmouth Harbour).

At first, entry to the Navy was relatively easy, the entry examination consisting of a very elementary knowledge of French, Latin, English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra and Euclid. Under this system of patronage via nomination in which the intellectual demands were minimal, the most difficult part of the entry examination was the medical test. (Admiral Sir) Cyprian Bridge was nominated in 1852 by Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane and when he presented himself for examination at Portsmouth R.N.C. in 1853 with eleven other boys, all twelve passed. On this occasion, the whole examination including the medical lasted three hours.²³ On another occasion the Charles Doughty, the Victorian traveller who attended Beach House, South Sea, to be coached for the Navy, failed to get in, on medical grounds.²⁴

The naval reforms of Sir James Graham,²⁵ however, changed the situation and made it more difficult, from the late fifties and early sixties onwards, to become a naval officer, which led to the increased emphasis on the naval crammer. After leaving Bayford School (Admiral Lord) Charles Beresford²⁶ had been sent first as a pupil of Rev. David Bruce Payne to Deal and then to the more famous Rev. W. Foster of Stubbington, Fareham, before entry as a naval cadet in 1859. From the late fifties Stubbington (1841) (now a well established preparatory school) became increasingly prominent in the production of sailors.²⁷

By 1863 it was necessary for (Vice Admiral) H. L. Fleet to go to the Navy Crammer of Rev. T. Knight of St. Mary's Hall, Southsea to ensure entry to the Navy and "to be stuffed with history and geography, at which that gentleman and his staff were adept".²⁸ By 1885 competition had hardened

to the extent that of the hundred candidates who presented themselves for examination on one occasion only sixty-four passed, one of them being (Admiral Sir) Percy Scott who had been successfully "crammed" at Eastman's Royal Naval Academy, Portsmouth.²⁹ Another famous Naval "cramming" school was Burney's Naval Academy, Gosport,³⁰ to which school David Beatty was sent at the age of twelve. By the 1880s only about thirty per cent of the candidates were passing into the Navy which made the excellent records of schools like Eastman's, Mr. Littlejohn at Greenwich and Mr. Southwood of Plymouth enviable ones, but as Beatty's biographer, Rear Admiral Chalmers suggests, "it is doubtful if the methods employed provided much of an educational grounding."³¹ Admiral Sir William Goodenough, described the process more quaintly when he compared the crammers with "dog owners at Crufts" showing "their exhibits to best advantage."³²

Like the Navy, in the nineteenth century the Army and Indian Civil Service and to a lesser extent the Home Civil Service, were professions the growth of which was governed by Britain's increasing overseas commitment. To examine first recruitment to the Army, this junior arm came under heavy criticism in 1848 from Captain Eardley Wilmot R.A., who wrote an article On the Royal Artillery Institution at Woolwich.³⁵ He noted the recent reform of the Master General, Lord Anglesey, in 1847, of the introduction of Carshalton House,³⁴ as a preparatory school to prepare boys for cadetships and he called for stricter control of recruitment to the officer corps of the army generally. That his criticism was justified is suggested by the extant first hand description of John Ewart's experience of a very elementary Sandhurst examination in 1834;³⁵ that his criticism was accepted is clearly shown by the introduction in 1849 of an entry examination for army officers. Despite opposition from critics like Earl Grey, Sidney Herbert

(1810-1861)³⁶ and Sir William Codrington (1804-1884),³⁷ the examinations continued and as E. S. Turner has suggested: "Those who were really determined to be officers of the Queen swallowed their gentlemanly pride and betook themselves to a good crammer."³⁸ From 1847 all candidates for commissions had to pass an examination in Algebra and Euclid, history and geography, French and Latin, field fortification, spelling and handwriting.³⁹ In 1855 nominations were abolished and open competitive examinations partially instituted. As C. B. Otley has shown in his The Origins and Recruitment of the British Army Elite 1870-1959,⁴⁰ many of the public and quasi-public schools adapted themselves during the 1850s and 1860s to the new demands of the army, so that by 1871 when all entry to army commissions was by open competition⁴¹ - following closely after the Dufferin Commission of 1869 - they were fairly well orientated to supply the Army with its needs;⁴² but it was the private establishments, the crammers, which made the running at least in the early years: and so was extended, what Winston Churchill has called (so oft quoted) the "renowned system of intensive poultry farming."⁴³

From early years, crammers had existed to prepare boys for entry into Woolwich from fourteen upwards. Both Eardley Wilmot in his article in the Quarterly Review⁴⁴ and James Payn, who attended a Woolwich preparatory school at a very early age, criticised severely the "cramming" and rote learning that masqueraded as an adequate preparation for the Royal Military Academy.⁴⁵

Another early pupil and critic of the "crammers" was (Sir) Colin C. Scott-Moncrieff who, in order to gain entry to Addiscombe, was sent to a crammer at Wimbledon. It is not known whether this school at Wimbledon was the celebrated preparatory/crammer of the Rev. J. M. Brackenbury and the Rev. C. J. Wynne, but Scott Moncrieff's criticism of it was harsh indeed.⁴⁷ Brackenbury's was sufficiently well known by the late 1860s for Brackenbury

himself to be called to give evidence about his school to the Schools Inquiry Commissioners: the school had at the time, 102 boy boarders, who stayed till eighteen or nineteen at a cost of 110 - 120 guineas per annum.⁴⁸

Margaret Bryant, in her study on private education in Middlesex,⁴⁹ noted the existence of crammers in that metropolitan area including the Kilburn and St. John's Wood Civil and Military Institute (1859), Castlebar Court⁵⁰ and Rochester House at Ealing. Perhaps the most notable of the schools in her study was the South Kensington establishment (1881) owned by Captain James, E. Carlisle and Captain Gregson. This was the institution to which Winston Churchill was sent in 1893 by Lord Randolph Churchill following the advice of Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, after the young Winston had failed twice to get into Sandhurst from Harrow. In a letter (dated 20th January 1893) Welldon advised, "The most successful 'crammer' for the Sandhurst examinations is, I believe, Captain James."⁵¹ In his Autobiography My Early Life, Winston Churchill wrote colourfully of this episode:

"When I failed for the second time to pass into Sandhurst, I bade farewell to Harrow and was relegated as a forlorn hope to a "crammer". Captain James and his highly competent partners kept an establishment in the Cromwell Road. It was said that no one who was not a congenital idiot could avoid passing thence into the Army. The Firm had made a scientific study of the mentality of the Civil Service Commissioners. They knew/with almost Papal infallibility the sort of questions which that sort of person would be bound on the average to ask on any of the selected subjects. They specialised on these questions and on the answering of them. They fired a large number of efficient shotguns into the brown of the covey,

and they claimed a high and steady average of birds ... Thus year by year for at least two decades he held the Blue Ribbon among the Crammers ... No absolute guarantee was given, but there would always be far more than a sporting chance."⁵²

Writing to his father on September 3rd 1893 Winston pointed out that he would not be lonely at Sandhurst - Captain James had managed to cram successfully as many as twenty candidates.⁵³ Both Major General J.F.C. Fuller⁵⁴ and General Sir Hubert Gough attended Captain James's. Whilst Fuller testified to James' clairvoyance in spotting examination questions, Gough acknowledged he learnt more in three or four months with Captain James than eight years in school.

(Sir) John French's experience was not so profitable. After resigning from the Navy in 1870, he sought the aid of military tutors but "although a few crammers stood out as successful men, the majority of them were graduates of one or other of the universities who would seem to have failed in the profession they embraced and to whom ... life was a struggle."⁵⁵ Needless to say French was not impressed with the cramming fraternity. George Frost of Woolwich was crammer to Lord Kitchener from whose testimony it is evident that Frost was a successful tutor.⁵⁶ Another tutor of high reputation was Captain Lendy of Sunbury to whom (General) Ian Hamilton was sent after his father Colonel Hamilton got wind of the proposed Cardwell Army reforms which introduced open competition for all commissions.⁵⁸

Perhaps the best documented late nineteenth century army tutor was Wolfram's, of Blackheath, with whom G. B. Grundy served as an assistant tutor from 1881-1888.⁵⁹ Grundy's autobiography must be an important document for any history of late nineteenth century crammers. (though probably not

typical) for its inside information about daily routine, pupils, discipline and teaching. Wolfram's was a most efficient and well run "crammer", which brought him and his assistants much wealth.⁶⁰

Not all "crammers" enjoyed such a reputation as French observed and many did not deserve to. Arthur Sebright, aristocrat, sportsman and man of the world, who failed his examinations at Burlington House trying to get into Sandhurst, attended the establishment of the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson, of Pitstone Vicarage, Tring, with five other young men including Lord Henry Panlet (later Marquess of Winchester). Sebright relates how they: "contrived to combine the maximum of sport with the minimum of work." Hunting, shooting and dancing took up much of his time: he "also kept a pack of dwarf harriers and a couple of horses in the neighbouring village to assist my his military studies."⁶¹

The day of the crammer was, however, drawing to a close by the end of the century.⁶² The public schools were beginning to give effective opposition to the military crammer, many having reorganised their classes to allow for a Modern side or Army class.⁶³ The hand of the public schools was strengthened in 1887 by a new schedule for the Army examination put forward by the Civil Service Commission, which fitted in much better than had done the old regulations, with the public school curriculum. Consequently the numbers at Wolfram's in 1890 fell from 130 to 40. This trend is confirmed by the number of entrants to Woolwich who had passed through the hands of crammers: in 1869, it was 74 per cent; in 1894 32 per cent and in 1910 14 per cent.⁶⁴

If recruitment to both the Navy and the Army was changed from a basis of either purchase of commission (army) or patronage (navy) to one of entry by open competition, this was no less true of the Home and Indian Civil Services. At the beginning of the century the East Indian Company had

certain features in common with fifteenth century 'bastard' feudalism in so far as it had its own civil service and maintained its own army. By slow degrees the power and patronage of the Directors of the Company were diminished first by the 1833 E.I.C. Charter Act⁶⁵ and then by the 1853 Charter Act which finally deprived the directors of all remaining patronage. This led in 1855 to the first competitive examination for places in the I.C.S. - the coup de gr[^]ace being finally delivered when the company was liquidated in 1858 and its responsibilities taken over by the Government.

By slow degrees, through the efforts of a small group of civil servants, academics and politicians,⁶⁶ a system of aristocratic privilege and patronage in both the ancient Universities, and in the Home and Indian Civil Services was replaced by the 'meritocratic' one of competitive examination. These critics of corruption gained strength from the reform of the Universities which served as a base for the reform of first the I.C.S. and then the Home Civil Service. The close friendship and marital connection between Sir Charles Trevelyan and Lord Macanlay, who formed the core, strengthened the bond of the reformers so that when Trevelyan, as Assistant Secretary at the Treasury, was commissioned with Sir Stafford Northcote to prepare a report on the organisation of the Civil Service, the result of their labours, the Report of 1854, was firmly based on their 'meritocratic' beliefs. A Civil Service Commission was set up in 1855 to carry out the reforms suggested in the Northcote - Trevelyan Report but they came slowly. The first body to be affected was the I.C.S. when, as already stated, open competition was introduced in 1855. Throughout the late 1850s and 1860s the Saturday Review led the conservative opposition to the reforms, raising doubts about the correlation between the qualities of a good officer and a good examinee. The reform of the Home Civil Service was very slow but the success

of the I.C.S. recruitment led finally to the Order in Council in 1870 which made competition the mode for all entry to public offices in the Civil Service.⁶⁷

The main effect of the government reforms on the educational world was to accentuate the need for intensive teaching before candidates took the new examinations, which in the case of the I.C.S. and the Home Civil Service especially, were of a very high standard. This public demand for specialist tuition was once again met by a 'private' supply.⁶⁸

Reference has already been made to Horace Moule⁶⁹ who was a coach for I.C.S. examinations. There were many other tutors who prepared the older candidates for the I.C.S. and Home Civil Service⁷⁰ as well as younger ones for the Sandhurst, Woolwich and the Indian Civil Engineering College, Coopers Hill, examinations. Two establishments in particular specialised in the preparation of I.C.S. candidates viz. W. Baptiste Scoones of Garrick Chambers, Garrick Square, London and Walter Wren M.A. of 4 and 5 Powis Square, Notting Hill West. Baptiste Scoones boasted of a small chemistry laboratory as well as a laboratory for Electricity and Magnetism. His provision included a club room with a library of more than a thousand books of reference.⁷¹

Wren, "the King of the Crammers",⁷² claimed even greater distinction in that nearly fifty per cent of the places in the I.C.S. during the period 1873 to 1879 had been carried off by his candidates (118 out of 237).⁷³ In his advertisement in Our Schools and Colleges, he directed readers to the Blue Book of 1876 The Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service and to the 20th Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, both of which contained testimonials to his establishment's worth.⁷³

(General) Edmund Allenby (1861-1936), however, did not find Wren's establishment so helpful. In 1879 there were 174 candidates for twenty-four Civil

Service vacancies: he was one of the 150 who failed to gain a place; whilst in 1880 out of 182 candidates only twenty-six appointments were made and Allenby was not one of them. For him at least Wren's had failed to gain the prize and so he turned to the Army for a career. It is interesting to reflect that the fortunes of the German and Turkish armies in the First World War were influenced to some extent by one of the failures of one of England's more successful coaching establishments in the late nineteenth century. After changing tutors, by attending an Army "crammer", (Mr. Adams, an ex-tutor of Wren's, of Clydesdale Road, Bayswater) Allenby gained fifth place at R.M.C. Sandhurst.⁷⁴

Throughout this chapter the term "crammer" - a pejorative term used by public school masters to describe private tutors and coaches - has been used advisedly. Like Robert Lowe, who had been a private tutor in earlier years and was not ashamed of the epithet,⁷⁵ many such private tutors would not have been averse to its use in the right context. The term, however had unhappy connotations and became a term of abuse when used by critics like Rev. A. F. Thompson who attacked "the hasty crude and superficial tuition" of crammers, in 1865.⁷⁶ The Educational Times in November 1861, thought the term not a "felicitous" one, when defending Lord Palmerston against criticisms of the Saturday Review for his advocacy of competitive examinations.

As with the educational debate concerning the relative merits of public and private schools, there were several exchanges of views towards the end of the nineteenth century concerning the relative merits of "crammers" and the Modern sides of public schools. Conscious of the generally recognised weaknesses of the early modern sides, H. Lee Warner in the Contemporary Review⁷⁷ defended the public schools by suggesting

that before judgment is passed, the whole of the school, with its classical side should be taken into account. He asked: "Is it not too much the case that the successes of a boarding public school are out of all proportion to the failures? What would be the reply to this question of the Wren's and the Scoone's and the hosts of private tutors scattered about the suburbs of London and the country parsonages of England?"

What might serve as a reply to these rhetorical questions is a pamphlet by Henry Wolffram entitled The Private Tutor's raison d'être (1885). In a carefully reasoned argument in which he quoted Lord Macaulay⁷⁸ as saying: "it is utterly impossible that the delusive show of knowledge can be successful against real learning and ability," Wolffram gave seven main reasons for the notable successes of the private tutors or "crammers" compared with the public schools. He attributed their prosperity, inter alia, to their elasticity; their economy in the distribution of subjects; their economy in the distribution of time; their powerful motives for exertion, and their atmosphere of mental activity. Wolffram recognised the tutor to be, as this chapter has attempted to show, a "ubiquitous ... educational functionary" who applied his energies to the whole spectrum of pupil talent from second-time Sandhurst-ploughed Harrow men to the would-be Cambridge Wrangler. Convinced of the superior teaching of the private tutor, Wolffram declared that "the Hercules is not yet born that is to slay Antaeus, the "crammer" and continued "the private tutor will remain a potent force in our educational system."⁷⁹

Captain G. J. Younghusband also examined the relative merits of public school and crammer⁸⁰ but after acknowledging the seeming superiority of the crammer (because the pupils of such establishments were given five times the individual attention as at public school and made to work twice

as hard⁸¹) he plumped for army classes in public schools on moral, physical and social grounds as being a better preparation for future young officers.

Colonel Henry Knollys R.A. was less generous to the "crammers" in an article in Blackwood's Magazine in July 1895⁸² and suggested that although "the parent can scarcely do better for his son's immediate success - he can scarcely do worse, save in exceptional circumstances, for his moral and mental training" than to send him to a "crammer".⁸³ Knollys was here attacking the Achilles' heel of the coach for undoubtedly there were many establishments where little heed was taken of the social aspects of these senior students. They were treated like adults which practice was regarded, by the critics of the crammers, as laxity. On one occasion, Wren got irate with a parent complaining about lack of discipline and replied "My dear sir, you pay me to send your son's body into the Indian Civil Service, not to send his soul to heaven."⁸⁴

To return to Knollys - he was not convinced either that the crammers' methods were educationally sound, for to use his analogy a raw colt cannot be trained for the Derby in two months. At the same time, however, he recognised the weakness of some public schools' modern sides⁸⁵ and admitted that they neither educated nor crammed and therefore made it necessary for the crammers to adapt the stringent measures they did to ensure their success; for in the words of an anonymous writer 'Custos' in an article in the English Review, September 1912, the crammers "were the men who make men of the boys who were at public schools."⁸⁶

CHAPTER 7

PROPRIETARY SCHOOLS

Whereas the various forms of private school examined in Chapters 2 - 6 might be described, to use Weberian terminology as 'patriarchal' or 'patrimonial' in character, that of proprietary schools to be examined in this and the next chapter, could be described as 'bureaucratic'.

Proprietary schools, almost all of which were created in the nineteenth century¹ and most of which had perished by the end of Victoria's reign, possessed the characteristics of bureaucratic institutions as defined by Max Weber² in his Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.

To appreciate fully the origins of these schools it is necessary to examine briefly a part of the history of the joint stock principle. In the eighteenth century, following the financial crisis of the South Sea Bubble (1720) in which many unchartered and unscrupulous companies were created to the detriment of both the South Sea Company and the country at large, the Government had maintained a tight rein on company development. Commercial enterprises, such as non-marine insurance companies (e.g. the Phoenix Insurance and the Norwich General Insurance), mutual and friendly societies and canal building companies were created on a 'Deed of Settlement' company basis which had the built-in safeguard of being based on a trust.³ The Napoleonic War had led to a period of speculation in which the government had tried to discourage the formation of companies. In November 1807, for instance, the Attorney General began proceedings for the prosecution of two unincorporated companies but although Lord Ellenborough (1750-1818), Lord Chief Justice, dismissed the applications he declared that a "speculative project founded on joint stock or transferable shares" was prohibited. It might be thought that this 'judgment' of Lord Ellenborough imposed a handicap on the formation of possible future proprietary schools, similar to Lord Eldon's judgment (1805) which handicapped the development of the endowed

grammar school curriculum. However, the repeal of the 'Bubble Act' in 1825, which made the Board of Trade responsible for all company legislation,⁴ ushered in a period of restricted⁵ laissez faire in the formation of companies and it is against this background that the formation of proprietary schools in the 1830s, 40s and 50s, on a joint stock basis, should be examined.

Apart from this financial aspect in the development of Company Law which contributed to the foundation of proprietary schools at this time, other factors were also propitious:

- viz. i) the decay of the endowed schools⁶;
- ii) the great increase in the national wealth (which was noted by the Quarterly Journal of Education⁷ in connection with the setting up of the West Riding Proprietary School, Wakefield);
- iii) the tendency to organise on a larger scale with its attendant economic advantages.⁸;
- iv) both the endowed grammar and private schools had disadvantages⁹ from which the proprietary school was free.¹⁰

The proprietary school was like a private school in so far as it owed its origin to private enterprise and attempted to adapt itself, in many cases, to the educational needs of the commercial classes. On the other hand it was like an endowed school in so far as the Headmaster was likely to be competent for his task, being salaried and answerable to the directors of the company and/or trustees of the school.

To define a proprietary school might seem superficially to be a relatively easy task in so far as such a school would be broadly founded

on the joint stock principle by directors or proprietors who appointed a salaried Headmaster, dismissible by them. Such a definition would be in accord with the view taken of them by the Bryce Commission in 1894-95;¹¹ but the issue becomes somewhat clouded by the notions of a proprietary school put forward by the S.I.C. thirty years earlier. This Commission included the proprietary schools (though not named) in its terms of reference and listed some 121¹² proprietary schools altogether. Having included them as 'public' schools together with endowed grammar schools, their Report goes on to suggest that proprietary schools, "may be the property of an individual or of a company"¹³ and that, "proprietary schools are not uncommonly private schools ... that they do not admit to the benefits of the instruction any and every applicant of whatever social position he may be."¹⁴

This vagueness in Volume I of the S.I.C. Report seems to be transmitted to succeeding volumes which report on proprietary schools in various parts of the country. Brighton (St. Nicholas), Puget Middle Class School (1861) is listed, in Volume XI, as proprietary although it was established like any private school by an individual, John Puget, for the children of small tradesmen, and was not therefore in the usual pattern of financing the school through joint stock. In so far as Puget appointed trustees to look after the school, it was more like an endowed school.

At the other end of the social scale, Radley College (1847), also listed as a proprietary school (Volume XI), was owned by Mr. J. G. Hubbard¹⁵ before it was conveyed to trustees in 1863. The status of Radley was even more confused by its Collegiate¹⁶ character on which the co-founder the Rev. William Sewell had put so much store. It would seem that Radley was both a private, a collegiate and a proprietary school at different stages.

Saham Toney (1852), the semi-classical school in Norfolk was listed as a proprietary school¹⁷ but the Rector of the parish, in whom the school premises were vested, alone held the reins of power. By way of contrast, the Bath Somersetshire College (1858)¹⁸ had no proprietors, the school house being held by trustees under a lease. In this school, the Headmaster the Rev. Hay S. Estcott was all powerful and the surplus of the income of the school was his.

Two other Somerset proprietary schools had 'irregular' constitutions, the first being the Wells Middle School (1860) which like the more grandiose Bradfield College in Berkshire, (founder Rev. Thomas Stevens), was founded by the local incumbent, in this case, the Rev. George Blissett, of St. Thomas's East Wells,¹⁹ who became its sole manager. The other school, of earlier foundation, Failand Lodge School, Wraxall (1839)²⁰ had an even more illusive constitution: there was a committee which kept very much in the background, of which the Rector of Wraxall, the Rev. E. P. Vaughan, was Secretary. More prominent than his other committee colleagues, Vaughan not only gave weekly religious instruction to the children but also gave frequent friendly advice to the Headmaster, Mr. J. Talbot. Despite the apparent paternalism of the Rector, the Headmaster conducted the school entirely at his own pecuniary risk.

Finally, if there were proprietary schools in the South West with 'irregular' constitutions, other irregularities, if not similar, were to be found in schools at the opposite pointer of the compass. The Duke's School (1811) at Alwick, for instance, was supported entirely by the Duke of Northumberland whilst more collectively, the Berwick on Tweed Academy (1652) was supported out of corporation funds.

It is seen, therefore, from these numerous cases that not all proprietary schools had the same basic characteristics. Despite these many

exceptions it is possible to outline some general features of the proprietary schools.

Following the Joint Stock Companies Act (1856)²¹ and the Limited Liability Companies Act (1862),²² it became possible to apply a regular format to proprietary schools' constitutions:

1. Such schools were founded by way of a Memorandum and Articles of Association.
2. There were usually shares of different values with an approximate $4\frac{1}{2}$ - 5% annual return.
3. Shareholders had privileges of nomination on a sliding scale according to the number and type of shares they held.
4. Rules were laid down governing the relationship between Directors and Headmaster, and between Headmaster and staff.
5. Sometimes scholarships were instituted to attract good scholars.

Proprietary schools of this 'regular' pattern were to be found largely amongst the S.I.C. first grade schools.

As with private and endowed grammar schools the S.I.C. categorized the proprietary schools into three grades.²³ In the first grade were to be found in addition to the now generally accepted public schools founded on the joint stock principle - such as Cheltenham, Marlborough, Rossall, Clifton and Malvern - not so well known schools such as Stockwell Grammar School, Blackheath Proprietary School, Bath College and Leamington College. Proprietary schools of the second grade included County Schools²⁴ like Probus in Cornwall, West Buckland and Sampford Peverell Schools in Devon,

Framlington College in Suffolk and Bedford County School. Other proprietary schools with a more 'irregular' constitution in this grade were Helmingham School, East Suffolk, owned by a Mr. Tollemache, and Wells Middle School set up by the Rev. George Blissett. Proprietary schools of the third grade²⁵ were even more likely to have an 'irregular' constitution like the Birkbeck Schools of William Ellis in London.

The S.I.C. noted when categorising examples of the 121 schools listed in the Report that in addition to these, many proprietary schools had opened and closed within a space of thirty or forty years,²⁶ at Bath (2), Plymouth (1), Bristol (1), Weston super Mare (1), York (2), Hull (2),²⁷ Wakefield (1) and Leamington (1).²⁸ It noted a further retreat from the proprietary principle in that Marlborough College, Bradfield College and the three schools of the Rev. N. Woodard had become endowed. Mr. Stanton in his Report on Devon and Somerset to the S.I.C. attributed closures to the disappointment at lack of immediate financial gain by the shareholders; to misunderstandings amongst them and in some cases to abortive attempts to mix sons of tradesmen and gentry as at Bath and Lansdowne Proprietary College.²⁹ In some cases the reason for closure was simple over-provision which responded to the law of supply and demand. In Leicester, for example, two proprietary schools were founded within a year of each other.³⁰ Their rivalry, together with competition from flourishing private schools in the 1840s and 1850s, no doubt contributed to their decline. One school lasted thirty years (1836-1866); the other nine only (1837-1846).

Yet proprietary schools had considerable advantages as educational institutions which even their critics had to allow. The Westminster Review of July 1873, in an article on "Public and Private Schools", pointed to the publicity which proprietary schools enjoyed with their speech days,

distribution of prizes and commemoration of benefactors. The writer portrays such occasions and recounts how "patrons assemble, an ornamental if not particularly useful body: local M.P.s ... ingratiating themselves with the élite of their constituents; ... clergy ... in strong force ... a bishop ... may give the proceedings the high sanction of his presence ... Representatives of the County or denominational press are there ... stroll about the lovely grounds" In such ways the reputation of the proprietary school spreads. The Review adds sardonically that any advertisement by a private schoolmaster is regarded as "puffing": by a proprietary headmaster as "a very gratifying report."

Despite these advantages the Proprietary Schools had two very serious weaknesses not listed by Mr. Stanton. Charles Pritchard in An Address delivered at the opening of a Proprietary Grammar School (1840) alluded to the first weakness when he declared: "It required ... but the experience of a few months to discover that the external constitution of these schools, contained within itself the seeds of the confusion, from which a most sad but abundant harvest has been reaped. Some of them have ceased to exist as proprietary schools, most of them have at one time or other suffered shocks which have shaken them to their foundations, and it requires but little foresight to predict the ultimate extinction of them all."³¹ This gloomy prophetic statement was no doubt based on his experiences of disagreement with the managers of Stockwell Grammar School which led to his resignation in 1834.³² The second weakness, perhaps even more serious and possibly the cause of the first weakness and therefore fundamental, is the weight of heavy building debt³³ which was the undoing of several schools and the near undoing of others, as is seen in Chapter 8. C. H. Stanton likened the traumatic financial difficulties, from which well established schools

like Malvern were not altogether free, to: "a fermenting process of disturbance, like new states, sometimes of revolution, from which they emerge refined and purified, or else are destroyed."³⁴ Perhaps it was Adam Smith in 1776 who had the prescience to see the difficulties in financing schools on a joint stock basis when he wrote:

"The only trades which it seems possible for a joint stock company to carry on successfully ... are those of which all the operations are capable of being reduced to what is called a routine ... the banking trade ... the trade of insurance" ... canal building and supplying water.³⁵

Before making a closer examination of some proprietary schools, it is advisable to extend the S.I.C. categories to allow for a clearer understanding of the schools so examined. For the purpose of this thesis, therefore, proprietary schools are to be divided into eight categories:

1. Quasi public schools - schools of the S.I.C. first grade
e.g. ~~East~~bourne.
2. Collegiate schools - organised by dioceses e.g. Leicester
and Leicestershire Collegiate School.
3. Proprietary schools - formed by clergymen e.g. Wells
Middle and Saham Toney.
4. Proprietary schools - formed by laymen e.g. Hexham
Proprietary School.
5. Sectorian Proprietary schools - e.g. Tettenhall College, Wolverhampton
(Non-conformist)
Jews College, Finchley
Sidcot, Winscombe (Society of Friends)
Wesleyan Collegiate Institution,
Trull, near Taunton.

- 6. Woodard schools - Lancing, Hurstpier point and Ardingly (before they were endowed)
- 7. County schools - e.g. West Buckland, Devon
Cranleigh School, Surrey
- 8. Miscellaneous - usually of second or third grade where origins are not normal.
e.g. Berwick on Tweed Academy where the corporation provide the financial base.

The remainder of this chapter is largely concerned with those in categories 1 and 7.

Blackheath Proprietary School (1831-1907), of a quasi public school character, was one of the most successful of such schools in the nineteenth century. Modelled on the East Islington Proprietary School, and itself in turn being the model for Cheltenham College in 1841,³⁶ it was opened to provide Blackheath, which was experiencing an influx of new prosperous middle class residents, with a school which offered more than the classics of the endowed grammar school.

It began with twenty-five boys in 1831 and by 1834 had doubled its numbers twice. After surviving various vicissitudes which were not uncommon in such schools, Blackheath prospered to become a large school of 300 by 1870. Despite varying setbacks largely concerned with finance and administration, the academic record of the school was outstanding by any standards. It had sixteen Fellows at Oxford and Cambridge, 290 honours graduates and very many successful entrants both to the armed services and the I.C.S. It was famous, too, for its athletics and could boast of something like twenty-five Blues at Oxford and Cambridge.³⁷ It had eighteen

entries in the D.N.B. (and possibly five others) including Charles E. Beevor (1854-1908) the neurologist, Edward Bowen (1836-1901) of Harrow fame, John Sutton (1850-1913) the scientific agriculturalist of Sutton Seeds, James de Montmorency (1866-1934) the legalist and educational writer, and John Mason Neale (1818-1866) the hymn writer.³⁸

The financial basis of the school was a modest one and rested on 100 shares at £20 each.³⁹ One share entitled the holder (who had a maximum of three) to nominate a boy to the school.⁴⁰ As with many other proprietary schools set up in these early years the curriculum was sufficiently wide to allow for the Classics, Modern Languages, Mathematics, English Subjects and Science, together with religious instruction in accordance with the teachings of the Church of England. To consolidate the Anglican character of the school it was affiliated with Kings College, London (K.C.L.) in 1834 and so Blackheath formed part of that coterie of schools which aimed at strengthening the hand of the Church in secondary education, by its close association with K.C.L. whose raison d'être had been to stand firm against the influence of "that godless institution in Gower Street."

Blackheath Proprietary School then, like many other similar schools, experienced its trials and tribulations. For any school whose main sources of income are the school fees from pupils and whose fortunes are measured by the barometer of fiscal solvency, it was essential for the educational successes of the school to attract a continuing large clientele. This it was failing to do in the late 1840s. Numbers fell alarmingly so that by the summer of 1847 the school roll was only fifty-three. There were several reasons for this decline,⁴¹ but again as in the case of other schools the situation was saved by a new Headmaster, in this case the Rev. E. J. Selwyn⁴² (1847-1863), who at the age of twenty-five, replaced

the Rev. Sanderson Tennant, who had been Headmaster for the past seventeen years since the school's inception. From the nadir of its fortunes in 1847, the school experienced a revival under Selwyn, brought about largely by his institution of an Exhibition Fund to retain senior boys in the school before going to University; by his increasing the staff and so improving the teaching; by his tightening up discipline which had become rather slack; and later by his opening of a Special Department in 1856 to prepare boys for I.C.S.⁴³ and for Woolwich, Sandhurst and Addiscombe.⁴⁴ The extent of Selwyn's academic success may be measured by the fact that in the last two years of his headship, every boy in the Upper Sixth without exception, gained an open scholarship to either Oxford or Cambridge.⁴⁵

With such success it would seem that the future of the school would be assured; but as was demonstrated so often in the nineteenth century, in schools like Eastbourne College, Leamington College and Bath College, healthy finances rather than a heavy scholarship board, would have been a better indication of institutional health and longevity. Blackheath Headmaster, Rev. E. W. South (1876-1886), who had a brilliant team of assistant masters to aid him in the scholarship stakes, neglected the boarding aspects of the school and allowed the boarding houses to fall into decay.⁴⁶ With no provision made for extension or expansion, and with only a tenuous lease which had to be renewed for another twenty-one years in 1899, the school found itself highly vulnerable and its demise was not far off.⁴⁷

The experience of Rev. Charles Pritchard at Stockwell Grammar School, another School in union with K.C.L., serves to shew the weakness inherent in the relations between the Managers and Headmasters of proprietary

schools arising from their divergent aims. Pritchard, a brilliant teacher,⁴⁸ who was later not only a Doctor of Divinity but also a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal Astronomical Society,⁴⁹ was hampered from the beginning by the parsimony and meddling of the proprietors. Pritchard's early success in recruiting as many as 140 pupils alarmed the proprietors who decided to curtail the number and to allow no further expansion. This setback to his plans combined with the constant criticism of this curriculum by one section of the proprietors caused Pritchard to resign his post within eighteen months.

In his Annals of our School he writes:

"For about a year and a half the strain and the jading from a portion of the committee continued unabated: these gentlemen, though no doubt amiable and honourable enough in their own individual spheres, nevertheless, as governors of a place of education were wholly out of the beat, and by a ceaseless interference and sundry small annoyances, they made the Headmaster's life unenviable, and at length I finally resigned my connection with them."⁵⁰

This school, which Walter Besant attended,⁵¹ had other distinguished old boys such as Dr. George Granville Bradley, Dean of Westminster; Sir George Grove, the Director of the Royal College of Music (1883-1894); Sir Henry Harben the statistician; Arthur Wollaston, the oriental scholar; Henry Irving, the actor and Charles Irving C.M.G., Auditor-General of the Straits Settlements and Resident Councillor of Malacca and Penang, together with a "good sprinkling" of lawyers and clergymen and a "solid phalanx" of substantial businessness. By the 1860s the school had declined as wealthier residents moved out of the area and smaller houses

were erected. This change in clientele changed the educational needs of the neighbourhood. A largely commercial education rather than a largely classical one was required and in consequence, a later Headmaster, a classical Scholar of Trinity College Dublin, resigned in 1870-1871.⁵²

To return to Pritchard, very briefly, his new school at Clapham was very successful having almost three times the number of D.N.B. entries as Stockwell School. From the beginning in 1834 the school was run on educationally, rather than commercially, orientated lines in accordance with regulations which were drawn up by Pritchard himself.⁵³ Liberally supplied with funds and free from proprietorial interference, Pritchard was able to build on sound foundations. The school increased year by year both in buildings and boys. So successful was he that the Committee of Management handed over the entire management of the school to Pritchard in 1842. Following this act of faith by the Managers, Pritchard added a swimming bath and a School Chapel in 1843 to the school buildings. Some of his boys were younger sons of families who sent their eldest son to Eton, Harrow or Rugby; others were sons of leading men in Science and the liberal professions.⁵⁴ Although, when Pritchard retired in 1862 - giving up the school to Dr. Wrigley, a Professor of Addiscombe - the school was in its heyday, like many proprietary schools Clapham suffered an eclipse.⁵⁵ The importance of Clapham Grammar School, however, is its example in a London area, not yet decayed, of what could be done by a proprietary school with generous management and minimal interference.

Another proprietary school, which Walter Besant attended before he went to Stockwell, was St. Paul's Proprietary Grammar School, Southsea, which although at its inception in 1830 had taken the place of (the then closed) St. George's Endowed Grammar School as the town's leading school,

by 1848, it, too, had to close; the building being sold as a Wesleyan chapel. The case of St. Paul's Proprietary school is illuminating in considering the power of the managers in proprietary schools. It was their decision and not the Headmaster's that led to the closure of the school in 1848 and ceased their commercial venture.⁵⁶ Not all headmasters, as Pritchard's action in 1833/34 has shown, were prepared to suffer the dictates of Committees of Managers who knew not the first thing about the education of boys: some like Dr. Payne Smith, Headmaster of Kensington Grammar School and later Dean of Canterbury, were men of action⁵⁷ who would be loathe to take orders and, as Pycroft has suggested,⁵⁸ there was a comparatively rapid turn-over of Headmasters, of Proprietary Schools whilst the rate for assistant masters was an average of two years' stay.⁵⁹ Such conditions were not beneficial to the schools.

One famous Proprietary School in the nineteenth century which was not so affected by a rapid turnover of Principals was Liverpool College.⁶⁰ Founded in 1842 it had a succession of six principals who each contributed in different ways to the success of the school, including the Rev. E. C. Selwyn, the son of Selwyn of Blackheath School and later Headmaster of Uppingham. As a day school Liverpool College felt, like Stockwell, Blackheath and Clapham, the cold winds towards the end of the century when boarding school was so much in vogue, but unlike them the school survived. Like Blackheath Proprietary school it experienced great academic success, especially under the great scholar Dr. George Butler (1849-1865).⁶¹ A further indication of the academic success of the school is given by Carteret-Bisson's Oxford and Cambridge Local Examination Record 1858 - 1873. In fifteen years Liverpool gained 416 certificates and 213 others with honours.⁶²

If Liverpool College had its academic successes it also had its share of interference from Directors, especially in the early years. Much against his better judgment, the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, the first principal, allowed the educational theories of amateurs in his school.⁶³ Rev. John Howson,⁶⁴ his successor in 1849, was a more energetic man and more able to cope with his Managers. Howson, therefore, although not the Principal with the best academic record at Liverpool, is regarded perhaps as the most successful because of his business acumen and organizational qualities.

He found the school in a state of penury when he became Headmaster with assistants poorly paid and buildings in need of repair but he left it much strengthened in 1865. 'Success', 'solvency' and 'consolidation' are terms which David Wainwright uses to describe the work of Howson at Liverpool. As the epitome of adroit diplomacy he deserved recognition, too, for his handling of his managerial colleagues in committee.⁶⁵

So far, only urban proprietary schools have been considered. The majority of proprietary schools were in the towns and cities where the population could be expected to support adequately a day proprietary school. Other proprietary schools, such as Rossall or Marlborough were to be found in more rural settings but these were first grade schools. There were, however, other proprietary schools both rural and boarding but lower in social status, supplying an education for the middle and lower middle class, two of these being Failand Lodge School (1839) Wraxall Somerset, and Saham Toney (1852) Norfolk.

Failand Lodge had perhaps the distinction of being the first proprietary school to come within the purview of the Committee of Council on Education, a report being made on the school by the Rev. John Allen H.M.I. in the minutes of 1841-42.⁶⁶ The origins of this school lay in the recognition of the

need by local clergy and gentry for a school to educate the children of 'yeoman' stock or rural middle class in North Somerset. A Committee was set up and £600⁶⁷ subscribed for the provision of a boarding school, which was to be supported by a forty acre farm leased for twenty-one years. The facilities provided were well planned⁶⁸ but the regime was oppressive,⁶⁹ whilst the curriculum was of a very commercial nature.⁷⁰ This school which provided a useful education on religious lines for some sixty-four boys between seven and fifteen featured in an article in Education Magazine April 1840. In 1868 the S.I.C. Report described it as a semi-classical school.⁷¹

Saham Toney School, in Norfolk, was a school of the second grade, similar in character to Failand Lodge in both clientele, religious instruction and commercial curriculum. Perhaps better equipped,⁷² the school was to be self supporting from the beginning⁷³ and charged therefore even higher fees (£35 per annum) than Framlingham College, its more famous counter-part in Suffolk.⁷⁴ This school ensured efficiency and value for money by securing an annual inspection by Cambridge examiners.⁷⁵

No consideration of proprietary schools would be complete without some reference to County Schools and to the work of Rev. Joseph Lloyd Brereton (1822-1901), Rector successively of West Buckland (Devon) and Little Massingham (Norfolk). Brereton has been compared⁷⁶ with Woodard (1811-1891) the founder of 'Tractarian' Schools for the middle classes in the nineteenth century;⁷⁷ but the Rev. Joseph Brereton had perhaps more in common with Rev. William Rogers who, in the early 1850s, began to set up a "network" of schools in Middlesex on non-sectarian lines.⁷⁸ That Brereton was unsectarian in his views, there is no doubt. In 1883 he commented, in the Contemporary Review,⁷⁹ on recent proposals by

Archbishop Benson to establish an extensive system of Church middle schools, and he alluded to the title of 'County' which he gave to his schools at West Buckland in Devon and Elmham in Norfolk. They had been called 'County Schools' because he wanted to avoid the use of diocese as defining the catchment area for his proprietary schools, so anxious was he to encourage the attendance of non-conformists. He observed, too, that Frederick Temple, the Bishop of Exeter⁸⁰ had supported his view on this.

Like the Rev. Percy Warrington⁸¹ 'the financier in the surplice', Brereton had not received until recently due recognition by educational historians for his contribution to education in the nineteenth century.⁸² This omission is all the more surprising in view of the indirect influence that Brereton had on the development of middle class examinations (or Locals as they were later called). In the winter of 1853, having recently been appointed Vicar of West Buckland, Brereton devised his County School and County University scheme which included a plan for the public examination of Devon school children, before even the College of Preceptors had introduced their Scheme (1854).⁸³

Following discussions with the local magnates, the 2nd Earl Fortescue and his son Lord Ebrington - through whom Brereton's plans came to the notice of the Earl of Derby⁸⁴ and Lord Lansdowne⁸⁵ - H. Chester Esq., the Chairman of the Council of the Society of Arts was approached⁸⁶ concerning the possible adaptation of the examination system. The development of this idea has been recounted elsewhere⁸⁷ but it is the remainder of Brereton's scheme which is of importance to the concept of the English proprietary school.

From the beginning, Brereton emphasised two fundamental points.

The first, to which reference has already been made,⁸⁸ was the unsectarian nature of the scheme.⁸⁹ Although there was a school chaplaincy,⁹⁰ through which Anglican services were held, non-conformists were not excluded from the school.⁹¹ The second point which Brereton and his aristocratic neophytes constantly stressed was the public nature of this private enterprise. Brereton was anxious that no stigma of commercial speculation should be attached to his West Buckland School and it was therefore put in the hands of Trustees rather than the Directors, at an early date.⁹²

His Devon County Scheme which aimed at providing an education suitable for agricultural pursuits,⁹³ sought to cater for that section of the population which lay between affluence and indigence i.e. the mass of the middle class.⁹⁴

Brereton was a man of vision who envisaged a four tier system of education,⁹⁵ but his scheme which included the taking over of St. Luke's Exeter as the County College⁹⁶ awarding County degrees was delimited by reality and came to naught. An ex-pupil of Arnold, Brereton attributed no small influence to his ideas to his old headmaster.⁹⁷ It was no exaggeration for Dr. Jex-Blake, the Headmaster of Rugby (1874-1887) to declare at the prize giving at Norfolk County School in 1881 that "the ideas which really went to the founding of this school and of the Devon County School before it, were the ideas of Arnold."⁹⁸

That Brereton was a shrewd planner with no small measure of business sense can hardly be doubted upon an examination of his plans both for West Buckland (Devon County School) and Elmham (Norfolk County School). His careful planning of buildings⁹⁹ and possible costs¹⁰⁰ of both schools left no room for the disaster that befell the Rev. Hewett, founder of the

first Bloxham School.¹⁰¹ His printed letters, papers and even a book on his schools are adequate testimony of his down-to-earth practical approach to the problems.¹⁰²

Nor could the results of his educational planning be said to be disappointing. The West Buckland School which began modestly in November 1858 with three boys only had by Christmas 1863 grown to fifty-five boarders and fifteen day boys. Soon it was to be a flourishing school achieving outstanding academic results as is evidenced in letters of Mr. J. H. Thompson, the Headmaster, to Earl Fortescue on 1st January¹⁰³ and 6th February 1864;¹⁰⁴ and in the speech of the Archbishop Longley of Canterbury at the distribution of prizes at the School on 13th October 1863 when he declared that "the progress it (the school) has made entitles it to rank among the first educational establishments of the country."¹⁰⁵

West Buckland School was a second grade school in the S.I.C. scale of grading, it was therefore the Norfolk County School which made Brereton the founder of a quasi public school of the first grade.

This School, too, began modestly in the Rectory of Little Massingham, but this was only a temporary home before the building of the palatial buildings at North Elmham¹⁰⁶ at a cost of £8,000 with accommodation for 260 boarders.¹⁰⁷ In September 1874 the new buildings were occupied by fifty boys and three masters,¹⁰⁸ with Earl Fortescue coming over from Devon to attend the ceremony. After two years, the Headmaster, the Rev. W. Watson could feel well satisfied at the progress of the school: numbers had risen to ninety and sixteen university local certificates had been gained.¹⁰⁹ To boost his numbers Brereton undertook what Leamington College failed to do¹¹⁰ - he set up a prize and scholarship fund to which

the Prince of Wales contributed £250; Henry Overmere, a Director,¹¹¹ £250; the Rev. James Lee Warner £50 and Dr. Jex-Blake £30;¹¹² but difficult times lay ahead during the period of the agricultural depression of the eighties and nineties.

In 1887 the Rev. W. Watson resigned because of chronic ill health and was succeeded by Rev. F. L. Brereton, son of J. L. Brereton and Head of Barnard Castle School. Brereton junior had left behind him a prosperous school which he had built up to 250 boys and no doubt it was hoped that his appointment would lead to a considerable increase in the boys at Elmham. Despite an increase to the scholarship fund of £500,¹¹³ organisational changes which introduced a modified house system and, more importantly, introduced special Agricultural, Commercial and Professional classes, the numbers began a downward trend which it became difficult to reverse. In vain did F. L. Brereton write in 1889 in his Headmaster's Report:

"Few schools have a better site, or better buildings, or better educational advantages to offer to parents for the same fees. It only remains to make the advantages of the school more widely known and acknowledged, and then the numbers can hardly fail to increase. And increased numbers would mean a very remarkable, financial and educational success."

It was as if he were trying to assure himself of his invulnerability. However, the following table based on figures given in his report of 1891 illustrates the parlous state of the school.

TABLE 16

Showing the decline in the number of boys 1888-1890

					Expenditure above that allowed				£
1888	Term 1	133 Boys	109	Boarders					-
	2	134 "	114	"	"	"	"	"	-
	3	131 "	110	"	"	"	"	"	36
1889	Term 1	128 "	111	"	"	"	"	"	26
	2	123 "	104	"	"	"	"	"	70
	3	123 "	100	"	"	"	"	"	82
1890	Term 1	109 "	90	"	"	"	"	"	52
	2	101 "	85	"	"	"	"	"	23
	3	87 "	74	"	"	"	"	"	58

The sums overspent supra are fairly small but all show a continued loss from the third term of 1888, which gave some considerable cause for concern.

It was in this year that Rev. J. L. Brereton sought, by a Herculean effort, to salvage his school which was rapidly drifting into economic insolvency caused largely by the extraneous influence of the agricultural depression. From his Little Massingham Rectory he sent out an appeal for £3,000 to parents, shareholders, past donors, old boys and friends, which was phrased in lugubrious tones finishing with,

"I regret to add that the alternative urged upon me, if

I do not get adequate response to this appeal, is that the school will be treated as a failure and closed. In that case my request will be turned into a bequest ... if the school is closed, I bequeath its memory and history to

those who will yet make efforts and sacrifices in the cause of educating young Englishmen as Christian gentlemen."¹¹⁴ The School lasted four years longer closing down in 1895.¹¹⁵

To return to the South West, the West Buckland School got off to a good start in 1858 with a £200 donation fund which was taken over by the Devon County School Association. This Association very quickly secured £6,000 worth of investment. It was noted a few years later (1864) by Lord Ebrington that other County Schools provided by joint stock undertakings were appearing in Suffolk, Surrey and Dorset. Evidence from the D.N.B. shows that a Hereford County College existed in the nineteenth century:¹¹⁶ there was also a Probus County School in Cornwall.¹¹⁷ If little is known about these two schools, more is known about others which appeared after Brereton's pioneer school in Devon.

One which was founded shortly after the opening of West Buckland was the nearby school of Sampford Peverell. This school which tried to associate with the West Buckland School¹¹⁸ and about which a report was made to the S.I.C., did not have as sound a financial base as its near neighbour and therefore did not meet with the same outstanding success. Commenting on his venture at Sampford Peverell to the S.I.C., the Rev. C. Bere wrote:

"my experience makes me feel very strongly that no scheme of the kind should be started without sufficient capital to protect the school in its infancy ... the strain on us has been through a want of capital."¹¹⁹

Two county schools which have been relatively successful and survive from the nineteenth century are Surrey County School of Cranleigh (1865)

and the Suffolk County School of Framlingham (1864). In the case of Cranleigh, where R. H. Quick was a master for a short time, the business acumen of Dr. Merriman, the Headmaster, prevented a fiasco.¹²⁰ Faulty finance, as at Sampford Peverell lay at the root of the school's difficulties - £6,000 was raised by Surrey gentry but a building costing £10,000 was started, so that the school began with heavy debts.

The College of Framlingham, which was founded in memory of Prince Albert received very adequate financial backing¹²¹ and provided accommodation for 233¹²² Suffolk school boys. Even this school experienced some considerable fluctuation in numbers, which reflected the financial health of the school. In 1865 it had 271 boys but within six years these had been reduced to 150. As in so many cases a new Headmaster (the patriarchal element) brought also a change in fortune. In the case of Framlingham, under the Headship of the Rev. W. W. Bird (1872-1881) the numbers rose again from 150 in 1872 to 325 by 1877. This improvement was due almost entirely to the change of policy to which the school became heavily committed in Civil Service and other competitive examinations. Like Norfolk County School, Framlingham suffered during the years of agricultural depression when the numbers sank in 1886 to sixty-five. By that year the school was £3,000 in debt and was saved only by another reforming headmaster, the Rev. O. D. Inskip (1887-1913) who saw the need to combine a sound financial base with academic success. By dint of hard work, a scholarship fund and scholastic successes, the school once more came out of the perilous position of being almost bankrupt. The case of Framlingham suggests that even where there was considerably influential backing unless both the numbers of pupils were kept high and the scholarship successes were kept numerous (and the one depended to a certain extent on the other)

any such venture was courting disaster.

This lesson is emphasised all the more by the comparative success of Barnard Castle School, the Durham County School founded in 1883. This school seemed to experience little if any financial embarrassment from its inception.¹²³ This was for several reasons, viz:

1. the finances of the school were based partly on endowments;¹²⁴
2. the school received strong support from the local Anglican clergy especially from Archdeacon Hamilton (d. 1905) who was a very able fund raiser;
3. institutions like the school tuck shop helped to finance small projects within the school;
4. enterprising chapel fund raised through the holding of bazaars;
5. numbers¹²⁵ were kept up by innovations such as the introduction of an Agricultural Department (1890) and a Technical Department (1894). Provisions like a Sanatorium (1887) and a swimming bath (1896) made the school even more attractive to parents.

The example of Barnard Castle serves to underline the importance of healthy finances as a vital element in the survival of proprietary schools and to modify to a certain extent Weber's claims for bureaucratic organization, as far as schools are concerned, since economic as much as social factors were the bases of successful proprietary schools in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 8

QUASI-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

That E. Oliver, Captain of Westminster School XI could refuse, in 1866,¹ the request for a cricket match by J. Spencer Phillips, Captain of Shrewsbury School XI, on the grounds that Westminster played with only public schools, prompts the use of the term 'quasi-public school'. Such a term loosely describes those schools outside the Public Schools Club, the Committee of which, limited the public schools to six.² The fact that Shrewsbury was one of the nine public schools examined by the Clarendon Commission (1861-1864) seems to have made no impression on Westminster, therefore many schools, both of a private and proprietary nature which, during the nineteenth century, strove to emulate the public schools, both by academic success and by athletic prowess, require some distinguishing label. Such a label would set them apart from the private and proprietary schools of the second and third grade, which were more concerned with education for commercial pursuits via middle class examinations than with education for the professions and competitive examinations.

The term 'quasi-public school' was used by W. R. Lawson in his John Bull and his Schools (1908) in his consideration of a different basis for the classification of Secondary education, from that adopted by the 1897 Inquiry by the Committee of Council on Education. He suggested that instead of five categories there should be three viz.

1. the great public schools;
2. the quasi-public schools;
3. private day and boarding schools.

A more recent examination of the question of the definition of a public school at the end of the nineteenth century⁴ suggests the existence of a "community of schools". This investigation, based on references to about 104 schools in the Public School Magazine and Wisden's Almanac, 1898 - 1902,

and their participation in public school activities,⁵ concluded that some sixty-four schools could be divided into four groups determined by separate levels of 'interaction'.⁶ As supporting evidence for his contention, which does not seem to take into account the yardstick of what preparatory schools were feeding what public schools,⁷ Professor Honey tabulates in his List Q, his findings concerning scholarships attained between 1885 - 1892; Oxford and Cambridge Higher Locals 1890 - 1897; entrants to the Army and Civil Service, together with several previous attempts at classification of Public Schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This chapter attempts, in a more limited way, to examine some of the schools in Professor Honey's four categories together with others which, though regarded as bona fide public schools today, had not achieved that recognition by the end of the century. The schools in the main are taken from the eleven counties considered previously, though notable exceptions are the two Scottish nineteenth century private schools, Loretto and Blair Lodge.⁸ One glaring omission from this chapter in view of its geographical basis, is that of Leamington College; but this is to be examined later in Appendix 35. Many published histories of public and quasi-public schools have tended to treat their subject in terms of a narrative with a chronological base, by which the periods of Headships are analogous to a progression of Kings' reigns, the weak following the strong and vice versa which tends to be the main explanation for the ups and downs in the fortune of the school. This chapter, however, seeks to examine various aspects of nineteenth century quasi-public schools and in only one instance - that of Trinity College, Stratford - to adopt a chronological approach. Like the case of Leamington College, there is perhaps some justification for this in view of the absence of any published history,⁹ and it will be considered first.

Trinity College School, Stratford was one of those nineteenth century schools which owed its origin indirectly to Dr. Arnold.¹⁰ Dr. J. D. Collis, Headmaster of Bromsgrove School from 1843 - 1867,¹¹ was an ex-pupil of Arnold who, when he retired from that school after twenty-five successful years, became Vicar of Stratford on Avon. After some preliminary dabbling in educational affairs in the Stratford district, the new Vicar launched a novel educational venture based on a mixture of fifteenth century collegiate theory¹³ and nineteenth century public school practice, tinged with Arnoldian ideals.¹⁴

His plan, to begin with, was a modest one: to educate "about twelve boys, sons of clergymen and others, with really good voices, who would be willing to form part of the choir at the Parish Church."¹⁵ On the 1st September 1871 he bought the house of a Mr. J. B. Freer for £1,700¹⁶ as well as other property in the immediate vicinity, to which he made modifications in preparation for the opening of his school.¹⁷

Collis, who was himself an Irishman,¹⁸ was helped in the early years by the Rev. Frank Smith, who through Dr. William Alexander, later Primate of all Ireland, was sent to Stratford at the time of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. As Vicar of Stratford on Avon, Collis put the Rev. F. Smith in charge of St. James' Church, the old vicarage of which was used to house several Irish boys who attended Trinity College.¹⁹ The Rev. Frank Smith was but one of several clergy who helped Dr. Collis in the background to run his school and gave it that collegiate basis²⁰ which allowed him to draw freely on clerical help. To begin with, theological students were also attached to the school and received tuition from Collis who was a notable scholar, a former Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford and author of several text books used in Public schools.²¹

The school opened in January 1872 with six pupils, but by the end of the month the numbers had risen to twenty-two.²² True to his earliest plans, Collis allowed his Trinity boys to form choirs in neighbouring churches,²³ before the school acquired its own chapel. The reputation of Collis "in the scholastic world was something to conjure with"²⁴ and by April 1876 the number of boys in the school was 152.²⁵ One example of the magnetism of Collis was the way in which the school chapel was provided. In September 1876 he mentioned in the school prospectus that Trinity College needed its own place of worship. He started a fund himself by donating £100 - his boys' parents so responded that within a year a chapel was provided at a cost of £575. Under Collis the school continued to develop as a successful quasi-public school. The pages of the Trinity College Magazine²⁶ show the school participating in sporting activities with other up-and-coming schools like Malvern and Bloxham. It sported a boat club for a while; and on the social side it had, inter alia, a Debating Society and a Glee Club.

By 1877, two years before his death, Collis could be fairly satisfied with his school. He had a well-qualified staff;²⁷ a school chapel and adequate school buildings including a Dining Hall, Big School, six class rooms; rooms for eight resident masters, large dormitories, twenty studies, music room, sanatorium, two fives courts, gymnasium, and a chemistry laboratory.²⁸ The school had three scholarships²⁹ at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford and fifteen exhibitions to aid the sons of gentry of limited means. Within five years, he already had nineteen ex-pupils in the Universities. Further, his boys were being drawn from all parts of the kingdom;³⁰ and he could justifiably claim that "the school, originally intended to be a small one of a private character, has grown already into a quasi-public school."³¹

By the time of the Bryce Commission in 1894/95, the School had changed its character and was "practically a Civil Service training School" with a local and national reputation; however, by the end of the century, Trinity College, which by this time had the flamboyant Marie Corelli as its next door neighbour at Masoncroft,³² though still the major school in Stratford, was in decline. It was still patronised by the sons of wealthy parents but under Mr. Beckwith, the Headmaster at the turn of the century, it became an 'Army School' (1904) with all the boys destined for the Army. This role of the school as an Army crammer did not last long at Stratford³³ and the doors of Trinity College were finally closed in 1908.³⁴

One of the distinguishing features of quasi-public schools was their excellent academic record. Those schools at the lower end of this upper class social scale competed successfully in the Oxford and Cambridge Local examinations³⁵ but others concentrated, though not exclusively, on competitive examinations and Oxford and Cambridge scholarships. Bath College³⁶ (1878-1909) was such a school. Placed in Group 3 of Honey's four group interaction analysis, Bath College in a very short space established itself firmly as a school of academic excellence under its headmaster T. W. Dunn.³⁷ Between 1878 and 1903 Bath College was: "for its size, probably quite the best classical school in the country, rivalling the glory of Shrewsbury under Kennedy, of Cheltenham under Dobson, of St. Paul's under Walker. In those years this small, new, struggling seminary, with no foundation, won scholarship after scholarship at all the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge."³⁸ Many Fellowships followed these early academic successes: the school produced not only scholars and dons but also "clergy, doctors, soldiers, civil servants, journalists, rowing blues,

cricketers and footballers in abundance."³⁹ In an academic world which was still dominated by the classics, Dunn's successes were outstanding. The Guardian analysing the year's results of the Oxford and Cambridge certificate examinations declared that Bath College and Clifton seemed strongest in the classics: while in the following year a London newspaper, reviewing schools obtaining scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge over the previous seven years, concluded that Bath College, with its thirty-five scholarships and its small size,⁴⁰ headed the list of merit. An examination of the places gained in the I.C.S. and Eastern Cadets examinations (1896-1911) in Appendix II of the First Report of the MacDonell Commission⁴¹ shows a similar picture of success especially for the years 1896-1905.

The academic successes of this enigmatic⁴² teacher, who brought with him many of the influences of Dr. Perceval of Clifton,⁴³ when he moved from that school in 1878 to become Headmaster of Bath College, were, however, insufficient to satisfy wholly his clientele. Although given a free hand by the Bath College Company Limited, Dunn found that the financial position of the school was permanently imperilled by the refusal of the Governors to allow the sons of shopkeepers in the school. Socially exclusive, the school was committed thus to a policy of self destruction. The numbers dwindled because locally retired Army officers wanted an education for their sons more suited to Army requirements than Dunn was prepared to concede. Changes took place after Dunn's retirement in 1897 when the Rev. W. Yorke Fausset, a more conventional Headmaster,⁴⁴ took over; but the financial difficulties remained and reached crisis point when the Old Bath company went into liquidation. Fausset energetically resisted the impending closure of the school and another company was found

to take the place of the old; but whereas in 1878 the school had £20,000 financial backing in 1899, it had only £2,500. Fausset gave up the unequal struggle and within five years of his resignation, after the school had failed in its appeal to raise £12,000 for clearing debts and starting much needed building projects, the school finally closed.

The closure of yet another school at the turn of the century was brought about in this case mainly by the small numbers in the school, which, though perhaps educationally desirable, was financially disastrous; but the fate of Bath is indicative of the inherent weakness to be found in proprietary schools as indicated in the last chapter. Where amateur educationalists, in the form of Governors, attempt to interfere in the realm of the professional, friction and discontent, neither conducive to a successful school, are likely to ensue where differences of viewpoint exist.

Sometimes interference occurred where expenditure was involved: Eastbourne College (1867) was a case in point. The school's fortunes in its early years were constantly marred by ever-present debts which the 7th Duke of Devonshire (1808-1891) continued to underwrite. The fault lay, as in the case of Leamington College and the first Bloxham School, in insufficient capital to meet initial building expenses. The authorised capital was £12,000 made up of 250 'A' shares of £40 each and 100 'B' shares of £20 each.⁴⁵ This amount of capital did not materialise since the sale of shares only brought in just over £4,000. It became necessary to raise cash by borrowing £8,000 at five per cent interest with six members of the Eastbourne College Council⁴⁶ acting as guarantors.⁴⁷

In view of this unpromising start, the relations between the Headmaster the Rev. J. R. Wood (1867-1869)⁴⁸ and the Council became soured early, and

were not sweetened any when, in 1869, the staff were asked to take a reduction in their salary⁴⁹ to help the finances of the school. Wood grew tired of the situation and almost wrecked the school completely by announcing his resignation and intention of setting up a private school in Eastbourne.⁵⁰ Until the time of the Rev. Charles Crowden (1888-1895), the Headmasters of Eastbourne found themselves under surveillance and suffered frequent criticism in their administration of the school. Crowden, who had been a successful headmaster of Cranbrook School in Kent, brought some ninety boys and several masters with him; and having given the school a 'shot in the arm',⁵¹ was able to take a much more independent line with the Council than any of his predecessors. Eastbourne College survived into the twentieth century to become a fully recognised public school; but at what cost? It is significant that in this process it had seven Headmasters between 1867 and 1907 and that during the space of forty years two retired through ill-health and one because of the ill-health of his wife.⁵²

Throughout the early years the assistant masters at Eastbourne found much to criticise in the handling of the school's affairs by the Council who in turn kept a tight rein on their freedom of action. It was ironic, however, that when the assistant masters protested at the proposed reduction in their salary in 1869, the Council should consult Bradfield College amongst other schools about the payment of its staff. Although this school did not suffer from 'bureaucratic' interference, being 'patriarchal' in character with the Rev. Thomas Stevens as founder and warden, the Headmaster in 1880, C. T. Crutwell,⁵³ and half his staff left because their salaries were constantly being paid late or not at all.³⁴

It was this cavalier treatment of assistant masters⁵⁵ which caused

many to leave after only a short stay. It is true that many were only "birds of passage" and were waiting for something better outside teaching; and that others again left to run their own schools or become Headmasters elsewhere,⁵⁶ but there were many whose departure was mainly motivated by discontent. At Bradfield where the turnover of Headmasters was relatively swift,⁵⁷ it was not likely that the assistant masters would show signs of any greater stability. Even at a school like the second Bloxham school where the Rev. P. R. Egerton enjoyed relative financial security⁵⁸ the average length of service of an assistant master was 3.5 years,⁵⁹ - 76 masters in 36 years (1860-1896). Bath College record was probably slightly worse having fifty-four different assistant masters (of whom thirteen were clergymen) in twenty years.⁶⁰ By comparison, St. Edward's School, Oxford, which experienced some financial insecurity during the nineteenth century was well served by its assistant masters staying at the School on average, 4.4 years. One assistant master at St. Edward's was there for fifty-seven years.⁶¹ It was significant also that the school had only two drawing masters - Messrs. Phillips (twenty-seven years) and Bayzand (seventeen years)⁶² - during the total of forty-four years, which suggests that for them there was less opportunity for either physical or social mobility. Wycliffe School⁶³ had an even better record for assistant masters who stayed on average almost six years. In thirty years, it had only forty-six assistant masters⁶⁴ and was well served by a nucleus, two of whom stayed thirty years, six over twenty and eleven over ten years. Even Wycliffe School, however, by contrast with Malvern College from 1865 to 1914, had a relatively less slow turnover of staff. Assistant masters stayed on average at Malvern about 9.3 years.⁶⁵

If Max Weber's concept of bureaucracy cannot be accepted as an

altogether efficient model at least for nineteenth century proprietary schools, his concept of charisma more easily finds exemplars amongst nineteenth century headmasters. The role of headmaster lends itself to charismatic leadership and the nineteenth century English School spawned several who had a Messianic message of Christianity and social leadership. William Sewell of Radley in particular, seems to fulfill criteria laid down in Weber's Essays in Sociology.⁶⁶ In two respects especially he could be said to approximate to a charismatic character, viz.

- i) "Charisma rejects all rational economic conduct⁶⁴
 ... individual patrons provide the necessary means for charismatic structures."⁶⁷
- ii) "The charismatic leader gains and maintains authority solely by proving his strength in life ... his divine mission must 'prove' itself."⁶⁸

Responsible for several important innovations in public schools, Sewell was perhaps one of the most controversial educators of the nineteenth century: for example, it was one thing for Sewell to provide, at some considerable expense, a tasteful environment for the boys both in the school and in the grounds of Radley;⁷⁰ but it was quite another thing to indulge in lavish entertainment without regard to cost for which Radley, under Sewell as Warden (1853-1861) and before, became famous. This erratic figure of undoubted talent,⁷¹ a son of a distinguished family,⁷² showed a strong charismatic penchant for spending the money of others in the name of his creation, Radley.⁷³ A. K. Boyd in his History of Radley College 1847-1947 which is dedicated "in sympathy and understanding ... to the neglected memory of Robert Corbet Singleton, Co-founder and first Warden," recounts examples of Sewell's prodigality and the impression it made on

his staff.⁷⁴ This well-written school history of Radley is a complementary volume to Lionel James' hagiographical work A Forgotten Genius, Sewell of St. Columba's and Radley which clearly sees Sewell as possibly the most important figure in the development of public schools in the nineteenth century, albeit that it was for much of the time a private school.⁷⁵

That Sewell had a magnetic personality - almost a sine qua non for a charismatic person - is not altogether certain in view of conflicting evidence. Although he was a great showman and had the gift of tapping the emotions of some of his boys, as well as influencing R. C. Singleton, the first Warden of Radley (1847-1851),⁷⁶ to invest large sums in the school, he nevertheless had some weaknesses. A. K. Boyd has shown evidence of Sewell's somewhat unbalanced views of boys in general and some boys in particular.⁷⁷ Further, despite the claim that Sewell's concept of a community of boys and Fellows broke down hostility between teachers and taught, there is strong evidence to suggest that he knew little about boys. Walter Seymour (b.1838)⁷⁸ who was a boy under Sewell thought that: "except in his own mind, he knew as much about ruling boys as he did about governing the Mormon City."⁷⁹ To do him justice, however, it is necessary to recognise the extent of the challenge which Sewell took up in 1853 when he came to the rescue of his school that seemed to be tottering.⁸⁰ With little experience of teaching boys, as apposed to undergraduates, he took on the task of Warden at the relatively late age of forty-nine, with customary zeal; but his 'reign' of eight years ended in bankruptcy. By 1861 his day as leader, as well as Founder of Radley, was over: but though he left behind a financially crippled school it was one which had experienced the effects of the application of the Sewellian prefectorial and collegiate ideals⁸¹ and dormitory reforms.⁸² He had met his 'Waterloo'

and he eventually retired to his 'St. Helena'⁸³ at Deutz, on the continent, to avoid his sundry creditors.

The practice of religion in a school chapel was another characteristic feature which, together with the prefect system, distinguished the quasi-public school from the private school. A temporary chapel was one of Sewell's first provisions at Radley: hardly before his lease was finally agreed he had placed an order with an Oxford builder.⁸⁴ Sewell's action was that of a religious man in a religious age. Such fervent religion was responsible for the first Bloxham school having an Office for the admission of Scholars (1853)⁸⁵ by which boys of All Saints School, Bloxham were admitted to the school with due solemnity in a white surplice. This religious tradition begun by the Rev. J. Hewett, the first founder of Bloxham, was continued by the second founder the Rev. P. R. Egerton, who regarded the chapel built in 1870 as his most important building. It was however, Egerton's deputy, the Rev. A. D. Crake, a strong supporter of Anglo-Catholicism and the Tractarian movement, who wrote to parents strongly advocating the sacrament of confession. Many boys were prepared for confirmation by Crake who held daily classes for seniors and juniors. Crake wrote religious stories which were published by Mowbrays⁸⁶ but it was his devotional books⁸⁷ which, by their wide circulation, made Bloxham a household name in Christian homes.

The Rev. R. G. Bryan, Headmaster of Monkton Combe School (1875-1894), was also a deeply religious man who converted the private school of Rev. Francis Pococke (1868-1875), in Somerset, into a quasi-public school⁸⁸ and infused it with an even more religious tone than it had under the first Headmaster.⁸⁹ Some thought the religious teaching of the school too oppressive. C. V. Brayne, who left the school in 1896 with an open

scholarship to Cambridge, thought that: "the effect of a Monkton Combe education has been to make a man in the end do almost without religion."⁹⁰

The intensely religious ethos of Monkton Combe did not prevent its being subject to a school crisis redolent of earlier days. In March 1900 the School Secretary, an unpopular man who was thought to have some undesirable influence on the new Headmaster W. E. Bryan (1895-1900),⁹¹ was put under the water pump by some of the senior boys. This outrage called for strong measures: retribution was attempted and one thing led to another until finally the school was in a state of anarchy with boys cutting school and roaming the countryside. The whole affair was finally calmed down but not before W. E. Bryan had resigned. As with many other crises in nineteenth century schools the final solution was to be found in a new Headmaster.

Sometimes a new Headmaster was able not only to bring all to an even keel once more, but also to transform the school into an even better institution than it had been before the crisis which had been instrumental in bringing the new headmaster to the school. The transformation of Newton Abbot School⁹² is a case in point. This school in the early 1870s was experiencing decline under the Rev. W. Stubback Johns who was having to recruit local boys, (not the sons of gentlemen) in order to keep up numbers. Such a policy was self-defeating since by introducing town boys to the school, parents of a higher social class objected and took their sons elsewhere. According to Quiller-Couch who attended the school as a boy, bullying was rife.⁹³ The Rev. Johns gave up the struggle in 1874 and his school was bought by the Rev. George Townsend Warner who, in a short while, transformed it from a private school into a quasi-public school. He brought with him many boys from his previous school so that

he did not have to battle with the handicap of falling numbers as had his predecessor. Within a short while he launched into a building programme which included a chapel (albeit of galvanized iron and therefore relatively cheap), squash racquet courts (2) fives courts (2) and a chemistry laboratory.⁹⁴ He converted the gymnasium by inserting a first floor which provided classrooms below and dormitories above. Nor were the sports aspects of the school - another distinguishing feature of the quasi-public school - forgotten. He provided a good cricket field and pavilion as well as a swimming bath. Success breeds success: Townsend Warner doubled and redoubled his entry without lowering standards, which allowed him to press forward with his building reforms. Of this transformation Quiller-Couch wrote: "on the whole one must regard the story of Newton College - unendowed, dependent only on its reputation as something of a prodigy."⁹⁵ Walter S. Sparrow, a school fellow of Quiller-Couch and one who experienced Townsend Warner's reforming zeal, thought that the ethos he produced in the school: "was like that of one of the very private schools which are called public; indeed, she was a new public school, and eager to make a name in sports, games, scholarship, and the professions."⁹⁶

John Millington Sing, fourth Warden of St. Edward's, Oxford (1904-1913) was another 'Academic Cromwell'⁹⁷ who strengthened the school by sound business sense and high academic ability. He gradually whittled down heavy mortgage debts and acquired some reputation for St. Edward's for scholarship.⁹⁸

The nature of the subject of this chapter is varied, in so far as it deals with individual schools. It would be imprudent to make generalisations about these individual quasi-public schools because of the small

numbers involved and because of the equally small number of examples cited. What has been attempted so far is the pin-pointing of certain aspects of these schools without attempting to quantify, giving examples to illustrate the point being made. So far reference has been made to

- i) their academic successes,
- ii) the weakness of the bureaucratic structure of those of a proprietary nature,
- iii) the assistant masters and their short tenure of posts,
- iv) the charismatic quality of some Headmasters,
- v) the religious life of these schools and the importance of the chapel as a distinguishing feature, and
- vi) the tendency to change headmasters at points of crisis.

In the remaining part of the chapter it is intended to refer to the problem of insecure tenure of school property because of the practice of leasehold, and the economic problem of insufficient funds; a look will also be taken across the border at two very successful Scottish private schools.

Some schools like Bradfield College,⁹⁹ which began as a quasi-preparatory school,¹⁰⁰ were never faced with the problem of insecurity of tenure because they were freehold rather than leasehold. This was not the case with Westward Ho ! the school founded in 1874 at Bideford by the United Services Proprietary College Limited.¹⁰¹ This School, which had been created to combat the efforts of Army crammers¹⁰² before public schools adopted army classes, was very much a utility affair housed in buildings which had been originally designed as guest houses¹⁰³ to attract visitors to North Devon. This was the school which Rudyard Kipling attended and which inspired Stalky and Company. It was here, too, that the

first headmaster, Mr. Cormell Price¹⁰⁴ for twenty years (1874-1894) ran a successful establishment preparing boys mostly for the army.¹⁰⁵ By the beginning of the twentieth century numbers were dwindling¹⁰⁶ and worse, there was some difficulty about the lease. With the formation of a new Imperial Service College Trust,¹⁰⁷ Lord Chelmsford, the Chairman, decided a more central location was necessary. So began the trek which was to last eight years. In 1904 the United Services College (as Westward Ho! was now more generally called) moved to Harpenden, Hertfordshire and took over the empty buildings of a St. George's School. Here it was only temporarily settled and because no agreement could be reached with the landlords, the school moved in 1906 to Richmond where it spent the summer term. In that same year it moved once more to St. Mark's School Windsor (the old National School)¹⁰⁸ where it was reconstituted as the Imperial Service College when Mr. E. G. A. Beckwith, the last Headmaster of Trinity College School Stratford, became Headmaster. Apart from trials and tribulations over insecurity of tenure, the Westward Ho! School, because of its association with Rudyard Kipling¹⁰⁹ and Stalky and Company, had interesting features which made it very untypical of quasi-public schools.¹¹⁰

Although the Westward Ho! problem was a serious one at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was no worse than the problems which the Rev. J. Hewett of Bloxham brought upon himself by precipitous expenditure, bringing him to abject penury and probably¹¹¹ leading to his premature death. It has already been seen how Eastbourne College experienced early difficulties by making the same mistake.¹¹² In the case of Eastbourne, however, a Company with limited liability was involved; with Bloxham, a country priest sank all his life's savings in the school and irretrievably

lost them. Hewett, inspired by the efforts of Nathaniel Woodard,¹¹³ began with high hopes and prospects, opening his school in 1853 in the Vicarage House of Bloxham, with the Bishop and Archdeacon of Oxford and other local clergy acting as Trustees. Hewett hoped that what St. Peter's College at Radley and St. Andrew's College at Bradfield were to the richer, his school of All Saints at Bloxham would be to the poorer clergy and gentry.¹¹⁴ By 1855 he had seven assistants to fulfill his ambitions.¹¹⁵

Hewett had plans for a school of 150 boys, 110 commoners at a fee of 50 guineas each,¹¹⁶ twenty choristers and twenty Foundation scholars. At a meeting of clergy and laity of the neighbourhood held on 1st August 1854, Hewett made known his plans and generously, perhaps rashly, promised to give the school Trustees the premises he had bought as the nucleus of the new school, the furniture, 2,000 volumes of his own books,¹¹⁷ together with £1,200 in Life Assurance. This individual generosity failed to influence local parsimony. Hewett launched an appeal for £2,000¹¹⁸ for a Building Fund for the first instalment of his school after the Foundation stone had been laid in June 1855.¹¹⁹ He contributed £1,000: this was matched by only £250 from others.¹²⁰

Apart from this setback in the Building Fund Hewett had other problems. The recruits to his school were not forthcoming.¹²¹ In just over two years only, forty-eight boys were enrolled and of these twenty left, so that his net figure after more than two years was twenty-eight. To aggravate matters, Hewett unwisely began to provide for exhibitions and scholarships and choristerships at reduced fees. With twelve choristers, the reduction of fees from fifty to fifteen guinease, meant a loss of income to the school of £420. Further, during the years 1853 to 1855, three Foundation Scholars and one Exhibitioner cost £273. Such 'prodigality'

could hardly be sustained.

Hewett appears to have been an ingenuous cleric who attempted too much with too little. Neither gentry nor the rich clergy helped him very much; for instance, he opened a General Fund in addition to his Building Fund to which twelve clergymen contributed sums varying from £5 to £1. A certain Sir H. Dryden gave one guinea. Offertory collections at St. Mary's, Bloxham which varied from £6 17s. 7d to 12s. 2d. were gratefully received for this Fund, such was the level of aspiration to which it was reduced. By 1857 the school had closed and the new school buildings sold by auction.¹²²

It is not clear why Hewett did not arrange for shares and so launch his school on a proprietary basis rather than relying on donations, but it is likely that this course of action was closed to him since he began his school before the 1856 and 1862 Acts changed the position of Joint Stock Companies.¹²³

Malvern College (1865), on the other hand, was started on a proprietary basis and with considerable local backing, but even this school had its lean periods¹²⁴ and it was not till 1873 that it showed an excess in income over expenditure. This English School which attained a very high reputation in fashionable Victorian circles, especially for its sport (another distinguishing feature of quasi-public schools) was successfully rivalled even in this sphere of activities by a Scottish private school of more humble origin - Loretto.¹²⁵

Loretto had been started as early as 1827 by a Dr. Langhorne,¹²⁶ as a quasi-preparatory school, taking boys up to fourteen years only, which character it retained until 1862 when Hely Hutchinson Almond (1832-1903) bought the school. Almond was probably one of the four

seminal Headmasters in the nineteenth century who contributed to the development of the public school concept; and his ideas were spread to the preparatory school as well.¹²⁷ In the 1880s the name of Loretto was synonymous with sport,¹²⁸ but it was the rest of Almond's philosophy, other than his emphasis on games, which contributed as much to British educational practice. He was a firm disciple of J. S. Mill and had a great belief in the liberty of the individual, being himself the enemy of convention.

In the 1860s, poor food and lack of exercise were characteristic of many schools, both private and public, certainly in Scotland; and it was to this aspect of his school that Almond first turned. He began to take a personal interest in the health¹²⁹ of his boys which he studied scientifically. This led him to insist on fresh air with windows left wide open in dormitory and classroom in all but the most inclement weather; games were taken seriously as a means to an end;¹³⁰ dress was modified severely with a wholesale discarding of superfluous clothing.¹³¹ It was this aspect of his school policy which most influenced some Preparatory Schools. Mr. C. C. Cotterill,¹³² who later became Headmaster of Greenbank Preparatory School, Liverpool (1890-1898) was a close friend of Almond and as assistant master at Fettes (1870-1890) he borrowed Lorettonian ideas and methods.

Of the three great Scottish private schools¹³³ which emerged in the nineteenth century, perhaps Blair Lodge¹³⁴ achieved the greatest pre-eminence before the end of the century, and within the space of two decades or less. Much of this chapter has been concerned with the difficulties and failures of some private and proprietary quasi-public schools; but they serve only to act as a foil to the startling success of Blair Lodge

from 1874, when James Cooke Gray took over the school.¹³⁵ Within a short space of time (1874-1889), it became the largest private school in Scotland with over three hundred pupils¹³⁶ with the most lavish and advanced provision. Gray's building improvements included, a large gymnasium; six big classrooms; a series of studies for the older boys; dormitories; chapel; laboratories; dining hall; and accommodation for masters; electricity was installed in 1887¹³⁷ - and all this was matched by excellent playing fields and swimming bath.

Blair Lodge was inspected annually by the Scottish Education Department which was full of praise¹³⁸ for this private school of public school standing, which even had a Preparatory School¹³⁹ within its grounds.

Gray died in 1902 and although Blair Lodge had been made into a limited company in 1901, it failed to survive long without his leadership. The reasons for the closure of Blair Lodge in 1905 is a question that needs to be answered¹⁴⁰ in view of its seemingly impregnable position by the end of the century. Why did Loretto and Merchiston survive and not Blair Lodge? For the present purposes, however, Blair Lodge serves to show to what extent a private school in the nineteenth century could acquire a 'public school' status.

To sum up, some private and proprietary schools achieved such standing through their academic and sporting successes that they, in any consideration of nineteenth century private schools, should perhaps be considered separately as quasi-public schools. The distinguishing features of such schools were firstly their adoption of the public school prefectorial system as apposed to the close surveillance by masters as in most private schools; secondly their acceptance of religion and a school chapel as the core of school life; and thirdly their emphasis, towards

the end of the century, on the importance of games.

Notes to the Preface

1. F. C. Pritchard: The history and development of Boys' Preparatory Schools in England London M.A. 1938 is the only history of the preparatory school to date.
2. Both of which have long since been closed and almost forgotten although the Old Hall School was later reopened as a preparatory school.
3. e.g. Geddington under Rev. William H. Church.
4. e.g. Rev. Edward Bristow who ran a classical and Commercial Academy at 4 Old Square, Birmingham. See Robson : London and Birmingham Directory 1839.
5. e.g. Woodard Schools
6. e.g. Bath College and Westward Ho! School.
7. cf. M. A. Dalvi : Commercial Education in England 1851-1902 : an institutional study London Ph.D. 1957
cf. also pp. 82-95
8. W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann : The Educational Innovators Vol. I (1967)
W. A. C. Stewart : The Educational Innovators Vol. II (1968)
Robert Skidelski : English Progressive Schools 1969
9. As did Nicholas Hans in New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century (1951) and J. W. Ashley Smith in The Birth of Modern Education (1954)
10. According to the survey of the D.N.B. entries who attended a private school from c. 1830 to 1914, almost 30% attended private schools in London. See pp. 111-112
11. It was not always possible to obtain directories for these years in every county. From about the early sixties the Kelly's P.O. Directory was published every four years but it would seem that different counties had different years for publication.
12. See p. 241 Footnote 92.
13. See especially E. L. Greenberg : The private academies in England between 1800 and 1840 and their contribution towards modern curriculum and method London M.A. 1953
J. A. Harrison : Private Schools in Doncaster in the Nineteenth Century. In six parts 1958-1969.

Margaret E. Bryant : "Private Education from 16th century"
Victoria County History - Middlesex
Vol. 1 1969.

14. Margaret Bryant's article being the chief exception.
15. On the other hand many of the observations in biographies are highly subjective and where there are several views expressed, they are sometimes conflicting. There is a tendency when writing of school days many years after, of either denigrating them excessively or bestowing an unrealistic aura of happiness on them.
16. From 1841 this School was privately owned and prospered: because its centenary fell during World War II no centenary history was written.
17. The Link School Malvern was for many years one of Malvern's leading preparatory schools with Mr. Douglas the Headmaster being a member of the Association of Preparatory School Headmasters (A.P.S.) Executive Committee. See Chapter 14. Note 159.

Notes on Chapter 1

The general historical background to nineteenth century England given in this chapter, is largely based on the following:

- D. C. Somervell : English Thought in the nineteenth century Methuen. 1954 (first published in 1929)
- G. M. Young : Victorian England, Portrait of an Age O.U.P. 1937
- A. Birnie : An economic history of Europe 1760-1939 Methuen. 1948 (first published 1930)
- G. Kitson Clark : The Making of Victorian England Methuen 1962
- S. G. Checkland : The rise of industrial society in England 1815-1885 Longmans 1964
- E. J. Hobsbawm : Industry and Empire Vol. 3 The Pelican Economic History of Britain 1969
- Harold Perkin : The Origins of Modern English Society R.K.P. 1969
- D. C. Somervell : The Victorian Age. Historical Association Pamphlet No. 107. 1937

The following works were consulted also:

- R. J. Cruikshank : Charles Dickens and Early Victorian England Pitman 1949
- H. Ellis : British Railway History 1830-1876 Allen and Unwin 1954
- W. W. Rostow : British Economy of the Nineteenth Century O.U.P. 1963
- W. L. Burn : The Age of Equipoise (1852-1867) Allen and Unwin 1964.
- A. L. Levine : Industrial Retardation in Britain 1880-1914 Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1967
- James Morris : Pax Britannica Faber 1968

1. For discussion of meanings of term 'private' see pp. 1/2 and p. 4

2. See Herbert Butterfield's : The Whig Interpretation of History (G. Bell) 1951
 p. 11 "It is part and parcel of the Whig interpretation of history that it studies the past with reference to the present." In this context is is not the harsh criticism of private schools by the Whig historian Macaulay that is in mind, but the tendency to minimise the part played by private education in nineteenth century provision so that the twentieth century State system of education is seen as the result largely of the efforts of the State in the nineteenth century.
3. One notable exception to this general statement about educational historiography is E. G. West's : Education and the State (Institute of Economic Affairs) 1965
4. e.g. i) S. G. Checkland : The Rise of Industrial Society of England 1815-1885 Longmans 1964 (a work of general rather than educational history), in Chapter 7 examines the education of the populace in nineteenth century. He refers to Monitorial, Sunday, Industrial and Grammar Schools but no mention is made of private schools. Again in Chapter 8 Checkland implies that England's petty bourgeoisie sent sons to endowed Grammar Schools: Private schools ignored.
 ii) I. L. Kandel : History of Secondary Education Harrap 1931 virtually ignores nineteenth century private education.
 iii) M. K. Ashby : The Country School...O.U.P. 1929
 p. 34 "Taking the private schools separately, we may dismiss them briefly." Is an example of conscious dismissal from adequate consideration.
5. e.g. E. G. West Op. Cit.
6. e.g.
 i) Preparatory Schools which formed Junior Departments of public Schools - e.g. Sherborne Preparatory School (1870/71)
 ii) The Elms, Colwall, Herefordshire founded in 1614 by the Worshipful Company of Grocers.
 iii) Prebendal School, Chichester and other Choir Schools which became members of the Association of Preparatory Schools (A.P.S.) before 1923.
7. Although it was essentially the creation of Bishop Peter Baines, O.S.B., Prior Park College was set up as an Episcopal seminary in the Western District.
8. Founded by John Wesley and has close connections with the Methodist ministry.

9. Described as the Wesleyan Collegiate Institute by the Taunton Report (1868)
10. Founded by Rev. P. R. Egerton in 1860, the school was handed over as a free gift to the Woodard organisation in 1896.
11. Founded by Rev. Thomas Chamberlain (See pp. 191, 196)
12. Founded by Rev. F. Pocock (See pp. 194/195)
13. Quaker Foundations
14. Congregational Foundation
15. Baptist Foundation
16. Founded by Rev. William Sewell (See pp. 192-194)
17. It may be argued that some partiality is being shown towards Anglican as apposed to non-conformist schools: although religious fervour for the Anglican Church may have been stronger in schools like Radley and Monkton Combe than, for example, sectarian practice at the Leys School, Cambridge (1875) the positions were different. The former were 'private' institutions which practised the official religion of the State (and in a religious age, few schools were avowedly not religious) but more importantly were founded by private individuals either as commercial enterprises (in so far as they had to be self supporting) or as means of fulfilling personal aims and ambitions; the latter were schools which owed their existence to public 'institutions' like the Methodist Ministry or the Baptist Missionary Society.
18. It is interesting to note that according to Mr. W. V. Dixon, Clerk to the West Riding Technical Instruction Committee, some Proprietary Schools come within the definition of a private school for the purpose of the Technical Instruction Act 1889. Bryce. Vol. 4 Minute 14, 559. p. 218.
19. Appendix II pp. 262-280
20. For full discussion of this point see Chapter 2.
21. See Chapter 5 re. crammers also p. 10 re borderline between small school and private tuition.
22. See Vol. III Appendix 1 on Schools' nomenclature.
23. A. V. Dicey in Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century (1905) Lecture vii
24. See Professor J. R. de S. Honey : The Victorian Public School 1828-1902 : the School as a Community Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1970

Part 4. The public School Community at the end of the Victorian period - for development of the concept of quasi-public school.

25. Many of the proprietary schools in London were in close connection with Kings College, London which gave them a religio-scholastic character.
26. Some private schools earned grants from the Science and Art Department through their development of 'science'
27. Some Cathedral choir schools, though endowed, became members of the A.P.S. before 1923.
28. i.e. the nine Clarendon Schools and other ancient grammar schools like Repton (1557), Sherborne (1550) and Uppingham (1584)
29. R. St. C. Talboys : A Victorian School : The story of Wellington College Blackwell 1943
- O. F. Christie : History of Clifton College Bristol 1935
- D. Newsome : History of Wellington College London 1959
- T. W. Bamford : The Rise of the Public Schools Nelson 1967
- V. Ogilvie : The English Public School Batsford 1957
- A. G. Bradley : History of Marlborough College Murray 1923
et. al.
30. See Brian Heeney : Mission to the Middle Classes S.P.C.K. 1969
- W. E. Kirk : The Story of the Woodard Schools Hodder & Stoughton 1937
31. e.g. Queenwood School of Agriculture, Hants., founded by George Edmondson (1798-1863)
32. The School of Art of Henry Sass (1788-1844) in Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury was one of the chief schools in the early nineteenth century. Later, Heatherley's School of Art gained a similiar reputation.
33. The first Census was held in 1801 and held decennially throughout the century. Statistics Department of the Board of Trade (1832); Office of the Registrar General (1838); Royal Statistical Society (1833); Manchester Statistical Society (1834).
- G. M. Young Op. Cit. wrote of the period that "Statistical inquiry fostered very largely by the development of the Insurance business, was a passion of the times." (p.32)
34. G. M. Young Op. Cit. p.32. The Kerry returns of 1835 have been described as 'defective' and 'incorrect' by at least one educational historian. cf. J. W. Adamson : English Education 1789-1902

35. Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester.

See also Article by Rev. Joseph Nunn of St. Thomas's Ardwick, Manchester. Strictures on the Reports on Education in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds by Messrs. Fitch and Fearon.

He attacks their Reports as misleading by introducing false principles and by wrongly manipulating the returns.

False principles are introduced into a) the number of children taught in the schools
 b) the number taught efficiently
 c) the accommodation provided.

1. Number of children educated is represented by average attendance.
2. The number of children efficiently taught is ... number presented for examination.
3. Accommodation required for those on roll, not just those actually in attendance.

Nunn denounces these as false principles, based on his observations and knowledge of Manchester.

36. Important Returns were also made in 1871 and 1886. The returns made in 1833-1835 at the instigation of Lord Kerry are not helpful since the schools are classified into Daily, Sunday and Infant Schools.

37. These figures of Mann which refer only to openings of existing schools and not to unknown closed schools, could no doubt be augmented (if dates were known) by some of the 5,098 appearing in this table whose dates are not specified, which would give them a greater degree of parity.

38. Mann himself is not so impressed by these figures. On p. xx of the preamble he writes:

"As to Private Day Schools, indeed, the statement proves but little; since the frequent changes, to which these are subject, of proprietor and residences, make it certain that the great majority of those established in the last ten years are merely substituted for others which existed under other masters and in other places." However Mann does go on to say "It displays ... rather strikingly the amount of private enterprise which positively now prevails."

It would seem that Mann, who was generally more objective with private schools than some critics, was being particularly obtuse on this point. The fact that perhaps an equal number of unknown private schools had effloresced and decayed in addition to the 16,760 existing schools magnifies rather than minimises the very startling increase both in absolute terms and in comparison with public schools. This charge of ephemerality with respect to private schools is examined in more detail in Appendix 2.

39. 1,099 others did not reply.
40. Vol. 1 p. 79
41. Ibid. p. 90
42. R. L. Archer : Op. Cit. p. 84 First published in 1921
43. Bryce Report. Vol. 1 p. 51
44. Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 531 Minute 5728
45. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 280 Minute 9265
46. Ibid.
47. Some 3,236 schools used the College of Preceptors examinations so that if all such schools were circularised, 1,900 replies represents 58.8% of total.
48. P.P. 1898 c. 8,634
49. From 1905 onwards the Association was styled A.P.S. instead of A.H.P.S. in pages of the Preparatory Schools Review: it will be styled A.P.S. throughout this thesis to avoid confusion in view of its title of I.A.P.S. after incorporation in 1923.
50. Letters from Messrs. Longman (6th January 1971) and from MacMillan Co. (13th January 1971) confirm that neither now possess the list of private schools which they served c. 1897.
51. The three main sources for statistics on private schools apart from newspapers and other journals.
52. One Headmaster replied that "he would send the information if their Lordships were willing to give him a couple of guineas for his trouble."
53. The Record Vol. 7 1898 p. 303
See also Bryce Report Vol. 5 p. 334 for the reply of the Private Schools Association (dated 4th June 1894) in which it is stated that "on the most reliable information that can be obtained, the number of private schools in England is not less than 15,000."
See also Journal of Education May 1893. Estimate of 10,000 - 20,000 private schools in England.
54. W. R. Lawson : Op. Cit. p. 42.
55. P.P. 1898 p. 564
56. Ibid. p. 560. In spite of these doubts the schools are divided in the analysis of the Return into five categories e.g. of the 1,958 boys schools:

- 1,311 were Private schools in Category A
 70 were Subscribers' Schools in Category B
 48 were Company Schools in Category C
 502 were Endowed Schools in Category D
 27 were Local Authority in Category E
57. Graham Balfour : The Educational System of Great Britain and Ireland. (1898) points out that the Census of 1897 contained a large number of small private schools which had no claim to be secondary. 1,423 schools had no pupils over fourteen. Such perhaps was the confusion in the minds of some about these returns that although preparatory schools were officially included in the census, at least one preparatory school headmaster replied that he did not give 'Secondary education.'
- cf. Ibid. p. 167
58. In the 'Whig interpretation' private adventure schools, as they were pejoratively called, were never adequate. E. G. West : Op. Cit. argues against this p. 160-172.
59. W. W. Rostow : British Economy of the nineteenth century C.U.P. 1963
60. E. J. Hobsbawm : Industry and Empire (1969) p. 89
 Between 1830s and 1850s a minimum of 10% of English population were paupers.
61. Ibid. p. 64. Power looms in England:
- | | | |
|------|---|---------|
| 1813 | - | 2,400 |
| 1829 | - | 55,000 |
| 1833 | - | 85,000 |
| 1850 | - | 224,000 |
- Handloom weavers depressed:
- | | | |
|--------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1820 | - | 250,000 |
| Early 1840s | - | 100,000+ |
| Middle 1850s | - | 50,000 starving wretches |
62. By the prosperous 1850s even the agricultural labourer was better off than he had ever been before.
63. A. Birnie : An Economic History of Europe 1760-1939 Methuen (1948)
64. S. G. Checkland : The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885 Longmans (1964)
65. Harold Perkin : The Origins of Modern English Society R.K.P. (1969)
66. E. J. Hobsbawm : Op. Cit.
67. S. G. Checkland : Op. Cit. p. 6
68. Harold Perkin : Op. Cit. p. 3

Figures showing extent of expansion of British economy in nineteenth century.

Exports - rose from £40,000,000 p.a. - £280,000,000 p.a.

Imports - rose from £30,000,000 p.a. - £500,000,000 p.a.*

The growth of invisible exports (shipping, banking, insurance) filled this* widening gap.

<u>1816</u>	Accumulated balance of overseas credit	£25,000,000
<u>1900</u>	Accumulated balance of overseas credit	£2,400,000,000
	<u>Coal Output</u>	10 million - 225 million tons
	<u>Pig Iron</u>	250 thousand - 9 million tons
	<u>Raw Cotton</u>	£52,000,000 expended
		£1,624,000,000 expended by end of century
	<u>Paper</u>	15,000 tons - 600,000 tons.

69. The financial crisis of 1857 was brought about by surplus capacity. The crisis of 1866 occurred as a result of financial panic in Bombay at the expiry of the shortlived cotton boom. The House of Overend and Gurney, second in prestige only to the Bank of England, was ruined.
70. W. W. Rostow : Op. Cit. pp. 140/141
71. W. W. Rostow : Op. Cit. distinguished five phases in British economy in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. viz.
- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1790-1815 | Rise in prices |
| 1815 - c. 1850 | Falling trend |
| c. 1850-1873 | Rise in prices |
| 1874-1900 | Fall |
| c. 1900-1914 | Rise |
- i.e. Rostow does not recognise the last fourteen years as a depression.
72. E. Hobsbawm : Op. Cit. p. 151
73. A. L. Levine : Industrial Retardation in Britain 1880-1914
Weidenfeld & Nicholson (1967) p. 116
74. Horace Mann noted a steep rise in number of private schools for the lower orders being opened in decade 1841-1851.
- J. A. Harrison : Private Schools in Doncaster in nineteenth century (1961) entitles Part 3 of this work 'Heyday and Decay 1848-1900'.

75. See Op. Cit. p. 83 also Census of Great Britain 1851 Table 2 Vol. 1
Table 25
Census of England and Wales 1861 Vol. 2
Summary tables xix and xx
Census of England and Wales 1871 Vol. 3
Summary tables xviii and xix
76. Which suggests that the middle classes were growing at a faster rate than the general population.
77. J. A. Banks : Op. Cit. p. 108
78. This taxpaying group represents only a small fraction of the real populace.
79. Ibid. p. 110
80. A station was finally built at Slough in 1840.
81. H. Ellis : Op. Cit. p. 68
82. Ibid. p. 68
83. Ibid. p. 68
84. e.g. Prospectus of Arden House 1900
"Trains within 1 mile of Arden House" - Henley in Arden Station
In 1894 the nearest stations had been Bearley - 3 miles away;
Knowle - 6 miles away.
85. From 1824-1830 Dr. Cowan kept a school in Green Street, Sunderland before moving to the Grange.
86. cf. Rev. S. C. Collingwood : Dr. Cowan and the Grange School
London 1897 p. 140
1840 Line between Edinburgh and Glasgow opened.
In 1841 Glasgow boys would travel by mail coach to Carlisle and then by rail to Newcastle and Sunderland.
87. Another school which suffered by the advent of railways was Louth Grammar School. See A. F. Leach History of Bradfield College O.U.P. 1900 p. 151.
88. David Wainwright : Liverpool Gentlemen Faber & Faber (1960)
p. 153 "One of the reasons for the decline in numbers in the upper school is reflected in the growth in numbers at Oundle, Uppingham and Repton in just this same period."
89. Ibid. p. 93

90. See also V. C. H. Middlesex Vol. I
Margaret E. Bryant : Private Education from sixteenth century p. 275
in which reference is made to even more catastrophic results
from the advent of railways.
91. G. M. Young : Op. Cit. p. 4
"By the beginning of the nineteenth century virtue was advancing
on a broad invincible front."
92. See D. Newsome : Godliness and Good Learning John Murray (1961)
As the century progressed godliness gave way to manliness: good
learning became less the prerogative of the church.
93. Of which the Northcote Trevelyan Report (1854) might be considered
to be a part.
94. See Chapter 6.
95. See J. E. G. Montmorency : State Intervention in English Education
C.U.P. (1902) pp. 170 and 190.
The Bates Case. William Bates was brought to court for teaching
without a bishop's licence. As Bates was a nominee of the founder
and lay patron it was judged that he could not be ejected from
his post by the bishop.
96. Ibid. pp. 171-172
Cox's case. The limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction were set
when it was judged that it was not necessary to have a bishop's
licence in writing schools, reading schools, dancing schools etc.
97. The Sales of Goods Act 1893 is a good example of the laissez-faire
principle of caveat emptor being modified by collectivist legis-
lation.
98. J. S. Mill : On Liberty London, 1903 p. 83
99. The Taunton Commission or the Schools Inquiry Commission (S.I.C.)
100. Adam Smith : Op. Cit. p. 262
101. G. Kitson Clark : Op. Cit. p. 30
102. See J.(ohn) B.(rookes) : Old Yorkshire Schools (1884)
John Brookes had been a pupil at Mr. Clarkson's school at Bowes
which was not the school on which he based his Dotheboys Hall.
Half starved boys caught young crows and cooked them on the
school stove.
See C. Clark : Charles Dickens and the Yorkshire Schools London
privately printed (1918)
Shaw of Bowes Academy probably the Squeers of Dotheboys Hall.

103. C. C. Lynam, the unorthodox Headmaster of Oxford Preparatory School, liked to be called 'Skip' by the boys. He was fond of sailing.
104. G. Kitson Clark : Op. Cit. p. 4
105. Ibid. p. 6

Notes on Chapter 2

The sources for this chapter have been principally:

- i) The returns of the Select Committee of 1820
- ii) Hansard. Parliamentary debates Vol. 11 27th June - 8th September 1820. Debate on the education of the poor. June 28th 1820.
- iii) The Census of Great Britain (1851) : Education, England and Wales 1854
- iv) Royal Commission Report on the State of Popular Education in England 1861 (Newcastle Report) c. 2794
- v) Reports of the Committee of Council on Education
 - a) Report of Rev. John Allen on Northumberland and Durham 1840
 - b) Report of Dr. J. D. Morell on City of London and Greenwich 1871
 - c) Report of Rev. H. B. Barry on Somerset 1873
 - d) Report of R. F. Boyle Esq. on Somerset 1876
 - e) Report of Canon Warburton on Winchester district 1880
 - f) Report of Mr. Barrington-Ward on Bromsgrove district 1881
 - g) Report of Mr. Elliott on Lincoln district 1881
 - h) Report of Mr. Faber on Warwick district 1881
 - i) Report of Mr. Smith on Kings Lynn district 1881
- vi) Reports from Commissioners : Hand Loom Weavers 1840
P.P. 1840 xxiv

The Report on the dame schools and common day schools of the Hand Loom Weavers of Coventry, as far as it is known, has never been used by educational historians in their examination of dame schools. This report is significant not only as an important source of detailed information about dame schools but also as a means of establishing the extent of the 'comprehensiveness' of some trade and commercial directories, since in theory the names in the Report should appear in the trade and commercial directories if they were comprehensive. In fact, when the Report is compared with the Pigot and Co., Directory (Warwickshire) for 1841, it is found that only twenty-two schools are listed in Coventry and of these none appears in the 1840 Report. It would seem that a substratum of schools existed below those listed in commercial and trade directories, at least in the early nineteenth century. It cannot be concluded, however, that the Kelly's P.O. Directories later in the century were not comprehensive in their scope. As seen in Chapter 14, the quality of the later directories varied enormously from those of earlier years.

Extensive use has been made of BIOGRAPHY supported by references from some secondary sources. (See Bibliography) Of the secondary sources, the following were of more use than others:-

- R. D. Altick : The English Common Reader Chicago 1957
- George C. T. Bartley : The Schools of the People London 1871
(This work relies heavily on the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners in the Newcastle Report)
- A. E. Dobbs : Education and Social Movements Longmans 1919
- Edit. J. Dover Wilson : The Schools of England Sidgwick & Jackson 1928
(for use of term 'dame' to describe early preparatory schools)
- S. F. Maltby : Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education Manchester U.P. 1918

Theses

- J. H. Higginson : The Dame Schools of Great Britain (M.A. Leeds) 1939
is a valuable contribution to the study of the dame school, some of the evidence for which was gleaned at first hand from old inhabitants in villages like Kent in Westmorland.

Other theses consulted were:

- Agnes C. Herdson : The development of education in Sunderland in the nineteenth century (Durham M.A.) 1931
- J. Kitching : Roman Catholic education 2 Vols. (Leeds Ph.D) 1966
- Edgar Stones : The development of education in Accrington 1790-1903 (M.A. Sheffield) 1957
1. M. Sturt : Op. Cit. p. 38. In fairness she also utilises a report by the Rev. John Allen on schools in Durham and Northumberland (1840).
 2. S. J. Curtis : Op. Cit. Seventh Edition p. 196. First published in 1948.
 3. "In every village marked with little spire,
Embower'd in trees, and hardly known to fame,
There dwells, in lowly shed and mean attire,
A matron, whom we schoolmistress name,
Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame" (Shenstone)
- The Rev. J. Pycroft in his On School Education Longman 1843 also quotes Shenstone's line "Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame" in making a general reference to dame schools.
4. Op. Cit. p. 12
 5. H. C. Barnard : Op. Cit. 1957 Reprint p. 2/3
 6. See Newcastle Report : Vol. 1 pp. 28 and 29
 7. e.g. Reports of the Manchester Statistical Society (1834-1838)
Newcastle Report (1861)

8. e.g. i) H. C. Barnard : Op. Cit. p. 3
 ii) Curtis and Boulwood : Op. Cit. 2nd Edition p. 12
9. i.e. the lower classes including the lower strata of the lower middle class e.g. artisans and small shopkeepers.
10. In the eighteenth^{century}/Dame Alice Harrison and Mary Backhouse kept a Dame School at Fernyhalgh, containing some 200 pupils drawn not only from South Lancashire but also from as far afield as London. Children were lodged for £5 per annum. In 1760 Dame Aliceretired after sixty years in the Dame School.
 See J. Kitching Roman Catholic Education Leeds Ph.D. pp. 48/49
11. (Sir) Edwin Chadwick (1800-1890) Sanitary reformer of mid nineteenth.
 Sir John Simon (1816-1904)
12. J. Dover Wilson : Op. Cit. p. 64
13. D. Wainwright : Op. Cit. pp. 18/19
14. Called specifically 'dame schools' by Wainwright.
15. M.A. Leeds 1939
16. Cellars were commonly attributed places in which to find the most humble of the dame schools.
17. Taunton Report : Vol. 7 p. 173
18. D.N.B. Twentieth century. 1921-1930
19. D.N.B. Twentieth century. 1941-1950
20. D.N.B. Twentieth century. 1901-1910. His father was a philanthropist and prosperous guild member and therefore not likely to send his son to an inferior school.
21. See George Smalley : The Life of Sir Sidney Waterlow London 1909 p. 8. The School he attended at the age of five was kept by two maiden ladies called Misses Bones. They taught him his letters and the meaning of school discipline. Their discipline might be considered unconventional since as a punishment they would rope together rebellious pupils and leave them standing for hours.
22. D.N.B. Twentieth century. 1921-1930. Chaplin was a life-long friend of the Prince of Wales whom he later met at Christchurch, Oxford.
23. See also:
1. Admiral Sir Reginald Bacon : The Life of John Rusworth. Earl Jellicoe p. 5
 Jellicoe attended Dame School kept by Misses Shapcott at Southampton (1866-1869)

2. Major General J. F. C. Fuller : Memoirs of an Unconventional Soldier London 1936
Sent to Dame School in Chichester.
 3. J. B. Lancelot : Francis J. Chavasse (1846-1928), Bishop of Liverpool Blackwell 1929
Sent to boarding school kept by ladies
 4. John Morley : Life of Richard Cobden London 1881
Cobden a dame school in Midhurst, Sussex.
 5. Robert Speaight : The Life of Hilaire Belloc. London 1957
Sent at early age to Mrs. Case's preparatory school, Heath Brow in Hampstead.
 6. Edit. F. Storr : Life and Remains of Rev. R. H. Quick C.U.P. 1899
Attended a Miss Gutty's school in early years.
 7. J. W. MacKail : Life of William Morris Longmans 1901
1844. Attended 'preparatory school for young gentlemen' in Walthamstow kept by the Misses Armdale. Went to Marlborough in 1848.
24. A boarding school existed in Moseley possibly before 1855 and closed between 1864 and 1868, belonging to Misses Charlotte and Mary Thrupp, according to trade and commercial directories for Worcestershire.
25. Autobiography of Sir Walter Besant Hutchinson 1902
26. It was very common in the nineteenth century for sisters, mainly two, often three, sometimes four, to run private schools.
See also G. G. Coulton : Four Score Years C.U.P. 1945 pp. 11-12 for account of Dame School of Misses Thompson.
27. Ibid. p. 48. His first readings at this school were Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress and the Book of Revelation.
28. In view of the school he later attended it is likely that Spurgeon attended a dame school towards the centre of the continuum: it is therefore important to establish the merit of the dame's school teaching. See Charles Ray : The Life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon London 1903 p. 29.
29. Lyttelton : Op. Cit. p. 14
See also. Edith Lyttelton : Alfred Lyttelton Longmans 1917 p. 16
This school played Malden's (Windlesham House) at cricket.
30. Ibid. p. 15. The usual outdoor exercise consisted of walking in crocodile formation along the Brighton streets: scuffles broke out sometimes, when two crocodiles met.

31. Lyttelton deliberately kept the name of his school secret.
32. E. W. Watson : Life of Bishop John Wordsworth Longmans 1915
33. Not so uncommon in mid-nineteenth century for Greek to be learnt at early age.
34. Ibid. p. 8
35. Sir Charles Oman : Memories of Victorian Oxford Methuen 1941
See also P.S.R. No. 79 July 1921. Obituary on Miss E. D. (Bessie Hill)
36. Ibid. p. 13. Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen also held this opinion.
37. In Oman's time (he was five years younger than Griffith-Boscawen) the numbers were only sixty. This suggests either a miscalculation on the part of either Oman or Griffith-Boscawen or what appears to be a disastrous drop in numbers from one hundred to sixty, which would cause considerable hardship. This is a theme which is developed in later chapters.
38. Frederick Locker-Lampson : My Confidences London 1896. p. 99
39. The charge of ephemerality was constantly being made against private schools. Popularly regarded as one of their chief weakness yet many private schools were handed on to families' next generation.
40. A letter from Professor H. C. Barnard to me, dated 22nd April, 1969, confirms this point. See also T.E.S. October 7th 1955.
H. C. Barnard : Victorian Private School
41. One such spelling book was Mavor's, published c. 1840 by Somers and Isaacs, London. This spelling book illustrated with pictures begins with the alphabet and progresses to words of four syllables containing such words as 'impregnable', 'incongruous', 'inpalpable'. It is described on the cover as being for the use of preparatory schools.
42. The well known author of girls' stories.
43. Although no clear borderline existed between 'dame school' and 'ladies seminary' one criterion was adopted by H.M.I. Dr. J. D. Morell in his Report on the City of London and Greenwich in 1871. If the fees of girls schools exceeded 9d. a week they were regarded officially as ladies seminaries but such distinctions were artificial to the public at large.
44. V.C.H. Middx. Vol. 1. Op. Cit. p. 234/235
45. At this stage in the consideration of the dame schools reputation, it seems desirable to adopt procedures to be found generally in courts of law. The process of Law has much in common with scientific study in so far as objectivity is sought through a thorough examination of evidence or data. As in a court of law

the evidence against the dame school has to be weighed against the evidence (if any) in its favour.

46. With all the past denunciations of the dame school both in the Newcastle Report and in the many reports of H.M.I.s, and their reverberations in twentieth century educational histories which have made their condemnation familiar, it is as if the case for the prosecution has already been heard. What follows is the case for the defence.
47. Report of Rev. John Allen on Northumberland and Durham. November 24th 1840. Appendix III to Minutes of Committee of Council on Education p. 151.
48. See pp. 6/7
49. The importance of this rapid increase is modified by the fact that dame schools were invariably small in size compared with public schools. For large sample see Appendix 3, Report on Schools of Coventry and District.
50. See Newcastle Vol. 3 p. 484
51. i.e. Liverpool College.
52. Ibid. Vol. 4 p. 372
53. There are only two aspects of school. It is not to be logically inferred that they are necessarily inferior in other respects.
54. Ibid. Vol. 4 p. 378
55. Mr. William Imeson B.A., Head of Central London District School, and Mr. William A. Shields who worked in Birkbeck Schools.
56. Ibid. Vol. 2
57. Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral, Rector of West Cholderton, Chaplain to Bishop of Salisbury and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.
58. Sherborne, Dorchester, Cerne, Beaminster, Axminster, Chard, Yeovil, Hereford, Ross, Leominster, Bromyard, Ledbury, and Upton on Severn.
59. Ibid. Vol. 2 pp. 35-36
60. Because of the lack of clear dividing lines between dames schools of a superior type, common day schools and ladies seminaries of the lower middle class.
61. Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 117
62. Lincoln, Gainsborough, Thorne, Doncaster, Newark, Thetford, Downham, Thingoe, Bury, Mildenhall and Ely.

63. Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 158. Hedley noted that in some cases masters of national schools have quarrelled with managers and set up schools on their own account. He betrays his position or viewpoint when he adds "But I do not think they will find it worthwhile to continue the opposition (my italics) long."
64. Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 159
65. Permanent Secretary to Committee of Council on Education (1884-1890)
66. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 83
67. This has some significant bearing on the question of the use of the term 'preparatory school' to denote 'dame school' since Mavor's spelling book was "arranged for use in preparatory schools." On the other hand the four syllabled words in Mavor would stretch the intellect of some of the dames beyond their capabilities. At one stage in the nineteenth century, some schools preparing boys for public schools run by women were called 'dame' schools; while others schools, run by ladies not preparing for public school and indeed very low in the social order, were called 'preparatory' schools by the trade directories. This was a use of the term in the non-institutionalised sense.
68. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 143.
69. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 143
70. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 144
71. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 378
72. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 394
73. The century survey of Worcestershire and Warwickshire shows that pluralism was not so frequent and that National Schoolmasters were just as likely to have two or more posts as were private teachers.
74. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 394
75. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 394
76. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 650
77. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 94
78. Part of the function of Volume 1 is to summarise the findings of other volumes.
79. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 94 and Vol. 3 p. 482
80. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 483

81. pp. 57-60
82. Speech in House of Commons.
83. See p. 33
84. To safeguard against the possible charge of partiality and quoting out of context, it will be noted that what Brougham said immediately before this in the House of Commons will be used to sustain hypothesis 5.
85. See The Private Schoolmaster Vol. 1 No. 6. Where the case of a first wrangler was cited who, "when feasted in his native town by the authorities of the public school from which he entered the University, had the candour and honesty to declare that he attributed his success more to the private school that laid the foundation of his education than he did to the public institution that had gained all the credit."
86. See James Sully : My Life and Friends A Psychologist's Memories Unwin. 1918
- James Sully attended five dame schools in 1840s.
1. Dame Schools in Bridgwater, Somerset.
 2. Second dame was young.
 3. Dame boarding school near East Brent (where Archdeacon Denison lived)
 4. Dame boarding school near Westonzoyland
 5. Dame boarding school near Stogursey
- Recalls that dame number five married a thatcher who though kind was ungainly to look at. Helps to socially classify her but she probably married beneath her station.
87. J. E. N. Williams : The Life of Sir George Williams Hodder & Stoughton 1906
88. In earlier centuries the rudiments of learning were acquired in a petty school before entry to a grammar school.
89. Robert Cochrane : Beneficent and Useful Lives W. & R. Chambers 1890
90. Leslie Stephen : Life of Henry Fawcett London 1885
91. Geoffrey West : H. G. Wells London 1930
92. Louise Creighton : Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton Longmans 1904
93. Ibid. p. 4. She tied him to the leg of a table sometimes to keep him quiet.
94. G. Manville Fenn : George Alfred Henty Blackie & Son 1907
95. T. W. Hearl : William Barnes Longmans Dorchester 1966 p. 12

96. L. Forbes Winslow : Recollections of forty years 1910
97. It is quite likely that this dame school was a dame/preparatory school, especially since Winslow's father was a doctor.
98. Arithmetic was officially thought to be either absent from the dame school curriculum or done badly..
99. Thomas Catling : Op. Cit. pp. 13 and 14
100. Autobiography of Montague Burrows MacMillan 1908 p. 2
101. See J. H. Higginson : Op. Cit. pp. 75/76 Refers to a Milnthorpe lawyer - a former dame school pupil who said of his Old School "There were no copybooks, the lessons being done on slates, but I was taught the alphabet and learnt to spell and to read so thoroughly that in later schooldays I was ahead of any boy of my age."
102. Autobiography : Life of Rt. Hon. Jesse Collings Longmans 1930
See also John Morley : Life of Richard Cobden London 1881
Cobden attended a dame's school in Midhurst.
103. Ibid. pp. 12/13
104. Autobiography of Philip Viscount Snowden London 1934
105. The Life of Thomas Cooper Hodder & Stoughton 1874 p. 7
106. See F. M. L. Thompson : English Landed Society in Nineteenth Century R.K.P. 1963. p. 58 Charles Abbot had a modest estate of twenty acres in Middlesex. Left £120,000 on death in 1832.
107. See Andrew Amos : Four lectures on the advantages of a classical education as an auxiliary to a commercial education. London 1846. p. 12. Both Lord Eldon and Lord Tenterden obtained prizes at Oxford for Latin composition.
108. J. Timbs : Op. Cit. p. 255
109. B. M. Allen : William Garnett, A memoir C.U.P. 1933
p. 8 Garnett recalled school discipline at this Victorian dame school which based on the use of a lead weight. The heavy lead weight was encased in scarlet leather and supported by shoulder straps of the same material, so that if the wearer did not sit bolt upright the weight pressed unpleasantly on the middle of the back. If the wearer of the weight detected any irregularity in the conduct of any other member of the class the weight was transferred from the former to the latter. In this way the discipline of the class was maintained by a kind of monitorial system."

110. Rose K. Birkbeck : Life and Letters of W. J. Birkbeck Longmans 1922
This school at Loweſtoft was probably a dame/preparatory school.
111. G. B. Burgin : Op. Cit. pp. 25/26
Burgin lunched with the spinster sisters daily. He notes that they were so poor that they fined him ½d. every time he forgot to say grace before pudding.
After Burgin left the school, it closed. One of the sisters married but the other two lived in penury. Hannah finished her life as a superintendent of an alms house.
112. J. C. Powys : Autobiography Bodley Head, London 1934.
113. See also Sir Harry H. Johnston : The Story of My Life Chatto & Windus 1923. p. 10. Sent to a school kept by a Mrs. Jones and three Misses Jones in Brixton. "here I learnt a great deal in a short space of time: to read, write and spell; to add, subtract and divide." Family presumed to be middle class as Johnston's grandfather was a property owner.
114. Dr. Percy Young Elgar O.M. Collins 1955
115. Sketches from the Life of Edward Frankland 1825-1899
Frankland was once assistant to Dr. Lyon Playfair.
116. Ibid. p. 465
Article from Contemporary Review Vol. 144 July-December 1933.
117. At end of week the pupils received a small merit card, exchangeable at home for a penny.
118. Ibid. p. 469
119. Edward Clodd was described by a Professor Heddon as
"one of those business men on whom Great Britain may justly pride itself"
120. Edward Clodd : Op. Cit. p. 6
121. Also the biographer of G. J. Holyoake.
122. J. H. Higginson : Op. Cit. p. 32
123. See Newcastle Report Vol. 2 p. 38
124. a) Not being grant aided, dames had to provide accommodation out of own resources.
b) Their 'child minding' function ensured that whilst parents were freed from their children and allowed to work, the dames were handicapped in their domestic movement by constant presence of children.

125. See report of Mr. Wilkinson.
See also pp. 35 and 37
126. Kelly's P.O. Directories for Warwickshire 1860 and 1872
See Appendix 14 for many other examples.
127. Newcastle Vol. 1 p. 93
128. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 93
129. e.g. Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 81
130. The economics of the dame school compare with the economics of
proprietary schools and quasi-public schools. See chapter 7 and 8
131. Committee of Council on Education Report 1880 p. 410
132. All the more so when the payment of their taxes contributed to their
own ruin.
133. Adam Smith : Op. Cit. p. 262
134. Newcastle Report Vol. 1 pp. 28/29
135. See G. F. Lamb : The English at School Allen & Unwin 1950 p. 113
re Nanny Arred.
136. Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 38
137. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 94
138. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 91
139. Ibid. Vol. 2 p. 219
140. See also p. 51

Mr. Hare in his report (Hull, Yarmouth, Ipswich) came to a similar
conclusion that the schools in Yarmouth were admitting inferiority
because he could not gain entry to them. Their action could be
interpreted as the measure of their distrust.

cf. Newcastle Report Vol. 3 p. 296

It is not clear from this passage whether in fact the dames to
whom Winder refers actually signed their names. If they put
a X as their mark, this would have been proof positive of their
inability to write and no doubt Winder would have made plain
this deficiency. As he did not it may be assumed that other
reasons may logically be sought for their reluctance to sign.
They were not alone in their reluctance to assist the Assistant
Commissioners - some Roman Catholic Schools also refused to
co-operate but for reasons other than illiteracy.

141. One exception was Mr. Faber who reported on the Warwick District in
1881. In his report (p. 271) he felt that "something might be
urged in favour of the dames, who earn from their schools a
precarious livelihood."

142. See Committee of Council on Education Report 1873 of H.M.I.
H. E. Oakley on Durham County p. 141.
143. Education Census of 1851. P.P. 1854 XC n. xxxiii
144. Newcastle Report Vol. 2 p. 159
145. J. Fletcher was the Commissioner who reported on the Hand Loom Weavers in the Midland District in 1840, as part of a government inquiry.
146. The returns to the questionnaire are classified into
- | | |
|---------------------------|------|
| City School | - 80 |
| Suburbs of the City | - 22 |
| Parishes outside the City | - 58 |
147. Newcastle Report Vol. 3 p. 471
148. p. 262
149. Newcastle Report Vol. 3 p. 471
150. See Appendix 5 for letter from Mr. C. Tofield, of Sutherland House Academy, Charlotte Place, Walworth Road, London who steadfastly refused to co-operate with Commissioners not out of ignorance but from a strong conviction of the need to withstand encroachment from the State in education. This is a fluent letter of a well informed man who judging by the two addresses given in the letter kept his school at a different place from his private residence.
151. Ibid. Vol. 3 p. 472
152. See p. 48 and note 142.
153. The informality of the dame school classroom might be regarded with less reproof by some twentieth century educationists.
154. Again a crucial point involved in this experiment are the ages of the children which are not given.
155. J. H. Higginson Op. Cit. defends the quality of the needlework done by dames. This defence is based on direct observation of early work and of interviews with old inhabitants of the villages he visited.
156. The dame school is not exceptional in this context.
157. Committee of Council on Education Report 1881/1882
158. See page 48 and footnote 143
159. Newcastle Report Vol. 1 p. 656

160. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 658

161. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 28

162. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 29

163. Hansard Parliamentary Debates Vol. II

164. Ibid. Column 61

165. Ibid. Column 87

166. Newcastle Report Vol. 3 p. 145

See also J. A. Harrison : Private Schools in Doncaster in Nineteenth Century Part IV p. 93

167. Ibid. Vol. 2

168. i.e. 269 schools - 6,578 scholars with an average attendance of 86.07%

169. Op. Cit. p. 67

170. Higginson Op. Cit. p. 36

171. Op. Cit. p. 38

George C. T. Bartley, examiner for the Science and Art Department makes the same point in his Schools for the People London 1871

(p. 400) when he wrote, "Their origin ... must be almost as remote as the employment of women in industrial occupations."

172. See pp. 46/47

173. Op. Cit. p. 281

174. The fees for dame schools and common day schools varied from 1d. to more than 1/-. The percentage of scholars attending schools in each of the fee grades is given on the following page, which tables have been abstracted from the Newcastle Report Vol. 1 p. 590

From returns from 3,155 schools collected by Assistant Commissioners

	1d.	2d.	3d.	4d.	5d.	6d.	7d.	8d.	9d.	10d.	11d.	1/-	1/- +
Number	516	11,667	14,128	7,391	1,260	9,599	675	3,493	1,476	1,845	1,555	2,653	9,710*
%	0.78	17.69	21.42	11.2	1.91	14.55	1.02	5.29	2.24	2.8	2.36	4.02	14.72*

Number and percentage proportion of private schools in which the highest weekly fee is

	1d.	2d.	3d.	4d.	5d.	6d.	7d.	8d.	9d.	10d.	11d.	1/-	1/- +
Number	21	655	711	352	45	412	30	138	61	90	78	126	436*
%	.68	.76	22.54	11.16	1.43	13.06	.95	4.37	1.93	2.85	2.47	4.0	13.8*

* These tables do not include any school whose fees are more than £1 a quarter.

175. Op. Cit. Vol. 3 pp. 144-145
176. Ibid. p. 267
177. Ibid. p. 267
178. Ibid. p. 29. Such an attitude could lead a public elementary schoolmaster to send his son to a private adventure school.
179. Committee of Council on Education Report 1881-1882. See Mr. Barrington-Ward's Report.
180. Op. Cit. pp. 195-196. The synonymous use of the terms 'private adventure school' and 'dame school' is an interesting example of nineteenth century fusion of terms.
181. Op. Cit. p. 271
182. Op. Cit. p. 437
183. Op. Cit. p. 47
184. Op. Cit. p. 430
185. Not altogether so in some districts e.g. Canon Warburton noted "increased and increasing number of dames' schools." p. 409
186. Op. Cit. p. 243. But they are diminishing I am glad to learn.
187. Op. Cit. p. 262
188. Op. Cit. p. 47
189. Op. Cit. p. 73
190. Op. Cit. p. 141
191. Op. Cit. p. 271
192. Op. Cit. p. 73
193. Op. Cit. p. 47
194. Government grants based on results of the examination of children in a school could be withheld, notwithstanding examination success, if a school's buildings were not properly lighted, drained and ventilated. The Code laid down that there was to be eighty cubic feet of internal space for each child in average attendance.
195. Nevertheless several errors appear
 e.g. No. 28 Mrs. Docker of Much Park Street had 23 on her books but had a total of 71 attending.
 No. 14 Mr. & Mrs. March of Union Street,
 had 40 on their books but 52 attended.

196. Fletcher. Op. Cit. p. 83
197. About a third of the school population.
198. Ibid. p. 84
199. Ibid. p. 85

Bibliographical note on Chapter 3

The main sources for this chapter have been:

1. The Taunton Commission Report or Schools Inquiry Commission Report (S.I.C.) (1868) c. 3966
2. The Bryce Commission Report (1895) c. 7862
3. Various contemporary articles which discuss nineteenth century private education.
4. Manuscript and printed documents relating to Percy Street Academy kept by the Newcastle upon Tyne Reference Library; material relating to Gainford Academy and the Hedworth, Monkton and Jarrow School board kept by the Durham Record Office; and private documents belonging to Mr. Arthur Stewart, ex-proprietor of Skerry's colleges.
5. Contemporary journals - Private Schoolmaster 1887-1891
Educational Review 1899-1901

These have been supported by biography and secondary sources, the most important of which for this thesis were:

Margaret Bryant : Private Education from the sixteenth century V.C.H. Middlesex Vol. 1 1969

J. A. Harrison : Private Schools in Doncaster (six volumes) 1958-1969

Several theses were consulted (see notes 35 and 92)

Notes on Chapter 3

1. This Chapter is divided into five main parts
viz. 1. Classification
2. The politics of education - a nineteenth century debate.
3. Commercial Schools and Commercial education
4. Some general aspects of private schools
5. The Government Commissions and the effects of State intervention.
2. John Ruskin : Sesame and Lilies London 1907 p. 3

3. E.C.K. Gonner Ed., David Ricardo : Principles of Political Economy and Taxation London 1922 p. 373
4. Bryce Vol. I p. 148
5. See Appendix 1
6. See Nicholas Hans : New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century R.K.P. 1951 pp. 7-8
7. In his report on County Durham in 1873, H. E. Oakley H.M.I. (p. 141) referred to private and adventure schools as being worthless. This 'unorthodox' use of the terms may have originated from the Elementary Education (Civil Parishes) Return of 1871 P.P. 1871 LV 329 where the terms are used to define two types of school.
 - viz. 1. Private School - one governed by Private Managers or a Committee not acting under any deed.
 2. Adventure School - one conducted by the teacher at his (or her) own risk and on his (or her) own responsibility.
8. See Bryce Vol. III p. 280. Minute 9262.
9. C. Pritchard : Annals of Our School Life Oxford. Privately printed. 1886 p. 7
See also. R. W. Hiley : Sundry Attacks on Private Schools and Strictures thereon Chapter 5.
10. See Appendix 6 for 1830 prospectus of Albion House, Worcester, a Classical, Mathematical and Commercial School. This appendix contains also a prospectus of Druid Heath Seminary (1804) Aldridge, Staffordshire, taken from the original in Birmingham City Reference Library. Both are good examples of this early hybrid type of school.
11. S.I.C. Vol. III pp. 417-422. It seems that there were three schools in one
 1. Grammar School - endowed Grammar School
 2. Commercial School - As a result of parental pressure, his private pupils
 3. Preparatory Commercial School - with the same function as the old petty schools of teaching the 3 Rs.
12. Bryce. Vol. I p. 41
13. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 157
14. The Upper Schools included most of the endowed grammar schools and a large number of proprietary and private schools. Most of these schools prepared boys for the Universities or the East India

Services. Such schools were controlled by clergymen or by graduate laymen.

The Middle Schools consisted mainly of "the great bulk" of private schools providing an education for commercial pursuits. The Head in these schools was seldom a graduate.

The Lower Schools, where boys could board for as little as £16 per annum to £25 per annum, were inferior but provided an alternative for those who did not wish their sons to mix with labourers' children.

15. For other classifications see:

Bryce Vol. 3 p. 282. M. 9274 by Miss S. Olney, representative of the Private Schools Association who gave evidence to the Commission.

Bryce Vol. 6 p. 224 by Mr. F. E. Kitchener who reported on Lancashire West Derbyshire.

16. Private Schoolmaster. Vol. II No. 2 September 1888.

17. e.g. See Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Clarke K.C. : The Story of My Life Murray. 1918.

He was a Privy Councillor and H. M. Solicitor General 1886-1892. As a boy he was not very healthy and was sent to a school in Edmonton from 1851-1852 where because of plentiful food, short hours of study and spacious playgrounds, he gained much in health. Some three or four ushers together with matron looked after about a hundred boys. This school was fairly typical of many that catered for this aspect of education. The taking in of parlour boarders was one aspect of this work. See Quarterly Journal of Education Vol. 7 No. XIII. Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. 1834. p. 39.

18. Quoted from R. D. Altick : The English Common Reader University of Chicago Press 1957. p. 147. Central Society Papers 1837.

19. e.g. See Frances R. Gray : And Gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche London 1931 pp. 3 - 5

As the first High mistress of St. Paul's Girls School she was able to look objectively at the small ladies' school run by two sisters, which she attended as a young girl. This schools was typical of very many girls schools of nineteenth century even though Miss Gray described their teaching methods as "idiosyncratic." Great emphasis on manners and 'good breeding'.

20. e.g. The young Isaac Pitman attended a common day school in a room 25 ft. x 15ft. x 8 ft. high. The lack of air made Pitman seek the fresh air frequently to avoid fainting. At the time no one blamed the schoolroom, "so little were sanitary conditions of life then considered." See Alfred Baker : The Life of Sir Isaac Pitman London 1930. p. 7

21. Newcastle. Vol. I p. 90

22. Ibid. Vol. I p. 91
23. Pizey's School is not mentioned in Kelly's P.O. Directory for 1860 but is described in Cassey's Directory of c. 1860 as a classical and commercial teacher which suggests he was more than a common day schoolmaster.
24. Ibid. Vol. II p. 38
25. Professor A. M. Ross, in his The Education of the Working Classes in the Victoria County History of Middlesex 1969, p. 235, notes that there existed a "middling day school" between the common day school and the Private Day School. This "middling day school" was "patronized by small shopkeepers, superior mechanics and charged usually about twenty-three shillings a quarter apart from extras. These schools paid special attention to fine writing, for ability to write with a good hand was a means of social mobility for the mechanic's child."
26. Cooper : Op. Cit. p. 32
27. Cooper was introduced to Walkingham's Tutor's Assistant in Arithmetic and aspired later to mensuration in Bonnycastle's text book. He thought that the main benefit he gained "from Daddy Brigg's School was in being introduced to the companionship of lads of better culture" than he had known before "and in obtaining the loan of their books to read - their Enfield's Speaker, and Mavor's British Plutarch, and the abridgement of Goldsmith's Histories of England, Greece and Rome." (Op. Cit. p. 33)
28. Including four children of an Excise Officer.
29. Ibid. p. 74. Cooper spent some £50 in decorating his schoolroom with pictures, plaster figures and busts. He seemed to share Thring's (Uppingham) and Sewell's (Radley) belief in the power of the environment.
30. He soon became disillusioned with teaching because of parental opposition to his teaching Latin. In his wrangles with parents he was not alone amongst private schoolmasters.
- See The Private Schoolmaster Vol. II No. 11 Arthur Montefiore :
"The Private Schoolmaster : his position and his prospects."
31. See p. 41
32. With the formation of the School Board this common day school was taken over and "a new era in child education in the village was opened up."
33. See S.I.C. Vol. VIII p. 329. Report of J. L. Hammond on Norfolk and Northumberland. These schools were facing competition not only from State backed elementary schools but also, in the case of schools around Norwich, from King Edward Sixth School, Norwich, whose commercial department was offering commercial education at a low cost.

34. I am grateful to the Durham County Record Office for sight of this letter.
35. See G. B. Robinson : A Study of the Private Schools Association in relation to changing policies in the administration of education by national and local government agencies. 1880-1944 London M.A. 1966
36. The case for private education today is made by E. G. West et. al.
37. Sociological Review, New Series Vol. 7 No. 2 December 1959
38. Master of Soho Square Academy.
39. Barrow. Op. Cit. p. 90. See also R. & M. D. Hill : Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of boys in large numbers London 1825. Chapter 8.
40. Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations Vol. 2 was an even earlier contributor to the debate. See pp. 246 and 250.
41. Hill Top School (1803-1819) was the predecessor of Hazelwood run by T. W. Hill and his sons. Bruce Castle was run as a school by Arthur Hill till 1877. It finally closed in 1891.
42. See Durham Research Review Vol. III No. 12. September 1961.
 J. L. Dobson : The Hill Family and Educational Changes in the Early Nineteenth century
 iii Bruce Castle School at Tottenham and the Hill's part in the work of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful knowledge. p. 75
 Bentham, in letter to Mathew Hill, recognised Bruce Castle as a School in the Chrestomathic pattern. Bentham wrote Chrestomathia (1816) basing many of his ideas on the monitorial system of Andrew Bell.
43. See Durham Research Review Vol. II No. 10 1959) The Hill Family
 Vol. III No. 11 1960) and educational
 Vol. III No. 12 1961) change in the early
 nineteenth century.
- See also C. G. Hey : The History of Hazelwood School, Birmingham and its influence on educational developments in the nineteenth century M.A. Wales 1953/54.
44. Horace Mann's figures for the number of pupils in Secondary education in 1851 are very approximate. He estimated that some 50,000 appeared to be instructed by professional teachers at home. This represented some 8.3 % of the total estimate.
45. See Rev. J. Pycroft : On School Education pp. 49-50 for adverse criticism Longman 1843.
 of private school. He later openly supports proprietary school as a preferable institution.

46. Contrary to the conclusions of E. L. Greenberg : The Private Academies in England between 1800 and 1840 and their contribution towards modern curriculum and method London M.A. 1953. See also p. 89.
47. Arnold : Miscellaneous Works London 1858 pp. 227 - 233.
48. Thus preceding his son Matthew Arnold in this advocacy by many years.
49. Arnold : Op. Cit. pp. 229 - 230
50. Ibid. p. 233
51. F. Hill : Op. Cit. p. 206
52. This letter which ends suspiciously in the Whitehall style suggests that Kay-Shuttleworth may possibly have written it. There is no indication of this, however, in Frank Smith's Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. London 1923
53. Anon. Op. Cit. p. 3
54. Ibid. p. 7
55. Robert Lowe : Op. Cit. p. 6 This same point is made by Robert Lowe in a speech at Edinburgh in 1867 on Primary and Classical Education.
56. cf. Lord Kenyon's statement of 1795 re endowed grammar schools, having "empty walls without scholars, and everything neglected but the receipt of salaries and emoluments."
57. Lowe : Op. Cit. p. 13
58. Ibid. p. 25
59. Ibid. p. 25
60. Ibid. p. 26
61. Bryce : Op. Cit. MacMillan's Magazine p. 521
62. Westminster Review Op. Cit. p. 9
63. Ibid. p. 9
64. This is a very debatable point and is considered in Appendix 2 as well as later in this chapter.
65. This is a reference to the article of Rev. R. W. Hiley's published in 1884.
66. According to R. W. Hiley, Pattison coined this word.
67. Quoted from R. W. Hiley : Sundry Attacks on Private Schools and Strictures Thereon Longmans 1884 .

68. Benjamin Disraeli attended Mr. Pothicary's School at Blackheath (D.N.B.)
However both Andre Maurois Disraeli Penguin 1937 p. 19 and
Money Penny & Buckle Life of Disraeli refer to his attending a
Mr. Potticany's school.
69. Author also of Memories of Half a Century Longmans 1899
70. A leading ecclesiastical paper
71. Hiley : Op. Cit. p. 3
72. Hiley subsequently wrote to Allbutt whom he knew and discovered that
he had misconstrued Allbutt's remarks.
73. See also Economic History Review 2nd Series XII 1959
F. Musgrove : Middle Class Education and Employment in the
Nineteenth Century
E.H.R. 2nd Series XIV 1961-62
H. J. Perkin : Middle Class Education and Employment in the
Nineteenth century : A critical note
E.H.R. 2nd Series XIV No. 2 1961
F. Musgrove : A rejoinder, for a full discussion of the question
of growth of the middle classes, its education and employment.
74. e.g. At Rugby and Uppingham.
75. Hiley cites Dr. Thomas Arnold - Professor of History at Oxford.
Dr. Longley of Harrow - Bishop of Ripon
Dr. A. C. Tait of Rugby - Dean of Carlisle, Bishop of
London, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Dr. Goulburn of Rugby - Dean of Norwich
Dr. Frederick Temple - Bishop of Exeter - Archbishop of
of Rugby Canterbury.
76. Henry Hayman was dismissed from his post and ended his days in obscurity
as Rector of Aldingham a tiny hamlet on the coast of North Lancashire,
near Barrow in Furness. He is buried in its churchyard.
77. See Agnes A. Kilgour : Private Schools : their future status (1886)
A paper read at annual meeting of Association of Principals of
Private Schools (A.P.P.S.)
See also:
Private Schoolmaster Vol I No. 4 February 1888
Vol II No. 11 September 1888
Rev. J. Dawes : A review of the Present State of Education in England
A. Montefiore : The Private Schoolmaster : his position and his prospects
Praeceptor Londineusis : What shall I do with my son? or some defects
of our present system of education London 1904
pp. 27-28

Miss Steele Hutton : Genesis of the Private School London 1910 p. 8

The following were hostile to private education :-

Assistant Master : Private Schools and Private Schoolmasters London
1892 p. 60

A. H. D. Acland and H. L. Smith : Studies in Secondary Education
London 1892 pp. 56, 165-167

78. Mentioned in Commercial and Trade Directories for Warwickshire.
cf. Slaters 1850 Directory. Kept school at Primrose Hill House,
Coventry.
Kelly's P.O. Directory 1864-1884, Principal of Allesley College.
79. See p. 67
80. Arnold : Op. Cit. p. 227 'English' and 'commercial' in this context
refer to the curricula of the schools rather than their names or
styles.
81. See Appendix 2
82. See Appendix 8
83. Seven out of 504 schools from eleven counties were styled commercial
schools. See Table 12 p. 83a
84. G. M. Young in his Victorian England, portrait of an Age (1937) takes
the view that good country grammar schools gave as sound an education
as could be obtained. See p. 89
See also M. L. Clarke : Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900
C.U.P. 1959 Chapter 6
R. L. Archer : Op. Cit. pp. 83-84
85. In 1879, of the 117 endowed grammar schools in the eleven counties
twenty-two had lapsed. This suggests a higher than average rate of
decay or a continued relapse of the English Grammar School.
86. An endowment of £33 per annum.
87. It is not to be assumed that the other ten were prospering institutions.
See also Appendix 9 to see how poorly grammar schools fared in the
Oxford and Cambridge local examinations 1858-1873 in terms of numbers.
88. Now a thriving country town grammar school.
89. £57 per annum endowment.
90. Steele Hutton : Op. Cit. p. 7
91. Heighington Grammar School (1601) Co. Durham founded by an Elizabeth
Jemson with an endowment of £60 per annum was by 1879 a private
school for boarders and day scholars run by the Rev. J. Dixon B.A.

92. London M.A. Thesis 1953.

See also the following theses which have dealt wholly or partly with nineteenth century private schools:

- 1954 W. E. Marsden - The development of educational facilities of Southport 1825-1944 Sheffield M.A.
- C. G. Hey - The History of Hazelwood School, Birmingham and its influence on educational developments in the nineteenth century Wales M.A.
- 1955 G. B. Wynne - A study of education in the English Private Schools of the N.E. Midland during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century Leeds M.A.
- 1957 E. Stones - The development of education in Accrington 1790-1903 Sheffield M.A.
- 1959 M. J. Board - A history of the Private Adventure School in Sheffield Sheffield M.A.
- 1960 K. J. Aitken - The development of Education in Hitchin, Hertfordshire 1780-1880 Nottingham M.A.
- 1969 Janet D. Cowe - The development of Education in Berwick on Tweed to 1902 Durham M.Ed.

93. S.I.C. Vol. I p. 283

94. In the case of Westmorland and Cumberland there seems to be a conflict of views. See R. L. Archer Op. Cit. p. 83 - "decadence was most noteworthy in Cumberland, Westmorland and Cornwall"

M. L. Clarke Op. Cit. p. 87 - Westmorland and Cumberland "were abnormally well supplied with grammar schools."

95. E. L. Greenberg : Op. Cit. includes Bruce's Academy in her survey of early nineteenth century academies.

96. It was attended by middle class boys with a sprinkling of the sons of minor gentry. Majority were the sons of professional and trading men of Newcastle upon Tyne and Gateshead. Less than 50 % learnt any Latin or Greek.

97. It had a flag bearing the Academy's motto 'onward' and a school song "Work, boys, work" composed by Mr. Ions, the Music master and organist of St. Nicholas Cathedral.

See Letter in Northern Weekly Chronicle September 1st 1894.

98. 1806-1834 Mr. John Bruce (d. 1834)
1834-1859 Rev. Dr. John Collingwood Bruce (d. 1892)
1859-1881 Rev. Gilbert Robertson (d. 1882)

99. In 1802 John Bruce opened a school with his brother Edward in Percy Street before moving to No. 80 four years later.
100. Quoted from J. C. Jeaffreson and William Pole's : Life of Robert Stephenson 1864
Quoted in Archibald Reed : Bruce's School New York 1903
101. He received his D.D. from Glasgow University in 1851. Was a witness to S.I.C. See Vol. V 748-761
102. Ibid. p. 37/38
103. See H. McLachlan : Records of a family Manchester U. Press 1935
104. Mary Bruce (nee Jack) Dr. Bruce's mother had taught with her sister Frances Jack in a school for ladies conducted by a Miss Wilson in Savile Place Newcastle, in a building later used by the Y.W.C.A.
His father John Bruce at that time ran a school at Barras Bridge : his uncle Edward Bruce kept a school at Monkwearmonth, Sunderland.
105. Rt. Hon. Sir Gainsford Bruce : John Collingwood Bruce Edinburgh 1905 p. 8
See also from Papers kept by the Newcastle reference library printed report of examiners dated June 20th 1822 commenting on the excellence of the education at the Academy.
106. Possibly because of Dr. Hutton, Mathematician being at Woolwich. A great friend of the Bruce family.
107. Rev. J. C. Bruce joined his father at Percy Street in 1831 on which occasion Mr. John Bruce made a public announcement. The original manuscript letter is in possession of Newcastle upon Tyne Reference Library. See appendix 10 for copy and of other documents connected with Percy Street Academy.
108. This was a reversal of the normal trend. Graduate heads of private schools gave way to non-graduate heads as the century progressed.
109. The Library contained 558 volumes. See Appendix 11 for details.
110. See Appendix 12 for details of annual public examination on June 15th 1837.
111. See Appendix 13 for copy of the song, full of Smilesian advice.
112. Gainsford Bruce : Op. Cit. p. 56
113. His successful National School in King's Somborne, Hants. made Dawes the exemplar for H. M. Inspectorate.
114. His father was also a religious man and was wont to take his pupils to Bible and Missionary Society public meetings.
See Robert V. Moffat : John Smith Moffat Murray 1921 p. 32.

115. Dr. J. C. Bruce was a good example of a private schoolmaster who played a full part in public life.

1. He was extremely interested in Roman Northumbria. F. S. Antiquaries.
2. Member of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society.
3. 1856-1883 One of Secretaries of Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne.
4. 1883-1892 Vice President of the Society.
5. 1834-1892 Secretary of the Newcastle Bible Society.
6. Member of the Town Mission Group (Evangelical)
7. Took interest in Royal Jubilee School (1810) and other Schools for the poor.
8. Conducted public daily prayer meetings in Newcastle 1859-1892
9. Took keen interest in Y.M.C.A.
10. Interest, too, in Bradling House for fallen women.

116. He joined the school in 1851 and entered into partnership in 1855.

117. See Archibald Reed : Op. Cit. p. 5 where he is described as
"probably the best mathematician Newcastle ever knew."

This seems to ignore Dr. Hutton F.R.S. Professor of Mathematics at R.M.A. Woolwich. Dr. Hutton opened a Mathematical School in Newcastle in 1760 and was attended by John Scott, the future Lord Eldon.

See N. Hans : Op. Cit. for further reference to Hutton.

118. Dr. J. Gordon Black, proposing the toast at the Eighth Annual Dinner in 1904 said of Rev. Gilbert Robertson,

"No master ever understood boys and their manifold little ways better! He was simply a perfect teacher, having the rare faculty of interesting boys, and getting a maximum of work out of them."

119. See Spens Report : Secondary Education H.M.S.O. 1938 Reprint 1956 p. 21

120. The concept of a Collegiate School dates back to the middle ages and gave a more 'democratic' constitution to a school since the Fellows participated in government. One famous nineteenth century experiment on running a school on a Collegiate basis was Radley College (1847) where William Sewell, Warden, was less than constitutional in his conduct of the school. Many of the middle class schools sponsored by the Church in the 1830s and 1840s were styled Collegiate Schools. e.g. 1836 Leicester and Leicestershire Collegiate Schools. But private adventure schools also adopted the title because of its high sounding style. See Appendix 1 on Schools nomenclature.

121. Only fourteen out of 504 schools in eleven counties in 1879 were styled Academies, by which time the decline in the use of this title was well advanced.
122. J. D. Cowe notes a decline in private schools in Berwick from 1850s p. 601.
- | | | | |
|------|-----------|----|-----------------|
| i.e. | 1834-1847 | 13 | private schools |
| | 1852 | 12 | |
| | 1855 | 10 | |
| | 1858 | 6 | |
| | 1877-1879 | 5 | |
| | 1884 | 7 | |
| | 1887 | 6 | |
| | 1890 | 5 | |
| | 1894 | 4 | |
| | 1897-1902 | 3 | |

See also Ealing College 1820-1970 pp. 20-29

This school did not enjoy its heyday till 1872+ when Charles Taylor (1872-1886) was Headmaster. It moved to new buildings in 1880 but its subsequent history was chequered.

123. Brian Simon reaches the same conclusion re the effect of m.c. examinations on private schools.
- See Ed. B. Simon : "Private Schools in Leicestershire"
1540-1940 Leicester U.P. 1968 p. 129
124. 111 out of 504 schools were exclusively preparatory schools in eleven counties in 1879.
125. See J. D. Cowe : Op. Cit. p. 605
126. Return 1898 c. 8634 p. 13
127. Vol. VIII
128. Ibid. p. 164
129. Ibid. p. 186
130. Op. Cit. p. 23
- See also letter to Editor of Daily Post from 'Pater Familias', 24th August 1869, where referring to nearby Tipton, Staffordshire the writer complains that "The parish of Tipton is a most unfortunate instance of this state of things ... there is not a commercial school in the parish."
131. T. Cooper : Men of Mark 1876-1883 London 1876 Vol. 5 p. 11
- See also Vol. 6 p. 18 which notes that Samuel Morley too, after a private school education, was introduced early into business.
132. See Sir Edward Clarke : Op. Cit. p. 22

133. Ibid. p. 22
134. School founded in 1787 by wealthy Nottingham Unitarians
135. Charles Tennyson : Life's all a fragment Cassell. 1953
See essay on J. C. Smaith (1876-1936), son of a Nottingham merchant p. 56.
136. London University Ph.D. 1957.

137. Robert Leighton of Bristol Grammar School is an example of this school. See MacMillan's Magazine April 1898. Article "A Commercial Education"

Leighton emphasised the value of Classics and Mathematics as a preparation for life of commerce. He recognised that German commercial superiority was based on general not vocational education. He referred to a questionnaire he sent to 250 leading firms in Bristol in 1889 from which he gained the impression that businessmen were "seeking the philosopher's stone ... in quest of knowledge convertible into cash on hand." (p. 471) He did note that not all commercial firms were so anxious about vocational education. e.g. The London and County Bank encouraged general education amongst their employees.

See also W. L. Sargant : Essays of a Birmingham Manufacturer Vol. II 1870 Essay III on Middle Class. Sargant an upholder of liberal education having suffered vocational education (shorthand) at Hazelwood.

138. Dalvi : Op. Cit. p. 147/148.

See also M. E. Sadler : England's Need of Commercial Education a lecture given in a series on commercial education at the King's Weigh House, Grosvenor Square. 1900-1901 in connection with the Evening Commercial School, Barrett Street, Oxford St. West. (London School Board)

Published as "The King's Weigh House Lectures to Businessmen" 1901.

M. E. Sadler took view that general education is foundation of commercial education.

139. Sir John Lubbock, M.P. F.R.S. later Vice Chancellor of London University was an ardent supporter of scientific and commercial education. In 1887 he proposed a uniform scheme of study for commercial education. This led to King's College School setting up a commercial side. City of London School also influenced by recognition of need for commercial education.
140. Leslie Stephen : Op. Cit. p. 9
141. See Alfred Pitman : Half a Century of Commercial Education and Publishing Pitman 1932.

Isaac Pitman's lessons in shorthand appeared in Cassell's
Popular Educator in 1852

142. 1880 G. E. Clark founded a college in Southgate Road to give Secretarial training and general education. Developed into a Secretarial College.
- 1893 Mayfair Secretarial College for Gentlewomen founded.
See Victoria County History Middx. Vol. 1 Op. Cit. p. 273
143. See Foster Watson : Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education Vol. 3
1921-1922 p. 1347
144. See The Private Schoolmaster Vol. 1 No. 1 November 1887
"There is but little notice taken, unfortunately, in England of continental education, or we might have had ere now a legion instead of only a few isolated examples of schools of commerce."
See also Vol. 1 No. 2. Article by Sir Philip Magnus Commercial Education in which he recognised English being first in technical field had actually hindered progress of commercial education since the country seemed to achieve prosperity without it.
145. 1878 was also the year for the first 'cremating apparatus' at Woking
introduction of dog licences.
146. Quoted from eightieth birthday souvenir brochure 1878-1958
147. S. F. Elliott is engaged in research on history of correspondence colleges for M.Ed. Leicester University.
148. I am grateful to Mr. A. H. Stewart of Skerry's Kincapple, Fifeshire for the loan of papers relating to the history of Skerry's College.
149. Alfred Pitman : Op. Cit. pp. 56/57
150. See M. J. Board Op. Cit. p. 84. A Mr. H. C. Flory advertised twenty-three separate items in his curriculum in 1839.
151. Op. Cit. p. 238. Nevertheless William Barnes the Dorset poet and private schoolmaster could offer sixty-eight languages and dialects.
152. B. M. Allen : Op. Cit. p. 8 i.e. English; a little Mathematics and French plus a lecture once a month on Physics or Chemistry topic given by the Science master of Charterhouse School.
153. See A. Hill. Sketch of a system of education ... at Bruce Castle School Tottenham. London 1837 p. 30
154. Ibid. pp. 16-24 for explanation of teaching methods in French, Geography and classics.
155. Gainsford Bruce. Op. Cit. p. 54.

156. S.I.C. Vol. I p. 286

According to Mr. Fitch, not more than one per cent of boys in private schools in Yorkshire learnt Greek; not more than three per cent had reached a standard in Latin to read an author.

157. Ibid. p. 286

158. Ibid. p. 287-288

159. e.g. George C. T. Bartley : Op. Cit. pp. 410-411
A.H.D. Acland and H. L. Smith : Op. Cit. p. 237

160. pp. 49-51

161. See Appendix 2 for full discussion.

162. As far as any school that has not been incorporated can be permanent.

163. The Durham County Record Office hold a specimen bill sent to a Mr. Joicey from Gainford Academy dated October 1st 1850. This was a school which charged approximately £56 per annum inclusive.

Pigot's Directory for 1829 shows an entry
- Richard Bowman (Day School) Gainford.

Kelly's P.O. Directory for 1879 shows an entry
- Rev. William Bowman and J. Selkirk Charles B.A.
Principals of Gainford School.

Kelly's P.O. Directory 1890 - Gainford School (Rev. William Bowman and Sons) Principals.

164. Many heads of private schools were styled 'Principal' as apposed to Headmaster. For much of the century the term Master was an alternative since his assistants were ushers not masters.

165. See the following:

James L. Hughes : Dickens as an educator New York 1903

Cumberland Clark : Charles Dickens and the Yorkshire Schools privately printed in London. 1918

P. A. W. Collins : Leicester University Vaughan College Papers No. 3 1957

- a list of references from Household Words and All the Year Round

John Manning : Dickens on Education University of Toronto Press 1959

Philip Collins : Dickens and Education MacMillan 1965

Cumberland Clark established the identity of Wackford Squeers as that of Mr. Shaw of Bowes Academy, near Greta Bridge. Shaw was taken to court twice in 1820s for cruelty to his boys.

Hughes's book, though much older than those of Manning and Collins is a worthy companion to them using a topic approach.

166. Manning : Op. Cit. p. 92. He notes melodramatically that
 "The Burial Register at Bowes Church lists some twenty-nine unmarked graves in the churchyard - pupils of tender years who died between October 10th 1810 and March 30th 1834. At least ten of these twenty-nine pupils had belonged to Shaw's School and the rest to other schools near by - all within the parish of Bowes."
- The significance of this is reduced by recalling the high mortality rate amongst children at the beginning of the century. Shaw's former school buildings are now used as a restaurant.
167. See W. E. Marsden : Op. Cit. p. 107. References in correspondence columns of Southport Visiter 28.7.1876 and 4.8.1876 to bogus titles and quackery.
168. See i) Cornhill Magazine July 1861. John Sutcliffe : "Middle Class and Primary Education in England. Past and present" warns against bogus titles and clergymen without degrees.
 ii) Fabian Ware Educational Reform Methuen 1900 p. 36
169. H. G. Wells who had had direct experience of teaching in possibly more than one private school, attacked them in educational journals, much to the chagrin of J. V. Milne, his quondam employer.
170. See Geoffrey West : H. G. Wells London 1930 p. 93
 See 50 Years of Progress in Education. A review of the work of the College of Preceptors 1846-1896
171. See anonymous principal of a middle class school : Notes on Middle Class Boarding Schools and Middle Class Education London 1859
172. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 64
173. See J. L. Hobbs : The Journal of John Wilson Soulbey of Rampside Academy August - December 1867 1960.
 Reprint from the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society's Transactions. Vol. LX
 New Series
174. G. West : Op. Cit. p. 26
175. Ibid. p. 65
176. J. V. Milne, father of A. A. Milne, was an autodidact who took up teaching without any degree. By slow stages he gained a London B.A. Kept a private school in Kilburn, Henley House Academy, at which school H.G. Wells was once a master. Elected as Hon. Secretary in 1888, Milne was later twice President of Private Schools

Association which he helped to organise initially.

He later moved to Westgate on Sea and became a preparatory school owner. He was soon contributing articles in the Preparatory School Review and it is interesting to find him dilating on the same topic in both the Private Schoolmaster (when a member of P.S.A.) and in P.S.R. (as a member of A.P.S. (Association of Preparatory Schools))

177. See Pycroft : Op. Cit. pp. 51-53 Relations between Masters and parents.

178. Of boarding schools only.

179. Assistant Master : Private Schools and Private Schoolmasters London 1892 pp. 30 - 49

180. e.g. of clergymen -

The commercial school of Cambridge House, Stratford on Avon was run by a clergyman Rev. John George Stephenson M.A. in 1860s.

181. See i) Agnes Kilgour : Op. Cit. "there must be no servility and cringing towards parents."

ii) S.I.C. Vol. I pp. 293, 654
Vol.VIII p. 332

An example of unwanted pressure from parents is to be found in case cited in Private Schoolmaster Vol. II No. 11 where a schoolmistress received the following letter from a parent.

"Madam,

I am not at all satisfied with my daughter's progress in music. Last term she was practising a piece in five flats and this term she has gone back to three sharps."

The Private Schoolmaster contains reports of cases involving clashes between Schoolmasters and parents in Law courts. In many cases the parent was being sued for non payment of fees.

e.g. Price v Wilkins before Mr. Justice Wills.
reported in Vol. I No. 4

Graves v Keyes

Graves v Portlock

Vol. I No. 7.

182. Rev. C. S. Collingwood. Op. Cit. p. 142 Dr. Cowan was like a "Czar of all the Russians."

183. Ibid. p. 144. Dr. Cowan retired to an estate of 220 acres in Scotland.

The Bryce Report Vol. I p. 52 notes that

- a) a private boarding school is "a remunerative investment of capital"
- b) private day schools are "seldom remunerative in towns which are well provided with efficient endowed schools"

184. Op. Cit. p. 276
185. Future undergraduates and graduate sportsmen were exceptions to this tendency. 'Birds of passage' tended to depress the teaching profession.
186. Op. Cit. p. 10
187. Kept a school at St. Leonards Gate, Lancaster.
188. See J. A. Bridges : Victorian Recollections London 1919 p. 59-60
Bridges describes an usher at a school in Highgate,
"a shy, kindly helot, tall, thin and pale" ... "clothed in a shabby black suit, who had to do all the drudgery of the school. After school work was over he had to superintend the big boarding house of thirty to forty boys ... miserably underpaid, or rather scarcely paid at all."
See also S.I.C. Vol. VIII p. 341
189. Article -"Resident assistants in private Boarding Schools!" Central Society of Education. Woburn Press 1968
190. See S. P. B. Mais : All the Days of my Life Hutchinson 1937
for inefficiency and discourtesy of scholastic agency.
B.A. : The London School Agents and our Private Boarding Schools 1859, for reference to sharp practices and schoolmaster ghut.
Assistant Master : Op. Cit. pp. 10 - 20 for vigorous attack on Scholastic Agencies
S.I.C. Vol. VIII pp. 356-358
- Gabbitas-Thring, a reputable scholastic agency was founded in 1873.
The object of the partnership was to provide staff for boys schools, mainly public schools. Mr. Gabbitas, the founder, gave an impression of being a woman-hater, and therefore the firm have not dealt with lady teachers. This led to members of Gabbitas-Thring to hive off (Truman and Knightley) in 1905 to meet this need.
(Information kindly supplied by Gabbitas-Thring contained in typescript letter dated 25th August 1970)
191. e.g. John Garven (1834-1879) was Classics master in Percy Street Academy for forty-five years "with scarcely a day's absence, beyond the ordinary holidays." A mild little man.
cf. A. R. Hope Moncrieff : A Book about Schools London 1925 p. 232
"A grey-haired usher was as rare a sight as a dead donkey."
192. Vincent Van Gogh was an assistant at two schools in Isleworth.
W. R. W. Stephens: Life and letters of Edward A. Freeman MacMillan 1895 p. 16. Criticises ushers as 'a low coarse

set of men"

Some of them sank even lower in the social scale on leaving the school. "One of them was reduced to drawing pictures in coloured chalks upon the London pavement."

193. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 365
See also S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 165
194. See K. J. R. Aitken. Op. Cit. for career of Samuel Goodwin - usher and then school owner.
195. See J. J. Cooper : Some Worthies of Reading London 1923 p. 136
An assistant master at Castle Street Academy, kept by Thomas Greathead, by the name of Isaac Holden was an exceptional usher. He was an 'ingenious inventor of the lucifer match.' He also invented a wool-combing machine.
He became a captain of industry, Baronet and M.P.
196. From Latin ostiarius - doorkeeper.
197. See Margaret Bryant : Op. Cit. p. 276
198. See Joseph Hutton : A few words on private schools Brighton 1870 where Hutton in dealing with "Methods of moral rule" refers to two possible approaches in maintaining discipline in a private school
a) Trust
b) Vigilant espionage.
The S.I.C. refers, according to Hutton, to a school where each bedroom had a peephole in the door.
See also Quarterly Journal of Education Vol. 7 No. XIII 1834. January to April p. 41-42 for appreciation of great responsibility vested in usher being adscriptus pupillaribus.
199. See note 115
200. Op. Cit. p. 7
201. The Principal was not unlike Dr. Blimber but he was less kind. According to Paget, he had a saying "Little birds that can sing, and won't sing, must be made to sing;" - this was swiftly followed by the swishing of his cane.
202. Op. Cit. pp. 55-56. "Once he struck a boy - 'tasted blood' so to speak - he never stopped striking him till he was out of breath ... An artist too! He could cut a boy's hand open with a blow of his cane."
As in many schools Monday morning was the time for reviewing the misdemeanours of the previous week. Generally an orgy of flogging followed this weekly enquiry.

203. Just as it is difficult to see how practising christians could condone slavery before its abolition.
204. Edward Frankland : Op. Cit. p. 5 See note 115 Chapter 2
205. Ibid. p. 5. Frankland recalls one dull girl who was caned two or three times daily over the head.
- See also Thos. Catling : Op. Cit. p. 16. Catling relates how a boy "on his committing some offence ... was laid face downwards over a double desk and thrashed with a severity that would now surely lead to the master's imprisonment. Yet this master in hours of relaxation was a companion with the boys, and it may be said gave his life for them. Injuring his spine by throwing up a ball in the cricket field, he was ever after a cripple and died at the age of thirty-five."
- This is yet another example of the 'Jekyll and Hyde' character of of some Victorian schoolmasters.
206. Osbert Sitwell : The Scarlet Tree MacMillan 1946 pp. 66/67
207. See D. P. Leinster-Mackay : The aims and achievements of Edward Thring Durham M.Ed. Dissertation 1964. p. 13 note (3)
208. The case was reported for instance in the Stratford on Avon Herald of July 27th 1860 which disclosed that Cancellor was the son of a former Master of Court of Common Pleas. Cancellor senior paid Hopley £180 per annum by way of school fees.
209. Hopley specialised in dealing with difficult boys. Backward boys and delicate boys were often looked after in such schools which specialised in this field.
- See also Thos. Catling : Op. Cit. p. 16
Catling recalls a boy being sent to private academy "to see if the master could do anything with him."
210. I am grateful to Mr. David Stevens of L.S.E. for details re this case.
211. Written in the County prison of Lewes, May 1860 before the trial.
212. Op. Cit. pp. 34-35
213. S.I.C. VII p. 159 Four Schools used deprivation of play
Four others used solitary confinement
In one school - reproof was only required.
- Gifford found that in none was an assistant master allowed to inflict corporal punishment and that in most schools it was recognised that boys had right of appeal to the Principal against other punishments from assistants.
- Lying; indecent conduct; swearing and insolence merited corporal punishment.
- Idleness - the main offence was generally punished by inposition.

Carelessness or breaches of school rules could incur fines or stoppage of pocket money.

214. With the middle schools Giffard found that besides eleven out of nineteen using the cane, seventeen out of nineteen used inpositions; four detention in leisure time. Again no assistant master was allowed to inflict corporal punishment.

This limitation of corporal punishment to the Principal only suggests the strong involvement of a financial motive.

215. The earlier volumes contain for instance, biographies inter alia on Margaret Nicholson (1750-1828) who was an assailant of George III and committed to Bedlam; Tom Paddock (1823?-1863) pugilist; William Palmer (1824-1856) the Rugeley poisoner; Cora Pearl (1842-1886) courtesan; Peter the Wild Boy (1712-1785) a protege of George I; and Richard Turpin (1706-1739) robber.

216. This tendency is particularly unhelpful in the study of the English Preparatory School.

217. For organizational reasons the preparatory school statistics are included.

218. There are about ninety (less than one in ten) - surprisingly few considering the supposedly ephemeral nature of private schools which might influence school changes. This generalisation about private schools, however, applied more to the less reputable schools to which the majority of subjects of the D.N.B. are unlikely to have gone.

219. The following metropolitan areas contained private schools and are included as being part of London.

Balham; Barnes; Bayswater; Blackheath; Bloomsbury; Brixton; Brompton; Camberwell; Camden; Chelsea; Chiswick; City; Clapham; Clapton; Ealing; Edmonton; Finchley; Finsbury; Forest Gate; Forest Hill; Fulham; Greenwich; Hackney; Hammersmith; Hampstead; Highbury; Highgate; Holburn; Isleworth; Islington; Kennington; Kensington; Kew; Kilburn; Lambeth; Lee; Lewisham; Maida Vale; Marylebone; Mill Hill; New Cross; Norwood; Paddington; Parson's Green; Peckham; Pentonville; Putney; Richmond; St. John's Wood; Southgate; Southwork; Stockwell; Streatham; Sydenham; Tooting; Tottenham; Twickenham; Walthamstow; Wandsworth; Westminster; Winbledon; and Woolwich.

220. The relatively low figures for preparatory schools is largely because of the tendency of contributors to refer only to their subject's education at public school or on the Britannia. Tables 13 and 15 show the wealth of private schools - if not preparatory schools - in London, compared with the rest of the country.

221. This figure does not include very many more who although entered in the D.N.B. were not documented as thoroughly as to give details of private or preparatory school education. This omission by so many contributors to the D.N.B. would affect mainly the number of preparatory school alumni.

222. This includes those who became naval and army officers.

223. Bryce Vol. I p. 52
 Vol. II pp. 443, 460, 463, 514
 Vol. III p. 308
 Vol. VI pp. 55-57

The Report of H. T. Gerrans on Secondary Education in Devon showed a general rise in standard since C. H. Stanton's Report for the S.I.C.

In Exeter few day private schools remained because of effective competition by endowed schools but

"in other places, ... the endowed school has not infrequently found the private school a formidable rival, and in two cases during the last few years, governing bodies of endowed schools have appointed to headmasterships the principals of competing private schools against whom it had proved impossible to contend successfully."

224. W. E. Forster at the first reading of the Endowed Schools Bill declared that:

"the Government was naturally very anxious to avoid any interference with the right of private schoolmasters"

Hansard House of Commons Third Series.
 Vol. CXCIV 18th February 1869. Columns 1364-5

See also Bryce Vol. I pp. 292-294

225. e.g. 1860 St. Olave's and St. Saviour's Grammar School at low point. Nine flourishing private schools in the parish of Stepney.

1892 All private schools had disappeared. Not all Grammar Schools revived. Wharnton Grammar School in Yorkshire was sold for £390 at auction after being revived in 1854. See Private Schoolmaster Vol. 1 No. 4 February 15th 1888

226. See pp. 96-97 The Saturday Review (1855-1938) was hostile to Private Schools.

Mr. D. R. Fearon, Charity Commissioner and ex S.I. Assistant Commissioner and ex H.M.I. was an inveterate enemy of the private school.

See Bryce Vol. III p. 435. Giving evidence to Bryce Commission he said:

"The private school is necessarily an ephemeral thing. It is here today and gone tomorrow, and it is worse than here today and gone tomorrow; it may be here good today and here bad tomorrow."

227. See Appendix 17 containing two letters from private school teachers forced out of business by the encroachment of State education. These letters have been abstracted from preamble to Secondary School Return 1897/98 (c. 8634)

228. See S.I.C. Vol. II p. 217. Resolution of the College of Preceptors that they were not represented on S.I.C.
229. Bryce Vol. I p. 152
230. Some of the Bryce recommendations were to be found in the reply of the Private Schools Association to the Commission's enquiry. See Appendix 18 for full account of P.S.A. reply.
- See also Educational Review Vol. III December 9th 1901 for report on meeting of private school head teachers held at College of Preceptors at which Mr. G. C. T. Bartley M. P. delivered an address on "Private Schools and the coming Government Bill." From the discussion which followed it was clear that the private schools feared competition much less than being undersold at the cost of the rates.
231. See report of Parliamentary debate on Secondary Education 27th April 1888 in The Private Schoolmaster Vol. 1 No. 7 May 1888. In this debate A. H. D. Acland sought legislation for a Register to rid private schools of charlatans.
232. See Educational Review Vol. III. W. K. Hill : Education in Nineteenth Century
 "For secondary education, at a first glance, the century appears to have done nothing. Private adventure, whether individual or in the form of companies, still reigns, uninspected and uncontrolled, in the domain of middle class life."
- See also H. G. Wells : "The Academy for Young Gentlemen."
Journal of Education October 1893
- where he comments on the survival of the good private schools.
233. The series of reports by Michael E. Sadler on Secondary Education recognised the continued value of private schools. These reports were written by M. E. Sadler at the request of L.E.A.s who wished to organise their Secondary Education following the 1902 Education Act.
- See inter alia Report on Secondary and Higher Education in Newcastle upon Tyne. 1905 p. 52
- Report on Secondary and Higher Education in Essex
 1906 p. 40
234. See Boyd & Rawson : The Story of the New Education Heinemann 1965
 pp. 3-8

Notes on Chapter 4

The main sources for this chapter are:

1. The Bryce Commission Report (1895) c. 7862
 2. Privately printed and little known works on Charles Pritchard and on W. H. Herford viz.
 - C. Pritchard : Annals of Our School Life (1886)
 - Anon : Castle Howell School Record (1888)
 3. Other works re W. H. Herford -
 - W. C. R. Hicks : Lady Barn House and the Work of W. H. Herford Manchester U.P. (1936)
 - W. H. Herford : The Student's Froebel (1916)
 - The Child Vol. 2 March 1912
 - C. H. Herford : "A Pioneer of Child Study: William Henry Herford"
 4. The Carterian 1900-1922, the School Magazine of Red House Preparatory School, Moor Monkton, Yorkshire.
1. W. A. C. Stewart & W. P. McCann : Educational Innovators 1750-1880 Vol. I Professor Stewart was the sole author of Volume II 1881-1967.
 2. Bryce Report Vol. II p. 236
 - Ibid. Vol. II p. 147 Mr. F. Storr, chief master of Modern Subjects at Merchant Taylors. Michael E. Sadler.
 - Ibid. Vol. III p. 280-281 Mr. W. Brown, Private Schools Association
 - Ibid. Vol. III p. 308 Mr. W. Brown, Private Schools Association
 - Ibid. Vol. IV p. 97 Mr. E. M. Hance, Clerk to the Liverpool School Board.
 - Ibid. Vol. V p. 14-16 Memorandum by Dr. R. Wormell "on the contributions of private school teachers to the improvement of educational method."
 3. See Rowland & Matthew Davenport Hill : Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in large numbers London 1825.
- Arthur Hill : Sketch of a system of education ... at Bruce Castle School, Tottenham London 1837
- J. S. Thornton : "Sir Rowland Hill as Schoolmaster"
The Schoolmaster April 1922

- Sir Michael E. Sadler : A Nineteenth Century experiment in Education in the work of Matthew & Rowland Hill
London 1923
- C. G. Hey : The History of Hazelwood School, Birmingham and its influence on educational development in the nineteenth century University of Wales M.A. 1954
- J. L. Dobson : The Hill Family and educational change in the early nineteenth century
Durham Research Review Vol. II No. 10 1959
Vol. III No. 11 1960
Vol. III No. 12 1961
- W. A. C. Stewart & W. P. McCann : Op. Cit. pp. 98-123
4. Ibid. pp. 310-316
See also Hester Burton : Barbara Bodichon 1827-1891 London 1949
5. J. H. Badley : Bedales - a pioneer school Methuen 1923
W. A. C. Stewart : Vol. II Op. Cit. pp. 268-282
6. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 169-178
7. The situation improved gradually from the 1850s with the introduction of competitive examinations and the institution of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington (1853)
8. James Ferguson (1710-1886) astronomer.
Constructed orrery (1742); invented a tide dial, an 'eclipsareon' 1754. Frequently discussed mechanics with George III. F.R.S. (D.N.B.)
9. Some half dozen of Pritchard's pupils are to be found in the D.N.B.
10. Despite title, not an endowed school but a proprietary school. A good example of possible confusion arising from nineteenth century terminology.
11. See Chapter 7
12. C. Pritchard : Op. Cit. p. 45
13. Ibid. p. 53
14. The Oxford University observatory was influenced by the Clapham School observatory.
15. Among Pritchard's pupils were:
St. George J. Mivart (1827-1900) biologist
Alexander Herschel (1836-1907) University Professor and astronomer
Sir George H. Darwin (1845-1912) Mathematician and astronomer
Sir Francis Darwin (1848-1925) botanist

Pritchard writes: "Introduction of a well furnished laboratory and serious instruction in natural phenomena at the hands of a well cultured instructor, were at that day a novelty: and ... I think I may fairly claim to have been a successful pioneer in a most important branch of education." Ibid. p. 47

16. Pritchard always began his geometry lessons by asking the question: What is Euclid? He expected the answer "Euclid is that which is not to be learnt by heart."
17. A spirited appreciation of Pritchard's novel curriculum is to be found in an article in the Nineteenth Century March 1884, My School Days 1830-1840 by the then Dean of Westminster. He wrote:
- "He took, I remember, the bold step of flinging, not without some audacious words of iconoclastic ridicule, our Latin syntax to the winds."
- Sir George Grove (1820-1900) distinguished musician and Palestinian expert was one who benefited from Pritchard's practice of getting boys to draw, from memory, the map of Palestine.
18. J. M. Wilson of Rugby was a notable exception to this generalization. Science was taught at Clifton, too, from its foundation.
19. Was an ex-assistant of Pestalozzi at Yverdun. A Dr. Ellenberger was Headmaster in late 1850s.
20. See Charles J. Cornish : Sir William Henry Flower: A Personal Memoir MacMillan 1904.
- Flower, who was Director of the Natural History Museum and President of the Royal Zoological Society attended Dr. Heldenmaier's in 1844.
21. e.g. Newstead Abbey, Lincoln, Chesterfield, Chatsworth.
- See E. K. Muspratt : My Life and Work Bodley Head 1917 pp. 11-13
- Sir William B. Forwood : Recollections of a busy life 1910
Liverpool pp. 18-20
- The boys of Heldenmaier's School were taken to see the opening of the new docks at Grimsby by the Directors of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway. Charles Dickens was on this special train as William Forwood noted.
22. See Sir George Douglas : The Life of Major General Wauchope Hoddler & Stoughton 1904.
- Major General Andrew Wauchope (1846-1899) and John E. Taylor (1830-1905) Art collector and newspaper proprietor, son of J. E. Taylor, the founder of the Manchester Guardian, both attended Dr. Heldermaier's School which suggests that it enjoyed a high reputation.

23. i.e. the conversations, letters and opinions of the late Arminius Baron Von Thunder-ten-Tronckh. London 1897. See Letter VI Grub St. April 20th 1867 - on Compulsory Education.
24. M. E. Sadler in his Introduction (1911) to W. H. Herford's : The Students Froebel (1916) p. ix sees a continuity of influence in English private education stretching back to Joseph Priestley, Philip Doddridge and Richard Frankland, through the dissenting academy tradition.
25. See also E. L. Greenberg : Op. Cit. p. 39-40.
26. H. McLachlan : Records of a family 1800-1933 Manchester U.P. 1935 p. 7
Partly quoted also in W. C. R. Hicks : Op. Cit. p. 5
27. In his Introduction to Herford's The Students Froebel, Michael Sadler mistakenly refers to him as Lady Byron's son. cf. p. ix
28. His father Immanuel de Fellenberg was the spiritual successor of Pestalozzi.
29. See Castle Howell School Record. pp. xxxvii-xlii
30. An early example of this principle upon which the Assignment Method is based is to be found in the Family Tutor Vol. III p. 101
London 1852.
31. See J. H. Hutton : Op. Cit. for use of term "espionage" to describe private school system of maintaining discipline.
32. Scavoir faire par coeur, n'est pas scavoir.
33. Herford's school did not become popular because his system was possibly not suited to the English schoolboy. Cultural transplants are difficult and it would seem Herford made no allowance for this.
34. Herford was never keen to give his schools a name possibly out of the belief that such practice was pretentious.
35. L. T. Hobhouse kept his son at the school as also did C. P. Scott of the Guardian who had himself attended a "progressive school" - that of Rev. Charles Pritchard D.D. at Clapham.
36. He retired to Paignton and studied deeply the works of Froebel.
37. Author of Home and School (London n.d.)
38. Two passages allude to the Kindergarten but only one of them refers to Lady Barn House and then only to his daughter, Caroline Herford. (Bryce Vol. V p. 420)
39. All set for a career as a distinguished Civil Servant, having gained a Clerkship to the House of Commons, Lionel Helbert gave it up after an experimental spell of Schoolmastering at St. Andrew's

Preparatory School, Eastbourne, belonging to Rev. E. L. Browne.

40. W. Boyd & W. Rowson : Op. Cit. p. 7
41. Memorials of Lionel Helbert O.U.P. 1926
42. See Chapter 13
43. Boyd & Rowson : Op. Cit. pp. 8, 63
MacMunn the educational rebel and author of The Child's path to Freedom helped to establish a science club at West Downs.
"Thus, because of a permissive and imaginative headmaster, West Downs became the seed ground for MacMunn's venture at Tiptree Hall in Essex" (1918) p. 63
44. Founded in 1892 the A.P.S. was not incorporated (I.A.P.S.) till 1923. See Chapter 13
45. Since he was not a member of A.P.S. his contact with other local preparatory schools was limited and many of his hockey fixtures were against women's and girls' teams. The school did play football matches with Harrogate College and Oatlands Preparatory School, Harrogate (Mr. Roscoe's)
46. Named after the name of his earlier school in Harrogate, Carteret House.
47. In November 1900 he had 16 boys
in 1902) he had c. 20 boys
1907)
1912 he had c. 30 boys
48. The exact date of its foundation is not known.
49. Lempriere was a Channel Islander and named his first school after a famous Jersey family from which he claimed descent. His school badge was connected with the family. Captain F. S. Carteret-Bisson, the Schools' compiler, was also a Channel Islander.
50. A late Elizabethan county house complete with Elizabethan Chapel which he rented from the Rev. Charles Slingsby, a typical country squarson, fond of hunting and shooting.
51. Carterian No. 12 February 1902
52. See P.S.R. No. 83 December 1922.
The Rev. Walter Earle, Headmaster of Bilton Grange, Rugby 1887-1902 ran a Preparatory School at Yarlet Hall from 1873-1887 at which he ensured all boys were taught Science.
53. In physiology, physiography and electricity.
54. e.g. Fire and Light; Balloons; coal and Explosions; Survival of the Fittest; Dust in the atmosphere; thunderstorms; soap; poisons.

55. No. 63 April 1913. Lempriere noted an eleven years' record of immunity from infections.
- No. 66 April 1914. noted continual immunity for twelve years.
56. After each lecture the boys were set essays to assess their comprehension the marks for which were published in the magazine. Full marks were not uncommon for some of the brighter boys.
57. viz. Bradfield, Clifton, Malvern (for Army candidates only) Rossall and Rugby.
58. Lempriere circularised Secretaries of L.E.A.s seeking realization of his scheme. Copies were sent also to King Edward VII, the Dukes of Devonshire and Wellington; to the Earl of Meath and Lord Londonderry; to the Archbishops of York and Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Truro, Hereford and Ripon; to "sociologists" like Joseph Rowntree and Charles Booth; to newspapers including the Manchester Guardian; the Daily Mail; and to the Spectator and the Lancet.
59. Mr. Levinstein of Leipsic, Germany wrote articles for him on Child Study and Mental development.
60. He kept a close eye on the fortunes of Bedales and Clayesmore Schools. See (No. 27 November 1904)
61. Arden House, Henley in Arden, had three golf courses under the influence of the enthusiast Oswald Nelson. See Chapter 14.
62. The riding school was set up at a very early stage and formed part of Lempriere's policy of outdoor occupations. When the Scout movement reached the school in 1909 the two activities were combined so that Mounted Scouts were not an uncommon sight in the school grounds. Influenced by the Slingsby tradition, the school also engaged in hunting and it had its own M.F.H.
63. e.g. Selling the lambs; washing the sheep, shearing their wool, breeding the poultry, killing the rats, tidying the stables. See Carterian No. 25 June 1904
64. Lempriere linked his Town and Country Scheme with his experimental farm.
65. i.e. North Elmham School, Norfolk)
Barnard Castle School, Durham) See chapter 7
66. In Carterian No. 64 July 1913 his four main virtues were Kindness, Courtesy, Courage and Keeness.
67. The criteria were dependent on:
1. a written test including dictation, reading aloud, arithmetic and general knowledge.
 2. a personal interview.
 3. an outdoor test of physical fitness.

The first holder of one of these Scholarships was G. Ridell Smith, the Cambridge historian.

68. See Bryce Vol. III p. 147

Michael Sadler was Head of the Committee of Council on Education's Office of Special Inquiries and Reports and was therefore in a good position to appreciate this.

Notes on Chapter 5

The main sources for this chapter have been largely general biography including the Dictionary of National Biography.

1. It is interesting to note that as early as 1847 the Rev. James Pycroft could write his Four Lectures on the advantages of a Classical Education as an auxiliary to a Commercial Education in which he distinguishes between 'formation' and 'information' in education. He claimed that Classical Education more like to 'form' than 'inform' the mind.
2. Hans : Op. Cit. p. 118
3. Dr. Horne of Chiswick was Vicar of Wilkington, Herefordshire.
4. See G. B. Wynne : A Study of Education in the English Private Schools of the N.E. Midlands during the later Eighteenth Century and early Nineteenth Century. Leeds M.A. 1955.

for analysis of eighty-five private schools advertising in the Doncaster Gazette 1786-1820. Of these twenty-five were classical schools.
5. See Rev. A. J. Church : Memories of Men and Books London 1908
6. Hans : Op. Cit. p. 130
7. Church was born in 1829
8. Not mentioned by Hans.
9. Church reached a high standard at this school being able to read Euripides Alcestis by age of eleven.

Mr. Barron was another private schoolmaster with ideas in advance of his time. He had a chemistry laboratory built in his school. He carried out mensuration by going out and actually measuring fields. His Pestalozzian principles did not allow for extrinsic rewards in the conduct of his school.
10. Hans : Op. Cit. p. 129
11. See Preparatory Schools Review (P.S.R.) March 1909. Letter from T.J.F. Haskoll, Headmaster of Peckham House, West Folkstone re the school days of his Uncle William at Manor House School. This "Uncle William" was the same Haskoll one of the original Fellows of Radley College. (See E. Bryans A History of St. Peter's College, Radley pp. 9, 15, 17, 18, 37, 40, 48-49.)

12. Ibid. p. 338
13. Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy : Gathorne-Hardy, 1st Earl of Cranbrook
Longman 1910 p. 14
Gathorne-Hardy served three Prime Ministers - Lord Derby, Disraeli
and Lord Salisbury. Was twice President of the Council.
14. A third was the school of Mr. Pothicary at Blackheath which Disraeli
attended.
15. Charles Burney (1757-1817) kept private schools at Hammersmith
(1786-1793) and Greenwich (1793-1817). His son the Rev. Charles
Parr Burney kept school till the 1840s.
16. Exact date of foundation not known but early in eighteenth century a
school at Greenwich was being run by the Vicar of Greenwich.
See Hans : Op. Cit. pp. 130-132.
17. See G. H. Blore : Victorian Worthies O.U.P. 1920 p. 74
Robert Cochrane : Beneficent and Useful Lives Chambers 1890
pp. 12-13
E. Hodder : Life of Lord Shaftesbury Vol. I
18. See Rev. Joshua Gray : Thoughts on Education with particular reference
to the grammar school system London 1836
"The present century is eminently the era of the triumphs of
Science; it would be difficult to specify a Science which
is not (we had almost said daily) announcing fresh discoveries."
19. See Shane Leslie : Sir Evelyn Ruggles Brise Murray 1938 p. 7
20. Sir Stafford Northcote also attended this school.
21. Hesketh Pearson : Labby - The Life of Henry Labouchere Hamish
Hamilton 1936 pp. 17/18
22. Mozley : Op. Cit. p. 286
23. Frederic Harrison : Autobiographic Memoirs Vol. I McMillan 1911
pp. 28-30
24. As far as it is known Dr. Greig was a layman.
25. Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge : Some Recollections Murray 1918 pp. 33-34
26. Ibid. p. 34
27. Thomas Arnold : Op. Cit. p. 228
28. See A. F. Leach : History of Bradfield College O.U.P. 1900 p. 4

29. Owned Red House, Moor Monkton and Scriven Park, Knaresborough. He employed Red House Preparatory Schoolboys as beaters on his many hunting expeditions.
e.g. December 1905 - six boys beat which produced a 'bag' of 363 rabbits; 105 pheasants and 8 hares.
He died in a hunting accident in 1912. ^{See} The Carterian No. 62 December 1912.
30. Before he succeeded his father as Lord Normanby he was known as Lord Mulgrave (a junior title). He inherited 8,000 acres in Yorkshire. Lord Normanby was a Canon of Windsor the duties of which clashed with keeping a Yorkshire School. "Eventually he moved the whole school to Windsor for one term in the year." In this way the Yorkshire School saw the funeral procession of Queen Victoria.
See Lt. Gen. Sir Douglas Brownrigg : Unexpected (A Book of Memories) Hutchinson 1942 p. 15.
31. Evelyn Waugh : Ronald Knox Chapman & Hall 1939 p. 42
32. Halevy : Op. Cit. Vol. III
33. Ibid. p. 19 In his speech in House of Commons on 25th April 1806, Wilberforce referred to the case of the curate turned weaver. (Parl. Deb. Vol. vi p. 925) Quoted from Halevy.
34. Owen Chadwick : The Victorian Church Vol. 2 London 1970
35. See G. Baron : The Secondary Schoolmaster 1895-1914. London Ph.D. 1952
36. This increase tends to support arguments of Musgrove in the Musgrove - Perkin controversy. See Chapter 3 note 73.
37. The net value of clerical incomes differed from one diocese to another. e.g. London £429 at one end of the spectrum and St. Davids £171 at the other.
According to Owen Chadwick the comparison of figures for 1837 and 1897 is misleading.
1. because the average £500 included all pluralists - some penurious curates would be paid as little as £81 per annum on average;
 2. the average stipend of a curate in 1893 was £145;
 3. because many parishes were looked after by curates in 1837 and would not therefore count as incumbents, whilst in 1897 they were looked after by non-pluralist incumbents.
38. See J. M. Lee : Social Leaders and Public Persons O.U.P. 1963 for comment on the relative decline of Anglicanism in the nineteenth century.
The 1851 Census showed little more than 50 % attending Church on Sunday 30th March 1851 in Cheshire, were Anglican.

39. See Edit. B. Simon : Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940
Leicester U.P. 1968 p. 118
40. Nevertheless Archdeacon Dennison kept a private school in East Brent,
Somerset for four years. See S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 63.
See also Augustus J. C. Hare : The Story of My Life Vol I. London 1896
Rev. Kilvert used to spend half a day a week on parish duties.
41. More commonly known as Frederick Locker, the poet.
42. His wife "seemed to think that salvation depended more on predestina-
tion than soap." Locker-Lampson : Op. Cit. p. 108.
43. John Beddoe : Memories of Eighty Years Bristol 1910 p. 15
44. Hare : Op. Cit. p. 173 "Oh! What trash we were wearisomely taught"
Ibid. p. 176 "long days of uninstrucive lessons".
Comments such as these need to be tempered by the taking into account
of the sophistication of later years which tends to be a little
contemptuous of early circumstances.
45. Ibid. p. 173
46. Ibid. p. 213. "In the three and a half years which I spent at Harnish,
I had been taught next to nothing - all our time having been
frittered away in learning Psalms by heart, and the Articles of the
Church of England. Our history was what Arrow Smith's Atlas used
to describe Central Africa to be - "a barren country only productive
of dates." I could scarcely construe even the easiest passages
of Caesar."
47. See Lord Norton : "Middle Class Education" Nineteenth Century Vol. XIII
January - June 1883.
See also David Newsome : The Parting of Friends Murray 1966 p. 40
According to Newsome, Samuel and Henry
Wilberforce went to F. R. Spragg(e)'s estab-
lishment at Little Bounds in Bidborough, near
Tonbridge. It would seem that on moving his
school, presumably because of change of
clerical living, Spragg took the Wilberforce
brothers with him.
48. William S. Childe-Pemberton : Life of Lord Norton Murray 1909 pp. 14-15
49. A. G. Gardiner : The Life of Sir William Harcourt Vol. I Constable 1923
50. And on Sunday two hours were spent in reading the Greek Testament.
51. Harcourt went North too.
52. Apart from Handley Moule who became Bishop of Durham the other sons
were:
1. Henry Moule (Junior), who after Cambridge became private

tutor and Secretary to Earl Fitzwilliam and the Duke of Abercorn.

2. G. E. Moule, who was Bishop of China 1880-1906
3. Horace Moule - who after Oxford became a Master at Marlborough. He later became a coach for the India Civil Service (I.C.S.) examinations in London and finished as an Assistant Inspector under the local Government Board.

Three other brothers had distinguished careers.

53. See J. B. Harford and F. C. MacDonald : Handley Carr Glyn Moule Hodder & Stoughton 1922
54. From this school Handley Moule gained the distinction of being one of the first entrants to the Oxford Local Examinations when they were instituted in 1858.
55. See F. Musgrove : Op. Cit. Sociological Review New Series Vol. VII No. 2 pp. 169-178
56. R. W. Hiley was Vicar of Thorp Arch and can be regarded as a resident rector running a rectory school despite the large numbers. Thorp Arch Grange School might be regarded as a 'purpose designed' Rectory School which at one stage had as many as eighty boys.
57. Author of Sundry Attacks on Private Schools and Strictures thereon 1884 See p. 80
58. See F. S. de Carteret-Bisson : The Oxford and Cambridge Local Examination Record Vol. II 1875
During the period 1858-1873 Thorp Arch Grange School gained also thirty-nine certificates together with seventeen others with honours.
59. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth was a Governor of Giggleswick School.
60. Hiley : Memories p. 289
61. Hiley had spent £15,000 on his school but the Leeds School Board bought it from one of his successors for £3,500. The private schoolmaster towards the end of the century had a rather bleak future.
62. Sir Walter Besant : Autobiography London 1902 p. 52
63. See Maurice H. Fitzgerald : A Memoir of Herbert E. Ryle McMillan 1928
64. See F. G. Bettany : Stewart Headlam Murray 1926
65. See General Sir Archibald Wavell : Allenby, A Study in greatness Harrap 1941

See also Sir Herbert Maxwell : Evening Memories London 1932

Maxwell attended the Rectory School of Whitnash Rectory near Leamington Spa, kept by Rev. James R. Young, who took in twelve boys. Amongst the boys who attended this enlightened school were:

Viscount Adair (4th Earl of Dunraven 1871) - a member like
Maxwell of Lord Salisbury's second ministry (1886)

Arthur S. Barry (M.P. created Lord Barrymore in 1902)

Henry Butler (14th Viscount Mountgarret in 1900)

Charles C. Cotes (M.P. for Shrewsbury and Junior Lord of the
Treasury in Gladstone's ministry of 1880)

Hon. Ivo Vesey (4th Viscount de Vesce 1875)

Carlo B. Richardson (battalion commander in Grenadier Guards)

66. See A. Trollope : Novels and Stories London 1946 pp. 479-630
67. This term has been adopted to describe those schools for the upper middle and upper classes differently styled Classical Boarding School for the sons of Gentlemen; Classical Preparatory Schools /for the sons of gentlemen/; Academies; Seminaries and even "institutions" during the early and mid nineteenth century. Some of these schools did not confine their pupils to the later preparatory school age range eight to fourteen nor to a completely classical curriculum. Because of the existence of other private schools which would not be called preparatory schools, since the preparation of boys for public schools was not their primary function, it would be imprudent to antedate the preparatory school. The question of the first preparatory school and their origins is discussed in Chapter 9.
68. The boys of Hawkhouse School is another story about a nineteenth century middle class classical school, to be located in the rare books of the British Museum. It is a book of improbable adventures and bears no comparison with Trollope's portrayal.
69. The school which Stanley Baldwin attended and which has three D.N.B. entries.
70. Inter alia
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Bayford School, Herts. | Mitcham | - Rev. Roberts |
| Beaconsfield - Bradford | Rottingdean | - Dr. Hooker |
| Brighton - (Dr. Dempster | Seaforth | - Rev. Rawson |
| (Dr. Everard | Stanmore | - Rev. Barron |
| (Dr. Lee | Stubbington House | - Montagu Foster |
| Cheam - Rev. Tabor (rather | Sunbury | - Dr. Curtis |
| Chiswick - Dr. Horne later) | Temple Grove, | - Dr. Pinckney |
| Manor House School | East Sheen | |
| Eagle House | Totteridge | - Rev. Lendon |
| Ealing - Dr. Nicholas | Twyford | - Rev. Wickham |
| Elstree - Dr. Bernhays | Windlesham | - Lt. Malden |
| Fulham - Dr. Ruddock | | |
| Greenwich - Dr. Burney | | |
| Hammersmith - Elwell's | | |
| Laleham - Rev. Buckland | | |

N.B. Geddington, Hoddesdon, Orley Farm and Wixenford are of a slightly later date.

71. See p. 131
72. H. P. Liddon : Life of E. B. Pusey Vol. I Longmans 1894 p. 10
73. This epithet has been applied also to Lee's of Brighton and Hoddesdon Grange.
74. John Morley : Life of William Ewart Gladstone Vol. I MacMillan 1903 pp. 14-15
75. F. D. How : Archbishop William C. Plunket London 1900 p. 24
76. Rowland E. Prothero : Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley Murray 1893
77. E. S. Purcell : Life of Cardinal Manning MacMillan 1896 p. 10
78. The last D.N.B. entry at this school was born in 1823. It is not known when the school closed.
79. Hoddesdon Grange (1854) founded by Rev. Chittenden who had been an assistant to Rev. F. J. Faithfull at Hatfield, now called Newlands School and situated in Seaford, Sussex.
80. J. Lewis May : Cardinal Newman Geoffrey Bles 1929 p. 10
See p. 130 of Chapter 5.
81. Quoted from Giberne Sieveking : Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman London 1909 p. 8
82. Arnold looked after the older boys leaving Buckland with the preparatory department.
83. A. F. Hort : Life and Letters of Fenton J. A. Hort Vol. I MacMillan 1895
84. See G. H. O. Burgess : The Curious World of Frank Buckland London 1967 p. 16
85. A Mrs. Bowen was responsible for the younger children. This is an example of a dame being concerned with upper class education.
86. T. H. S. Escott : Edward Bulwer, 1st Baron Lytton Routledge 1910
87. Ibid p. 23
See also Earl of Lytton : The Life of Edward Bulwer Vol. I MacMillan 1913 pp. 39-40
88. For a full discussion of this see Chapter 9.
It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss the stages in the gradual evolution of the preparatory school but to note the various facets of one of its antecedents, the private classical school.
89. British Journal of Sociology Vol. XII September 1961

90. e.g. Stephen J. Perry (1833-1889), son of London steel pen manufacturer sent to Gifford Hall in Suffolk and then to Douay College, France. Richard William Church (1815-1890) merchant's son and later Dean of St. Paul's went to a preparatory school at Leghorn in Italy. Frank K. Holman (1858-1944) and Herbert Holman attended a preparatory school in Heidelberg for three years before they went to Felsted. The boys were at Heidelberg without a break, not coming home during vacations.

I am grateful to Mrs. C. Foreman for this information about her father's early education. Among his other appointments, Dr. F. Holman was School doctor to Crossfield Preparatory School, Hampstead.

91. Rev. T. Mozley : Op. Cit. p. 289
92. W. Cowper : Op. Cit. l. 769-770 and l. 201-202
The Rev. J. F. Denham, taking the opposite view in 1834 in Letters to a Mother on Education suggests that Cowper is not an unbiassed judge of the merits of public and private education since he was subject to abject depression whilst at Westminster which was as much the fault of his nature as that of the school.
93. In the Educational Census of 1851 Horace Mann estimated that some 50,000 were being educated by private tutors. Op. Cit. p. xliv
94. See M. C. Bickersteth : Robert Bickersteth Bishop of Ripon 1857-1884 Pivingtons 1887 p. 21
95. See T. H. S. Escott : Op. Cit.
96. He was at Elwell's at Hammersmith. See p. 130
97. Ibid. p. 28
98. Michael Holroyd : A critical biography, Lytton Strachey C.U.L. 1967 p.47
99. Lady Strachey had firm belief in beneficial effects of ozone.
See also F. Storr Edit : Life and Remains of Rev. R. H. Quick C.U.P. 1899. Quick also attended private tutors 1850-1854 because of ill health.
100. The authority for regarding Rev. F. J. Faithfull as a private tutor rather than a head of a school is Mr. H. Faithfull Chittenden, Headmaster of Newlands (1930-1967) and descendant.
101. viz. Lord Burghley; Lord Brownlow Cecil; Lord Guernsey; Hon. D. Finch; Lord Robert Cecil; Sir William Fraser; Hon. Barrington Stopford; John Peel; Arthur Peel; John Croft; John Hildyard; George Beaumont; Theodore Broadhead; Rowland Childers; Hons. William E. and Leicester Curzon; William Praed; William Windham; Francis Faithfull and Bingham Mildmay.
102. See General Sir Richard Harrison : Recollections of a life in the British Army London 1908

for reference to another Faithfull, the Rev. Ferdinand Faithfull, an Army crammer, who kept Headley Rectory, near Epsom.

103. Text of undated letter.

"My dear Sir,

I hope by this time you have been able to determine whether your inclination and engagements will allow of you taking my dear boy under your daily care and general superintendence, especially in those things which a woman is incompetent to teach ...

I greatly fear everything like a modern education for a boy - as totally subversive of that fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom ..."

104. H. Rider Haggard : The days of my life Vol. I Longmans 1926 p. 7

105. e.g. C. J. Canning (1812-1862) son of George Canning P.M. educated at private school in Putney - Eton - private tuition from Rev. John Shore of Potton, Bedfordshire - Christchurch, Oxford.

See also evidence of Rev. J. Brackenbury to S.I.C. Vol. V p. 888
Minute 17,345

106. e.g. i) Mandell Creighton wrote part of his History of the Papacy at Embleton, Northumberland. From here he examined at both Durham School and Durham University.

ii) Rev. R. W. Dixon, Vicar of Warkworth from 1883-1900, wrote the standard Tractorian History of the English Reformation, History of Church of England from Abolition of Roman Jurisdiction (1877-1900)

107. A. H. D. Acland : Op. Cit. p. 6

108. Hiley taught junior boys who came to Rev. T. Pearse on a quid pro quo basis.

109. Freeman was also in correspondence with Rev. Henry Thompson, Curate of Wrington who was not only a friend of Hannah More before she died in 1832 but also a private tutor with two or three pupils.

110. Augustus J. C. Hare : Op. Cit. p. 298. After Hare left Harrow in ill health in 1848 his parents tried two tutors before Rev. Charles Bradley but they were both unsatisfactory.

111. Colenso was the author of well known Arithmetic text books, the royalties on which must have considerably supplemented his income. He taught private pupils for seven years at Fornsett having quarrelled with Dr. Wordsworth, Headmaster of Harrow whilst he was assistant master.

See also B. J. Armstrong : A Norfolk Diary Harrap 1949

An entry for August 28th 1877 gives a further example of wealthy tutor who supplemented his Fellowship by earning £800 besides by taking in pupils. As a Second Wrangler, the young tutor could command a good income.

112. Mallock : Op. Cit. pp. 29-30
113. R. Duckworth : A Memoir of the Rev. James Lonsdale Longmans 1893
114. e.g. In December 1882 he examined pupils at Malvern Lower School.
115. Macray papers, Bodleian Library.
116. See MSS. letters dated April 11th and June 16th 1862.

Notes on Chapter 6

The source material for this chapter was largely biographical accounts of mainly naval and military officers.

1. This chapter is not concerned with middle class examinations like College of Preceptors examinations or Oxford Locals. Nor is it concerned with early prize schemes such as those reported by H.M.I. Rev. J. P. Norris in the Mining and Manufacturing districts of Staffordshire and Shropshire, or those reported by Rev. H. W. Bellairs in 1856 at Kidderminster and Worcester. For detailed study of these m.c. examinations see:

R. J. Montgomery : Examinations Longmans 1965

John Roach : "Middle-class Education and Examinations : some Early Victorian Problems" British Journal of Educational Studies Vol. X No. 2 May 1962

John Roach : Public Examinations in England 1850-1900 C.U.P. 1971
2. See Chapter 5 p.137
This was not the cleric who became a prison chaplain.
3. Walter Besant : Op. Cit. p. 49
4. See G. H. Wilson : Windlesham House School 1837-1937 London 1937 Chapter 5
See also In Memoriam. Reminiscences of R. S. Faber.
After leaving Wellington College in 1865 Faber spent two years with a private tutor before going on to Oxford.
Private Presentation copy in Durham University Library 1909
5. H. P. Liddon : Walter Kerr Hamilton Rivington 1869 p. 2
See also Mrs. S. A. Barnett : Canon Barnett Murray 1921 p. 7
S. A. Barnett stayed a year at one tutor's before going to Rev. T. Hulme to prepare for entry to Oxford.
6. F. M. L. Thompson : Op. Cit. p. 84
7. In November 1840 out of a first class honours list of six, four had been coached by Lowe.
8. See p.174
See also note 78 Chapter 7
9. A. Patchett Martin Life and Letters of Viscount Sherbrooke Vol. I Longmans 1893

Rogers wrote: "when I first went to Oxford Mr. Lowe was the great 'coach' of the period, and I have heard him say he never worked so hard or felt his work so oppressive as during that time ... ten hours a day with pupils."

10. See p. 130 Had been a pupil of Mr. Elwell of Hammersmith before going to Shrewsbury in 1827.
11. The positivist disciple of Auguste Comte. Congreve recalled the last occasion on which Lowe lectured to his pupils. He closed by saying "There, that is the last lecture I shall give in this place, where I have been selling my life-blood at 7/6d. the hour."
12. J. W. Clark & T. M. Hughes : Life and Letters of Rev. Adam Sedgwick (Woodwardian Professor of Geology 1818-1873) Vol. I C.U.P. 1890 p. 102
13. See Chapter 5 p. 135
14. Second only to H. W. Moss of Shrewsbury
15. Louise Creighton : Op. Cit. p. 209
16. See Chapter 2 p. 39
17. Captain F. G. Guggisberg : "The Shop", the Story of the R.M.A. Cossell 1900

Hugh Thomas : The Story of Sandhurst Hutchinson 1961

Sir Edward Blunt : The Indian Civil Service Faber & Faber 1937

Emmeline Cohen : The Growth of the British Civil Service 1780-1939 Allen & Unwin 1941

R. K. Kelsall : Higher Civil Servants in Britain from 1870 to the present day (International Library of Sociology and social reconstruction) London 1955

W. J. Reader : Professional Men: the rise of the professional classes in nineteenth century England Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1966

Edit. W. L. Guttsman : The English Ruling Class Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1969

F. Musgrove : "Middle class education and employment in the nineteenth century." Economic History Review 2nd Series XII 1959

C. B. Otley : The Origins and Recruitment of the British Army Elite 1870-1959 Hull University Ph.D. 1965
18. There were tutors who specialised in coaching youths for entry to Addiscombe and Woolwich in the early part of the century. e.g. Brackenbury's of Wilnbledon existed before 1850. See evidence given by Rev. J. M. Brackenbury on 8th May 1866

to S.I.C. Vol. V p. 886. Cheltenham College (1841) was founded to compete with the early crammer.

19. e.g. Bleak House
20. Coaching establishments or schools of anatomy, privately owned by London Surgeons also existed in early part of century. See W. J. Reader : Op. Cit. p. 62.
The Crystal Palace School of Engineering run by a Mr. Wilson, Principal and constructor of Teignmouth pier, prepared young and older men for engineering.
21. See Quarterly Review No. CLXVI Vol. LXXXIII (June)-September 1848
22. The seventh ship of that name. Took part in the bombardment of Sevastopol in the Crimean War. This was replaced in 1870 by the eighth H.M.S. "Britannia" which lay at Dartmouth until at least 1898.
See Vice-Admiral H. L. Fleet : My life, and a few yarns Allen & Unwin 1922 for an account of life on H.M.S. Britannia. pp. 23-25.
Rear Admiral W. S. Chalmers : Life and Letters of David, Earl Beatty Hodder & Stoughton 1951 pp. 5-11
23. Cyprian Bridge : Op. Cit. p. 39
24. D. G. Hogarth : The Life of Charles M. Doughty O.U.P. 1928
25. Graham was First Lord of the Admiralty in Aberdeen administration 1852-1855 and retained office when Palmerston became premier.
26. Son of the Fourth Marquess of Waterford.
See also Viscount Cunningham of Hyndhope : A Sailor's Odyssey Hutchinson 1951 pp. 14-15
Oliver Warner : Cunningham of Hyndhope Murray 1967 p. 3
Sir George Douglas : The Life of Major General Wanchope Hodder & Stoughton 1904 p. 25
27. This School has passed through its hands no less than
3 Admirals of the Fleet and First Sea Lords
2 Admirals of the Fleet
58 Admirals
18 Vice Admirals
44 Rear Admirals, besides Captain R. F. Scott of the 1901-1904 and 1910-1912 Antarctic Expeditions
See Appendix 19 for full list.
28. Fleet : Op. Cit. p. 17
29. Admiral Sir Percy Scott : Fifty Years in the Royal Navy Murray 1919 pp. 3/4

See also Gerald French : Life of Field Marshall Sir John French
Cassell 1931 pp. 6-7 for account of life
at Eastman's under Dr. Spickernall, his
successor.

See also M.C. & F.A. Markham : Life of Sir Albert Hastings Markham
C.U.P. 1927 p. 3

30. Chalmers : Op. Cit. p. 5

31. Ibid. p. 5

32. Admiral Sir William Goodenough : A Rough Record Hutchinson & Co. 1943
p. 15

G. G. Coulton : Four Score Years C.U.P. 1945 p. 135 relates how
as an assistant master at Malvern Wells Preparatory School he
coached a boy for the Naval examination, and so became a navy
"crammer" to clear his Cambridge debts.

See also Admiral Sir William James : Admiral Sir William Fisher
MacMillan 1943 pp. 6-7

33. See note 21. Captain Wilmot was concerned that the recent introduction
of Schoolmasters to the Army which would raise the intellectual
level of the soldiers should not leave the officers wanting. His
concern is paralleled by the concern of the middle class for their
neglect in face of the advances in the education of the lower
orders.

34. Carshalton House, near Croyden, was set up in 1847 with a Headmaster and
two assistant masters for one hundred scholars. Entry - by way
of nomination from the Master General.

1853 Captain Peter Maclean R.A. appointed Headmaster -
Training was re-organised on military lines with
the boys dressed in uniform.

1859 The School closed following the abolition of nominations
in 1855.

See also Marquess of Zetland : Lord Cromer (Evelyn Baring) Hodder &
Stoughton 1932 p. 25

35. See Hugh Thomas : Op. Cit. p. 84

36. War Secretary under Peel 1845-1846

37. Commander in chief at Sevastopol

38. E. S. Turner : Gallant Gentlemen London 1956 p. 198

An early manual by an anonymous military tutor, The Pattern Military
Officer, designed to help aspiring officers pass their examinations
set out the examiners' requirements viz.

Livy's History of Rome (Books 21-25)

Vergil's : Aeneid (Books 1-3)

Knowledge of European capitals

of Vauban's first system of front fortification,

ramparts and parapets.

It advised candidates to be "equipped with"

1. Caesar's Commentaries
2. Plutarch's Lives
3. Alison's Life of the Duke of Wellington
4. Histories of Livy, Polybius and Xenophon
5. Yate's Elementary Treatises in Tactics and Strategy
6. Napier's History of the War in the Peninsula (6 volumes)
7. Wellington Despatches
8. Napoleon's maxims.

39. In 1857 the Council of Military Education in its first report, brought out a more elaborate scheme.
40. Hull University Ph.D. 1965
41. See General Sir I. Hamilton : When I was a boy Faber & Faber 1939
Hamilton's father was the Commander of the Gordon Highlanders in India. He heard that army was to be reformed with stiff examinations in future. To clear the way for such reforms there was to be one last big examination. Usually there were 100-150 candidates for 90 places. He feared that there was likely to be 1,000 candidates but in actual fact only 440 names appeared in the Times list.
42. Some public schools like Cheltenham, Eastbourne, Wellington and Haileybury were sufficiently Army orientated from the beginning.
H. A. Vachell : Twilight Grey (1948), commenting on Edward Bowen's appointment as Head of Modern Side, took the view that because it took an inferior position below the Classical side (the many), the Modern Side (the few) were unable to compete efficiently with crammers. Vachell, in order to get into Sandhurst, had to leave Harrow and attend a crammer.
43. Winston Churchill : My Early Life Fontana 1959 p. 37
44. Op. Cit. p. 424
45. James Payn : Early Reminiscences London 1884 pp. 15-28
He gained third place at R.M.A. nevertheless.
See Major General Sir Archibald Edward Anson : About others and myself Murray 1920 p. 53. Anson went to a military preparatory school in 1837, Mr. Millers School. This school, together with Mr. Barry's near Woolwich Dockyard were the only two preparatory schools for Woolwich, Sandhurst and Addiscombe.
46. The E.I.C. ceded its powers to the Crown in 1858 which led to the closure of Addiscombe.

47. Edited by Mary Albright Hollings : The Life of Sir Colin C. Scott Moncrieff Murray 1917 p. 12

"For these cramming establishments were, to the disgrace of our educational system, at that time and for many years after, full of much that was evil, physically and morally."

48. A few of the boys who attended Brackenbury's went to University: the majority went to Woolwich, Sandhurst and the Civil Service. Brackenbury took the Mathematics; Wynne the classics and were assisted by eight assistants working forty to forty-six hours per week.

Brackenbury admitted to his establishment being a hotbed of instruction. See S.I.C. Vol. V pp. 886-894.

49. Bryant : Op. Cit. pp. 272-273 V.C.H. Middx. Vol. I

50. Owned by Rev. Charles J. Hughes, Cambridge Wrangler. From 1853 to 1855 he had been the Principal Mathematical Master at Brackenbury's and Wynne's.

See Appendix 20 for advertisement.

51. Randolph S. Churchill : Winston S. Churchill Vol. I 1874-1900 Heineman 1966 p. 187

52. W. Churchill : Op. Cit. pp. 36-37

53. R. Churchill : Op. Cit. p. 187

54. Major General J.F.C. Fuller : Memoirs of an Unconventional Soldier London 1936 p. 4 This gives a lively account of the laxity to be found in a cramming institution.

55. Gerald French : Life of Field Marshall Sir John French Cassell 1931 p. 18

56. E. S. Turner : Op. Cit. p. 244

When Frost died, a letter from Lord Kitchener thanking him for his congratulations after the battle of Atbara, was found under his pillow. Frost was formerly second master at Kensington Proprietary Grammar School. See Arthur W. Beckett : Recollections of a humorist Pitman 1907 p. 13

See also Colonel Hugh M. Sinclair : Camp and Society Chapman & Hall 1926 pp. 29-30

Sinclair gives a picture of the indiscipline at Frost's.

- e.g. i) "The place was a perfect pandemonium. Neither Frost nor his colleagues had any faculty for keeping order. The boys were of the most unruly age and in the most difficult circumstances for restraint. The result was a perpetual series of rows and ructions."

e.g. ii) "When I first arrived at the place ... I entered a room where one boy in the middle was defending himself with a chair while some twenty others were hurling chairs, books and inkpots at him, the ground being strewn with broken missiles and the drawing master impotently sheltering himself in a corner."

Frost himself is described as a tall, thin elderly man with a high bald forehead. He had long red eyebrows; pale blue eyes; weak mouth and reddish grey beard. He wore a long clerical frock-coat. He was a profound scholar, an acute mathematician with a command of twenty-five languages.

See also Philip Magnus : Kitchener Murray 1958 p. 7

57. See Appendix 21 for list of chief military tutors, from Captain F.S. de Carteret-Bisson Our Schools and Colleges 1879

See also I.S.M. Hamilton : When I was a boy pp. 173-176

58. The preliminary examination for entry to the army consisted of five subjects (in 1888) viz.

1. Mathematics (arithmetic, algebra to simple equations, first book of Euclid)
2. Modern Language - usually French
3. Dictation (2 long and difficult passages)
4. Geometrical drawing
5. General Geography

Candidates had to pass in all five subjects.

French had the greatest failure rate : 42% of all candidates failed in
French
 64% of all failures failed in
French

For details of the Further Examination, see Private Schoolmaster Vol. I
No. 6 April 1888.

59. G. B. Grundy : Fifty-five Years at Oxford Methuen 1945
 See also Appendix 22 for advertisement of Wolfram.

60. Grundy earned three times the salary as he ever earned later. Wolfram himself, bought a piece of land near Monaco and built a villa. Made a net profit of £17,000 annually.

61. Arthur Sebright A glance into the past London 1922 p. 21

62. One "Crammer" who was busy and prospered until the first world war was H. W. Ord. See his The Adventures of a Schoolmaster London 1936 pp. 110-115

Ord not only ran his own small establishment but he also helped Colonel Bosworth, a well known Army tutor and Messrs. Noel and Paton's. As his own business increased Ord found it necessary to drop these other teaching commitments.

63. See G. G. Coulton : Op. Cit. pp. 218-220. Coulton was put in charge of the Army class at Dulwich College in the 1890s.
64. Quoted from Otley : Op. Cit. p. 115. Information taken from R.M.A. Board of Visitors 1894 Report P.P. 1894 (c. 7484) xix 529
65. Which set up the I.C.S. independent of the E.I.C.
66. viz. Lord Macaulay (1800-1859)
Sir Charles Trevelyan (1807-1886)
Robert Lowe (1811-1892)
Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893)
Sir Stafford Northcote (1818-1887)
J. G. Shaw le Fevre (1797-1879)
67. Robert Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, pressed Gladstone to persuade the rest of the cabinet on this measure.
68. See Private Schoolmaster Vol. I No. 4 February 15th 1888.
This point is made by the Rev. J. J. Dawes, President of the Association of Principals of Private Schools (A.P.P.S.) in his inaugural address.
See also Reader : Op. Cit. p. 110 for views of Lepel Griffin (1838-1908)
69. See note 49 of Chapter 5
70. See Reader : Op. Cit. p. 102 for details of I.C.S. examinations.
71. Carteret-Bisson. Op. Cit. p. 770
72. Coulton : Op. Cit. p. 254. For sympathetic view of work of crammer.
See pp. 254-259.
73. Carteret-Bisson : Op. Cit. p. 759
74. Wavell : Op. Cit. p. 35
75. See W. Baptiste Scoones : The Public Schools and the Public Service
London Pamphlet. 1876 p. 12
76. Rev. A. F. Thomson : The English Schoolroom or thoughts on private tuition London 1865 p. 6
One common charge against crammers was that they encouraged "smatterers" i.e. those with superficial knowledge. The form of the examinations was changed several times to combat this defect.
77. Vol. XLVI 1884
78. Appendix to Twentieth Report of H.M. Civil Service Commissioners 1875
p. 484
79. Wolffram : Op. Cit. p. 15

80. Captain G. J. Younghusband : The Queen's Commission Murray 1891
81. Ibid. p. 5
82. Knollys : "Public Schools and Army Competitive Examinations"
83. Ibid. p. 67
84. Coulton : Op. Cit. p. 254.
See also T. C. Worsley : Flannelled Fool - A Slice of life in the thirties London 1967 for comment by Christopher Isherwood on coaching and parents in the twentieth century.
85. T. W. Dunn of Bath College was a Classical Headmaster with little sympathy for the Modern side. This was partly the reason for the School's undoing. See Chapter 8 p.188
86. viz. Our Gentlemen's Schools

Notes on Chapter 7

The source material for this chapter has been:

1. The Taunton Commission Report (S.I.C.) 1868
Vols. I, VIII, XI, XIII, XIV and XIX
2. Works relating to Charles Pritchard, Headmaster of Stockwell, and Clapham Proprietary Grammar Schools (see bibliography)
3. Published histories of proprietary schools - Blackheath School and Liverpool College.
4. Published histories of County Schools - Framlingham College and Barnard Castle.
5. Printed letters and papers of Earl Fortescue and the Rev. J. L. Brereton, the founder of the County School movement, together with other material held by the Norfolk Record Office and Norwich Reference Library.

viz. Norfolk County School Chronicle 1872-1874 Nos. 1-7
Norfolk County School Calender 1874-1876
 MSS. Letters by J. L. Brereton
Norfolk County School Prospectuses
Norfolk County School - Headmaster's Reports
 Newspaper clippings related to Norfolk County School

N.B. Use has not been made of Brereton-Fortescue correspondence held by Homerton College, Cambridge.

Items 1-5 have been supported by reference to periodicals

e.g. Contemporary Review Vol. 44 1883
Westminster Review July 1873
Blackwood's Magazine July 1871
Quarterly Journal of Education April 1835;

by reference to general biography;

to L. C. B. Gower : The Principle of Company Law London 1969
 et. al. Chapters 2 and 3;

and to other general works listed in the bibliography.

1. One notable exception, the Marylebone Philological School was an eighteenth century foundation.
2. See Edit. H. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills. From Max Weber : Essays in Sociology London 1947 p. 196
Bureaucracy and Society

viz. inter alia

1. Rule governed areas of action.
2. Regular activities laid down as official duties.

3. Authority arising from the discharge of these duties distributed in a stable way with limits applied to the powers of coercion.
 4. Regular and continuous fulfilment of these duties by qualified person.
 5. A hierarchical structure allowing greater justice.
 6. Written documents to serve as a continuous record.
3. See L. C. B. Gower et. al. : The Principles of Modern Company Law London 1969 3rd Edition. p. 34.
4. The Board of Trade adopted a fairly laissez-faire attitude and was benevolent to company development.
5. Nevertheless the granting of corporative charters was an expensive business, even prohibitive: hence the paradox.
- Gower, in Chapter 3, quotes the case of two railway incorporations costing £72,868 and £40,588 respectively from B. C. Hunt's: "The Development of the Business Corporation in England 1800-1867" Harvard Economic Studies 1936
6. See Chapter 3 pp. 83-85
7. Q.J.E. Vol. 9. No. XVIII January - April 1835
8. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 60
9. A restricted curriculum in interfering parents.
10. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 60. Three main advantages of proprietary schools:
viz.
 1. Fully equipped
 2. Cheaper and better education provided through large numbers.
 3. Self interest of the shareholders will ensure appointment of good headmaster.
- See also Blackwood Magazine July 1871. "Education Endowment and Competition."
11. See Vol. I p. 147 Footnote.
12. 121 schools are listed not 122 as cited by F. Musgrove : Op. Cit. There seems to be a need also to rectify an error in the same article which quotes 100,000 (sic) proprietary schools. As H. Perkin indicated in his article E.H.R. Second Series. Vol. XIV 1961-1962 pp. 120-130 this referred to 10,000 private schools. However, since Musgrove's article has been emended in the Durham University Library copy to 10,000 proprietary schools it becomes necessary to state that according to the S.I.C. Vol. I p. 322 the total number of scholars (boys) in proprietary schools was about 12,000. 4,600 boarders and 7,400 day boys.
- According to Appendix VI 84 Proprietary Schools for boys were listed which would give an average of 143 boys per school.

These schools were large and Liverpool College at one time had 400 pupils. It follows that the figure of 121 listed by S.I.C. Report would account for most of the proprietary schools. No doubt others had existed but had become defunct.

13. S.I.C. Vol. I p. 104

14. Ibid. p. 105

See also Bryce Vol. iv p. 218. Mr. W. V. Dixon, Clerk to the West Riding Technical Instruction Committee refers to all profit making proprietary schools as coming in category of private schools for the purpose of the Technical Instruction Act 1889.

15. Later First Lord Addington.

16. For definition of 'Collegiate' see interpretation clause of Bill (dated 1864) entitled An Act to provide additional facilities for the performance of Divine Service for Certain Collegiate Schools and Colleges ... P.P. 1864 ll 77.

17. S.I.C. Vol. XIII

18. Ibid. Vol. XIV. This school is not to be confused with either Bath College (1878-1909) or Bath Sydney Gardens (Bath Proprietary School) (1854-1878).

19. See Kelly : Post Office Directory of Somerset and Devon with Bristol 1866 Advertisement.

Visitors : Very Rev. Viscount Middleton M.A. (Dean of Exeter)
Very Archdeacon Browne M.A.
Very Rev. The Dean of Gloucester M.A.
Rev. Canon Meade M.A.

Trustee & : Rev. G. Blisset M.A.
Manager

Headmaster : Mr. Palmer A.C.P. (Member of London University,
Certificated teacher of Science
by Department of Science and Art)

Course of instruction : The essential truths of Christianity; Reading; and writing; English grammar and composition; arithmetic and commercial account; geography and history; mathematics including mensuration and mechanics; Latin and French; Vocal Music and drawing. A volunteer Greek class has been formed, £1 per quarter extra. Occasional lessons in Chemistry, Gymnasium on the premises.

Terms : Day Boys £2 per quarter no extras
Boarders 30 guineas per annum.

See also S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 63 for details re Wells Middle School.

20. See also Minutes of Committee of Council on Education 1841-1842 for report by Rev. J. Allen on Failand Lodge School, Somerset.

21. A laissez-faire measure which allowed incorporation with limited liability.
22. Introduced the company limited by guarantee - particularly suited to schools and other quasi-charitable institutions.
23. S.I.C. Vol. I pp. 310-311
24. See pp. 174-182
25. A fourth grade was listed consisting of denominational schools.
26. See Margaret Bryant : Op. Cit. p. 259 V.C.H. Middlesex Vol. I
27. S.I.C. Vol. I p. 313. Two proprietary schools were provided at Hull and Huddersfield when there appeared to be room only for one.
28. Leamington College was closed for one year only 1866-1867.
29. One disastrous experiment at 'mixing', but ethnically rather than socially, was that of Isleworth International College. Maurice Hewlett who attended the school thought the scheme was based on enthusiasm not experience. He writes, "The raw Brazilians, Chilians, Nicaraguans ... drawn from their native forests and plunged into the company of blockish Yorkshire lads, or sharp faced London boys, were only scared into rebellion ..."
Maurice Hewlett : "The Gods in the Schoolhouse" English Review December 1912.

See also Stewart & McCann Op. Cit. pp. 322-323.

C. Bibby : A Victorian Experiment in International Education in the College at Spring Grove B.J.E.S. Vol. V No. 1 November 1956.

J. R. de S. Honey : The Victorian Public School 1828-1902: The Schools as a Community Oxford D.Phil. 1969 for account of school's closure p. 135

30. See Ed. Brian Simon : Private Schools ...
1836 Leicester and Leicestershire Collegiate School
1837 The Proprietary School for Leicester and Leicestershire.
31. Charles Pritchard : Op. Cit. p. 4
32. See p. 118 and pp. 169-171
This "constant and indiscreet meddling of the Committees of Management" is noted also by Blackwood Magazine July 1871 p. 82 and by Q.J.E. Vol. 9 No. XVIII p. 258.
Adam Smith : Op. Cit. p. 247 - comment not altogether inapposite.
33. See Blackwood Magazine July 1871 p. 82
"and in more than one of the larger towns, schools of this class, which commenced apparently under the fairest auspices, and with an ample attendance of pupils, after not many years became altogether

extinct, or dwindled into insignificance."

See also Pycroft : Op. Cit. p. 99

34. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 61
35. Adam Smith : Op. Cit. p. 242
36. Advice was also sought from Stockwell and Kensington/Schools. Proprietary
37. J. W. Kirby : The history of Blackheath Proprietary School London 1933 p. 3
38. See also H. W. Ord : The Adventures of a Schoolmaster London 1936 p.35 for other famous old boys. Also Kirby : Op. Cit. pp. 12-13 p. 141.
39. It is a very modest capital sum considering that boarding of some pupils was contemplated. By comparison, the middle class school of Cowper Street, City Road, London was launched in 1866 on a basis of £40,000 raised subscriptions.
- See Dr. L. Wiese : German Letters on English Education Collins 1876 Letter V. p. 50
40. Rev. J. Howson at Liverpool College introduced a far more ambitious scheme in which subscribers were invited to pay £250 for the right of nominating a pupil for free education. See R. W. Hiley : Memories p. 136.
41. Kirby : Op. Cit. pp. 37 and 39
- viz. 1. The rise of schools like Marlborough, Cheltenham, Liverpool, Brighton, Leamington and Rossall provided very keen competition.
2. Rivalry of New Proprietary School, Blackheath (1834-1866) which was set up as a rival institution by a breakaway section of the managers. From 1852-1866 this School was conducted as a private school. See Chapter 3 pp. 17-21
3. Colfe's Grammar School nearby would be a keen rival too.
42. Had been a private tutor between leaving University and taking up office of headmaster.
43. I.C.S. thrown open to competition only in 1855.
44. In this department M. R. Sueur (French) and Herr F. Osiander (German) were both long serving and successful masters. Unlike many French and German masters in nineteenth century they gained the respect of their English boys.
45. Kirby : Op. Cit. p. 98
46. The reform of Dulwich College and the setting up of Alleyn's School as a second school of the Edward Alleyn Foundation "of Gods Gift" would also be contributory to Blackheath's decline.

47. It finally closed in 1907 through lack of support. Many wanted boarding education for their sons and possibly looked elsewhere; those who wanted day education no doubt found cheaper education in another school.
48. See Ada Pritchard : Memoirs of Professor Pritchard London 1897
 Testimony of his high reaching quality is given by Sir George Grove (pp. 71/72), Sir William Herschel (p. 73-75)
49. He gained the Gold Medal of the R.A.S. in 1886.
50. Pritchard : Annals p. 52
51. Sir Walter Besant : Autobiography London 1902
52. This headmaster came to a sad end, murdering his wife and committed to prison.
 He was a recluse whose devotion to the classics led him to translate three or four volumes for Bohn's Library of the classics.
53. Pritchard : Annals p. 54 Pritchard's regulations embody many principles which would make for the success of a proprietary school viz.
1. The Committee to be small.
 2. The Headmaster to assist at all Committee deliberations.
 3. Financial support for the school to be generous.
 4. Committee to take charge of financial aspects only. Not to be concerned with educational plans of the Headmaster.
 5. Provision to be made for expansion.
 6. Boarding arrangements to be left to the Headmaster.
54. e.g. Airy, Darwin, Gassiot, Grove, Hamilton, Herschel and Maurice. Among Pritchard's old boys were to be numbered: a Senior Wrangler, General Addison and Colonels Barker and Maurice, later tutors at Sandhurst, three other senior army officers in command at the battle of Tel-El-Kebir.
 Twice old Clapham Boys were Head students at Haileybury and Addiscombe. Ibid. p. 58.
55. The School closed c. 1887 and was pulled down. Two schools, now the Bonneville Road Schools for boys and girls were built on the site.
 See J. W. Groves : Old Clapham London 1887
56. Besant : Op. Cit. p. 51. See also Pycroft : Op. Cit. p. 101
 See also S. M. Ellis : George Meredith London 1920 pp. 44-49
 Meredith attended this school in 1837 which according to Ellis did not close in 1848 but existed from 1825-1850. This School was a higher class school than Frost's Academy in St. Thomas's Street.

57. Arthur W. a Beckett : Recollections of a Humourist Pitman 1907
 a Beckett recounts an occasion one prize giving when Earl Granville was distributing prizes. A boy fired a pea shooter at Dr. Payne Smith and hit him in the face. Immediately he rushed up the steps of the arena and hustled the offender out of the theatre, then returned to the prize-giving after adjusting his academic dress.
58. Pycroft : Op. Cit. p. 92
59. The length of stay of assistant masters is examined briefly in Chapter 8 pp. 190/191
60. See D. Wainwright : Liverpool Gentlemen Faber & Faber 1960
 Until 1864 official title was Liverpool Collegiate Institution. Was really three schools, Upper, Middle and Lower, (cf. p. 105) and numbered at one time 800 boys.
61. Ibid. p. 150. In 1877 scholarships were won at Balliol and New College Oxford and Trinity and Christ's Cambridge by Liverpool College pupils.
62. West Buckland, the County School however, gained 544 Certificates and 155 others with honours. The nearest schools to these
- | | <u>School</u> | <u>Certificates</u> | <u>Honours</u> |
|-------|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| were: | Bloxham | 271 | 85 |
| | Clewer House,
Windsor. | 248 | 92 |
| | Bath, Western
School. | 235 | 28 |
| | Framlingham | 197 | 63 |
63. e.g. i) The Hamiltonian system of teaching languages without a lexicon.
 ii) The continental system of discipline where boys were locked in cells for offences. See R. W. Hiley : Memories p. 132.
64. Gave evidence to S.I.C. See p. 31
 Had been tutors to the Duke of Argyll and the Marquis of Stafford.
65. Wainwright : Op. Cit. p. 81
66. Failand Lodge had asked for a half yearly examination.
67. Queen Victoria donated £50 of this.
68. A purpose designed two storey building was erected in the Mendips. Offices, the boys' washroom, the schoolroom, Committee room and master's room occupied the ground floor. Dormitories were on the second floor. The washing room was equipped with ten basins and a pump, with pigeon holes round the walls for flannels, towels etc. The dormitories had apertures in the walls for adequate surveillance.

69. e.g. Bedside prayers compulsory : boys reported for neglect of this duty.
70. viz. Religious instruction; writing; arithmetic; writing from dictation and from memory; history; geography; Latin; map drawing.
71. See p. 162
72. The buildings cost more than £2,000
73. S.I.C. Vol. VIII p. 365
74. Ibid. p. 345
75. S.I.C. Vol. XIII. No boy had been at University from Saham Toney for five years.
76. J. R. de S. Honey : Op. Cit. Chapter 2. Honey also refers to Rogers en passant. pp. 57-59.
77. K. E. Kirk : The Story of the Woodard Schools Hodder & Stoughton 1937
Brian Heeney : Mission to the Middle Classes S.P.C.K. 1969
78. See Margaret Bryant : Op. Cit. p. 260
See also "Memorial Sermon on William Rogers" on 26th January 1896 in St. Botolph's Bishopsgate by Rev. R. H. Hadden, Vicar of St. Botolph, Aldgate and Chaplain to the Lord Mayor, for appreciation of his oecumenical work in education.
In 1863 Rogers became Rector of St. Boltoph, Bishopsgate and continued his efforts at providing education to the lower middle class. It was through his efforts in getting financial backing from the City firms that Cowper Street Middle Class Schools in Finsbury were founded, providing an education for 24 - £5 per annum fairly comparable with education for a wealthier clientele at £150 per annum.
79. Vol. 44. pp. 872-876 Article on "Middle Schools".
80. Bishop of Exeter 1869; Bishop of London 1885; Archbishop of Canterbury 1896
81. In the early twentieth century he founded a group of public schools viz. Stowe, Wrekin College and Canford under the Martyrs Memorial and Church of England Trust "to propogate Protestant principles and to combat the spread of Anglo Catholicism" (Noel Annan : Roxburgh of Stowe Longmans 1965 p. 79)
82. This has recently been rectified in the unpublished thesis Oxford D. Phil. 1969. J. R. de S. Honey : Op. Cit. Chapter 2.
Also by J. Roach : Public Examinations in England pp. 42-43, 50-54
There is a good appreciation in the D.N.B. of Brereton's work for education and agriculture. But no mention is made of either

Brereton or Devon County School in Sandford : Memoirs of Archbishop Temple. 2 Vols. MacMillan 1906

83. The College of Preceptors first examined school pupils in 1850 but this was a pilot scheme in the private school of Messrs. Goodacre and Cockayne of Nottingham.
84. He was interested in education; later became Chancellor of Oxford University.
85. President of the Council 1846-1852, remained in the cabinet during the Aberdeen Ministry and was therefore still very influential.
86. See Letter to H. Chester Esq., from Lord Ebrington dated 28th June 1854
3rd Earl Fortescue : Public Schools for the Middle Classes
Longmans 1864 Appendix II
87. See R. J. Montgomery : Examinations Longmans 1965 pp. 44-51
J. Roach : "Middle-class education and examinations: some early Victorian problems" B.J.E.S. Vol. X No. 2 1962
See also Chapter 6 note 1
88. See p. 174
89. See Earl Fortescue : Public Schools for the Middle Classes 1880 p. 4
N.B. This is not a later edition of the 1864 work of the same title.
J. L. Brereton : County Education : Experiments, Estimates and Suggestions London 1874 p. 35.
Admits to Arnold's influence on unsectarian views.
90. J. L. Brereton : County Education : A letter addressed to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Devon London 1861 p. 16
91. A meeting was held in Taunton on June 5th 1880 attended by the Lord Lieutenant of Somerset; the Bishop of Exeter and Canon Woodard to discuss the provision of middle class proprietary schools in the S.W. Earl Fortescue who was also at the meeting regarded this as an attempt to poach on area served by Devon County School since many Somerset boys attended West Buckland School, especially since the opening of the Somerset and Devon Railway. He claimed that non-conformists and Anglicans had peacefully coexisted during the past twenty years and that the standard of Religious Education in the school was very high. See Fortescue : Op. Cit. 1880 pp. 5-7 re religious education sufficiency of the school.
92. Fortescue : Op. Cit. 1864. Appendix VII Objects of the Devon County School October 26th 1862 pp. 150-152
93. Failand Lodge School, Wraxall, Somerset also had this aim and in this respect could be regarded as an antecedent of West Buckland.
See Fortescue : Op. Cit. 1864 Appendix II pp. 91-93
Appendix V Principles and Plan of a Farm and County School
pp. 119, 122

Fortescue : Op. Cit. 1880 p. 11

Two West Buckland Boys carried off the scholarships, against competition from all England, from the Royal Agricultural Society. The Prince of Wales who took a keen interest in Agriculture sent a congratulatory letter to the Directors of the School.

94. See J. L. Brereton : County Education A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Earl Fortescue. 1856 p. 7
95. See J. L. Brereton : County Education: A Letter to ... Earl of Devon 1861 p. 16 for four tier plan for parish schools, Archdeaconry Schools, diocesan schools and Universities.

Also had plans to divide England into Four Educational provinces based on Oxford, Cambridge, London and York (Brereton : Experiments ... 1874 p. 73)

His concept of a County College at Cambridge, Cavendish College, (now Homerton College of Education) marks Brereton as a great visionary with considerable practical abilities. He managed to enlist as trustees for this educational experiment the following :-

Duke of Devonshire - Chancellor of Cambridge University
 Rt. Hon. Earl Fortescue
 Bishop of Winchester (Edward Harold)
 Speaker of the House of Commons (H. Brand)
 Master of St. Peter's College and Vice Chancellor of Cambridge
 (Rev. H. W. Cookson)
 Master of Trinity College - (Rev. W. H. Thompson)
 Master of St. John's College (Rev. W. H. Bateson)

96. Brereton : Letter to ... Earl of Devon 1861 p. 21
97. See Ibid. p.1. Also Brereton : Rugby and Elmham, a sermon p. 4
98. Norfolk County School Calendar 1881.
99. He was probably not as practical as Rev. Egerton, Founder of second Bloxham School who personally supervised the erection of some of his buildings.
100. See Brereton : A Letter to Fortescue 1856 pp. 8-9
 Fortescue : Op. Cit. 1864 Appendix VIII Cost of Devon County School 1862. A letter to S. T. Kekewich M.P. from J. L. Brereton.
 Brereton : Experiments 1874. pp. 15-21
Memorandum of Association of Devon County School Association 1861
 Brereton : The Reports of the Devon and Norfolk County School Associations 1874 p. 4.

101. See p. 144
Also Chapter 8 pp. 188/189
102. As suggested by content of his Experiments, Estimations and Suggestions
103. "Every boy in the first and second classes, except one, passed the examination in religious education - a great proportion than at any other centre in England"
104. One boy was fourth in religious education in all England. Two boys - thirty-third in English in all England. "we have reason to feel satisfied."
105. Fortescue : Op. Cit. 1864 p. 170
106. See Appendix 23 for architect's plans of the school. Set in thirty-nine acres.
107. This figure was never attained and was therefore run uneconomically from the beginning.
108. See Norfolk County School Chronicle No. 6 April 1874 in which move is forecast.
109. Norfolk County Calendar December 1876
110. See Appendix 35.
111. The School had both Trustees with the Earl of Leicester as President and a Board of Directors who were concerned with the commercial aspects of the school.
112. See M S Letter dated 1st June 1875 in Norfolk County Reference Library Local Section.
113. Norfolk County School. Report of Directors 1887
114. See M S. Letter, dated 23rd February 1891, from J. L. Brereton to Shareholders etc. Pencilled comments on this letter by a critic of Brereton suggest he was capable of humbug. Kept by Norfolk Reference Library. Local Section.
115. The School buildings continued to be used for educational purposes but of a different nature. In 1901 the school was bought by an Edmund Watts who presented it in 1903 to Dr. Barnardo. It was formally opened as Watt's Naval Training School for the training of 300 boys from London Barnardo's homes, but was to be closed in 1954 (Eastern Daily Press 17th July 1953)
- In 1957 the property was sold for £15,000 to a London demolition contractor and scrap metal merchant. (Eastern Evening News 12th December 1957.
- In 1961 part of the school was converted into a poultry broiler (Eastern Daily Press 10th January 1961)
- and in 1964 the old school chapel was converted into a piggery (E.D.P. 28th August 1964)

There is still (1970) a signboard on the roadway pointing to 'Norfolk County School'. (Sic transit gloria mundi)

116. This school was attended by (Sir) Arthur Yapp (1869-1936) the National Secretary of the Y.M.C.A.
117. Probus School, Cornwall was founded in 1853 by the Rev. D. Trinder M.A., the curate of Probus and later Vicar of Teddington. His purpose was to provide a county school for Cornwall and "to provide a sound liberal education at a moderate cost."
This school preceded West Buckland School by five years.
118. See Brereton : Letter to ... Earl of Devon 1861 pp. 20-21
119. S.I.C. Vol. VII p. 97
See also Captain F. S. de Cateret-Bisson : Our Schools and Colleges 1879 Appendix p. lxix
The school is advertised under heading of East Devon County School Association Limited.
The Rev. C. S. Bere and C. A. W. Troyte Esq., are described as Secretaries and the Headmaster was Mr. R. Clouting.
"The object of the school is to give the sons of the middle classes a good education equal to their wants. The school is established on the same principle as that of the Devon County School at West Buckland, and other County Schools."
Fees nine to thirteen guineas per term. Day boys two guineas per term.
120. See Edit. F. Storr : Life and remains of Rev. R. H. Quick C.U.P. 1899 p. 16
See also Thomas Steele : Musings of an old schoolmaster Sylvan Press 1932 p. 9.
Steele describes Dr. Merriman as an 'Academic Cromwell'
121. See John Booth : Framlingham College Society of Old Framlinghamians 1925 pp. 20-21
122. There were also thirty-five non Suffolk boys. Ibid. p. 23.
123. R. C. Hitchcock : The history of Barnard Castle School 1883-1933 West Hartlepool 1933. gives no indication of any financial difficulties.
124. £11,350 was raised for the building fund initially but the Flounders Trust provided £31,495 and the St. John's Hospital Trust £10,710 to provide Scholarships and exhibitions.
125. See Appendix 9 for statistics concerning numbers of pupils and examination successes.

Notes on Chapter 8

Bibliographical Note

The material for this chapter has been taken from three main sources:-

1. Some few papers and documents relating to Trinity College Stratford kept by the Shakespeare Birth Place Trust.
2. Mss letters of the Rev. J. Hewett deposited with the MacRay papers in the Bodleian Library.
3. Published histories of schools (of varying quality)

These have been supported by reference to general biography. The unpublished D.Phil. (Oxon) thesis of Professor John R. de S. Honey was also consulted.

1. Board of Education : The Public Schools H.M.S.O. 1942 p. 123
2. Letter dated 5th March 1866. viz. Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster and Winchester.
3. Lawson : Op. Cit. p. 42
4. Honey : Op. Cit.
5. e.g. attendance at O.T.C. camps; shooting at Bisley; playing sports like Fives, Squash racquets as well as more usual sporting activities; gaining Oxbridge Scholarships and other competitive examinations.
6. Appendix 24 quoted from Honey : Op. Cit. Table B.
7. e.g. Sedbergh does not appear in any of the four groups and yet Greenbank School, Liverpool, a highly successful Preparatory School, mentioned in the Bryce Report sent very many boys to Sedbergh.

Another acceptable criterion would be the antecedents of Headmasters appointed to quasi-public schools and or their succeeding post. The movement of assistant masters, too, would be another valid study of interaction.
8. Loretto has been included in view of influence of Almond's ideas on some English preparatory schools; whilst Blair Lodge acquired the reputation of being the best school in Scotland, and that a private school.
9. St. Andrew's College, Mells, near Frome, Somerset is another nineteenth century school in danger of being completely forgotten. It closed in 1859. See the Marlburian Vol. 86 No. 1054. June 1952
n. 49

There is no record to date either of Wellington School Somerset - a private school founded in 1841.

10. The Old Hall School Wellington could be claimed to be influenced indirectly by Arnold. See D. H. S. Cranage : Not only a Dean London 1952. Joseph E. Cranage was an autodidact who read A. P. Stanley's Life of Arnold and at 18+ decided to be a schoolmaster. He founded Old Hall School Wellington in 1845 and was its Headmaster for forty-five years.
Copies of the Old Hallian 1880-1891, the School Magazine are deposited in the Bodleian Library.
J. V. Milne, A. A. Milne's father, was for a time an assistant master at this School.
1894 School sold. Buildings today are used by Old Hall Preparatory School.
11. When Rev. J. D. Collis came to Bromsgrove it had few pupils: when he left it had about 150 boys. During his time Collis enlarged the school buildings spending £5,000 on them.
See H. E. M. Icely : Bromsgrove School through Four Centuries Oxford 1953 Chapter 5
12. He was responsible for the opening of Shottery School, the New boys School, Alcester Road and an Infants School.
13. Worcester Diocesan Magazine June 1909. Vol. XVI No. 6 p. 175
14. Ibid. August 1909 No. 8 p. 288. See also Trinity College School Magazine 1877 No. 1
15. Quoted from original prospectus.
16. From Bill of Conveyance held by Shakespeare Birth Place Trust.
17. In addition Collis purchased a paddock nearby for use as playground; the house of Mr. Mason next door and the bacon shop of Ann Cox.
He took the roof off Freer's house and built a large dormitory onto it. Ann Cox's locally famous bacon shop was pulled down and a school dining hall was erected; some old cottages opposite Mason's house were used as a laundry whilst further property near the paddock was bought and used as a gymnasium. There seems to be a paradox between this ample provision and Collis's declared modest aims.
18. His ancestry included Theobald Bourke, the last Earl of Mayo in seventeenth century, according to the obituary notice in the Stratford on Avon Herald, dated April 4th 1879. This is yet another journalistic error since the Sixth Earl of Mayo, was Richard S. Bourke (1822-1872)
19. Including Frank Smith's four sons. In the early years Trinity College gained considerable support from Ireland and Bromsgrove.

20. Rev. J. D. Collis was Warden; Rev. C. G. Gepp B.A. was Sub-Warden and Headmaster; Precentor was Rev. W. H. Connor M.A. Gepp later became Headmaster of Stratford on Avon Grammar School (1878-1880) before becoming Lower Sixth Master at Bradfield (See A. F. Leach : History of Bradfield College p. 168)
21. viz. The Chief tenses of Irregular Greek and Latin verbs
Praxis Graeca Parts 1, 2, 3. Exercises in Accidence, Syntax and Accents.
Praxis Latina Primaria - Handbook on questions and exercises
Praxis Iambica - Greek iambs
Tirocinium Gallicum - short French grammar
 Collis was the author of twelve other works.
22. Of these twenty-two, seven eventually took Holy Orders.
23. e.g. Bishopton.
24. Worcester Diocesan Magazine September 1909 Vol. XVI No. 9 p. 310
25. The healthy figures of Stratford School reflected the decline of Bromsgrove which led almost to its extinction.
26. June 1877. No. 1 - June 1878 No. 6. From copies belonging to T. G. Parrott, a leading Stratford man and now held by Shakespeare Birth Place Trust.
27. Headmaster E. Fynes Clinton (from 1874). A double first and formerly assistant master at Cheam, together with nine assistant masters, four matrons and a school Marshall, Sgt. Major Ronayne of the Warwicks. Yeoman Cavalry.
28. School List No. 33 October 1877
29. £40 per annum for three years.
30. See composition of forms in School List No. 33 October 1877
 Boys came from Yorkshire, Ireland, Manchester, Kent. No set pattern of recruitment.
31. Ibid.
32. This house had originally been part of the school. Marie Corelli was not only unpopular in Stratford town but also with the school. Constant bickering between her and Trinity College. Through her connections with Messrs. T. Fisher, Unwin and Methuen, she was able to buy the paddock field from Mr. J. C. Tregarthen a budding author, from whom the school had leased the field.
33. The School moved in 1908 to Maidenhead and thence to Windsor.
34. The School gave a public gymnastic display on the eve of its closure which was reported in the Stratford on Avon Herald April 10th 1908
 Beckwith became Headmaster of Imperial Service College in 1912

when Westward Ho! School was reconstituted.

35. See p.172 and Note 60 Chapter 7
See also Appendix 9
36. See p. 162 Bath Somersetshire College was absorbed by Bath College in 1885 when its Headmaster Rev. T. M. Bromley joined Dunn's staff. Bath College had started in 1878 by taking over the premises of Sydney College Bath when S. C. Voules its Headmaster retired. The Bath College of the 1890s therefore had three antecedents.
37. See Memorial to T. W. Dunn - privately printed 1934
38. Op. Cit. p. 11
39. Ibid. p. 11
40. See Bath College Register 1878-1898 1899
See also Honey : Op. Cit. Appendix C. Table II showing Bath fifteenth in top seventy-seven schools for Oxford / Cambridge Scholarships 1885-1892.
See also The Draconian October 1892 (School Magazine of Oxford Preparatory School)
Letter from an old Boy of Dragon School at Bath College to the Editor in which he points to remarkable success of Bath Scholars.
With Oxford and Cambridge Certificates, Bath head the list in proportion to their numbers
viz. 147 boys 22 Certificates
 27 Distinctions
No School had more than thirty distinctions; no boy but a Bath boy had distinctions in four languages.
Eight scholars went to University in 1892.
41. Royal Commission on the Civil Service 1912-1913 xv 109
42. Dunn was an intense individualist. In 1892 at the H.M.C. he opposed the motions on pensions and assurance for assistant masters in so far he was distrustful of State paternalism. He alone opposed the motion. Again at the H.M.C. of 1896 he was the only Headmaster to dissent from increasing the efficiency of School Volunteer Forces which he deprecated on principle.
43. Dunn imported wholesale ideas from Clifton such as praeposters, big side leveé, compulsory games. Curfew or lock-up was instituted and several changes of routine introduced. See Dunn : Op. Cit. p. 13
44. Dunn had resisted the introduction of the Cadet Corps at Bath; neither had Athletics prospered under his Headship. Fausset remedied these omissions. Ibid. p. 32.

45. S.I.C. Vol. XI
46. Ibid. Eastbourne College was financed by a Joint Stock Company incorporated under the Act of 1862 with limited liability.
47. The six guarantors withdrew their support and the loan fell through when the builder was moving materials onto the site. The situation was saved only by the offer of another builder to build a smaller school at a more modest price. See V. M. Allom : Ex Oriente Salus - A Centenary History of Eastbourne College Printed by Bishop 1967 p. 8
48. He had been an assistant master at Blackheath Proprietary School.
49. Ibid. p. 9
50. He took No. 32 Grand Parade, Eastbourne and called it Trinity College. It was not successful and Wood became Headmaster of Woodbridge Grammar School in 1874.
51. He increased the number of boys from forty-six to two hundred plus in a short time.
52. i.e. Rev. G. R. Green (1886-1888)
Rev. Charles Crowden (1888-1895)
Mr. H. R. Thompson retired in 1905 because of ill health of wife.
See Victoria County History - Sussex Article by A. F. Leach
53. Became Headmaster of Malvern (1880-1885)
54. See A. F. Leach : History of Bradfield College O.U.P. 1900 p. 45
55. See G. Baron : The Secondary Schoolmaster 1895-1914 pp. 52-53
See also R. D. Hill : A history of St. Edwards School Altrincham 1962 p. 157
56. The proportion of Headmasters to assistant masters was high even at end of century.
57. Henry Hayman was Head for one year
C. T. Cruttwell was Head for two years
Dr. J. S. Hodson was Head for three years
F. A. Souper was Head for six years
58. Largely through the munificence of Mrs. Egerton's family.
59. See Appendix 25.
60. Bath College Register 1899
61. W. H. A. Cowell 1880-1937
62. See Roll of St. Edward's School 1863-1914

63. Register of Old Wycliffians 1882-1912
Wycliffe School was founded by G. W. Sibly (1882-1913), son of Mr. T. Sibly who was Headmaster of Wesleyan College, Taunton for forty years.
This school experimented with vegetarianism and self government by the boys which destroyed idea of boys and masters being natural enemies.
64. See Appendix 25
65. See Register of Masters of Malvern College 1865-1914. London 1925
See Appendix 25.
66. Op. Cit. pp. 246-249
67. Sewell's lofty ideals did not allow him to countenance on incremental scale of pay for his Fellows.
68. R. C. Singleton and J. G. Hubbard both contributed large sums to the school under the influence of Sewell's grand design.
69. This is evidenced by his leadership at Radley and subsequent influence on Public Schools.
70. In this he had much in common with Edward Thring at Uppingham (1853-1887)
71. He had a distinguished career at Oxford and at the age of thirty-two was White Professor of Moral Philosophy in that University.
See A. K. Boyd : A history of Radley College 1847-1947 Oxford 1948 p. 2
72. Five members of his family had the distinction of being listed in the D.N.B. See Lionel James : A forgotten Genius Sewell of St. Columba's and Radley Faber 1945 p. 2
73. The total liabilities of the College in December 1860 were:
£49,880 - the assets £3,123 Boyd : Op. Cit. p. 136
74. See Ibid. p. 115 'Picnics to Nuneham' by barge with an accompanying band.
'dinners held on every pretext'
p. 118 Gaudy celebrations
p. 119 Possibly first person to floodlight a building at one of his many parties in the Exeter Fellows' Garden.
75. During the time of Singleton (1847-1851) and Sewell (1853-1861) the School had a Collegiate basis but it was private rather than proprietary in character. When the school was taken over in 1861 by J. G. Hubbard, (later Lord Addington) it was his private property.
76. Singleton eventually became disenchanted with Sewell who tended to treat him as less than his equal.

77. See A. K. Boyd : Op. Cit. pp. 126-128. See also Arthur Sebright :
A glance into the past London 1922 pp. 16-20
78. Could possibly be regarded as a hostile witness since he was punished
unfairly, so he thought by Sewell and so transferred to Charter-
house.
79. Walter Seymour : Ups and Downs of a Wandering Life London 1910 p. 3
80. The crisis which precipitated Sewell taking over as Warden was the
sudden resignation of Rev. J. B. Heathcote as Warden after only
a year. He saw the financial difficulties the school was in and
decided to make an early exit.
81. Sewell sought a happy community at Radley based on
- i) a Prefect system which allowed his Prefects much power -
it was this more than anything else which made Radley
a 'public' rather than a private school.
 - ii) a constitutional institution run by Fellows of the
College. Part of Sewell's difficulties lay with his
idiosyncratic refusal to treat his colleagues in
practice as he advocated in theory.
82. He introduced the Cubicle System to public schools. Individual
baths for boys were provided in the dormitory. Both these
provisions were innovatory.
- See E. Bryans : St. Peter's, Radley pp. 66-67
83. A second charismatic figure in nineteenth century education was
Bishop Baines, founder of Prior Park School (1830), Bath - but
since his school was predominantly one of a diocesan rather than
a private nature, consideration of his work lies outside the
scope of this thesis.
- See J. S. Roche : A History of Prior Park College London 1931
also H. N. Birt : Downside, The History of St. Gregory's School
London 1902. for an opposite viewpoint of
Bishop Baines.
84. Boyd : Op. Cit. p. 20
85. Copy of this small booklet in Bodleian Library.
See also Benedictio Mensae . Hewett had grace said in English and
Latin before and after meals.
86. e.g. The Bread of Life
Private Devotions for Boys
Priest's book of private devotion
88. See A. F. Lace : A Goodly Heritage - A History of Monkton Combe
Pitman 1968 p. 40
1877 Rev. R. G. Bryan decided to institute prefect system.
89. Ibid. p. 24.

90. Ibid. p. 94
91. Son of R. G. Bryan who became 'Principal'
92. Merged with Kelly's College, Tavistock in 1940.
93. Quiller Couch : Memories and Opinions C.U.P. 1944 p. 43.
94. Ibid. p. 51
95. Ibid. p. 51
96. F. Brittain : Arthur Quiller Couch C.U.P. 1948 p. 3
97. This epithet is used by Thomas Steele in Musings of an Old Schoolmaster to describe Dr. J. Merriman.
98. R. D. Hill : A History of St. Edwards School Altrincham 1962 p. 159
99. Bradfield founded by a wealthy 'Squarson' Rev. Thomas Stevens.
See p. 132
100. A. F. Leach : A history of Bradfield College Oxford 1900 p. 74
Arthur J. Butler (1844-1910), the Italian Scholar, attended Bradfield at the age of eight. (D.N.B.)
101. Fifty £1 shares enabled the shareholder to nominate one boy for education on reduced terms.
102. In this respect it had a common purpose with Cheltenham (1841)
See L. C. Dunsterville : Stalky's Reminiscences Cape 1928 p. 57
103. Charles Carrington : Rudyard Kipling, His Life and Work MacMillan 1955 p. 25.
104. He was a personal friend of the Kipling family; an active member of the William Morris set at Oxford. Had been a tutor of English in Russia after Oxford. Had been Master in charge of Moder side at Haileybury. See Ibid. p. 23 and p. 34
105. See Rudyard Kipling : Something of Myself MacMillan 1937 p. 22
106. The supply was exceeding the demand partly because of the increased efficiency of Army classes in public schools.
107. This is a case of the Company and not the Head changing at a critical point in the school's history.
108. See S. T. Hawtrey : A letter containing an account of St. Marks School Windsor 1859
A letter on Education at St. Marks School and Elsewhere 1862

109. It is well documented. Apart from Works of Carrington, Dunsterville and Kipling, already cited. See also Major H. A. Tapp : United Services College 1874-1911 Private circulation 1933.
110. Cormell Price was not a religious man and therefore he ran a secular school. No school chapel.
111. See manuscript volume written by Rev. Dr. W. D. Macray 1886 in the Bodleian Library.
112. See p. 189
113. See printed testimonials of Rev. J. Hewett when he was a private coach at Tutbury, near Burton on Trent. Bodleian. They indicate that he was on staff at Lancing College.
114. See Calendar of All Saints Grammar School Bloxham 1855 Bodleian
115. Ibid. including a Herr Stuhlmann who was a Master at Leamington College.
116. P. R. Egerton had a more realistic fee of £25. 4s. Od. for boarders. See History of All Saints School, Bløxham 1860-1910. Bloxham 1910
117. See forty-one page catalogue of books presented by Hewett in 1854. Bodleian.
118. The Bryce Commission estimated that on average a capital outlay of £2,817.
119. Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford celebrated Holy Communion with a hundred communicants. A copy of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer were deposited below the Foundation Stone.
120. J. Barrett Esq., contributed £50; Lord Bishop of Oxford £20; Z. D. Hunt £20. Other amounts varied from £12 to £1.
121. Record of entries from February 1853 to April 1856
- | | | | |
|---------------|---|----------------|---|
| February 1853 | 6 | January 1855 | 1 |
| July 1853 | 3 | April 1855 | 5 |
| October 1853 | 2 | August 1855 | 8 |
| January 1854 | 2 | September 1855 | 1 |
| April 1854 | 4 | October 1855 | 3 |
| July 1854 | 6 | January 1856 | 4 |
| October 1854 | 2 | April 1856 | 1 |
122. History of All Saints p. 2 Egerton later bought buildings for £1,550
123. See Chapter 7 p.163
124. See R. Blumenau : A history of Malvern College 1865-1965 F.N. p. 42
125. In Group 3 of Honey's Table B.

126. See H. B. Tristram : Loretto School T. Fisher Unwin 1911 p. 38
Dr. Langhorne first set up a school outside Musselburgh in Stoney Hill. Moved into Loretto House in 1827 and purchased it two years later.
127. Through E. P. Frederick, Headmaster of Wells House School Malvern (1903-1928) who had been a master at Loretto, Almond's ideas about clothing were carried to Worcestershire and then to Oxfordshire where C. C. Lynam, Headmaster of the Oxford Preparatory School (Dragon School) adopted this Almondian idea.
128. In 1880 there were six old boys at Oxford, five of whom played against Cambridge University that year.
In 1881 Asher - an old Lorettonian was a triple Blue in Rugger, Soccer and Athletics.
- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|---|--------------|
| 1881-1882 | President of O.U.B.C. |) | |
| | Captain of O.U.A.F.C. XI |) | were all old |
| | Majority of O.U.A.F.C. Committee |) | Lorettonians |
- 1881 Four old boys in O.U.R.F.C. XV
1882 Four old boys in O.U.R.F.C. XV
1883 Five old boys in O.U.R.F.C. XV
1884 Seven old boys in O.U.R.F.C. XV
- 1882-1885 The O.U.R.F.C. XV Played 53 matches; Won 49;
Lost 1; Drew 3.
- See Tristram : Op. Cit. p. 156
129. See Chapter 11
130. This is the essence of Muscular Christianity.
131. Knickerbockers replaced by trousers; flannel shirt and open neck; coat dispensed with as well as headgear when other schools still sported Eton Collars and jackets.
132. Was the first Secretary of the A.H.P.S. See Chapter 13
133. Loretto (1827); Merchiston (1828); Blair Lodge (1843)
134. Later became a Borstal Institute.
135. The School was founded in 1843 by Robert Canning Lambert.
See John Gunn : Maurice Paterson, Rector of Moray House Nelson 1921
136. Stirling Falkirk and District Illustrated Review 1893 : Blair Lodge School p. 2
137. Public School Magazine 1902 : Blair Lodge School pp. 224-225
First place of any size in Scotland to be illuminated electrically
Even silver plate cleaned by machinery.
See also Illustrations November 1888 p. 52

138. "Blair Lodge School is one of the marvels of private enterprise" was one comment by the Scottish education department.

See Stirling, Falkirk and District Illustrated Review 1893 p. 9

In 1887 Herr Raydt, sub-Rector of the Gymnasium in Ratzeburg, Germany was sent by the German government to report on the outdoor life of English and Scottish School boys. Full of praise for Mr. Gray in his report. Ibid. p. 3

139. Ibid. p. 8

140. Especially in view of largeness of school and of the Commercial Department in the school which simulated Modern commerce and was therefore meeting the needs of the times.

See also Ian Thomson : Almond of Loretto and the Development of Physical Education in Scotland during the Nineteenth Century
M.Sc. (Soc. Science) Edinburgh 1969 p. 157.

LEGEND

1. Clerical Academies
2. Lay Academies
3. Clerical Commercial Schools
4. Lay Commercial Schools
5. Lay or Clerical Commercial Schools (Unspecified)
6. Clerical Classical Commercial Schools
7. Lay Classical Commercial Schools
8. Lay or Clerical Classical Commercial Schools (Unspecified)
9. Clerical Preparatory Schools
10. Lay Preparatory Schools
11. Dame / Preparatory Schools
12. Rectory Preparatory Schools
13. Rectory Coaching Establishments
14. Rectory Preparatory and Coaching
15. Clerical Army Crammers
16. Lay Army Crammers
17. Unspecified Army Crammers
18. Clerical University and I.C.S. Coach
19. Lay University and I.C.S. Coach
20. Unspecified University and I.C.S. Coach
21. Army, University and I.C.S. Coach
22. Clerical Collegiate School
23. Lay Collegiate School
24. Unspecified Collegiate School
25. Quasi-public School
26. County School
27. Clerical College
28. Lay College
29. Unspecified College
30. Ex-grammar schools
31. Grammar Schools
32. Miscellaneous
33. Clerical University Entrance and Civil Service
34. Lay University Entrance and Civil Service
35. Unspecified University Entrance and Civil Service
36. Clerical middle class examination preparation
37. Lay middle class examination preparation
38. Unspecified middle class examination preparation
39. Choir Schools
40. Totals